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EL ROL DE LOS ESTUDIOS DE POBLACIÓN TRAS LA PANDEMIA DE COVID-19 Y  
EL DESAFÍO DE LA IGUALDAD EN AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Childhood and adolescence are times of psychological, physical and cognitive development, which coincides with a period of human capital accumulation especially through school attendance (Ariès, 1981, Wood et al. 2018). Besides training young people to acquire new roles in society, such as in the labor market, the school is regarded as an environment for life skill preparation and civic engagement. During this life period, it is common that individuals be financially and emotionally dependent of their family members and the state (Madeira 2006). The transition to adulthood is a complex process where this dependence is expected to be reduced and where youth are offered the opportunity for identity exploration in the areas of love and work (Arnett 2000). Through a well-articulated system of institutional and biographic markers, individuals acquire new social roles as formal education is concluded, enters the labor market and form their own family (either by marriage or by having children) (Camarano et al. 2004).

Before adulthood, the overlap between the student role and other social roles (such as parenthood or work) can bring important sanctions and penalties since they compromise the acquisition of human capital causing dual-role individuals to have lower levels of education and consequently, poorer life opportunities (Emerson e Souza, 2002; Freitas, Silva e Lima 2017). Nevertheless, the transition to adulthood is highly determined by the social context (Santos, 2018). Cultural, institutional and economic factors can contribute to either delay or anticipate the transition (Corijn, 2001). It is not rare that political, demographic and technological changes in regional, national or global levels impact the way young people move into adulthood (Cohen et al. 2005).

The order, timing and how this process varies according to sociodemographic characteristics have been subjected to much scientific investment in the international field of life course (Rindfuss et al. 1987, Shanahan 2000, Arnett 2014). Moreover, current life course research points in the direction of de-standardization, which means individuals present increasing variability in pathways to adult roles through historical time (Kohli 1986, Buchmann 1989).

In Brazil, very few studies have captured the nuances of the transition to adulthood. Nevertheless, the literature about child labor (Silva et al. 2019), teenage pregnancy and school dropout have shown how the time of life that is dedicated to the acquisition of human capital is so different according to social class, gender and race.

Using the Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD Contínua), a unique longitudinal panel with nationally representative data (2012 to 2018), we investigate the transition to adulthood (from school to formal and informal jobs, domestic work and childcare) to people ages 14 to 24 in Brazil, using the lenses of gender, race and SES inequality. We have four research questions: Who are the young people who spend more time free of responsibilities with work or childcare? By which ways do each social group enter adulthood? What are the excuses most utilized by young people not to enter the labor market and how do these excuses vary according to their sociodemographic characteristics? We also investigate how the answer to these questions varied along the years in Brazil, especially during the political and economic crises of 2015, which has contributed for the deepening of social inequality.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW (WORK IN PROGRESS)**

### *Social norms in the transition to adulthood and the heterogeneity of the Brazilian life course*

In 1970, Bernice Neugarten theorized that every society had their own system of social expectation regarding age-appropriate behavior. The school is considered an age-graded organization that structures the life course providing order and regularity.

The transition from adolescence to adulthood in most western societies is marked by five main steps, which are leaving school, entering the labor force, moving out of the parental home, marrying and having children (Kerckhoff, 2003). Oftentimes, individuals move simultaneous in those steps.

Parental education level used to be the main fator associated with children's education and it determines the choice to remain in school instead of dropping out and joining the workforce (LEME e WAJNMAN, 2000). As school attendance is associated with so many sociodemographic variables, white, high income and urban individuals tend to progress later than black, poor and inhabitants of rural areas (Vieira, 2008).

In Brazil, a highly stratified country with small social mobility, the characteristics of the family of origin are very importante in defining how a young person will transit to adulthood. According to Ribeiro (2014), the history of Brazilian inequality is an essential explanation of the transition to adulthood in Brazil. In 1999, the 10% richest, which were composed of professionals and individuals with college degree, had 1/3 of the total income, while the 50% poorest had 1/10. With the expansion of the education system in mid-90's, young people were obliged to stay in school until they were about 14, but soon after they would drop out to join the workforce. These young people

also entered marital union at an earlier age and consequently (or because of it) they have children also at an early age.

As for rich families, their children tend to stay longer in the educational system and only leave the parental home after getting marrying or by moving to a different location for school or work.

Labor market participation with low education level lead to a low status occupation with low paid jobs, increasing the disadvantage in the first phases of adult life (Camarano 2006).

