
Qualitative Mismatches

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Foundations and Trends[®] in Microeconomics

Published, sold and distributed by:

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Outside North America:

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PO Box 179
2600 AD Delft
The Netherlands
Tel. +31-6-51115274

The preferred citation for this publication is M. Sattinger, Qualitative Mismatches, Foundation and Trends[®] in Microeconomics, vol 8, nos 1–2, pp 1–168, 2012

ISBN: 978-1-60198-624-5
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Foundations and Trends[®] in Microeconomics, 2012, Volume 8, 4 issues. ISSN paper version 1547-9846. ISSN online version 1547-9854. Also available as a combined paper and online subscription.

Foundations and Trends[®] in
Microeconomics
Vol. 8, Nos. 1–2 (2012) 1–168
© 2012 M. Sattinger
DOI: 10.1561/07000000052



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Abstract

Qualitative mismatches arise when the qualifications or skills of workers, individually or in the aggregate, are different from the qualifications or skills required or specified for their jobs. This review provides an introduction to the subject as well as a survey for social scientists conducting research on incidence, causes and consequences of qualitative mismatches. The review distinguishes between short run mismatches occurring between workers and jobs and long run aggregate mismatches that arise from shifts in supplies and demands for workers. Incidence of qualitative mismatches is related to regression toward the mean and wage consequences are explained by assignment models with Nash bargaining, among other theories. The review considers explanations of current long run qualitative mismatches provided by Goldin and Katz as well as others, and describes the differences between the U.S. and other countries in the evolution of the imbalance. A primary source for the difference in outcomes is that private costs of higher education are significantly higher in the U.S. The review considers policy implications of qualitative mismatches and contrasts educational approaches in the U.S. and European countries. Open questions in qualitative mismatches are considered including the determinants of wage consequences, how

qualitative mismatches change with the business cycle, the relevance of qualitative mismatches for search and matching models of the aggregate labor market, the reduced supply response of higher education in the U.S. in spite of greater educational differentials, causes of increasing inequality, and optimal policies in the short and long run to reduce qualitative mismatches.

Keywords: Optimal matching; labor market; search theory; job assignment theory.

JEL Codes: J2, J3, J64, J124

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Editors Intro: Sattinger “Qualitative Mismatches”

The press release for the 2012 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences notes that the prize was given to Alvin Roth and Lloyd Shapley to honor them “for the theory of stable allocations . . .” The announcement further notes that “This year’s Prize concerns a central economic problem: how to match different agents as well as possible.” Roth’s work was singled out further for demonstrating “that stability is the key to understanding the success of particular market institutions.”

The 2012 Nobel Prize makes it particularly timely that we are able to present a closely related contribution by Michael Sattinger, “Qualitative Mismatches.” In his piece Professor Sattinger explores the causes and consequences of situations where workers’ skill sets are not the optimal ones for their job situations. His work complements the efficiency issues cited by the Nobel committee via examining conditions underlying when markets can have suboptimal (economically inefficient) assignments of workers to jobs. Professor Sattinger’s research is additionally important and timely because it extensively analyzes the possible enduring economic losses from recessions, such as the recent one of 2008–2009 in the United States, that can

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end with some workers re-employed sub-optimally. He then shows how such recession based mismatch produced losses can be further exacerbated by mismatch consequences of unavoidable long-run changes in the structure of the economy and notes optimal government policy to offset mismatches.

1

Introduction

Qualitative mismatches arise when the qualifications or skills of workers, individually or in the aggregate, are different from the qualifications or skills required for their jobs. Qualitative mismatches cause losses to individual workers in reduced wages, career interruptions, and reduced job satisfaction. They cause losses to firms in reduced productivity, and to economies in restricted growth potential. As a result of these serious consequences, major research institutions have conducted studies to understand future skill needs and mismatches. For example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2011c, Chapter 4; see also Quintini, 2011b), the European Expert Networks on Economics of Education (2008), the National Research Council (2008), and the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP, 2010b, 2010c) have undertaken major efforts to analyze qualitative mismatches. In addition to direct consequences, qualitative mismatches are related to significant ongoing empirical labor market phenomena, including increasing inequality, technological change that favors more skilled workers, organizational change, computerization, job polarization, and globalization. Furthermore, the explanation of qualitative mismatches involves central

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elements of modern labor market theory, including search theory, assignment theory, human capital, and unemployment. There has been wide-ranging empirical analysis of issues related to qualitative mismatches, future skill needs, and educational and training policies, generating an extensive relevant literature.

