"Missing" Workers and "Missing" Jobs Since the Pandemic

Bart Hobijn^a, and Ayşegül Şahin^b

^aFRB of Chicago

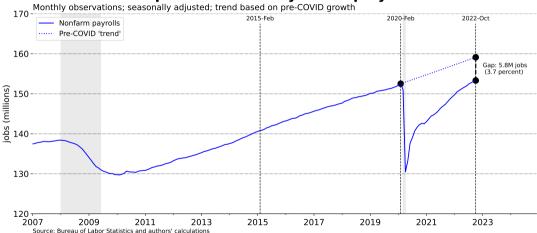
^bUniversity of Texas at Austin, NBER

November 16, 2022 2022 Boston Fed Conference on "Labor Markets During and After the Pandemic"

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the institutions that they are affiliated with, including the the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and the Federal Reserve System.

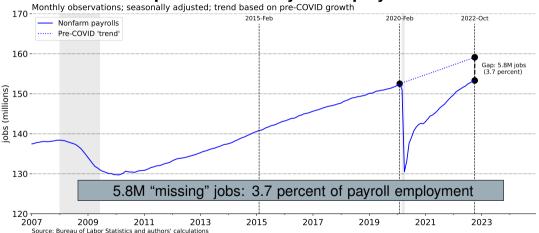
Payroll employment 5+ million jobs below pre-COVID trend

Post-COVID 'Gap' in Nonfarm Payroll Employment



Payroll employment 5+ million jobs below pre-COVID trend

Post-COVID 'Gap' in Nonfarm Payroll Employment



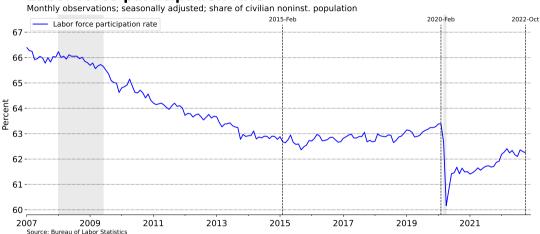
Unemployment has recovered to its pre-COVID trend

Unemployment rate



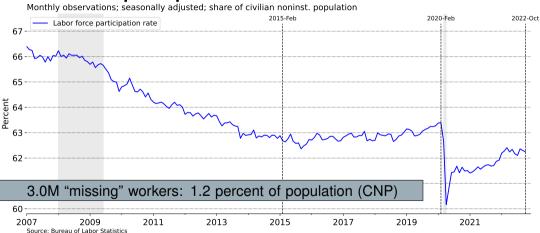
But there is a drop in participation since COVID

Labor force participation rate



But there is a drop in participation since COVID

Labor force participation rate



Common "Missing"-Workers-"Missing"-Jobs narrative

"Missing" workers: Labor supply response to COVID

- Many persons permanently dropped out of labor force (retired) in response to health risk posed by pandemic
- COVID resulted in an unexpected shortfall in U.S. labor supply

"Missing" jobs: COVID-induced labor shortage drag on job creation

- Worker shortage has hampered job creation and subdued labor demand
- Shortfall in payroll job creation because of lack of available workers due to pandemic



This is a red herring...



This is a red herring...

... because it does not add up:

3.0M "missing" workers # 5.8M "missing" jobs

Accounting identity that links "Missing" jobs and workers

"Missing" jobs (payroll jobs) related to "Missing" workers (LFPR)

$$\underbrace{J_t}_{\text{Payroll}} = \underbrace{\left(\frac{J_t}{J_t^H}\right)}_{\text{Survey}} \underbrace{\left(\frac{J_t^H}{E_t}\right)}_{\text{Scope}} \underbrace{\left(1 - u_t\right)}_{\text{rate}} \underbrace{LFPR_t}_{\text{rate}} \underbrace{POP_t}_{\text{rate}}$$

• J_t^H is CPS-based proxy of nonfarm payroll employment.