For Camarano (2006), high income young adulthood sometimes experience more unemployment because they tend to be selective with the quality of the job they find, besides, they can count on Family support to extend the period they look for a better match

### *Early labor market participation and early family formation*

Most research about child labor in Brazil came after the creation of public policies aiming at eradicating child labor. Among the most famous are the Children Right convention of 1989, which in Brazil set the basis for the Brazilian Law for Children and adolescent Right (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, Lei 8.069 no dia 13 de julho de 1990) and the UN Milenion Goals development, for which child labor eradication was one of the main premised (Kassouf, 2007).

Among the determinants of child labor in Brazil are poverty (Basu e Tzannatos (2003b), Nagaraj, 2002; Edmonds, 2001; Kassouf, 2002), parental education (Kassouf (2002), family size and birth order (Emerson e Souza (2002a), gender of person responsible for the household (Barros, Fox e Mendonça (1997), and urbanicity (Kassouf 2007).

The number of children age 5 to 15 who was working in 2005 was of 3 million, or 7.8% of the kids this age group. This number had fallen from 5.5 million children in 1992 (Kassouf, 2007). For those age 5 to 9, rates have grown 12.3% between 2014 and 2015 (PNAD 2015).

### *The political and economic crises*

After a whole decade of economic growth with continuing decline in income inequality, a strong economic crisis, driven by a political crisis, caused GDP to decline from 2.456 trillion in 2014 to

1.794 trillion in 2016. In the same period, unemployment doubled from 6.2% in December 2013 to 13.7% in March 2017 (World Bank 2018).

## DATA & METHODS

The database used in this paper is the historical series of the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD Contínua) from 2012 to 2018. The survey is nationally representative and contains a sample that is large enough to generate robust statistics for simple ages, a key feature for the exercise proposed here (SMAFM). It also contains many labor market participation variables that are necessary to model the transition into adulthood, such as having worked (formal or informally), searched for a job, having given up on finding a job, or simply having had the desired to find a job in the week of reference. It also contains a number of sociodemographic variables that allow to investigate the hypothesis of this work, which are our independent variables, age (14-24), race/color (White and Non-white, which includes Blacks, Brown, Asians and Indigenous), as well as income per capital (quintiles), our proxy for Socioeconomic Status (SES). We chose to report only the results for 2012, 2015, and 2018.

The distribution of the sample into social groups and selected years can be found on Table 1.

**Table 1** – Description of the database

	2012		2015		2018	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mean age	18.84	18.88	18.81	18.90	18.96	19.04
% white	42.1%	43.9%	40.9%	42.3%	37.9%	38.9%
% in first quintile	16.5%	17.3%	15.8%	16.5%	16.4%	16.6%
% in second quintile	21.2%	22.5%	22.9%	23.9%	24.7%	25.3%
% in third quintile	22.2%	22.7%	22.0%	22.9%	22.3%	23.1%
% in forth quintile	22.3%	20.9%	22.3%	21.0%	21.5%	20.4%
% in fifth quintile	17.8%	16.7%	16.9%	15.6%	15.2%	14.6%
N	41,982	42,851	41,110	42,969	38,119	40,324

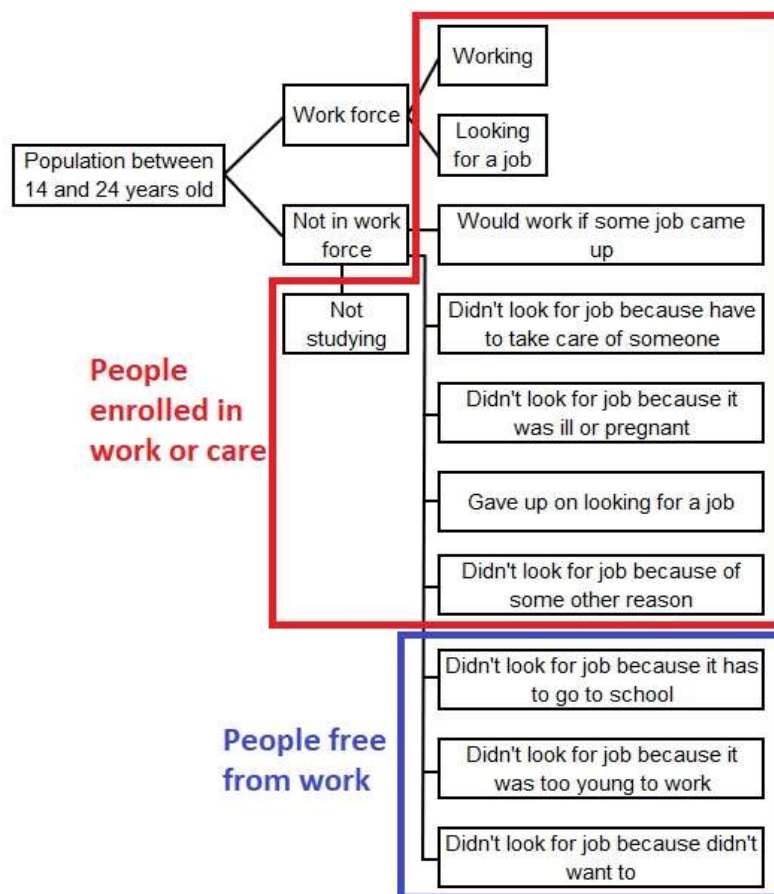
**Source:** National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) 2012, 2015, and 2018 (IBGE).

