Report

More and better jobs: Does everyone want the same?

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Key messages

- Having a good job is a key priority for people around the world. Concerns about the quality of jobs as much as their quantity drive the high ranking given to employment in the My World global survey.
- Data from the World Value Survey for five developing countries show people have different priorities in terms of improving their employment situation. Looking at employment perceptions across countries and population groups is a useful complement to monitor employment trends and understand the employment challenges of countries.
- In countries where objective indicators show that employment quantity and access are important issues, the people most likely to include 'better job opportunities' as one of their priorities are those who also express concerns about job security. A comprehensive approach here would cover the broader aspect of labour market security.
- In countries where objective indicators show that quality of employment is the predominant issue, people are most likely to select 'better job opportunities' in the My World survey if they also express concerns about better incomes and more motivating jobs. Better jobs are necessary to ensure employment acts as a link between economic growth and poverty reduction.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Claire Melamed for helpful comments in and guidance on the production of this report. She is also grateful for useful discussions and suggestions from Tanvi Bhaktal and Paula Lucci, both from ODI, and Jeremy Dennison (Copenhagen Consensus Center), Hayk Gyuzalyan (Ipsos MORI) and Paul Ladd (UNDP). Editorial support was provided by Roo Griffiths. Any errors remain her own.

This report is an output of the project 'Building a post-2015 sustainable development agreement'. Current funders of this project are listed at www.odi.org.uk/projects/2730-building-post-2015-sustainable-development-agreement.

Introduction

Having a good job is a primary concern for people all around the world. Employment provides people with the income necessary to meet their basic needs, and is also a constitutive part of wellbeing, contributing to a sense of self-respect and fulfilment (Sen 1975 in Lugo, 2007) as well as to broader societal outcomes such as social cohesion, citizen empowerment and aiding poverty reduction. The Voices of the Poor study (Narayan et al., 1999) identified poor employment – informal, casual, with no security and low-wage – as one of the main defining features of poverty, especially for those without access to land or the ability to grow their own food on other people's land.

Employment is also a primary concern for people in developed countries; this has especially been the case in the recent years of global economic crisis. 'Persistently high unemployment is threatening to leave a permanent scar in our societies. […] The road ahead may be challenging, but with the right policy tools and effective and inclusive multi-lateral cooperation, our governments can put millions of people back to work,' said the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) secretary-general at the launch in 2013 of a report on the employment outlook for OECD countries (Gurria, 2013).

Conversations on social media also show better job opportunities are high on the agenda for people in a wide range of countries, from Portugal, Greece and France to Morocco, Botswana and South Africa.[1]

However, employment's importance crosscuts a variety of needs and worries, and people in different countries face different employment challenges. In My World, a far-reaching global opinion survey aiming to capture the priorities of citizens around the world, out of the 16 possible priorities for 'a better world' after 2015, 'better job opportunities' is currently the fourth most voted-for at the global level, coming after only education, health and better governance. But what does 'better job opportunities' mean for different groups of people in different countries? This report tries to address this question using the results from five detailed and representative My World surveys conducted in three Asian and two African countries, and combining this evidence with responses obtained through the World Values Survey (WVS), a comprehensive opinion survey exploring the values and beliefs of people from around the world.

We first review the global My World results to try and find different patterns in the weight people place on 'jobs'. The following section details the indicators selected to measure the different employment dimensions and the methodology used throughout this paper. We then narrow down the focus to five developing countries, three in Asia and two in Africa, for which country representative My World surveys have been carried out. We complement this data source with information from the WVS and the International Labour Organization's (ILO's) Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM) to provide a more detailed analysis of employment needs based on objective and subjective indicators. We finalise with some reflections on what this evidence implies about the different employment needs that are relevant for different people in different contexts.

[1] The UN global Pulse has been tracking post-2015 conversations on Twitter since August 2012 (see http://post2015.unglobalpulse.net/#). The countries mentioned here are among the 20 that have talked the most proportionally on Twitter about 'better job opportunities'.

1. Employment policies and challenges

The employment challenge is a particularly complex one, not only because of its multiple facets, but also because it varies across contexts. Some of the main global issues related to employment are vulnerable jobs, low productivity and earnings, gender inequality, youth unemployment and marginalisation in labour markets (UNDG, 2013); different types of policies can be put in place to address the different aspects of these. At the country level, growth diagnostics, as well as country categorisations, have been recommended to enable an understanding of the specific characteristics of the employment challenge (Box 1).

Box 1: Understanding the employment challenge at the country level

Growth diagnostics are based on the premise that the same policies, if applied in different countries, would not yield the same results, because the binding constraints on economic activity differ from setting to setting (Haussman et al., 2005). They use macroeconomic and firm-level data to provide a clearer and more holistic understanding of key bottlenecks to economic growth (Martins, 2013).

Following this idea, Martins (2013) proposes an employment diagnostic tool to enable an understanding of the type of growth needed to generate inclusive (employment-rich) growth – in other words growth that translates into employment creation and poverty reduction. Such a tool would complement macroeconomic and firm-level data with household-level data on employment, income distributions, education, health and access to land, among others.

In a similar vein, one of the main messages of the 2013 World Development Report on Jobs (World Bank, 2013) was that the jobs with the highest development payoffs are not the same everywhere. For example, in conflict-driven or post-conflict countries, jobs may help promote social cohesion; employment for ex-combatants and young vulnerable men is of particular importance. The World Development Report proposes a country typology to identify the national employment priorities, and puts countries into eight categories:

- Agrarian countries;
- Conflict-affected countries;
- Urbanising countries;
- Resource-rich countries;
- Small island nations;
- Formalising countries;
- Countries with high youth unemployment; and
- Ageing societies.

Data to monitor employment trends, from which we can derive the relevant policy prescriptions, are fundamental to labour market analysis. The general view, held by many policymakers during the 1980s and 1990s, that employment creation and policy reduction follow economic growth naturally, has changed. Over the past decade, at least 14 African countries, and many more in other regions, have developed national employment policies (ILO, 2010c, in Sparreboom and Albee, 2011), but they are strong only when effective labour market analysis systems are available to inform strategic choices (Sparreboom and Albee, 2011). In many developing countries, the frequency of household surveys, particularly labour force surveys, is too low to allow for regular monitoring of labour market indicators. For example, only 99 out of 161 developing countries have enough data to monitor the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) target on employment on the most basic indicator (employment to population ratio). The situation is particularly stark in Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania.[2] Consequently, it is necessary to complement traditional labour statistics with other sources to make it possible to analyse labour market trends and assess the characteristics of the employment challenge in different countries.

This report approaches the employment challenge by looking at the perspectives of people in different situations. We introduce a group-based analysis based on people's expressed needs, desires and opinions. As the policy prescriptions derived as a result of analysing one employment indicator in

[2] http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/DataAvailability.aspx

isolation can be ambiguous, Sparreboom and Albee (2011) suggest the interaction between indicators function as a framework for country-level labour market analysis. We propose using the interaction between objective employment conditions and the perceptions people hold on their employment situation as a point of departure for an analysis of the characteristics of the employment challenge in developing countries and of the policy requirements needed to address it.

