

The Long-Term Decline of the U.S. Job Ladder

Aniket Baksy, University of Melbourne

Daniele Caratelli, Department of the U.S. Treasury

Niklas Engbom, New York University & NBER

NBER EF&G Meeting, July 2025

40 Years of Stagnant Real Wages

- Over the past four decades, real wages for the average American worker have barely grown
- A vast literature highlights several important drivers
 - Technological change (e.g. Acemoglu & Restrepo, 2020)
 - Globalization (e.g. Autor, Dorn & Hanson, 2013)
 - Institutional changes (e.g. Autor, Manning & Smith, 2016)
- The role of changes to the structure of the labor market have received less attention
 - Mismatch
 - Concentration
 - Frictions and search behavior

Influence worker mobility and through that wage growth

The Structure of the U.S. Labor Market & Wage Stagnation

Findings from an estimated structural job ladder model:

1. **Upward job mobility has fallen by 40%** between the 1980s and 2010s
2. Primarily accounted for by changes in three structural factors:
 - (a) **Greater mismatch** between open jobs and searching workers
 - (b) **Greater employer concentration** that has limited the scope for job shopping
 - (c) **Less search by employed workers**
3. Combined effect: **4 p.p. lower real wages** ($\approx$ 40% of fall in aggregate labor share)

The Stylized Job Ladder Model

A Partial Equilibrium Job Ladder Model

- A unit mass of ex-ante identical workers move in and out of employment & across jobs
- Unemployed workers receive job offers at rate λ drawn from the **offer distribution $F(w)$**
 - We assume that parameters are such that the unemployed accept all offers
- Employed workers earn a fixed wage w for as long as they are employed
 - **Outside offers** at rate $\phi\lambda$ with a wage from $F(w)$ that workers may accept
 - **Reallocation shocks** at rate $\delta\lambda^f$ with a wage from $F(w)$ that workers must accept
 - **Job loss shocks** at rate $\delta(1 - \lambda^f)$ that leave the worker unemployed

Inferring Net Upward Mobility

- The steady-state **wage distribution $G(w)$** is given by

$$G(w) = \frac{F(w)}{1 + \underbrace{\kappa}_{\text{net upward mobility rate}}}, \quad \equiv \frac{\phi\lambda}{\delta}$$

- Net upward mobility rate, κ = Average # of outside offers between two separation events
- Greater upward mobility $\Rightarrow$ faster wage growth $\Rightarrow$ larger gap btw offer & wage distributions

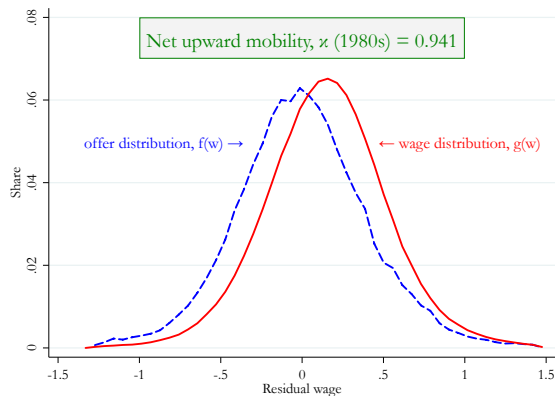
Inferring Net Upward Mobility

- The steady-state **wage distribution** $G(w)$ is given by

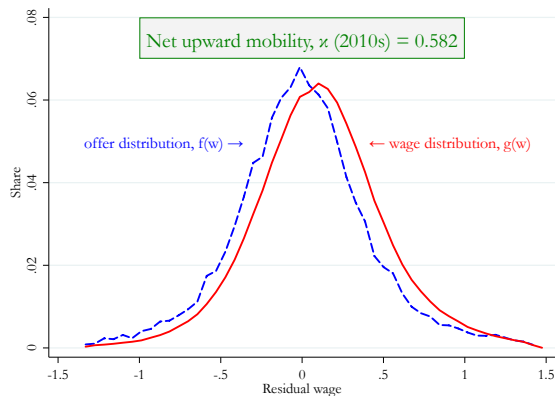
$$G(w) = \frac{F(w)}{1 + \underbrace{\kappa}_{\text{net upward mobility rate}}}, \quad \equiv \frac{\phi\lambda}{\delta}$$

- Net upward mobility rate, κ = Average # of outside offers between two separation events
- Greater upward mobility $\Rightarrow$ faster wage growth $\Rightarrow$ larger gap btw offer & wage distributions
- Strategy: Non-parametrically estimate $G(w)$ and $F(w)$ using cross-sectional data
 - **Wage distribution** $G(w)$: wages cond. on demographics & occupation separately by year
 - **Offer distribution** $F(w)$: residual wages of those who were non-employed in the previous month
- Infer net upward mobility κ decade-by-decade (or year-by-year)

The Offer Distribution, the Wage Distribution & Net Upward Mobility

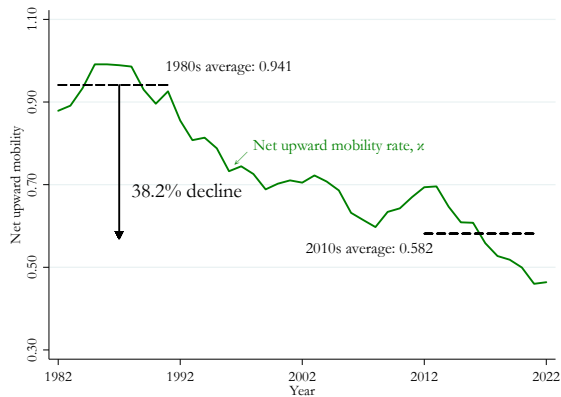
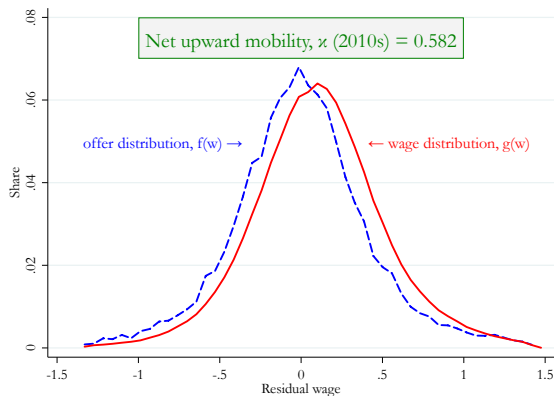


The Offer Distribution, the Wage Distribution & Net Upward Mobility



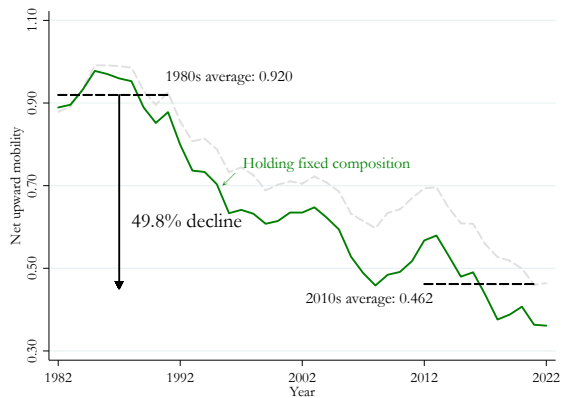
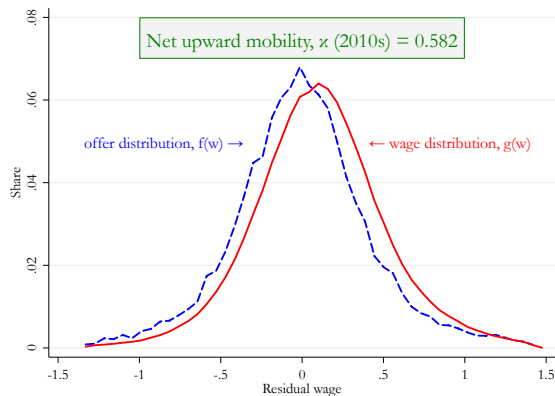
The Offer Distribution, the Wage Distribution & Net Upward Mobility

