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### Inequality at work

*Occupations, organizations, and the wage distribution*

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## Co-authorship and Publications

*Chapter 2* is based on a co-authored article with Thijs Bol published as: Janietz, Christoph, and Thijs Bol. 2020. Occupations, Organizations, and the Structure of Wage Inequality in the Netherlands. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 70. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2019.100468>. Christoph Janietz developed the theoretical framework, prepared and analyzed the data, and wrote the article. Thijs Bol provided supervision, participated in the development of the research design and the interpretation of the results and contributed to the text.

*Chapter 3* is based on a single-authored article published as: Janietz, Christoph. 2024. Occupations and Careers within Organizations: Do Organizations Facilitate Unequal Wage Growth? *Social Science Research*, 120. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2024.103005>.

*Chapter 4* is based on a single-authored article. This article is currently under review at an international peer-reviewed journal as: Janietz, Christoph. Essential Workers and Wage Inequality: Wage Differentials before and during the Covid-19 Pandemic, 2006 to 2022.

*Chapter 5* is based on a co-authored article with Thijs Bol and Bram Lancee published as: Janietz, Christoph, Thijs Bol and Bram Lancee. 2023. Temporary Employment and Wage Inequality over the Life Course. *European Sociological Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcad075>. Christoph Janietz developed the theoretical framework, prepared and analyzed the data, and wrote the article. Thijs Bol and Bram Lancee provided supervision, participated in the interpretation of the results and contributed to the text.

## **Data Availability**

The data used in this dissertation are non-public microdata from Statistics Netherlands. Under certain conditions, these microdata are accessible for statistical and scientific research. For further information: [microdata@cbs.nl](mailto:microdata@cbs.nl).

Replication files for the analyses in this dissertation can be found at <https://osf.io/dy2t4>.

Most figures in this dissertation use the color scheme ‘Kandinsky’ of the R package MetBrewer by Blake Robert Mills (<https://github.com/BlakeRMills/MetBrewer#kandinsky>).



## Summary

### **Inequality at work: Occupations, organizations, and the wage distribution**

The allocation of economic rewards in society is a central dimension of social stratification research. The occupational structure has long served as the dominant framework for understanding wage inequality by defining the social positions that link people to rewards. At the same time, the interest in organizations as a fundamental source of inequality has increased. Organizations represent social spaces where economic resources are pooled and decisions regarding their distribution are negotiated. The growing interest in organizations has been underscored by recent empirical research demonstrating their important role in causing rising wage inequality in many countries.

The role of both occupations and organizations in structuring wage inequality raises further questions regarding their interdependence. The social position of wage earners in the division of labor is simultaneously defined by both structures. However, research has only recently begun to pay closer attention to the interrelation between occupations and organizations during the generation of inequality. In particular, rather than treating occupations and organizations simply as separate sources of inequality, their effects on wages may be aligned. For example, organizations and occupations exert a joint effect on inequality when access to employment in the highest-paying firms is conditional on occupational membership or when inequality-generating organizational practices are selectively applied to workers in specific occupations. This dissertation studies whether and how occupations and organizations intersect during the formation of wage inequality, based on quantitative analyses of large-scale administrative data. Moreover, it addresses questions regarding the aggregate structure of wage inequality and how individual life chances are shaped by occupations and organizations in the Netherlands.

In Chapter 2, I analyze the relative contribution of occupations and organizations to aggregate wage inequality in the Netherlands. In the previous literature, occupations and organizations are often construed as contrasting explanations of inequality. However, this controversy underestimates the possibility that both work structures reinforce inequality. I aim to bring this debate forward by conceptualizing the ways in which occupations and organizations can conjointly affect wage outcomes. Theoretically, occupational sorting and the differential ability of occupations to capture firm-specific wage premiums are identified as two mechanisms through which occupations and organizations can become complementary explanations of inequality. Using a variance function regression framework, I estimate the contribution of organizations to wage inequality between and within occupations. The effect of organizations on inequality within occupations indicates the extent to which occupational wage returns are dependent on firm membership, whereas the effect of organizations on inequality between occupations indicates the extent to which the wage effects of both structures are aligned. I find that organizations have a larger explanatory effect on inequality between occupations than on inequality within occupations. To explore the effect of organizations on occupational wages in greater detail, I analyze a counterfactual wage distribution in which firm

wage premiums are equalized. The results confirm a clear pattern of occupational sorting, as the mean wages of lower-paid occupations improve relative to those of higher-paid occupations when firm wage premiums are set equal. In contrast, there is no clear evidence of a gradient in the ability of occupations to capture firm-specific wage premiums, as workers in lower-paid occupations profit to a similar extent from organizational wage premiums when working in high-wage organizations relative to other workers in the same occupation.

