Labor Market Fluidity and Economic Performance

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Based on Research with John Haltiwanger

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Preview of Main Themes

1. **U.S. labor markets became much less fluid in recent decades**
   - Fluidity declines hold across states, industries, firm size and age categories, and demographic groups defined by age, gender and education.

2. **Many contributing factors, including:**
   - Shift of activity to older firms and establishments
   - Shift to larger firms and establishments in some sectors (e.g., Retail Trade)
   - An aging workforce
   - Policy developments that suppress reallocation (e.g., erosion of employment-at-will)

3. **Reasons for Concern:**
   - Worker and job reallocation contribute to productivity and real wage growth
   - Reduced fluidity negatively affects employment, especially for those with limited skills

4. **Key Implication for U.S. economic outlook:**
   - U.S. faced serious impediments to high employment before the Great Recession. A return to sustained high employment unlikely without restoring labor market fluidity
Quarterly Rates of Worker Reallocation, Job Reallocation & Churn, U.S. Nonfarm Private Sector

Worker Reallocation = Job Reallocation + Churn
(Hires + Separations)  (Creation + Destruction)
Annual Job Reallocation Rates in Selected U.S. Industry Sectors

- Services
- Retail Trade
- Manufacturing
Changes in Quarterly Job Reallocation, Churn and Worker Reallocation Rates by State from 1999-01 to 2010-12, 30 States Covered by QWI
Quarterly Worker Reallocation Rates by Gender, Age and Schooling Attainment

Worker Reallocation Rates by Age Groups, Males

Worker Reallocation Rates by Education, Males

Worker Reallocation Rates by Age Groups, Females

Worker Reallocation Rates by Education, Females
Why the Decline in Labor Market Fluidity?

• A shift to older firms and establishments accounts for a quarter of the decline in job reallocation intensity since the early 1980s
• A shift to larger businesses played an important role in retail trade.
• Shifts in the industry distribution of employment go the “wrong” way.
• Taken together, shifts in the industry, age and size distribution of employment account for about 15% of the secular drop in job reallocation
• An aging workforce contributes to the decline in worker reallocation intensity – a bigger factor in the 1980s and early 1990s than 2000s
• Policy developments also suppressed labor market fluidity:
  • Occupational restrictions in the form of government-mandated licensing and certification requirements grew from 5% of jobs in 1950s to 38% by 2008
  • Erosion of employment-at-will doctrine
  • Expansion of protected classes of workers (age, race, disability, etc.)
  • “Job lock” associated with employer-provided health insurance
  • As yet, we know little about how much these policy factors suppressed fluidity
High Exit Rates of Young Firms

Strong Up or Out Dynamics Among Young Firms → Much Greater Job and Worker Reallocation at Younger Firms

High Mean Net Growth of Surviving Young Firms
Erosion of Employment-At-Will Contributed to Fluidity Declines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated Effects of Employment-at-Will Exceptions on Annual Job Reallocation Rates, by Firm Size Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Firm Size Class, Number of Employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good-Faith Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implied-Contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Policy Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R-Squared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

1. Each column reports results for an employment-weighted least squares regression of the job reallocation rate in the indicated size class on state effects, year effects and dummy variables for exceptions to the employment-at-will doctrine. The sample period runs from 1978 to 1998, following Autor et al. (2006). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the state level.
2. The dependent variable is the private sector annual job reallocation rate for the state-year-size class cell, which we obtain from the Census Bureau’s Business Dynamics Statistics.
Is Reduced Fluidity Cause for Concern?

1. Beneficial and benign aspects of reduced fluidity:
   A. Less job reallocation means fewer layoffs and smaller unemployment inflows.
   B. Reduced fluidity is partly a by-product of developments that raised productivity and improved welfare: The shift away from small, independent stores to big box retailers (e.g., Wal-Mart) raised productivity, lowered prices, and increased product selection. This shift to larger firms and establishments brought lower rates of reallocation.

2. Reasons for concern:
   A. Reallocation plays a key role in prominent theories of innovation and growth.
   B. Factor reallocation flows are an important source of medium-term productivity growth according to many empirical studies.
   C. Fluidity facilitates job mobility, wage growth and career advancement.
   D. Fluidity promotes high employment. (New evidence in our work.)
The Fluid Labor Markets Hypothesis

Hypothesis: Fluid labor markets promote high employment.

Mechanisms:

1. **Job creation incentives** (Rob Shimer, 2001): Young workers tend to be less well matched to suitable jobs than older workers. When the youth share of the working-age population is high, average match quality is low, and employers with open job positions are more likely to encounter poorly matched workers. Easier recruiting, in turn, leads to higher equilibrium job creation and lower unemployment rates for workers of all ages.

2. **Human Capital Accumulation**: Fluid labor markets offer abundant opportunities to find a job, prospect for the "right" job, move up a job ladder, satisfy locational constraints, re-enter the labor market, etc. The result is better opportunities and stronger incentives to accumulate market-relevant human capital, increasing earnings capacity and strengthening work attachment. (The effects on employment are especially relevant for younger and marginal workers, and those with limited skills.)