≈ 40% decline in net upward mobility between the 1980s and 2010s



The Offer Distribution, the Wage Distribution & Net Upward Mobility

≈ 40% decline in net upward mobility between the 1980s and 2010s



The Full Job Ladder Model

Three Main Goals of the Full Model

1. **Robustness to other factors behind the offer-wage gap**
2. **Identify the structural factors**
3. **Quantify their consequences for aggregate wage growth**

Three Main Goals of the Full Model

1. Robustness to other factors behind the offer-wage gap

- **On-the-job wage dynamics**: log wages evolve according to an AR1 in continuous time
Joint distribution over wages at t and $t + 12$ of stayers
- **Unobserved heterogeneity**: Types differ in non-employment incidence and earnings ability
Joint distribution over wages at t and $t + 12$ of job losers

2. Identify the structural factors

3. Quantify their consequences for aggregate wage growth

Three Main Goals of the Full Model

1. Robustness to other factors behind the offer-wage gap

- **On-the-job wage dynamics**: log wages evolve according to an AR1 in continuous time
Joint distribution over wages at t and $t + 12$ of stayers
- **Unobserved heterogeneity**: Types differ in non-employment incidence and earnings ability
Joint distribution over wages at t and $t + 12$ of job losers

2. Identify the structural factors

- **Mismatch** between labor demand & supply across segmented labor markets
Dispersion in labor market tightness across occupations
- **Employer concentration**: Finite # of firms; workers cannot accept jobs at their current employer
Covariation between job mobility and firm size in panel of U.S. states

3. Quantify their consequences for aggregate wage growth

Three Main Goals of the Full Model

1. Robustness to other factors behind the offer-wage gap

- **On-the-job wage dynamics**: log wages evolve according to an AR1 in continuous time
Joint distribution over wages at t and $t + 12$ of stayers
- **Unobserved heterogeneity**: Types differ in non-employment incidence and earnings ability
Joint distribution over wages at t and $t + 12$ of job losers

2. Identify the structural factors

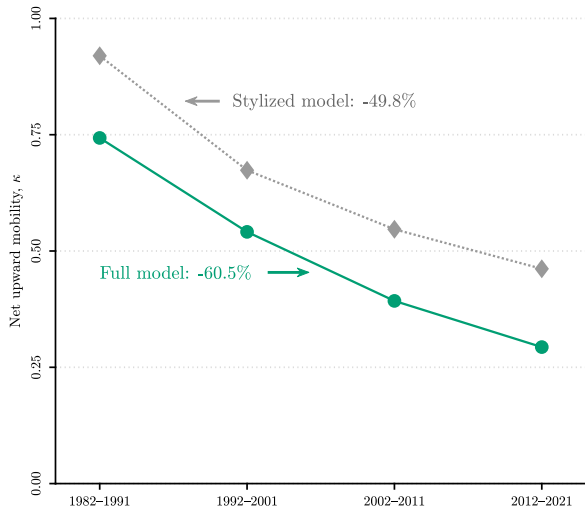
- **Mismatch** between labor demand & supply across segmented labor markets
Dispersion in labor market tightness across occupations
- **Employer concentration**: Finite # of firms; workers cannot accept jobs at their current employer
Covariation between job mobility and firm size in panel of U.S. states

3. Quantify their consequences for aggregate wage growth

- We estimate the model decade-by-decade
- Counterfactual wage growth with forces turned on or off

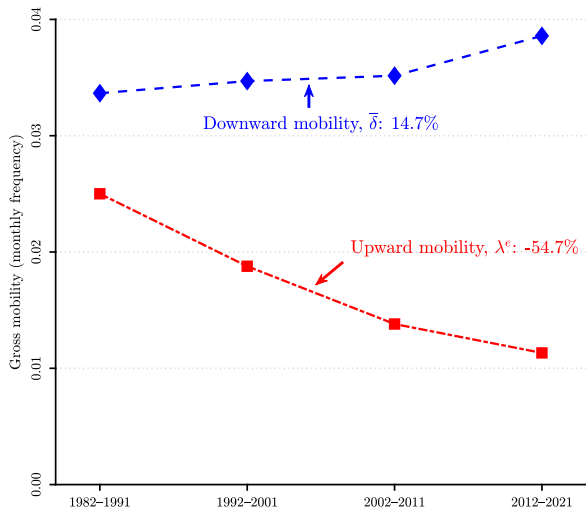
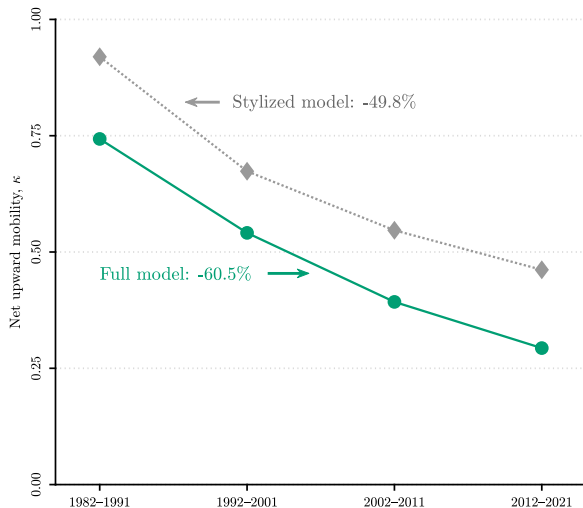
The Long-Term Decline of the Job Ladder: Stylized & Full Model

The richer model finds an even larger decline of the U.S. job ladder...



The Long-Term Decline of the Job Ladder: Stylized & Full Model

...mostly as a result of less gross upward mobility



The Factors Behind the Long-Term Decline of the U.S. Job Ladder

$$\underbrace{\lambda^e}_{\text{Upward mobility}} \approx \underbrace{\chi}_{\text{matching efficiency}} * \underbrace{\left(\frac{V}{S}\right)^\alpha}_{\text{aggregate tightness}} * \underbrace{(1 - \tau)}_{\text{mismatch}} * \underbrace{\frac{m-1}{m}}_{\text{employer concentration}} * \underbrace{\phi}_{\text{rel. search intensity}}$$

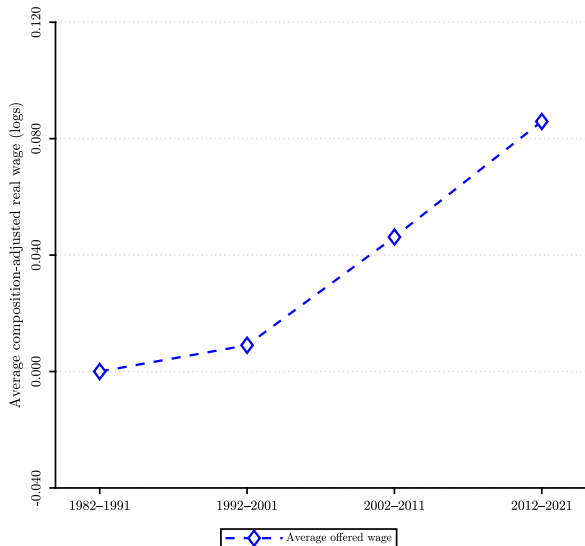
- **Mismatch** between labor demand & supply across occupations
 - Reduction in job finding rate relative to frictionless relocation across occupations
- **Employer concentration**: Workers cannot accept a job from their current employer
 - Finite number m of suitable employers for a worker

The Factors Behind the Long-Term Decline of the U.S. Job Ladder

$$\underbrace{\lambda^e}_{\text{Upward mobility}} \approx \underbrace{\chi}_{\text{matching efficiency}} * \underbrace{\left(\frac{V}{S}\right)^\alpha}_{\text{aggregate tightness}} * \underbrace{(1-\tau)}_{\text{mismatch}} * \underbrace{\frac{m-1}{m}}_{\text{employer concentration}} * \underbrace{\phi}_{\text{rel. search intensity}}$$