The approach taken in this review differs from previous work by developing the distinction between short run qualitative mismatches for individual workers and employers and long run aggregate qualitative mismatches arising from changes in the quantity demanded or supplied in a category of the labor market. These two forms of qualitative mismatches are conceptually distinct and proceed from different causes and processes. Without the distinction between the two forms, a measurement of one could be mistaken for the other. The methods and data used to examine the two forms of qualitative mismatches also differ.

Short run qualitative mismatches arise as a consequence of extensive job and worker variety combined with imperfect information and frictions in the labor market that require workers and employers to engage in search to establish employment. “Search” refers to the study of how workers go about finding a job, and how firms recruit workers. When looking for a job, a worker does not know which firms would be willing to hire him or her. When the worker gets an offer from a possible employer, the worker needs to decide whether to accept the offer or continue looking. Search theory describes the optimal strategy for a worker looking for a job, and has been extended to describe how firms look for workers. Since the wage offer that a worker could get at different employers varies according to the relation between the worker’s characteristics and the characteristics of the job, continued search by the worker can generate a higher wage. However, since search is costly, the worker at some point will decide to stop searching and accept a job that pays less than the maximum attainable wage. Similarly, the productivity of a worker at a particular job varies depending on the worker’s characteristics, but the employer fills the job before finding the ideal worker because it would be costly to leave the job vacant for so long. As a consequence of this search, the characteristics of the worker and firm are not perfectly matched compared to the best assignment determined with perfect and costless information.

These short run qualitative mismatches are an inevitable consequence of the operation of the labor market in the presence of costly information obtained through search. Although inevitable, the short run qualitative mismatches cause losses to both workers and firms. Workers lose because they spend time unemployed, are paid less than they could potentially earn, and must perhaps engage in on-the-job search to obtain further advancement in their careers. Employers lose because a job may remain vacant until they can find someone to fill it, they may get less production from the worker than they could hope for, and the worker may leave for a better job, generating a costly separation. The extent of the losses from qualitative mismatches in the short run depends on policies that promote efficient matching. Labor market intermediaries and temporary help agencies can reduce short run qualitative mismatches by placing workers in jobs more efficiently than the rest of the labor market. Short run qualitative mismatches would arise even in the absence of the long run aggregate qualitative mismatches that are described next, and would not disappear as a result of long run adjustments in the labor market. Short run qualitative mismatches are studied by examining how the labor market assigns workers to jobs through search by workers and employers, and how qualitative mismatches arise as a consequence of the strategies of workers and employers in the presence of costly search.

In contrast, long run aggregate qualitative mismatches arise when the economy changes in a way that alters the mix of job characteristics, or the incentives for individuals to obtain education and training change in a way that alters the mix of worker characteristics. For job characteristics, the causes could be technological change, capital investments, globalization, or organizational change. For worker characteristics, the causes could be subsidies to different levels of education, quality of preparation at earlier educational levels, or private costs of education. To understand the nature of a long run aggregate qualitative mismatch, it is convenient to consider a single labor market for jobs with a particular combination of characteristics and a corresponding group of workers. A long run qualitative mismatch should be understood as a situation in which a shift in demand in this market is not balanced by a shift in supply over a longer period of time, perhaps because the

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changes are not fully anticipated. To the extent that the labor market responds to these imbalances through wage and other changes, long run qualitative mismatches may not show up in comparisons between individual workers and their jobs. Long run qualitative mismatches would respond to policies that anticipated changes on the demand side and promoted changes in the educational and training system that balanced the shifts in demands for skills with shifts in supplies. Long run qualitative mismatches are studied by examining the consequences of trends in economies and societies that generate shifts in demands and supplies, including technology, globalization, organization of work, and educational institutions.

As an example of the differences between short run and long run qualitative mismatches, evidence of workers overeducated for their jobs is regularly observed, while at the same time analysts conclude that there is no aggregate overeducation (Teichler and Schomburg, 2007; Machin and McNally, 2006).

Differences between short run and long run qualitative mismatches are summarized in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Short run and long run qualitative mismatches.

