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GOOD JOBS FOR ALL IN A CHANGING WORLD OF WORK: THE OECD JOBS STRATEGY





Good Jobs for All in a Changing World of Work: The OECD Jobs Strategy



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Low productivity growth, high levels of income inequality in many countries, as well as rapid economic change related to technological progress, globalisation and demographic changes raise new policy challenges for good labour market performance. In January 2016, OECD Employment and Labour Ministers called for a new OECD Jobs Strategy that fully reflects these challenges and opportunities and, hence, continues to provide an effective tool for policy makers.

The new OECD Jobs Strategy goes beyond job quantity and considers job quality and inclusiveness as central policy priorities, while emphasising the importance of resilience and adaptability for good economic and labour market performance in a changing world of work. It recognises that flexibility-enhancing policies in product and labour markets are necessary but not sufficient. Policies and institutions that protect workers, foster inclusiveness and allow workers and firms to make the most of ongoing challenges are also needed to promote good outcomes.

A whole-of-government response is needed, embedding the new OECD Jobs Strategy in the OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative. The key policy recommendations of the new Jobs Strategy are organised around three broad principles:

- i) Promoting an environment in which high-quality jobs can flourish. This requires a sound macroeconomic framework, a growth-friendly environment and skills evolving in line with market needs. A key new insight is that during sharp economic downturns it can be beneficial to channel resources to short-term work programmes that seek to preserve vulnerable jobs that are viable in the long term. Moreover, it is important to provide a good balance in employment protection for workers in different contracts. Liberalising temporary contracts while maintaining high levels of employment protection for workers on open-ended contracts can lead to the excessive use of the former and low job quality, high levels of inequality and low resilience, without clear gains in overall employment.
- ii) Preventing labour market exclusion and protecting individuals against labour market risks. Supporting job seekers for a quick (re)integration in employment remains essential, including by unemployment benefit and social assistance schemes that provide high coverage with rigorous enforcement of mutual obligations. But the new strategy emphasises the importance of addressing problems before they arise by promoting equality of opportunities and taking a life-course perspective that prevents the accumulation of individual disadvantages that require costly interventions at a later stage.
- iii) Preparing for future opportunities and challenges in a rapidly changing economy and labour market. Product and labour market dynamism will be key to deal with rapid economic change. However, workers need to be equipped with the right skills in a context where the demand for skills is evolving rapidly. Workers also need to remain protected against labour market risks in a world where flexible forms of work may increase. This includes social protection and basic labour market regulations but possibly also expanding the role of non-contributory schemes, minimum floors to social benefits, and making social protection more portable.

The main policy recommendations for each of these principles are presented in the end of the Executive Summary, while the full details can be found at the end of the document.

I. Executive summary and policy recommendations

- 1. Since the publication of the OECD's *Reassessed Jobs Strategy* in 2006, OECD and emerging economies have undergone major structural changes and faced deep shocks: the worst financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression and continued weak productivity growth; unprecedentedly high levels of income inequality in many countries; and substantial upheaval linked to technological progress, globalisation, and demographic change. In light of these major changes, and the central role of labour policies in addressing them, OECD Employment and Labour Ministers in January 2016 called for a new *Jobs Strategy* that fully reflects new challenges and opportunities so as to continue to provide an effective tool to guide policy makers.
- 2. The new OECD *Jobs Strategy* is more comprehensive in scope and forward-looking in outlook than previous OECD *Jobs Strategies*, putting a well-functioning labour market at the centre stage of inclusive growth. The original OECD *Jobs Strategy* of 1994 emphasised the role of flexible labour and product markets for tackling high and persistent unemployment the main policy concern at the time. Providing a growth-friendly environment, including through flexible product and labour markets, was seen as the key to promoting job creation and good labour market performance more generally. The 2006 *Reassessed Jobs Strategy* placed more emphasis on promoting labour force participation and improving job quality. The main message was that there are "several roads to Rome", i.e. good labour market performance is consistent with more market-reliant models that emphasise labour and product market flexibility, but also with models that involve a stronger role of public policies, generally coupled with strong social dialogue and a combination of stronger protection for workers with flexibility for firms.
- 3. Building on these previous *Jobs Strategies*, the new OECD *Jobs Strategy* provides guidance to policy makers on labour market and other policies that enable workers and firms to harness the opportunities provided by new technologies and markets, while helping them to cope with the required adjustments and ensuring that the fruits of growth are broadly shared. The new *Jobs Strategy* continues to stress the links between strong and sustained economic growth and the quantity of jobs, but also recognises job quality, in terms of both wage and non-wage working conditions, and labour market inclusiveness as central policy priorities. Resilience and adaptability are placed at the heart of the new Jobs Strategy as in a rapidly evolving economy and labour market, policy needs to foster economic dynamism and be forward-looking to allow individuals and firms to absorb, adapt and make the most of challenges and opportunities related to changes in macroeconomic conditions and the megatrends affecting the future of work.
- 4. The main message of the new OECD *Jobs Strategy* is that while policies to support flexibility in product and labour markets are needed for growth, they are not sufficient to simultaneously deliver good outcomes in terms of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness. In this sense, the new OECD *Jobs Strategy* represents a significant evolution from the 2006 strategy, and even more from the original 1994 strategy. It is based on new evidence that shows that countries with policies and institutions that promote job quality, job quantity and greater inclusiveness perform better than countries where the focus of policy is predominantly on enhancing (or preserving) market flexibility. In other words, it is necessary to combine policies that encourage economic growth with policies that foster inclusiveness and protect workers. Thus, a whole-of-

government approach is needed, embedding the new OECD *Jobs Strategy* in the OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative and making appropriate linkages to other OECD strategies.

1. Key policy principles

5. The key policy recommendations of the new OECD *Jobs Strategy* are organised around three broad principles: i) promote an environment in which high-quality jobs can flourish; ii) prevent labour market exclusion and protect individuals against labour market risks; iii) prepare for future opportunities and challenges in a rapidly changing labour market.

i) Promote an environment in which high-quality jobs can flourish

- 6. High-quality employment requires a sound macroeconomic policy framework, a growth-friendly environment and skills evolving in line with market needs. This is broadly consistent with previous strategies, but with some important nuances.
- The recent global economic and financial crisis was a stark reminder of the importance of counter-cyclical macroeconomic policies for stabilising economic and labour market outcomes and preventing temporary downturns in activity from turning into low-growth traps. When monetary policy is constrained, letting automatic fiscal stabilisers operate freely and complementing them with additional fiscal measures in response to large economic shocks becomes particularly effective. This requires a fiscal policy framework that creates sufficient fiscal space during upturns to allow for a stimulating fiscal policy response during downturns and rapidly scaling up income support and active labour market programmes as needed. An important nuance with respect to the *Jobs Strategy* of 2006 is that the new strategy recognises that it can be useful during sharp economic downturns to channel fiscal resources to well-designed short-term work programmes that seek to preserve vulnerable jobs that are viable in the long term, while scaling them down quickly as conditions return to normal.
- Flexibility in product and labour markets is essential to create high-quality jobs in an ever more dynamic environment. Barriers in product and labour markets to the entry of new firms, the expansion of high-performing firms and the orderly exit of underperforming firms need to be reduced. However, some forms of flexibility are better than others. For example, partial labour market reforms that liberalise the use of temporary contracts, but maintain high levels of employment protection for workers on open-ended contracts can be counter-productive. This can result in an excessive use of temporary contracts, leading to low overall job quality, high levels of inequality and low resilience, without a clear benefit for the overall number of jobs. Similar issues can arise in emerging economies where overly strict employment protection for employees in the formal sector, alongside a range of other factors such as high non-wage labour costs, contribute to high levels of informal work without providing effective protection to workers.
- Moreover, policies need to strike the right balance between employment flexibility and stability. The challenge is to ensure that resources can be reallocated to more productive uses while providing a level of employment stability that fosters learning and innovation in the workplace. Employment stability can be promoted by having moderate and predictable employment protection provisions that provide security to all workers and by strengthening the link between employers' unemployment insurance

- contributions and the cost of unemployment insurance benefits for displaced workers (e.g. partially experience-rated contributions). Measures that encourage flexibility in earnings, in particular through adjustments in working time, can also support employment stability by helping to preserve good-quality jobs during difficult times.
- High-quality employment also depends crucially on having an effective education and training system, which equips workers with the skills needed by employers and offers opportunities and incentives for education and training throughout their working lives.
 To better match skills with labour market needs, it is important to develop stronger links between the world of education and the world of work and have robust systems and tools for assessing and anticipating skills needs.

ii) Prevent labour market exclusion and protect individuals against labour market risks

- 7. The best way of promoting an inclusive labour market is by addressing problems before they arise. This means that a shift in emphasis is required from remedial to preventive policies. This enables workers to avoid many of the social and financial costs associated with labour market risks such as unemployment, sickness and disability --, contributes directly to economic growth by expanding opportunities for workers, and alleviates fiscal pressures by reducing the overall costs of social programmes. Such an approach could therefore boost efficiency and equity at the same time.
- The core of a preventive approach to labour market inclusiveness is to strengthen equality of opportunities so that socio-economic background does not act as a key determinant of success in the labour market. This key policy priority crucially hinges on tackling barriers to the acquisition of adequate levels of education and labour market skills by individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, through targeted interventions during (pre-)school years and in the transition from school to work.
- A preventive approach also requires a life-course perspective, to avoid an accumulation of individual disadvantages that require costly interventions at a later stage. To reduce the risk of workers becoming trapped in low-quality jobs or joblessness, they should have continuous opportunities to develop, maintain and upgrade skills through learning and training at all ages. This would help them navigate a labour market that will increasingly require frequent changes of jobs and activities throughout a career. Similarly, working conditions should be adapted to workers' needs over the life course. By making it easier to combine work, care and social responsibilities and preventing the development of work-related health problems, this increases labour force participation over a working life among both men and women, narrows gender gaps and reduces the risk of poverty and exclusion. But, as new forms of work are emerging, such policy instruments must be extended beyond those in dependent employment.
- A preventive approach cannot avoid that some people fall through the cracks. As suggested by the 2006 OECD *Jobs Strategy*, activation measures, wage-setting rules and the tax-and-benefits system can be combined to make work pay and handle individual shocks by protecting workers rather than jobs, so that the required adaptability of the labour market is not jeopardised. In this way, the protection of workers against labour market risks and exclusion can be achieved by supporting and accompanying job-seekers towards new economic activities, conditional on individual commitment and job-search efforts (the so-called "mutual-obligations" framework).

• Previous *Jobs Strategies* have pointed to the need to ensure that unemployment, disability and other social benefits do not unduly discourage active job search. Recent evidence suggests, however, that reaching a high coverage of unemployment, disability and social assistance benefits, conditional on the rigorous enforcement of mutual obligations, plays a pivotal role in the success of activation strategies, because it provides a key instrument for connecting with jobless people. This also means extending the reach of social protection to new forms of work as much as possible.

iii) Prepare for future opportunities and challenges in a rapidly changing labour market

- 8. Product and labour market dynamism will be essential to deal with the rapid transformation of economies resulting from technological progress, globalisation and demographic change. However, helping workers move from declining businesses, industries and regions to those with the highest growth prospects should be accompanied by policies to help individuals maintain and upgrade their skills, assist lagging regions with catching up, as well as social safety nets and social dialogue to shape the future world of work. Skills policies, social protection and labour market regulations will need to be adapted to the new world of work to achieve greater job quality and inclusiveness. In some cases, this may require a fundamental rethink of current policies and institutions.
- A first challenge is to equip workers with the right skills in a context where the demand for skills is likely to evolve rapidly and people continue working at a higher age, with an increased emphasis on Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) as well as soft skills, and incentives for the acquisition of non-transferable skills may be eroded. The increased fragmentation of production processes and the likelihood that workers will move between jobs more frequently may reduce incentives for firms and workers to invest in firm-specific skills. The policy challenge lies in: *i*) designing novel tools that reduce barriers to lifelong learning by linking education and training to individuals rather than jobs; *ii*) updating existing tools like grants and loans to make them more accessible to all adults. More generally, existing infrastructures for lifelong learning may need to be scaled up, for example by fully exploiting the opportunities afforded by new technologies.
- A further challenge is to ensure that workers remain protected against labour market risks in a world where flexible forms of work may increase. This includes ensuring that everybody has access to social protection and is covered by basic labour market regulations. Workers on 'flexible' labour contracts often have limited or no access to certain forms of social protection, such as workplace accident and unemployment insurance, and they may not be covered by basic labour market regulations. To some extent, it might be possible to address this concern by extending or adapting existing social security schemes and by clarifying and effectively enforcing existing labour market regulations. In other cases, innovative solutions need to be found to ensure adequate wages and working conditions.
- Possible approaches for extending social protection coverage include: creating new, specially designed benefit schemes; expanding the role of non-contributory schemes; implementing minimum floors to social benefits; and making social protection more portable. A more radical solution would be to introduce a universal basic income (UBI), although it is unlikely that such a scheme could provide effective protection to all workers without significantly raising fiscal pressure or making some people worse

off because of the need to cut other, well-targeted benefits to finance the UBI. In terms of labour market policies and institutions, policy makers should experiment with new instruments to fight in-work poverty and put in place a legal framework that allows labour relations to adapt to new emerging challenges.

2. Policy implementation

- 9. To support countries in building stronger and more inclusive labour markets, the new OECD *Jobs Strategy* goes beyond general policy recommendations by providing guidance for the implementation of reforms:
- Policy reform strategies need to be adapted to a country's specific characteristics in terms of its institutional set-up, social preferences, administrative capacity and social capital. While sub-par performance in an area of the labour market suggests the need for policy reform, countries should adapt their reform strategies to their specific situation. For instance, where social capital is low and administrative capacity lacking, policy action should aim at being simple, transparent and easily accountable.
- Policies are also often more effective when combined into coherent packages that
 enhance synergies and limit the potential cost of reforms in the short-run or for specific
 groups. For example, interventions targeted at specific groups should simultaneously
 address all barriers to employment through co-ordinated actions concerning the design
 of tax-and-benefits policies and the provision of employment, health and social
 services.
- Packaging and sequencing reforms in effective ways acting first on those that are a
 prerequisite for the success of others minimises trade-offs between individual
 policies and can broaden support among the electorate. For example, product market
 and employment protection reforms tend to be less costly in the short term when the
 former precede the latter.
- Building support for reforms is vital for their success. This requires winning a mandate
 for reform, effective communication including through the use of new technologies,
 and complementary reforms and policy actions to cushion short-term costs, including
 appropriate use of macroeconomic policy levers.
- Once reforms are passed ensure that they are fully implemented, effectively enforced
 and rigorously evaluated. This requires investing in data collection if suitable data for
 monitoring compliance and outcomes are not available and strengthening evaluation
 mechanisms into policy actions to allow assessment of their effects.
- Building strong and inclusive labour markets also requires proactive policy making. This requires innovative systems that help identifying potential challenges and opportunities ahead of time, rather than firefighting problems when they arise and recognising opportunities when they have long been missed. Anticipating future challenges and opportunities, finding solutions, managing change proactively, and shaping the future world of work can be achieved more easily and effectively if employers, workers and their representatives work closely together with the government in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust.

Box 1. The main policy recommendations of the new OECD Jobs Strategy

This Box summarises the main policy recommendations of the new OECD *Jobs Strategy*. The full policy recommendations can be accessed by following the hyperlinks [to be added in final version] and can also be found at the end of this document. These policy recommendations are a key pillar of the *OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative*. In the implementation of the new *Jobs Strategy*, it will be important to exploit synergies among different policy areas and ensure consistency with the *OECD Going for Growth* recommendations, the *OECD Skills Strategy*, the *OECD Innovation Strategy* and the *OECD Green Growth Strategy*. Thus, a whole-of-government approach is necessary.

A. Promote an environment in which high-quality jobs can flourish

- 1. Implement a sound macroeconomic policy framework that ensures price stability and fiscal sustainability while allowing for an effective counter-cyclical monetary and fiscal policy response during economic downturns.
- 2. Boost investment and productivity growth, and promote quality job creation by removing barriers to the creation and expansion of successful businesses, the restructuring or exit of underperforming ones, and by creating an entrepreneurship-friendly environment.
- 3. Ensure that employment protection legislation generates dismissal costs that are predictable, balanced across contract types and not overly restrictive, while protecting workers against possible abuses and limit excessive turnover.
- 4. Facilitate the adoption of flexible working-time arrangements to help firms adjust to temporary changes in business conditions, while helping workers to reconcile work and personal life.
- 5. Reduce non-wage labour costs, especially for low-wage workers, and differences in fiscal treatment based on employment status.
- 6. Consider using a statutory minimum wage set at a moderate level as a tool to raise wages at the bottom of the wage ladder, while avoiding that it prices low-skilled workers out of jobs.
- 7. Promote the inclusiveness of collective bargaining systems while providing sufficient flexibility for firms to adapt to aggregate shocks and structural change.
- 8. Foster the development of suitable skills for labour market needs, while promoting the use of these skills and their adaptation during the working life to respond to evolving skills needs.
- Promote formal employment by enhancing the enforcement of labour market rules, making formal
 work more attractive for firms and workers and promoting skills development to enhance worker
 productivity.

B. Prevent labour market exclusion and protect individuals against labour market risks

- 1. Promote equal opportunities to avoid that socio-economic background determines opportunities in the labour market through its influence on the acquisition of relevant labour market skills or as a source of discrimination.
- Adopt a life-course perspective to prevent that individual disadvantages cumulate over time, requiring interventions at a later stage, which are usually less effective and involve larger fiscal costs.
- 3. Develop a comprehensive strategy to activate and protect workers, by combining adequate and widely accessible out-of-work benefits with active programmes in a mutual-obligations framework.
- 4. Adopt specific policies for underrepresented and disadvantaged groups, ensuring that they simultaneously address all barriers to employment.

5. Support lagging regions through coordinated policies at the national, regional and local levels that promote growth and competitiveness based on their specific assets and tackle social problems associated with local concentrations of labour market exclusion and poverty.

C. Prepare for future opportunities and challenges in a rapidly changing labour market

- 1. Promote the reallocation of workers between firms, industries and regions, while supporting displaced workers.
- 2. Enable displaced workers to move quickly into jobs, using a mixture of general and targeted income support and re-employment assistance, combined with prevention and early intervention measures.
- 3. Accompany innovation in new forms of employment with policies to safeguard job quality by avoiding abuse, creating a level-playing field between firms, and providing adequate protection for all workers regardless of employment contract.
- 4. Plan for the future by anticipating change; facilitating inclusive dialogue with the social partners and other relevant stakeholders on the future of work; and where necessary, adapting today's labour market, skills and social policies to the emerging needs in the changing world of work.

D. Implementation

- Make reforms successful by adapting them to country specificities, carefully packaging and sequencing them to limit their potential cost in the short-run or for specific groups and building support for them.
- 2. Ensure that reforms are fully implemented effectively enforced and rigorously evaluated; invest in data collection if suitable data are not available.

II. The OECD JOBS STRATEGY

1. Introduction

- 1. Since the publication of the reassessed OECD *Jobs Strategy* in 2006, the global economy has experienced the worst financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression and has been undergoing a number of profound changes. Productivity growth slowed in most OECD countries, while its dispersion across firms widened as lagging firms fell further behind. At the same time, income inequality remains at unprecedented high levels and median wages have stagnated in many countries, undermining social cohesion as well as economic growth and well-being. Rapid technological change including through increased digitalisation and automation and a renewed expansion of global value chains are expected to strengthen productivity growth in the long-run and allow consumers to access more and better products and services. However, they may also imply significant adjustment costs in the short run and further reinforce concerns about rising inequality and low wage growth. Population ageing and a potential expansion of non-standard work, including new forms of employment, also raise concerns about the sustainability and adequacy of social protection systems, the effectiveness of labour market programmes as well as the quality of jobs.
- Well-functioning labour markets are crucial for addressing these challenges, sustaining economic growth and ensuring a fairer distribution of prosperity across society. They enable all workers to harness the opportunities provided by new technologies and markets, while also helping them to cope with the required changes and adaptation, so that nobody falls behind and productivity gains are broadly shared. Labour market policies and institutions at the national and local level play a central role in stimulating job creation, enhancing job quality and productivity. They do so by facilitating the reallocation of resources to their most efficient and rewarding uses, promoting learning and innovation in the workplace, removing barriers to the creation of good quality jobs, and fostering greater inclusiveness. Making the most of technological progress and globalisation will require productivity-enhancing reforms in goods and services markets; but also labour market and social policies to limit the costs of adjustment for workers, promoting the upskilling of the workforce and preventing workers from being trapped in declining sectors and firms or falling into long-term unemployment. In addition, well-designed counter-cyclical macroeconomic policies need to be in place to support growth and employment by raising aggregate demand during recessions and reducing the risk that high unemployment and low growth become entrenched.
- 3. In light of these major challenges and opportunities, and the central role of labour markets in addressing and harnessing them, the *OECD Employment and Labour Ministers* in January 2016 called for a new *Jobs Strategy* that ensures its continued relevance for guiding policy makers. The new *Jobs Strategy* places more emphasis than

previous versions on policies that promote better job quality in terms of both wage and non-wage working conditions and, in addition, focuses on making labour markets more inclusive as a central policy priority. Making sure that nobody is left behind is not just a matter of fairness, but is also critical for economic growth as well as for social and political stability. In a rapidly evolving economy and labour market, policy also needs to foster economic dynamism and be forward-looking to allow individuals and firms to absorb, adapt and make the most of challenges and opportunities related to changes in macro-economic conditions and the megatrends affecting the future of work. For this reason, resilience and adaptability are placed at the heart of the new *OECD Jobs Strategy*. Labour market policies need to be revamped to provide the tools, flexibility and an adequate safety net to turn rapid changes into opportunities for reviving productivity growth and creating more and better jobs for all.