Total	Matching efficiency	Aggregate tightness	Mismatch	Employer concentration	Relative search intensity
-55	-19	25	-17	-13	-38

The Consequences of the Long-Term Decline of the U.S. Job Ladder

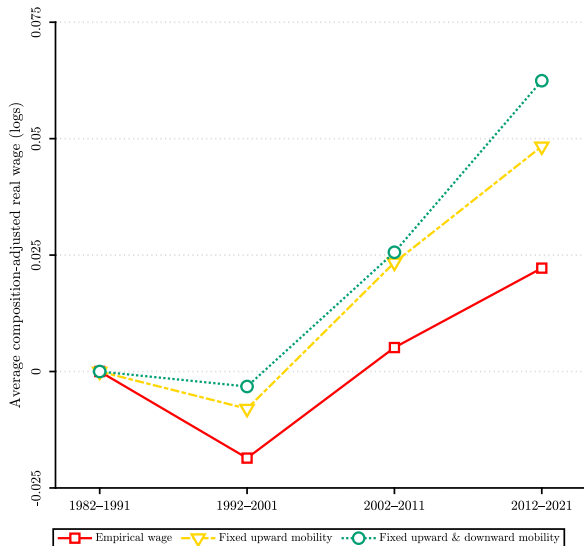


We consider the following accounting exercise

- Let **offered wages** ($F_t(w)$) grow as in data
- Hold **one/a few parameters** fixed in 1980s
- Quantify the impact on the gap and hence

$$\text{overall wages} = \text{offered wages} + \text{gap}$$

The Consequences of the Long-Term Decline of the U.S. Job Ladder



We consider the following accounting exercise

- Let **offered wages** ($F_t(w)$) grow as in data
- Hold **one/a few parameters** fixed in 1980s
- Quantify the impact on the gap and hence

$$\text{overall wages} = \text{offered wages} + \text{gap}$$

Combined effect: -4.0p.p. real wages
($\approx 40\%$ of labor share decline)

Conclusion

The Structure of the U.S. Labor Market & Wage Stagnation

Findings from an estimated structural job ladder model:

1. **Upward job mobility has fallen by 40%** between the 1980s and 2010s
2. Primarily accounted for by changes in three structural factors:
 - (a) **Greater mismatch** between open jobs and searching workers
 - (b) **Greater employer concentration** that has limited the scope for job shopping
 - (c) **Less search by employed workers**
3. Combined effect: **4 p.p. lower real wages** ($\approx$ 40% of fall in aggregate labor share)

In the paper: supporting evidence from individual wage & employment dynamics in the NLSY

The Long-Term Decline of the U.S. Job Ladder

Aniket Baksy, University of Melbourne

Daniele Caratelli, Department of the U.S. Treasury

Niklas Engbom, New York University & NBER

NBER EF&G Meeting, July 2025

Back-up

1. Demographic differences:

Gender

Race

Education

Age

Occupation

Industries

Occupation wage percentiles

2. Heterogeneity in net upward mobility:

Non complete occupations

Over identification test

3. Alternative Explanations:

Greater Between-Occupation Mobility?

Are Workers Better Matched Out of Unemployment?

4. Estimation:

Overview

Step I

Step II

Estimates from Step I-II

μ, ρ & σ

δ^l & ω

Step III

Validation

5. NLSY validation:

NLSY validation vs. CPS

NLSY wage distribution w/in individuals

NLSY wage growth

NLSY wage growth across occupations

NLSY wage growth and JJ mobility

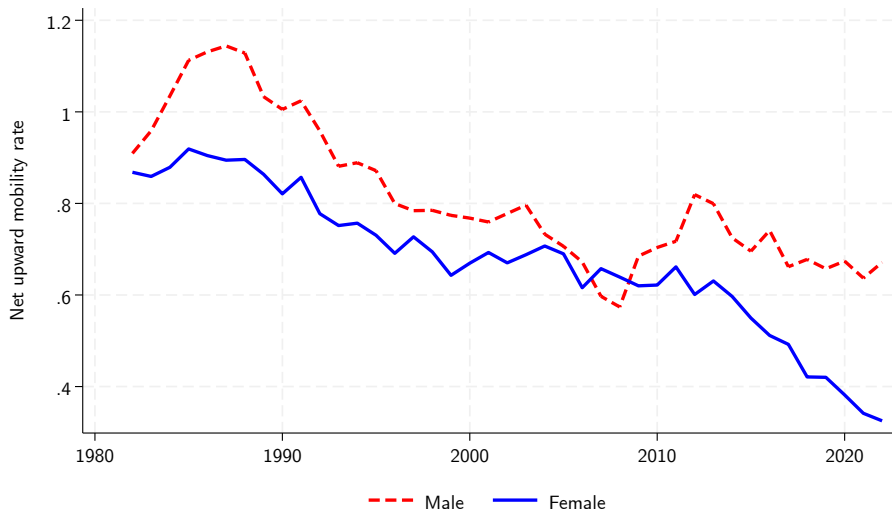
NLSY extensive/intensive JJ mobility

NLSY and initial matches

NLSY Counterfactual

Appendix

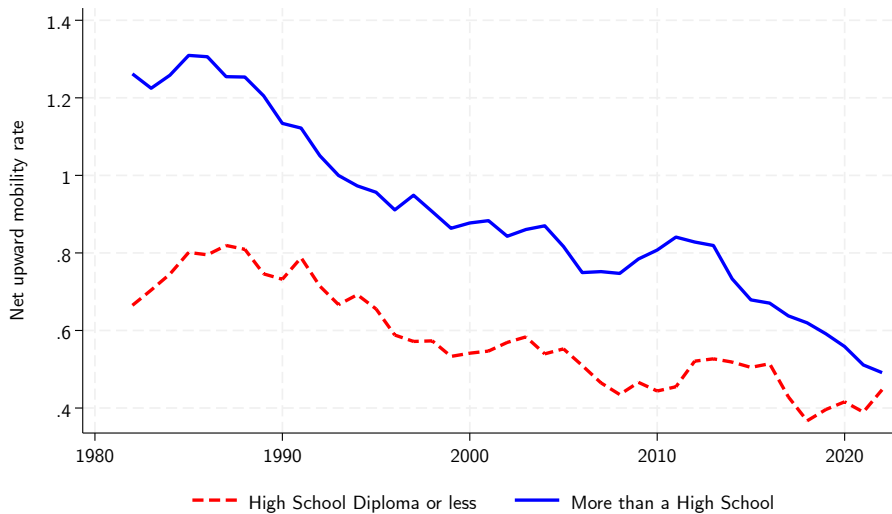
Declines similar across genders

[▶ back](#)

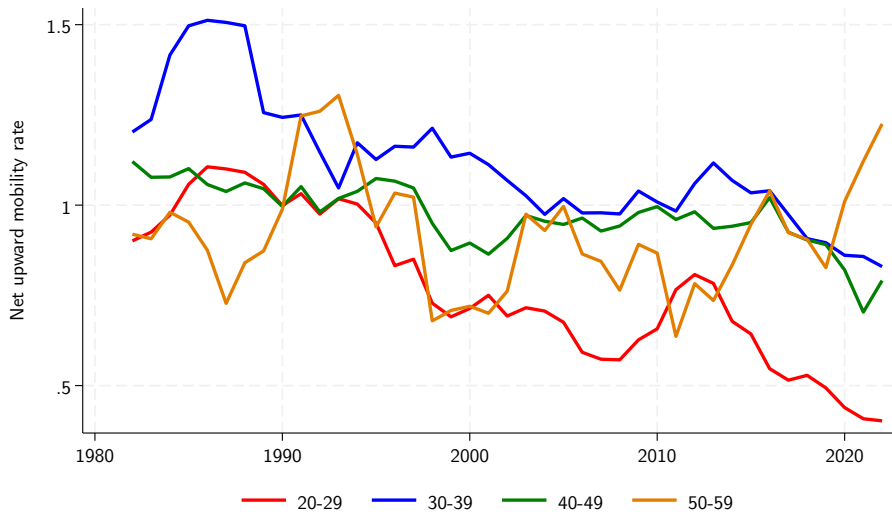
Declines similar across race groups

[▶ back](#)