As work and care are quintessential activities of the adults, in order to express adulthood, we first defined the variables that indicate who in the population is free from work and care. We considered adults anyone who has worked (in both the formal or informal sectors of the economy), has looked for a job, has given up looking for a job, or simply has reported the desire to work in the survey's reference week. We classified as so even those who were still at school (see Figure 1). We also

coded as adults any person under 18 who reported having dropped out school before concluding High School, as school attendance is mandatory in Brazil at this age (Brasil, 2009). Last, we coded as adults those who reported not having looked for a job because he/she was pregnant or ill at the week of reference<sup>1</sup>.

The scheme in Figure 1 summarizes the states that form the “free from work and care” status based on widely used labor market variables in the international literature. From them, we can identify the individuals who in the reference period remained out of work activities and care for others, which means, the individuals who have a prolonged childhood.

**Figure 1** – Schema of the definition of “free from work and care.”



**Source:** PNAD variables.

We chose to restrict our sample to those aged 14 to 24 because 14 is the age at which labor market questions begin to be asked at the PNAD and because people who are over 24 who are not working

<sup>1</sup> Reporting pregnancy or illness represent fewer than 5% of the ones who report not having looked for a job. Unfortunately, PNAD does not separate both reasons.

or caring for someone form a selective group of people for whom adulthood have other meanings (people with severe disabilities, very special social contexts, etc.).

To meet the three research objectives, we will use three data analysis techniques. The first, a strictly demographic technique, the *Singulate Mean Age at First Marriage* (SMAFM) was adapted to our data to reflect mean duration of childhood and adolescence (or hereby called Free time of Work and Care, FTWC), as we censored individuals the moment they “become” adults. For the second research questions, we analyze the associations between gender, race/color and SES with answers provided to the selected labor Market variables utilized to compose the adulthood, such as Worked for pay (V4001), Worked for other type of pay (V4002), Informal work (V4003), helped someone’s paid activity (V4004), Searched for a job (V4071), and Wish had worked (V4073).

Last, to understand the motives reported by young people for not working (wanted to study, thinks one is too young to work, had to take care of children, didn’t want to work) and how these reasons vary by sociodemographic group, we ran multinomial logit regressions where each of the reason above transformed in a response category of the dependent variable.

Below we describe the first and second method in more detail.

## **SMAFM**

To calculate the mean time spent by each sociodemographic group free of work and care, this paper uses the Singulate Mean Age at First Marriage (SMAFM) method developed by Hajnal (1953) and used extensively with other demographic purposes (Arnaldo, 2004; (Jiang, Feldman & Li, 2014). The SMAFM method simulates the creation of a life table and its summary measure, the life expectancy at birth. In particular, the method approximates the time spent in the absorbent state at each age (or age group) using the proportion of people in the absorbent state, while in the life table we would estimate time spent in absorbent state from the probability of survival at each exact age. As much as SMAFM is only an approximation of a synthetic life table measures, it is an extremely valuable method as it does not require the calculation of transition rates to the absorbent state, which would requires the number of transitions made in each age group (an extremely rare data for some research questions).

Thus, based on the proportion of people in work or care activities by simple age ( $F(a)$ ), this study aims to apply the SMAFM to calculate the mean free time of work and care (LFWC). If we had

transition rates to working life, this would be a measure equivalent to life expectancy at birth calculated from these rates.

Hajnal (1953) created the SMAFM to study the mean age at first marriage in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries Europe from the proportion of single individuals at each age group in the population. Thus, this method is applicable to any research questions involving a transition to an absorbing state, that is, transitions that could not be reversed. LFWC is not an absorbing state - individuals can theoretically leave and return to this state. However, in practice, LFWC behaves as an absorbing state because the use of variables that capture an individual's intention to work significantly reduces the cyclical fluctuations that variables such as “working” suffer. Also, the strength of people leaving LFWC is greater than those coming back to it, which makes it behave like an absorbing state. For estimation purpose, we assume that once an individual has become an adult by any of the means we stipulated, there is not turning back.

The SMAFM also assumes non-differential mortality and migration between states. That is, a person in the LFWC state is just as likely to die or migrate as a person outside this state. Although this is a strong assumption, this work focuses on the 14- to 24-year-old population with a low probability of death. Thus, even if there is a differential between states, it would be so small that the bias in the estimate would be negligible.