- 4. The main message of the new *OECD Jobs Strategy* is that flexibility-enhancing policies are necessary but not sufficient to simultaneously achieve good outcomes in terms of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness. It is based on new evidence that shows that countries having in place policies and institutions promoting both job quality and job quantity as well as greater inclusiveness perform better than countries where the focus of policy is predominantly on enhancing or preserving flexibility. In other words, to achieve good labour market performance, it is necessary to provide an environment in which both firms and workers can thrive by combining policies that promote economic growth with policies that promote inclusiveness and protect workers. The new *OECD Jobs Strategy* is therefore a key pillar of the *OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative*.
- 5. The new *OECD Jobs Strategy* is structured as follows. Section 2 identifies the main challenges and priorities for labour market policy based on an assessment of labour market performance in OECD countries and emerging economies. Section 3 discusses how policies and institutions can promote good labour market performance. Section 4, building on the broad policy recommendations, provides guidance to countries for identifying priorities for reform in specific countries and developing successful reform strategies.

2. Setting the scene

6. A well-functioning labour market is a key condition for achieving inclusive growth and rising levels of well-being. It promotes prosperity by matching workers to productive and rewarding jobs and facilitating the adoption of new technologies and new ways of organising work by providing workers with opportunities to acquire and update relevant skills in a rapidly changing economic environment. A well-functioning labour market further ensures that increased prosperity is reflected in increased well-being and job quality, in both monetary and non-monetary terms, by creating good job opportunities for all, ensuring productivity gains are transmitted to wages, and protecting and improving the living standards of the most vulnerable. The new OECD *Jobs Strategy* recognises therefore that policies that improve the functioning of the labour market are crucial for raising economic growth and its inclusiveness – and thereby its social sustainability.

A new framework for assessing labour market performance and identifying policy priorities

- 7. Recent policy concerns have focused on reconciling the ability of an economy to sustain aggregate productivity gains with the capacity to generate jobs that are fairly remunerated and associated with good non-wage working conditions as well as ensuring that the gains from growth are broadly shared. In light of this, the framework of the new *Jobs Strategy* has been broadened compared with that of the previous strategies and now encompasses three over-arching policy objectives that together define good labour market performance and are each necessary for inclusive growth and well-being more generally (Figure 1):
- More and better jobs. This captures the labour market situation in terms of both the
 quantity of jobs (e.g. unemployment, labour force participation, working time) as well
 the quality of jobs by taking account of the three dimensions of the OECD Job Quality
 Framework that are key for worker well-being: i) earnings; ii) labour market security;
 and iii) the quality of the work environment.
- Labour market inclusiveness. This dimension focuses on the distribution of opportunities and outcomes across individuals. Ensuring equal opportunities to succeed in the labour market for all reduces the risk that people are excluded from fully participating in the labour market and fall into poverty. Labour market inclusiveness therefore relates to both dynamic aspects of inequality such as the prospects for social mobility and career advancement, as well as static ones such as the distribution of individual earnings and household incomes, and differences in access to quality jobs between different socio-economic groups.
- Adaptability and resilience. This dimension relates to the effectiveness with which
 individuals, institutions and societies absorb, adapt to, and make the most out of shocks
 and new opportunities, which arise as a result of economic crises and megatrends (e.g.
 technological change, including automation and digitalisation, climate and
 demographic change and globalisation).
- 8. The first two dimensions focus on current outcomes of individuals and their distribution. The third dimension contains a forward-looking element that focuses on the ability of workers and labour markets to withstand future shocks and seize new opportunities. Adaptability and resilience are essential to ensure the "sustainability" of good labour market and economic performance in a constantly evolving world.

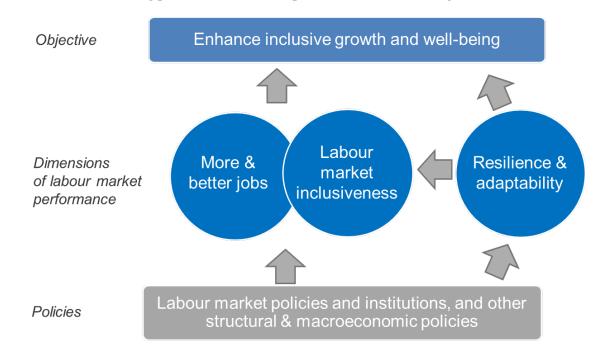


Figure 1. The conceptual framework of the new OECD *Jobs Strategy*Linking policies, labour market performance and well-being

9. Outcomes along these dimensions of labour market performance do not depend on labour market policies alone but also on a range of other policies, including sound macroeconomic and financial policies, productivity-enhancing policies in product, financial, and housing markets, tax policies, entrepreneurship policies, regional policies, as well as the protection of property rights and the rule of law. In turn, labour market policies do not only affect labour market performance but also other dimensions of economic performance, well-being and social progress. Thus, a whole-of-government approach is needed to ensure that the new *OECD Jobs Strategy* is well embedded in the *OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative* (see Box 2 for details). This also requires highlighting the synergies between effective labour market and social policies, a conducive macroeconomic environment and other key strategies of the Organisation, including *Going for Growth*, the OECD *Skills Strategy*, the OECD *Innovation Strategy*, the OECD *Green Growth Strategy* and the OECD *Recommendations on Gender Equality, Mental Health, and Ageing* ².

Box 2. The OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative

Persistently high inequalities of income, wealth and well-being and the slowdown in productivity growth are undermining social mobility, holding back progress in living standards and threatening political stability. The OECD is seeking to address these trends through the *Inclusive Growth Initiative* that was launched in 2012. The work on inclusive growth is organised along four pillars: i) shared prosperity; ii) inclusive markets; iii) equality of opportunities; and iv) inclusive growth governance. The new *Jobs Strategy* relates closely to each of these pillars:

- Shared prosperity recognises that the measurement of economic performance and social progress needs to go beyond GDP by taking account of both material and non-material living conditions as well as their distribution in society. This is reflected in the new Jobs Strategy which seeks to promote good quality jobs for all. This requires not only promoting the availability and access to jobs, but also ensuring that job quality is consistent with a healthy working life. It further emphasises the importance of labour market resilience and adaptability to ensure that labour market performance can be sustained in an uncertain future.
- Inclusive markets recognises the importance of well-functioning markets as well as the need
 for additional measures to ensure that everybody can participate fully in society. The new Jobs
 Strategy incorporates the key insight that inclusive markets require more than flexibility. It
 recognises that flexible markets are necessary to achieve good economic and labour market
 performance, but that supporting public policies are needed to promote more and better jobs for
 all.
- **Equality of opportunities** recognises equality of opportunity as the foundation of future prosperity. Similarly, the new *Jobs Strategy* emphasises the importance of equality of opportunity and social mobility for reducing the depth and persistence of economic inequalities, while raising long-term economic growth. Equality of opportunity is seen as a key component of the inclusiveness dimension of the new *Jobs Strategy* framework.
- Inclusive growth governance recognises the need for coordination and integration of policy actions using a whole-of-government approach. The new Jobs Strategy also recognises that winning the twin challenge of high inequality and low productivity growth requires comprehensive and integrated policy actions that reduce inequality while minimising potential adverse effects on economic growth, embedding the new Jobs Strategy as a key pillar of the Inclusive Growth Initiative.

Assessing labour market performance and identifying policy priorities: The new OECD Jobs Strategy Dashboard

10. To what extent can policy improve labour market performance along each of the three dimensions of the new *Jobs Strategy*? Can synergies be developed or are trade-offs inevitable? How do policy priorities differ across countries? A good way of getting a first idea about the answers to these important questions is to make use of a dashboard that compares labour market performance across OECD countries and major emerging market economies along each of its dimensions. Table 1, Panel A uses the employment rate, the unemployment rate, and the broad labour utilisation rate (defined as the share of inactive, unemployed and involuntary part-timers in the non-student working-age population) to measure job quantity; earnings quality, labour market security³ and the incidence of job strain⁴ for job quality; and the share of persons in low-income households, a general measure of gender inequality in the labour market and the typical employment gap of disadvantaged groups for inclusiveness (youth, older workers, mothers with children, people with disabilities and migrants).⁵

- 11. The main conclusion from Table 1, Panel A is that policies can be combined into coherent packages that enhance synergies across policies and minimise possible trade-offs. More specifically:
- It is possible to combine good outcomes in terms of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness. Many countries that have relatively high employment rates tend to do relatively well with respect to the different components of job quality and inclusiveness. For example, the Nordic countries, such as Iceland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden are among the best performing countries across at least two-thirds of the dimensions of the dashboard, while they are absent from the bottom third. At the other end of the spectrum, a number of Southern European and emerging economies score relatively low on the majority of indicators. This suggests that there are few systematic trade-offs, and crucially, that it is possible to design policies that simultaneously raise job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness. ^{6,7}
- While richer countries tend to perform better along most outcomes, other factors including sound employment and social policies also play an important role. After accounting for the role of economic development most Nordic countries, as well as Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, and New Zealand rank among the top performing countries in the OECD in terms of average performance (see Annex Table A3). By contrast, Mediterranean countries (except France and Israel), as well as Ireland and the United States are among the least performing countries in the OECD. These differences in average performance are likely to reflect the role of various factors, including that of policies, institutions and social capital.
- Changes in performance over time reflect a combination of policy developments, structural changes and the legacy of the global financial crisis. Almost a decade after the start of the global financial crisis labour market insecurity and low-income rate remain elevated in several countries compared with their levels in 2006. Earnings quality has remained more or less stable. At the same time, however, most countries managed to improve the quality of the work environment, narrow the gender labour income gap and better integrate disadvantaged groups into the labour market (cf. Table 1 and Annex Table A1). Moreover, most countries have improved job quantity over the past two decades, largely thanks to the rise in female and older-worker employment rates (cf. Annex Table A2).
- Performance has been uneven across countries over the past decade. Those European countries that were badly hit by the financial crisis and had to undergo significant fiscal restraint experienced worsening performance in many indicators over the past decade. By contrast, Chile, Czech Republic, Germany, Japan, Israel and Poland out for having achieved significant improvements along at least four of the nine performance dimensions, while being stable along the other dimensions. Finally, many English-speaking countries are characterised by a striking stability of their performance over the past decades, though often at intermediate-to-low levels of job quality and inclusiveness. 10
- 12. Are countries prepared for the opportunities and challenges posed by the future of work? Table 1, Panel B provides descriptive evidence on these issues by comparing framework conditions for resilience and adaptability across OECD and a number of emerging market economies. Resilience is measured by the estimated average increase in the unemployment rate in the three years following a negative shock to GDP of 1%, i.e.

the capacity to limit fluctuations in unemployment and to quickly rebound in the wake of an aggregate shock.¹² Framework conditions for adaptability are measured by the following indicators:

- the *rate of labour productivity growth* as a key pre-condition for high growth of output, employment and wages;
- the *ability of productive firms to attract workers* and grow as a key component of labour productivity and therefore wages;
- the decoupling or real median wage growth from productivity growth, as a measure of the extent to which productivity gains are transmitted to the typical worker during periods of rapid structural change:
- *adult skills*, as higher skills promote learning, innovation and higher wages; *student skills*, as an indication of the readiness of the next generation to respond to future challenges; as well as the *share of non-standard workers in total employment* defined in terms of self-employed and temporary workers since non-standard work can contribute to adaptability by providing flexibility to workers and firms, but may pose challenges in terms job quality and inclusiveness;
- regional disparities in unemployment rates within countries as a measure of the extent to which countries adapt to the uneven regional impact of mega-trends such as technological change, globalisation and demographic change.
- 13. The key message from Table 1, Panel B is that framework conditions for resilience and adaptability are closely related to labour market outcomes in terms of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness. ¹³ In most cases, framework conditions for resilience and adaptability are complementary to all dimensions of good labour market performance. However, in some cases there can be potential trade-offs in the sense that some framework conditions may raise labour market performance along some dimensions but reduce it along others.
- Countries with more resilient labour markets and a higher share of skilled workers do better across all dimensions of labour market performance.
 - Labour market resilience is crucial not only to limit the short-term social costs of economic downturns but also to support labour market and economic performance in the medium to long term by avoiding that cyclical downturns translate into structurally lower growth of output, employment and wages. In fact, the unemployment rate and the low-income rate are generally lower while labour market security is higher in countries with more resilient labour markets. Labour market resilience is high in countries such as Japan and a number of Scandinavian countries (Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden), whereas it is low in a number of Mediterranean countries and the United States.
 - A skilled workforce promotes innovation and the adoption of new technologies and work organisation practices, thereby boosting productivity, employment and wages. In fact, countries with a highly skilled workforce perform better across all dimensions of labour market performance. Countries

with particularly low shares of low-skilled individuals include the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Japan and the Netherlands, but on average around one fifth of adults and one third of students in OECD countries do not have the basic skills required to succeed in a rapidly changing labour market.

- Countries in which productive firms can more easily attract workers and grow also perform relatively better on job quantity. A number of countries, such as Germany, the Netherlands and Norway, in which labour markets allocate workers efficiently in the sense that employment growth is higher in more productive firms than in less productive ones –are also among the best-performing ones on most indicators of job quantity. However, a high ability of productive firms to attract workers is not sufficient to perform well on job quantity, as illustrated by a number of Mediterranean countries and the United States.
- Countries in which absolute deviations of real median wage growth from labour productivity growth are limited have generally done well on both job quantity and inclusiveness. A large number of countries have experienced very low productivity growth over the past two decades, with productivity growth only partly transmitted to the real wage of the typical worker. Consequently, real median wages have stagnated in a large number of countries. Countries in which real median wage growth has closely tracked productivity growth, such as Denmark and New Zealand, have generally done well on both job quantity and inclusiveness. By contrast, countries in which real median wage growth has exceeded productivity growth, especially in the run-up to the crisis, such as Greece, Italy and Spain, have experienced large increases in unemployment. This suggests that large positive deviations of wage growth from productivity growth are unsustainable and may harm employment prospects in the long run. Countries in which real median wage growth has fallen short of productivity growth, such as Ireland, Poland and the United States, have typically experienced subpar performance in terms of inclusiveness without any clear benefits in terms of job quantity.
- Countries with high shares of non-standard workers and high regional disparities do worse than other countries on job quality and inclusiveness, without apparent benefits in terms of job quantity. Around one fifth of workers in OECD countries are employed on non-standard contracts, which raises flexibility for employers and workers including on working time but may also pose challenges for skills development, job quality and inclusiveness. In fact, job quality and inclusiveness are lower in countries with high-shares of non-standard workers, such as most Mediterranean countries. A similar pattern emerges for countries with high regional disparities that typically do worse than other countries in terms of job quality and inclusiveness but do not systematically do better on job quantity.
- 14. A whole-of-government approach is needed to make framework conditions for resilience and adaptability conducive to good overall economic and labour market performance. Labour market policies can influence most framework conditions for resilience and adaptability. For instance, well-designed and adequately funded education and training policies could improve adult skills and productivity growth while providing workers with the right tools to navigate change, thereby reducing skill mismatch and improving the ability of productive firms to attract qualified workers. However, labour

market policies alone cannot achieve framework conditions for resilience and adaptability. Key non-labour market policies are:

- Sound macroeconomic policies smooth business cycle fluctuations in aggregate demand and can have longer-term effects by reducing the scope for hysteresis-type mechanisms that turn temporary downturns in activity into sustained periods of low economic activity. This may, for instance, happen if cyclical increases in unemployment translate into increases in structural unemployment or reduced labour force participation, or if cyclical declines in investment reduce growth expectations, resulting in a low-growth trap characterised by low investment and low growth in productivity and wages.
- Productivity-enhancing policies and institutions not directly related to the labour market are key to promote a vibrant economic environment that is conducive to innovation and the efficient re-allocation of factors of production. Business dynamism could be promoted by facilitating the entry of new firms, the reallocation of workers towards the most productive firms and the restructuring (or orderly exit) of the weakly productive ones. Raising the efficiency of tax systems; providing a sound legal and judicial infrastructure; enhancing the robustness of financial markets that serve the real economy; continuing efforts to strengthen the rule of law and fight corruption; and creating a level playing field and improving the governance of state-owned enterprises are other policy areas that will be key to sustainably raise productivity, employment and wages.
- In accordance with the *OECD Skills Strategy*, the challenge for *skills policies* is to provide learning opportunities from early childhood throughout the working life. A high-quality initial education and training system will be crucial to give individuals the best possible start in the labour market by providing them with strong basic skills, socio-emotional skills and specific skills required by employers, as well as the capacity for lifelong learning and to make education, training and occupational choices throughout their working lives.