Tonin (2013), for example, states for the case of informality that understanding why people work in the informal economy is vital to derive the appropriate policy responses. If the issues relate to exclusion, increasing firm productivity, ensuring appropriate education and training to ease the transition of workers into more productive jobs and stimulating aggregate demand may be useful. If the main issues relate to employment insecurity, insurance provisions for informal workers as well as social assistance programmes may be helpful to support more vulnerable workers and link growth and employment with poverty reduction (Berg, 2013). If informality is a matter of choice, it may be more appropriate to work on simplifying procedures, stricter enforcement of regulations and establishing greater benefits to formalisation (Tonin, 2013).

The next section begins by analysing the results of My World to understand how people prioritise employment in the context of a broad range of policy areas that can contribute to improving their lives, before turning to a more detailed analysis of the employment priorities in five developing countries.

2. A world with better job opportunities

My World is a short, innovative perception survey that seeks to identify what is most important to people around the world. Respondents are asked to identify six out of sixteen possible issues they think would make the most difference to them and their family's lives (Box 2). To date, more than 2.2 million people from around the world have responded online, via SMS and by paper ballots. These responses are useful to identify people's priorities on a scale that would not have been possible in the past.

Box 2: My World

My World is a global survey seeking to identify the development priorities most important to people in relation to a global policy process on the new set of goals that will shape development policy after 2015, when the MDGs are set to expire.

The survey identifies 16 development issues and asks respondents to select their top 6. The options were selected based on the priorities expressed by poor people in existing research and polling exercises, as well as ongoing technical and political discussions about the post-2015 goals. They are:

- A good education;
- Better health care;
- Better job opportunities;
- An honest and responsive government;
- Affordable and nutritious food;
- Protection against crime and violence;
- Access to clean water and sanitation;
- Equality between men and women;
- Freedom from discrimination and persecution;
- Protecting forests, rivers and oceans;
- Support for people who cannot work;
- Better transport and roads;
- Political freedoms;
- Phone and internet access;
- Reliable energy at home;
- Action taken on climate change.

Anonymous responses are collected online, via SMS and by paper with the help of grassroots organisations, faith-based communities, youth groups, private sector bodies and non-governmental organisation (NGO) partners around the world. The survey is as open as possible so people can respond via any of these three methods, and, as such, it is not designed to provide a representative view – in the statistical sense of the term – of the priorities of people in different countries. A few nationally representative surveys have also been conducted by the My World team at the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and by Ipsos MORI, a market research organisation. These offer the possibility to draw more detailed conclusions about regions or sub-groups of people within countries.

Out of the 16 possible priorities in My World, 'better job opportunities'[3] is the fourth most voted-for at the global level, after education, health and governance.[4] Both men and women across the world seem to share this high preference, but not all countries do: the preference is higher in countries that rank low on the Human Development Index (HDI), ranking second, after 'a good education'. In high HDI countries, employment appears in fifth place. In very high HDI countries, the jobs option is considerably low down the list of priorities, at number 11.

At the global level, the preference for 'better job opportunities' also seems to decrease with age. Those up to about 45 years old rank this priority quite high, in third or fourth place; those above 45 are less concerned about better employment prospects. For those between 45 and 60 years old and those above 60, respectively, it is the sixth and seventh priority, perhaps because they are towards the end of their productive life, and closer to or above retirement age.[5]

However, older people in low- and middle-income countries still think 'better job opportunities' is quite important (fourth place), whereas older people in high- and very-high-income countries place much less priority on jobs (sixth and eleventh place, respectively). More developed countries tend to have broader systems of pensions and social insurance as well as more fiscal and institutional capacity to administer labour market regulations and social protection systems (Cazes and Verick, 2010). The existence of such provisions makes it possible for people to depend less on their own income and resources to survive when shocks – such as unemployment or illness – occur or when they reach old age. In contrast, in lower-income countries, even in older age, people are still reliant on the income they derive from their employment, or on the employment of the relatives who support them. This is likely to be the explanation for the different priorities among the older age group, although more research is needed to confirm this. A similar association has been found for My World's 'better health care' option: in countries with higher health care expenditure, people tend to vote less for the health option, suggesting demand for health services depends in part on whether it has already been provided or not (Appleby, 2013).

Apart from the employment option, there is another priority in My World related to employment: 'support for people who cannot work',[6] which speaks about the need for social protection to support those hit by adverse conditions. Social protection is a 'set of policies and programs designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets, diminishing people's exposure to risks, and enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption/loss of income' (ADB, 2001, in ADB, 2013). Social protection is often divided into three categories: 1) *social assistance*, commonly provided as transfers to groups of people, such as the poor, who cannot qualify for insurance or would otherwise receive inadequate benefits; 2) *social insurance*, which is designed to mitigate problems for population groups that are vulnerable to common risks, such as illness, unemployment, work injury, maternity or problems associated with old age; and 3) *active labour market policies* to help people secure employment (ADB, 2013). In contrast with the high number of

[3] 'This means that governments and private sector companies should do more to make sure that everyone can find a job where they earn a decent wage, and can contribute and feel valued as a productive member of society.'

[4] According to results reported on MyWorld.org on 5 June 2014.

[5] Yet, interestingly, they still think education is highly important, even though their age suggests they have already completed the formal education cycle.

[6] 'This means that every person should have enough money to live on, either through employment or government help. When people can't work, or are affected by events like natural disasters or economic crises, governments should make sure that they and their families won't go hungry, children won't drop out of school, and they can get the healthcare and other essential services they need.'

votes cast for employment, this option ranks quite low across all countries, levels of education and age groups.

3. Measuring employment preferences. Data and methodology

3.1 Data

The employment option is thus among the most highly rated priorities for people across the globe, albeit with some variation by age and level of country development. But what exactly do people want when they say 'better job opportunities' is a priority? We examine this question in more detail using nationally representative My World surveys, as well as perception data from the WVS and employment data from the ILO's KILM.

Representative My World surveys are available for nine developing countries in Asia[7] and Sub-Saharan Africa.[8] Although some of the details are different in each sample, the main characteristic of these surveys is that they are designed to provide results that are geographically representative of each country[9] and of the gender and age structure of the population.

The WVS is a large-scale perception survey that has been conducted in various countries since 1981. Although the country sample size has increased over the years, the survey's coverage of developing countries is still small. We limit our analysis to five countries for which we have both My World data and a recent WVS (Wave 5 or 6):[10] Ghana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria and the Philippines.

Although the two main surveys (My World and the WVS) both attempt to be representative of their countries and of selected subgroups, they follow different sample procedures, and country coverage is not identical. This should be kept in mind when interpreting the results, especially when comparing the two sources. We do not attempt to draw conclusions from the individual country cases, and are aware of the limitations of the approach. Only if all the responses were derived from the same, single survey would we be able to draw definitive conclusions about the relationships between the views expressed in My World and the views expressed in the WVS. Unfortunately, this is not the case: we have two separate sources that we merely put side by side to infer some possible relationships.

