What's New In Employment Relations? Insights from WERS and Elsewhere

National Institute of Economic and Social Research



What's New?

- Big decline in labour productivity
- Large fall in real wages
 - Not seen since 19th Century
- Probably linked
- But today I'll focus on labour productivity and what management can do about it

Themes

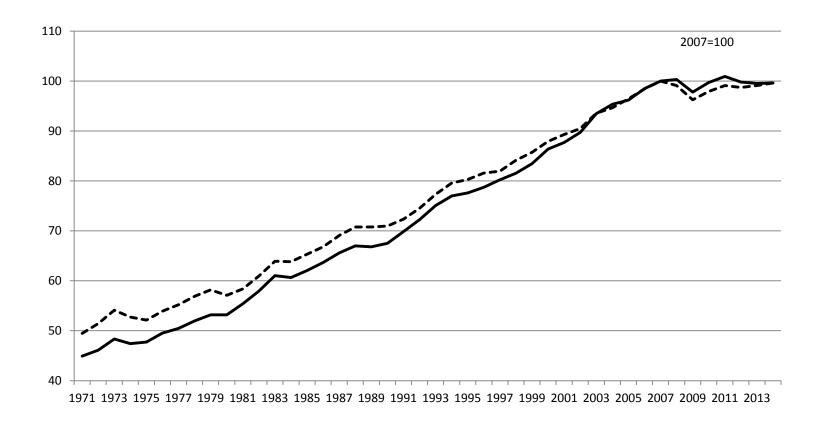
- The quality of management
- Managerial practices
- Innovation at the workplace
- Worker wellbeing
- Wages
- Policy: role of Social Dialogue

PRODUCTIVITY

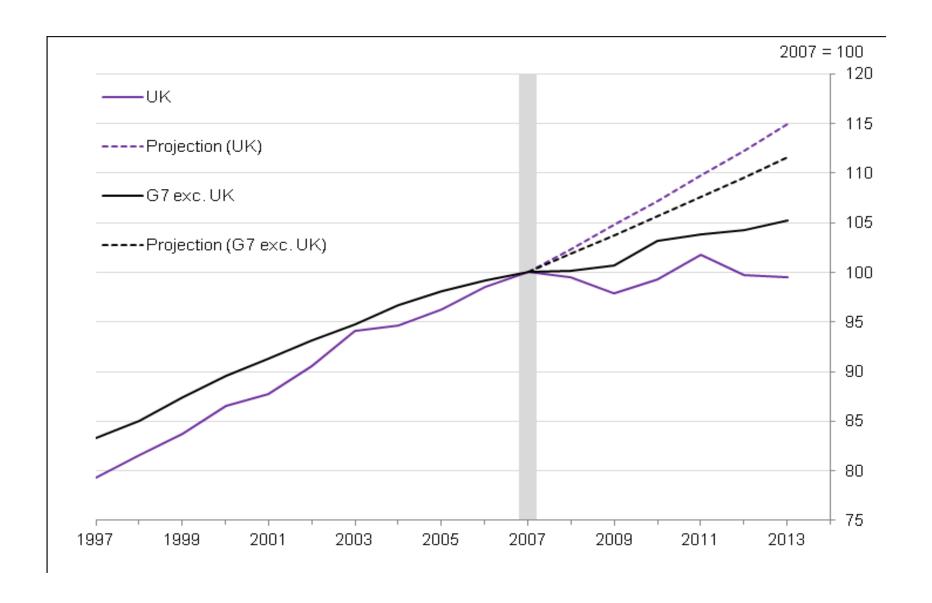
Recent decline in productivity

- Big decline of 15-16 percentage points compared to pre-recession trend
- Bad by international standards
- No single major culprit. Happening everywhere
 - http://www.niesr.ac.uk/publications/uks-productivity-puzzle-1#.VfKLOBG6eWg
- Strongly linked to fall in efficiency with which capital and labour are deployed (TFP)
- Partly victims of own success in labour market
- Uncertain future though fundamentals in place
 - Education, workforce not ageing quite as much as elsewhere etc.

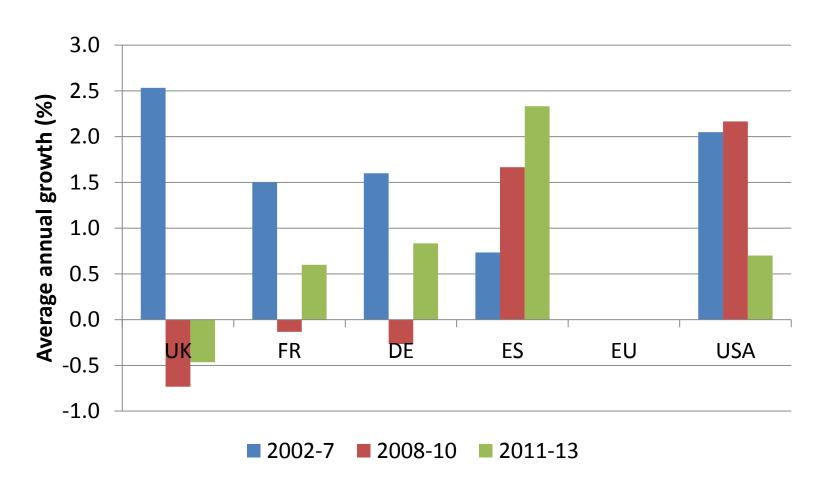
Labour Productivity growth in the UK, 1971-2014