Table 1. *Jobs Strategy* dashboard for labour market performance Panel A. Dashboard of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness

-		Quantity	ı		Quality		Inclusiveness			
_	Employment	Unemployment	Broad labour underutilisation	Earnings quality	Labour market insecurity	Quality of working environment	Low-income rate	Gender labour income gap	Employment gap for disadvantaged groups	
	Share of working-age population (20-64 years) in employment (%) (2016)	Share of persons in the labour force (15-64 years) in unemployment (%) (2016)	Share of inactive, unemployed or involuntary part- timers (15-64) in population (%), excluding youth (15- 29) in education and not in employment (2015)	Gross hourly earnings in USD adjusted for inequality (2015)	Expected monetary loss associated with becoming and staying unemployed as a share of previous earnings (%) (2016)	Share of workers experiencing job strain (%) (2015)	Poverty rate after taxes and transfers, Poverty line 50% Working-age population (18-64) (%) (2015)	Difference between average annual earnings of men and women divided by average earnings of men (%) (2014)	Average employment gap as a percentage of the benchmark group (prime-age male workers) (2016)	
OECD countries										
Iceland	87.5	3.1	14.0	22.7	2.2	23.8	6.5	34.0	9.2	
Switzerland	82.0	5.1	18.5	28.4	1.7		7.5	49.5	14.6	
Sweden	81.2	7.1	21.2	20.3	3.8	23.6	8.5	24.4	13.3	
New Zealand	80.1	5.3	22.5	16.8	4.4	21.6	9.7		17.7	
Japan	79.2	3.3	23.2	16.1	1.6	31.2	14.5	57.7	24.7	
Germany	78.7	4.2	21.8	25.0	1.9	28.5	9.5	45.4	20.2	
Norway	78.6	4.9	18.5	29.0	1.9	13.8	9.3	35.1	16.0	
United Kingdom	77.4	5.0	24.6	17.7	2.7	20.7	10.0	42.8	22.9	
Denmark	77.4	6.3	22.7	29.8	3.1	18.2	7.0	24.1	16.7	
Netherlands	77.1	6.1	23.6	28.7	1.9	23.4	8.3	46.6	22.2	
Czech Republic	76.7	4.0	22.5	9.0	1.8	25.4	5.8	45.7	30.3	
Estonia	76.5	6.9	22.1	7.5	5.2	23.0	12.9	30.7	22.1	
Canada	75.5	7.1	26.0	19.6	3.8		14.1	39.7	19.3	
Australia	75.3	5.9	28.9	21.9	3.8	25.6	10.2	44.2	21.4	
Israel	75.0	4.9	25.4	8.7	3.5	25.1	14.3		14.6	
Austria	74.8	6.1	25.6	23.0	2.6	28.5	8.7	46.6	21.6	
Finland	73.5	8.9	26.9	21.2	2.0	16.3	7.5	21.9	18.6	
Latvia	73.2	9.9	26.9	6.4		30.3	13.0	22.0	17.7	
United States	72.9	4.9	26.4	17.7	3.7	25.8	14.8	40.2	25.4	
Hungary	71.5	5.1	29.6	7.2	3.2	36.4	10.0	28.6	33.6	
Korea	71.3	3.8		9.9	2.4		8.5	61.0	31.8	
Portugal	70.6	11.5	31.2	8.7	7.0	33.2	12.3	29.4	22.0	
Luxembourg	70.6	6.3	26.7	28.8	2.2	23.1	7.9	36.6	24.0	
France	70.4	9.8	32.9	21.9	4.4	25.8	8.3	35.3	27.8	
Slovenia	70.0	8.1	28.4	14.2	3.5	31.8	8.7	22.4	27.4	
Ireland	70.0	8.7	34.3	19.3	3.1	23.9	9.7	38.7	26.3	
Slovak Republic	69.8	9.7	31.8	8.8	6.4	32.0	7.6	32.6	33.5	
Poland	69.3	6.2	30.8	7.6	4.0	30.0	11.0	35.9	31.5	
Chile	68.7	6.8	33.7	6.5	7.1	28.2	14.2	49.9	27.5	
Belgium	67.7	7.9	31.2	29.3	2.4	25.8	9.5	33.3	30.0	
Mexico	66.5	4.0		4.6	4.0	28.9	13.9	59.4	40.4	
Spain	63.9	19.7	41.3	17.5	17.5	35.0	15.9	37.4	27.5	
Italy	61.6	11.9	43.9	19.1	10.7	29.6	13.6	45.3	34.0	
Greece	56.2	23.7	46.0	10.0	22.7	47.9	16.0	51.7	38.2	
Turkey	54.3	11.1	45.0	5.8	13.0	42.9	13.5		47.1	
OECD	71.3	6.5	28.1	16.8	4.9	27.5	10.6	39.0	24.9	
Non-OECD countrie							. 3.0			
Colombia	73.5	9.5	29.9	2.0	11.0			38.2	34.3	
Costa Rica	65.4	9.7	38.2	3.0	7.2		17.5		44.9	
Lithuania	75.1	8.1	25.2	7.5		30.8	14.7	28.9	17.6	
Argentina	68.8	8.7		3.7	 7.5		14.7	49.4	38.8	
Brazil	69.5	9.8		2.3	6.6		17.3	49.4	39.2	
China	79.0	2.9		2.8	5.8	28.9	26.0		32.0	
India	79.0 59.5	2.9 3.7		2.8 1.1	3.6		26.0 17.1		50.1	
						30.7				
Indonesia	71.6	6.4		1.2	8.2				40.1	
Russia	74.6	5.6	23.6	4.1	5.1	33.4	12.8		35.4	
Saudi Arabia	60.0	5.7								
South Africa	49.7	26.7	50.2	1.9	22.6	26.7	23.9		50.3	

Above average About average Below average performers (Topperformers (Mid-third) third)

Notes: Countries are ordered in descending order by the employment rate. Dark blue stands for better performance, light blue for worse one. Youth, aged 15-29 years, in education and not in employment are excluded from both the numerator and the denominator of broad labour underutilisation. The groups considered in the last columns are youth, older workers, mothers with children, people with disabilities and non-natives. Data on job quantity refer to 2016 except for Brazil (2015), China (2010), India (2011-12) and Indonesia (2013). Data on earnings quality refer to 2015, except for Chile, Japan and non-OECD countries (2013). Data on labour market insecurity refer to 2016 except for Israel (2015) and non-OECD countries (2013). Data for job strain are preliminary estimates for 2015. Data on low-income rate refer to 2015 except for Costa Rica and Israel (2016); Australia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand (2014); Brazil (2013); Japan (2012), China, India and Russia (2011). Data on labour income gap per capita refer to 2014 except for Korea (2012); Canada and Japan (2015). For details on the employment gap for disadvantaged groups see Chapter 1 of the 2018 OECD Employment Outlook. Source: Chapter 1 of the 2016 OECD Employment Outlook, Chapter 1 of the 2018 OECD Employment Outlook, Chapter 1 of the 2018 OECD Employment Outlook, OECD Employment Database, OECD Job Quality Database and OECD Income Distribution Database.

Panel B. Framework conditions for resilience and adaptability

-	Resilience	Adaptability									
	Unemployment cost of a	Labour productivity		Ability of productive firms		Wage-productivity	Adult skills	Student skills	Non-standard workers	Regional disp	arities
	decline in GDP	gro	vth	to attract wor	kers	decoupling					
	Average increase in unemployment rate over 3 years after a negative shock to GDP of 1% (2000-2016)	Average annual labour productivity growth (%) (2000-16)		Cross-firm employment growth differential associated with 10 pp productivity differential (2003-2013)		Difference between annual real median wage growth and labour productivity growth (pp) (2000-2013)	Share of adults with numeracy skills below level 2 in PIAAC (%) (2012, 2015)	Share of 15-year-olds not in secondary school or scoring below Level 2 in PISA (%) (2015)	employed and temporary	Coefficient of variatio regional unemploym rates (200 2016)	
OECD countries						I		1			
Iceland	0.1	1.5	0					28.8	20.6	Low	1
Switzerland	0.4	0.4	↓	Low	0			19.0	18.7	Low	†
Sweden	0.3	1.3	0	Average	0	0.4 ↑	14.7	25.9	19.0	Average	ļ
New Zealand	0.4	0.7	0			0.3 0	18.9	29.3		Low	0
Japan	0.2	0.7	1	Average	1	-0.5 ↑	8.1	15.4	20.2	Low	0
Germany	0.4	0.6	0	High	0	-0.4 0	18.4	20.6	18.1	High	1
Norway	0.2	0.5	1	High	0	-0.5 o	14.6	24.3	11.8	Low	0
United Kingdom	0.4	0.8	0	Low	0	-0.2 ↓	24.2	34.4	16.1	Average	0
Denmark	0.6	0.6	0	Low	0	0.1 ↓	14.2	23.1	13.6	Low	0
Netherlands	0.4	0.7	1	High		-0.7	13.2	20.8	25.9	Average	0
Czech Republic	0.3	2.1	0			0.3 o	12.9	26.8	21.2	High	0
Estonia	0.7	2.8	1	Average	0		14.3	17.6	8.4	Average	1
Canada	0.5	0.6	0			-0.6 o	22.4	28.5	21.2	High	Ţ
Australia	0.4	1.0	0			-1.0 ↑	20.1	29.3	32.1	High	0
Israel	0.6	0.7	0			-0.6	30.9	36.4		Low	0
Austria	0.1	0.4	0	High	0	-0.0 o	14.3	34.8	15.4	Average	1
Finland	0.2	0.6	0	Average	0	1.0 o	12.8	15.9	21.8	High	j.
Latvia	0.8	3.9	1	High	1			30.2		Low	1
United States	0.7	1.3	1	High	†	-1.5 ↑	28.7	41.0		Average	_
Hungary	0.3	1.7	Ţ	Average		-0.6 0		35.5	15.9	Average	
Korea	0.2	2.5	Ĭ	Average		-1.1 ↑	18.9	22.5	32.7	Low	0
Portugal	0.3	0.8	1	Low	0	0.5 ↓		33.2	31.0	High	ı
Luxembourg	0.1	0.0	†	Low	0	· ·		35.0	11.9	riigii	+
France	0.4	0.6	0	Average		 0.7 o	28.0	30.4	20.8	Average	1
Slovenia	0.3	1.0	0	Average			25.8	22.2	18.6	Low	0
Ireland	0.3	3.0	1	Low	0	-1.1 <u> </u>	25.2	18.0	19.5	Average	
Slovak Republic	0.5	3.2	J.	2011		-0.8 ↑	13.8	35.5	22.3	High	0
Poland	0.6	2.7	1	Average	↑	-1.3 L	23.5	24.7	37.4	Low	0
Chile	0.3	1.4	Ĭ				61.9	59.6		Average	
Belgium	0.3	0.6	0	Low	0	-0.2 ↑	13.4	25.7	16.9	High	0
Mexico	0.2	0.2	1					73.2		Average	0
Spain	0.9	0.7	0	High	0	0.5 ↓	30.6	29.3	32.1	High	J.
Italy	0.5	-0.4	0	High	1	1.0 1	31.7	38.4	27.9	High	Ĭ.
Greece	0.8	0.2	Ţ	Low	1	1.4 ↓	28.5	41.5	35.6	Average	0
Turkey	0.2	2.6	Ĭ			'	50.2	66.0	30.2	High	1
OECD countries	0.4	1.2	0			-0.2 o	22.7	31.2	22.0		-
Non-OECD countries							EE.7	01.2			
Colombia	0.2	1.9	0					74.8		Average	0
Costa Rica	0.6							76.2			
Lithuania	0.5	4.2	Ι				17.4	32.7		Low	1
Argentina			Ť					75.9			
Brazil	0.3							79.0		Average	0
China	0.0							46.2		High	
India											
Indonesia								78.6			
Russia	0.1							22.8		High	1
Saudi Arabia	0.1										
South Africa	0.3									Low	0

Notes: Countries are ordered in descending order of the employment rate. OECD unweighted average. The signs \uparrow , o, \downarrow indicate differences in the most recent period (see Table A4 for the details) relative to the overall period, with \uparrow denoting an increase, o indicating approximate stability and \downarrow indicating a decline. For instance, \uparrow for the decoupling indicator means that over 2010-13 real median wage growth accelerated relative to labour productivity growth. Changes in indicators are considered to be significant when they are at least as large as one-half of the standard deviation of that indicator across OECD countries.

Source: Resilience: OECD calculations based on OECD (2017), OECD Employment Outlook 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/empl_outlook-2017-en; Labour productivity growth: OECD Economic Outlook database (labour productivity measured in per worker terms); Wage-productivity decoupling: OECD calculations based on OECD National Accounts Database and OECD Earnings Database (labour productivity measured in per hour terms); Ability of productive firms to attract workers: OECD calculations based on the 2013 ORBIS vintage; Low-skilled adults: OECD (2016), Skills Matter: Further Results from the Survey of Adult Skills, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264258051-en; Low-performing students in mathematics: OECD (Volume Excellence Results I): and Equity http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264266490-en. Non-standard workers: OECD (2015), In It Together - Why Less Inequality Benefits All, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264232662-en. Regional disparities: OECD (2018), OECD Regional Statistics Database, https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/region-data-en.

3. The role of policies and institutions in promoting good labour market performance

Raising the quantity and the quality of jobs

15. This section discusses the role of policies and institutions for raising the quantity and quality of jobs by placing particular emphasis on how synergies between these two outcomes can be achieved while mitigating possible trade-offs. It first discusses the role of policies and institutions for creating an environment in which quality jobs can flourish. It then switches to the supply side of the labour market by discussing policies and institutions that enhance the effective supply of labour and job quality by making work more accessible, attractive and sustainable.

Promote an environment in which high quality jobs can thrive

16. Good labour market performance in terms of both job quantity and job quality requires that labour demand is sufficiently strong to ensure that enough good quality jobs are available for everyone who wants to work. This can be achieved by fostering skills and productivity, while ensuring that the gains from productivity growth are broadly shared with workers and non-wage labour costs are kept down.

Better and well-matched skills are key for both job quantity and job quality

Policies should ensure that workers are equipped with the right skills to thrive in the labour market. Individuals with the right skills are more likely to be employed and, when in employment, tend to have better jobs. A skilled workforce also makes it easier to innovate and adopt new technologies and work organisation practices, thereby boosting productivity and growth. To ensure that the skills acquired through the education and training system correspond to labour market needs, and hence avoid major issues with poor school-to-work transitions and skill mismatch (including shortages), it is important to develop stronger links between the world of education and training on the one hand and the world of work on the other - including through work-based learning, the involvement of social partners in the development and delivery of curricula matching market needs, and an element of cost-sharing in skills funding. The relevance of skills formation can also be improved by having in place robust systems and tools for assessing and anticipating skills needs, combined with effective mechanisms and procedures which ensure that such information feeds into policy-making as well as into lifelong guidance. Skills policies should also account for regional variations in the supply and demand for skills. This requires close collaboration between employers and the education sector at the regional and local levels.

Promote productivity growth within firms and through the efficient reallocation of resources across firms

- 18. Productivity growth is the main driving force of higher wages and incomes, and hence rising living standards. Good wages and working conditions, in turn, can promote productivity growth as they enhance motivation, worker effort, skills use and incentives for learning and innovation. A positive dynamic between the performance of labour markets and that of the economy as a whole requires policies that provide sufficient flexibility to allow for the efficient reallocation of workers across firms and sectors along with policies that promote the conditions for learning and innovation in the workplace. In emerging economies, a major challenge is also to design policies and institutions that address the problem of widespread labour informality, as this is associated with both low productivity and poor job quality outcomes (see Box 3).
- 19. Providing good working conditions and opportunities for career development can foster learning and innovation in the workplace. Good working conditions and opportunities for career development are not only important for employee well-being directly, but can also contribute to productivity by strengthening the commitment of workers to their firm, reduce excessive worker turnover, promote the use of skills in the workplace and strengthen the incentives of firms and workers to invest in training and skill acquisition. Firms therefore often have a strong interest in providing good working conditions since this provides long-term gains in terms of higher productivity and profitability. In practice, the combination of good working conditions with high performance is often associated with the presence of high-quality management and socalled High-Performance Work Practices (HPWP), which tend to emphasise the importance of team work, autonomy, task discretion, mentoring, job rotation and the use of new tools and technologies. The adoption of HPWP depends to an important extent on the production technology of firms, and particularly the importance of skills, but also their size since this determines in large part the resources that firms have at their disposal to implement such practices.
- A sound regulatory framework combined with effective social dialogue and targeted information services can help support the conditions for learning and innovation in the workplace. A sound regulatory framework includes adequate standards for working conditions based on occupational health and safety regulations to reduce physical and mental health risks, working time regulations that limit excessive working hours and the use of night shifts, while establishing the right to rest breaks and paid leave as well as balanced employment protection provisions that protect workers against possible abuses but at the same time do not prevent required job reallocation. It may also include a minimum wage set at a level that avoids pricing low-wage workers out of jobs. Well-functioning collective bargaining institutions, particularly when associated with high coverage, can also be useful. They allow for more differentiation in terms of wages and working conditions than statutory rules, can foster skills development and skills use in the workplace, and allow for the effective dissemination of good working practices. Finally, governments can indirectly promote high-performance management and working practices through information dissemination and advice on best-practices, as well as through the provision of management training.
- 21. The efficient reallocation of resources depends on the flexibility of firms and the mobility of workers, i.e. the ease with which entrepreneurs can start or liquidate a business, firms adjust their workforce in response to changing business conditions and workers move across firms and places in search of better matches for their skills and

ambitions to enhance their career opportunities. The efficiency of reallocation is to an important extent determined by the functioning and regulation of financial, housing and product markets, including through policies that affect entry and exit, but labour market policies and institutions also play an important role by determining the flexibility with which firms can adjust their workforces (e.g. employment protection) and the ease with which workers can move across firms. The latter depends to an important extent on the transferability of skills and the portability of benefits, availability of effective employment services and active labour market programmes to facilitate job transitions. Worker mobility also depends on wage incentives for workers to move from low to high-productivity firms, highlighting the importance of allowing sufficient scope to adjust wages to business conditions at the firm level, especially in countries where collective bargaining predominantly takes places at the sector or national level.

Employment protection legislation plays a key role in preventing abuses and avoiding inefficient dismissals but excessive and/or uncertain termination costs hinder efficient labour reallocation. Regulations concerning dismissal and termination of contracts prevent abuses and can reduce excessive turnover by preserving worker-firm matches that are viable in the longer-term by making firms take account of the social cost in their dismissal decisions (i.e. the social and budgetary consequences of greater joblessness). Regulations that limit the gap in protection between workers on open-ended and fixed-term contracts can further reduce excessive turnover by preventing an undue reliance on temporary contracts. This is likely to spur learning and innovation in the workplace by strengthening incentives for investment in firm-specific human capital. However, excessively high and uncertain termination costs discourage hiring on openended contracts and hinder efficient resource reallocation and skill matching, thereby affecting productivity growth and efficiency. At the same time, large statutory disparities in termination costs by type of contract trigger differences in job security and generate persistent divides between non-regular and regular workers, in particular because restrictive definitions of fair termination cannot be effectively applied to non-regular workers. This suggests that a narrow definition of unfair dismissal that focuses on false reasons, reasons unrelated to work, discrimination and prohibited grounds should be used. Predictable advance notice, ordinary severance pay and layoff taxes - whose level might depend on the reason for dismissal - can be used to avoid inefficient dismissals and compensate workers for involuntary separations that are independent of their effort.

Box 3. Reducing the incidence of low-quality jobs by curbing informality

The high incidence of informality in the labour market is one of the most salient features of labour markets in many emerging economies. Informal jobs are typically characterised by lower levels of productivity, partly as a consequence of lower investment in human capital, worse management practices and credit constraints. They also tend to be of much lower quality than formal jobs and reduce labour market inclusiveness. Promoting quality jobs and increasing labour productivity in emerging economies requires effective action in several areas:

- Firms and workers need to clearly see the benefits of formalisation. Governments should
 improve the quality of the public services they deliver and, where appropriate, strengthen the link
 between contributions and benefits in social insurance schemes.
- The costs of formality should be lowered for employers and the self-employed. Simplified tax and administrative systems, streamlined registration processes and a reduction in red tape are crucial steps in the right direction.
- **Enforcement methods should be improved.** The labour inspectorate should be given sufficient resources and labour inspectors should be adequately qualified. Importantly, enforcement should be transparent and strict, but not be overly harsh, to avoid worsening the situation of vulnerable workers even further.
- Skills development should be promoted. By raising the productivity of workers, skills can
 compensate for the higher cost of formal jobs and enhance access to formal-sector employment.

Ensure that productivity gains are shared with workers, particularly those with low skills

- 23. Real wages are the most direct mechanism through which the benefits of productivity growth can be transmitted to workers and their families. Over the past two decades, however, real median wage growth in most OECD countries has decoupled from aggregate labour productivity growth. This reflects both declines in labour shares (decoupling of average wages from productivity) and increases in wage inequality (decoupling of median wages from average wages). Productivity gains no longer appear to translate into broadly shared wage gains for all workers.
- 24. The decoupling of wages from productivity partly reflects global megatrends, but large cross-country heterogeneity in decoupling suggests that national policies and institutions also matter. The evidence suggests that capital-enhancing technological change and the rise of global value chains have contributed to this decoupling by reducing labour shares and raising wage inequality. However, the evidence also suggests that national policies in the areas of skills, product markets and labour markets are not only key to raising productivity but can ensure that the dividend from higher productivity is broadly shared. Skills policies can support the broader sharing of productivity gains by limiting capital-labour substitution in response to global megatrends while procompetitive product market policies limit the size of product market rents appropriated by capital. Labour market policies and institutions can support the sharing of productivity gains both by affecting the relative cost of labour and thereby the degree to which capital is substituted for some types of labour and by influencing the distribution of product market rents.