3.2 Subgroup preferences

We have already given a broad overview of how global employment priorities expressed in My World vary in different countries (by HDI level) and according to some basic age disaggregation. We now aim to deepen this analysis by increasing the level of disaggregation.

With this aim, we define the relevant subgroups by country, gender, age and level of education (which acts as a proxy for income). For example, a given group would comprise Indian women, of young age, who have finished primary education; another would comprise Indian men, of older age, who have no schooling. The categories that define the subgroups are as follows:

Gender:

- Male;
- Female.

Age:[11]

- Youth: 15-34 years old; [12]

[7] Designed and collected by Ipsos MORI. In India and Indonesia, coverage is limited to urban areas, and in the Philippines to the metropolitan Manila area.
[8] Designed and collected by the My World team at UNDP.
[9] Or the urban areas of the country, in the case of the urban samples.
[10] Corresponding to either 2005-2009 or 2010-2014. For Indonesia only we use the earlier wave.
[11] Some surveys include children below 15 years old; we have excluded these from the analysis.
[12] Although different countries use different definitions for youth, the UN recommends using 15-24 for statistical reporting. The African Youth Charter uses a higher threshold for youth (15-34 years old); we adopt this, given that our analysis is focused on developing countries, including African ones.

- Adults: 35-54 years old;
- Older adults: 55 years old and above.

Education level:

- No formal education or incomplete primary;
- Finished primary (including incomplete secondary);
- Finished secondary;
- Beyond secondary.

Each country has 24 possible subgroups (two gender x three age x four education level). We retain for the analysis only those subgroups with more than 30 individuals, or those with fewer than 30 but for which reliable estimates can be derived.[13] This last is to ensure the views of small groups are, as far as possible, represented in the results.[14] In total, the analysis uses 91 of the total of 120 possible subgroups (76% of subgroups); 43 of these groups are in the Asian countries and 48 in the African countries. The Appendix shows the distribution of the subgroups in each country.[15]

In My World, individuals select six issues out of 16 when they answer the question presented in the exercise ('*Which of these are most important for you and your family?*'). The way the question is presented makes it impossible to know, out of the six chosen, which one each individual ranks most, second, third etc. However, for a relevant subgroup (a country, a region, an age group etc.), it is possible to know which issues were chosen the most times by individual respondents in that group, and therefore to infer an order of priorities within the group. Similarly, in the WVS we can find out the share of people who responded in a certain way in each subgroup (e.g. the share of young males with no education who answered *'yes'* to a question).

While this approach is useful to analyse preferences, it bears an important limitation. It assumes that country, gender, age and education are the most important characteristics in determining people's preferences in relation to employment, and that the answers those sampled give can be taken as representative of their subgroup. In particular, this can be problematic with surveys that sample only urban locations (e.g. the India My World sample) if there are systematic differences in what people think according to their geographic location. The only way to bypass this problem would be to collect disaggregated information for all relevant subgroups, including location (rural/urban) and ethnicity, to mention two main omissions, and to have a sufficiently large sample in each category to be able to generate a meaningful analysis and comparison.

Meanwhile, although preferences can have great individual variability, people's frames of reference can be shared, and it is reasonable to expect that preferences in the subgroups we define to be convergent to some degree. Bergh et al. (2013), for example, found that, across the world, young people tend to be more dissatisfied with democracy than older people do. Sometimes, differences in responses may not be as evident in the first instance, instead becoming more apparent with an increasing level of disaggregation. Inglehart (2002) found that happiness, life satisfaction and other global measures of subjective wellbeing showed no significant gender differences, but, once age and gender were made to intersect, some differences emerged; for example, women under 45 were found to be happier than men, but older women were not. Similarly, it is possible these subgroup differences respond to different objective circumstances. In a study in the UK, the Office for National Statistics found significant variations in subjective wellbeing across ethnic groups, and related these to the circumstances people lived in. For example, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black ethnic groups in the UK

[13] We use the relative standard error (RSE) as a measure of the reliability of the subgroup estimates. The RSE is the standard error expressed as a fraction of the estimate. The lower the RSE, the less variance there is around the estimate. This measure is commonly used by national statistical offices to set reliability standards for publication of statistics, although there is no golden rule for empirical application. For example, the UK Office for National Statistics recommends not using estimates for which the RSE is over 20%. US health statistics have a higher threshold, of 30%, and Australian labour force statistics use an intermediate value of 25%. We keep this intermediate value (25%).

[14] Small samples are a particularly problem for the older age category (55+), for both men and women, in the Asian countries of the sample.

[15] For five subgroups there is not enough data to be analysed because the survey does not contain any person in the relevant subgroup. Four of those groups are in India and one in the Philippines.

had the lowest levels of reported life worthiness and anxiety, which was associated with the fact that they were also the groups with the highest unemployment rate in the country (Hicks, 2013). [16]

3.3 The employment context

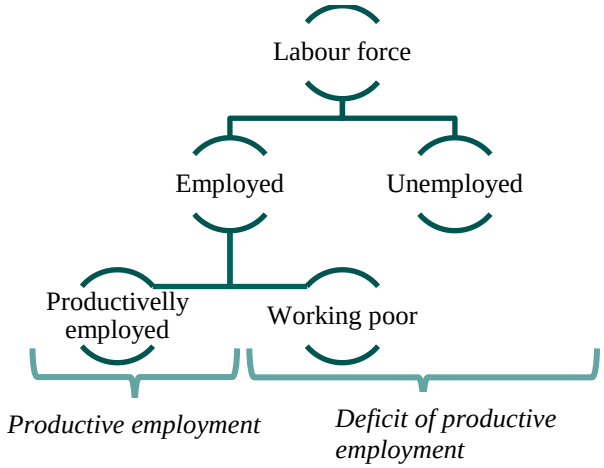
The subgroup analysis may not be enough to understand people's employment preferences. Although it is possible that, regardless of the country, people in similar groups respond in a similar way, it is likely that country context has an influence on people's priorities. To acknowledge the effect of contextual economic or cultural characteristics, we divide the sample into two country groups and draw on country-wide information available in ILO's KILM, the most comprehensive country-comparable source of employment information. The division is carried out according to country characteristics that speak about the different dimensions of employment, as stated in the MDG employment target as follows:

Quantity: 'More […] jobs'

Lack of jobs in a country is often approximated by using the unemployment rate. However, this is not the most appropriate employment indicator, particularly in low-income countries, where most people are employed, albeit in low-productivity, low-quality jobs. We use instead the employment to population ratio (EPR), to indicate the ability of an economy to generate employment (ILO, 2014).

Another indicator of the lack of productive employment opportunities in developing countries is the rate of income-related underemployment. This can tell us how many of the people in a country are working but not able to gain sufficient income from their job. The working-poor rate (WPR), defined as employed persons whose income is insufficient to bring themselves and their dependants out of poverty, is a good approximation (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Decomposition of the labour force from a poverty perspective



Source: ILO (2012b).

