## Longitudinal Employer - Household Dynamics

### TECHNICAL PAPER No. TP-2001-02

Escaping poverty for low-wage workers

The role of employer characteristics and changes

– preliminary - do not cite –

Date : June 2001

Prepared by : Harry J. Holzer, Julia I. Lane, Lars Vilhuber, with Henry

Jackson and George Putnam

Contact : Ronald Prevost (Ronald.C.Prevost@census.gov)

U.S. Census Bureau, LEHD Program

FB 2138-3

4700 Silver Hill Rd. Suitland, MD 20233 USA

This document reports the results of research and analysis undertaken by the U.S. Census Bureau staff. It has undergone a Census Bureau review more limited in scope than that given to official Census Bureau publications, and is released to inform interested parties of ongoing research and to encourage discussion of work in progress. This research is a part of the U.S. Census Bureau's Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics Program (LEHD), which is partially supported by the National Science Foundation Grant SES-9978093 to Cornell University (Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research), the National Institute on Aging, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The views expressed herein are attributable only to the author(s) and do not represent the views of the U.S. Census Bureau, its program sponsors or data providers. Some or all of the data used in this paper are confidential data from the LEHD Program. The U.S. Census Bureau is preparing to support external researchers' use of these data; please contact Ronald Prevost (Ronald.C.Prevost@census.gov), U.S. Census Bureau, LEHD Project, FB 2138-3, 4700 Silver Hill Rd., Suitland, MD 20233, USA. Affiliations: Holzer: Georgetown University and Urban Institute; Lane: Urban Institute and U.S. Census Bureau; Vilhuber: York University and U.S. Census Bureau; Jackson and Putnam: Illinois Dept. of Employment.

# ESCAPING POVERTY FOR LOW-WAGE WORKERS: THE ROLE OF EMPLOYER CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES

Harry J. Holzer Georgetown University The Urban Institute

Julia I. Lane The Urban Institute US Census Bureau

Lars Vilhuber US Census Bureau

Also: Henry Jackson George Putnam Illinois Dept. of Employment Security

June 2001

The authors wish to acknowledge the substantial contributions of the LEHD staff. This research is a part of the U.S. Census Bureau's Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics Program (LEHD), which is partially supported by the National Science Foundation Grant SES-9978093 to Cornell University (Cornell Institute for Social and Economic Research), the National Institute on Aging, the U.S. Department of Labor (ETA) and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Census Bureau, York University, or the National Science Foundation. Confidential data from the LEHD Program were used in this paper. The U.S. Census Bureau is preparing to support external researchers use of these data under a protocol to be released in the near future; please contact Ron Prevost Ronald.C.Prevost@census.gov.

#### I. Introduction

As welfare reform has been implemented throughout the U.S. in the late 1990's, millions of low-wage female workers have entered the labor market. Concerns have been raised not only about their ability to find employment, but also about the levels of wages and benefits that they earn and their potential for earnings growth over time (e.g., Committee for Economic Development, 2000; Strawn *et. al.* 2001). Indeed, these factors will be critical determinants of the extent to which low-wage women will be able to escape poverty and achieve economic self-sufficiency for themselves and their families. And these issues are clearly just as relevant to low-wage male workers as to their female counterparts.

Yet some very fundamental questions remain about workers in low-wage labor markets in the 1990's and beyond. Among these questions are the following:

- To what extent do low-wage workers experience enough earnings growth over time to "escape" their low-wage or poverty status?
- Among those who do, is wage growth relatively more important than employment growth and stability?
- Do the processes by which workers escape low-wage status differ across demographic groups especially by gender and age?
- How important is job *retention* to achieving wage growth, as opposed to *mobility* across jobs and employers?
- What characteristics of *employers* contribute the most to success in the low-wage market, and which workers are matched to these employers? How important is the quality

of that *match* for achieving success in the low-wage market, as opposed to individual skills and other attributes?

These issues are critical to the development of effective welfare-to-work policies, as well as policies for other low-wage workers (as funded by the Workforce Investment Act or more broadly). For instance, they are critical for understanding the extent to which job search and job placement strategies can be successful in helping low-wage workers escape poverty, or the extent to which placement or even training efforts should be targeted towards specific sectors and the skills that are relevant there.

Yet, despite the fairly fundamental nature of these questions, relatively little is known about these issues. Several studies of turnover and its effects on wage growth have been done using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY79) – such as those by Royalty (1998), Holzer and Lalonde (2000), and Gladden and Taber (2000). For instance, these studies clearly indicate the fairly positive effects of voluntary (or job-to-job) turnover on wage growth, and the more negative effects of involuntary (or job-to-nonemployment) turnover. The returns to work experience for low-wage workers have also been documented in this work (particularly by Gladden and Taber and also by Burtless, 1995). But the NLSY79 contains very little information on the characteristics of the employers of these workers; and it is too small to analyze employment and dynamics for detailed groups of low-wage workers, and particularly adults. Furthermore, much of the data are from the 1980's, though low-wage labor markets have likely evolved a good deal since that time.