Rules of thumb about job growth, unemployment, and participation

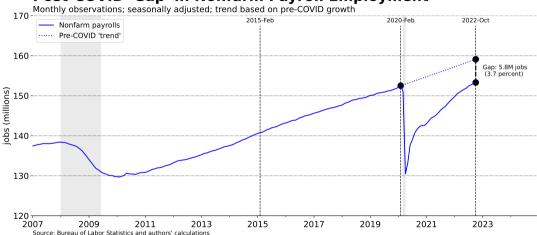
$$\underbrace{\Delta \ln J_t}_{\text{Payroll growth}} \approx \underbrace{\Delta \ln \left(\frac{J_t}{J_t^H} \right)}_{\text{Change in survey}} + \underbrace{\Delta \ln \left(\frac{J_t^H}{E_t} \right)}_{\text{Change in scope}} - \underbrace{\underbrace{\Delta u_t}_{\text{Unemployment change}}}_{\text{Change}} + \underbrace{\underbrace{\Delta \ln LFPR_t}_{\text{Payroltation growth}}}_{\text{Population growth}} + \underbrace{\underbrace{\Delta \ln LFPR_t}_{\text{Population growth}}}_{\text{Population growth}}$$

Relates payroll jobs growth to changes in unemployment rate and LFPR...

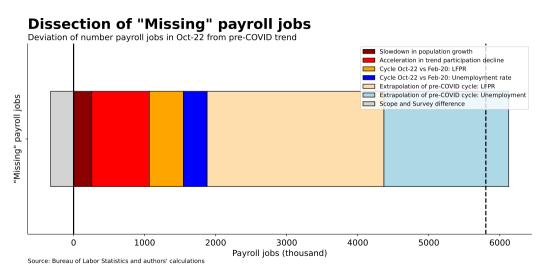
Change in u_t or $LFPR_t$	Percent change in Nonfarm payrolls	Change in nonfarm payroll jobs
0.1 pct point decrease in the <i>unemployment rate</i>	0.1 pct increase in nonfarm payrolls	150K more nonfarm payroll jobs
0.1 pct point increase in the <i>participation rate</i>	0.16 pct increase in nonfarm payrolls	250K more nonfarm payroll jobs

Split 5.8M "missing" jobs into parts from identity

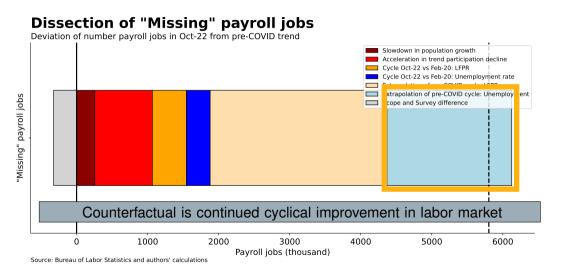
Post-COVID 'Gap' in Nonfarm Payroll Employment



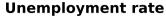
Split 5.8M "missing" jobs into parts from identity

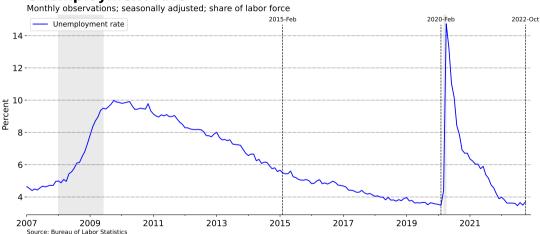


Unemployment rate did not continue to decline after 2020



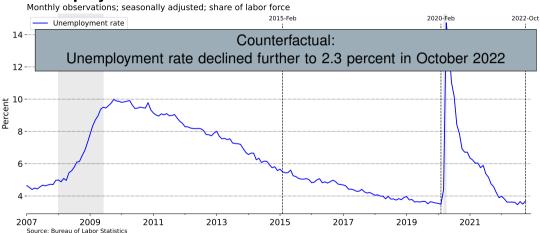
But labor market was in mature stage of business cycle in early 2020



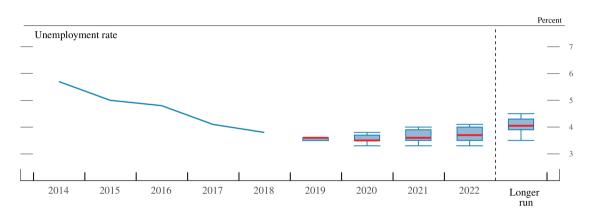


But labor market was in mature stage of business cycle in early 2020

Unemployment rate

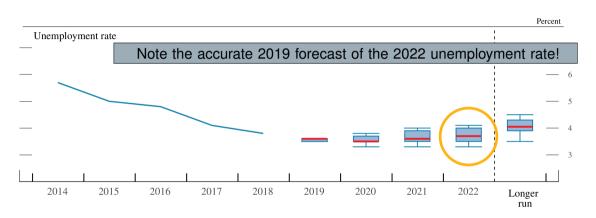


Decline in unemployment rate from 2020-2022 was not projected



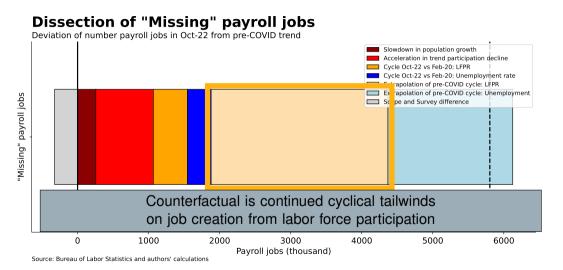
Source: FOMC, Summary of Economic Projections, December 2019