- A statutory minimum wage can help ensure that workers at the bottom of the wage ladder also benefit from growing economic prosperity, particularly in the absence of encompassing collectively-agreed wage floors. The latter can be considered a functional equivalent of a minimum wage set by law insofar as most, if not all, workers, especially the weakest ones, are covered by them. Nevertheless, several OECD countries complement collective wage agreements with a statutory minimum wage. When minimum wages are moderate and well-designed, adverse employment effects can be avoided. The following principles can help to enhance the design of minimum wage systems. First, make minimum wages pay while avoiding that they price low-skilled workers out of jobs by carefully considering their interactions with the tax-benefit system. For example, by reducing social security contributions around the minimum wage, it is possible to enhance the effectiveness of the minimum wage as a tool to reduce low pay and fight poverty while limiting the rise in labour costs for employers. Second, ensure that minimum wages are revised regularly, based on accurate, up-to-date and impartial information and advice that carefully considers current labour market conditions and the views of social partners and experts (e.g. independent commissions). Third, and where necessary, allow minimum wages to vary by group (to reflect differences in productivity or employment barriers) and/or by region (to reflect differences in economic conditions). Fourth, improve coverage of, and compliance with, minimum wage legislation.
- 26. Collective bargaining institutions and social dialogue can help promote a broad sharing of productivity gains, including with those at the bottom of the job ladder, provide voice to workers and endow employers and employees with a tool for addressing common challenges. To promote good quality jobs for all in a changing world of work, collective bargaining systems have to have wide coverage, while providing sufficient flexibility to firms.
- The best way of ensuring the inclusiveness of collective bargaining is by having 27. well-organised social partners based on broad memberships. This allows social dialogue to be widespread at the firm-level among worker organisations and employers and to be based on representative social partners at higher levels (e.g. sector, country). To extend social dialogue to all segments of the economy, including small firms and non-standard forms of employment, governments should put in place a legal framework that promotes social dialogue in large and small firms alike and allows labour relations to adapt to emerging challenges. In the absence of broad-based social partners, another way of promoting the inclusiveness of collective bargaining is through the use of administrative extensions that extend the coverage of collective agreements beyond the members of the signatory unions and employer organisations to all workers and firms in a sector. To avoid that extensions harm the economic prospects of start-ups, small firms or vulnerable workers, it is important that the parties negotiating the agreements represent the collective interest of all groups of firms and workers. This can be achieved by subjecting extension requests to reasonable representativeness criteria, a meaningful test of public interest and providing well-defined procedures for exemptions and opt-outs of firms in case of economic hardship.
- 28. Collective bargaining systems characterised by predominantly sector-level bargaining need to allow for sufficient economic flexibility at the firm and country levels. The introduction of flexibility in predominantly sector-level systems has often been considered as requiring a shift from sector to firm-level bargaining. While such a shift would indeed provide more flexibility to firms, it is also likely to induce a decline in bargaining coverage, undermining the inclusiveness of the system. Experience in a number of OECD countries has shown that less radical options are also available, based

on the use of controlled opt-outs or sectoral framework agreements that explicitly leave space for further adaptation at the firm or individual level. In principle, these instruments preserve to the integrity of sector-level bargaining, while at the same time enabling a closer link between productivity and working conditions at the firm-level. However, their effectiveness in providing additional flexibility for firms largely depends to an important extent on having high levels of collective worker representation across firms. Flexibility to macro-economic conditions can be fostered through the effective coordination of bargaining outcomes across bargaining units (e.g. industries or firms). Recent OECD analysis suggests that coordination can promote better labour market outcomes by providing more flexibility to macro-economic conditions. Effective coordination can be achieved through peak-level bargaining based on the presence of national confederations of unions and employers that provide guidance to bargaining parties at lower levels. Another possibility is pattern bargaining where a leading sector sets the targets - usually the manufacturing sector exposed to international trade - and others follow.

29. Collective bargaining systems differ widely across countries in terms of their coverage, the flexibility that they provide to firms and their specific institutional set-up and these differences tend to be deeply rooted in the sociocultural fabric of countries. National traditions in collective bargaining are important and need to be respected. Yet, this does not imply that collective bargaining systems cannot and should not adapt to a changing economic context. Indeed, one of the most salient features of successful collective bargaining systems may be their ability to adapt gradually to changing economic conditions within their national industrial-relations tradition. This depends crucially on the quality of industrial relations, but also on a government that provides space for collective bargaining and social dialogue, while setting the boundaries.

Promote job quantity and job quality by keeping non-wage labour costs down

- 30. Labour taxes in the form of personal income taxes and social security contributions represent a key source of revenue to governments, but can have an adverse impact on employment, earnings and inclusiveness. On average across the OECD, labour taxation accounts for about one third of labour costs.
- Changes in the composition of labour taxation that broaden the tax base and increase tax progressivity can contribute to better labour market performance. This could for example take the form of a partial shift away from social security contributions towards personal income taxes, when there is already a weak link between individual contributions and entitlements (e.g. health insurance, family allowances). A partial shift to personal income taxes would reduce the burden of taxation on labour by broadening the tax base since the application of personal income taxes is not limited to labour earnings from dependent employees. It would further reduce differences in fiscal treatment based on labour market status and income source, thereby weakening possible unintended tax incentives for self-employment or employment in the informal sector. If personal incomes taxes are more progressive than social security contributions, as is typically the case, this is likely to increase the overall progressivity of labour taxation, with beneficial implications for inclusiveness. Moreover, in contrast to social security contributions, personal income tax systems in many countries have credits or deductions that make effective rates close to zero or even negative at low income levels, which could benefit employment as well. Such a move also has the potential to strengthen the effectiveness of other policy instruments. For example, a partial shift to personal income taxes could help make the statutory minimum wage more effective in supporting pay for low-productivity workers (job quality), while mitigating any potential adverse effects on

employment (job quantity). A similar argument applies to collectively agreed wage floors.¹⁴

32. Reducing the overall burden of labour taxation by switching to taxes that weigh less directly on labour can promote employment and take-home pay. One example could be real estate taxes. This would not only be efficient, given the immobile nature of real estate, but also promote inclusiveness since low income households tend to own less property than higher income and more wealthy households. There are also arguments for strengthening the taxation of capital income at the individual level and increasing the reliance on consumption and environmental taxes.

Building secure labour markets by protecting workers and removing barriers to work

33. Since high-quality job creation and strong productivity growth require a sufficiently flexible labour market, which exposes workers to the risk of job loss, good labour market performance also requires building secure labour markets by protecting workers and removing barriers to work. More generally, high-quality job creation needs to be combined with measures to support an effective labour supply by ensuring that work is accessible, attractive and sustainable.

Effective safety nets against labour market shocks improve job quality

- Effective social safety nets alleviate concerns about job security among the employed, with important consequences for worker well-being. Moreover, adequate unemployment insurance and other social benefits – including sickness, disability, lone parent and social assistance benefits - enhance job quality by protecting workers against individual labour market shocks (such as job loss) and smoothing consumption between joblessness and employment spells as well as avoiding the emergence of specific barriers to employment due to poverty and deprivation. Individual labour market shocks can also be smoothed through employment protection legislation, but income protection for displaced workers is better achieved through the unemployment benefit system. Employers' responsibility for the social cost of unemployment, sickness and disability (in terms of greater public spending, lower tax revenues, loss of human capital, health consequences, etc.) can then be enforced through moderate layoff taxes or some degree of experience rating in those taxes that are used to finance active and passive labour market policies. However, care should be taken not to unduly penalise certain types of firms and workers and to minimise any unintended consequences on the hiring and firing behaviour of firms, for example by introducing exemptions for employers hiring sick, disabled or long-term unemployed workers.
- 35. Adequate safety nets should be accompanied by complementary policies to minimise work disincentives and promote effective job search. In most advanced economies, adequate safety nets consist of multiple layers, including: i) unemployment insurance benefits for those who meet certain minimum contribution requirements; and ii) universal but modest unemployment and social assistance benefits that are available to all non-employed persons subject to a means test. Yet, benefits should be accompanied by strong incentives for effective job search to avoid the risk of benefit dependence and thus increased joblessness and higher costs for the public purse. Mutual obligation principles supported by effective employment services, including job-search assistance and skill development opportunities, active programmes and strictly-enforced job-search requirements are key.

36. In emerging economies, the provision of effective social safety nets is particularly challenging due to the presence of widespread informal employment (see Box 3). In the case of unemployment insurance, for example, the requirement of not being in formal employment for receiving benefits provides potentially strong incentives for working informally while receiving benefits. Moreover, workers who do not perceive the potential benefits of social insurance may "opt out" by taking up informal employment. This can be detrimental to workers' well-being in the longer term and undermines economic growth and the financial sustainability of social protection systems. To address both issues a number of emerging economies have introduced mandatory self-insurance schemes based on individual savings accounts for unemployment, while ensuring that some form of income support is available to those with insufficient savings. In principle, such a system could also be used to provide unemployment insurance to self-employed workers.

In order to strengthen incentives to work, employability and opportunities, a comprehensive activation strategy is needed...

- 37. An effective activation strategy must deal with all barriers simultaneously through the coordination of a large number of policies and services. Jobless persons and individuals marginally attached to the labour market often face multiple barriers to labour force participation and quality employment. Some of these may result from the effect of ill-designed benefit schemes on recipients' incentives to engage in active job search. However, jobless persons and individuals marginally attached to the labour market typically face many other barriers that can cause them to refrain from actively seeking work and/or prevent them from finding suitable jobs. These barriers are particularly important for a number of groups – including older workers, mothers with young children, discouraged workers and people with disabilities. Therefore, raising labour force participation and improving employment performance – in terms of both job quantity and job quality - requires a comprehensive activation strategy that makes work more accessible by dealing with all barriers simultaneously through the coordination, at both national and regional levels, of employment, health and social services, the administration of active labour market programmes and the design of tax and benefits policies. An effective activation strategy must combine measures to ensure that jobless people have the motivation to search actively and accept suitable jobs (e.g. through appropriate tax and benefit incentives) with actions to expand opportunities (e.g. job-search assistance, direct referrals, subsidised employment) and interventions to increase the employability of the least employable (e.g. training and work-experience programmes).
- 38. Efficient employment services and active labour market programmes are crucial for the success of such an activation strategy. For harder-to-place workers, the provision of these services requires intensive counselling and skilled case managers, the effectiveness of which is typically enhanced by a low client-to-staff caseload ratio. In order to cope with scarce resources, effective profiling tools must therefore be used sufficiently early in the jobless spell as a way to efficiently allocate jobseekers to less or more intensive service streams. It is also important to ensure that local employment offices have sufficient local labour market expertise to effectively place people into jobs. Private providers could play a useful supporting role to improve the delivery and targeting of employment services or alleviate capacity constraints, conditional on adequate performance management. Moreover, active programmes must be rigorously evaluated and ineffective ones must be swiftly terminated.

- ... which combines active policies with appropriate taxes and transfers by enforcing a system of "mutual obligations"
 - Employment services and active labour market programmes must be combined with tax and transfer policies. Effective activation needs to be accompanied by moderately-generous and comprehensive unemployment and social-assistance benefit systems. There are two reasons for this. First, where effective monitoring and sanction systems are in place within a "mutual-obligations" framework – in which governments have the duty to provide jobseekers with benefits and effective services to enable them to find work and, in turn, beneficiaries have to take active steps to find work or improve their employability – the threat of potential sanctions in terms of benefit withdrawal significantly increases the financial incentive for seeking and taking up gainful employment as well as seriously participating in active programmes. 11 unemployment and social-assistance benefits provide the principal instrument for linking jobless people to employment services and active labour market programmes. Within a "mutual obligations" framework, benefit recipients are referred to employment services, which provide job-search assistance or, depending on the unemployed person's profile, direct them towards more intensive programmes, while monitoring their job-search effort or rehabilitation progress. By contrast, in the absence of unemployment and social assistance benefits, it is often difficult to reach out to those facing multiple barriers to employment, who risk being left behind. While moderately generous and comprehensive social benefits strengthen the effectiveness of activation policies, in the absence of effective active labour market policies, there is a risk that such benefits reduce work incentives and deepen labour market exclusion. Passive and active policies should therefore be conceived together rather than in isolation.
 - 40. Well-targeted, permanent in-work benefits can be effective to make work pay. Combined with active policies and social safety nets, well-targeted, permanent in-work benefits can be effective to set up the right incentives for low-pay workers to both work and climb the earnings ladder, while supporting the living standards of low-income families. Yet, incentives must be properly understood by potential recipients, implying that simple and transparent in-work benefit systems are typically more effective. Since these schemes tend to exert downward pressure on wages, their effectiveness can be enhanced by combining them with binding wage floors as long as they are set at an appropriate, not-too-high level. Finally, in-work benefit schemes are more effective if combined with individual-based taxation, since family-based tax systems often create an important work disincentive for second earners. Since second earners are often women this has a tendency to further reinforce existing gender inequalities in the labour market.

Enhance the sustainability of work by providing good-quality, productive and healthy work environments

41. A comprehensive activation approach also implies making work sustainable over the life-cycle through policies that enhance the quality of the work environment. A good quality and healthy working environment can be promoted through policies preventing and addressing work-related health and safety risks. While work-related physical hazards are often well-addressed by existing policies in most advanced economies, they remain a source of concern in many emerging economies. Moreover, health and safety legislation and incentives have been slow in most OECD countries in recognising that physical health risks are on the decline and mental health risks are rising fast: psychosocial expertise is limited in labour inspectorates and equally so in

occupational health services, where such services exist. As emphasised in the *Recommendation of the Council on Integrated Mental Health, Skills and Work Policy* [C(2015)173], mental health risks can be minimised over the life-cycle through a comprehensive approach, involving: the implementation and enforcement of rigorous legislation for psycho-social risk assessment and risk prevention; the introduction of appropriate financial incentives to promote high-performance work organisation and management practices and reduce the risk that work impairs one's health; and the more effective leverage of market incentives by making the business case for models of work organisation and management practices that result in better working conditions. ¹⁶ The involvement of social partners is crucial to ensure the effective implementation of incentives, regulation and guidelines. Initiatives to improve the quality of the work environment will also help people to prolong their working lives which gains particular importance in the current context of population ageing.

Promoting labour market inclusiveness

High levels of inequality undermine social cohesion by reducing trust in institutions and can also become an obstacle to economic growth and well-being, including by undermining the ability of those in the bottom of the income distribution to invest adequately in their human capital. However, high inequality in income and opportunities is not inevitable and indeed, despite a widespread increase, there remain large differences across countries. Governments have a range of instruments at their disposal that can be used to tackle inequality or promote equal opportunities. The way they choose to address these challenges depends on the national context, including societal values regarding the importance of solidarity, redistribution and equality. Consistent with the OECD Inclusive Growth initiative and framework, this section discusses the key policy choices to address inequality by fostering the inclusiveness of the labour market, while also considering their implications for economic growth. Particular emphasis is given to policies that can enhance the position of low-income earners and their families. This not only reflects social concerns associated with low incomes, but also the recognition that low incomes typically result from a number of specific labour market challenges. Addressing these problems not only increases inclusiveness and social cohesion but can also promote economic growth.

Promote equal opportunities

43. The depth and persistence of economic inequalities is determined by the degree of social mobility across generations as well as over the life-course. Low social mobility reflects the importance of people's socio-economic background for the way they enter the labour market (inter-generational mobility) and the presence of different barriers to career development once in the labour market (intra-generational mobility). Tackling deep and persistent inequalities therefore requires policies that promote social mobility by providing access to quality education, health and labour market opportunities to disadvantaged people.

Foster social mobility between generations

44. The importance of socio-economic background for future labour market performance derives largely from the difficulty that individuals from poor socio-economic backgrounds and/or poor neighbourhoods have in acquiring solid labour market skills. This is also a key channel through which high income inequality can lower economic growth. By opening new opportunities, social mobility can also strengthen

incentives for innovation and entrepreneurship, reinforcing its potential impact on economic growth.

- 45. Public investments to improve the educational outcomes of those from lower socio-economic backgrounds are key for promoting social mobility. The evidence suggests that early interventions are the most cost-effective, such as improving the access to high quality pre-school programs for children from disadvantaged backgrounds. But measures targeting older students are also needed, such as reducing early school leaving. This requires effective mechanisms for the early detection of youth at risk of dropping out, combined with remedial education interventions. Governments can reduce school failure and dropout by eliminating system-level practices that undermine equity, such as grade repetition and early tracking, by ensuring that school choice does not exacerbate economic or spatial inequities, and by designing alternative upper secondary education pathways to ensure that students complete their education. For individuals who leave education with very low levels of skills, second-chance options for education can provide a way out of a low skills/poor-economic-outcome trap. Countries should also ensure equal access to post-secondary education. Funding mechanisms can be instrumental in mitigating inequities, particularly after compulsory education, by ensuring that financial considerations are not a barrier to skills development.
- 46. Reforms in the tax and benefits system can also help reduce the role of socio-economic background on the educational and health outcomes of children. Cash transfers or tax rebates targeted at parents (such as family or child benefits/allowances) can improve the future labour market outcomes of their children. To increase their effectiveness, receipt of these benefits can be made conditional on the behaviour of beneficiaries with respect to education (e.g. school attendance) and health (e.g. medical check-ups), as in the conditional cash transfer (CCTs) programmes developed in many emerging economies as well as some advanced economies. To make conditional cash transfers work, it is important that they are combined with investments in the quality of education and health.

Enhance upward mobility and career development over the life-course

- 47. More must be done to help youth make a good start in the labour market, avoiding poor careers characterised by intermittent spells of low-paid work and unemployment. The OECD Action Plan for Youth recommends a set of measures to tackle high youth unemployment, including: strengthening the education system and preparing all young people for the world of work; encouraging employers to expand work-based and work-integrated learning programmes (including quality apprenticeships or internship programmes); expanding active labour market strategies to enhance employability and job opportunities; and remove barriers to stable and rewarding work. Governments should also ensure that the cost of hiring youth reflects their productivity through the use of wage-subsidies, the design of non-wage labour costs or a subminimum wage. While temporary contracts can provide a useful stepping stone into more stable careers, they can become a dead end to career progression when incentives for converting temporary contracts into open-ended ones are weak.
- 48. Workers should also be provided with opportunities to develop, maintain and upgrade their skills at all ages to reduce the risk of becoming trapped in low-quality jobs and joblessness, as well as to be able to respond to the rapidly changing demand for skills in existing and new jobs. While there are significant benefits from investing in adult learning for firms and individuals, there are various reasons why such investments tend to

be sub-optimal in practice in many countries - particularly among the low-skilled and the disadvantaged, as well as in small and medium-sized enterprises. The lowest skilled are only a third as likely as the highest skilled to participate in adult education and training. Governments at the national and the local level, therefore, play a critical role in helping individuals and firms overcome these barriers. Specifically, policies should focus on: i) increasing and promoting the benefits of adult learning (e.g. by strengthening the recognition of acquired skills during the working life and not just those during the training programme); ii) helping individuals and firms overcome any financial constraints they might face (e.g. by offering co-financing arrangements) as well as non-financial constraints (e.g. through flexible provision); iii) helping individuals make good vocational education and training choices by providing high-quality information, advice and guidance; and iv) fostering stronger business-education partnerships which ensure that training programmes are well aligned with the needs of employers. Such efforts should focus in particular on the least-skilled as well as SME's.

49. Good working conditions are essential for long, productive and healthy working lives. Working conditions must not impinge negatively on workers' health and work organisation should adapt to workers' strengths and needs, making the most of a diverse workforce, including age and gender diversity (see Box 4). For example, specific obligations in terms of family commitments vary across working lives and individual situations, and so do maturity, experience and aptitude to carry out more physically and mentally demanding work. Preserving a working environment that is conducive to career development, work-life balance and good physical and mental health will help avoid that difficulties cumulate over the working life. Indeed, health problems and the difficulty of combining work and family life are among the main reasons for withdrawing from the labour force, especially for older workers and women. While working conditions and work organisation are primarily determined by employers, often together with trade unions or other forms of worker representation, policies and institutions can provide employers with incentives and tools to improve them.

Box 4. Reducing gender inequalities in the labour market

Gender inequality is not only bad for labour market inclusiveness, it also harms economic performance. OECD analysis has shown that if the proportion of households with a working woman had remained at around 1990 levels, income inequality on average in the OECD – measured in terms of the Gini - would have been almost 1 percentage point higher than it is now. Similarly, if the share of women working full-time and the gender pay gap had remained constant at their 1990 levels, this would have added another percentage point to income inequality. Enhanced educational outcomes for women, increased female labour force participation, and improved opportunities for career development for women also contribute to better economic performance and higher living standards. Despite significant progress, important gender gaps remain. As emphasised by the Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Public Life [C(2015)164], Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship [C/MIN(2013)5/FINAL], countries must step up their efforts to ensure that public policy truly reflects inclusive labour markets in which both men and women can reach their full potential.

- Gender stereotyping needs to be addressed in educational choices at school from a young age
 since it has important implications for education and career choice of girls. As a result, girls are
 still much less likely to study in STEM areas (science, technology, engineering and mathematics)
 and women are less likely to be employed in, typically high-paid, occupations using STEM skills.
 Career guidance initiatives and information campaigns to promote gender equality in STEM
 areas should focus on parents, teachers and students.
- Measures supporting the reconciliation of work and family life are critical for men and women to participate in the labour market on an equal footing. The difficulty of combining work and family responsibilities very often results in women working part-time or dropping out of the labour force altogether. Policies that can help parents with young children include parental leave, childcare, out-of-school-hours care and flexible working arrangements. A better sharing of parental care can be achieved by instituting leave arrangements for the exclusive use of fathers, or provide "bonus" months when couples share leave entitlements.
- While working part-time facilitates the combination of work and family responsibilities, it can
 come at a cost to long-term career and earnings prospects. This also contributes to the glass
 ceiling that women face in getting through to the top of their professions. To increase women's
 representation in decision-making positions, countries have introduced mandatory quotas,
 target-setting, disclosure initiatives and monitoring processes.
- Female entrepreneurship can be promoted by reducing gender gaps in access to finance and entrepreneurial skills and networks and skills through, for example, entrepreneurship training, coaching and mentoring programmes.
- Gender gaps in labour market performance tend to be larger in most emerging economies than
 in the OECD average. In these countries, additional policy challenges for reducing gender gaps
 in labour market performance are closing remaining gaps in education, facilitating access to
 credit for women, fighting labour market discrimination and curbing informal employment.