The basis of the SMAFM calculation is to reproduce what would be an unconditional probability of survival curve by age from the proportion of people transitioning to the absorbent state by age. This is done by dividing this proportion by the proportion of the last group ( $F(ult)$ ), which would be the maximum proportion of people who will ever transit. We subtract this measure from the unit and reproduce a survival curve from 0 to 1 over the ages.

$$G(a) = 1 - \frac{F(a)}{F(ult)}$$

The mean time spent out of the absorbent state at each age is an approximation given by multiplying this theoretical survival curve ( $G(a)$ ) by the size of the age group ( $n$ ). The sum of the mean time spent out of the absorbent state at each age is the SMAFM. In this paper, the SMAFM is the LFWC. As we begin the calculation at the age of 14, we add 14 to the value found because we assume that all individuals have spent their first fourteen years of life free from work and care. As we are working with simple age ( $n = 1$ ), then the calculation goes as follow:



$$VLTC = SMAFM = 14 + \sum_a^{ult} G(a) \times n = 14 + \sum_a^{ult} G(a)$$

## Multinomial Logistic Regression

We are also interested in investigating in this paper how certain sociodemographic characteristics impact the reasons why an individual remains free from work and care activities. As we saw in Figure 1, there may be three reasons: 1) One didn't look for work because he/she were studying; 2) One didn't look for work because he/she considered oneself too young to work; or 3) One didn't look for work because one didn't want to. As there are multiple alternatives to unordered responses, we chose to perform this exercise through multinomial logistic regression.

The model estimates the chance that an individual will have responded to option  $m$  given their individual characteristics  $\mathbf{x}$  (age, gender, race/color, and household income quintile per capita) compared to another alternative. The gender and race/color variables are fundamental to study the Brazilian context, as there are significant sociodemographic differentials in terms of experiences in the labor market. Quintile of family per capita income aims to serve as a proxy for social class differentials.

The estimated model goes as follows:

$$\Pr(y = m|\mathbf{x}) = \frac{\exp(\mathbf{x}\beta_m)}{\sum_1^Z \exp(\mathbf{x}\beta_z)}$$

## Limitations

Our analysis contains several limitations. The first is that the measurement of work may be underestimated by the way the question is asked (week of reference), which might underestimate seasonal and temporary work (Levison *et al.* (2002))

Second, in the impossibility to assure that young people are working only to fight family poverty, our classification of adulthood might be misleading because we are assuming that any work experience for young people is negative because it automatically competes with human capital achievements. The literature points that work during teenagehood is not always negative, but there may be important benefits from joining the labor market early, especially for low education groups (Ferreira

e Araújo 2006). For some vulnerable groups, for example, mandatory high school might have worse consequences (Gomes, 2010).

Last, it is importante to keep in mind that the type of work differs significantly by SES and gender. Unfortunately, we could not address these limitations in this paper.

## RESULTS

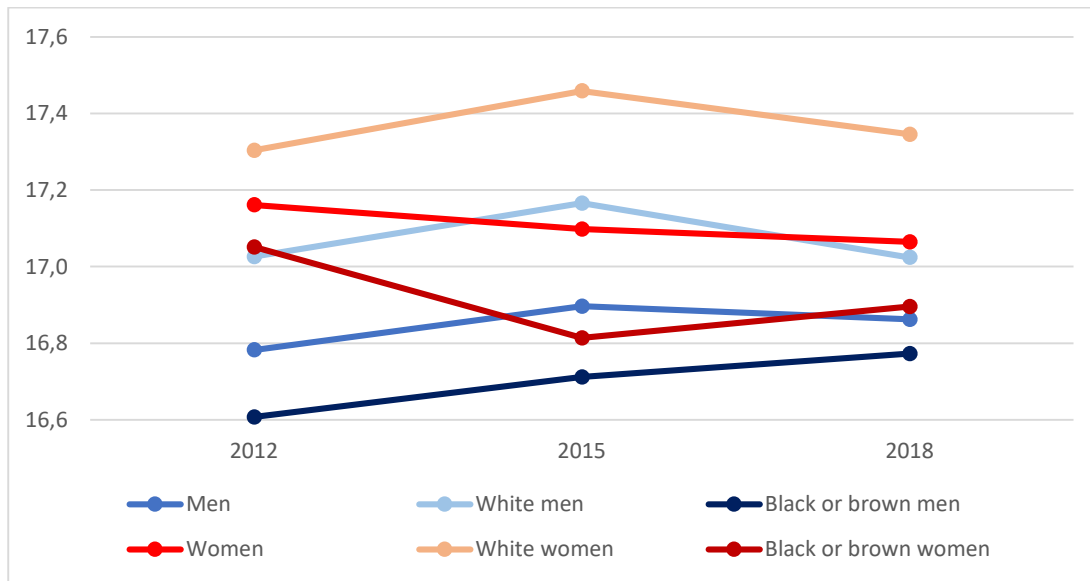
### **Who are the young people who spend more time free of responsibilities with work or childcare? - Average Life Free of Work and Care**

The results of applying the SMAFM method provide an estimate of how the average working and care free lifetime varies between sociodemographic and time groups. Graph 1 shows the results by gender and race.