There no 'correct' EPR, but national EPRs in East Asia and Africa are typically the highest in the world. In 2009, the average in East Asia was 69.8% and that in Sub-Saharan Africa 65.8% (Sparreboom and Albee, 2011). We divide the sample into two groups of countries, those with an EPR in the range of 50% and those in the range of 60% or above.

For working poverty, we divide the sample into two groups of countries, those with a relatively higher WPR and those with a relatively lower WPR.

Quality: '[…] and better jobs'

People with low-quality jobs often earn less, have less employment security and face poor working conditions. Detailed information of these characteristics is hard to find, in particular for developing

[16] The association between subjective wellbeing and unemployment may explain this relationship (ONS 2013 in Hicks 2013).

countries. Quality of work has been labelled one of the 'missing dimensions' of poverty – that is, it is a dimension that is of value to poor people, but for which we have scant or no data (Alkire, 2007). We approximate the quality of jobs using the rate of vulnerable employment – that is, the proportion of workers who are own accounts or contributing family workers. These categories of workers often lack formal work arrangements and access to social protection, and are generally poorly paid, less secure and more susceptible to being affected by economic conditions. Vulnerable employment is associated with poverty and precarious work, and is also a measure of employment informality. We divide the sample into two groups of countries, those with a relatively higher vulnerable employment rate (VUL) and those with a relatively lower VUL.

Access: '[…] for all, including women and young people'

Employment opportunities are not always spread equally across the population. Vulnerable groups are often excluded, or have lower-quality jobs. We focus on two groups commonly left behind in terms of employment: the young and women. We use the male to female participation ratio to indicate gender inequalities in employment; a rate above one indicates men are more active than women in the labour market. It is important to note that, even when there is parity in participation, it is possible that the jobs women do are of worse quality that those men do. However, we were unable to find data that could tell us more about this type of inequality for the countries in the sample.[17]

Young people are also often excluded from employment opportunities. We use the ratio of youth to adult unemployment rate (YUN) to indicate this type of inequality. Again, a ratio above one indicates that the unemployment rate of young people is above that of adults, showing a particularly stringent labour market for young people.

In theory, one could classify countries in three groups: 1) those where there is parity in either the female (to male) participation rate (FPR) or the youth (to adult) unemployment (YUN) rate; 2) those where rates are biased towards one group (i.e. women or the young, respectively); and 3) those where rates are biased against the reference group (i.e. men or adults, respectively). However, all countries in the sample have ratios above one in their FPR and YUN, indicating a lack of parity and a bias against the young and females. Consequently, we divide the sample into countries with relatively higher and relatively lower ratios. For the FPR, we divide the sample into three groups, because of a wider variation in rates: 1) countries with a ratio close to one; 2) countries with a ratio that shows medium differences (up to two); and 3) countries with a ratio that shows high differences between male and female participation (above two). Note that the first category would include only Ghana and the last only India, so care needs to be taken when interpreting results. In the case of the YUN, we divide the sample into two groups only, corresponding to countries with a higher and a lower gap between youth and adult unemployment, respectively.

Demographic transition

Finally, the employment challenge is likely to be different in countries that are at different stages in their demographic transition. Although opinions on the impact of demographic change on development have shifted through the years, a consensus has recently emerged emphasising population–development interactions, including potential demographic dividends (Kohler, 2012). The demographic dividend suggests changes in the structure of the population, caused by fertility declines, increase the share of the working-age population and enhance labour productivity,[18] both of which create a temporary boost in economic growth. However, the demographic dividend is not automatic; whether or not it is captured depends on initial conditions in the policy environment and some path

[17] For example, wage data, both aggregate and disaggregated for men and women, were available only for the Philippines.

[18] According to a review by Galor (2012), the increase in labour productivity occurs through three channels. First, the decline in population growth reduces the dilution of the growing stocks of capital and infrastructure, increasing the amount of resources per capita. Second, the reduction in fertility rates permits the reallocation of resources from the quantity of children towards their quality, enhancing human capital. Third, the decline in fertility rates affects the age distribution of the population, temporarily increasing the fraction of the labour force in the population and thus mechanically increasing productivity per capita.

dependence (Bloom et al., 2007; Kohler, 2012). 'Having a larger, healthier and better-educated workforce will only bear economic fruit if the extra workers can find jobs' (Bloom et al., 2007).

Countries with large young populations may need to devote more effort to increasing availability of and access to employment opportunities for an increasing labour force; countries with an ageing population may need to be more concerned with setting up a strong and sustainable pension scheme to support people leaving the labour force.

According to an assessment of the Copenhagen Consensus (Kohler and Behram, forthcoming) based on the 2012 World Economic Forum report's classification of countries by their fertility rates,[19] most of the five countries in the sample are still at the lower stages of the demographic transition (high fertility rate and a low median age of the population). India and Indonesia are not yet ageing countries, but also are not high population growth countries. We thus classify them as more advanced than the others in terms of demographic transition.

Table 1 summarises country categorisations according to these criteria.

Table 1: Country categorisation

Country	**Region**	**Demographic transition**	**EPR**	**Working poor**	**Vulnerable employment**	**FPR**	**YUN**
		Quantity and access	***Quantity***	***Quantity***	***Quality***	***Access***	***Access***
India	Asia	More advanced	Lower	Higher	Higher	High gap	High gap
Indonesia	Asia	More advanced	Higher	Lower	Lower	Medium gap	High gap
Philippines	Asia	Less advanced (high fertility)	.	Lower	Lower	Medium gap	High gap
Ghana	Africa	Less advanced (high fertility)	Higher	Lower	Higher	Low gap	Low gap
Nigeria	Africa	Less advanced (high fertility)	Lower	Higher	.	Medium gap	Low gap

3.4 Employment perceptions

The indicators described above are objective measures of employment, measured at the country level using labour force or other household surveys. We now describe the indicators we use to capture employment perceptions across the subgroups. We use people's responses in the WVS to gather the perceptions of each population subgroup on different aspects of the employment challenge. Table 2 summarises all of the indicators and their measurement.

First, ***people expressing concern about losing or not finding a job*** is an indication of a situation where the quantity of employment is not enough. It can also indicate a lack of employment quality, in terms of high vulnerability and security of employment, and access barriers, where the lack of employment particularly affects some subgroups.

We also use a measure of income sufficiency to measure employment quantity. Sufficient employment is related not only to there being enough jobs in the economy, but also to those jobs providing a sufficient income for workers and their families. The WVS asks individuals ***how satisfied they are with the economic situation of the household*** and also ***how often the family has gone without enough to eat or without cash income*** in the past 12 months.

[19] High-fertility countries are defined as countries with a net reproduction rate (NRR) of more than 1.5 that have an intrinsic population growth rate of 1.4% or higher.