Other studies have focused on the role of employers and their characteristics or hiring behaviors in determining which less-educated workers get hired into different kinds of jobs (e.g., Bishop, 1993; Holzer, 1996); and on the role of employers in the wage-determination process (Groshen, 1991; Abowd, Kramarz and Margolis, 1999; Abowd and Kramarz, 1999; Lane *et. al.*, 2000). The latter, in particular, represent the latest in a long tradition of work that focuses on the "person" v. the "job", and on the extent to which there are "good" v. "bad" jobs for the same less-skilled individuals.<sup>2</sup> These papers have often used data from particular surveys of employers and/or matched data on employers and some of their employees. But the samples used in this body of work have generally been fairly small, often limited to particular firms or sectors of the workforce; while the work on larger samples has sometimes mostly cross-sectional in nature – all of which has limited the extent to which we can learn about the dynamics of employment and earnings growth for low-wage workers from these studies.

This paper presents preliminary summary evidence on low-wage workers and their jobs and earnings from an important new source of data: the Longitudinal Employer-Household Data (LEHD) currently being compiled at the U.S. Census Bureau. These data match the universe of Unemployment Insurance wage records over the 1990's or earlier to data from the various household and economic surveys of the Census Bureau, as we describe below. The data have been transformed to allow us to analyze a wide range of issues regarding workers, their employers, the interactions between them and their dynamics over time.

This paper presents some exploratory evidence from a subsample of LEHD data from the state of Illinois in the 1990's. Rather than seeking to provide definitive answers here, we are simply trying to establish some important basic facts about the relationships

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See also Topel and Ward (1992).

between low-wage workers and their employers, how these attachments change over time, and a few of the implications of these dynamics for workers and their ability to escape poverty. We hope that what we generate here will provide the basis of additional analyses of these issues in other places and much more specific groups, especially once the data have been more completely matched to data on household characteristics, worker demographics, and employer characteristics as well.

The outline of this paper is as follows: the next section describes the LEHD data in more detail, and the particular sample of workers and variables used in the analysis in this paper. The following section then presents our empirical results, and then we conclude with some discussion of our findings and what they imply about future work in this area.

#### II. Data and Methods Used

We take advantage of a new database that enables us to match workers with past and present employers, together with employer and worker characteristics. This databases consists of quarterly establishment records of the employment and earnings of almost all individuals who worked in the state of Illinois from the first quarter of 1990 to the third quarter of 1998. These type of data have been extensively described elsewhere (Haltiwanger, Lane and Spletzer, 2000), but it is worth noting that there are several advantages over household based, survey data. In particular, the earnings are quite accurately reported: there are financial penalties for misreporting. The data are current, and the dataset is extremely large: 57,101,724 observations on 11,207, 031workers.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition includes the "dual labor markets" literature of the 1970's (e.g., Doeringer and Piore, 1971) as well as the "efficiency wage" literature of the 1980's (e.g., Katz, 1987).

Since we have almost the full universe of employers and workers, we can track movements across earnings categories and across employers with a great deal of accuracy. The Unemployment Insurance records have also been matched to internal administrative records that have information on date of birth, place of birth, race and sex for all workers, thus providing limited demographic information.

There are some clear disadvantages as well. These job-based data are different from the worker based data with which many researchers are familiar. Earnings refer to quarterly earnings, and we have no information on either wage rates or hours and weeks worked. However, this drawback is substantially mitigated by the ability to use recently developed econometric techniques (see Abowd and coauthors) to estimate individual worker and firm fixed effects for all individuals in the data. The interpretation of these effects for workers is that they capture the worker's average earnings potential when entering the labor market; the interpretation of the firm fixed effect is that it captures unobserved heterogeneity such as capital stock, production practices as well as management and organisational structure. The universal nature of the data also enable us to construct a series of other firm-based measures not usually available to the researcher: job creation and destruction, worker flows and workforce composition.

Results presented below are based on a 5% random sample of wage records for the state of Illinois between 1990 and 1995. We limit our analysis to workers aged 25-64 in this period, and also to those who exhibit at least marginally consistent attachment to the workforce – which we define as showing some employment in at least two quarters for each calendar year. Thus, students and other young people with low attachment to the workforce are excluded here, and we focus instead on low-wage adults.

Since we are defining low-wage workers exclusively on the basis of administrative data at this point, we need a definition that avoids (as much as possible) those whose earnings are low either for transitory reasons (such as a recent job displacement) or voluntarily (such as married women who choose to work part-time). To deal with these issue, we define low-wage status as earning less than \$12,000 per year, and we also stipulate that a worker must have had earnings below this level for three consecutive years. We also compute most results separately for men and women.

While one might argue that such a definition of low earnings is too stringent, our analysis of a limited sample of these data that were matched to CPS records indicates that workers with higher levels of earnings are more likely to be college graduates or have low levels of hours worked as opposed to low wages - especially among married women but also among men, to some extent. Thus, our exclusive reliance on administrative data at this time leads us to use a fairly restrictive definition of low-wage or poverty status, which can be checked in the future when broader samples have been matched to household survey data.<sup>3</sup>

To define the extent to which these low-wage workers "escape" their poverty status in the labor market, we begin by categorizing workers by low-wage status in the period 1990-92, and then consider their status again in the periods 1993-95 and 1996-98 (though we do not present any analysis of the last period in this paper). Thus, we can calculate "transition matrices" into and out of low-wage status for workers across these periods.