We see that on average men spend less time off work or care than women (the difference is about 0.4 years in 2012 and 0.2 years in 2015 and 2018). This difference can be explained by the greater participation of men in the world of work and that this participation starts early than that of women. Tomás *et al.* (2008) had already shown that men enter the labor market earlier than women, which in aggregate terms results in a lower mean age at their entry into the labor market. Another factor that may explain this result is that women are more likely to enter higher education, which may lead them to postpone entering the job market without committing to caring tasks.

The difference between men and women holds when we look at differences by race/color. For both genders, blacks and browns have a lower life expectancy free from work and care compared to whites. Despite the lower degree of participation in the labor market, non-whites enter the world of work responsibilities much earlier than their white counterparts. It seems that there is a social norm that punish them with a shortened youth.

**Graph 1 – Life Expectancy Free from Work and Care – Brazil – 2012, 2015, 2018**



**Source:** National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) 2012, 2015, and 2018 (IBGE).

Concerning the possible impacts of the Brazilian economic crisis on the length of life free from work and care, the economic crisis seems to have hit these groups differently. The result for white men and women suggests that they have their LFWC increased at the outbreak of the crisis in 2015, but in 2018 returned to the level observed in 2012. We can explain this observation from the perception that this is a privileged group within Brazilian society. They are more likely to be embedded in an economic and family context that protects them (in part) from economic turmoil. As prospects for entering the job market have worsen, this social shields may have allowed them to delay their entry into the world of work to a future moment of better prospects. We have two hypotheses for the 2018 recovery: the repressed demand of the white population that may have been able to enter the labor market in this more recent period, or the persistence of the Brazilian economic crisis (and a consequent decline in household income) may have increased the pressure for their entrance in the job market or search for work. The next part of this section will help us better understand what happened.

Among black and brown men and women, the observed result may be due to the greater vulnerability of this group to labor market oscillations. The persistent increase in LFWC among these men as the Brazilian economic crisis intensified can be interpreted as a reaction of these men leaving the labor market as their employment prospects decline. As these men still have the characteristic of having a lower education than the other groups, it is possible that the increase in free time of work and care is

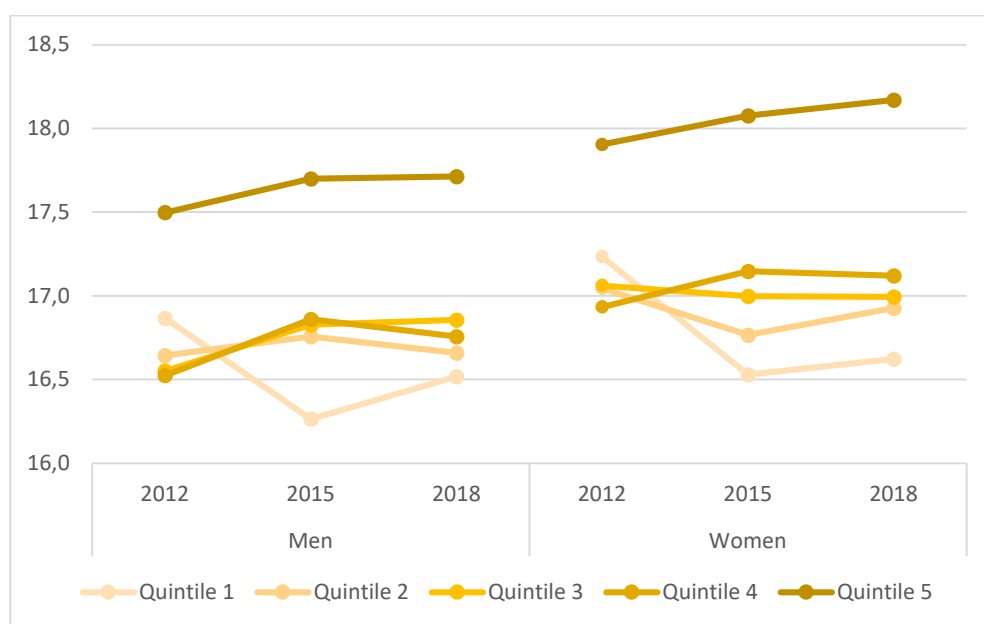
not being used for investment in their human capital. However, even with their increase in LFWC over the period analyzed, they are still the sociodemographic group that spends less time off work and care.

