

## A polarising crisis

Structural employment shifts in the EU before, during and after the Great Recession

John Hurley HSE 3<sup>rd</sup> LCSR conference Moscow



#### **Presentation outline**

- Method: 'the jobs approach'
- Background: are developed country labour markets polarising?
- Results
- Discussion



Employment polarisation and job quality in the crisis



European Jobs Monitor 2013



### The 'jobs approach': methodology

 'Jobs approach' first used by J. Stiglitz, and refined by E.O. Wright – USA in the 1990s

#### Concept:

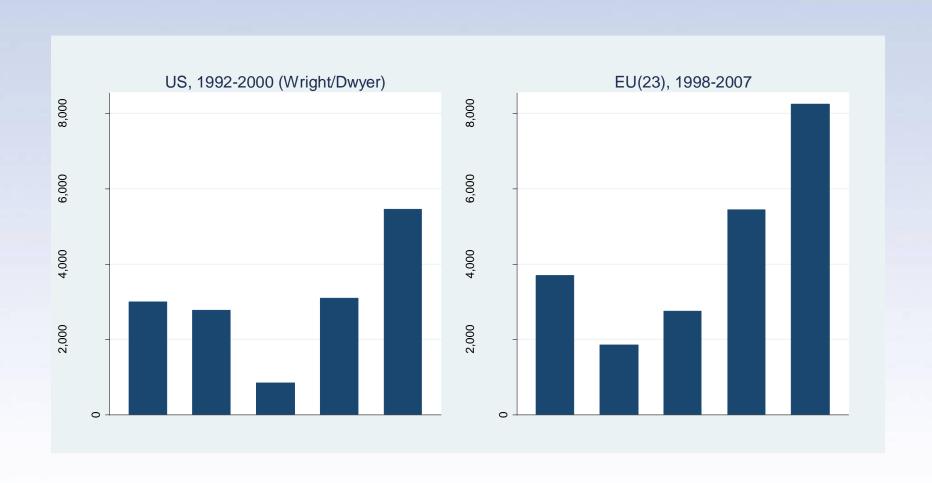
- To describe structural change in the labour market using the job as a unit of observation. A job is an occupation in a sector (isco 2d x nace 2d)
- To add a qualitative dimension to net employment change data (Labour Force Survey), for eg. using wage as a proxy of job quality. Mean hourly job wage.

#### Objectives:

- To identify growing and declining jobs, occupations and sectors
- To provide data on the extent to which member states are making good on EU policy commitments to create 'more and better jobs' ...
- ... and to assess the extent to which employment change is polarising
- First cross-national application in Europe (to 23 EU countries for 1995-2006) in More and better jobs?: Patterns of employment expansion in Europe, 1995-2006. Subsequently developed as a monitoring tool by Eurofound in 2009-11 (annual EJM reports)