In Chapter 3, I study the role of occupations in structuring career trajectories within organizations. Stratification research in the status attainment tradition frequently assumes that occupational mobility unfolds in neutral spaces. However, earlier research suggests that we cannot fully understand the role of occupations in the stratification process if the immediate workplace environments are not considered. Drawing on relational inequality theory, I argue that occupations represent more or less privileged employment positions within the existing opportunity structures inside organizations. Theoretically, I identify opportunities for promotion into higher-paying positions and opportunities to negotiate wage raises in the same job as two mechanisms of how occupations may structure firm-internal employment careers. Using growth curve modelling with individual fixed effects, I estimate group-specific wage growth profiles while workers remain employed in the same organization. The results of the analysis confirm unequal wage growth across six broader occupational classes, with average growth rates varying between 5.44% for production workers and 10.18% for technical professionals over six years. In addition, I investigate whether inequality in wage growth between occupational classes is affected by the allocation of occupations across organizations with differing pay quality. The process of occupational sorting reflects a reconfiguration of organizational boundaries that may stymie the career opportunities of workers in lower-status occupations. While I find clear patterns of occupational segregation across high- and low-wage organizations, they account for only up to approximately 8% of wage growth differentials between occupational classes.

In Chapter 4, I focus on occupations and analyze wage differentials between essential workers and other workers in the Netherlands. In 2020, the Dutch government issued a directive that declared the work of specific occupations (e.g., healthcare workers and teachers) as critically important for maintaining the functioning of society in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. I use the official designation of essential workers by the Dutch government as an empirical test case to critically interrogate the long-standing functionalist argument in social stratification research that wage inequality reflects the functional importance of occupational roles, net of skill requirements. I contrast the functionalist hypothesis with competing arguments that see wage setting as more strongly rooted in ascriptive inequalities (i.e., gender) and labor market institutions. The findings of the analysis contest functionalist theory by revealing an average wage penalty among essential workers that is not explained by average group differences in age and education. Moreover, I find variation in wage differentials across major occupation groups characterized by differing skill requirements. Although essential workers earn higher wages in the lower strata of the established occupational hierarchy, they earn lower wages in the upper strata. This variation is strongly related to the underlying gender composition in the occupational structure. Within the major occupation groups, in which essential workers are predominantly women, essential work is remunerated less. I also

investigate whether wage differentials between essential workers and other workers have decreased since the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. Using a difference-in-differences design with an adjustment for compositional change in the occupational structure, I find no evidence of a reduction in the wage gap, at least in the short term.

In Chapter 5, I focus on organizations and analyze the extent to which temporary employment affects wage inequality over the life course. Given the strong dualization of employment protection legislation in the Netherlands, temporary employment is a common staffing practice associated with wage penalties. From a life course perspective, the widespread use of temporary contracts by organizations signifies a revocation of long-term employment guarantees with potential repercussions for inequality over the careers of workers. While previous research has described patterns of unequal career consequences of temporary employment, it has not examined whether these patterns translate into a continued differentiation of aggregate group-level wages. I focus on wage inequality between workers who are part of the same birth cohort, but have attained different levels of education. I find that growing wage inequality over the life course is strongly patterned by educational attainment, as the higher initial wages of higher-educated workers are associated with steeper wage growth. Using fixed-effects individual slopes regression and a Kitagawa-Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition for longitudinal data, I assess the contribution of changes in temporary employment risk (group-specific rates) and vulnerability (group-specific wage effects) to the growing educational wage gap over the life course. The results indicate that temporary employment explains approximately 9% of the change in the wage gap between the ages of 28 and 38 among a cohort of workers born in 1979. This contribution is predominantly driven by changes in risk due to the long-term entrapment of many less-educated workers in temporary employment. The findings indicate that labor market policies targeted at reducing entrapment among less-educated workers, such as higher mandatory social insurance contributions for temporary employment paid by employers, can alleviate growing wage inequality over the life course.