Black and brown women draw attention because their trajectory over time is the opposite to that of the whole population. Among the four groups, they are perhaps the most vulnerable in the labor market, as they carry the penalty of gender and color discrimination. Put in a context of greater economic and family fragility, when the economic crisis intensifies and family income declines, they are pushed into the world of work, although not in the desired condition of occupation. Later, when the crisis persists, and job prospects worsen, they leave the labor market because of difficulty in getting a job.

Graph 2 shows average working and free time of care over time by quintile of per capita family income, separately for men and women. It strikes us that individuals in the richest families spend more time free from work and care than the rest of the population: they practically have an additional year outside the world of work than others, regardless of gender. As expected, young people from poorer families are those with lower LFWC. This result can be explained by the fact that richer families expect and allow their children to spend more time achieving education. Children of poorer families are also pushed into the labor market to contribute to the family income.

If we consider intermediate quintiles as middle class, while men tend to form a homogeneous group, there is clear gradient of social class for women. This difference between men and women has two explanations: either these differences within the middle class are explained by the amount of time they spend caring for others (which is negligible for men) or it is reflecting the tendency that females spend more time in school when compared to male. The level of schooling is also differential by subgroups within the Brazilian middle class.

**Graph 2 – Life Expectancy Free from work and care – Brazil – 2012, 2015, 2018**



**Source:** Pesquisa Nacional de Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD) 2012, 2015 and 2018 (IBGE).

The temporal evolution of the mean free working lifetime and care between social classes is very interesting. The richest have their LFWC increasing over time, which may be a reflection of the social protection that family income exerts to protect these young people from labor market swings. They may postpone their entry into the job market as the prospect of employment worsens. To a lesser extent, it is an effect that can also be noticed in the middle class. Among the poorest, the economic crisis would lead to a decline in family income, and they would be pressured to enter the labor market earlier than planned to compensate for this decline in income. With the persistence of the crisis, the worst prospect of employment would lead them to leave the world of work.

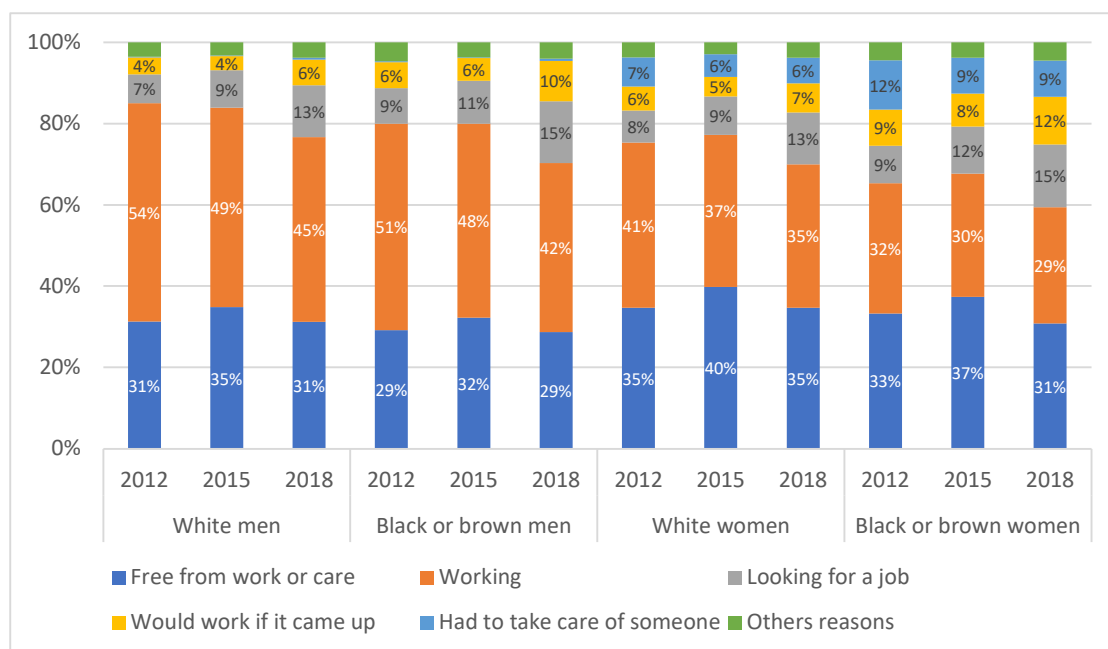
### **By which ways do each social group enter adulthood? - Population composition of young Brazilians**

In this section, we bring the composition of young Brazilians by labor market status so that we can better understand the differences in mean LFWC time shown in the previous section. Graph 3 provides this information by gender and race over the three years analyzed in this paper.

