8

Are Low Wage Jobs for Life?

Sue Richardson

Why worry about low wage jobs?

The English-speaking countries have seen a substantial growth in the proportion of jobs that are some combination of low paid, casual and parttime. There is a vital social and economic interest in knowing if these jobs are dead-end, such that the people who occupy them stay in the same sorts of jobs for lengthy periods of time, and leave them largely because they leave the workforce rather than because they find substantially better jobs. If this is the norm, then there is a serious danger that the growth of such jobs will generate an underclass of people and families who have to deal for long periods, possibly a lifetime, with poverty and insecurity.

The growth of low paid, and in other ways unrewarding, jobs is of less concern if they provide the first foot on the employment ladder for people who come to the labour force with few employable skills. We can envisage a situation in which low skill new entrants work for some period in low paid jobs and in doing so learn specific job skills and the general attributes of productive workers. Their low pay is in effect compensated for by the receipt of on-the-job learning, and after a period these workers move on to better paid and more secure employment. In one manifestation of this, people who take low paid and insecure jobs are doing so to earn an income while they study full-time. At the end of their study, they go on to satisfactory employment in better jobs. In either case, we can view the employment as providing a combination of current wage and skills development that will lead to decent future jobs.

There is clearly immense social and policy interest in which of these two scenarios is closest to the truth. In reality, both experiences occur and the main empirical task is to identify the relative size of each and who is in each group. A second important task is to understand the scope for policy to improve the outcomes for low wage workers. The outcomes at issue This is a preview. Not all pages are shown.

Clearly, governments cannot ensure that all people reach adulthood confident, motivated, intelligent, highly educated and with good peer relationships – the precursors to good job outcomes. But it can recognise that the prospects of being able to carve out an adequate adult worklife for oneself varies a great deal and that some of that variation, at least, is not reasonably seen as self-inflicted. One response could be to offer intensive assistance to people who come from the most unpropitious backgrounds. This is in contrast to a welfare system that treats everyone equally. The Jobs Network in Australia provides an example of how such a mechanism for intensive assistance might work.

A second response could be to provide particular support for the transition from school to work for young people who face unpromising prospects. The transition from school to work is reasonably smooth for the majority of young people. But in an increasingly complex world, it is a difficult and sometimes unsuccessful project for some. Tailored assistance in finding and keeping work, and finding and completing relevant training, could be targeted to those whom the research shows are likely to have the greatest difficulty in managing the transition on their own.

References

- Applebaum, E, Bernhardt, A and Murnane, R, 2003, Low Wage America: How Employers Are Reshaping Opportunity in the Workplace, Russell Sage Foundation.
- Asplund, R and Persson, I, 2000, 'Low pay: a special affliction of women', in Gregory, M, Bazen, S and Salverda, W (eds), *Low Wage Employment: A European Perspective*, Elgar.
- Bazen, S, 2001, 'Youth and earnings mobility', Working paper No 3, European Low-Wage Employment Research Network.
- Bernstein, J and Hartmann, H, 1999, 'Defining and Characterizing the Low-Wage Labor Market', in Kaye, K and Nightingale, D (eds), *The Low Wage Labor Market*, Urban Institute.
- Blau, F and Kahn, L, 1999, 'Institutions and laws in the labor market', in Ashenfelter, O and Card, D (eds), *Handbook of Labor Economics*, Vol 3B, Elsevier.
- Burkhauser, R and Finegan, A, 1993, 'The minimum wage and the poor: the end of a relationship', 8 (Winter) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*: 53-71.
- Cappellari, L, 2002, 'Do the 'working poor' stay poor? An analysis of low pay transitions in Italy', 64(2) Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics: 87-98.
- Carrington, W and Fallick, B, 2001, 'Do some workers have minimum wage careers?', *Monthly Labor Review*: 17-27.
- Connolly, H and Gottschalk, P, 2001, 'Stepping stone jobs: theory and evidence', mimeo, Economics Department, Boston College.
- DeGrip, A and Nekkers, G, 2001, 'Skills, Wage Dispersion and Wage Mobility in the 1990's: The Case of the Netherlands, Germany, France and the United Kingdom', Working Paper No 2, European Low Wage Employment Research Network (LoWER).
- Dickens, R, 2000, 'The evolution of individual male earnings in Great Britain: 1975-95', 110(460) *Economic Journal*: 27-49.
- Dunlop, Y, 2000, Labour market outcomes of low paid adult workers, Cat No 6293.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