Decline in unemployment rate from 2020-2022 was not projected



Source: FOMC, Summary of Economic Projections, December 2019

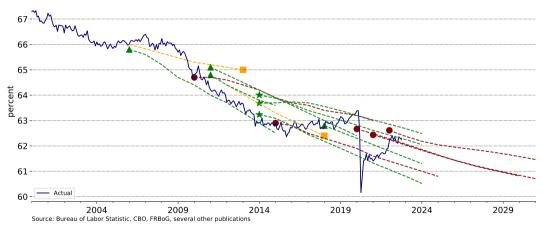
Upward cyclical participation pressures did not continue after 2020



Large disagreement about trend and cycle in participation rate

Labor Force Participation Rate, Actual and Trend Estimates

Monthly observations; seasonally adjusted

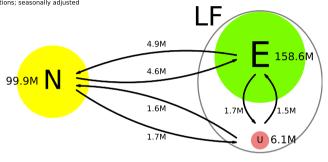


Note: Vintage of forecast is indicated by dot. Actual is seasonally adjusted monthly observations. Trend estimates in bottom panel by source:

CBO trend estimates (2011,2015,2020,2021), ■: Tealbook estimates (backward-looking, Jan 2011 and Jan 2015), ★: Aaronson et al. (2014), and ▲: from Aaronson et al. (2006), Aaronson et al. (2012), Zandweghe (2012), and Hornstein et al. (2018).

A flow-based decomposition to uncover the participation cycle

Flow Origins of Participation: Oct 2022 Monthly observations; seasonally adjusted

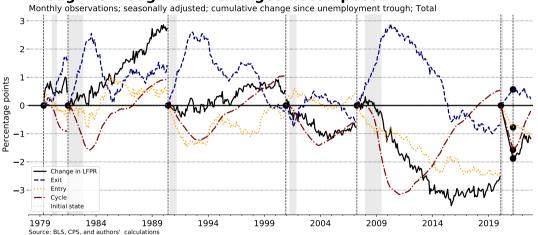


- Flows >> Net changes in stocks
 - Large flows in and out of labor force
- Unemployed are less attached than the employed
 - Attachment wedge

Key Intuition: When someone moves from U to E, they are more likely to remain in the labor force going forward. This simple mechanism (*the participation cycle*) is the source of procyclicality of participation, *not* labor force entry and exit.

Participation cycle driven by job-loss and job-finding

Trough to trough LFPR changes decomposed

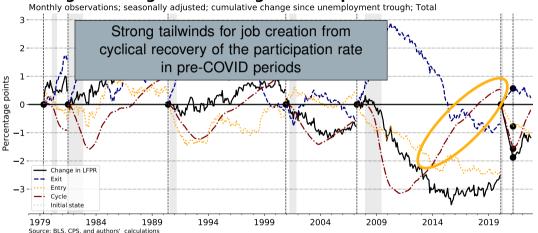


Update of Hobiin and Sahin (2021)



Participation cycle driven by job-loss and job-finding

Trough to trough LFPR changes decomposed

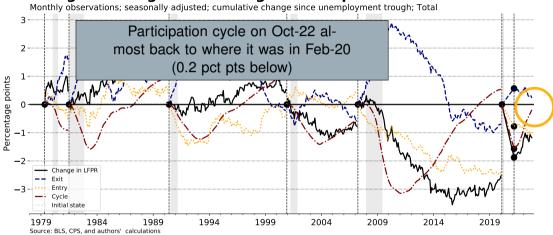


Update of Hobijn and Sahin (2021)



Participation cycle driven by job-loss and job-finding

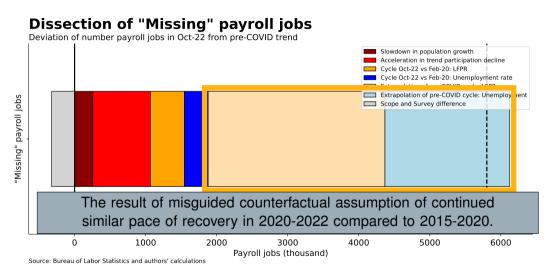
Trough to trough LFPR changes decomposed