6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> More detail is available from the authors on the demographic characteristics of the subsample of workers who were linked to the CPS at different levels of earnings.

While we use an individual's total earnings in each three-year period to measure this status, we also focus on their experience with their "dominant employer" in each period to define employer characteristics and their changes over time. The dominant employer for any given quarter is defined as the one with whom an individual has the highest earnings in that quarter, while the dominant employer over a three-year period is the one that is dominant over the most quarters during that period.

Thus, each worker will have one dominant employer for each three-year period, and workers are considered to have changed employers if their dominant employer changes between these periods. Earnings associated with the dominant employer over a 3-year period will be considered here, as well as the changes in these earnings that are associated with changes in the dominant employer. Employer characteristics that we consider here include 1-digit or 2-digit industry, firm size, and turnover rates. Employee characteristics that are available in the UI data and which we consider here as well include gender, age (i.e., "younger" adults who are 25-34 v. those who are 35 and above), race, and an imputed education measure.<sup>4</sup>

Also, for each employer and each worker, the LEHD program staff have calculated from these data a "fixed effect" - i.e., a permanent characteristic of each that captures its effects on a worker's earnings. Thus, workers with positive fixed effects are those with relatively high earnings, regardless of the job they hold or the firm in which they work – perhaps because of their skills, motivation, etc.; while firms with positive fixed effects pay relatively high wages regardless of the workers who fill their jobs - perhaps because of their capital stock, technology, organizational structure, etc. For each

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The imputation methodology follows that described in Abowd, Kramarz and Margolis (1999).

worker, we present an overall fixed effect as well as a residual effect that has been "adjusted" for observable characteristics such as race, gender, work experience, etc.

Thus, we are able to calculate transition rates into and out of low-earning status for various demographic groups, the characteristics of low-wage v. other workers, how workers are matched with employers by the characteristics of each, and how employer characteristics vary with changes in jobs and earnings status for different groups of workers. The changes in employer characteristics associated with job changes not only shed light on the substantive dynamics of workers in labor markets, but also enable us to "difference away" the characteristics (observed or unobserved) of the workers themselves, as we attempt to disentangle the effects of people and their characteristics from those of the jobs that they hold on their employment outcomes.

#### **III. Empirical Results**

#### A. Transitions from Low-Wage Status and Job Changes

We begin in part A of Table 1 by presenting the distribution of workers across four categories: those who were never "low-wage" in either period; those who were low-wage in 1990-92 but not 1993-95; those who were not low-wage in 1990-92 but were in 1993-95; and those who were low-wage in both periods. These four categories thus define the transition matrix for low-wage status over these two three-year periods. Results are presented for the overall sample, and then separately by gender and age group (i.e., younger v. older adults).

The results show that, according to our definition, the vast majority of adult workers with at least minimal labor market attachment are not "low-wage" in either

period. In fact, the overall percentages who are low-wage are just 5% and 3% respectively in the two time periods. But *transition rates out of low-wage status are fairly high*. Of those who were low-wage in the initial period, over half manage to escape this status in the second period. On the other hand, a relatively small percentage (i.e., 2%) of those who were not low-wage initially fall into this status in the latter period.

Comparing across demographic groups, we find that women workers were more likely to be low-wage than their male counterparts, while there appears to be little difference by age group among those over 25. Furthermore, over half of those who are initially in low-wage status transition out of that status within each demographic group. Furthermore, the fraction of men who are low-wage in both periods is extremely small.

Part B of Table 1 presents the percent of workers in each of these four categories who changed their "dominant employer" between 1990-92 and 1993-95. Again, results are presented for the total sample and then separately by gender or age group. The results indicate that about a fourth of all workers change their dominant employer across this three-year period. This implies a transition rate of under 10% each year, which is a good deal lower than what we find in the broader literature (e.g., Anderson and Meyer, 1994; Lane, 2000), but which likely reflects the particular sample of workers on whom we focus and the definition of employer change that we use here.<sup>5</sup>

But, for those who are either escaping low-wage status or entering into it, the likelihood of changing dominant employer is roughly twice as large as for those who maintain either their poor or non-poor status. In other words, *changes in employers are associated with almost half of all transitions out of or into low-wage employment status*.

Thus, employer changes are more likely to be associated with major both positive and negative changes in earnings status than is continuity with the same employer. And, while younger workers have higher rates of employer change than older workers but overall and within these categories, the same general pattern holds for all demographic groups considered here.

To what extent are these employer changes associated with the levels or changes in earnings of these workers? In Table 2 we present data on average earnings per quarter and percentage changes in these earnings by the four transition categories regarding low-wage status and whether the worker has changed employers. We focus on averages per quarter rather than total earnings per year or period, since quarters of employment change little across periods for most of these workers. For each variable, we present mean and median earnings, as well as earnings at the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles. Then, separately by gender and age group, we present median earnings and changes as well in Table 3.