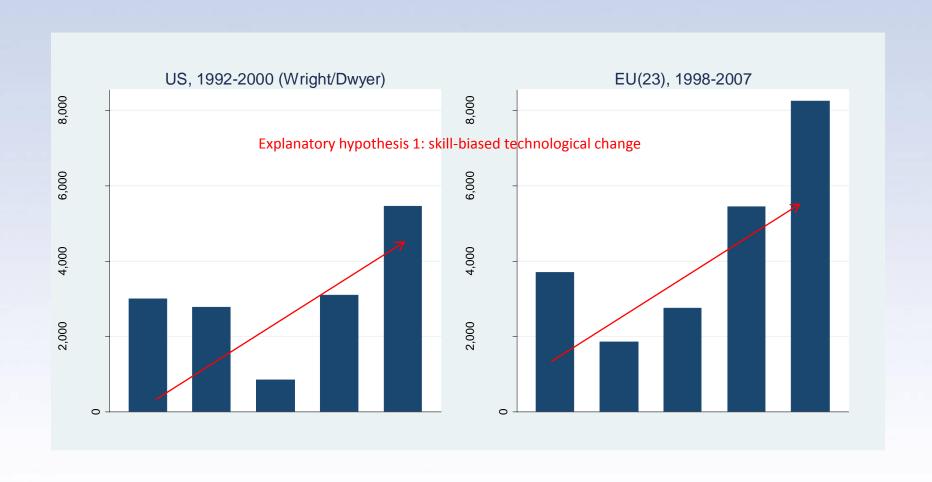


# Recent employment expansions in EU and US (different periods)



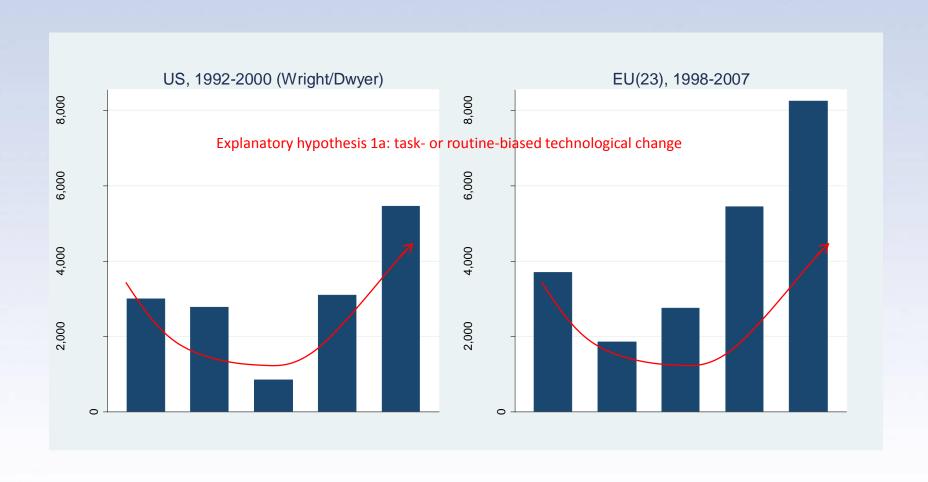


# Recent employment expansions in EU and US (different periods)



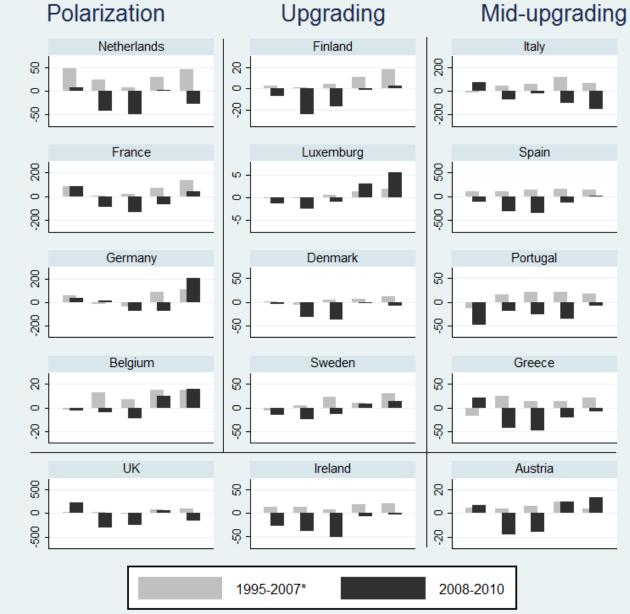


# Recent employment expansions in EU and US (different periods)





# Before vs. after the crisis: annual average absolute change in each period





## Eurofound Upgrading / polarisation in the pre-crisis expansion

- Polarisation linked to Autor-Levy-Murnane 'routinisation' hypothesis routine jobs are more easily displaceable by automation or trade / offshoring
- And these tend to be mid-paying jobs (in manufacturing, some forms of clerical/administrative work)
- Lower and higher paid service sector jobs tend (for now) to be less vulnerable
- Goos / Manning / Salomons (2009) observe 'pervasive polarisation' in Europe (15 of 16 countries, 1993-2006)
- We find a plurality of national patterns in a similar period (1995-2007) polarisation, upgrading and many hybrid patterns

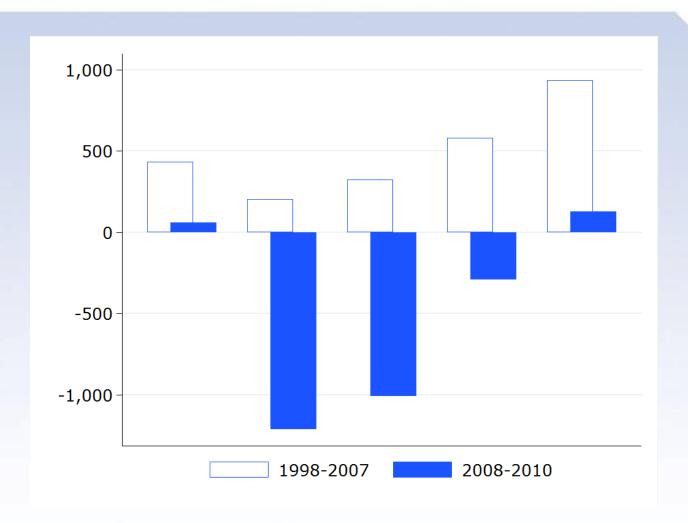


# Eurofound Upgrading / polarisation in the pre-crisis expansion

- Why the discrepancies? (see Fernandez-Macias 2012)
- Implications of different empirical findings
  - Pervasive polarisation implies a single dominant vector of change in employment demand across countries – technological determinism
  - A plurality of patterns suggests that there may be other important policy-related factors at play, ie. factors specific to individual countries
  - A long list
    - changing gender / public sector share of employment
    - LM regulatory frameworks minimum wages, employment protection, extent of deregulation of non-standard employment forms
    - union and collective bargaining coverage,
    - immigration,
    - · activation measures
    - social welfare regimes
    - sector specificities (FIRE, construction boom-busts)
    - as well as macroeconomic factors (budgetary balance, austerity, export orientation...)
  - Note that ...
    - Most of the country variation is in the lower quintiles



