The distribution of employment across work logics and hierarchical levels

We begin our discussion of the empirical results with a closer look at the four work logics. Figure 7.1 shows the distribution of individuals across the horizontal division lines to which we give heavy emphasis in the construction of our class schema. Although the four countries in our sample do not present fundamentally diverse employment structures, substantial differences emerge. The markedly industrial bias of the German economy is reflected in a predominant share of individuals evolving in a technical work logic: more than a third of Germany’s workforce are technical experts, technicians, crafts workers and operatives. This contrasts with data for Britain where only a quarter of the labour force is employed in these classes. Britain’s employment, however, clusters more heavily in the organizational work logic than the three other countries: 20 per cent of the British labour

Figure 7.1  Distribution of total employment across the four work logics (in %)
force work in managerial or associate managerial occupations and 15 per cent in clerical office jobs. In the case of Sweden, Figure 7.1 clearly reflects the importance of the country’s welfare state. A third of Sweden’s employment is set in the interpersonal service logic. The large proportion of individuals in social services is compensated by Sweden’s low share within the organizational work logic. The finding that Sweden is comparatively ‘undermanaged’ is not new and has, among others, been accounted for by the country’s large public sector (Ahrne and Wright, 1983: 223).

Switzerland’s employment structure stands out insofar as the independent work logic is clearly of greater importance than in Britain and Germany (but not than in Sweden). During the unusually long economic stagnation of the 1990s, self-employment grew in Switzerland by more than 20 per cent. This was the result of both companies’ practice to outsource auxiliary tasks and the government’s decision to promote self-employment as a way out of unemployment (Falter, 2002). In contrast, Germany’s substantially lower share of self-employed is linked to the corporatist organization of its labour market. The use of formal educational criteria – mostly from vocational training – extends in Germany to large parts of self-employment. In many crafts, the setting up, registration, and practice of a business on one’s own depends on having acquired the relevant crafts qualification or diploma (Müller et al., 1998: 149).

The division of employment into different work logics must be completed with information about hierarchical setting. For that reason, we show in Figure 7.2 the distribution of wage-earners across the four levels of marketable skills. Differences between the four countries are not enormous but remain noteworthy. On the highest hierarchical level, Switzer-

![Figure 7.2](image)

* The four levels do not add up to 100 per cent as employers and the self-employed (for whom subdivision into hierarchical levels is more ambiguous) are not included in the figure.