The results indicate that earnings levels are generally lower among those workers that tend to change their dominant employer, even within the subsamples defined by low-earnings status. However, *employer changes are associated with the largest gains in earnings for those escaping low-wage status and the largest losses in earnings among those entering that status.* The differences here are rather dramatic – e.g., median earnings rise by 37% among those who escape low-wage status by changing employers

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In particular, the omission of younger and marginally attached workers from our sample no doubt reduces the turnover rate substantially, as does our focus on permanent separations that exclude temporary layoffs, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Median quarters of employment are 11 for job-changers and 12 for non-changers in the period 1990-92, and they are 12 for both groups in the period 1993-95. No doubt these high rates of employment reflect our focus on older and relatively attached workers, as well as the fact that a worker shows up as being "employed" if they appear with any employer during that quarter.

but only by 9% among those who do not change; while median earnings fall by 34% among those who fall into low-wage status by changing employers but only by 6% among those who do not. This pattern holds within each demographic group as well in Table 3.

Furthermore, even among those who remain in low-wage or non-low-wage status across periods, the variance in earnings changes associated with job changes appears to be much higher than that associated with no employer change. Thus, the gap in earnings changes between those at the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles is higher among job changers than non-changers within each category defined by low-wage status and transitions into or out of it.

Overall, the data clearly indicate that job changing is associated with relatively large changes in earnings status in either direction – consistent with evidence described above by Gladden and Taber as well as others. The changes in employer characteristics associated with these job changes, and how they are related to the characteristics of workers as well as to observed changes in employment outcomes, are analyzed in some detail below.

#### B. Employers, Workers, and the "Matches" Between Them

We begin by considering some personal characteristics of workers, of employers, and of the "matches" we observe in the labor market between the two. Part A of Table 4 presents data on worker gender, race and education (imputed) across the four quartiles of the distribution of worker "fixed effects", both overall and adjusted for these observable

11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Means have been calculated for samples that omit both the top and bottom 1% of earnings levels and changes, to minimize the effects of outliers on our results. Of course, the medians are completely

worker traits. Similarly, Part B of the table presents the size, turnover rate and broad industry categories of firms by the quartiles of the distribution of firm fixed effects. Finally, in Part C we present worker characteristics across the four quartiles of the firm fixed effects distribution, to illustrate something about the nature of the "matching" that occurs in the labor market between workers and firms.

The results of Part A of Table 4 indicate that females, non-whites and the less-educated are more heavily concentrated among those with lower personal fixed effects than are males, whites and more-educated workers respectively. Of course, it is no surprise that these groups earn less in the labor market, due to differences in skills and/or discrimination across groups. However, the correlation of these characteristics with fixed effects indicate that at least part of their earnings disadvantages are *permanent*, and not associated with the behaviors or preferences of particular employers. These portions of their lower earnings might reflect the attitudes, skills or behaviors of the workers themselves rather than the employers for whom they work. However, most of the original differentials across quartiles disappear after making these adjustments

In Part B, we similarly note that certain characteristics of employers are associated with permanent tendencies to pay more to workers there. In particular, large firms, those with low turnover, and those in manufacturing pay higher earnings than smaller firms, those with high turnover, and those in retail trade or the services. Again, these overall relationships have all been noted before (e.g., Brown and Medoff, 1989; Parsons, 1986; Katz, 1987). But it is clear here that these relationships denote the characteristics of the firms themselves, rather than those of workers who happen to be employed there.

unaffected by these procedures, while the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles are only slightly affected.

Finally, the data in Part C indicate that females, nonwhites, the less-educated, and others with permanently low earnings are also matched to firms that permanently pay less than others – in other words, *workers with strong/weak fixed effects are matched to firms with similarly strong/weak effects*. Thus, the characteristics of the workers themselves contribute to their low earnings, but so do those of the employers for whom they work. This positive correlation between worker and firm characteristics reflects an outcome of the "matching" process in labor markets that certainly needs further exploration.

In Tables 5 through 7 we consider the characteristics of employers (and, to a much lesser extent, those of workers) that are associated with low-earnings status and transitions into and out of this status among workers. Thus, Table 5 presents the distributions of workers across industry groups, by low-earnings status in the two periods and by whether or not the individual changed their dominant employer. For those that have not changed employers (Part A of the table), one listing of industries appears; for those that have changed (Part B of the table), we present their industry both in 1990-92 and 1993-5. Similarly, Table 6 presents data on the sizes and turnover rates of their employers by similar breakdowns, and Table 7 presents personal and firm fixed effects. As the personal effects do not vary when individuals change jobs, these are presented just once in all cases, while separate firm effects are presented twice for the job changers only.

The results of Table 5 show considerable differences in industries of employment for workers according to their low-earnings status. For instance, we find that low-wage workers are much more likely to be found in retail trade (particularly eating and drinking establishments) and in the services (especially education, personal services and

recreation) than other workers, while they are less likely to be found in construction, manufacturing, utilities and wholesale trade. Indeed, the strongest differences appear between those who are never low-wage v. those who are low-wage in at least one period, even if they subsequently escape this status; this suggests that the personal characteristics of these workers might have strong effects on the industries in which they gain employment.

On the other hand, comparisons of industries of workers who change their dominant employers in Part B of the table show some striking differences in industries for the same people, particularly if they escape or enter low-wage status. For instance, workers who were low-wage in the earlier period but not in the later one clearly gain employment in manufacturing and some of the services (notably health care and business services), and to a lesser extent in construction and wholesale trade, while losing employment in retail trade (especially eating and drinking) and other services (like education, personal and recreation). For the most part, the opposite is true for those who enter low-wage status in the later period. Thus, industry changes appear to be strongly related to changes in earnings status, even for the same individuals, consistent with some earlier evidence on industry differences in earnings (e.g., Krueger and Summers, 1987).