3. My paper with Haltiwanger discusses other mechanisms as well.
Employment Rates by Age for Men with Some College

Males, some college

- 1977-1979
- 1987-1989
- 1998-2000
- 2009-2011
Male Employment Rates by Age and Education for Selected Periods

Males, less than high school

Males, high school

Males, some college

Males, college or higher
Female Employment Rates by Age and Education for Selected Periods

Females, less than high school

Females, high school

Females, some college

Females, college and higher
How We Assess the Fluid Labor Markets

Hypothesis

1. Estimate effects of fluidity on state-level employment rates for groups defined by gender, education, and age.
   • Use variation over time within states and demographic groups

2. Baseline Regression Specification:
   • Three-year averages of all variables
   • Controls for state fixed effects, and for national and state-level cyclical conditions
   • Additional controls for presence of children and young children in the HH

3. Instrument fluidity variables to address measurement error, endogeneity concerns, and retain focus on longer-term effects. Instruments:
   • Share of working-age population 18-24 years old in the state and time period
   • Abundance of less educated persons 25-31 in the state and time period: relative to working-age population, and relative to population 25-31
   • Reallocation intensity measures that derive from national shifts in the industry mix of employment and the state’s legacy industry mix.
Actual and Predicted Changes in Employment Rates Implied by Changes in Fluidity, 1998-00 to 2010-11

"Predicted changes" refer to the employment rate changes implied by actual changes in reallocation intensity, according to our IV regression estimates, holding fixed national and state controls for cyclical conditions, state effects, and controls for children under 18 and under 5.

We use three instruments: (a) Share of working-age population 18-24 years old and persons 25-31 with less than a high school education as a share of (b) the working-age population and (c) population with less than HS education. All shares calculated by state and time period. Similar results obtain when we drop (b) or use the industry mix reallocation intensity instruments in addition to or instead of the demographic instruments.
Actual and Predicted Changes in Employment Rates Implied by Changes in Fluidity, 1998-00 to 2010-11, Males
### Implied Elasticities for Male Employment Rates with Respect to Worker Reallocation Rates, IV Estimates for the 1998-2011 Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Less than High School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Some College</th>
<th>College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;25</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-54</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Are These Results Driven by the Great Recession?

Re-estimating our baseline specifications using data that ends in 2007, and projecting pre-GR fluidity trends forward through 2011, we still obtain large effects. For example, taking this approach and repeating the exercise on the previous slide yields a model-predicted decline of 7.4 percentage points from 1998 to 2011 in the employment rate for men with less than a high school education, as compared to an actual decline of 10 percentage points.
Actual and Predicted Changes in State-Level Employment Rates Implied by Changes in Fluidity, 1998-00 to 2010-11, For 30 States Covered by QWI Data

This chart suggests that differences across states in the size of fluidity declines are a factor behind the differences in the evolution of state-level employment rates.

Fluidity Measure = Worker Reallocation Rate
Actual and Predicted Changes in State-Level Employment Rates Implied by Changes in Fluidity, 1987-89 to 1999-01 and 1999-01 to 2008-10, All 50 States

This chart suggests that differences across states in the size of fluidity declines are a major factor behind differences in the long-term evolution of state-level employment rates.

Fluidity Measure = Job Reallocation Rate
• The available evidence indicates that U.S. employers became less responsive to idiosyncratic shocks in recent decades, not that they experienced a fall in the variability of idiosyncratic shocks.

• Job reallocation rates in high-tech industries rose in the 1990s, cutting against the prevailing pattern, but they fell sharply in these industries after 2000.

• Related, the high-tech sector experienced a large decline in startups and fast-growing young firms after 2000, reversing an earlier pattern.

• The frequency of IPOs in the United States plunged after 2000, following a robust pace of IPOs in the 1980s and 1990s.
Fig. 4: Young Firms (aged five years or younger) as a Share of Total Firms by Sector (1982–2011)

- High-Tech
- Total Private

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, BDS and Special Tabulation; authors’ calculations

Initial Public Offerings (IPOs) Plunged after 2000

Number of IPOs in the United States, by Size of Firm, 1980–2012

Summary of Key Points

1. Broad-based declines in U.S. labor market fluidity in recent decades
   - Large declines for most demographic groups, huge for younger and less-educated
   - Sharp drop in fluidity and entrepreneurial dynamism in high-tech since 2000

2. Why? Full story yet to be written, but multiple forces are at work:
   - Shift of activity to older firms and establishments (why is not well understood)
   - Shift to larger firms and establishments in some sectors (e.g., Retail Trade)
   - An aging workforce
   - Policy developments that suppress reallocation (e.g., erosion of employment-at-will)

3. Reasons for Concern:
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4. Key Implication for U.S. economic outlook:
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