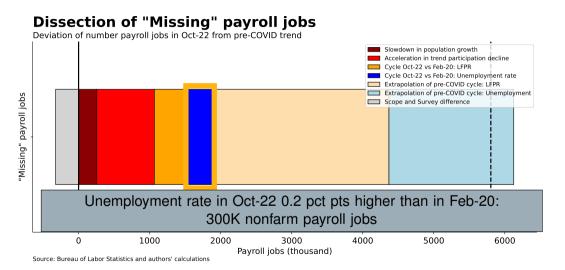
Update of Hobijn and Sahin (2021)



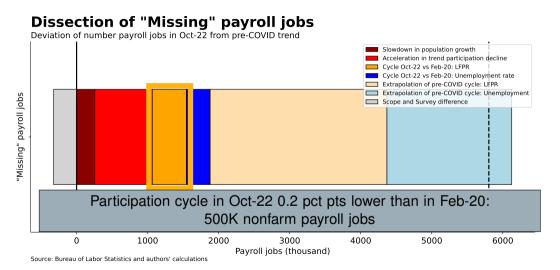
These jobs are not "missing" at all!



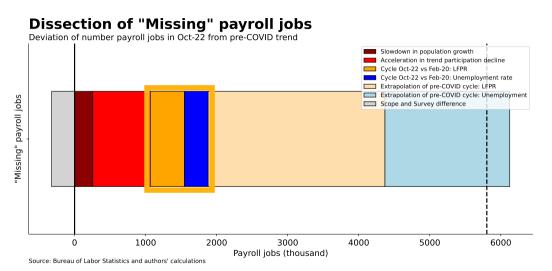
Unemployment now slightly higher than right before the pandemic



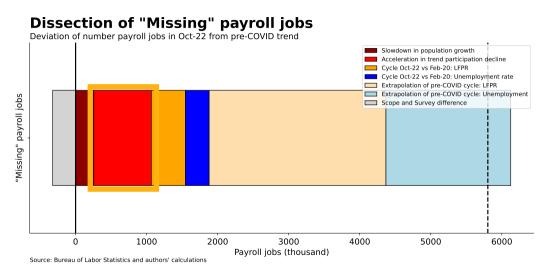
Participation cycle slightly lower now than in February 2020



Cyclical shortfall compared to February 2020: 800K jobs

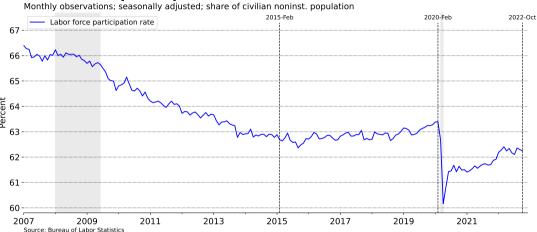


About 800 thousand "missing" jobs linked to "missing" workers



Drop in participation since COVID split up...

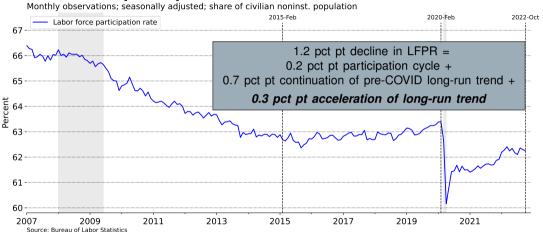
Labor force participation rate



Importance of taking into account pre-COVID long-run trend echoes Cooper et al. (2021)

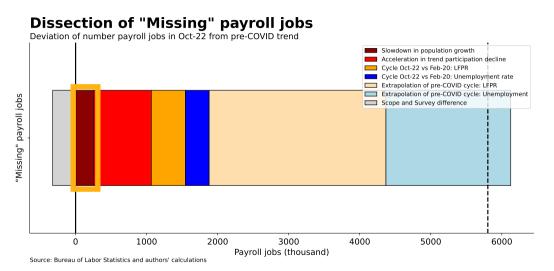
Drop in participation since COVID split up...