Similar findings appear in Tables 6 and 7. For instance, Table 6 clearly indicates that firm sizes are higher and turnover rates lower among workers with lower earnings, even for those who manage to eventually escape this status and those who enter it. But those workers who escape this status by changing employers end up in larger firms with less turnover, while the opposite is true for those who enter low-wage status by changing employers.

In Table 7, we find large differences in personal fixed effects between those who are never low-wage and those who are low-wage in one or more periods; this clearly indicates the important role of personal skills and other attributes in determining earnings status among workers. We also find large differences in firm effects across these groups, even for those who do not change jobs, which seems to confirm the tendency of workers with strong personal characteristics to be matched to better jobs and employers in the labor market. On the other hand, firm effects clearly improve for those individuals who manage to escape low-earnings status by changing jobs, while they deteriorate for those who enter this status because of a job change.

Clearly, then, the characteristics of the firms to which workers are matched have some independent effects on their ability to escape low-earnings status, in addition to their own personal attributes. A greater understanding of how this "matching" process works, and exactly what the most successful pathways are for workers to improve their earnings status, would clearly be useful for the development of successful policies to help low-wage workers.

### **C. Preliminary Regression Estimates**

Tables 8 and 9 present some preliminary estimates from regression equations of the determinants of movements into and out of low earnings status and of earnings growth more generally. The dependent variables in Table 8 are changes in the logs of quarterly earnings with the primary employer between 1990-92 and 1993-95. In Table 9, the dependent variable is the probability of being a low-earnings worker in the latter

period, with separate equations estimated for those who have been or not been such a worker in the earlier period. These equations are estimated as binomial probits.

Generally, the equations reflect "first differences" models. Changes between the two periods in various characteristics of the primary firm – such as its size, turnover rate, and fixed effect – are included among the independent variables. A set of dummy equations also captures the range of transition possibilities across three very broad industry groupings: manufacturing, retail trade/service, and all other industries. Thus, we include 8 dummy variables here to capture transitions (with the omitted category covering those who worked in "other" industries in both periods.

In the second specification of each equation, we add a person-specific effect to the model as an additional independent variable. Though such fixed effects should be "differenced away" in a pure first-differences model, we include them here to allow for the possibility that changes in earnings over time reflect personal rather than only firm characteristics, even when the former are fixed in nature.

The results in Table 8 provide general support for the notion that changes in firm characteristics have important effects on changes in earnings. Changes in firm size, turnover rate, and fixed effect all have significant effects of the anticipated sign on earnings changes. Controlling for these, changes in industry effects are also quite important, with those moving to the retail trade/service sector experiencing the most negative (or least positive) earnings changes and those moving out of those sectors enjoying the most positive changes.

The results of Table 9 are generally consistent with those of Table 8. However, the effects of changes in firm size are generally of the wrong sign, while those of changes

in turnover are significant only for those who do not begin with low earnings. Industry changes remain important, though in somewhat different ways. For instance, among those not initially having low earnings, movements into retail trade/services generate the largest probabilities of having low earnings in the latter period, though even having been in those sectors in the earlier periods puts one at risk. For those initially having low earnings, being consistently in the retail trade/service or the "other" sectors generates the greatest likelihood of remaining in low-earnings status.

Finally, the inclusion of personal fixed effects has strong positive effects on earnings growth and negative effects on the probabilities of having low earnings, regardless of initial status. Inclusion of these person effects generally reduces in magnitude but does not eliminate the effects of changes in firm characteristics. However, these results raise the important possibility that firm and person effects interact in generating movements in earnings over time, which we will explore further in our subsequent work.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

In this paper, we analyze the extent to which escape or entry into low-wage status among adult workers is associated with changes in employers and their characteristics.

The results show the following:

1) There is considerable mobility into and out of low-wage employment status. A large fraction of adults who have very low earnings over lengthy periods of time (i.e., at least 3 years) manage to escape this status. This is true among men as well as women and among

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Changes in firm size are often quite sensitive to outliers on the high end of the distribution. These will be explored at greater length in our continuing work.

not low-wage initially will enter this status as well, regardless of their demographics.

2) About half of those workers who either escape or enter into low-wage employment status across 3-year periods change their primary employers. This rate of employer change is twice as high as occurs among those with no change in their low-wage status. Earnings changes associated with these employer changes in either direction are far more dramatic than those associated with employer retention.

those who are older or younger than age 35. However, a small group of workers who are

3) Workers with positive personal characteristics generally "match" to firms with positive characteristics, such as large size, low turnover, or being in a high-wage industry and similarly for those with weaker personal characteristics. Thus, those with better characteristics get an extra boost in their earnings from the positive characteristics of their employers, while those with weaker personal characteristics suffer additional disadvantages. Women, minorities and the less-educated are likely to have permanently lower earnings, and therefore have more difficulty being matched to good employers.

4) While personal characteristics are strongly associated with the tendency of workers to ever have low-earnings status, changes in employer characteristics also appear to help those who escape low-earnings status and to hurt those entering into it.