Promote more equal outcomes without undermining employment and growth

50. More equal opportunities lead to more equal outcomes, but more equal outcomes also lead to more equal opportunities by levelling the playing field. Indeed, it is the feedback effect of inequality in outcomes to inequality in education and health that tends to generate a negative relationship between inequality and economic growth. As a result, there is a strong argument for policies that seek to reduce inequality in outcomes directly, provided they do not unduly undermine incentives to education, work and entrepreneurship. Apart from the role of education and skills, which already has been

discussed above, this mainly concerns the tax-benefit system and, to a more limited extent, wage-setting policies.

Appropriately designed wage-setting institutions can be part of a broader strategy to reduce poverty and labour market exclusion

Wage-setting policies in the form of statutory minimum wages or collective wage bargaining reduce wage inequality, but their effectiveness in reducing poverty is likely to be modest. While in-work poverty is associated with low wage levels, a substantial number of minimum-wage workers live in households with incomes above the poverty line and a number of poor people have earnings above the minimum wage but live in relatively large households without other earners. However, a moderate minimum wage can help to enhance the effectiveness of in-work benefits, designed to tackle low inwork incomes. Collective wage bargaining potentially affects a greater number of lowwage workers at risk of poverty, but also tends to focus more on workers in households with incomes above the poverty line, especially in the context of a statutory minimum wage. Moreover, if not well designed, there is a risk that the benefits of reducing in-work poverty as a result of statutory or collectively agreed minimum wages are offset by greater poverty among jobless households when they reduce the employment prospects of low-productivity workers. The main features of well-designed minimum wage policies and collective bargaining systems are discussed in the context of creating high-quality jobs.

Redistribution through the tax-benefit system is crucial for limiting financial hardship

- 52. Redistribution through the tax-benefit system can play a crucial role in making labour markets more inclusive by ensuring that the gains from economic growth are broadly shared in the population, including among families with low incomes. Most of its redistributive effect tends to reflect the role of cash transfers around two thirds on average across OECD countries with progressive taxation accounting for the remaining part. Redistribution also takes place through the provision of public services, notably in the form of education and health. Efforts to strengthen the scope and effectiveness of redistribution should bear in mind possible adverse effects on work incentives, particularly among low-income families. The design of such policies is key for their effectiveness in reducing inequality and overcoming trade-offs with employment and economic growth.
- 53. At the lower end of the income spectrum, government transfers have an important role to play in lifting low-income households from financial hardship, but they need to go paired with measures to re-establish self-sufficiency and prevent long-term benefit dependency. Even in the context of constant budgets, policies to address growing inequality could be made more efficient, for example by making greater use of in-work relative to out-of-work benefits to encourage people to take up paid work and give additional income support to low-income households. Unemployment insurance can also contribute significantly to redistribution since the risk of unemployment tends to be highly concentrated at the bottom of the wage distribution. Increasing coverage of unemployment insurance is a promising avenue for promoting labour market security and inclusiveness, provided that systems are designed to preserve work incentives through the rigorous enforcement of a "mutual-obligations" framework (see above). This is especially important for non-standard workers who may not be eligible for unemployment benefits and the long-term unemployed who have exhausted the maximum duration of their benefit entitlements.

54. There is also scope to strengthen the role of taxation for redistribution to ensure that everyone contributes a fair share, including those at the top end of the income distribution. Over the past decades, the widespread rise in top incomes in most OECD countries means that top earners now have a greater capacity to pay taxes than before. Governments therefore should ensure that wealthier individuals contribute their fair share of the tax burden, including by improving tax compliance, scaling back tax deductions and reassessing the role of property and inheritance taxes, while taking account of the impact of possible reform options on incentives for work, effort and skills development.

Reduce spatial inequalities and support lagging regions

- 55. Large regional labour market and income divides in many OECD countries can partly be addressed by promoting growth and competitiveness in lagging regions. At a minimum, this requires that high-quality public services, including public education, public health, public transport and public employment services, are maintained in lagging regions. However, unlocking these regions' growth potential may in some cases require additional public investments in education, transport and infrastructure that could if well designed strengthen a region's competitiveness and facilitate the diffusion of innovation and good practices across regions, industries and firms. Policies may also provide special support to firm and job creation in regions hit by technology or trade shocks, including by adequate innovation support, improving access to finance and supporting well-designed business incubators.
- 56. But preventing lagging regions from falling behind further also requires specific policies to help displaced workers and disadvantaged groups. While trade liberalisation and technological progress bring important benefits to countries, some regions can be hard hit because of their industrial structure. Place-based employment and social policies should tackle the social problems associated with the local concentration of unemployment, social exclusion and poverty through: the provision of easily accessible anti-poverty programmes; the establishment of community centres and the use of urban regeneration projects; through retraining, work experience or entrepreneurship programmes that help displaced workers move into new activities or towards other regions with suitable job opportunities. Some regions may need to raise specific support for linguistic minorities and promote the acquisition of new skills and trades for indigenous people whose traditional ways for maintaining their livelihoods are being eroded in an increasingly modern and interconnected world.
- Addressing the needs of lagging regions requires a good coordination between national, regional and local policies. Sub-national governments play an important role in the selection of public investment projects, the development of local infrastructure and the design of regional education, employment and social policies. But all levels of government, including the central government, should work together in a coordinated way to effectively promote regional development. Given the limited capacity of lagging regions to collect taxes to finance basic public services and the need for additional measures to support workers in lagging regions some degree of inter-regional fiscal redistribution is required. A coordinated approach should also involve efforts to enhance the capacity of regional and local governments to effectively administer and implement large-scale investment projects, education and employment programmes.

Specific policies are needed to ensure that underrepresented and disadvantaged groups are not left behind

- 58. Policy should also ensure that groups at greater risk of labour market disadvantage are not excluded. A number of groups are fully integrated in the labour market and do not equally share the benefits of economic growth. For example, in OECD countries, the employment rate of people with disabilities is on average 44% lower than that of prime-age men. Also, the low-income rate in households with a migrant head is 21% higher than in the average household. And mothers in couples with young children are often not in work or secondary earners, bringing home less than 30% of household earnings in many countries.
- 59. Supporting disadvantaged groups requires, in some cases, adapting policy interventions to their specific needs and employment barriers, which often are quite heterogeneous not only between groups but also within groups. For example, increasing the integration of women with caring responsibilities requires encouraging men to take care leave, increasing access to affordable child-care, and enhancing the availability of flexible working arrangements (see Box 4), as well as removing fiscal disincentives to work for second earners. However, in the case of sole parents, a comprehensive activation strategy should be put in place by enforcing a mutual-obligations framework in which employment and childcare support (including out-of-school support) are exchanged for work and effective job-search effort. Childcare support should be designed to ensure that work pays once taxes, transfers and childcare costs are taken into account, without heightening the risk of poverty. Similarly, a more inclusive labour market policy for migrants implies tackling discrimination, ensuring equal access to active labour market policies, assessing and recognising qualifications and skills acquired abroad as well as providing migrants with specific training opportunities corresponding to their needs, including language courses. In the case of migrant mothers with children, however, equal access to childcare and social services (which includes effective provision of information on these services) plays a paramount role. And fostering the inclusion of people with disabilities requires organising disability policy around removing each person's specific barrier(s) to his/her employability and making the incentives of all actors involved sickness and disability benefit recipients, employers, authorities, service providers and medical professionals – consistent with this strategy.
- 60. Entrepreneurship policies can also play a role in opening up opportunities for disadvantaged groups. Entrepreneurship policies should therefore be designed so as to be inclusive and ensure that everyone, including disadvantaged groups, have opportunities to start up and operate a business or be self-employed. This requires policy measures that are tailored to the specific challenges faced by the different disadvantaged groups, possibly bundled into packages to allow addressing all barriers simultaneously, and that rely on specialist agencies to ensure policy effectiveness. Key policies to promote and support inclusive entrepreneurship include entrepreneurship training, coaching and mentoring, facilitating access to finance, and building entrepreneurial networks.

Fostering resilient and adaptable labour markets for the future of work

61. Economies and labour markets are in a constant state of flux, which reflects the creative destruction process inherent to well-functioning market economies as well as swings in the business cycle. Creative destruction involves the efficient reallocation of labour and capital to their most productive uses, which supports aggregate productivity,

higher wages and better job quality. Policies can support the adaptability of labour markets by promoting efficient reallocation, which becomes particularly important when economies are subject to longer-term secular changes, such as technological progress, globalisation and demographic change. Policies, especially a sound macroeconomic policy framework, can also make economies more resilient to large swings in the business cycle (i.e. promote the ability to limit fluctuations in employment or unemployment and to quickly rebound in the wake of aggregate shocks). Beyond efficient reallocation and sound macroeconomic policies, resilience and adaptability also require an additional set of policies in the areas of skills, social protection, activation and social dialogue to maintain, if not enhance, labour market performance in the face of changing economic conditions. Such policies not only help improve labour reallocation, but also promote other objectives in their own right, such as job quality and labour market inclusiveness. Having the right combination of policies in place will be particularly important for shaping the future of work, ensuring that potential threats arising from secular trends are turned into opportunities, and that opportunities are shared fairly among all actors in society.

Macro-economic and structural policies and institutions can strengthen labour market resilience and enhance long-term labour market performance

- 62. The Great Recession of 2008-09 and the slow pace of the subsequent recovery in many countries have highlighted that large economic downturns can have long-lasting negative economic and social effects. Public policies that enhance labour market resilience, i.e. an economy's capacity to limit fluctuations in employment and to quickly rebound in the wake of aggregate shocks, are key not only to limit the short-term social cost of economic downturns but also to support labour market and economic performance in the medium- to long-term. In particular, public policies can reduce the degree to which increases in cyclical unemployment translate into structural unemployment, lower labour force participation and lower wage and productivity growth.
- Macroeconomic policies play an important role in stabilising the labour market 63. and preventing hysteresis in the wake of aggregate shocks. Monetary policy can be deployed rapidly and may have immediate effects on the real interest rate and aggregate demand by affecting inflation expectations. Even when interest rates cannot be reduced further during large economic downturns, monetary easing can be provided by unconventional measures and should be accompanied by a forceful fiscal policy response. Allowing automatic stabilisers to operate freely and complementing them by discretionary measures – preferably with a focus on high-quality public investment that crowds in private investment and raises the long-term growth potential of the economy – during deep economic downturns is crucial in this respect. The evidence indicates that fiscal policy is particularly effective during economic downturns and when initial levels of public debt are low. This suggests that adverse effects on fiscal sustainability of an effective forceful fiscal policy response during economic downturns may be limited, especially when sufficient fiscal space is built up during economic upturns. Keeping public debt at prudent levels during good times and building sufficient flexibility into fiscal rules is crucial in this respect.
- 64. Labour market policies need to be sufficiently responsive to changes in the need for public support. Having a system of adequate income support to the unemployed coupled with an effective activation strategy even before an economic downturn occurs is key. However, in countries where the maximum duration of unemployment benefits is low and unemployed workers have limited access to second-tier benefits (e.g. social

assistance), there may be a case for temporarily extending their maximum duration during a recession. Moreover, resources for active labour market policies need to respond sufficiently strongly to cyclical increases in unemployment to promote a rapid return to work and preserve the mutual-obligations ethos of activation regimes. This would also strengthen automatic fiscal stabilisers. A major challenge in this context is to scale up capacity quickly, while maintaining service quality. Another is to maintain effectiveness in a context where the number of job opportunities is depressed. This may require temporarily shifting the emphasis of activation from work-first to train-first, in particular for hard-to-place jobseekers.

- 65. Short-time work schemes can promote resilience by preserving vulnerable jobs that are viable in the long-term. Short-time work schemes have played an important role in limiting job losses during the Great Recession in a number of OECD countries. To ensure that short-time work schemes are operational before job losses materialise, it is desirable to establish them during normal times so that they can rapidly be activated and scaled up at the start of recessions. However, short-time work schemes should be kept small or dormant during normal times as they risk undermining the efficient reallocation of resources across firms, and hence productivity growth. Factors that can help ensure that take-up does not persist for too long in a recovery are to require firms to participate in the cost of these schemes and limit their maximum duration.
- 66. Structural labour market policies and institutions that do not vary over the course of the business cycle also affect labour market resilience. Employment protection provisions for regular workers, if set at an adequate level, can promote labour market resilience by preserving job matches that are at risk of being suppressed but are viable in the medium term. However, excessively strict employment protection risks becoming counter-productive by increasing incentives for the use of temporary contracts in good times that are also more easy to terminate in a downturn, thereby amplifying job cuts in the wake of economic downturns, and slowing the creation of jobs associated with regular contracts in a recovery. Well-designed collective bargaining systems are also found to promote labour market resilience by facilitating adjustments in wages and working time. This can be achieved through the effective coordination of bargaining outcomes across firms and industries and by allowing for sufficient flexibility at the firm level to align wages with productivity, including through the use of opt-out clauses in the case of economic hardship.
- 67. Labour market and macroeconomic policies that promote labour market resilience may also have beneficial effects for long-run growth, employment performance and inclusiveness. Stabilising labour market outcomes during large economic downturns not only reduces the social cost of economic downturns, but also reduces the risk that transitory increases in unemployment translate into structural increases in unemployment and structural declines in labour force participation. Moreover, the benefits of higher labour market resilience are likely to accrue disproportionately to the most vulnerable workers, including youth, those at risk of long-term unemployment and workers with temporary contracts.

Rapid structural change places a premium on efficient labour re-allocation and on measures to help displaced workers back into work quickly

68. Globalisation, technological progress and demographic change are having a profound impact on both labour demand and supply – creating new jobs in emerging areas and destroying some in declining ones. These trends are also changing the nature of

- jobs, the way they are being carried out, and by whom. To turn the potential threats posed by these trends into opportunities and ensure that productivity gains are passed on to workers while limiting the risk of technological unemployment, a deterioration in job quality, increases in skills mismatches, and the rise of long-term inequalities, labour markets will need to be adaptable.
- Adapting to globalisation, technological progress and demographic change will require policies that promote the efficient redeployment of workers from lowperforming to higher-performing businesses, industries and regions - while also helping lagging regions to catch up. These include labour and product market policies that do not unduly constrain the entry and orderly exit of firms and the mobility of workers across businesses and regions. If flexible forms of work, and particularly those associated with the platform economy, experience a rapid expansion, ensuring the portability of accrued rights and protections for all forms of work becomes particularly important to avoid that the loss of accrued rights becomes a barrier to job mobility. Housing policies could further promote geographical mobility of workers to help people move to the regions where the best jobs are available. This could be achieved by making the allocation of public housing more responsive to the needs of people moving from areas in decline and reducing constraints on the development of private rental markets. Reducing transaction costs – including by raising competition among intermediaries – would also help to support the mobility of home owners, especially in countries where the share of homeownership is high. Providing unemployed workers with subsidies to cover the costs of relocating can be a cost-effective way to enhance labour mobility and help displaced workers back into employment. In some countries, occupational licensing has acted as a barrier to mobility, without clear benefits in terms of better service quality, consumer health or safety. Such licensing should be used judiciously and standards should be harmonised across regions as much as possible. More generally, the mobility of workers across firms, industries and regions is facilitated and should be accompanied by effective skills policies, adequate social protection and constructive social dialogue.
- 70. But adaptability also requires targeted policies that help displaced workers get back to work quickly. Standard activation policies may not be sufficient to help displaced workers back into work quickly. Intervening early is particularly important, since it has been found to be the most cost-effective way to provide support to displaced workers. New OECD analysis highlights the importance of rules which require advance notice of redundancy. This allows the affected workers and relevant labour market authorities to start early in preparing for a smooth adjustment. In some countries, this may require a shift in workers' protection from severance pay to advance notice to prevent advance notice from becoming an obstacle to job reallocation. While many displaced workers may not need much additional help apart from being rapidly oriented/motivated towards active jobs search, some will be at risk of long-term unemployment and benefit exhaustion. Profiling tools are therefore needed to identify those workers early and target dedicated support at them – thereby avoiding that unnecessarily intensive (and expensive) special assistance services are provided to jobseekers not needing them. Systematic early needs assessments are particularly helpful, especially when the outcome is formalised in an individual action plan that can lead to early intervention when specific barriers to reemployment have been identified. It is also important that services are available to all displaced workers, and not just those affected by collective dismissal in large firms.

Non-standard forms of work contribute to the adaptability of labour markets, but also raise concerns about job quality

- 71. In all advanced and emerging economies, different types of non-standard forms of work (temporary and self-employment) already coexist with more traditional permanent contracts. In addition, technological advances are promoting the emergence of new forms of work such as "crowd work", "gig work", and other forms of on-demand, independent jobs which, despite currently representing only a small share of employment, may expand significantly in the near future. But not all new forms of work (e.g. zero-hour contracts) are necessarily technology-induced.
- Non-standard forms of work can help labour markets be more adaptable but, in some cases, also raise concerns about job quality. Non-standard forms of work can offer an important source of flexibility for both workers and employers, which enhances the development of new business models, innovation and productivity. They may also facilitate the labour market integration of under-represented groups (and therefore promote inclusiveness) by helping individuals overcome barriers to participation. In some cases, they can promote a better work-life balance. For many individuals, non-standard employment is therefore a choice. However, labour market outcomes vary greatly across non-standard workers, in particular in terms of pay, job security and social protection. In addition, workers may be less likely to be covered by collective bargaining arrangements and/or some labour regulation, and may not be eligible for labour market programmes and support. They also tend to receive less training and suffer more job strain. Given that certain population groups are over-represented in non-standard forms of work (typically women, youth, the least-skilled and workers in small firms as well as migrants), such forms of work risk generating a source of inequality in access to good jobs (with some groups confined to less attractive types of work) resulting in labour market segmentation. Concerns about low job quality and labour market segmentation are more prevalent when non-standard work is involuntary and results from a weak position in the labour market.
- The challenge for governments is to accompany innovation in the creation and 73. use of employment arrangements while avoiding abuse, creating a level playing field between companies, and providing adequate protection for all workers. Differences in tax and regulatory treatment between standard employees and those in other forms of employment can promote inefficient arbitrage, with employers and workers choosing non-standard contracts solely to circumvent taxes and regulations on regular contracts. Such arbitrage may be exacerbated by regulatory gaps and ambiguities that result in the "misclassification" of workers. Not only does this unfairly transfer risks and costs from employers onto workers, but it also distorts competition. Businesses should succeed and expand on the basis of their superior technology, efficiency, or service, and not because of regulatory arbitrage. Governments therefore need to reduce differences in treatment across different forms of work, remove loopholes and ambiguity in regulation, and ensure effective enforcement of existing regulation (including the use of appropriate penalties where necessary) - while preserving those flexibility-enhancing features of alternative employment arrangements that are intrinsically useful. Governments should also endeavour to provide adequate protection for all workers. In the area of social protection, and depending upon circumstances, this may require: adapting or extending existing social insurance schemes to cover previously excluded categories of workers; complementing social insurance with non-contributory schemes; implementing minimum floors for social benefits; and/or making social protection portable (i.e. linking entitlements to individuals rather than jobs). But governments should also try and extend other forms of protection to non-standard workers, including: the minimum wage (to

protect against low-pay); protection from arbitrary dismissal, discrimination, and health and safety risks, among others. Finally, while employers and workers themselves will have to find ways to reconcile flexibility with protection through collective bargaining, governments can help promote an environment conducive to constructive dialogue. This includes putting in place a legal framework that facilitates the adaptation of social partnerships to give a voice to workers in non-standard forms of work. These issues are likely to become more important as on-demand work expands.

The challenges posed by the future of work may require a more fundamental shake-up of labour market, skills and social policies, rather than just incremental changes to the systems in place.