Labour Productivity growth in the UK and the rest of the G7, 1997-2013



Growth in GDP per hour



Source: OECD

The Much Older Productivity Problem

- Lower productivity levels in the UK relative to the US go back a century and have persisted for many decades relative to Fr and Gr
- http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/sbroadberry/wp/labmkt5.pdf
- Management as part of the problem
 - Michael Porter's review for BIS on managerial skills http://www.esrc.ac.uk/ images/UK competitiveness tcm8-13559.pdf
- Management as part of the solution?

MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

Theme 1: Managerial Practices

- Productivity differences across firms/countries strongly linked to managerial practices
 - Britain in the middle/lower ranks with a long tail of poorly managed firms. Bloom and Van Reenen http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp0716.pdf
 - Barriers are managerial human capital, worker human capital, information

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/32097/11-1377-constraints-on-developing-uk-management-practices.pdf

 But what works? BVR only concentrate on a small set of practices and tend to have a universalist view whereas management literature stresses contingent

Share of employment in private sector workplaces with specific HR practices, 1998-2011

	1998	2004	2011	2004 v	2011 v	2011 v
				1998	2004	1998
	%	%	%	Signif.	Signif.	Signif.
Work organization:						
Semi-autonomous team-	44	35	48	***	***	
working ⁺						
Functional flexibility ⁺	79	78	82		**	
Training for 80%+	21	41	49	***	***	***
experienced employees ⁺						
Quality management:						
Problem-solving groups	49	34	30	***	*	***
Quality targets	55	58	63			
Appraisals for 80%+ non-	53	69	78	***	***	***
managerial employees						
Incentives:						
Profit-related pay	53	44	43	***		***
Share-ownership scheme	32	33	28		**	
Voice:						
Representative + Direct	26	31	33	**		***
Representative only	43	28	24	***	*	***
Direct only	11	21	23	***		***
Neither	20	20	19			

Managerial Practices and Productivity?

- Strong correlation between number of HR practices and labour productivity
- But less robust evidence on specific individual practices
 - no "silver bullet"
 - http://www.niesr.ac.uk/publications/uksproductivity-puzzle-1#.VfKLOBG6eWg
- However, in on-going comparative study for Britain and France using WERS and REPONSE we find positive association between use of incentives and labour productivity in both countries

Ordered probit regression of labour productivity on count of HR practices private sector, 1998-2011

	1998	2004	2011	1998	2004	2011
Controls?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Count of HR practices	0.11***	0.10***	0.05	0.11***	0.09**	0.06
	[2.77]	[2.75]	[1.53]	[2.92]	[2.32]	[1.60]
N	1259	1210	1337	1258	1210	1337

INNOVATION

Incentives to Innovate?

Opportunity costs v uncertainty

Evidence:

- Decline in product and process innovation in firms though real R&D expenditure constant (ONS; Barnett et al)
- BoE estimated fall in product innovators accounted for 1pp of productivity shortfall between 2008 and 2012 (Barnett et al)

WERS evidence on workplace innovation

- Little change in rate of workplace innovation
 - Exception: increase in "changes to work organization" (2004: 32%; 2011: 37%)
 - -Similar to early 90s (Geroski and Gregg)
- However N innovations lower where workplace faced "declining" or "turbulent" market conditions
- N innovations lowered likelihood of "weaker as a result of recent recession"

Unions Positively Associated with Innovation in Britain and Norway WERS 2011

Do Unions Kill Innovation?

Alex Bryson Harald Dale-Olsen and Erling Barth

	BRITAIN						
	All	Not union	Union	All	Not union	Local union	Multi- employer union
Innovation measures							umon
Innovation	0.571	0.562	0.645	0.657	0.627	0.708	0.621
New product (P)	0.336	0.319	0.466	0.606	0.576	0.649	0.562
New prod. techno.(T)	0.483	0.477	0.548	0.310	0.277	0.354	0.273
New P AND new T	0.250	0.235	0.369	0.258	0.255	0.295	0.211

Unions and Innovation

- Our findings challenge older literature indicating unions were bad for innovation but consistent with other recent studies
- May help explain why union/non-union gap in productivity observed in 1980s/90s has largely disappeared
 - Bryson A and Blanchflower D (2009) "Trade union decline and the economics of the workplace", pp.48-73 in W Brown et al (eds) The Evolution of the Modern Workplace, CUP
- Also tied into positive association between unions and adoption of high-commitment work practices and their effectiveness
 - Bryson A, Gomez R, Willman P and Kretschmer T (2007) "The diffusion of workplace voice and high-commitment human resource management practices in Britain: 1984-1998", *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 16, 3: 395-426
 - Bryson A, Forth J and Kirby S (2006) "High involvement management practices, trade union representation and workplace performance in Britain", Scottish Journal of Political Economy, 52, 3: 451-491.