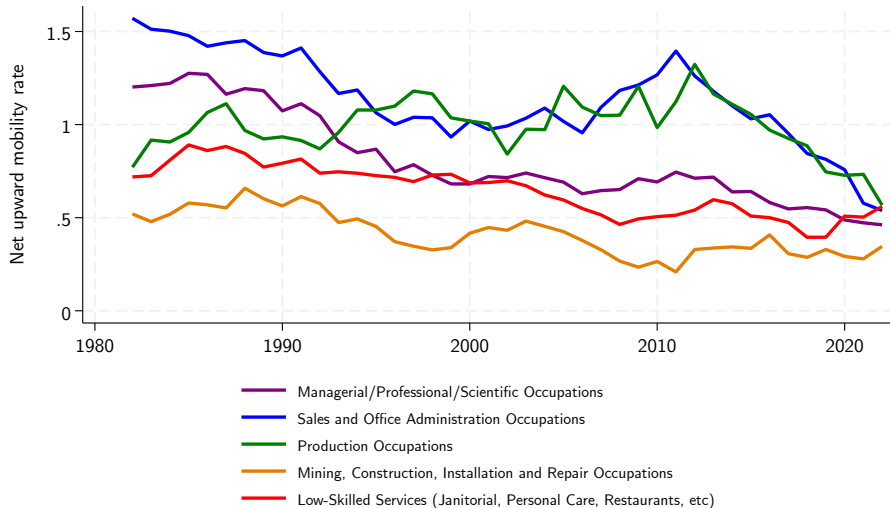
Decline larger for more educated workers

[▶ back](#)

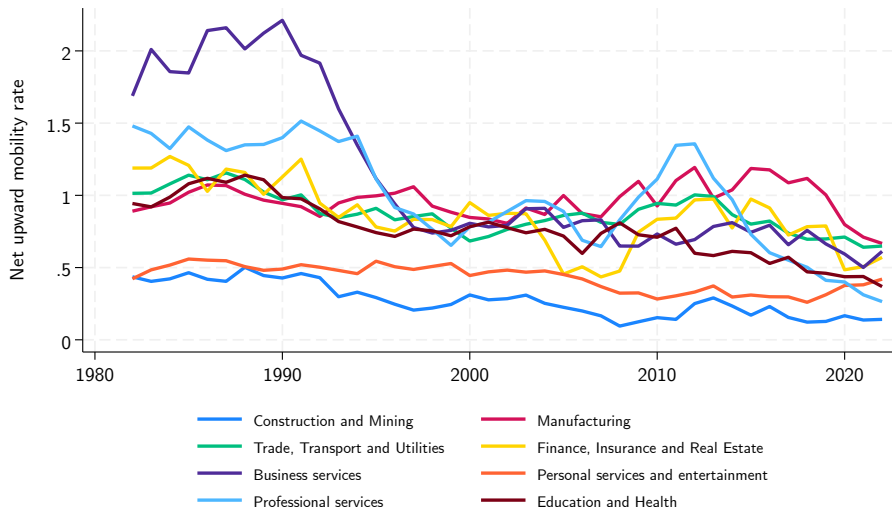
Decline larger for younger workers

[▶ back](#)

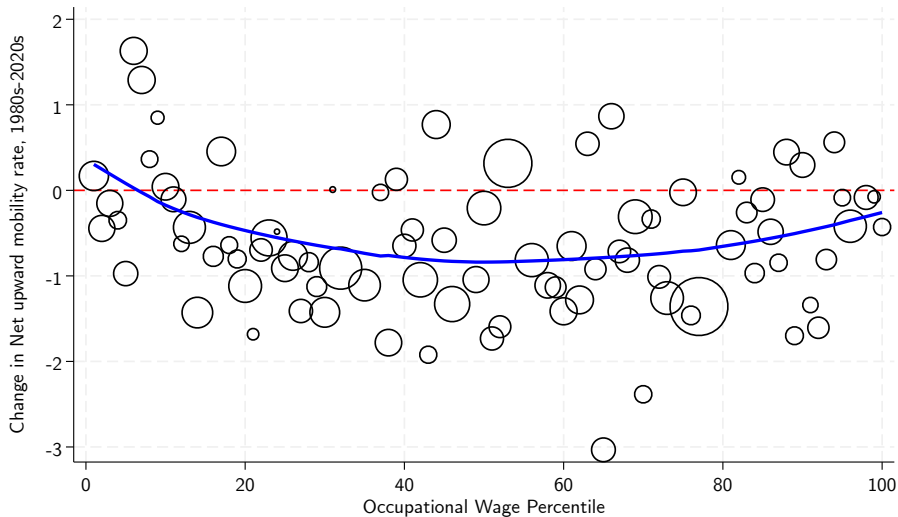
Decline visible within broad occupation groups

[▶ back](#)

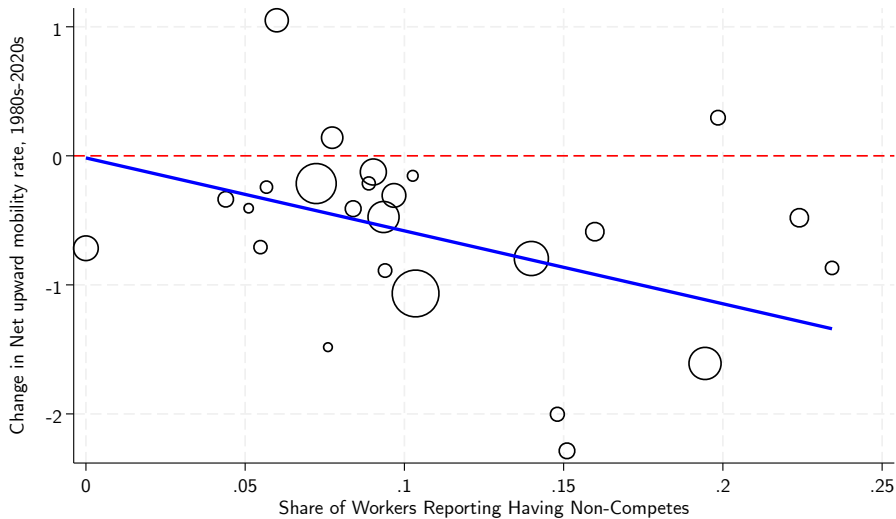
Decline uneven across industries

[▶ back](#)

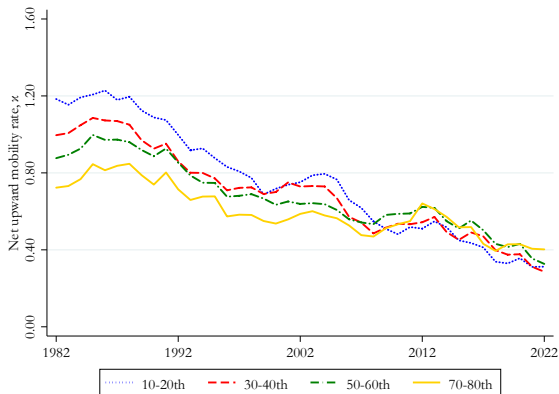
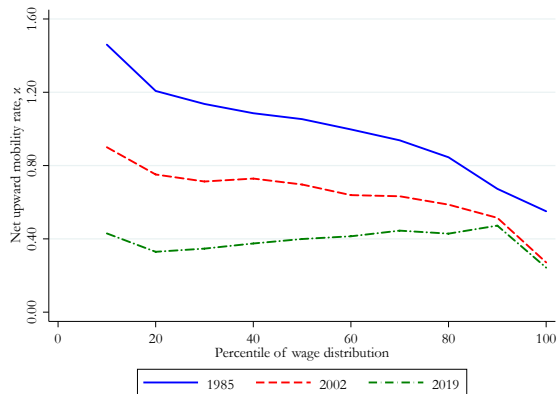
Decline larger for occupations in the middle of the wage distribution