- 74. Job losses associated with previous episodes of major technological upheaval have tended to be short-lived and have, in the long-term, made room for the creation of more productive and rewarding jobs. However, the expected speed and breadth of the dawning episode and evidence from a number of OECD countries that productivity gains are no longer broadly shared with workers have raised concerns that this time might be different. If this is the case, then tinkering with existing systems may not offer an answer to the skills, labour market and social challenges of the future, and a more fundamental paradigm shift may be required. In fact, some challenges are already here, and will require immediate action: large numbers of non-standard workers have no access to old age, accidents, unemployment or health insurance; a majority of individuals lack the basic digital skills to function in a technology-rich work environment; trade union density has been in decline for a long time; labour markets are polarising; and inequality is at its highest level for the past half century. Other challenges lie further ahead and the implications for policy remain uncertain. This means that labour market policy needs to be forward-looking and have a certain agility to allow for learning, experimentation and adaptation. Learning from other countries becomes particularly important in this context, as some may be better prepared for the changes that lie ahead than others.
- 75. Social protection systems will need to be extended and adapted, but a more fundamental re-think may be required. While many countries are already struggling to provide adequate social protection for workers on non-standard work contracts, the advent of the platform economy is adding to these difficulties as an increasing number of workers only work occasionally and/or have multiple jobs and income sources, with frequent transitions between dependent employment, self-employment and work-free periods. Many of them do not even have worker status. These new ways of working are therefore bringing additional challenges for existing social security systems, which are often still largely predicated on the assumption of a full-time, regular, open-ended contract with a single employer. As a result of these challenges, some workers risk falling through the cracks - although the scale of the problem that lies ahead is difficult to predict at this stage. In some cases, employment regulation will need to be clarified or adapted to take into account new forms of employment. But tax and benefit systems themselves would need to be extended and or adapted to the new forms of work so that all workers are provided with a minimum form of protection. Portability of social security entitlements should be promoted where this is not already the case to prevent the loss of benefit entitlements when workers move between jobs. And governments may also need to expand the role of non-contributory schemes. Several countries are experimenting with various forms of basic income schemes which, besides being simple, have the advantage of not leaving anyone without support. However, an unconditional payment to everyone at meaningful but fiscally realistic levels would require tax hikes as well as reductions in

existing benefits, and would often not be an effective tool for reducing poverty. In addition, some disadvantaged groups would lose out when existing benefits are replaced by a basic income, illustrating the downsides of social protection without any form of targeting at all.

- 76. Extending social protection should go hand in hand with measures that strengthen activation frameworks. The new forms of work that are emerging may hinder the ability of countries to enforce the principle of mutual obligations given that monitoring work activity may become more difficult. Activation strategies more generally might be weakened if a growing share of the unemployed are no longer eligible for unemployment benefits and will therefore slip under the radar of the authorities. In many ways, this parallels the challenges that many emerging economies already encounter due to the existence of large informal sectors, and more advanced countries may therefore have much to learn from the experience of emerging ones. One particular area where emerging economies have taken the lead is in establishing job guarantees – i.e. the promise of a job to anyone willing and able to work at some minimum wage rate. Compared to basic income schemes, job guarantees fit better with the philosophy of "mutual obligations", whereby society's responsibility to support those in need is matched by the individual's duty to contribute something in return. Job guarantees also have the advantage over basic income schemes that they go beyond the provision of income and, by providing a job, help individuals to stay connected with society, build self-esteem, as well as develop skills and competencies. By establishing and maintaining a buffer of employed workers (which would grow during recessions and shrink during booms), a job guarantee would also contribute to labour market resilience. In more advanced economies, however, past experience with public sector employment programmes has shown that they have negligible effects on the post-programme outcomes of participants, and that often other active labour market policies tend to be more effective.
- The future of work could also raise important challenges for existing labour market regulation, including employment protection legislation, minimum wage laws, working time regulations and regulations to safeguard occupational health and safety. A rise of non-standard work would be accompanied by a reduction in job security for many workers as they would not be protected by the standard rules for hiring and firing that have been defined for open-ended contracts. Oftentimes, less strict rules would apply (e.g. in cases of temporary employment, temporary work agency work or dependent selfemployment) while in others, workers would be excluded from employment protection legislation altogether (e.g. the self-employed). For some of the emerging new forms of work, it is not even clear what the status of workers is, who the employer is, and what rules should apply to them. It will therefore be critical that countries examine their legal framework to determine whether it needs to be updated and/or adjusted in order to provide some form of minimum employment protection for all workers. The usefulness of minimum wage policy might also be challenged in the future world of work. Existing minimum wage legislation may not be applicable to many of the new forms of employment where workers become independent contractors, work for multiple clients and are often paid on a piece-rate basis. Countries also face policy challenges with regards to regulations that seek to improve workplace safety and health. New forms of employment, particularly crowd sourcing, tend to transfer responsibilities for occupational health and safety away from the employer and into the hands of individual workers, who often lack the training or resources to take appropriate measures to ensure that working conditions and the working environment are safe. Sometimes, strong

competition between workers may result in corners being cut and unnecessary risks being taken while, at the same time, labour inspectorates are often not adequately prepared to deal with these new forms of employment. Regulations may therefore need to be adapted/clarified, and monitoring and control mechanisms strengthened and improved.

- 78. An increase in non-standard forms of employment would also present a major challenge for collective bargaining systems. The new forms of work add to the challenge of organising worker voice since individuals are increasingly working alone, separated by geography, language and legal status. In some cases there are also important regulatory challenges to overcome. For example, in some countries, it is illegal for independent workers to unionise since this would be considered forming a cartel and therefore an anti-competitive practice. Some innovative solutions are nevertheless emerging: non-standard workers are setting up new unions and "traditional" unions are trying to improve the coverage of non-standard forms of work. In some cases, companies voluntarily extend the terms set in collective agreements for standard workers to non-standard workers and/or engage in collective bargaining. What is needed from governments is a favourable regulatory environment that allows effective forms of worker representation to emerge so that both workers and firms benefit from the flexibility afforded by non-standard forms of work.
- 79. Future skills challenges will require a significant upscaling of adult learning opportunities as well as the development of new tools for incentivising skills investments. A key challenge lies in the fact that large numbers of workers lack the basic digital skills required to survive in a technologically-rich work environment. Addressing this challenge will require an immediate and massive upscaling of adult learning opportunities. The rise in non-standard forms of work further compounds the challenge, since workers in such types of employment are less likely to receive training (and, in the case of the self-employed, bear responsibility for their own training). Addressing this challenge might require the development of new instruments for incentivising investments in training (such as personal training accounts, or lifelong training rights) as well as mechanisms to allow the portability of training rights between employers. But adjustments may also be needed to more traditional financial measures that promote access to learning opportunities, such as grants and loans, to make them accessible to adults of all ages; and provision of education and training should be made more flexible such that adults can overcome time constraints and care responsibilities which act as barriers to participation. More generally, existing infrastructures for lifelong learning may not be geared up for the significant changes that lie ahead. A key challenge lies in the facts that: i) the majority of the future workforce has already left initial education; ii) the skills of these workers will become obsolete more quickly as a result of rapid technological change; and iii) they will be required to stay in the labour force for longer. A significant upscaling of adult learning may therefore be required. In doing so, countries should fully exploit the opportunities presented by new technologies which allow access to courses to be scaled up massively at only a fraction of the cost of traditional courses. but care must be taken in avoiding marginalising those lacking basic digital skills.

4. Translating general policy recommendation into concrete policy action

80. To provide more concrete support for countries it is important to accompany the general policy principles of the new *Jobs Strategy* with guidance for successful reform strategies and for identifying priorities for reform in specific countries.

Policy priorities should reflect a country's relative performance along the different aspects of labour market outcomes

- 81. *Identifying priorities based on relative performance* allows setting policy priorities for all countries. Even when a given country tends to perform well or poorly across all dimensions of Table 1, it is possible to identify one or several outcomes for which performance is particularly weak relative to other outcomes.
- 82. Policy priorities based on relative performance differ importantly across countries. Four broad country groups can be identified:
- Countries that do well along most dimensions of labour market performance and have high levels of resilience and skills, but perform relatively poorly in specific areas. For instance, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland perform well on most aspects of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness, but perform relatively poorly in terms of gender equality due to large gender gaps in working-time.
- Countries that do better than average on job quantity but underperform in terms of job quality and inclusiveness. For instance, in Estonia, Israel, Japan and the United States a comparatively high share of the working-age populations has low disposable income despite the employment rate being above the OECD average.
- Countries that do better than average on inclusiveness but underperform in terms of both job quantity and the efficiency of labour re-allocation. For instance, Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland, Luxembourg and Portugal perform around or above the OECD average for most indicators of inclusiveness but typically do worse than the OECD average for indicators of job quantity and the efficiency of labour-re-allocation.
- Countries that underperform along most dimensions of labour market performance, but that do particularly badly on job quality, inclusiveness and skills. For instance, emerging market economies face many challenges, but their weak performance in terms of earnings, the integration of disadvantaged groups and skills stands out.

Developing country-specific recommendations for reform based on best-practice examples

- 83. Once countries' priorities have been identified, developing specific policy recommendations requires taking account of their specific challenges, institutional capacity and reform preferences. Even among countries sharing the same priority areas, there may be important differences in the nature of the challenges they face, the means at their disposal for addressing them and preferences over the way a specific challenge is addressed. These issues should be taken into account when making country-specific policy recommendations. This acknowledges not only that countries differ in terms of their starting points but also that improving labour market performance is necessarily a gradual process and one that can take different forms in different countries.
- 84. Country-specific policy recommendations should reflect global good practices as well as the country's level of institutional capacity. Where social capital is low and administrative capacity lacking, policy action should aim at being particularly simple, transparent and easily accountable. Its implementation would require combining further investment in civil servants' skills with the definition of a rigorously-applied code of

conduct and the setting up of independent bodies for internal control and audit that have enforcement powers.

- 85. Differences in institutional capacity and the extent of labour informality suggest that policy recommendations may differ across advanced and emerging economies. For example, in emerging economies, where the institutional capacity of the state is relatively weak and informal work is widespread, providing effective social protection is a major challenge. Given widespread informality, collective unemployment insurance systems can be difficult to administer and their provision risks being costly. This suggests that a mandatory system of self-insurance based on individual savings accounts for unemployment complemented with a small collective component for those without sufficient savings may be an appropriate first step to improve coverage and effectiveness of social protection in emerging economies with the aim of moving towards a more fully-fledged unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance scheme in a subsequent step.
- 86. Policy recommendations may also differ across countries depending on the degree of interventionism of social systems. More market-reliant countries may want to place more emphasis on measures to prevent labour market exclusion and poverty by promoting equality of opportunity for example, by improving equal access to quality education relative to measures that seek to promote equality of outcomes ex post– for example, by enhancing the redistribution role of the tax and benefits system. This allows taking some account of reform preferences without putting into question the importance of inclusiveness as a policy objective or compromising in terms of policy effectiveness.

Building support for successful reforms

- 87. Broad-based support for welfare-enhancing reforms may be low because their benefits often take time to materialise and may not be equally distributed. In most cases, the benefits of reforms materialise gradually through firm entry, hiring and productivity growth. By contrast, negative effects in terms of job and income losses may be immediate. For example, reforms reducing dismissal costs, while encouraging hiring in viable jobs in the long-run, would make it convenient to swiftly terminate inefficient positions. In some cases, specific groups of workers may lose from the reforms even if most people gain. For example, trade liberalisation, while benefiting consumers through more and better products at lower prices, often induces downsizing in unskilled-labour intensive sectors and regions.
- 88. By combining policy reforms into coherent packages, it is possible to broaden support and make reforms more successful. Coherent reform packages can be used to strengthen the long-term benefits by exploiting synergies, minimise the short-term costs and foster a more equal sharing of long-term gains and short-term burden across a large number of stakeholders. This implies that reforms with potential short-term or distributional costs should be accompanied by complementary actions in terms of macroeconomic and other structural policies. If job losses are concentrated in specific regions, policies at the national level need to be coordinated with policies at the regional level to be effective. This requires coordination across levels of government and a fiscal system that can compensate for revenue shortfalls that regional governments are likely to suffer during times of crisis.
- 89. *Macroeconomic policy can offset the short-term costs of structural reforms.* Monetary policy would typically react to a fall in aggregate demand and inflation expectations and stabilise the economy. However, room to intervene may be limited when

interest rates are already very low. Resorting to unconventional monetary policy for prolonged periods of time raises issues of effectiveness, financial stability and possibly an inefficient allocation of credit. In such cases, a growth-enhancing fiscal initiative can offset the short-term costs of structural reform if there is sufficient fiscal space. Depending on country specificities, such an initiative could take the form of an increase in productive public investment or a reduction in taxes that are most harmful to economic growth.

- 90. Other structural policies can help minimising short-term costs. The recent experience of reforming countries suggests that short-term adverse effects of costly structural reforms can be reduced if they are accompanied by changes in collective bargaining, policy actions to enhance firm-level flexibility or, in some cases, designing reforms in ways to preserve acquired workers' rights. For example, recent experiences suggest that, in countries with national, regional or branch-level collective bargaining, allowing scope for individual firms to adapt wages and working conditions to their individual situation can limit any short-term job losses resulting from the relaxation of dismissal regulations. More flexibility in working conditions and wage setting allows firms to make use of variables other than employment when adjusting to the required restructuring. Alternatively, more flexible dismissal legislation could be introduced and applied only to new hires. There is evidence that such "grandfather clauses" more than offset short-term employment costs of reforms of dismissal legislation.
- Sequencing reforms in effective ways advancing those that are pre-requisite for the success of others - can play a key role in ensuring reform success. For example, short-term costs are likely to be smaller in countries with an effective activation strategy to support jobseekers. Yet, if efficient programmes are not already in place, there are limits to how rapidly active labour market policies can be scaled up when unemployment rises, since fine-tuning of these institutions typically takes several years. This suggests that building up an effective activation strategy should precede costly reforms. Similarly, product market and employment protection reforms are less costly in the short term when the former precede the latter. This is because when barriers to entry are lowered in industries with dominant incumbents, the latter react to the reform by reorganising and downsizing to deter entry of potential competitors, but this reaction is less likely when dismissals are more costly. On the other hand, greater competition and greater entry accelerates the positive effect of reforms reducing dismissal costs on hiring, thereby improving the net short-term effects induced by such a reform. Last but not least, undertaking reforms when the fiscal position is sound makes it easier to accompany them with an expansionary macroeconomic policy stance.
- 92. Winning an electoral mandate for the reforms, effective communication and constructive negotiations with stakeholders are key ingredients of reform success. Reforms are most often successful when governments are able to build support for them. Evidence suggests that this typically implies: i) winning an electoral mandate for the reform; ii) effective communication of the reform rationale and the consequences of inaction based on rigorous evidence; and iii) intensive tripartite discussions involving the government and the social partners, provided that the government has a strong bargaining position and that negotiations take place in a spirit of trust and cooperation. This typically occurs in the presence of strong government cohesion and the willingness to exchange support for the reforms against action aimed at minimising the short-term and distributional costs, including boosting aggregate demand (e.g. by enhancing productive public investment) or compensating losers.

93. While existing good practices provide evidence-based guidance for action, country specificities make each reform unique. For this reason, *new policies and programmes need to be assessed regularly and rigorously and inefficient ones need to be swiftly adjusted or terminated.* This first of all requires investing in data collection to allow monitoring programme participation and the outcomes of firms and workers over time, including by mobilising administrative data in a way that respects confidentiality. It also requires building evaluation mechanisms into the design of policy reforms. In particular, small-scale experimentation of new measures – where possible based on a random-assignment design – before implementing them on a large scale could represent an effective tool to avoid mistakes and/or build up the evidence base required to win consensus.

Notes

- 1. The OECD measures well-being as a multi-dimensional construct capturing material conditions, the quality of life and the sustainability of well-being in the future.
- 2. Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Public Life [$\underline{C(2015)164}$], Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship [$\underline{C/MIN(2013)5/FINAL}$], Recommendation of the Council on Integrated Mental Health, Skills and Work Policy [$\underline{C(2015)173}$] and the Recommendation of the Council on Ageing and Employment Policies [$\underline{C(2015)172}$].
- 3. Because of data availability, the measure of labour market insecurity considered here that is the expected monetary loss associated with becoming and staying unemployed as a percentage of previous earnings does not incorporate the broader issue of "earnings insecurity" due to unpredictable hours or extremely low pay, which is equally important for economic security, particularly in emerging economies.
- 4. Job strain measures the risk that work impairs peoples' health due to the combination of excessive job demands and insufficient job resources to meet work requirements. Job demands relate to physical demands, work intensity and the flexibility of working time. Job resources relate to task discretion and work autonomy, training and learning opportunities and scope for career advancement. For further details, please visit: http://www.oecd.org/statistics/job-quality.htm.
- 5. More specifically, the three dimensions of inclusiveness considered in the scoreboard are: i) the share of the working-age population with disposable income substantially below that of a typical working-age person; ii) the gender gap in labour income per capita; and iii) the gap in employment rates between prime-age men and selected disadvantaged groups youth, older workers, mothers with children, people with disabilities and migrants (i.e. the foreign-born). The reason for including these measures is threefold: i) labour income along with out-of-work transfers and the taxation of employment-related income is a key determinant of household disposable income for the working-age population, particularly in the lower range of the distribution, which implies that an economy with an inclusive labour market is one in which relatively few working-age persons have disposable income that lies far below the median income; ii) an inclusive labour market means that opportunities to develop a successful career should not differ by gender; and iii) an inclusive labour market should ensure that potentially disadvantaged groups are not left behind. A more exhaustive discussion of these choices and the robustness of the scoreboard to their measurement is available in Chapter 1 of the 2017 OECD *Employment Outlook*.
- 6. While the tendency for performance to go together across different outcomes reflects to some extent the role of economic development, accounting for this does not change the message that it is possible to do well in terms of each of the dimensions of labour market performance at the same time.
- 7. Of course, higher employment rates do not necessarily imply better quality jobs or greater inclusiveness and vice versa. Policy priorities and effectiveness can differ significantly across countries. This is discussed in more detail in Section 3.
- 8. The role of economic development is accounted for by regressing each of the indicators of labour market performance on GDP per capita across OECD countries (excluding Luxembourg), retrieving and standardising residuals and when necessary multiplying by minus one so that positive values are associated with better performance. The results are reported in Annex Table A3.

- 9. A few of them have however significantly improved their job quantity performance in the past two decades (e.g. Ireland and Spain).
- 10. The United States, where the employment rate has fallen by 3 percentage points and broad labour underutilisation has increased by 3 percentage points in the past decade, represents a notable exception to this pattern of stability.
- 11. Annex Table A4 contains extended information on framework conditions for resilience and adaptability as well as an extended note on methodological issues.
- 12. An alternative indicator using the employment rate instead of the unemployment rate has also been calculated and provides a qualitatively similar picture. The pairwise rank correlation between the indicators of unemployment and employment resilience is 0.7.
- 13. The conclusions in this paragraph are based on rank correlations between the levels of the indicators in Panel B and the levels/changes of the indicators in Panel A. Changes of the indicators in Panel A are computed over the period 2006-16.
- 14. In the case of insurance for unemployment, sickness and disability, there may be an argument for increasing the financial responsibility of employers for the cost of social protection by strengthening the link between employer contributions and expenditures (see "Building secure labour markets" below for further details).
- 15. A rigorous "mutual-obligations" framework should as much as possible be applied to any kind of benefit, to avoid substitution across benefits with different degree of conditionality.
- 16. For example by specifying employer obligations with regard to psychosocial risk assessment and risk prevention, defining the role of workers' representatives, providing tools and supports to enable employers to adjust the psychosocial work environment, enhancing an incentive system rewarding effort rather than outcomes when possible and improving management's responses to workers' stress and mental health issues e.g. by providing stress prevention and mental health training for managers and other stakeholders while offering toolkits and guidelines to line managers on how to deal with health issues when they emerge.