Taken together, these results suggest that the process by which low-wage workers are matched to employers could have large effects on their relative success in the labor market. Likewise, our ability to help match these workers to particular employers could have important effects on the success of our employment and training policies for these groups, especially if we assume that some workers may face high costs or various

barriers (such as transportation costs, limited information and "contacts", employer discrimination, etc.) that limit their access to the better jobs (Holzer, op. cit.).

Of course, this analysis is just in its earliest stages and is thus very exploratory. Before we can make any such statements conclusively, a good deal more work needs to be done, defining the exact characteristics of employers more carefully and the "pathways" by which workers escape low-wage status more clearly. Do some employers, such as "temp" agencies, result in transitions to higher-wage employment more frequently than do others? What are the detailed industries to which many workers switch when they leave retail trade and other low-wage establishments? Which workers are most likely to make these changes?

In addition to better descriptive work of this nature, we hope to soon use multivariate regression analysis to get a better sense of the relevant magnitudes of the effects of employer characteristics and job changes, controlling for personal characteristics. Once our data are matched to the CPS and ACS household data, the range of demographics for which we can control (and our ability to define our low-wage sample) will improve markedly. And we will be able to test for differences over time and across regions in the ability of low-wage workers to improve their earnings status and be matched to higher-quality employers.

At least for now, the descriptive data strongly suggest that employer characteristics and their changes, and the "matching" process more broadly, might be important determinants of relative success for low-wage workers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In other words, low-wage workers may not be optimally self-selecting into the right employer matches, or they may be optimizing under fairly serious constraints in the "matching" process.

#### REFERENCES

Abowd, John, Francis Kramarz and David Margolis. 1999. High wage workers and high wage firms. *Econometrica* 67: 251-333.

Abowd, John and Francis Kramarz. 1999. "The Analysis of Labor Markets Using Matched Employer-Employee Data." In O. Ashenfelter and D. Card eds. *The Handbook of Labor Economics*, Volume 3. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Anderson, Patricia and Bruce Meyer. 1994. "The Extent and Consequences of Job Turnover." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity – Microeconomics*, 177-248.

Bishop, John. 1993. "Improving Job Matches in the U.S. Labor Market." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity- Microeconomics*. 335-390.

Burtless, Gary. 1995. "The Employment Prospects of Welfare Recipients." In D. Nightingale and R. Haveman eds. *The Work Alternative*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute.

Committee for Economic Development. 2000. *Welfare Reform and Beyond: Making Work Work*. Washington DC.

Doeringer, Peter and Michael Piore. 1971. *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis*. Lexington Mass.: Heath.

Gladden, Tricia and Chris Taber. 2000. "In D. Card and R. Blank eds. *Finding Jobs*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Groshen, Erica. 1991. "Five Reasons Why Wages Vary among Employers." *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 30, 350-381.

Holzer, Harry J. 1996. What Employers Want: Job Prospects for Less-Educated Workers. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Holzer, Harry J. and Robert J. Lalonde. 2000. "Job Stability and Turnover among Young Less-Educated Workers." In D. Card and R. Blank eds. *Finding Jobs*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Katz, Lawrence. 1986. "Efficiency Wages: A Partial Evaluation." NBER Macroeconomics Annual.

Krueger, Alan and Lawrence Summers. 1987. "Reflections on the Inter-Industry Wage Structure." In K. Lang and J. Leonard eds. *The Structure of Labor Markets*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Lane, Julia; Simon Burgess and Jules Theeuwes. 1998. "The Uses of Longitudianl Matched Employer/Employee Data in Labor Market Analysis." *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association Papers and Proceedings*, 249-254.

Lane, Julia. 2000. "The Role of Job Turnover in the Low-Wage Labor Market." In K. Kaye and D. Nightingale eds. The Low-Wage Labor Market: Challenges and Opportunities for Self-Sufficiency. Washington DC: The Urban Institute.

Royalty, Ann. 1998. "" Journal of Labor Economics, April 1998.

Strawn, Julie; Mark Greenberg and Steven Savner. 2001. Paper presented at the University of Michigan Conference on Welfare Reform.

Topel, Robert and Michael Ward. 1992. "Job Mobility and the Careers of Young Men." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 107: 441-79.

	Table 1								
	Low-Wage Status and Job Mobility 1990-1992 and 1993-1995								
	A. Mob	ility Into and Out o	of Low-Wage Emp	loyment					
	Male	Female	Young	Old	Total				
Total	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00				
Not low-wage either period	.98 .89 .94 .93 .94								
Low-wage earlier not later	.01	.05	.03	.03	.03				
Low-wage .01 .03 .02 .02 .02									
Low-wage both periods	.00	.03	.01	.02	.02				

B. Job Changing by Low-Wage Employment									
	Male	Female	Young	Old	Total				
Not low-wage in either period	.26	.26	.33	.22	.26				
Low wage earlier not later	.59	.44	.58	.41	.47				
Low-wage later not earlier	.52	.44	.53	.41	.46				
Low-wage both periods	.25	.25	.37	.21	.25				
Total	.28	.27	.34	.23	.27				