## Changes in the job structure: the good years v bad years



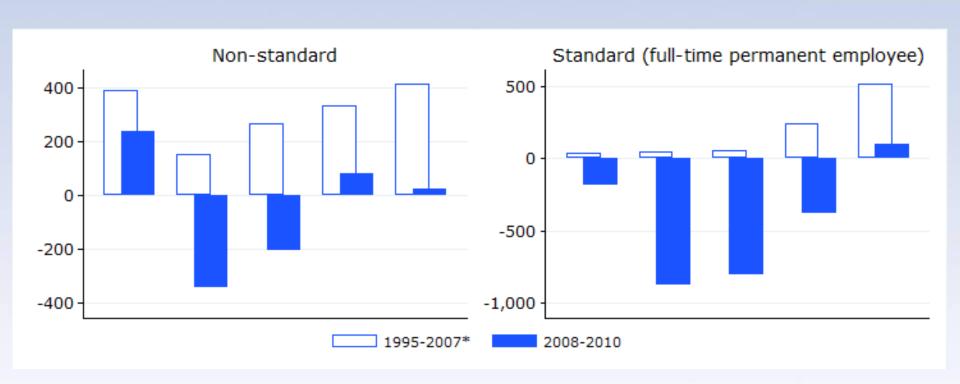


## Polarisation / upgrading in the crisis and afterwards

- •Our findings: upgrading with some polarisation in 1995-2007, polarisation with some upgrading in 2008-10.
- •Cycle effect?
- Recessions = intense restructuring activity
- •Jaimovich and Siu (2012): destruction of routine, mid-paying jobs in the USA has been concentrated in recession periods.
- •Destruction of jobs in structurally declining sectors which 'muddled through' the expansion and in construction booms busting
- •... but again there are important LM institutional factors at work



## An ongoing destandardization



## Eurofound

#### **Tentative conclusions**

- Technological change increases the demand for high-skilled workers computers 'complements' them / makes them more productive. Higher-paid jobs were much more resilient during the crisis
- Aside from construction booms, the middle tends to be most negatively affected by technological change (manufacturing)
- But what happens in the bottom (low-skilled, low-paid jobs) has little to do with technology and much to do with institutions

#### References:

Eurofound (2013), Job quality and employment polarisation during the crisis.

Fernandez-Macias, E. (2012) "Job polarisation in Europe?..", Work and Occupations

Jaimovich and Siu (2012): "The trend is the cycle...", NBER working paper

E. Fernández-Macías, J. Hurley, and D. Storrie (eds.) (2012), Transformation of the Employment Structure in the EU and USA, 1995-2007, Palgrave-Macmillan

Link: European Jobs Monitor: http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/emcc/ejm/index.htm



# Thank you for your attention! John.hurley@eurofound.europa.eu



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Occupations (ISCO-08) at 2 digit = 43 Sectors (NACE rev 2) at 2 digit = 88

" $Jobs'' = Occupation \ x \ sector = 3784 \ (theoretically)$ 

... c.900 (CY) to c.2700 (DE) (in practice)



Assign to

quintiles

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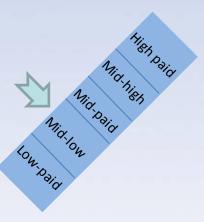


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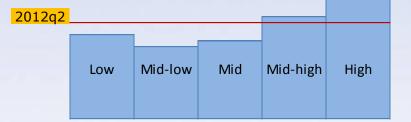


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Employment by quintile changes over period ...



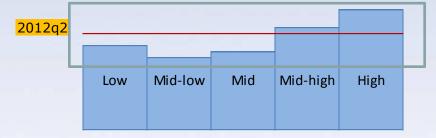


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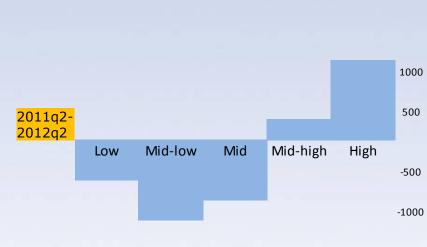
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## Show net employment shift for period by quintile