Annex

Table A1. Dashboard of job quantity, job quality and inclusiveness

2006 or closest available date

		Quantity			Quality		Inclusiveness				
	Employment Unemployment		Broad labour underutilisation	Earnings quality	Labour market insecurity	Quality of working environment	Low-income rate	Gender labour income gap	Employment gap for disadvantaged groups		
	Share of working-age population (20-64 years) in employment (%) (2006)	Share of persons in the labour force (15-64 years) in unemployment (%) (2006)	Share of inactive, unemployed or involuntary part- timers (15-64) in population (%), excluding youth (15- 29) in education and not in employment (2007)	Gross hourly earnings in USD adjusted for inequality (2006)	Expected monetary loss associated with becoming and staying unemployed as a share of previous earnings (%) (2007)	Share of workers experiencing job strain (%) (2005)	Poverty rate after taxes and transfers, Poverty line 50% Working-age population (18-64) (%) (2006)	Difference between average annual earnings of men and women divided by average earnings of men (%) (2005)	Average employment gap as a percentage of the benchmark group (prime-age male workers) (2006)		
OECD countrie	es	S									
Iceland	87.0	3.0	10.7	21.2	1.1		5.2	41.2	10.4		
Switzerland	80.5	4.1	18.2	26.6	1.4				18.8		
Norway	79.6	3.5	17.3	25.3	0.7	21.8	8.6	38.6	20.0		
Denmark	79.4	4.0	20.7	27.1	1.8	23.2	5.3	31.6	21.5		
Sweden	78.8	7.1	22.8	18.5	2.5	21.2	7.5	32.3	16.8		
New Zealand	78.4	3.9	21.9	14.9	3.1	24.8	8.3		21.1		
Canada	75.8	6.4	24.4	16.9	3.2	30.1	12.8		20.8		
Estonia	75.6	6.1	21.3	5.7	4.0	30.7	11.2	37.2	22.6		
United States	75.3	4.7	23.2	18.0	3.4	28.1	14.1	44.2	26.0		
United Kingdon		5.4	24.8	17.6	3.1	28.4	10.4	46.3	25.5		
Netherlands	74.6	4.3	22.5	27.5	1.1	27.8	6.5	56.0	28.8		
Australia	74.5	4.9	27.3	20.1	2.7	27.3	10.7	46.7	24.3		
Japan	74.5	4.3	26.0	15.0	1.8	37.8	13.4	64.3	29.5		
Finland	74.0	7.7	24.3	19.9	2.6	20.3	7.1	27.5	19.4		
Ireland	73.4	4.7	26.1	16.4	1.8	27.6	9.4	49.3	29.7		
Latvia	73.2	7.2	23.9	4.2		37.5	11.9		21.3		
Portugal	72.6	8.1	27.1	8.6	5.5	46.8	10.5		23.0		
Austria	71.6	5.3	26.6	20.9	2.1	31.0	7.0	50.3	28.6		
Slovenia	71.5	6.1	24.3	13.4	2.1	41.1	5.9	23.3	25.4		
Czech Republio		7.2	25.1	8.4	2.2	37.8	5.0	46.7	35.9		
Germany	71.1	10.4	28.1	22.8	3.4	44.8	8.7	51.4	28.6		
Korea	69.5	3.6		8.0	2.2	38.7	11.1	67.9	35.1		
France	69.4	8.5	30.6	20.8	3.1	34.1	7.4	38.7	30.7		
Luxembourg	69.1	4.7	26.7	28.3	1.3	29.1	6.9 58.3		30.7		
Spain	69.0	8.5	30.8	15.6	5.5	49.2	11.3	**	28.4		
Israel	68.1	10.8		8.6	5.4	35.8	14.4		21.6		
Belgium	66.5	8.3	31.9	27.4	3.1	30.0	8.3	47.9	36.7		
Mexico	66.1	3.7		4.8	3.8	31.5	15.2	24.7	41.1		
Slovak Republi		13.3	30.4	7.3	8.1	37.4	5.3	34.7	39.2		
Greece	65.6	9.1 9.2	32.6	11.4	7.5	49.8	11.3		35.2 37.9		
Chile	64.0	7.5	 35.2	4.1 7.0	8.1 4.0	49.8	16.3	33.5	37.9		
Hungary	62.6						6.7				
Italy Poland	62.4 60.1	6.9 14.0	37.9 34.8	18.5 6.3	5.0 4.8	35.6 39.1	10.7 10.8	32.7	37.8 40.6		
Turkey	48.2	10.5	54.0 52.1	6.0	9.7	57.2	12.2	32.1	52.3		
OECD	70.3	6.3	26.8	15.5	3.6	34.5	9.6	43.5	28.7		
Non-OECD cou		0.3	20.0	13.3	3.0	34.3	7.0	43.3	20.7		
Colombia	66.8	11.5		**							
Costa Rica	69.3	5.8									
Lithuania	71.3	5.8	24.8	6.1		46.1	10.4	27.2	22.7		
Argentina	68.8	10.3	24.0	0.1		40.1	10.1	54.1	35.1		
Brazil	71.9	8.6		2.2			17.6	55.7	36.8		
China	83.8	3.7		L.L							
India	63.4	4.5		0.7			17.4		46.4		
Indonesia	67.2	10.6		0.7			17.4		46.4		
Russia	74.2	7.1		2.5							
Saudi Arabia	56.9	5.8		2.0							
South Africa	53.1	22.6		1.5	, i						
											

Above average About average Below average

performers (Topperformers performers (Bottomthird) (Mid-third) third)

Notes: Countries are ordered in descending order by the employment rate. Dark blue stands for better performance, light blue for worse one. The groups considered in the last columns are youth, older workers, mothers with children, people with disabilities and non-natives. Data on job quantity refer to 2006 except for Colombia and Saudi Arabia (2007); China (2000). Data on job strain are preliminary revised estimates for 2005. Data on low-income rate refer to 2006 except for Israel and the United States (2005); Hungary, Spain and Turkey (2007); Australia, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand and Sweden (2008); India (2004). Data on gender labour income gap refer to 2006 except for Japan (2005).

Source: Chapter 1 of the 2016 OECD Employment Outlook, Chapter 1 of the 2017 OECD Employment Outlook, OECD Employment Database, OECD Job Quality Database and OECD Income Distribution Database

Table A2. Dashboard of job quantity

1995 or closest available date

	Quantity							
	Employment	Unemployment						
	Share of working-age population (20-64 years) in employment (%)	Share of persons in the labour force (15-64 years) in unemployment (%)						
	(1995)	(1995)						
OECD countries								
Iceland	86.0	5.0						
Switzerland	79.4	3.4						
Norway	77.0	5.0						
Sweden	76.0	9.2						
Czech Republic	75.6	4.0						
Denmark	75.3	7.0						
United States	75.2	5.6						
Japan	75.1	3.3						
New Zealand	72.6	6.5						
Estonia	71.4	9.7						
Austria	71.3	3.7						
Korea	70.9	2.1						
United Kingdom	70.7	8.7						
Canada	70.5	9.6						
Australia	70.1	8.6						
srael	68.3	8.9						
Portugal	67.8	7.4						
Netherlands	67.6	7.1						
Germany	67.6	8.2						
Slovak Republic	67.4	13.1						
Finland	66.3	15.4						
France	65.1	11.6						
Poland	64.3	13.7						
Luxembourg	62.4	2.9						
Chile	62.2	7.5						
Belgium	61.4	9.4						
Mexico	61.1	7.1						
reland	60.7	12.4						
Greece	59.9	9.3						
Hungary	58.9	10.2						
Turkey	55.9	7.8						
taly	55.2	11.7						
Spain	51.8	22.8						
Latvia	::							
Slovenia								
OECD	68.3	7.6						
Non-OECD countries								
Colombia								
Costa Rica	63.6	5.2						
Lithuania								
Argentina								
Brazil								
China								
India								
Indonesia								
Russia	70.2	9.5						
Saudi Arabia	57.2	4.4						
South Africa								
Above average performers (Top third)	- About average performers (Mid-third)	Below average performers (Bottom third)						

Notes: Countries are ordered in descending order by the employment rate. Dark blue stands for better performance, light blue for worse one. Employment and unemployment: Data refer to 1995 except for Chile (1996) and Saudi Arabia (1999). Broad underemployment: Date refer to 1995 except for Finland (1996); Czech Republic, Iceland and the United States (1998).

Source: OECD Employment Database.

Table A3. Dashboard of job quality, job quantity and inclusiveness after the adjusting for the role of economic development

2016 or latest available year, taking in account GDP per capita using the residuals of regressing each indicator on GDP per capita, standardised

		Quantity			Quality		Inclusiveness				
•	Employment	Unemployment	Broad labour underutilisation	Earnings quality	Labour market insecurity	Quality of working environment	Low-income rate	Gender labour income gap	Employment gap for disadvantaged groups		
Iceland	2.0	0.9	1.7	0.4	0.3	0.1	1.3	0.4	1.8		
New Zealand	1.3	0.6	1.0	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.5		1.2		
Estonia	1.1	0.4	1.4	-0.7	0.4	1.4	-0.4	0.8	1.0		
Japan	1.0	1.0	0.7	-0.2	0.8	-0.7	-1.4	-1.7	0.0		
Czech Republic	1.0	1.0	1.1	-0.9	1.0	0.7	2.1	-0.6	-0.4		
Sweden	1.0	-0.1	0.6	-0.3	-0.1	0.1	0.5	1.3	1.2		
Latvia	0.8	-0.2	0.8	-0.5		0.4	-0.3	1.6	1.8		
United Kingdom	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.5	1.1	0.2	-0.3	0.2		
Germany	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.5	-0.6	0.2	-0.6	0.3		
Israel	0.6	0.8	0.7	-1.1	0.6	0.7	-1.1		1.8		
Switzerland	0.6	0.1	0.6	0.3	0.0		0.5	-1.0	0.4		
Hungary	0.4	0.9	0.4	-0.5	0.9	-0.8	0.7	1.0	-0.5		
Denmark	0.3	0.1	0.4	1.9	0.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	0.7		
Netherlands	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.5	0.3	0.1	0.5	-0.7	-0.2		
Canada	0.1	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.0		-1.5	-0.1	0.5		
Chile	0.1	0.6	-0.1	-0.2	0.2	0.9	-0.7	-1.0	0.5		
Portugal	0.1	-0.7	0.0	-0.5	-0.1	-0.4	-0.2	0.9	1.0		
Poland	0.0	0.6	0.2	-0.5	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.3	-0.3		
Finland	0.0	-0.4	0.1	0.8	0.6	1.8	1.1	1.6	0.8		
Austria	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.3	-0.6	0.5	-0.7	0.1		
Mexico	0.0	1.4		-0.1	1.1	1.0	-0.4	-1.8	-1.1		
Australia	0.0	0.2	-0.5	0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.1	-0.5	0.0		
Slovenia	-0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.7	-0.3	1.0	1.5	0.1		
Slovak Republic	-0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.7	0.0	-0.3	1.5	0.6	-0.8		
Korea	-0.2	0.9		-1.2	0.7		0.9	-2.0	-0.9		
Norway	-0.2	0.0	0.4	-0.2	-0.3	0.9	-0.4	0.3	-0.1		
France	-0.4	-0.6	-0.7	1.1	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.3	-0.4		
United States	-0.8	0.2	-0.4	-1.7	-0.4	-0.8	-2.1	-0.1	-1.0		
Belgium	-1.1	-0.2	-0.6	2.2	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.5	-1.0		
Spain	-1.3	-2.8	-1.7	0.7	-2.8	-1.1	-1.8	0.2	-0.1		
Italy	-1.7	-1.0	-2.1	1.0	-1.2	-0.2	-0.9	-0.6	-1.1		
Ireland	-1.9	-1.0	-2.1	-2.8	-0.7	-1.1	-0.6	0.0	-1.8		
Greece	-2.1	-3.5	-2.0	0.2	-3.6	-2.8	-1.5	-1.1	-1.2		
Turkey	-2.4	-0.5	-1.8	-0.7	-1.3	-1.9	-0.5		-2.4		
Correlation with co	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.1	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.8		

Above average About average Below average performers (Top-performers performers (Bottom-third) (Mid-third)

Notes: The role of economic development is accounted for by regressing each of the indicators of labour market performance on GDP per capita across OECD countries (excluding Luxembourg), retrieving and standardising residuals and when necessary multiplying by minus one so that positive values are associated with better performance. Countries are ordered in descending order by the employment rate. Dark blue stands for better performance, light blue for worse one. For details on variable definitions see Table 1.

Source: See Table 1.

Table A4. Extended information on framework conditions for resilience and adaptability

-	Pasilianca	Adaptability										
	Resilience Unemployment cost of a decline in GDP		Labour productivity growth		Ability of productive firms to attract workers		Wage-productivity decoupling		Student skills: low- performing students in mathematics	Non-standard workers : share of non- standard workers in	Regional disparilles	
	Average increase in unemployment rate over 3 years after a negative shock to GDP of 1%	Average annual labour productivity growth (%)		Cross-firm employment growth differential associated with 10 pp productivity differential (%)		Difference between annual real median wage growth and labour productivity growth (pp)		Share of adults with numeracy skills below level 2 in PIAAC (%)	Share of 15- year-olds not in secondary school or scoring below Level 2 in PISA (%)	Share of Own- account self- employed and temporary	Coefficient of variation in regional unemployment rates (%)	
	2000-16	2000-16	2010-16	2003-13	2010-13	2000-13	2010-13	2012, 2015	2015	2013	2000	2016
OECD countries												
Iceland	0.1	1.5	1.0						28.8	20.6	15.0	22.3
Switzerland	0.4	0.4	-0.2	0.1	0.1				19.0	18.7	23.6	31.7
Sweden New Zealand	0.3 0.4	1.3 0.7	0.9 0.7	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.9 -0.4	14.7 18.9	25.9 29.3	19.0	30.9 19.2	12.2 24.3
Japan	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.4	-0.5	0.5	8.1	15.4	20.2	18.6	13.9
Germany	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.4	-0.5	0.3	18.4	20.6	18.1	51.7	30.1
Norway	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	-0.5	0.0	14.6	24.3	11.8	20.5	16.7
United Kingdom	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.0	-0.2	-1.0	24.2	34.4	16.1	28.9	20.2
Denmark	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.8	14.2	23.1	13.6	13.0	6.6
Netherlands	0.4	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.3	-0.7		13.2	20.8	25.9	26.5	20.0
Czech Republic	0.3	2.1	1.0			0.3	0.3	12.9	26.8	21.2	42.9	36.2
Estonia	0.7	2.8	1.0	0.4	0.4			14.3	17.6	8.4	26.2	38.5
Canada	0.5	0.6	1.0			-0.6	-0.5	22.4	28.5	21.2	42.3	29.3
Australia	0.4	1.0	1.3			-1.0	0.9	20.1	29.3	32.1	39.7	46.0
Israel	0.6	0.7	0.7			-0.6		30.9	36.4		15.1	17.3
Austria	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.4	14.3	34.8	15.4	32.8	46.3
Finland	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.7	12.8	15.9	21.8	62.2	13.1
Latvia	0.8	3.9	2.4	0.5	0.3				30.2		23.6	40.7
United States	0.7	1.3	0.4	0.5	0.7	-1.5	-1.0	28.7	41.0		23.9	21.1
Hungary	0.3	1.7	0.1	0.4	0.3	-0.6	-0.3		35.5	15.9	34.8	43.9
Korea	0.2 0.3	2.5	1.3 0.2	0.3	0.5	-1.1 0.5	0.8 -1.2	18.9	22.5 33.2	32.7 31.0	23.7	20.1 15.0
Portugal Luxembourg	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.0			**	35.0	11.9	36.0	
France	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.9	28.0	30.4	20.8	35.7	17.2
Slovenia	0.4	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.4			25.8	22.2	18.6	22.7	15.9
Ireland	0.3	3.0	4.8	0.2	0.1	-1.1	-3.1	25.0	18.0	19.5	26.5	13.6
Slovak Republic	0.5	3.1	1.5			-0.8	0.5	13.8	35.5	22.3	41.6	38.5
Poland	0.6	2.7	2.2	0.2	0.5	-1.3	-2.0	23.5	24.7	37.4	20.0	24.8
Chile	0.3	1.4	1.3					61.9	59.6		31.3	25.2
Belgium	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.0	-0.3	0.9	13.4	25.7	16.9	54.8	56.1
Mexico	0.2	0.2	1.1						73.2		29.6	28.7
Spain	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.5	-0.6	30.6	29.3	32.1	35.9	28.9
Italy	0.5	-0.4	-0.4	0.4	0.3	1.0	-0.4	31.7	38.4	27.9	73.6	46.8
Greece	0.8	0.2	-1.0	0.2	0.6	1.4	-1.4	28.5	41.5	35.6	26.3	19.7
Turkey	0.2	2.6	2.6					50.2	66.0	30.2	42.0	50.3
OECD countries	0.4	1.2	0.9	0.4	0.3	-0.2	-0.2	22.7	31.2	22.0	31.7	26.8
Non-OECD countries												
Colombia	0.2	1.9	1.7						74.8		29.7	21.9
Costa Rica	0.6								76.2			
Lithuania	0.5	4.2	2.0					17.4	32.7		13.1	29.6
Argentina									75.9			
Brazil	0.3								79.0		33.7	33.6
China	0.0								46.2		53.9	
India												
Indonesia									78.6			
Russia	0.1								22.8		38.2	63.2
Saudi Arabia												
South Africa	0.3										14.0	20.0

Note: OECD unweighted average. Resilience: The indicator of labour market resilience measures the estimated average increase in the unemployment rate over the 3 years following a 1% decline in GDP. The indicator is obtained from estimating the following model: $U_{t+s} - U_{t-1} = \beta_0^s + \beta_1^s dlnGDPV_t + \beta_2^s dU_{t-1} + \beta_2^s dU_{t-1}$ $\beta_3^s dlnGDPV_{t-1} + \beta_4^s dU_{t-2} + \beta_5^s dlnGDPV_{t-2} + \sum_{j=1}^s \beta_4^j dlnGDP_{t+j} + \varepsilon_{t+s}$, where U_t is the unemployment rate, $GDPV_t$ is real GDP in period t and s indicates the number of periods after the GDP shock. The model is estimated separately for each country and each s, with the estimated β_1^s denoting the impulse-response function of unemployment to a 1% increase in GDP. The average change in unemployment is computed as the average of β_1^s over the 3 years following a 1% reduction in GDP. Data refer to the period 2000-2016 for all countries. Labour productivity growth: Labour productivity is measured in per worker terms. Data refer to the period 2000-2016 for all countries except Colombia (2001-2016). Ability of productive firms to attract workers: The efficiency of labour re-allocation measures the elasticity of firm-level employment growth to lagged labour productivity. The baseline estimated equation is: $\Delta lnL_{i,j,c,t} = \sum_{c=1}^{26} \beta_c C_c lnLP_{i,j,c,t-1} +$ $\theta x'_{i,j,c,t-1} + \gamma_{jct} + \varepsilon_{ijct}$, where $\Delta lnL_{i,j,t}$ denotes employment growth in firm i, industry j and country c; C_c are country dummies; $lnLP_{i,j,c,t-1}$ is labour productivity in gross output terms; $x_{i,j,t-1}$ are employment and age of the firm; and γ_{jct} are industry-country-year fixed effects to control for unobserved time-varying country-industry specific determinants of employment growth. The country-specific β_c parameters provide a measure of dynamic allocative efficiency. Data refer to the period 2003-13 for all countries except Portugal (2006-2008) and Hungary (2009-2013). To control for effects of the business cycle on the efficiency of labour re-allocation, over the sample period 2003-2013 the baseline specification is augmented with an interaction term of lagged labour productivity with a dummy variable taking the value 1 if the lagged change in the output gap is below 0. Countries omitted from the table do not have sufficient coverage of firms in the ORBIS dataset. Wage-productivity decoupling: The indicator of decoupling measures the percentage point difference between real median wage growth and labour productivity growth. Using the notation $\Delta\% X$ to denote the per cent growth rate of X, macro-level decoupling is defined as follows: $Decoupling \equiv \Delta \% \left(\frac{W^{med}}{P^Y}\right) - \Delta \% \left(\frac{Y/P^Y}{L}\right)$, where W^{med} denotes the nominal median wage, Y denotes nominal value added, P^{Y} denotes the value added price and L denotes hours worked. Data refer to the period 2000-2013 for all countries except Australia, Canada, France, Italy New Zealand, Poland, Spain and Sweden (2000-2012); Greece and Portugal (2004-2013); Israel (2001-2011); the Slovak Republic (2001-2012). Low skills adults: Data refer to 2012 for all countries except Chile, Greece, Israel, Lithuania, New Zealand, Slovenia, Turkey and Jakarta (Indonesia). Data for Belgium refer to Flanders; data for the United Kingdom are the weighted average (2/3 and 1/3) of the data for England and the Northern Ireland; data for Indonesia refer to Jakarta. Low-performing students in mathematics: Data for China refer to Beijing-Shanghai-Jiangsu-Guangdong. Argentina: Coverage is too small to guarantee comparability. Non-standard workers: Workers on temporary contracts and self-employed (own account) workers aged 15-64, excluding employers, student workers and apprentices. Regional disparities: Data refer to the Territorial Level 2 (TL2) classification except for Australia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (TL3), and to 2000 and 2016 except for Denmark (2007, 2016); Estonia, Chile, Israel., Mexico and Russia (2000, 2014); Spain (2002, 2014); Latvia and Lithuania (2000, 2015); Slovenia (2001, 2016); Turkey (2004, 2016); Brazil (2004, 2013); China (2008); Colombia (2001, 2014) and South Africa (2008, 2014) .002

Source: Resilience: OECD calculations based on OECD (2017), OECD Employment Outlook 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/empl_outlook-2017-en; Labour productivity growth: OECD Economic Outlook database; Wage-productivity decoupling: OECD calculations based on OECD National Accounts Database and OECD Earnings Database; Ability of productive firms to attract workers: OECD calculations based on the 2013 ORBIS vintage; Low-skilled adults: OECD (2016), Skills Matter: Further Results from the Survey of Adult Skills, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264258051-en; Low-performing students in mathematics: OECD (2016), PISA 2015 Results (Volume I): Excellence and Equity in Education, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264266490-en. Non-standard workers: OECD (2015), In It Together - Why Less Inequality Benefits All, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264232662-en. Regional disparities: OECD (2018), OECD Regional Statistics Database, https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/region-data-en.