Labor force participation rate

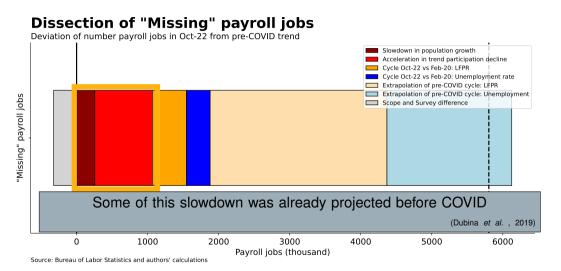


Importance of taking into account pre-COVID long-run trend echoes Cooper et al. (2021)

Slowdown in population growth drag of 250 thousand jobs



Slowdown in trend labor supply since start of the pandemic



Slow growth of labor supply translates into slow job growth

Trend payroll job growth is about 65K jobs a month

- Latest BLS projections is labor force growth of 0.5 percent annually over coming decade
- Implies 0.5 percent trend payroll job growth: About 65K jobs a month

Mature state of cycle implies substantial slowdown in job growth

- Even in the absence of monetary and fiscal tightening one should expect substantial slowdown in job creation
- Caution! Don't attribute all of slowdown in job creation to policy.
 Unemployment rate and participation cycles are better gauges of policy impact on labor market.

Sorry Harry... We are no one-handed economists...

On the one hand:

U.S. labor market aggregates recovered quickly back to pre-COVID levels relative to trend

- A testament to the resilience of the U.S. economy
- Little evidence of a long-run impact of COVID on path of aggregates

On the other hand:

What is restraining U.S. job creation is long-run trend factors

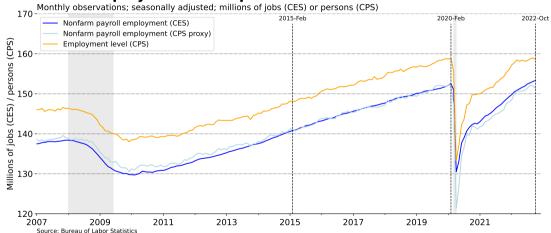
- Trend growth of labor supply in coming decade very low
- We have a vaccine (and cure) for COVID, but have not found a way to reverse aging

References

- AARONSON, DANIEL, DAVIS, JONATHAN, AND HU, LUOJIA. 2012. Explaining the decline in the U.S. labor force participation rate. Chicago fed letter.
- AARONSON, STEPHANIE, FALLICK, BRUCE, FIGURA, ANDREW, PINGLE, JONATHAN, AND WASCHER, WILLIAM. 2006. The Recent Decline in the Labor Force Participation Rate and Its Implications for Potential Labor Supply. Brookings papers on economic activity. 37(1), 69–154.
- AARONSON, STEPHANIE, CAJNER, TOMAZ, FALLICK, BRUCE, GALBIS-REIG, FELIX, SMITH, CHRISTOPHER, AND WASCHER, WILLIAM. 2014. Labor Force Participation: Recent Developments and Future Prospects. Brookings papers on economic activity. 45(2 (Falli)), 197–275.
- COOPER, DANIEL H., FOOTE, CHRISTOPHER L., LUENGO-PRADO, MARIA JOSE, AND OLIVEI, GIOVANNI P. 2021 (Dec.). Population Aging and the US Labor Force Participation Rate. Current Policy Perspectives 93533. Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.
- DUBINA, KEVIN S., MORISI, TERESA L., RIELEY, MICHAEL, AND WAGONER, ANDREA. 2019. Projections overview and highlights, 2018–28. Monthly labor review.
- HOBIJN, ROBERT E., AND ŞAHIN, AYŞEGÜL. 2021. Maximum employment and the participation cycle. Jackson hole economic policy symposium proceedings.
- HORNSTEIN, ANDREAS, KUDLYAK, MARIANNA, AND SCHWEINERT, ANNEMARIE. 2018. The Labor Force Participation Rate Trend and Its Projections. Frbsf economic letter.
- ZANDWEGHE, WILLEM VAN, 2012, Interpreting the recent decline in labor force participation. Economic review, 97(Q I), 5-34.

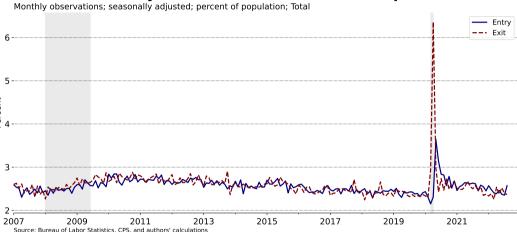
Payroll and total employment from the different surveys

Three employment concepts



Labor force entry and exit

Labor Force Entry and Exit as a Share of the Population



Source: BLS