- Durand-Drouhin, M, McKenzie, P and Sweet, R, 1998, 'Opening pathways from education to work', No 214, *The OECD Observer*.
- Eardley, T, 1998, 'Working but poor? Low pay and poverty in Australia', Discussion paper No 91, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales.
- Fallick, B, 1996, 'A review of the recent empirical literature on displaced workers', 50(1) *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*: 5-16.
- Gottschalk, P, 2001, 'Wage mobility within and between jobs', Working paper No 1, European Low-Wage Employment Research Network.
- Gregory, M and Jukes, R, 1998, 'Unemployment and Subsequent Earnings: A Longitudinal Study for British Men, 1984-94', mimeo, Economics Department, Oxford University.
- Gregg, P and Wadsworth, J, 2000, 'Mind the gap please: the changing nature of entry jobs in Britain', 67(268) *Economica*: 499-524.
- Harding, A and Richardson, S, 1999, 'The lowly paid, the unemployed and family incomes', 3(1) Australian Journal of Labour Economics: 23-46.
- Harley, B and Whitehouse, G, 2001, 'Women in part-time work: a comparative study of Australia and the United Kingdom', 12(2) Labour and Industry: 33-60.
- Holzer, H, 2004, 'Encouraging Job Advancement Among Low-Wage Workers: A New Approach', Brookings Institution Policy Brief No 30.
- Katz, L and Autor, D, 1999, 'Changes in the wage structure and earnings inequality', in Ashenfelter, O and Card, D (eds), *Handbook of Labor Economics*, Vol 3A, Elsevier.
- Keese, M, Puymoyen, A and Swaim, O, 1998, 'The incidence and dynamics of lowpaid employment in OECD countries', in Asplund, R, Sloane, P and Theodossiou, I (eds), *Low Pay and Earnings Mobility in Europe*, Edward Elgar.
- Kim, M, 2000, 'Women paid low wages: who they are and where they work', 123(9) *Monthly Labor Review*: 26-30.
- Kletzer, L, 1998, 'Job Displacement', 12(1) (Winter) *Journal of Economic Perspectives*: 115-136.
- International Labour Organisation, 1997, 'Part-time work: solution or trap?', 136 International Labour Review: 4.
- Jacobson, L, Lalonde, R and Sullivan, D, 1993, 'Earnings loss of displaced workers', 83 American Economic Review: 685-709.
- Lane, J and Stevens, D, 2001, 'Welfare to work outcomes: the role of the employer', mimeo, The Urban Institute, Washington.
- Long, J, 1999, 'Updated estimates of the wage mobility of minimum wage workers', 20(4) *Journal of Labor Research*: 493-503.
- Lucifora, C, 'Wage inequalities and low pay: the role of labour market institutions', Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Working paper, 1999: 13.
- Nolan, B, 1998, 'Low Pay in Ireland: A Report for the National Minimum Wage Commission', Vol 2 of the report of the National Minimum Wage Commission, Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment Dublin.
- OECD, 1993, 'Employment Outlook', Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- OECD, 1996, 'Employment Outlook', Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- OECD, 1997, 'Labour market policies: New challenges: Policies for low-paid workers and unskilled job seekers', Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

- OECD, 1999, 'Recent labour market developments and prospects', Employment Outlook.
- OECD, 2003, 'Employment Outlook', Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

O'Reilly, J and Fagan, C (eds), 1998, Part-time Prospects: An International Comparison of Part-Time Work in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim, Routledge.

- Redding, S, 1996, 'The low skill, low quality trap: strategic complementarities between human capital and R and D', 106(435) *Economic Journal*: 458-470.
- Richardson, S and Harding, A, 1999, 'Poor Workers?' in Richardson, S (ed), *Reshaping the Labour Market*, Cambridge University Press.
- Richardson, S, 1998, 'Who gets minimum wages?', 40(4) Journal of Industrial Relations: 554-579.
- Ryan, P, 2001, 'The school to work transition', 39(1) *Journal of Economic Literature*: 3492.
- Savage, J, 1999, 'Evidence on labour market disadvantage in New Zealand', Report prepared for The Treasury, New Zealand.
- Saviner, S, Strawn, J and Greenberg, M, 2002, 'TANF reauthorization: Opportunities to reduce poverty by improving employment outcomes', CLASP, <www.clasp.org/pubs/TANF>.
- Stewart, M, 2002, 'The inter-related dynamics of unemployment and low pay', mimeo, University of Warwick.
- Stewart, M and Swaffield, J, 1997, 'The dynamics of low pay in Britain', in Gregg, P (ed), Jobs, Wages and Poverty: Patterns of Persistence in the New Flexible Labour Market, London School of Economics, Centre for Economic Performance.
- Stewart, M and Swaffield, J, 1999, 'Low pay dynamics and transition probabilities', 66 *Economica*: 23-42.
- Sloane, P and Theodossiou, I, 1994, 'The economics of low pay in Britain: a logistic regression approach', 15(2/3) *International Journal of Manpower*: 130-149.
- Tam, S, 1997, Part-time employment: A bridge or a trap?, Aldershot, Avebury.
- Zemsky, R, Shapiro, D, Iannozzi, M, Cappelli, P and Bailey, T, 1998, 'The Transition from initial education to working life in the United States of America, A report to the OECD', Project paper No 1, National Centre for Postsecondary Improvement.