Table 2										
Quarterly Earnings Levels and Changes by Low Wage and Job Mobility Status: 1990-1992 and 1993-1995										
Quart	City Darmin	•	nings 1990-92	v wage and 300 i			en 1990-92 and			
	Mean	Median	25 <sup>th</sup> Percentile	75 <sup>th</sup> Percentile	Mean	Median	25 <sup>th</sup> Percentile	75 <sup>th</sup> Percentile		
Not low-wage either period										
Changers	8,218	6,736	4,387	10,208	.09	.03	21	.26		
Non-Changers	10,030	8,943	5,773	12,221	.06	.05	14	.15		
Low-wage earlier not later										
Changers	1,943	1,962	1,413	2,446	.68	.37	14	.33		
Non-Changers	1,991	2,083	1,555	2,513	.19	.09	11	.11		
Low-wage later not earlier										
Changers	3,989	3,059	1,952	4,710	19	34	63	01		
Non-Changers	2,538	2,209	1,533	2,907	03	06	22	.12		
Low-wage both periods										
Changers	1,792	1,780	1,186	2,257	.23	.06	20	.39		
Non-Changers	1,768	1,864	1,333	2,261	.07	.03	08	.16		

	Table 3									
	Median Earnings Levels by Gender or Age: 1990-1992									
	Male Female Young Older									
Not low-wage either period										
Changers	8,265	5,407	6,273	7,333						
Non-Changers	10,485	6,607	7,688	9,112						
Low-wage earlier not later										
Changers	2,130	1,905	2,006	1,903						
Non-Changers	2,024	2,086	2,122	2,059						
Low-wage later not earlier										
Changers	3,622	2,940	2,972	3,115						
Non-Changers	2,593	2,130	2,252	2,185						
Low-wage both periods										
Changers	2,022	1,649	1,882	1,594						
Non-Changers	1,866	1,834	1,841	1,835						

M	Median Earnings Changes by Gender or Age: 1993-1995 v.1990-1992								
	Male	Female	Young	Older					
Not low-wage									
either period									
Changers	.02	.03	.03	01					
Non-Changers	.04	.06	.07	.04					
Low-wage earlier									
not later									
Changers	.42	.35	.36	.39					
Non-Changers	.04	.10	.13	.03					
Low-wage later									
not earlier									
Changers	45	30	32	36					
Non-Changers	10	03	08	04					
Low-wage both									
periods									
Changers	04	.03	.03	.06					
Non-Changers	03	.04	.02	.03					

	Table 4								
Perso	Person and Firm Characteristics: General Relationships								
Person Characteristics									
Fixed Effects:	Fema	le		White	Edi	ucation			
Quartile 1	.51			.69	1	2.13			
Quartile 2	.47			.74	1	2.77			
Quartile 3	.45			.80	1	3.58			
Quartile 4	.41			.86	1	4.66			
		Adjusted	d Ef	fects					
Quartile 1	.48			.75	1	2.98			
Quartile 2	.46			.75	1	3.05			
Quartile 3	.46			.75	1	3.23			
Quartile 4	.45			.82	1	3.57			
	]	Firm Char	acte						
Fixed Effects	Size	Turnove	er	Manufacturing	Retail	Service			
		rate							
Quartile 1	2208	.418		.06	.36	.40			
Quartile 2	1684	.236		.18	.10	.4			
Quartile 3	3460	.137		.26	.05	.3			
Quartile 4	5543	.180		.32	.01	.11			
		erson-Fir							
Firm	Person	Adjuste		Female	White	Education			
Fixed Effects	Fixed	Fixed							
	Effects	Effect	S						
Quartile 1	09	22		.58	.78	12.9			
Quartile 2	07	18		.51	.76	13.1			
Quartile 3	03	12		.43	.74	13.3			
Quartile 4	04	13		.33	.77	13.3			

	Table 5									
Job Changers and Industry: 1990-1992 and 1993-1995										
A. Changers	į ,									
Industry	Not low-v		Low-wage not later	e earlier	Low-wage earlier	e later not	Low-wage both periods			
	1990-92	1993-95	1990-92	1993-95	1990-92	1993-95	1990-92	1993-95		
Agriculture, Mining	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01		
Construction	.08	.08	.01	.02	.02	.02	.01	.01		
Manufacturing	.20	.19	.08	.11	.13	.06	.05	.06		
TCU	.06	.06	.04	.04	.04	.03	.03	.03		
Wholesale trade	.10	.09	.04	.05	.07	.03	.03	.03		
Retail Trade	.13	.12	.34	.26	.27	.34	.36	.33		
Eating/Drinking Ests.	.04	.03	.16	.11	.13	.13	.18	.18		
FIRE	.09	.09	.03	.04	.05	.05	.03	.04		
Services	.31	.33	.43	.44	.38	.48	.46	.47		
Hotel	.01	.01	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02		
Personal	.01	.01	.03	.02	.02	.03	.06	.06		
Business	.07	.08	.07	.09	.08	.10	.05	.06		
Health	.08	.09	.10	.13	.09	.10	.13	.11		
Education	.04	.04	.09	.08	.06	.10	.10	.11		
Movies/Recreation	.01	.01	.03	.02	.02	.03	.03	.04		
Public	.02	.03	.02	.03	.03	.02	.02	.02		