[▶ back](#)

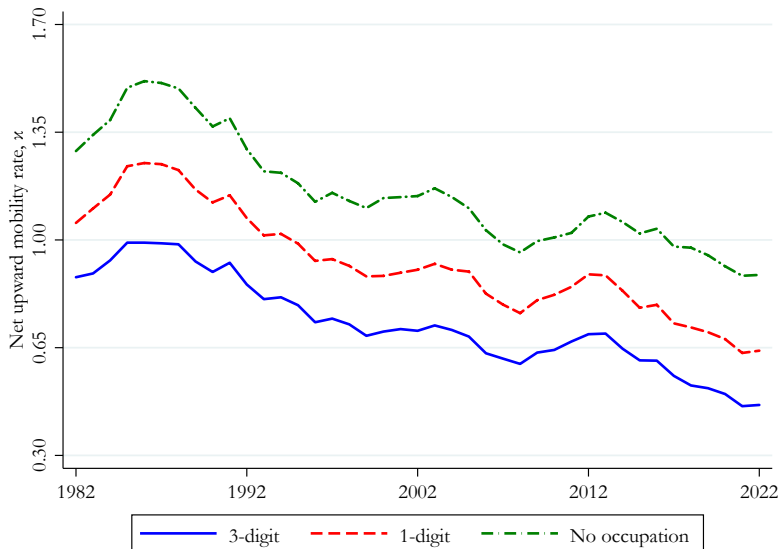
Decline larger in occupations with more non-competes

[▶ back](#)

κ estimated at different percentiles

[▶ back](#)

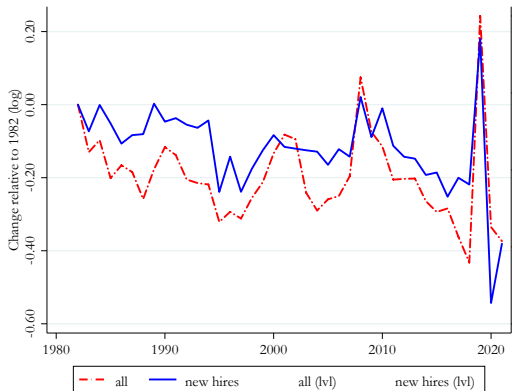
Greater Between-Occupation Mobility?

[▶ back](#)

Are Workers Better Matched Out of Unemployment?

Consider a Jovanovic (1979) learning model

- Better screening implies bad matches are increasingly weeded out prior to formation
- Convergence of offer & wage distributions and fall in mobility, but this is benign
- Would expect a decline in EN mobility, especially among new matches

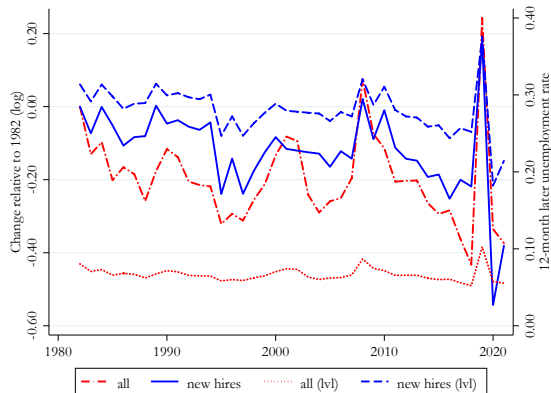


Are Workers Better Matched Out of Unemployment?

[▶ back](#)

Consider a Jovanovic (1979) learning model

- Better screening implies bad matches are increasingly weeded out prior to formation
- Convergence of offer & wage distributions and fall in mobility, but this is benign
- Would expect a decline in EN mobility, especially among new matches

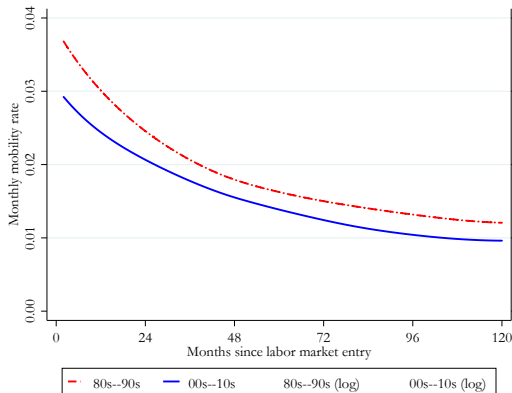


Are Workers Better Matched Out of Unemployment?

[▶ back](#)

Consider a Jovanovic (1979) learning model

- Better screening implies bad matches are increasingly weeded out prior to formation
- Convergence of offer & wage distributions and fall in mobility, but this is benign
- Would expect a decline in EN mobility, especially among new matches

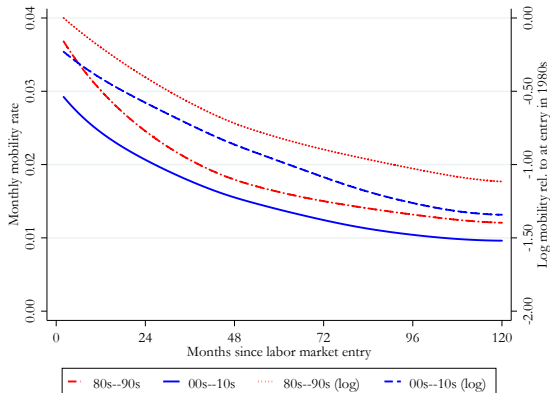


Are Workers Better Matched Out of Unemployment?

[▶ back](#)

Consider a Jovanovic (1979) learning model

- Better screening implies bad matches are increasingly weeded out prior to formation
- Convergence of offer & wage distributions and fall in mobility, but this is benign
- Would expect a decline in EN mobility, especially among new matches



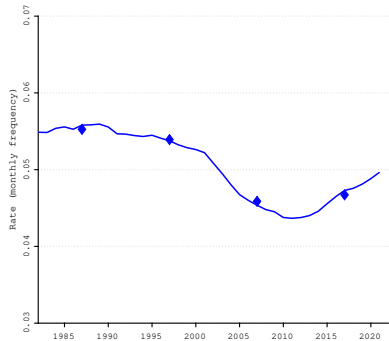
- **Step I:** λ , V and τ directly from the data [▶ step I](#)

- **Step II:** Estimate 8 parameters jointly [▶ step II](#)

$$\left\{ \lambda^e, \lambda^f, \mu, \rho, \sigma, \delta^1, \delta^2, \omega \right\}$$

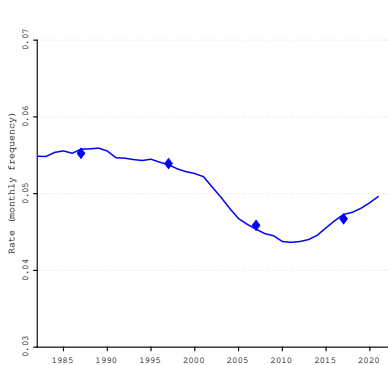
- Key source of identification: joint distributions over wages
- **Step III:** m from $\text{Cov}\left(\frac{\lambda^e}{\lambda}, \text{fsize}\right)$ in panel of U.S. states [step III](#)

Step I: λ , V & τ Directly from the Data

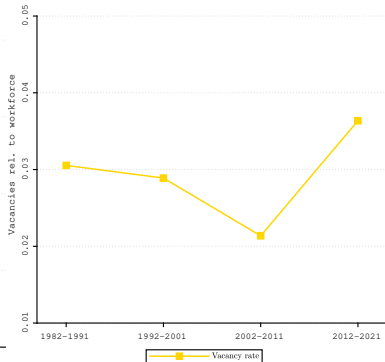
[▶ back](#)

(a) Job finding rate (λ)

Step I: λ , V & τ Directly from the Data

[▶ back](#)

(a) Job finding rate (λ)