The latest WVS does not collect information about working conditions that can indicate employment quality. It does collect some interesting information with regard to the characteristics of employment, however. For example, we are able to know ***whether the tasks people perform at work are mostly manual or intellectual tasks*** and ***whether they are mostly routine or creative***. Similarly, it is possible to get a measure of ***how much independence people have at work***. These are useful indicators of work motivation, which the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) Task Force on Measuring Quality of Employment (2010) has proposed as one dimension of quality of work. Work motivation not only is linked to higher job satisfaction, but also increases work performance and morale and lowers turnover and absenteeism. It encompasses elements of work such as having valuable goals, competence, autonomy and feedback from supervisors. Motivation factors –'satisfiers' – consist of feelings of recognition, achievement, responsibility and advancement as well as of the work content itself, thus are linked to a sense of personal growth and of self-actualisation (ibid.).

From the WVS, we are also able to tell what people in the different subgroups think about the importance of gender equality in accessing employment opportunities. The more people ***disagree with the statement that men should have more right to a job than women***, the more they think gender equality in employment access is important. We do not have a subjective indicator to capture perceptions of young people's work.

Table 2: Subjective and objective employment indicators

Dimension	Indicator		Measurement	Source
Quantity	EPR		Proportion of a country's working-age population that is employed	KILM
Quantity	Working poor (at US$1.25)		Proportion of working people who live in households below the poverty line	KILM
Quantity and quality	Worry about losing job		Proportion of people who express they are 'very much' or 'a good deal' worried about losing their job or not finding a job	WVS
Quantity	Sufficient income	Economic situation of household	On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is completely dissatisfied and 10 completely satisfied, the average on this scale for each subgroup	WVS
		Enough to eat	Proportion of people in each subgroup who say their family has gone without enough to eat 'often' or 'sometimes'	WVS
Quality	Vulnerable employment		Proportion of own account and contributing family workers	KILM
Quality	Job tasks	Manual vs. intellectual	On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is 'mostly manual tasks'/'mostly routine tasks' and 10 'mostly intellectual tasks'/'mostly creative tasks', the average on this scale for each subgroup	WVS
		Routine vs. creative		
Quality	Independence at work		On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is 'no independence at all' and 10 is 'complete independence', the average on this scale for each subgroup	WVS
Access	Female participation (ratio)		Male to female participation rate	KILM
Access	Youth unemployment (ratio)		Youth to adult unemployment rate	KILM
Access	Gender right to employment		Proportion of people in each subgroup who disagree with the following statement: '*When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women*'	WVS
Other	Demographic change		Fertility rate and median age of population of country	Copenhagen Consensus Center

Note: Shaded rows refer to indicators based on perception data.

4. Does everyone want the same?

We now present the results of the analysis of the votes in My World for the employment option as well as the subjective indicators of employment.

Starting with the overall My World voting in the five selected countries, [20] we observe a similar pattern to that obtained at the global level. The first three priorities are, in order, 'better health care', 'a good education' and 'an honest and responsive government'. 'Better job opportunities' follows closely, as the fourth priority. On the other hand, 'support for people who can't work' is only the 11th out of 16 priorities. On average, 48% of all votes[21] were for 'better job opportunities', whereas only 27% were for 'support for people who can't work'.

When disaggregating by category (age, gender and education level), some differences start to emerge (Table 3). A higher share of men voted for 'better job opportunities': 50.8% of men and 45.8% of women chose this option. Age disaggregation shows large differences: preference for the jobs option decreases with age, with 53% of young people voting for this option and only 40% of those aged 55 and above. Contrary to expectations, in our five countries, older people voted less proportionally than younger people for 'support for people who can't work'. Those with the lowest level of education, though, did place a considerably high emphasis on this option. People living in countries in the Asian sample tended to place more relevance on both the employment and the social protection options compared with their African counterparts.[22]

Table 3: My World employment, votes by category

	Category	Better job opportunities (%)	Support for people who can't work (%)
	All sample	*48.4*	*27.4*
Gender	Male	50.8	28.0
	Female	45.8	26.7
Age	Youth (15-34)	53.1	28.1
	35-54	49.2	26.5
	55+	40.4	27.7
Education	None or Incomplete primary	46.9	28.9
	Complete primary	46.9	28.5
	Complete secondary	49.1	27.9
	Beyond secondary	50.1	24.8
Region	Asian	54.2	33.2
	African	43.2	22.1

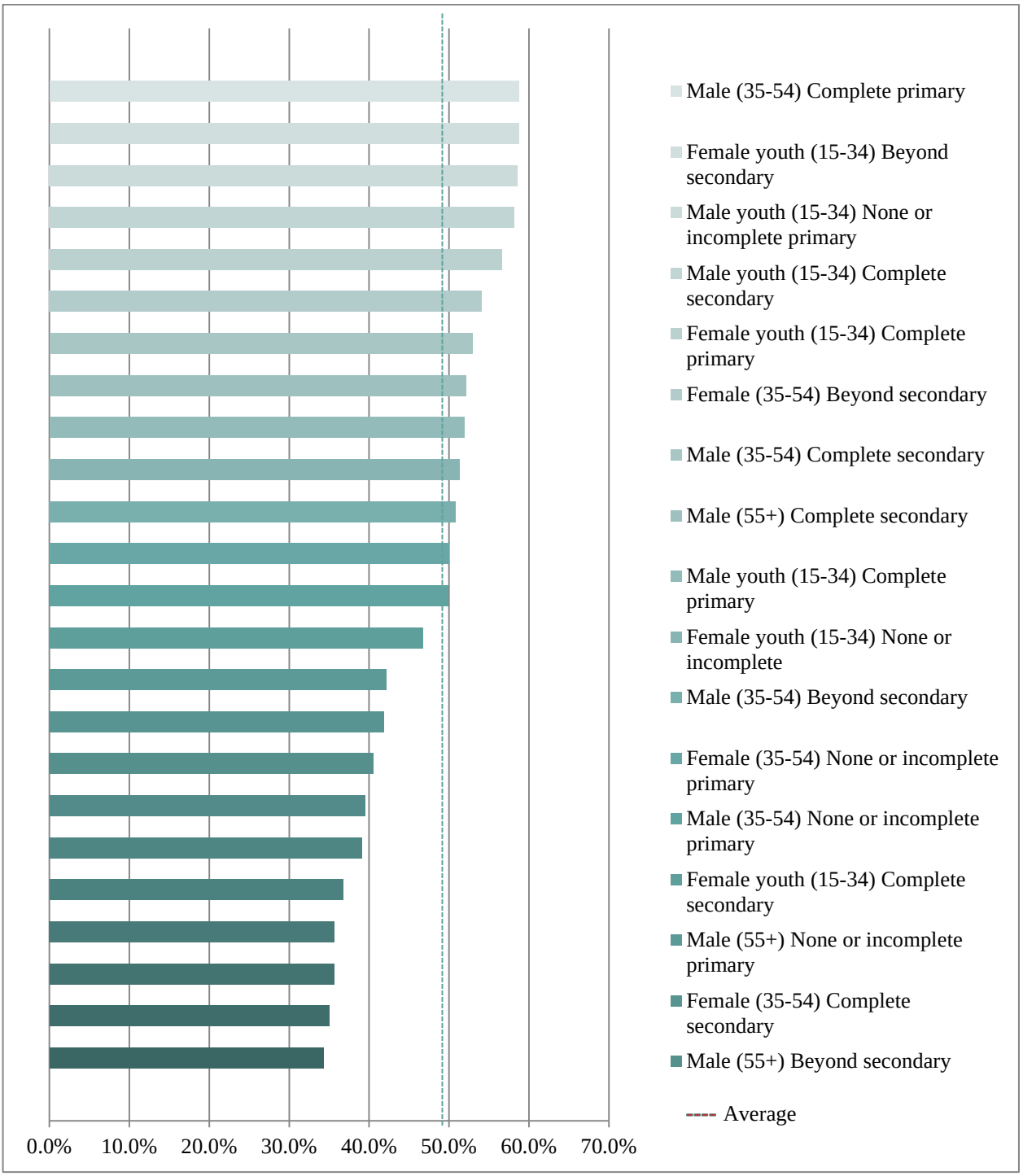
A second step consisted in forming subgroups out of the crossing of each category of age, gender and education level. A total of 24 subgroups were formed (Figure 2). Young men with the lowest education levels and middle-aged women with low education tend to prefer the social protection option more than the average, and vote less for the employment option. On the other hand, men and women with complete secondary or beyond placed a greater emphasis on 'better job opportunities' – except for men and women in the highest age group (above 55 years old), regardless of their education level. For these last subgroups (men and women above 55 years old), only those with no education and those with completed secondary placed a higher emphasis on the social protection option.