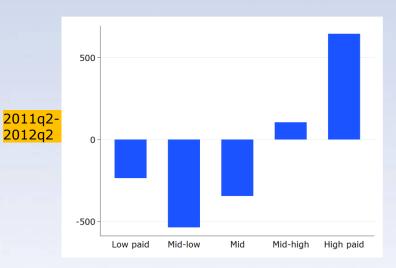
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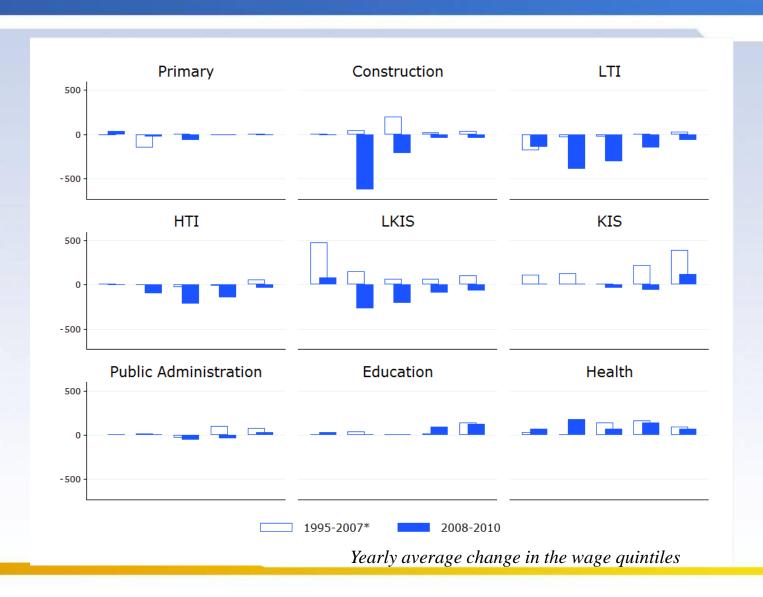
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### An index of "non-pecuniary" job quality

#### 1. Intrinsic quality of work (25%)

- Skills (8.3%; isco q49d q49e q49f)
- Autonomy (8.3%; q25a q50b q50c q49b)
- Social support (8.3%; q51a q51b)

#### 2. Employment quality (25%)

- Contractual stability (12.5%; q7 q77a q12)
- Development opportunities (12.5%; q61a q77c)

#### 3. Workplace risks (25%)

- Physical risks (\*20%; q23a-i q24a q24b q24c q24e)
- Psychosocial risks (\*5%; q71b)

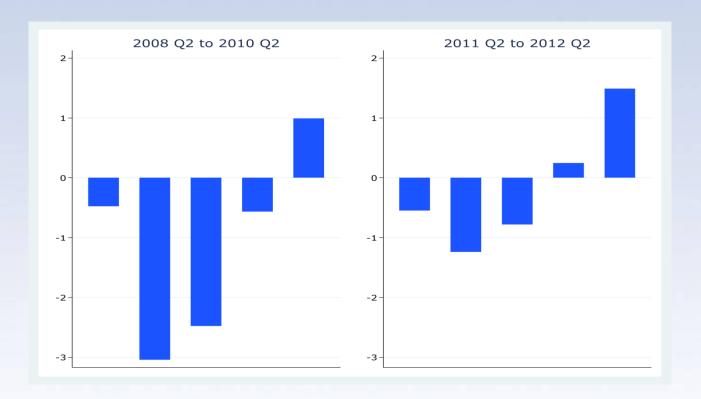
#### 4. Working time and work-life balance (25%)

- Duration (6.25%; q18)
- Scheduling (6.25%; q32 q33 q34 q35)
- Flexibility (6.25%; q39 q40)
- Intensity (6.25%; q45a q45b)

<sup>\*</sup>Approximately (different aggregation procedure). Datasource: 5th EWCS (2010)