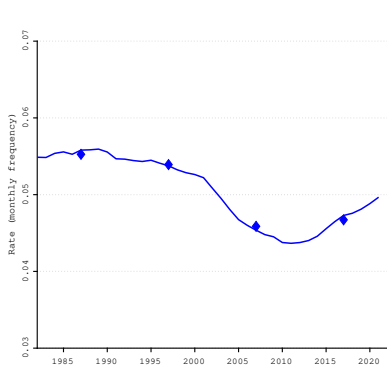


(b) Vacancy rate (V)

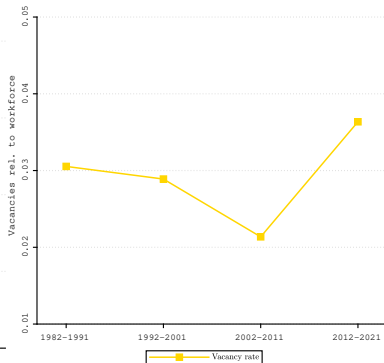
Step I: λ , V & τ Directly from the Data

[▶ back](#)

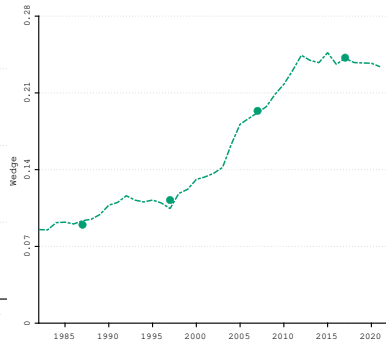
Wedge (τ) from st.d. of JFR across 3-digit occupations: $\tau_y \approx \frac{\alpha(1-\alpha)}{2} \sum_i \left(\frac{\lambda_{iy}^{\frac{1}{\alpha}} - \sum_j \lambda_{jy}^{\frac{1}{\alpha}} \omega_{jy}}{\sum_j \lambda_{jy}^{\frac{1}{\alpha}} \omega_{jy}} \right)^2 \omega_{iy}$



(a) Job finding rate (λ)



(b) Vacancy rate (V)



(c) Matching wedge (τ)

$$\left\{ \lambda^e, \lambda^f, \mu, \rho, \sigma, \delta^1, \delta^2, \omega \right\}$$

1. Gap between the wage & wage offer distributions

$$\left\{ \lambda^e, \lambda^f, \mu, \rho, \sigma, \delta^1, \delta^2, \omega \right\}$$

1. Gap between the wage & wage offer distributions
2. Share of stayers

$$\left\{ \lambda^e, \lambda^f, \mu, \rho, \sigma, \delta^1, \delta^2, \omega \right\}$$

1. Gap between the wage & wage offer distributions
2. Share of stayers
3. Joint distribution among stayers [details](#)

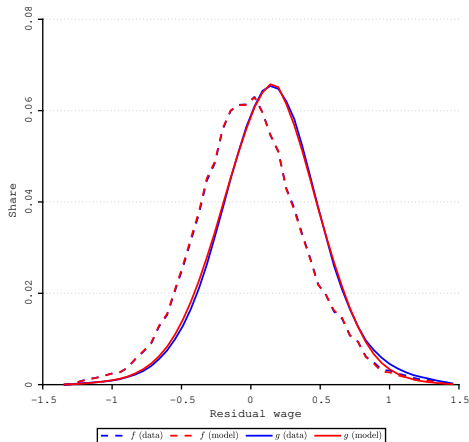
$$\left\{ \lambda^e, \lambda^f, \mu, \rho, \sigma, \delta^1, \delta^2, \omega \right\}$$

1. Gap between the wage & wage offer distributions
2. Share of stayers
3. Joint distribution among stayers [details](#)
4. Joint distribution among job losers [details](#)

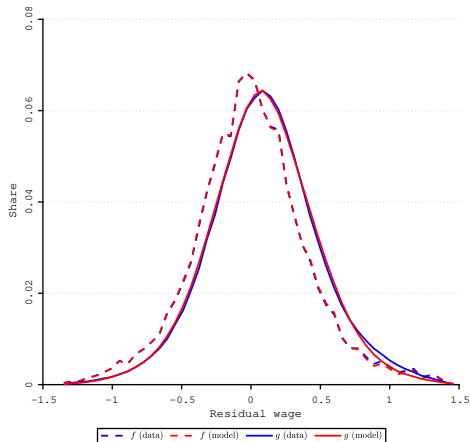
Step II: λ^e Informed by Wage Relative to Offer Distributions

[▶ back](#)

Taking $F(w)$ from data, the model matches empirical $G(w)$ very well

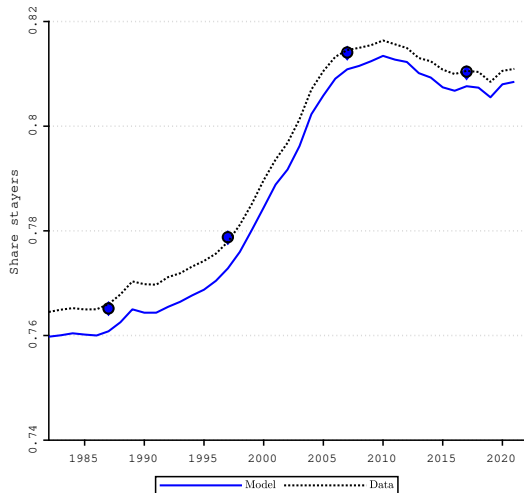


(a) 1982-1991



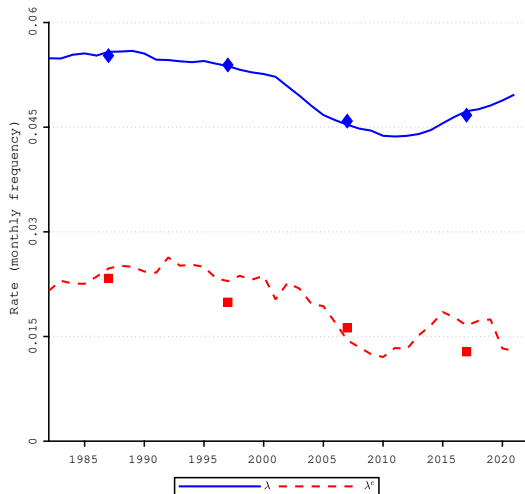
(b) 2012-2021

Step II: λ^f Informed by Share of Stayers

[▶ back](#)

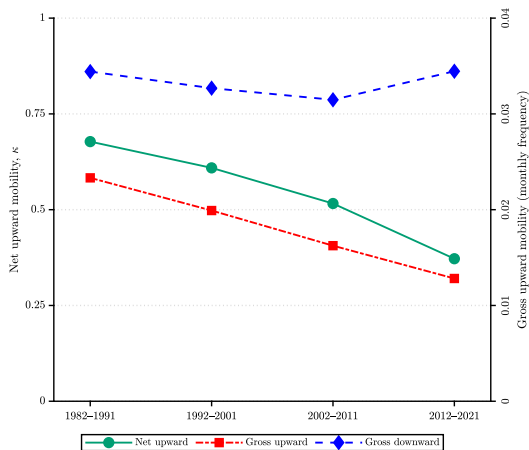
- The EN rate informs the EN rate $\delta(1 - \lambda^f)$
- λ^e gives voluntary job-to-job flows
- Use the share that remain in job to get λ^f

Steps I-II: Parameter Estimates

[▶ back](#)

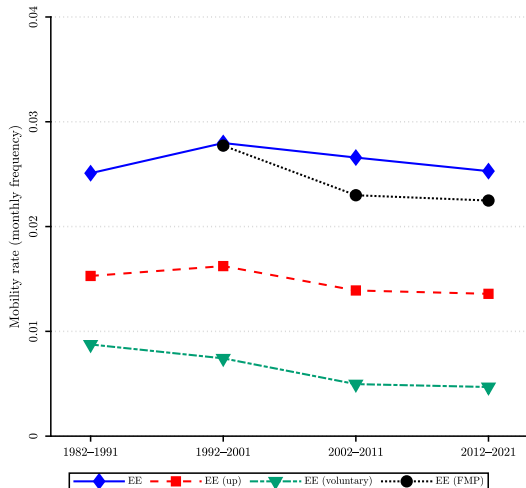
- $\lambda^e = \lambda \phi \frac{m-1}{m}$ declined by relatively more than λ