In summary, this dissertation studies occupations and organizations as interdependent structures of wage inequality, using administrative data from the Netherlands. It demonstrates that the relationship between occupations and organizations during the formation of wage inequality is tightly knit. An important implication of these findings is that we should pay attention to both structures in future iterations of inequality research. This applies specifically to the European stratification literature, in which organizations have mostly been absent in empirical research. Furthermore, this dissertation demonstrates that occupations and organizations are important for understanding wage inequality from a life course perspective by structuring employment careers beyond the point of labor market entry. Equalizing labor market opportunities is not simply a matter of equalizing access to education, given the persistent career barriers that stem from organizational job structures and occupational hierarchies. I conclude that labor market inequality may be alleviated by greater regulation of inequality-generating organizational employment practices as well as a reevaluation of the work contributions of workers in lower-status occupations.

## Nederlandse Samenvatting

### **Inequality at work: Occupations, organizations, and the wage distribution**

De verdeling van inkomsten uit werk in de samenleving is een centraal onderwerp in onderzoek naar sociale stratificatie. De beroepenstructuur heeft lang gediend als het dominante kader voor het analyseren van loonongelijkheid door het definiëren van de sociale posities die mensen koppelen aan beloningen. Tegelijkertijd is de belangstelling voor organisaties als een primaire bron van ongelijkheid toegenomen. Organisaties vertegenwoordigen sociale ruimten waar economische middelen worden samengebracht en waar wordt onderhandeld over de verdeling ervan. De groeiende belangstelling voor organisaties wordt benadrukt door recent empirisch onderzoek dat hun belangrijke rol in het veroorzaken van toenemende loonongelijkheid in veel landen aantoont.

De rol van zowel beroepen als organisaties in loonongelijkheid roept verdere vragen op over hun onderlinge afhankelijkheid. De sociale positie van werknemers in de arbeidsverdeling wordt door zowel beroepen als organisaties bepaald. Onderzoek is echter pas recent begonnen met meer aandacht te besteden aan de onderlinge relatie tussen beroepen en organisaties tijdens het ontstaan van ongelijkheid. In plaats van beroepen en organisaties simpelweg als afzonderlijke bronnen van ongelijkheid te behandelen, kunnen hun effecten op lonen in aanzienlijke mate op elkaar zijn afgestemd. Organisaties en beroepen hebben bijvoorbeeld een gezamenlijk effect op ongelijkheid wanneer de toegang tot werk in de bestbetaalende bedrijven afhankelijk is van het beroep of wanneer ongelijkheid genererende organisatiepraktijken selectief worden toegepast op werknemers in specifieke beroepen. Dit proefschrift bestudeert of en hoe beroepen en organisaties elkaar beïnvloeden tijdens de vorming van loonongelijkheid, gebaseerd op kwantitatieve analyses van grootschalige administratieve data. Daarnaast wordt ingegaan op onderzoeksvragen met betrekking tot de geaggregeerde structuur van loonongelijkheid en hoe individuele levenskansen worden gevormd door beroepen en organisaties in Nederland.

In hoofdstuk 2 analyseer ik de relatieve bijdrage van beroepen en organisaties aan de geaggregeerde loonongelijkheid in Nederland. In de voorgaande literatuur worden beroepen en organisaties vaak gezien als contrasterende verklaringen voor ongelijkheid. Deze stroming onderschat echter de mogelijkheid dat beide werkstructuren ongelijkheid versterken. Ik wil deze discussie naar voren brengen door de manieren te conceptualiseren waarop beroepen en organisaties samen de loonresultaten kunnen beïnvloeden. Theoretisch worden beroepssortering en het differentiële vermogen van beroepen om bedrijfsspecifieke loonpremies te vangen gecategoriseerd als twee mechanismen waarmee beroepen en organisaties complementaire verklaringen voor ongelijkheid kunnen worden. Met behulp van een variantiefunctieregressie schat ik de bijdrage van organisaties aan loonongelijkheid tussen en binnen beroepen. Het effect van organisaties op ongelijkheid binnen beroepen geeft aan in welke mate het loonrendement van beroepen afhankelijk is van het lidmaatschap van een bedrijf, terwijl het effect van organisaties op ongelijkheid tussen beroepen aantoont in welke mate de looneffecten van beide structuren op elkaar zijn afgestemd. Mijn bevinding is dat

organisaties een groter verklarend effect hebben op ongelijkheid tussen beroepen dan op ongelijkheid binnen beroepen. Om het effect van organisaties op de lonen tussen beroepen in meer detail te onderzoeken, analyseer ik een counterfactual loonverdeling waarin de loonpremies van bedrijven gelijk zijn getrokken. De resultaten bevestigen een duidelijk patroon van beroepssortering, aangezien de gemiddelde lonen van lager betaalde beroepen verbeteren ten opzichte van die van hoger betaalde beroepen wanneer de bedrijfsspecifieke loon surplus gelijk worden gesteld. Daarentegen is er geen duidelijk bewijs van een verschil in het vermogen van beroepen om bedrijfsspecifieke loonpremies aan te pakken, aangezien werknemers in lager betaalde beroepen in vergelijkbare mate profiteren van de loonpremies van organisaties wanneer ze werken in organisaties met hoge lonen in vergelijking met andere werknemers in hetzelfde beroep.