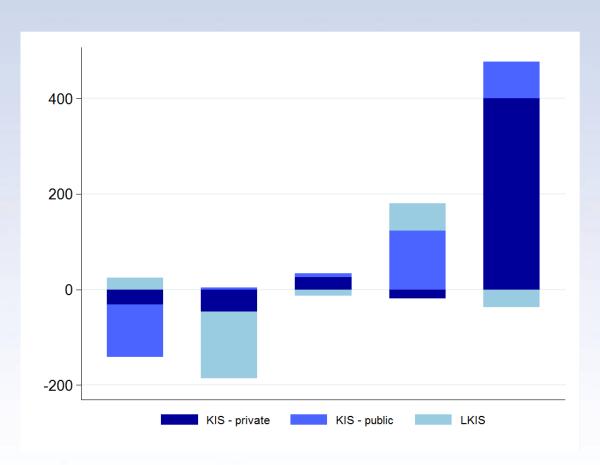


## ... after the (great) recession





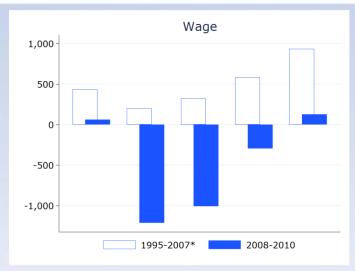
## Where the growth is: services

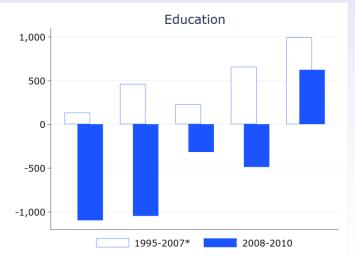


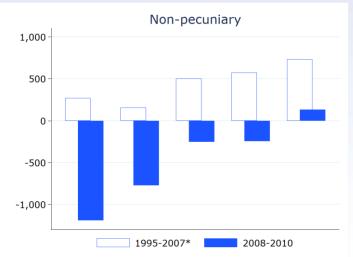
Change in wage quintile, 2011q2-2012q2



## Polarization: it's just about wages!

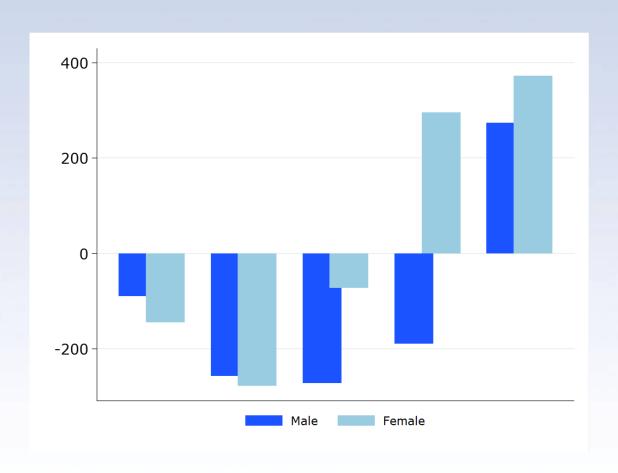








## Gender employment shifts: 2011q2-12q2





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Main data sources: European Labour Force Survey (for employment), different sources including Structure of Earning Survey and ELFS (for wages)



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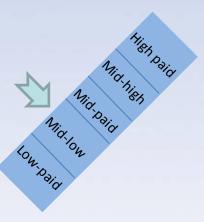


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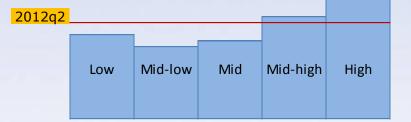


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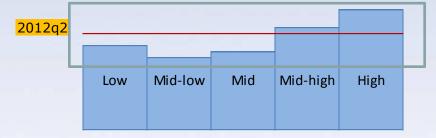


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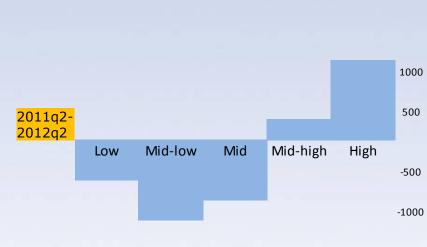
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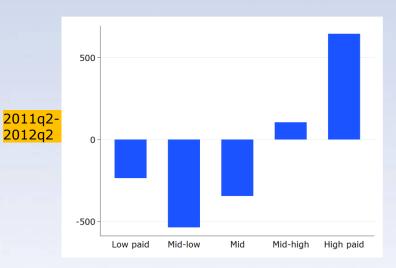
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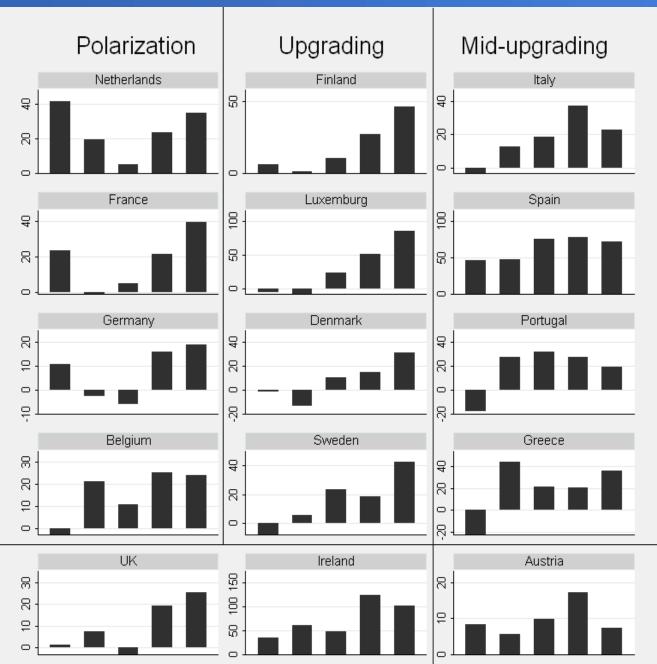


# **Main points**

- Although according to our own results the crisis did generate a pervasive process of polarization, that was not the case in the previous expansion (1995-2007).
- The diversity of patterns of employment is associated with European institutional families: polarization mostly took place in continental Europe, associated with a process of labour reform and destandardization.
- In other countries, there was upgrading (Scandinavians) or growth in the middle (Southern Europe).