Steps I-II: Parameter Estimates



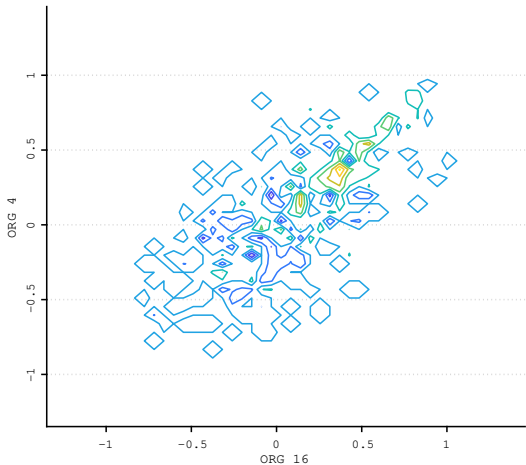
- $\lambda^e = \lambda \phi \frac{m-1}{m}$ declined by relatively more than λ
- Modest increase in reallocation shocks $\delta^i \lambda^f$

Steps I-II: Parameter Estimates

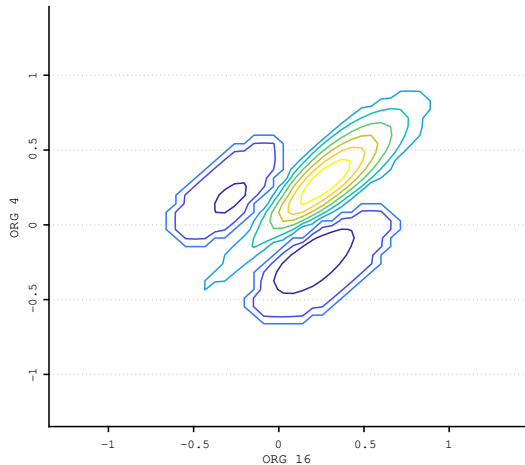
[▶ back](#)

- $\lambda^e = \lambda \phi \frac{m-1}{m}$ declined by relatively more than λ
- Modest increase in reallocation shocks $\delta^i \lambda^f$
- Less pronounced decline in realized EE mobility
 1. Voluntary mobility is less than half of total EE
 2. Workers are more likely to accept offer as λ^e falls

Step II: μ , ρ & σ Informed by Distribution of Stayers

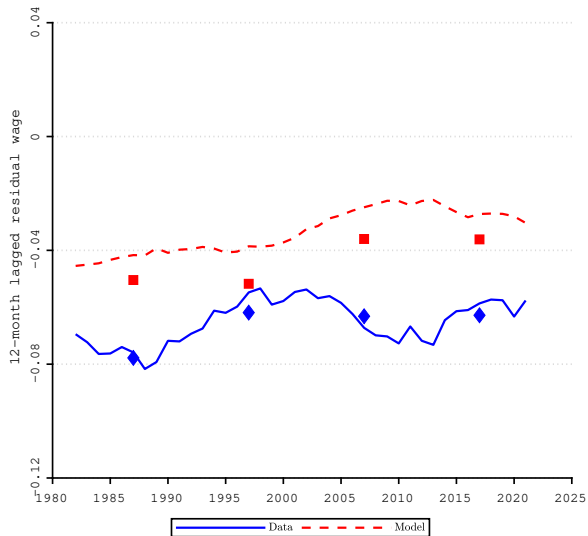
[▶ back](#)

(a) Data



(b) Model

Step II: δ^i & ω Informed by Distribution of Losers

[▶ back](#)

Step III: The Number of Recruiting Employers per Market

[▶ back](#)

- Assume: # markets B_s in state is prop. to empl. N_{sy} :

$$\beta = \frac{N_{sy}}{B_{sy}}$$

- It follows that the number of firms per market m_{sy} is:

$$m_{sy} = \frac{M_{sy}}{B_{sy}} = \frac{\beta}{fsize_{sy}}$$

- We first run steps I-II at state-year level to get λ_{sy} & λ_{sy}^e .
- We then estimate the parameter β by NLS from:

$$\ln \frac{\lambda_{sy}^e}{\lambda_{sy}} = \ln \left(1 - \frac{fsize_{sy}}{\beta} \right) + \alpha_s + \alpha_y + \varepsilon_{sy}$$

Step III: The Number of Recruiting Employers per Market

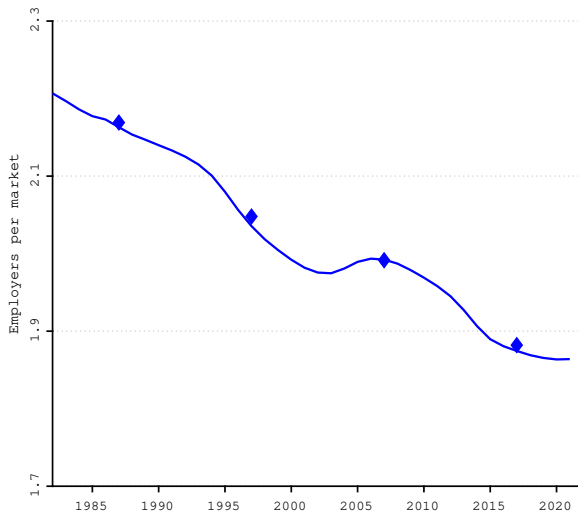
[▶ back](#)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
β	43.454 (5.255)	34.133 (2.050)	63.754 (17.543)	39.185 (7.510)	38.834 (9.526)	39.143 (7.186)
Trend						-0.000 (0.000)
$\bar{\delta}$	-1.138 (0.056)	-0.187 (0.123)	-2.016 (0.057)	-2.224 (0.059)		-0.000 (0.000)
λ	1.750 (0.080)	-8.416 (0.459)	-0.612 (0.111)	-0.227 (0.129)		-2.226 (0.059)
Year FE	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
State FE	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
Obs.	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000

Based on β , construct # recruiting employers at national level:

$$m_y = \frac{\beta}{fsize_y}$$

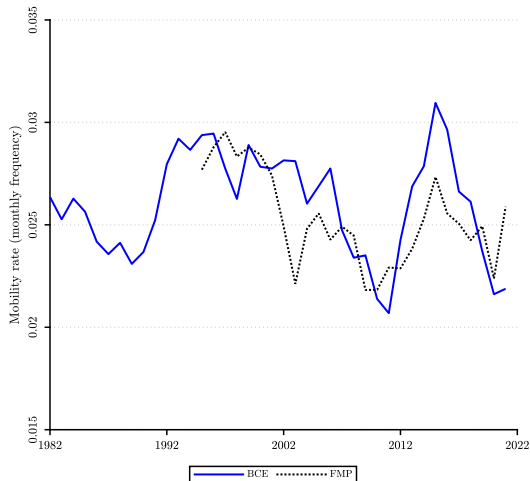
Step III: The Number of Recruiting Employers per Market

[▶ back](#)

We compare our estimates of job mobility with that of Fujita, Moscarini & Postel-Vinay (FMP).