[20] Observations for the five countries are pooled together for this analysis. Survey weights are used for each country, but no weighting has been applied across countries.

[21] In principle, each voter can select six priorities, giving them six votes in total. However, in some surveys, more or fewer than six votes were cast. For this analysis, we kept only those observations for which each person selected at least five and at most seven issues.

[22] Note these results are not intended to be representative of Asian or African countries as a whole.

Figure 2: My World employment preferences by subgroup, share of people who vote for 'better job opportunities'



The results from My World are indicative of the employment needs of certain subgroups. But how does this compare with other perceptions people hold about their employment? We now present some overall analysis of the employment perception indicators from the WVS.

Across all five countries, people are mostly satisfied with their household economic situation. On a scale from one to 10, where 10 is completely satisfied, the average is 5.8, with little variation across categories of respondents. Similarly, the proportion of people who feel their family has gone without enough to eat or without any cash income is fairly low, at 25% and 39%, respectively. However, some

subgroups stand out with particularly high material needs: a higher share of both men and women, across all age categories, but with lower education levels (none or incomplete primary) say they have gone without enough to eat or without any cash income, ranging from 31% to 42% in the first case and from 51% to 59% in the second (Table A2 in the Appendix). Interestingly, men and women in the older age category and of the lower education level do not express a particularly high fear of losing a job, but do express financial hardship at the household level. This may suggest these people are more dependent on the employment and incomes of younger people in their household.

The proportion of people who fear losing their job or not finding one is relatively high, at 79%, for all five countries. This is even higher for young people: 84% of them expressed feeling this way (Table 4). Adults of 35-54 years old have an average value of 79%, whereas older adults (55+) express less fear about this possibility (71%), perhaps because a higher share of them have already retired or are close to retirement. However, 71% of older adults fearing being jobless is still a considerably high share. It is possible that, given that the five countries in this analysis have relatively low coverage of social protection in old age,[23] people need to work to support themselves even when they are older, thus joblessness remains an important shock.

Table 4: Employment, perceptions by category

Group	Fear of losing job (%)	Household financial situation (1 to 10)	Not enough to eat (%)	Not enough cash (%)
Total	78.6	5.86	24.8	39.7
Youth (15-34)	83.6	5.81	23.3	39.6
35-54	79.1	5.86	26.8	42.5
55+	71.4	5.93	24.2	36.0
None or Incomplete primary	77.7	5.36	35.3	54.9
Complete primary	80.5	5.59	27.2	44.0
Complete secondary	77.6	5.94	26.0	41.2
Beyond secondary	78.7	6.36	15.8	26.1
Male	79.2	5.74	25.4	41.2
Female	77.9	5.99	24.3	38.2

Quality of employment spans issues such as wages, working conditions and employment security. It can also be related to higher worker motivation. Information on the nature of the jobs people perform can be correlated with motivation at work. On a scale from one to 10, where 10 corresponds to jobs that are mostly intellectual or mostly creative, the average score across all groups is 4.8 and 4.7, respectively, which means that, on average, jobs performed are tilted slightly towards the manual and routine end of the scale. Young people and more educated people have higher scores. In terms of independence at work, the results are more mixed; again, more educated people have slightly higher scores (Table 5).

[23] According to the latest data from the World Development Indicators, social insurance coverage is at 27% in Ghana, 11% in India, 9.4% in Indonesia and 7.5% in the Philippines. No data were available for Nigeria.

Table 5: Motivation at work, perceptions by category

Group	Intellectual tasks (1 to10)	Creative tasks (1 to 10)	Independence at work (1 to10)
Total	4.8	4.7	6.7
Youth (15-34)	5.1	5.1	6.8
35-54	4.6	4.5	6.4
55+	4.7	4.7	6.8
None or Incomplete primary	3.6	4.5	6.6
Complete primary	4.3	4.2	6.4
Complete secondary	4.6	4.6	6.6
Beyond secondary	6.2	5.5	7.0
Male	4.7	4.9	6.6
Female	4.9	4.6	6.8

In terms of access, we analyse whether some subgroups express a particular concern over employment access (not necessarily of their own subgroup). Although many groups may have restricted access to employment opportunities (e.g. young people, people with disabilities, minority ethnic groups, among others), we have been able to analyse only the case related to gender differences. Overall, there seems to be a perception that male employment is more important than female employment. When asked about whether they thought men should have more right to a job than women, only 28% of people in the five countries disagreed (Table 6). Women tend to express more disagreement with the statement, across all ages and educational levels, although the share of women who disagree is still low, at 36%. Older people and those with more than secondary education are also more inclined to disagree. When looking at population subgroups (Table A2 in the Appendix), more educated and older women are the groups where disagreement is the largest: 44% of women over 55 years old with beyond secondary education disagree with the statement. A relatively large share of young women (close to 47%) with no or incomplete primary also disagree.

Table 6: Employment access, perceptions by category

Group	Men's right to employment (%)
Total	28.3
Youth (15-34)	28.8
35-54	26.3
55+	30.7
None or Incomplete primary	21.2
Complete primary	28.5
Complete secondary	26.6
Beyond secondary	35.2
Male	21.1
Female	36.0

The next section analyses whether the issues people express, if any, seem to be driving people to vote for 'better job opportunities' in My World, and whether some of them have greater or lesser importance in countries in where different objective conditions of employment prevail.