III. Detailed recommendations

A. Promote an environment in which high-quality jobs can flourish

- 1. Implement a sound macroeconomic policy framework that ensures price stability and fiscal sustainability while allowing for an effective counter-cyclical monetary and fiscal policy response during economic downturns
- Monetary policy should pursue medium-term price stability by reacting to both inflationary and dis-inflationary shocks and aim to stabilise economic activity, including through non-conventional measures when interest rates cannot be lowered further during large economic downturns.
- Automatic fiscal stabilisers should be allowed to fully operate, possibly supported by
 additional discretionary measures in response to particularly large economic shocks.
 Discretionary increases in public investment, including well-designed infrastructure
 projects and maintenance of the existing capital stock, can be particularly effective in
 containing unemployment pressure during prolonged economic downturns.
- The use of fiscal policy for macroeconomic stabilisation is particularly effective when monetary policy is over-burdened and where monetary policy cannot be used for this purpose.
- A sound fiscal policy framework should create sufficient fiscal space during upturns to allow for a stabilising fiscal policy response during downturns, including in the form of increased public investment and spending on labour market programmes.
- 2. Promote growth and quality job creation by removing barriers to the creation and growth of new businesses, the restructuring or exit of underperforming ones, and by creating an entrepreneurship-friendly environment
- Promote business dynamism and competition in both manufacturing and especially services to revive productivity growth, by implementing labour market and other policies that facilitate entry of new firms, reallocation of workers towards the most productive firms and the restructuring or orderly exit of the weakly productive ones.
- Create an entrepreneurship-friendly environment to raise investment, innovation and job creation by raising the efficiency of tax systems; providing a sound legal and judicial infrastructure; enhancing the robustness of financial markets that serve the real economy; continuing efforts to strengthen the rule of law and fight corruption; and by improving the governance of state-owned enterprises.

- 3. Ensure that employment protection legislation yields dismissal costs which are predictable, balanced across contract types and not overly restrictive, while protecting workers against possible abuses and limiting excessive turnover.
- Reduce differences, and to the extent possible, equalise advance notice, ordinary severance pay and layoff taxes across types of contract, but keeping them at a level that does not hinder efficient labour reallocation.
- Clarify the conditions that firms are expected to meet to dismiss workers on openended contracts for economic reasons and make worker compensation predictable. The latter may be achieved by adopting a comprehensive definition of fair economic dismissal while setting different notice periods and ordinary severance pay depending on the reason.
- In the case of dismissal for personal motives, restrict, and if needed clarify, the definition of unfair dismissal, for which remedial action can be sought in courts, to abuses, including false reasons, reasons unrelated to work, discrimination, harassment and prohibited grounds.
- 4. Facilitate the adoption of flexible working-time arrangements to help firms adjust to temporary changes in business conditions, while helping workers to reconcile work and personal life.
- Enhance work-life balance by removing legal impediments and discriminatory tax and social security provisions against the use of voluntary part-time work and flexible work schedules, while promoting the use of teleworking arrangements.
- Increase the flexibility of working time to temporary changes in business conditions
 through the use of working-time accounts and overtime, collectively-agreed workingtime adjustments and publicly provided short-time work schemes to provide additional
 flexibility to firms and reduce excessive turnover.
- Use short-time work schemes as a tool to preserve jobs in times of crisis, but limit their
 use in good times to avoid that that they undermine the efficient reallocation of
 resources across firms, and hence productivity growth.
 - O Prepare for economic downturns by establishing a short-time work scheme that can be scaled up or activated in times of crisis, if no such a scheme exists, while providing clear and easily accessible information on the modalities for their use.
 - O Ensure that the use of short-time work schemes is largely limited to economic downturns, by requiring firms to participate in the cost of short-time work, limiting the maximum duration of short-time work schemes and targeting them at firms in temporary difficulties.

5. Reduce non-wage labour costs, especially for low-wage workers, and differences in fiscal treatment based on employment status.

Consistent with the OECD's recommendations on *Tax Policy Design for Inclusive Growth*, the following principles can help to improve the design of labour taxation for good labour market performance:

- Broaden the tax base of labour taxation to reduce non-wage labour costs as well as
 differences in fiscal treatment based on employment status, with a particular focus on
 low-wage workers. This can be done by switching to taxes that weigh less heavily on
 labour or by adjusting the composition of labour taxation.
- For a given level of labour taxation, consider increasing its progressivity by relying more heavily on progressive personal income taxes for the financing of social protection when there is already a weak link between individual contributions and entitlements, removing exemptions and deductibles from personal income taxation that are regressive and treating all forms of remuneration evenly (e.g. wage earnings, fringe benefits, stock options).
- Provide clear incentives to firms for minimising labour market risks by strengthening
 the link between employer social security contributions and expenditures in the context
 of existing insurance-based sickness, disability and unemployment benefit schemes,
 while avoiding penalising certain types of firms and workers and minimising any
 unintended consequences on the hiring and firing behaviour of firms.
- 6. Consider using a statutory minimum wage set at a moderate level as a tool to raise wages at the bottom of the wage ladder, while avoiding that it prices low-skilled workers out of jobs.
- Accompany minimum wages with tax and benefit measures to ensure that measures to
 make work pay have their intended effects for workers, while limiting the impact of
 minimum wages on the cost of labour for firms.
- Ensure that minimum wages are revised regularly, based on accurate, up-to-date and impartial information and advice that carefully considers current labour market conditions and the views of social partners.
- Where appropriate, allow minimum wages to vary by age group (to reflect differences in productivity or employment barriers) and/or by region (to reflect differences in economic conditions).
- 7. Promote the inclusiveness of collective bargaining systems while providing sufficient flexibility for firms to adapt to aggregate shocks and structural change.

Collective bargaining systems differ widely across countries in terms of their coverage and the flexibility that they provide to firms. Moreover, these differences tend to be deeply rooted in their socio-cultural fabric. The challenge is to adapt collective bargaining systems

to a changing world of work within the broad terms of the existing national industrial-relations tradition. Systems characterised by predominantly sector-level bargaining tend to be associated with high coverage, but also risk undermining employment and productivity growth if not well-designed. In countries characterised by predominantly firm-level bargaining, coverage tends to be limited to large firms and their workers, the main question is how the reach of collective bargaining and social dialogue can be extended.

- The best way of fostering an inclusive collective bargaining system is through well-organised social partners based on broad memberships. To extend social dialogue to all segments of the economy, including small firms and non-standard forms of employment, governments should put in place a legal framework that promotes social dialogue in large and smalls firms alike and allows labour relations to adapt to new emerging challenges.
- In the absence of broad-based social partners, administrative extensions of sectoral agreements can help make collective bargaining systems more inclusive by achieving higher coverage, but need to be well-designed to ensure their representativeness, and avoid undermining the economic prospects of start-ups, small firms or vulnerable workers. This could be done by subjecting extension requests to reasonable representativeness criteria, a meaningful test of public interest or requiring well-defined procedures for exemptions and opt out.
- Collective bargaining systems should provide sufficient flexibility to allow wages and working conditions to adjust to difficult economic conditions. In the case of predominantly sector-level collective bargaining, this can be promoted through organised decentralisation which preserves the integrity of sector-level bargaining while providing the possibility of controlled opt-outs or, by leaving space in sector-level agreements through the use of framework agreements for bargaining at the firm or individual level. To engage effectively in organised decentralisation, it is important to have high levels of local representation of workers in firms. Flexibility to macroeconomic conditions can be fostered through the effective co-ordination of collective bargaining outcomes across bargaining units through peak or pattern bargaining.
- Promote the quality of labour relations by: fostering broad, representative and wellorganised employer and worker associations; creating built-in incentives for the regular
 re-negotiation of collective agreements; providing high quality and objective statistics
 on the state of the economy; and supporting mechanisms that enhance the
 accountability of the social partners for the effective implementation of collective
 agreements.
- 8. Foster the development of suitable skills for labour market needs, while promoting the use of these skills and their adaptation during the working life to respond to evolving skills needs.
- 94. Consistent with the *OECD Skills Strategy*:
- Put in place a high-quality initial education and training system, from early childhood education through school and beyond, which gives individuals the best possible start in the labour market by providing them with strong basic skills, socio-emotional skills and specific skills required by employers, as well as the capacity for lifelong learning

and to make education, training and occupational choices throughout their working lives.

- Develop strong links between the world of education and the world of work to ensure
 that the skills acquired through the education and training system correspond to labour
 market needs, and hence avoid major issues with skill mismatch. Policies to foster
 closer links between education and work include: work-based learning; the
 involvement of social partners in the development and delivery of curricula matching
 market needs; and an element of cost-sharing in skills funding.
- Encourage better skills use in the workplace, including through collective bargaining and the promotion of good management and high-performance management and working practices.
- Adapt education and training programmes in different regions to meet the specific needs of the regional economy.
- 9. Promote formal employment by enhancing the enforcement of labour market rules, making formal work more attractive for firms and workers and promoting skills development to enhance worker productivity
- In countries where there are many informal jobs, tackle informality by improving the efficiency of public spending and the quality of the public services and, where they exist, strengthening the link between contributions and benefits in social insurance schemes; by simplifying tax and administrative systems; by increasing resources for labour inspectorates and making the enforcement process transparent and strict; and by promoting skill development to compensate for the higher cost of formal jobs and enhance access to formal-sector employment.

B. Prevent labour market exclusion and protect individuals against labour market risks

- 1. Promote equal opportunities to avoid that socio-economic background determines opportunities in the labour market through its role for the acquisition of relevant labour market skills or as a source of discrimination.
- Promote access to quality education for disadvantaged children and youth. Promoting
 access to pre-school programmes for children from disadvantaged backgrounds is
 particularly important, but countries should also ensure equal access to post-secondary
 education.
- Tackle the problem of school dropout through early identification and targeting of atrisk students. For individuals who leave education with very low levels of skills,
 second-chance options for education can provide a way out of a low skills/pooreconomic-outcome trap.
- Develop policies to tackle discrimination in the labour market against women, older workers, LGBT, ethnic minorities, migrants and disabled through enforced regulations, suitable incentives and information campaigns encouraging employers to hire, promote and/or retain these workers.

- Following the *Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Public Life* [C(2015)164], *Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Education*, *Employment and Entrepreneurship* [C/MIN(2013)5/FINAL], countries must step up efforts to ensure that public policy truly reflects inclusive labour markets in which both men and women can reach their full potential. This includes amongst others tackling gender stereotyping in education choice, promoting a more equal sharing of caring responsibilities between men and women and addressing glass-ceiling effects.
 - 2. Adopt a life course perspective to prevent that individual disadvantages cumulate over time, requiring interventions at a later stage, which are usually less effective and involve larger fiscal costs.
- Use policy and social dialogue to encourage and enable people to develop, maintain
 and upgrade skills at all ages, making sure that the appropriate skill mix of vocational
 education and training opportunities vary according to workers' barriers and evolve
 throughout the working life.
- Provide workers with the right incentives to avoid early withdrawal from the labour force, consistent with the *Recommendation of the Council on Ageing and Employment Policies* [C(2015)172].
- Consistent with the *Recommendation of the Council on Mental Health, Skills and Work Policy* [C(2015)173], shape incentives, define regulations and provide guidance to adapt working conditions to workers' strengths and needs over the life cycle, including enhancing reconciliation of work and family life, thereby avoiding impinging on workers' physical and mental health. This can be done by: i) developing a rigorous legislative framework for physical and psycho-social risk assessment and risk prevention; ii) using appropriate financial incentives; and iii) making the business case for management and organisational practices that result in better working conditions.
 - 3. Develop a comprehensive strategy to activate and protect workers, by combining adequate and widely accessible out-of-work benefits with active programmes in a mutual-obligations framework.
- Develop a comprehensive activation strategy that makes work more accessible by
 dealing with all barriers simultaneously by combining measures to ensure that jobless
 people have the motivation to search actively and accept suitable jobs with actions to
 expand opportunities and interventions to increase the employability of the least
 employable.
 - O Develop and implement effective profiling tools early in the jobless spell so that intensive counselling and tailored case-management are targeted to harder-to-place jobless individuals and staff caseload is contained.
 - O Make work pay through tax-benefit reforms and by providing targeted inwork benefits, while making sure that schemes are sufficiently simple and transparent to be understood by potential recipients.

- O Spending on active labour market policies needs to respond to cyclical increases in unemployment to allow for a rapid return to work and preserve the mutual-obligations ethos of activation regimes.
- Combine activation measures with adequate and widely accessible unemployment, disability and social- assistance benefits to provide income support to jobless persons.
 - O To help ensure that activation measures reach all persons facing barriers to work it is important that income support in the form of unemployment, disability and social assistance benefits cover a large part of the potential target population.
 - O Consider temporarily extending the maximum duration of unemployment benefits during a recession in countries where the maximum duration of unemployment benefits is short and unemployed workers have limited access to second-tier benefits (e.g. social assistance). Complement these extensions with enhanced access to training programmes.
- Embed activation and income-support measures in a rigorous mutual-obligations framework which makes income support and effective re-employment services conditional on beneficiaries taking active steps to find work or improve their employability. This requires making sure that job seekers efforts are strictly monitored and that warnings and sanctions are articulated in a balanced way.

4. Adopt specific policies for underrepresented and disadvantaged groups, ensuring that they simultaneously address all barriers to employment.

- Identify and analyse the barriers to quality employment faced by specific groups and jobless individuals using a comprehensive approach through coordinated actions concerning the design of tax-and-benefit policies and the provision of employment, education, training, health, childcare, housing, transport and other social services.
- Promote the labour market inclusion of people with caring responsibilities, by developing flexible working-time arrangements, removing fiscal disincentives to fulltime work for second earners, encouraging sharing responsibilities between adults in the family as well as securing availability of and access to affordable and good-quality childcare and elderly care.
- Ensure that work is rewarding for lone parents, older workers and people with health
 issues by putting in place a comprehensive activation strategy based on the principle of
 mutual obligations in which employment, transfers and support services are exchanged
 for work and effective job-search or rehabilitation effort, while ensuring that work pays
 once taxes, transfers and other costs are taken into account, without heightening the
 risk of poverty.
- Organise disability policy around the principle of promoting ability, removing each
 person's specific barrier(s) to his/her employability, where this is possible, but taking
 care of avoiding increasing the poverty risk. Take steps to make the incentives of all
 actors involved sickness and disability benefit recipients, employers, service

- providers as well as gate-keeping authorities and medical professionals consistent with this strategy.
- Assess and recognise qualifications and skills acquired abroad and provide migrants with accessible language and training opportunities corresponding to their needs.
 - 5. Support lagging regions through coordinated policies at the national, regional and local levels that promote growth and competitiveness based on their specific assets and tackle social problems associated with local concentrations of labour market exclusion and poverty.
- Promote regional growth and competitiveness by ensuring high-quality basic public services complemented with well-designed public investments to strengthen a region's competitiveness and facilitate the diffusion of innovation and good practices across regions, industries and firms.
- Use place-based policies to tackle social problems related to the local concentration of unemployment, social exclusion and poverty by alleviating financial hardship, supporting local communities and promoting employability.
- Coordinate regional and local development policies with national policies to foster
 policy coherence and effectiveness; to ensure sufficient financial resources for local
 and regional policies are available; and to strengthen the capacity of local and regional
 government to administer and implement them.
- Remove impediments to geographical mobility, including by making the allocation of
 public housing more responsive to the needs of people moving away from areas in
 decline and by considering the provision of subsidies to cover the costs of relocating in
 case people are unlikely to find employment in their region of residence, e.g. after a
 plant closure.

C. Prepare for future opportunities and challenges in a rapidly changing labour market

- 1. Promote the reallocation of workers between firms, industries and regions, while supporting displaced workers.
- Promote the reallocation of workers between firms, industries and regions through product, labour market and housing policies.
- Support displaced workers through effective skills policies (including the accreditation
 of informal and formal learning), adequate social protection and constructive social
 dialogue.
- 2. Enable displaced workers to move quickly into jobs, using a mixture of general and targeted income support and re-employment assistance, combined with prevention and early intervention measures.

- Provide adequate income support to displaced workers, ensuring that delays in access
 to unemployment benefits as a result of severance payments do not delay access to
 re-employment support, and being mindful that higher benefits for displaced workers
 might create inequities.
- In countries with low unemployment insurance coverage and spending on ALMPS, provide targeted re-employment assistance to displaced workers in the form of counselling, job search assistance and retraining.
- Minimise post-displacement costs by beginning the adjustment process during the notification period through early interventions by the public employment service and/or initiatives by the social partners to provide counselling and training before workers are laid-off. In order to make early intervention possible, countries should allow for at least a short advance notice period, while taking care that this does undermine job reallocation and hiring on permanent contracts, and provide firms and workers with incentives to cooperate and connect with employment services as early as possible.
- Partner effectively with other actors who have the requisite contacts and expertise, such as private labour market intermediaries and public and private vocational training providers as well as employers and trade unions.
- 3. Accompany innovation in new forms of employment with policies to safeguard job quality by avoiding abuse, creating a level-playing field between firms, and providing adequate protection for all workers regardless of employment contract.
- Minimise abuse and the misclassification of workers by: reducing differences in regulatory and tax treatment across different forms of work; removing regulatory gaps and ambiguities; providing companies with adequate guidance on how (and based on what criteria) an employment relationship will be presumed; and guaranteeing the effective enforcement of existing regulation.
- Address tax evasion and under-reporting, while bringing new types of workers into the tax system.
- Provide adequate social protection for all workers by: extending existing social
 insurance schemes to previously excluded categories of workers or adapting them to
 non-standard forms of work (e.g. by revising thresholds on earnings or contributory
 periods that limit workers' receipts of benefits); making social protection more
 portable (i.e. linking entitlements to individuals rather than jobs); and strengthening
 non-contributory social assistance schemes.

- 4. Plan for the future by anticipating change; facilitating inclusive dialogue with the social partners and other relevant stakeholders on the future of work; and where necessary, adapting today's labour market, skills and social policies to the emerging needs in the changing world of work.
- Adopt robust systems and tools for assessing and anticipating change, combined with
 effective mechanisms and procedures which ensure that such information feeds into
 policy-making as well as into lifelong guidance.
- Ensure that all relevant stakeholders are involved in discussions around the future of work, aiming for consensus around the challenges that lie ahead and the possible solutions which could be implemented.
- Prepare for a possible paradigm shift in skills, labour market and social policy by considering new options to replace old ones, and piloting and evaluating such schemes were feasible.

D. Implementation

- 1. Make reforms successful by adapting them to country specificities, carefully packaging and sequencing them to limit their potential cost in the short-run or for specific groups and building support for them.
- Where social capital is low and administrative capacity lacking, opt for particularly simple, transparent and easily-accountable policy actions. Combine their implementation with further investments in civil servants' skills, the definition of a rigorously-applied code of conduct and the establishment of independent bodies for internal control and audit that have enforcement powers.
- When structural reforms involve short-term or distributional costs, offset these adverse effects through appropriately expansionary monetary or if fiscal space exists fiscal policy and/or by accompanying costly reforms with appropriate reforms of collective bargaining, policy actions to enhance firm-level flexibility or, in some cases, designing reforms in ways to preserve workers' entitlements as they have been acquired at the reform date (e.g. grandfathering).
- Get the sequence of reforms right by ensuring that effective activation schemes are already well functioning when reforms potentially involving short-term employment costs are implemented and by having product market reforms preceding the loosening of employment protection legislation.
- Build support for reforms by seeking an electoral mandate for them, communicating effectively on their rationale, and negotiating constructively with stakeholders.

- 2. Ensure that reforms are fully implemented, effectively enforced and rigorously evaluated; invest in data collection if suitable data are not available.
- Invest in data collection, including by mobilising administrative data in a way that
 respects confidentiality, to allow monitoring regulatory compliance, programme
 participation and tracking worker and firm outcomes over time.
- Ensuring compliance requires well-resourced labour inspectorates, both in terms the number of staff and their qualifications, as well as a transparent and strict enforcement process.
- Ensure that policies and programmes are regularly assessed in a rigorous way and that inefficient ones are swiftly amended or terminated.
- Build evaluation mechanisms into policy actions. Consider small-scale experimentation of new measures before implementing them on a large scale.



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