		Table 5							
Job Changers and Industry: 1990-1992 and 1993-1995 (Continued)									
B. Non-Changers									
Industry	Not low-wage either period	Low-wage earlier not later	Low-wage later not earlier	Low-wage both periods					
Agriculture, Mining	.01	.01	.01	.01					
Construction	.04	.01	.02	.01					
Manufacturing	.24	.06	.07	.03					
TCU	.08	.03	.04	.03					
Wholesale trade	.09	.04	.03	.03					
Retail Trade	.09	.40	.30	.30					
Eating/Drinking Ests.	.02	.11	.14	.13					
FIRE	.07	.04	.04	.03					
Services	.31	.40	.46	.42					
Hotel	.01	.01	.02	.03					
Personal	.01	.02	.02	.03					
Business	.03	.04	.04	.03					
Health	.09	.11	.11	.09					
Education	.11	.19	.15	.23					
Movies/Recreation	.01	.02	.02	.03					
Public	.07	.03	.03	.04					

Table 6									
Job Changers Charac	Job Changers Characteristics: Firm Size, Turnover and "Churning" Rates: 1990-1992 and 1993-1995								
A. Changers									
	Not low-veither per	_	Low-wage	e earlier	Low-wage		Low-wag	e both	
							1993-95		
Firm Size	173	170	153	159	172	138	124	107	
Turnover Rate	.297	.283	.391	.353	.363	.380	.408	.394	
B. Non-Changers									
	Not low-v	vage	Low-wag	e earlier	Low-wag	e later	Low-wag	e both	
	either period not later not earlier periods								
Firm Size 463 170 131 116									
Turnover Rate	.214		.318		.325		.295		

Table 7								
Job Changers and Person Fixed Effects								
A. Changers								
	Not low-veither per		Low-wag not later	e earlier	Low-wag not earlie		Low-wage both periods	
	1990-92	1993-95	1990-92	1993-95	1990-92	1993-95	1990-92	1993-95
Person Fixed Effect								
Total	05	-	19	-	16	-	22	-
Adjusted	11	-	68	-	73	-	89	-
Firm Fixed Effects	.06	.04	36	24	15	37	43	-
B. Non-Changers								
	Not low-veither per		Low-wag not later	e earlier	Low-wag not earlie		Low-wag periods	e both
Person Fixed Effect								
Total	02		16		18		19	
Adjusted	03		84		90		-1.05	
Firm Fixed Effects	.09		35		36		41	

Tabl	e 8	
Regression Estimates: Determinants of C		s) per Quarter with
Dominar	nt Firms	
	1	2
Change in:		
Firm Fixed Effect	1.046	1.037
	(.006)	(.006)
Firm Size	.020	.025
	(.004)	(.003)
Firm Turnover	007	008
	(.001)	(.001)
Industry Status		
Retail Trade/Services in Both Periods	.012	.022
	(.003)	(.003)
Retail Trade/Services to Manufacturing	.077	.111
	(.011)	(.011)
Retail Trade/Services to Other	.045	.073
	(.008)	(.008)
Other to Retail Trade/Services	137	-1.09
	(.008)	(.008)
Manufacturing to Retail Trade/Services	150	115
	(.011)	(.011)
Manufacturing to Other	047	028
	(.012)	(.011)
Other to Manufacturing	.010	.031
	(.012)	(.012)
Manufacturing in Both Periods	002	.011
	(.004)	(.004)
Person fixed effects	-	.129
		(.002)
R squared	.165	.179
Note: Standard arrors are reported in perentha	Th	

Note: Standard errors are reported in parentheses. The omitted industry status is staying in "other" industries.

Та	Table 9								
Regression Estimates: Determinants of Low	Regression Estimates: Determinants of Low Earnings Status in Later Period (Probit Model)								
		rnings in Period		ow Earnings in arly Period					
	1	2	1	2					
Change in:									
Firm Fixed Effect	144 (.019)	123 (.020)	021 (.001)	010 (.001)					
Firm Size	.221 (.007)	.170 (.013)	.018	.007					
Firm Turnover	804 (2.04)	-1.140 (2.070)	108 (.065)	087 (.040)					
Industry Status			Ì	, , ,					
Retail Trade/Services in Both Periods	027 (.018)	.002 (.018)	.030 (.001)	.017 (.001)					
Retail Trade/Services to Manufacturing	222 (.028)	197 (.032)	.036	.017 (.004)					
Retail Trade/Services to Other	191 (.023)	168 (.025)	.039	.020 (.030)					
Other to Retail Trade/Services	185 (.025)	150 (.028)	.048 (.005)	.026					
Manufacturing to Retail Trade/Services	183 (.037)	154 (.040)	.048	.023					
Manufacturing to Other	310 (.024)	298 (.029)	.002	.000 (.002)					
Other to Manufacturing	262 (.004)	244 (.051)	.006 (.004)	.003					
Manufacturing in Both Periods	120 (.027)	103 (.028)	006 (.001)	004 (.001)					
Person fixed effects	-	129 (.008)	-	019 (.001)					
-logL	4461	4344	16052	13156					
Pseudo R squared	.026	.051	.069	.235					
Note: Coefficients reflect nartial effects Standa	rd arrarg ara	rapartad in	noranthac	as The					

Note: Coefficients reflect partial effects. Standard errors are reported in parentheses. The omitted industry status is staying in "other" industries