First, we note that the outbreak and persistence of the Brazilian economic crisis decreased the proportion of young people who were working in all socio-demographic groups and increased the proportion of unemployed. It is an expected result in times of economic turmoil.

We also note that the proportion of respondents who would work if there was opportunity remains constant in 2012 and 2015 (for women there is a slight drop) and it increases in 2018. We can interpret this result from the perspective of employment: during the crisis, these young people look for jobs and become unemployed; As the crisis persists, they become disillusioned with the labor market and withdraw from it, although they declare that they would return if they found work.

**Graph 3 – Distribution of the young population (14 to 24 years old) by status – Brazil – 2012, 2015, 2018**



**Source:** National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) 2012, 2015, and 2018 (IBGE).

We also draw attention to the changes in the proportion of women who admitted being out of the labor market because they had to take care of someone or do unpaid housework (this figure is negligible for men, varying around 0.3%). There is a drop in this proportion at the outbreak of the crisis, which can be read as a movement for women to leave unpaid activities and enter the labor market to compensate for a possible decline in family income. The difference between white and non-white women can be explained by the fact that the former is inserted in a social context whose norm is that they should enter the job market, whereas black and brown women belong to a social context where there is less pressure and more disincentives from the labor market, such as lower wages and lower chances of being hired.

## **What are the excuses most utilized by young people not to enter the labor market and how do these excuses vary according to their sociodemographic characteristics? - Multinomial Logistic Regression**

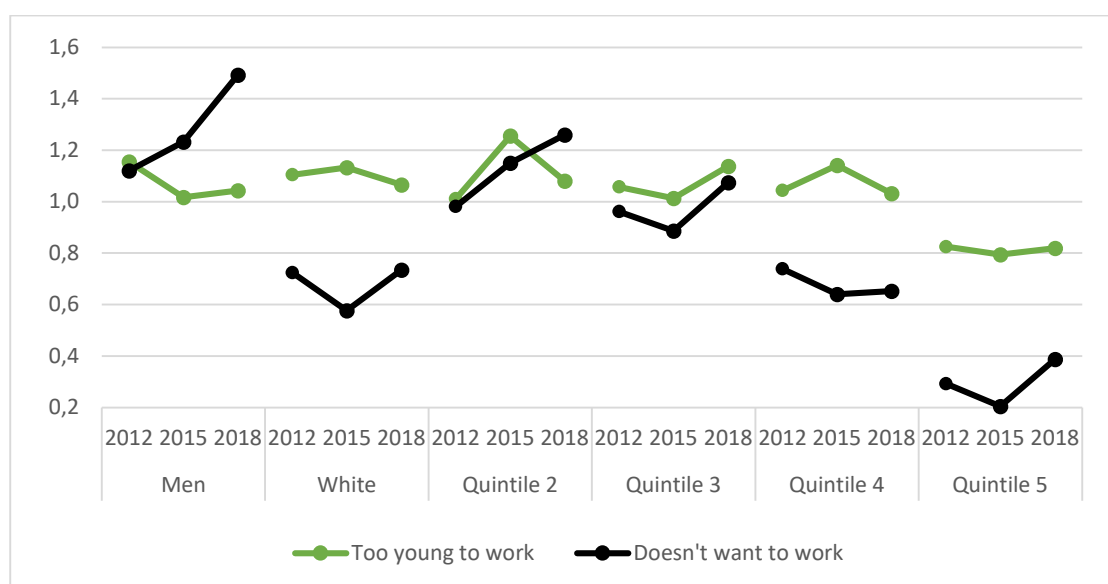
This section brings the results of the multinomial logistic regression. For each year, we estimate the effect of being a man, being white, and belonging to different social classes (with controls by age) over the chance of the individual answering that he or she did not look for work because he or she considered himself too young or simply did not want to work vis-a-vis the answer that they did not look for a job because they had to study (which is the ideal answer if we assume we want this social group to achieve human capital). Graph 4 shows the results and the relative risk ratios can be found in the Appendix.

The results show that men have a lower chance of declaring that they did not look for a job because they are studying: the other two answers have a greater chance than 1. This is an expected result, given the known higher probability of women continuing education.

We also see that being white increases the chance that the individual will respond that they did not look for work because they considered themselves too young. This may be the evidence that there is a different age standard for entering the labor market comparing whites and non-whites (blacks and browns). In other words, white's social norms prevent them from joining the labor market as early as non-whites. At the same time, the chance of answering that they don't want to work is greater for blacks. It is a less paradoxical question than it seems at first glance: Blacks and browns are inserted in a context where they are expected to mature earlier, including sacrificing their schooling process; but at the same time they are so discriminated against by the labor market that they want to believe that the labor market is not a place they belong to.