We use Spearman's rank correlations to analyse whether certain subjective responses are associated with a larger share of My World votes for 'better job opportunities'.[24] We first rank the groups according to the share of votes for the jobs priority in My World. The group of males (35-54) with complete primary is the group with the highest share of votes for this priority, and is thus assigned to the first percentile. The group of females (35-54) with complete secondary is the group with the lowest share of votes for the employment option, and is thus assigned to the last percentile. We follow a similar procedure for each indicator from the WVS. For example, according to the share of people who express fear of losing their job, the group of females (35-54) is assigned to the first percentile because

[24] We have previously outlined the methodological limitations of this approach.

it has the highest share of people expressing this feeling. The correlations can tell us the degree to which the percentiles in My World match the percentiles in the subjective responses in the WVS. Correlations values closer to one are indicative of a strong positive relationship; values closer to minus one indicate a strong negative relationship. Values around zero indicate a loose relationship. Only results that are statistically significant are discussed.[25] Results are presented in Tables A3 and A4 in the Appendix.

We divide the presentation of results into the three employment dimensions described before. Correlations are calculated for different groups of countries according to the criteria previously outlined in Table 2. In the quantity dimension, countries are classified according to their EPR and their WPR. In the quality dimension, they are categorised according to their VUL, and in the access dimension, they are categorised according to their YUN and their FPR. Additionally, countries are categorised by their stage in the demographic transition.

4.1 Quantity

First, in both high and low EPR countries, subgroups of people with higher fears of losing their job are more likely to vote for the employment option. In countries where levels of employment are low, as indicated by a low EPR, the correlation between the share of votes in My World and the share of people who express fear of losing their job is positive and significant (0.67). This correlation is weaker (0.44) in countries where the EPR is high. This indicates that demand for 'better job opportunities' is related to the quantity of jobs available in an economy, but that this is not the only driver. Quantity of jobs and job security intersect in shaping people's employment demands, and employment security is also high on the agenda, even in countries where the number of jobs seems sufficient.

Second, we see that, in countries with a lower EPR, the more people vote for 'better job opportunities', the more they vote for 'support for people who can't work'; the correlation is 0.91. This highlights the fact that, in countries with a low employment rate, more jobs and social protection are both perceived as necessary, and as complements to each other, to support those who cannot access the few employment opportunities available. The relationship is not significant in countries with a high EPR.

When comparing countries according to the prevalence of working poverty, we find very similar results, perhaps because the WPR is also telling in relation to the quantity of productive employment available in an economy. In countries with a low WPR, none of the variables analysed had a significant correlation with more votes for the My World jobs option. Where the WPR is high, there is a strong positive relationship between the subgroups with a higher fear of losing or not finding a job and the My World votes for employment (0.67). Interestingly, we find no significant correlation between more people expressing going without enough to eat or without a cash income and a higher share of votes for the 'better job opportunities' option. This suggests the demands are not for higher incomes or pure income protection, but for secure employment that protects people against the multiple risks of the labour market. This has been found elsewhere; for example, Tonin (2013) finds that households without access to insurance may refrain from engaging in activities with higher expected returns but that entail greater risks.

Finally, we also find that, in countries with a high WPR, the more people vote for employment, the more they vote for social protection. This does not hold true in countries with a lower WPR.

4.2 Quality

The share of vulnerable workers is relatively low in the Philippines – less than 40% of workers are in this category – but considerably high in India, where 80% of workers can be considered vulnerable.

[25] The statistical significance is the margin of error of the survey estimates. It depends on the sample size and sampling strategy of the survey. We use a confidence degree of 95%. For example, a value of 0.99 that is not statistically significant is not considered to be of relevance, because of its large margin of error. In contrast, a statistically significant value of 0.01 is considered relevant, although it indicates a very weak relationship.

We find that, in countries with a high share of vulnerable employment, groups with more satisfaction with their household finances tend to vote less for the jobs option; the correlation coefficient is -0.71. Subgroups of people who say they have gone without enough to eat or without a cash income tend to vote more for the employment option (correlations of 0.68 and 0.65, respectively). The correlation with 'fear of losing a job' is not statistically significant. Unlike in countries with issues related to the quantity of employment, countries where quality is an issue seem to demand jobs that provide a sufficient income to support individuals and their household.

A higher share of votes for social protection is positively correlated with more votes for employment, but these relationships are not significant in countries with a low VUL. Again, this suggests that, where employment vulnerability is high, both more jobs and employment protection against risks are seen as complementary.

In countries with a high VUL, subgroups of people performing more intellectual tasks and those with more independence at work tend to vote less for the My World employment option; the correlations are -0.46 and -0.64, respectively. This is interesting, because the objective and subjective indicators of employment quality capture different aspects, one focused on vulnerability and job insecurity and the other on work motivation. Instead of presenting a trade-off, both seem to matter to people in conjunction. Taking into account that the subjective indicators are highly correlated with more motivation at work, we can infer that demand for 'better job opportunities' is also related to jobs that are meaningful and interesting for people, especially in contexts of high vulnerable employment. Paradoxically, we also find that, in countries with a low VUL, higher shares of votes for the 'better job opportunities' option are associated with subgroups with more intellectual tasks at work.

4.3 Access

In all countries in the sample, the male participation rate in employment is higher than the female rate. A ratio of one indicates that men and women participate equally in employment, and the higher the ratio, the higher the gender gap. The difference is relatively low in Ghana (1.1) and extremely high in India (2.8). We find no statistically significant relationship between perceptions of the importance of men and women having access to employment opportunities and more or less votes in My World, regardless of whether the country is closer to or further from parity in terms of gender participation in employment. In countries with a low or medium gap on their FPR, there is a positive association (0.57 and 0.55, respectively) between more votes for the employment option in My World and fear of losing a job. This does not hold in countries with a high FPR.

Youth unemployment is higher than adult unemployment in all countries. The smallest difference is in Ghana (2.2), where youth unemployment is twice as high as that of adults. The highest is in Indonesia (6.4), where youth unemployment is six times the adult unemployment rate.

Considering countries with varying rates of youth unemployment, we find that, where youth unemployment is not particularly problematic (with respect to adult unemployment), there is a positive association between fear of losing a job and votes for employment in My World. Surprisingly, this does not hold in countries with higher relative youth unemployment. It is important to remember that the correlations capture the views of all subgroups at the same time. It is possible that, while young people are faring particularly badly in terms of employment access, and place a higher emphasis on 'better job opportunities', as seen above, other adults are less preoccupied with joblessness, and thus the correlations show no statistical significance in the aggregate. That said, in countries with a higher YUN, there is a positive correlation between more votes for the social protection option and more votes for the jobs option in My World.

4.4 Demographic transition

Finally, countries at different stages in the demographic transition may have different employment needs, in particular with respect to quantity and access to employment. In Ghana, Nigeria and the Philippines, populations are relatively young and fertility rates remain high. India and Indonesia still have relatively young populations, but a lower fertility rate. We see that, in countries with a younger

population and higher fertility – countries that could soon benefit from the demographic dividend but have more pressures on employment – subgroups that express a higher fear of not finding or of losing a job tend to have a higher vote share for the jobs option in My World; the correlation is 0.54. In countries that are more advanced in terms of the demographic transition, on the contrary, the correlation is not significant. This suggests those countries still not experiencing the transition may not as well prepared to profit for a possible demographic dividend because they are perceived as not generating enough employment opportunities.