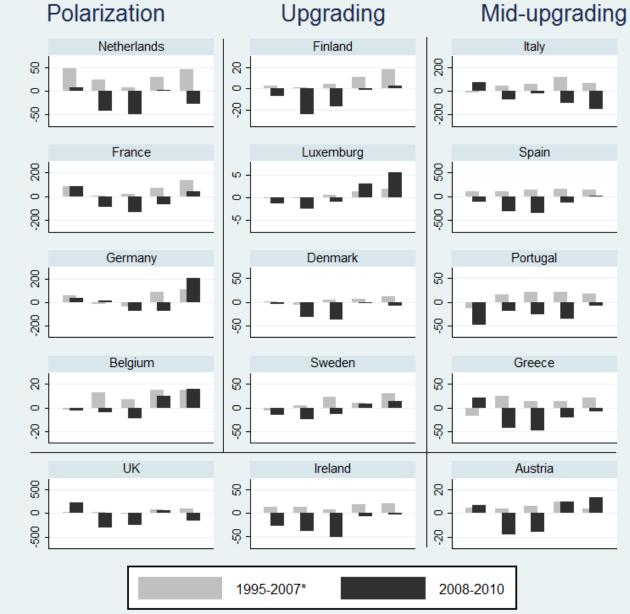


# Patterns of structural change in employment quintiles, relative change 1995-2007 by wage





# Before vs. after the crisis: annual average absolute change in each period





# An alternative explanation

- Technological change increases the demand for high-skilled workers.
- Aside from construction booms, the middle tends to be most negatively affected by technological change.
- But what happens in the bottom (low-skilled, low-paid jobs)
  has little to do with technology and much to do with
  institutions
  - Labour market institutions have most effect in such segments: minimum wages, wage floors, centralized bargaining or unemployment benefits directly affect the incidence of low pay by affecting its relative costs.



### Are there alternatives?

- The observed pattern of polarization was largely the result of political choices: labour reforms aimed (often explicitly!) at facilitating the creation of low-paid jobs.
- Current emphasis on austerity and structural reforms will of course generate even more polarization, which at some point may be socially unsustainable.
- But the Scandinavians (or most of Europe in the post-war period) show an alternative path: socialising some of the gains brought about by rapid technical change, creating welfare-providing jobs in the public sector and maintaining institutions which are anti-low pay.