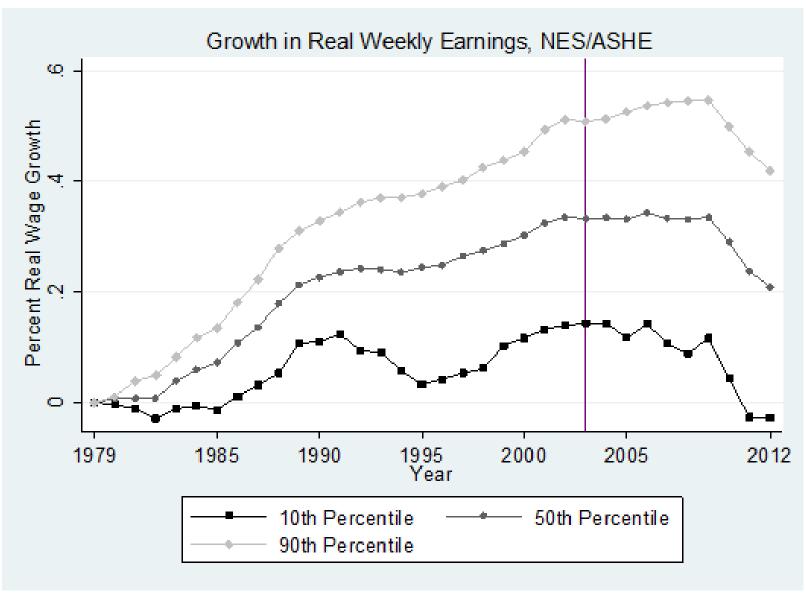
WORKER WELLBEING

Nice to Have But Does It Really Matter?

- Wellbeing linked to higher productivity via health, motivation etc
- Evidence in laboratory experiments and at individual level but workplace?
- And even if improves productivity may cost £s
- Our new study for BIS is first clear evidence that improvements in worker job satisfaction linked to improvements in financial performance, labour productivity and quality of output/service. VERY ROBUST (PANEL)
 - https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/366637/bis-14-1120-does-worker-wellbeing-affect-workplace-performance-final.pdf.
 - http://www.voxeu.org/article/happier-workers-higher-profits

WAGES

Unprecedented fall in real wages



Source: Gregg, Machin and Salgado

Falling Real Wages

- Which, if any, of these actions were taken by your workplace in response to the recent recession?
 - 38% wage freeze/cut = most common response to recession
 - Accompanied by other cost cutting actions in 4/5 cases

- % reporting pay freeze in last settlement doubled
 - 12% in 2004, 26% 2011
 - 36% where manager said affected "a great deal" by recession

Still Not Sure What's Behind It

Union bargaining power?

- No correlation between freezes/cuts and unionisation
- No correlation between pay freeze in last settlement and unionisation
- Little change in union wage premium (some counter-cyclicality)
 http://www.niesr.ac.uk/publications/trade-union-membership-and-influence-1999-2014#.VfaoG9JViko
- Hard to identify break point in union power
 - May have been some time ago?

Welfare reform

 Those using public job placement service and those drawing on unemployed for recruits no more likely to freeze/cut pay

Immigration

- 1 percentage point in the number of non-EEA nationals employed at a workplace raised the probability of a wage freeze or cut by roughly 0.4 of a percentage point
- % non-UK EEA nationals was not significant

POLICY: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DIALOGUE

The Intriguing Case of France

- More unions, more strikes and conflict...more productive!
- New French Minister of Labour focusing on creation of more flexible labour market
- Recent reforms seek to tackle "legitimacy gap" faced by old 5 established unions
- But all parties value Social Dialogue between Social Partners

The Intriguing Case of Britain

- Flexible labour markets, light regulation, union decline...less productive!
- Greater labour market participation so unambiguous in social welfare terms
- Investments in climate of employment relations pay off
 - workplaces that with good ER prior to recession managed to perform better during the recession than other workplaces (Van Wanrooy B et al *Employment Relations in* the Shadow of Recession, Palgrave 2013: 181-2).
- Is the Living Wage debate a signal of what is to come?
 - NMW did increase TFP
 https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/413418/NIESR_Riley_Rosazza_Final_Report_Feb2015.pdf
- Should we be concerned about the institutions required for Social Dialogue in Britain – or not? Perhaps we should:
 - http://www.acas.org.uk/media/pdf/7/9/Building-productivity-in-the-uk.pdf