In countries more advanced in the demographic transition, the more people vote for employment, the more they vote for social protection (correlation of 0.62), perhaps linked to the needs of social insurance as the average age of the population increases.

Table 7: Summary assessment of results, main employment demands

Employment condition (objective)	Indicator	Main demands (perceptions)
Low quantity of employment	Low EPR	More job opportunities, employment security and social protection
	High WP	More job opportunities, employment security and social protection
Low quality of employment	High VUL	Incomes, social protection and motivating jobs
Low access to employment opportunities (for women)	High gap in FPR	None found
Low access to employment opportunities (for the young)	High gap in YUN	Social protection
Less advanced in demographic transition (stronger need for more quantity and access of employment)	Fertility rate and median age of population	More job opportunities and employment security
More advanced in demographic transition (stronger need for social protection in old age)	Fertility rate and median age of population	Social protection

To summarise, across the world, people seem to be strongly demanding more and better jobs. However, this demand is not uniform across population subgroups or in different types of countries (Table 7). In particular, when looking at the evidence for our five developing countries, we find that younger people in particular tend to have stronger demand in terms of the quantity of jobs in the economy, but they are also those who are performing the most creative and intellectual tasks, and thus are expected to have higher motivation at work. Men and women with lower education levels also express more financial hardship, which derive from their working in low-paid, low-quality jobs.

Moreover, corroborating some of the ideas behind employment and growth diagnostics and country typologies, the demand for more and better jobs depends on the country context. For example, in countries with lower employment and higher working poverty rates, the demand for ‘better job opportunities’ is associated with the need for more jobs, but also better-paid and more secure employment. A similar case is found in countries with large young populations. In countries with low employment quality, incomes, social protection and motivating jobs top the employment needs.

It is interesting to highlight some of the results on demand for social protection. Although demand for social protection is much lower than that for jobs, when we start to disaggregate these results we find that, for some subgroups and in some countries, these demands are stronger. At the global level, it is older and wealthier people who place more emphasis on ‘support for people who can’t work’; however, in the five countries analysed here, these groups are not the only ones expressing this need. Rather, demand for social protection is higher for less educated groups (which serves as a proxy for lower incomes) in countries where there are fewer jobs, more vulnerable employment and high youth unemployment. This suggests that people in these countries see more jobs and social protection as complementary. This strengthens the rationale behind having such systems of protection and support to complement an inclusive employment strategy. Social assistance and insurance against unemployment seem to be the main demands in terms of social protection. We also find these

complementary needs in countries that are more advanced in terms of the demographic transition, but the case for social insurance for old age is perhaps the most prominent feature here.

Finally, we found that, in countries where the objective employment circumstances indicate access barriers for female or young people, there is no strong demand for more inclusion. Perhaps aggregate preferences are hiding some group disparities and specific demands. Where a lack of employment opportunities affects all groups, we find a high correlation with more demand for jobs. In contrast, in countries where the problems are concentrated in a few groups – for example where the young suffer from relatively higher unemployment compared with adults – the demand for more and better jobs is not correlated with financial hardship or fears of joblessness. In these countries, however, the need for social protection mechanisms to support the (young) people not accessing employment opportunities is also correlated with more demand for employment.

Similarly, gender differences in accessing more and better employment do not feature very high on the general agenda of people in these five countries. We found that only older and more educated women thought of this as a high priority, but these opinions seem to be lost again in the aggregate correlation with the demand for 'more and better jobs'. These findings indicate that a detailed subgroup analysis is relevant in terms of understanding demand for employment where intra-group disparities exist.

5. Conclusion and policy recommendations

First, this study confirms that ***employment is a primary concern*** for people around the world, and also in the five countries this study analyses in depth. Global evidence from My World places it as the fourth most voted-for priority to be incorporated into the next set of global development goals.

Although demand for social protection seems to be lower, people see more jobs and social protection as complementary needs, especially in countries that have challenges in terms of creating more jobs, employment vulnerability and access issues for young people.

Second, although it is now recognised that different countries have different needs, and recommendations about appropriate responses to different employment challenges can be made through growth and employment diagnostics and country typologies, ***it is still difficult in many developing countries to find appropriate information to use to generate and monitor employment policies***. Analysing the evidence from perception surveys, My World and the WVS, we find that people also express different employment needs, corresponding roughly with the (objective) employment challenges facing by their own country. Given the scarcity in some developing countries of frequently generated employment data to use to conduct detailed analysis of policy requirements, using perception data to monitor employment trends could be a useful way to make labour market information systems more responsive and useful for policy analysis. As in the case of purely objective indicators, an isolated analysis will not suffice; looking at how employment perceptions vary across groups and countries is an important step in understanding employment challenges.

Third, a number of results reported in this paper are useful for governments thinking about their approach to employment policy. In particular, concentrating on creating more jobs does not seem sufficient to address the employment challenge, as people perceive it. ***The quantity dimension of employment seems to be related strongly to the need for more secure employment***. A comprehensive approach to security would not be limited to job security (protection of a particular job), but cover the broader aspect of labour market security, which encompasses employment security, labour market policies and social rights (Cazes and Verick, 2010). Employment protection legislation should serve to give more employment and income security to *workers*, both in their current jobs and in the case of redundancy (Cazes, 2013). However, because of low enforcement and the high levels of informality in developing countries, more inclusive and effective active and passive labour market policies, including systems of social protection, are the more relevant policies to increase security

(Cazes and Verick, 2010). This need to integrate social protection in an inclusive employment strategy is echoed in people's demands in the five countries under review here.

For employment to contribute to the elimination of poverty, ***it is imperative to hear people's concerns about* better *jobs***, particularly with respect to secure employment and social protection. Policy strategies should certainly aim for both *more* and *better* jobs, to ensure the employment link between economic growth and poverty reduction (see Islam, 2004; Khan, 2007; Osmani, 2003). Certainly, expansion of the economy's production potential is a precondition for this link, but not all growth is employment-enhancing, and not all newly created jobs are of high enough quality to satisfy the needs of large numbers of people participating in the labour market.

Finally, ***the pro-poorness of the growth process depends ultimately on the degree to which the poor can benefit from newly created employment opportunities***. Specifically marginalised groups need to be able to integrate fully into an expanding economy. We have also shown how priorities and needs have great variability across population subgroups. Where there is less variability in people's conditions, these priorities go in line with the objective situation of the country. However, aggregate results can conceal some intra-group disparities and hide the voices of groups with specific needs and demands, particularly the young and women. Incorporating these views should be an essential priority in employment policies. A useful first step in this regard would be to ensure the data used to design and track policies reveal the multiplicity of views and needs of different people within countries.

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ISSN: 2052-7209

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