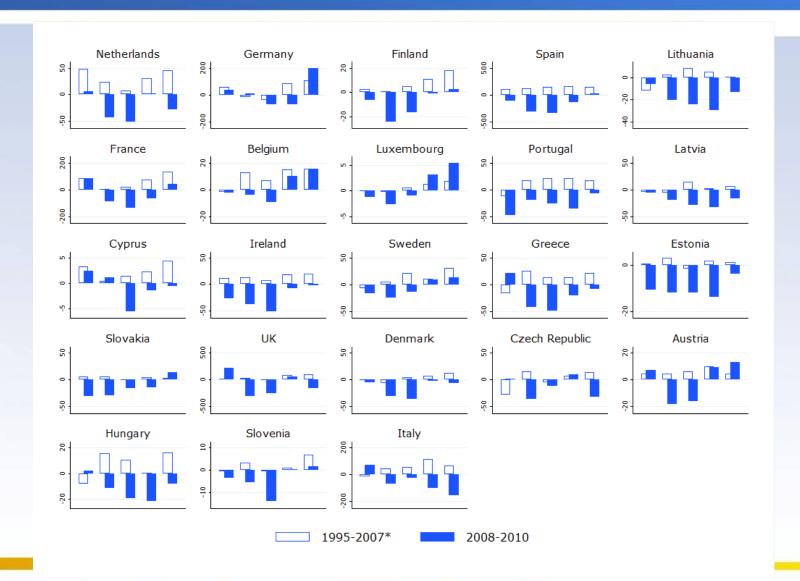


#### **Sources**

- Eurofound (2013), Job quality and employment polarisation in the crisis: European Jobs Monitor 2013, Eurofound, Dublin (authors: John Hurley, E. Fernández-Macías and D. Storrie).
- E. Fernández-Macías, J. Hurley, and D. Storrie (eds.) (2012), Transformation of the Employment Structure in the EU and USA, 1995-2007, Palgrave-Macmillan.
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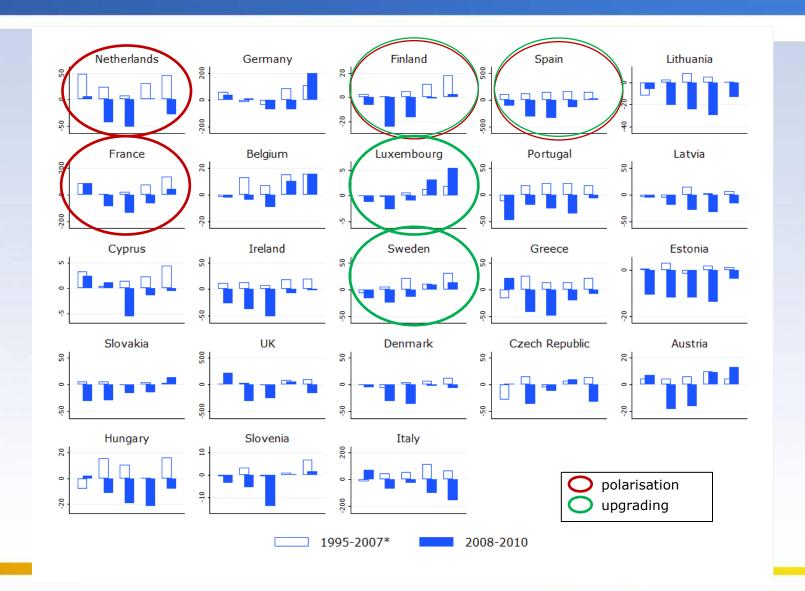


# ... by member state



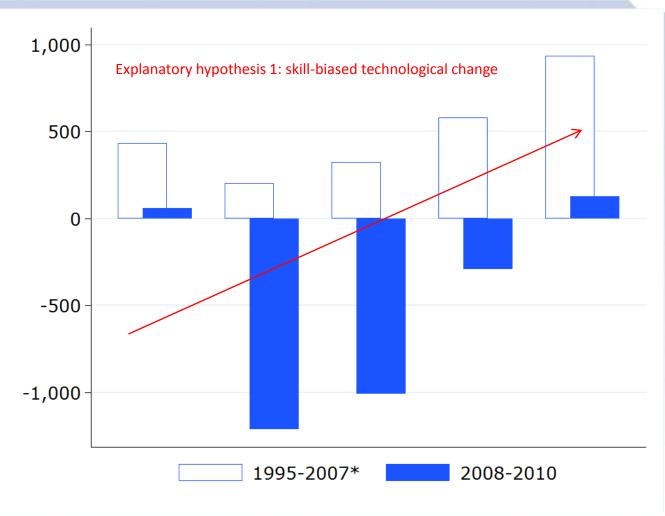


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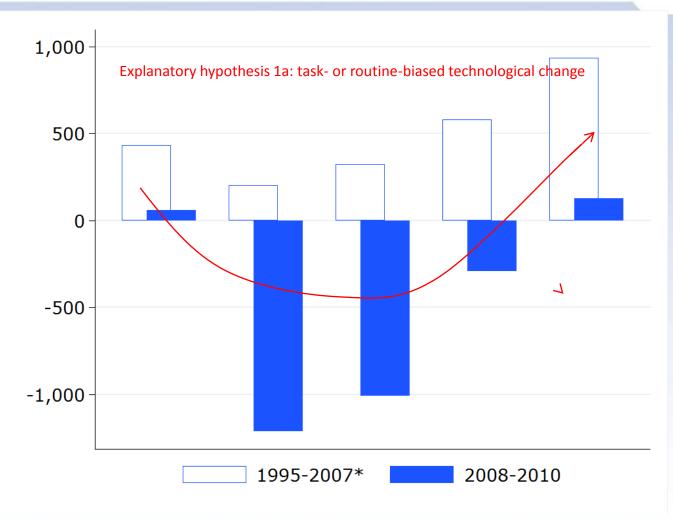
# Changes in the job structure: the good years v bad years



Yearly average change in the wage quintiles, EU23



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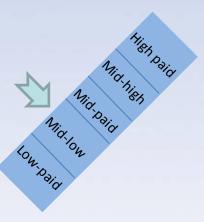


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2	Other professionals	Legal/accounting	$\rightarrow$	High paid
3	Life science/health professionals	Human health		
				Mid-high
345	Sales/services elementary occups	Construction		
346	Plant/machine operators	Manufacture: auto	_	Mid-paid
347	Sales/services elementary occups	Wholesale retail		
•••				Mid-low
823	Personal care workers	Residential care		
824	Craft workers	Manufacture: food	$\rightarrow$	Low-paid
825	Sales/services elementary occups	Accommodation		zon para

Low Mid-low	Mid	Mid-high	High
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#### Rank jobs

Assign to quintiles

Each quintile has 20% of employment in start period

Rank	Occupation	Sector		Quintiles
1	Corporate managers	Financial services		
2	Other professionals	Legal/accounting	$\rightarrow$	High paid
3	Life science/health professionals	Human health		
				Mid-high
345	Sales/services elementary occups	Construction		
346	Plant/machine operators	Manufacture: auto	$\rightarrow$	Mid-paid
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				Mid-low
823	Personal care workers	Residential care		
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825	Sales/services elementary occups	Accommodation		·