- Results based on year-by-year model estimation, smoothed using a five-year centered moving average
- Estimates closely align with FMP

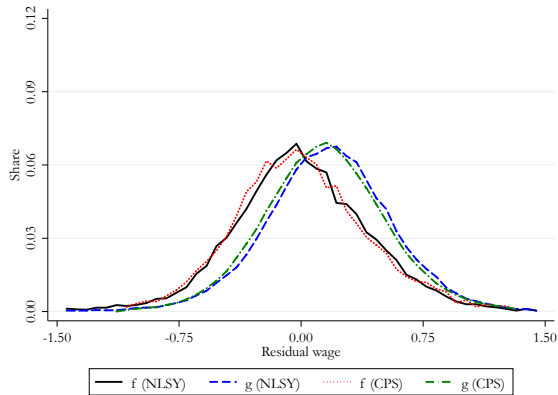
Our estimates of job-to-job mobility and that of FMP



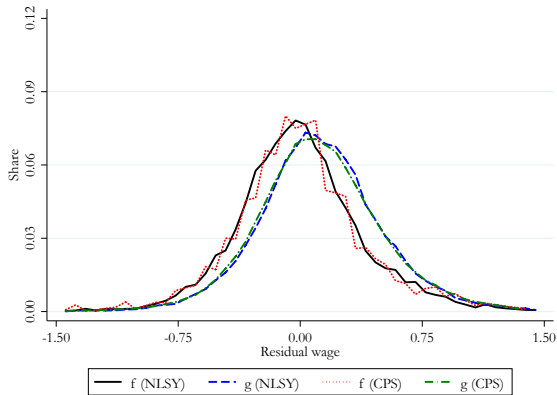
NLSY: Validation of wage distributions vs. CPS

[▶ back](#)

Wage and offer distributions for 1980s cohort



Wage and offer distributions for 2000s cohort

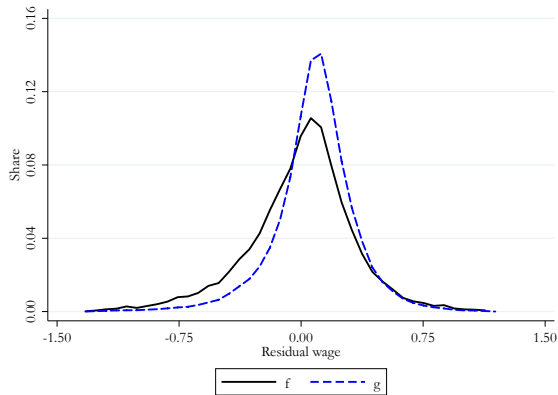


CPS and NLSY wage and offer distributions are close together for both cohorts.

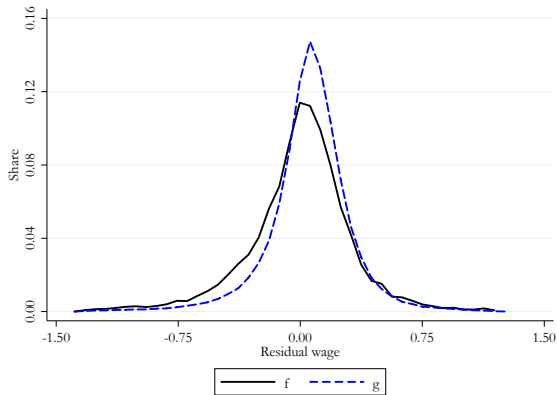
NLSY: Wage and offer distributions within individuals

[▶ back](#)

1980s cohort



2000s cohort

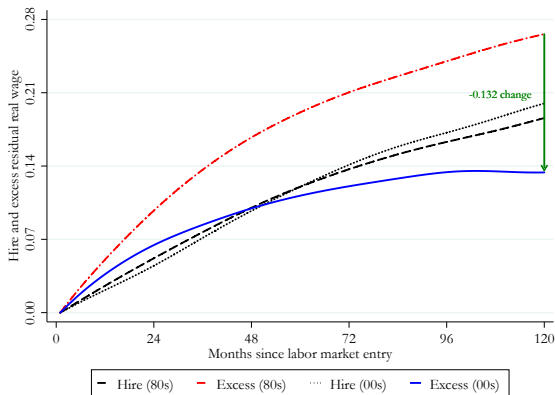


Individual FE reduce wage dispersion, consistent w/ unobservable differences in earnings ability.

We compare wage growth in the two NLSY surveys: an 1980s versus a 2000s cohort.

- Wages of hires from non-employment grew similarly across cohorts
- Excess wage growth relative to hires of the same age was 13 log points lower for the 2000s cohort compared to the 1980s cohort

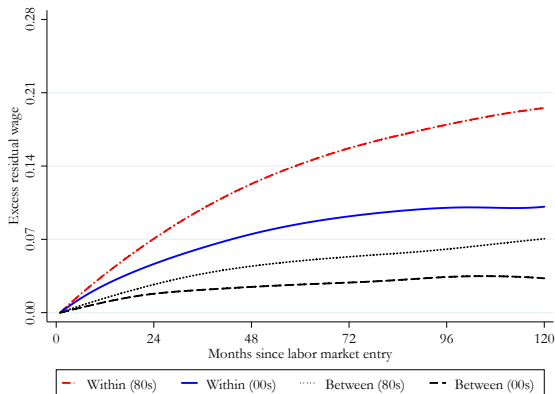
Wages of hires and all workers rel. to hires



Wage growth towards higher-paying occupations accounts for the majority of excess wage growth.

- 2000s cohort shows slower wage growth moving toward higher paying occupations than their earlier peers

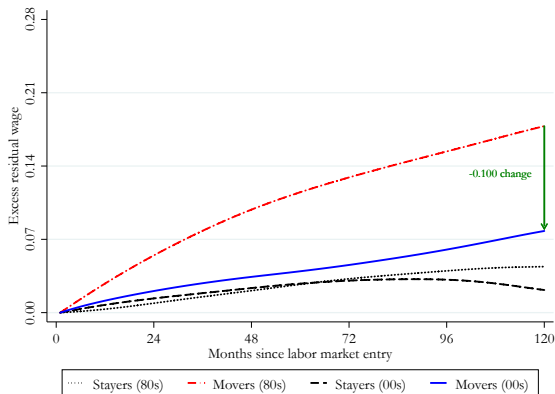
Between and within occupation relative wage growth



Decompose excess wage growth within occupation in contributions of stayers and job-to-job movers.

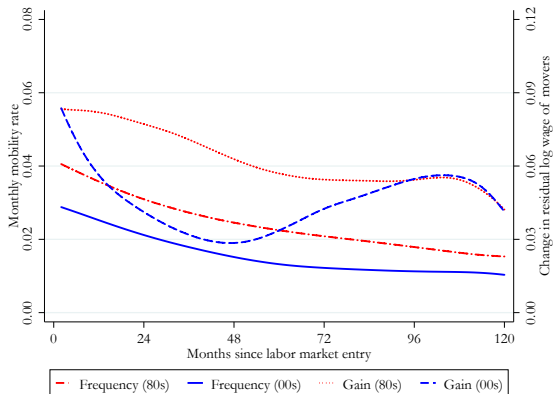
- Most of the change in excess wage growth between the 1980s and 2000s cohort is associated with job-to-job mobility

Decomposition of within-occupation wage growth



The frequency of moves and the excess wage gains associated with a move have both declined across the two cohorts.

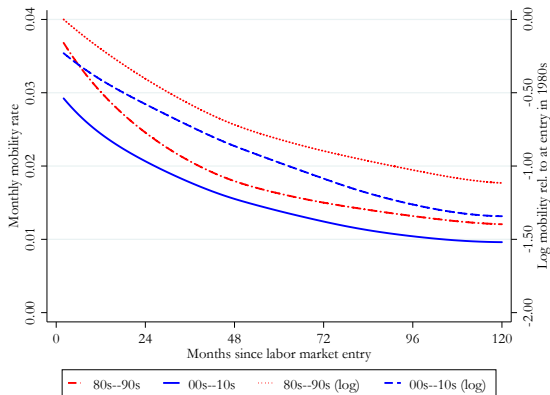
Decomposition of wage growth of JJ movers



Lower job-to-job mobility could be a result of *better initial matches* (cf. Mercan, 2017; Pries and Rogerson, 2022).

- Better initial matches would be reflected in relatively lower EN rates at the start of workers' careers, which we do not find evidence for

The EN transition rate



Run accounting exercise to quantify the impact of changes in the (i) frequency in and (ii) wage gain from job-to-job mobility on excess wage growth over first 10 years of career.

- With 1980s job-to-job mobility frequency: + 3 log-points wage growth
- With 1980s wage change upon move: + 3 log-points wage growth
- With both 1980s frequency and wage change upon move: + 10 log-points wage growth

Accounting exercise