Looking at the results by income quintile, children in wealthier families have a greater chance of staying out of the labor market to continue schooling. The higher the social class, the greater the chance that the young person will postpone entering the job market to continue schooling.

**Graph 4 – Results of the multinomial logistic regression (in Relative Risk Ratios)**



**Source:** National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) 2012, 2015, and 2018 (IBGE).

## CONCLUSION

In this paper we used the historical series of the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD Contínua) from 2012 to 2018 to reconstruct life course trajectories into adulthood from people age 14 to 24 in Brazil. We considered adults those who have dropped out of school, cared for someone, worked (formal or informally), searched for a job, and having given up on finding a job in the week of reference. Representing an innovation compared to existing literature, we also considered adults those who report having had the desire to work. We defined as Life Free of Work and Care, the period that goes from birth (childhood) to adulthood (end of adolescence). Aware that the life course is embedded in social contexts, we analysed gender, race/color and SES differences as young people leave the time of life dedicated to the development of personal growth and accumulation of human capital and join the world of the adults, characterized by paid and unpaid work in the labor force and domestic care. We focused on the period between 2012 and 2018, so we could observe the onset of the economic crisis that hit Brazil in 2015 and helped to reshape young people's life courses.

In conclusion, we find that there are important social norms and social differences in relations to the timing and characteristics of the transition into adulthood in Brazil. The trajectories of men and women, which are intrinsically different, are also shaped by their race and color and the socioeconomic status of their families of origin.



The results of applying the SMAFM method shows that on average men spend less time off work or care than women. They start early and enter adulthood through the job market. Women start later, stay longer in school and have higher chances of entering adulthood through providing care for other persons. We also showed that for both genders, non-whites had a much lower life expectancy free from work and care compared to whites. High income per capita individuals have an average of one year more of LFWC, which might be a reflection of their higher adherence to school and the social institutions that shield them from the necessity of work.

Examining the consequences of the the Brazilian economic crisis, our work showed that the crisis impacted each social group differently, which may be due to the greater vulnerability of some of these groups to labor market oscillations. White men and women's LFWC decreased at the outbreak of the crisis in 2015, but in 2018 was back to the 2012 level. Non-white males have a persistent increase in LFWC after the economic crisis, despite the fact that they are still the sociodemographic group that spends less time off work and care, which lead us to believe that the crisis caused an enduring effect on their trajectories. As this is the least educated groups, it is also unfortunate that the increase in free time of work and care is not being used for investment in their human capital, which is a missed opportunity. Black and brown women form an unique group for whom the economic crisis exacerbate their existing penalty of gender and color discrimination in the labor market. As the onset of the crisis, this group is pushed into the world of work. Later, when the crisis persists, they leave the labor market because of difficulty in getting a job.

The LFWC of the poorest quintile is strongly impacted by the crisis, with small recovery in 2018. The richest have their LFWC increasing over time, even during and after the economic crisis, which represents a cumulative advantage when compared to their poorest counterparts: while poor need to end the period of human capital accumulation sooner at the onset of an economic crisis, possibly to help with domestic finances, richer individuals gain time out of the workforce.

We also find that during the economic crisis, young people look for jobs and become unemployed; As the crisis persists, they become disillusioned with the labor market and withdraw from it, although they declare that they would return if they found work.

Caring for someone is a highly gendered activity, but that women are ready or forced to leave and to join the paid workforce at the onset of the crisis. However, caring for someone is more common among non-white women, which reflects their higher rates of adolescent fertility.

Age norms surrounding the transition to adulthood are also different among racial, income and gender groups. Whites have higher odds of responding that they did not look for work because they

considered themselves too young. At the same time, blacks will answer that they don't work because don't want to. The higher the social class, the more time a person will postpone the job market to continue schooling. As the economic and political turmoil unfolds in Brazil, we will be able to see how this variables will behave in the future. When the labor market is not hiring, the wealthy group will possibly answer with more TFWC covered by human capital achievements, increasing their cumulative advantage when compared to their low SES counterparts.

Further studies should refine the type of occupation and the type of schooling engaged by young people, solving some of the limitations of this paper. It is also necessary to refine the type of care provided by young women, including some that might have had children prior to engaging the labor market and carry a double burden.

Future studies should also investigate more in depth the meanings of the answer provided by men, especially black men, when they say that they don't want to work. It is possible that when the levels of discrimination and unemployment are high, these groups assume an autonomy for their lack of life plans. Both their incredible resilience or underlying helpless and desolation are reasons to be concerned with as they impair black males socioeconomic growth.

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