In hoofdstuk 3 bestudeer ik de rol van beroepen in het bepalen van loopbaantrajecten binnen organisaties. Stratificatieonderzoek over statusverwerving gaat er vaak voorbij aan de rol van organisaties bij het vormgeven van beroepsmobiliteit. Voorgaand onderzoek suggereert echter dat we de rol van beroepen in het stratificatieproces niet volledig kunnen begrijpen als we de directe werkomgeving buiten beschouwing laten. Op basis van de relationele ongelijkheidstheorie onderbouw ik dat beroepen min of meer bevoorrechte arbeidsposities vertegenwoordigen binnen de bestaande kansenstructuren binnen organisaties. Op basis van theoretisch onderzoek identificeer ik kansen op promotie naar beter betaalde posities en kansen om te onderhandelen over loonsverhogingen in dezelfde baan als twee mechanismen van hoe beroepen bedrijfsinterne arbeidsloopbanen kunnen bepalen. Met behulp van groeicurve-modellen met individuele vaste effecten schat ik de groepsspecifieke loongroei profielen van werknemers die in dezelfde organisatie blijven werken. De resultaten van de analyse bevestigen een ongelijke loongroei in zes bredere beroepsklassen, met gemiddelde groeipercentages die variëren tussen 5,44% voor productiemedewerkers en 10,18% voor technische professionals over een periode van zes jaar. Daarnaast onderzoek ik of de ongelijkheid in loongroei tussen beroepsklassen wordt beïnvloed door de verdeling van beroepen over organisaties met een verschillende loonkwaliteit. Het sorteren van beroepen weerspiegelt een herconfiguratie van organisationele grenzen die de carrièremogelijkheden van werknemers in beroepen met een lagere status kan belemmeren. Hoewel ik duidelijke patronen van beroepssegregatie tussen organisaties met hoge en lage lonen vind, zijn deze slechts verantwoordelijk voor ongeveer 8% van de verschillen in loongroei tussen de beroepsklassen.

In hoofdstuk 4 richt ik me op beroepen en analyseer ik de loonverschillen tussen essentiële werknemers en overige werknemers in Nederland. In 2020 vaardigde de Nederlandse regering een richtlijn uit die het werk van specifieke beroepen (zoals gezondheidsmedewerkers en leraren) van cruciaal belang verklaarde voor het in stand houden van het functioneren van de samenleving tijdens de Covid-19 pandemie. Ik gebruik de officiële classificering van essentiële arbeidskrachten door de Nederlandse overheid als empirische testcase om het aloude functionalistische argument in stratificatieonderzoek dat loonongelijkheid het functionele belang van beroepsrollen weerspiegelt, na aftrek van vaardigheidsvereisten, kritisch te ondervragen. Ik contrasteer de functionalistische hypothese met concurrerende argumenten die loonvorming zien als sterker geworteld in ascriptieve ongelijkheden (d.w.z. geslacht) en arbeidsmarktinstituties. De bevindingen van de analyse betwisten de functionalistische theorie

aangezien de resultaten een gemiddeld loonnadeel onder essentiële werknemers aantonen dat niet verklaard wordt door gemiddelde groepsverschillen in leeftijd en opleiding. Bovendien vind ik variatie in loonverschillen tussen belangrijke beroepsgroepen die gekenmerkt worden door verschillende vaardigheidsvereisten. Hoewel essentiële werknemers hogere lonen verdienen in de onderste lagen van de gevestigde beroepshiërarchie, verdienen ze lagere lonen in de bovenste lagen. Deze variatie is sterk gerelateerd aan de onderliggende gendersonstelling in de beroepenstructuur. Binnen de grote beroepsgroepen, waarin essentiële werknemers voornamelijk vrouwen zijn, wordt essentieel werk minder betaald. Ik onderzoek ook of de loonverschillen tussen essentiële werknemers en andere werknemers zijn afgenomen sinds het begin van de Covid-19 pandemie. Met behulp van een difference-in-differences model met een correctie voor veranderingen in de samenstelling van de beroepenstructuur, vind ik geen bewijs voor een vermindering van de loonkloof, althans niet op de korte termijn.

