

INCENTIVIZING THE MISSING MIDDLE: THE ROLE **OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY**

HEATHER M. STEPHENS, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

Co-authored with CARLIANNE PATRICK, GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY

MIDDLE CLASS DECLINE AND INEQUALITY

- A wealth of research has documented the decline of the middle class and the increase in inequality in the United States (Pew Research Center 2015;2016; Chetty et al. 2014; and Piketty 2013; among others).
- While some inequality can help drive growth,
 - Recent research suggests that the current levels of inequality in the U.S. may be suppressing economic growth (e.g. Partridge and Weinstein 2013; Atems 2013).
- At the same time, inequality and poverty are more pronounced in some areas than others
 - This may be due to the industrial composition (Florida, 2017).
 - However, the mechanisms for increased inequality at the local level are not well understood.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVES

- Economic development incentives are the primary policy tool for promoting local economic and employment growth.
- Previous research suggests that incentives have varied effects.
 - Harger et al. (2019) find that targeted incentives may help some industries, while hurting others.
 - Patrick (2016) demonstrates that capital subsidies result in changes in firm behaviors and local industry composition that limit job creation.

RESEARCH QUESTION

- Are economic development incentives contributing to the decline of the middle class and increasing inequality?
- We consider the impact of economic development incentives on employment changes in "middle class" industries.
- We define industries in two ways:
 - 1. Based on the average wages in that industry
 - Middle wage is "middle class"
 - 2. Based on the occupations in that industry
 - Working class is "middle class"



DATA – CLASSIFYING INDUSTRIES BASED ON WAGES

- Classifying middle class industries is based on the average wage income in that industry using data from EMSI, Inc.
- Following guidance by the Pew Research Center (2015;2016)
 - We adjust American Community Survey (ACS) data based on average household sizes and number of earners.
 - Middle class industries include those with incomes between two-thirds to double the median income or within a middle class wage range from \$20,485 to \$61,455 (in 2016 dollars).

DATA – CLASSIFYING INDUSTRIES BASED ON OCCUPATIONS

- Using data from the Martin Prosperity Institute (MPI)
 - Industries' occupations are classified into four major categories:
 - Creative Class
 - Working Class
 - Service Class
 - Agriculture (not included in our analysis)
- We classify industries as in a category if the highest percentage of jobs is in that category.

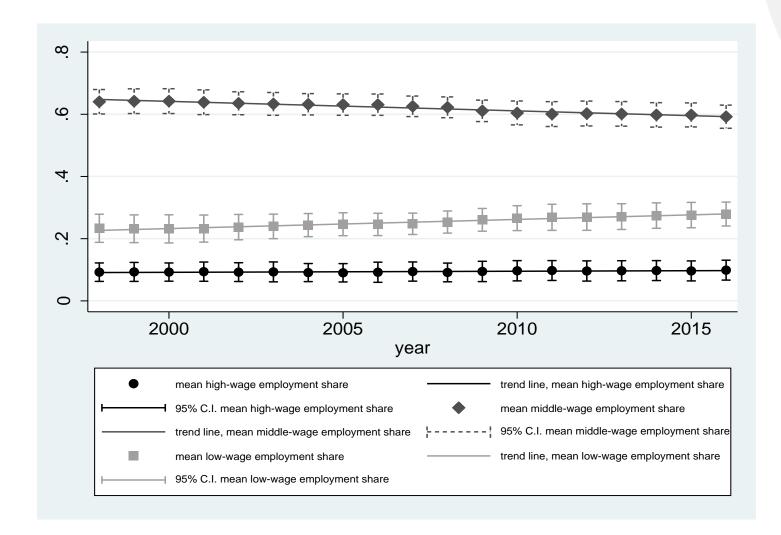
DATA – COMPARING INDUSTRY CLASSIFICATIONS

- Middle-wage and working-class industries are not the same.
 - Only about 37% of industries that are working class are also middle wage.
- Some differences include:
 - Administrative and support industries classified as middle wage and service class (e.g., skilled nursing facility industry)
 - Industries requiring specialized manual labor classified as working class but high wage (e.g., oil and natural gas pipeline industries)
 - High cognitive skill service industries classified as middle wage and creative class (e.g., architecture industry and performing arts)

OTHER DATA

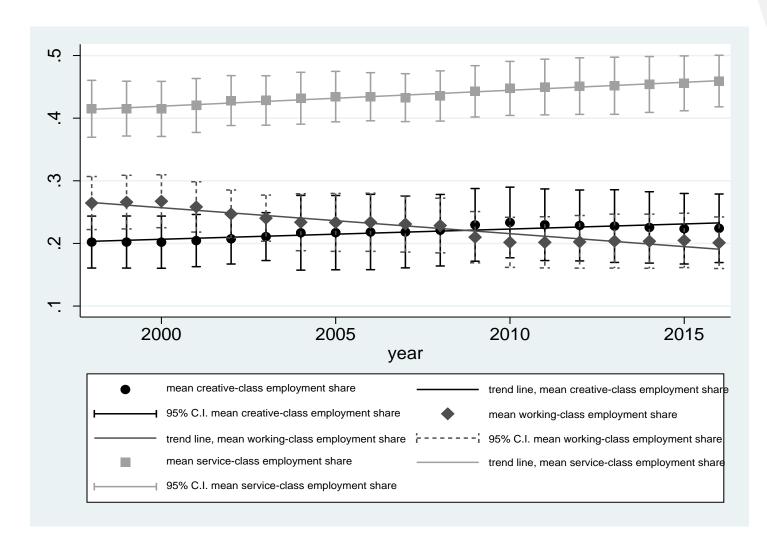
- Detailed employment data by Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)
- W.E. Upjohn Institute Panel Data on Incentives (PDIT)
 - 45 industries in 47 cities in 33 states (92% of 2013 private sector GDP)
 - Use annual 12% discounted net taxes by city and industry
 - We assume that city net taxes are representative of MSA net taxes
 - Does not include all industries

TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT BY WAGE CLASS



- The share of employment in middle-wage industries is declining.
- The share of jobs in lowwage industries is increasing.

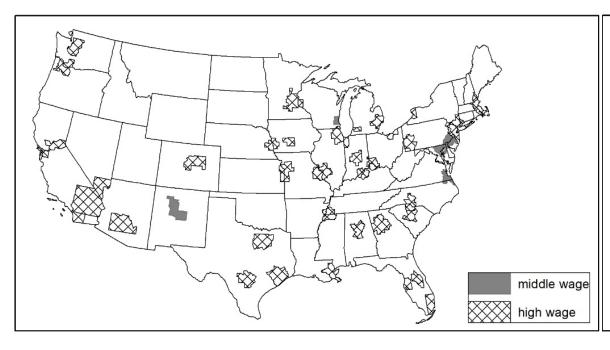
TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT BY MPI CLASS

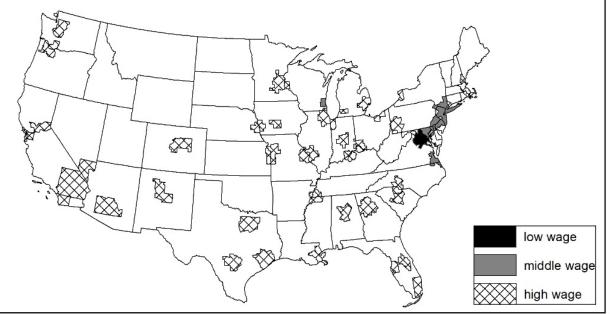


- The share of employment in working-class industries is declining.
- The share of jobs in serviceclass industries is increasing.
- Some evidence of increasing share of jobs in creative-class industries.

"TARGET" WAGE CLASS BY CBSA

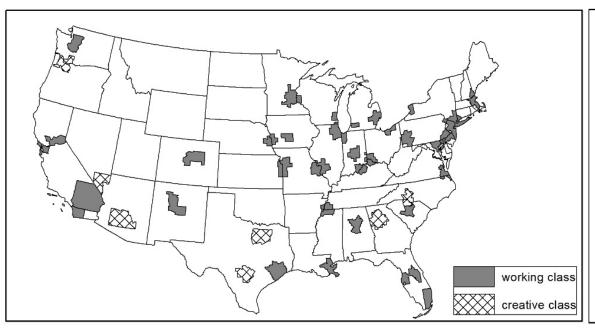
2000 2015

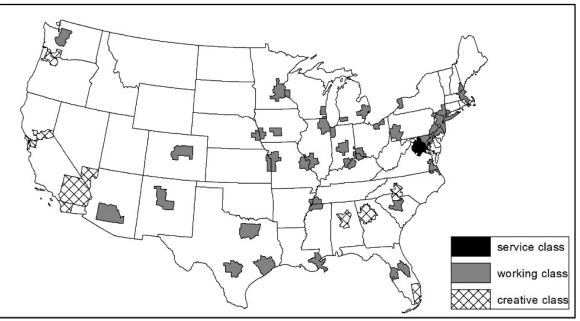




"TARGET" MPI CLASS BY CBSA

2000 2015





CHALLENGE WITH OUR RESEARCH

 Are we actually able to get at whether incentives are causing changes in employment or is something else going on?

• We use special statistical techniques to control for this this.

OUR FINDINGS

- Our analysis suggests that economic development incentives are having an effect on the distribution of employment across wage and industry classes.
- Incentivizing working-class and middle-wage industries has positive employment effects for those industries.
 - For working-class industries, these incentives also increase employment in other industries.
- There is no evidence that reducing incentives (or raising taxes) on creative-class and high-wage industries has negative employment effects for any industry type.
 - It may even increase employment in working-class and middle-wage industries.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND NEXT STEPS

- The most incentivized classes of industries tend to be those classified as "high-wage" or "creative-class"
 - However, we find evidence that these incentives are NOT increasing employment in these industries and are contributing to the hollowing out of the middle class.
- Economic development professionals and other policymakers may want to consider this when making future decisions about incentives.
- In our future research, we will further explore the impact of these incentives on the relative wages and employment in targeted industries
 - Compared to non-targeted industries in that location.
 - Compared to those industries in other locations.



THANKYOU!

Heather Stephens
Assistant Professor
Resource Economics and Management
West Virginia University

heather.stephens@mail.wvu.edu