	Short run	Long run
Causes	Costs of searching by worker or firm prevent best matches	Unbalanced shifts in supply and demand
Methods of observation and measurement	Differences in individual job and worker characteristics	Forecasts of aggregate differences in supply and demand for labor categories
Methods of analysis	Study how workers search for jobs and how firms recruit workers	Examine consequences of trends in technological and organizational change, globalization, ICT, education
Consequences	Costly search for workers and firms, losses in worker wages and lower firm output	Lost returns to worker investments in education and training, inadequate labor force for firm expansion and growth
Policies that address mismatches	Labor institutions that encourage more efficient matches, reduction in search	Adapt educational policies to anticipated changes

The relation between short run and long run qualitative mismatches can be understood using Richard Freeman's book, "The Overeducated American" (1976). In this book, Freeman describes the long run qualitative mismatch that arose in the U.S. in the 1970s as a result of the supply of college educated labor increasing more rapidly than the demand. One consequence of this long run qualitative mismatch was that many individuals with higher levels of education were unable to find jobs that required their educational preparation. That is, the long run qualitative mismatch contributed to a short run qualitative mismatch in the form of overeducation for many individuals. Nevertheless, even in the absence of any long run qualitative mismatches, short run qualitative mismatches would continue to exist because of the difficulty of finding a job without mismatches in a reasonable amount of time.

One may believe that a competitive labor market would be able to handle any qualitative mismatches, whether in the short run or in the long run.¹ In the short run, individuals may eventually resolve qualitative mismatches by changing jobs. But not all mismatches get eliminated by individuals, and there are always new entrants who begin their labor careers with mismatches. Consideration of short run qualitative mismatches suggests changes in institutions that could reduce the levels of short run qualitative mismatches occurring at any point in time. In the long run, workers and employers that accurately foresee labor market developments would be able to avoid imbalances between supplies and demands. However, in the current episode of a long run qualitative mismatch, discussed later in this review, the increase in relative wages for U.S. college graduates did not generate a sufficient increase in enrollment and graduation rates to avoid the mismatch. Market forces by themselves cannot be relied upon to eliminate qualitative mismatches in either the short run or the long run.

Labor market qualitative mismatches play a central role in current debates regarding macroeconomic policy. Diamond (2011, p. 1064)

¹Market failures in acquiring skills are examined in Booth and Snower (1996). See also Pallais (2010) for inefficiencies in entry-level labor markets.

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reacts to the following statement by Kocherlakota (2010, p. 6), President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis:

“What does this change in the relationship between job openings and unemployment connote? In a word, mismatch. Firms have jobs, but can’t find appropriate workers. The workers want to work, but can’t find appropriate jobs. There are many possible sources of mismatch — geography, skills, demography — and they are probably all at work. Whatever the source, though, it is hard to see how the Fed can do much to cure this problem. Monetary stimulus has provided conditions so that manufacturing plants want to hire new workers. But the Fed does not have a means to transform construction workers into manufacturing workers.”

Diamond argues against the conclusion that structural mismatches are generating a higher level of unemployment that would not be affected by aggregate demand policies. He cites evidence (Dickens, 2010; Elsby et al., 2010) that most of the shift in the unemployment-vacancy relation in the current recession arises from fewer hires instead of mismatches. The next section, on short run disaggregated qualitative mismatches, is concerned with mismatches generated by the business cycle as well as ongoing mismatches generated by continuing frictions and inefficiencies in the labor market (see CEDEFOP, 2010b, Chapter 5, for a discussion of skill mismatches over the business cycle).

In this study, mismatches at a point in time can be regarded as arising from three sources. First, there is a level that arises from the search procedures that workers use to find jobs and employers use to find workers. This level would arise even if there were no other sources of mismatches. Second, there is a level of mismatch that arises over the course of a business cycle as a result of workers with high education and skill levels taking jobs at which they are overqualified during high unemployment, or firms hiring workers that do not meet their requirements during low unemployment. Third, there are additional mismatches that could arise if there are imbalances between supplies and demands from

long run aggregate qualitative mismatches. It is possible that overqualification at one level could cancel out some underqualification at another level, so that the three levels are not simply added together.

Qualitative mismatches lie in the background of current unemployment and business cycle theory. Whether or not these theories explain unemployment and business cycles, they do not explain much about qualitative mismatches. Qualitative mismatches impose serious costs on workers, firms and economies. Economic theory would be more useful if it moves in the direction of explaining unemployment and mismatches as they evolve together.

As a subdiscipline of labor economics, qualitative mismatches present a large array of empirical phenomena with policy implications. Nevertheless, the analytical background for qualitative mismatches has several deficiencies. By including both supply and demand factors, assignment theories are often cited as providing a better basis for qualitative mismatches than human capital or job competition theories. However, assignment theory needs to be combined with job search theory to explain how qualitative mismatches arise, and with other theories to explain how wages are determined. This survey seeks to advance qualitative mismatches as a subdiscipline by posing the relevant disciplinary questions and contributing to its analytical basis and structure.

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