In hoofdstuk 5 richt ik me op organisaties en analyseer ik de mate waarin tijdelijk werk van invloed is op loonongelijkheid gedurende de levensloop. Gezien de sterke dualisering van de arbeidsbeschermingswetgeving in Nederland, is tijdelijk werk een veelvoorkomende praktijk die gepaard gaat met lagere lonen. Vanuit een levensloopperspectief betekent het wijdverbreide gebruik van tijdelijke contracten door organisaties een herroeping van langetermijn werkgelegenheidsgaranties, met mogelijke gevolgen voor de ongelijkheid gedurende de loopbaan van werknemers. Alhoewel voorgaand onderzoek patronen van ongelijke loopbaangevolgen van tijdelijk werk heeft geanalyseerd, is niet onderzocht of deze patronen zich vertalen in een voortgezette differentiatie van de lonen op groepsniveau. Ik richt me op loonongelijkheid tussen werknemers die deel uitmaken van hetzelfde geboortecohort, maar verschillende opleidingsniveaus hebben. Ik vind dat de groeiende loonongelijkheid gedurende de levensloop sterk wordt bepaald door het opleidingsniveau, aangezien de hogere initiële lonen van hoger opgeleide werknemers gepaard gaan met een sterkere loongroei. Met behulp van fixed effects individual slopes regression en een Kitagawa-Oaxaca-Blinder decompositie voor longitudinale gegevens, evalueer ik de bijdrage van veranderingen in het risico op tijdelijk werk (groepsspecifieke percentages) en kwetsbaarheid (groepsspecifieke looneffecten) aan de groeiende opleidingsloonkloof gedurende de levensloop. De resultaten tonen aan dat tijdelijk werk ongeveer 9% verklaart van de verandering in de loonkloof tussen de leeftijd van 28 en 38 jaar bij een cohort werknemers geboren in 1979. Deze bijdrage wordt voornamelijk veroorzaakt door veranderingen in het risico als gevolg van het feit dat veel lager opgeleide werknemers langdurig in tijdelijke banen verstrikt raken. De bevindingen wijzen erop dat arbeidsmarktbeleid dat gericht is op het verminderen van het verstrikken van lager opgeleide werknemers, zoals hogere verplichte sociale premies voor tijdelijk werk die door werkgevers worden betaald, de groeiende loonongelijkheid gedurende de levensloop kan verminderen.

Samengevat bestudeert dit proefschrift, met behulp van administratieve data uit Nederland, beroepen en organisaties als onderling afhankelijke structuren van loonongelijkheid. Dit proefschrift toont aan dat de relatie tussen beroepen en organisaties tijdens de vorming van loonongelijkheid nauw verweven is. Een belangrijke implicatie van deze bevindingen is dat we in toekomstig ongelijkheidsonderzoek aandacht moeten besteden aan beide structuren. Dit geldt specifiek voor de Europese stratificatieliteratuur, waarin organisaties

meestal geen onderdeel vormden van het empirisch onderzoek. Verder toont dit proefschrift aan dat beroepen en organisaties belangrijk zijn voor het verklaren van loonongelijkheid vanuit een levenslopperspectief, doordat ze arbeidsloopbanen bepalen zelfs na toetreding tot de arbeidsmarkt. Gezien de hardnekkige loopbaanbelemmeringen die voortkomen uit organisatorische functiestructuren en beroepshiërarchieën, is gelijke kansen op de arbeidsmarkt niet simpelweg een kwestie van gelijke toegang tot onderwijs. Ik concludeer dat ongelijkheid op de arbeidsmarkt verminderd kan worden door meer regulering van ongelijkheid genererende organisatorische arbeidspraktijken en door een herwaardering van de werkbijdragen van werknemers in beroepen met een lagere status.

## About the Author

Christoph Janietz is a sociologist specializing in the study of social stratification and labor market inequalities. He obtained his bachelor's degree in Sociology from the University of Mannheim in 2015. He graduated with honors from the research master's Social Sciences at the University of Amsterdam in 2017. The chapters in this dissertation are the result of his PhD research in Sociology at the University of Amsterdam (2018-2023), under the supervision of Thijs Bol and Bram Lancee. This research was conducted within the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR). As of November 2023, Christoph Janietz works as a postdoctoral researcher at the department of Sociology of the University of Groningen. More information on his past and current research can be found on <https://christophjanietz.github.io/>.



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