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	Low	Mid-low	Mid	Mid-high	High

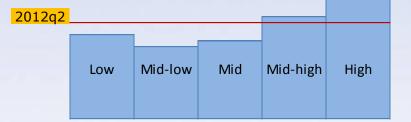


#### Rank jobs

**Rank Occupation** Sector Quintiles Financial services Corporate managers Other professionals Legal/accounting High paid Life science/health professionals Human health Mid-high 345 Sales/services elementary occups Construction Plant/machine operators Manufacture: auto 346 Mid-paid Sales/services elementary occups Wholesale retail 347 Mid-low 823 Personal care workers Residential care **Craft workers** 824 Manufacture: food Low-paid Sales/services elementary occups Accommodation 825

Assign to quintiles

Employment by quintile changes over period ...



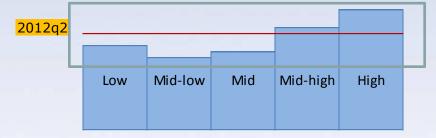


#### Rank jobs

**Rank Occupation** Sector Quintiles Financial services Corporate managers Other professionals Legal/accounting High paid Life science/health professionals Human health Mid-high 345 Sales/services elementary occups Construction Plant/machine operators Manufacture: auto 346 Mid-paid Sales/services elementary occups Wholesale retail 347 Mid-low 823 Personal care workers Residential care **Craft workers** 824 Manufacture: food Low-paid Sales/services elementary occups Accommodation 825

Assign to quintiles

Employment by quintile changes over period ...





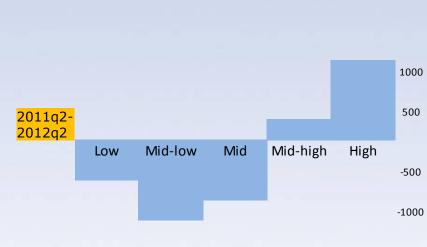
Assign to

quintiles

#### Rank jobs

**Rank Occupation** Sector Quintiles Financial services Corporate managers Other professionals Legal/accounting High paid Life science/health professionals Human health Mid-high 345 Sales/services elementary occups Construction Plant/machine operators Manufacture: auto 346 Mid-paid Sales/services elementary occups Wholesale retail 347 Mid-low Residential care 823 Personal care workers **Craft workers** Manufacture: food 824 Low-paid 825 Sales/services elementary occups Accommodation

# Show net employment shift for period by quintile





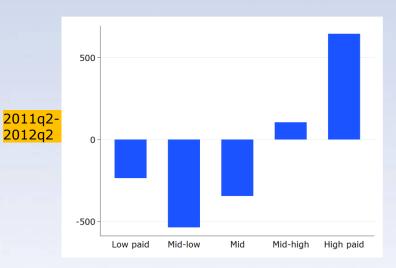
#### Rank jobs

**Rank Occupation Sector** Financial services Corporate managers Other professionals Legal/accounting Life science/health professionals Human health 345 Sales/services elementary occups Construction Plant/machine operators Manufacture: auto 346 Sales/services elementary occups Wholesale retail 347 823 Personal care workers Residential care **Craft workers** Manufacture: food 824 825 Sales/services elementary occups Accommodation

Assign to quintiles

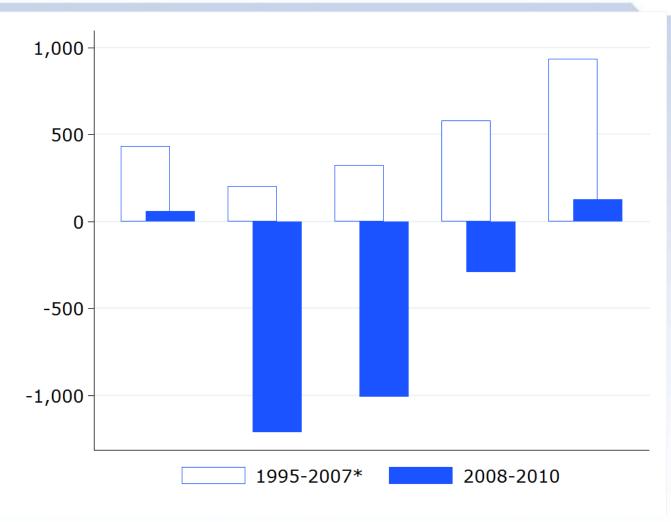
# Quintiles → High paid Mid-high → Mid-paid Mid-low → Low-paid

Show net employment shift for period by quintile





# Changes in the job structure: the good years v bad years



Yearly average change in the wage quintiles, EU23