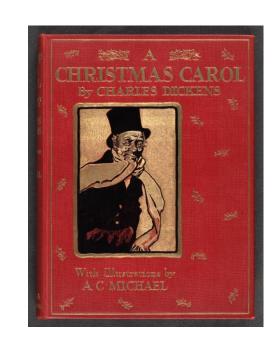
# Productivity Growth: Past, Present and Yet to Come

Nick Bloom (Stanford) and Gregory Thwaites (Nottingham)

Joint OGWG-ECFIN-JRC Conference

29-30 September 2021



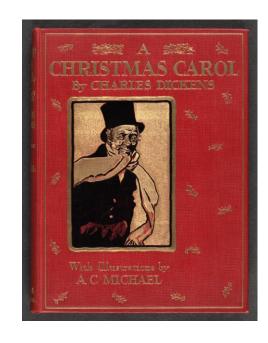




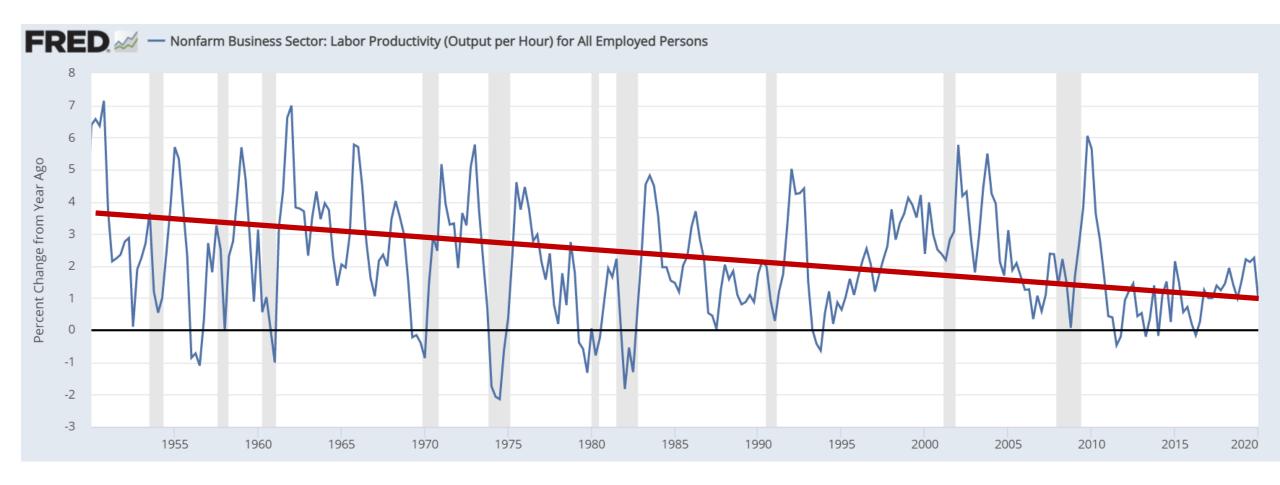
### **Productivity Past**

Productivity Present: Covid-19

Productivity Yet to Come

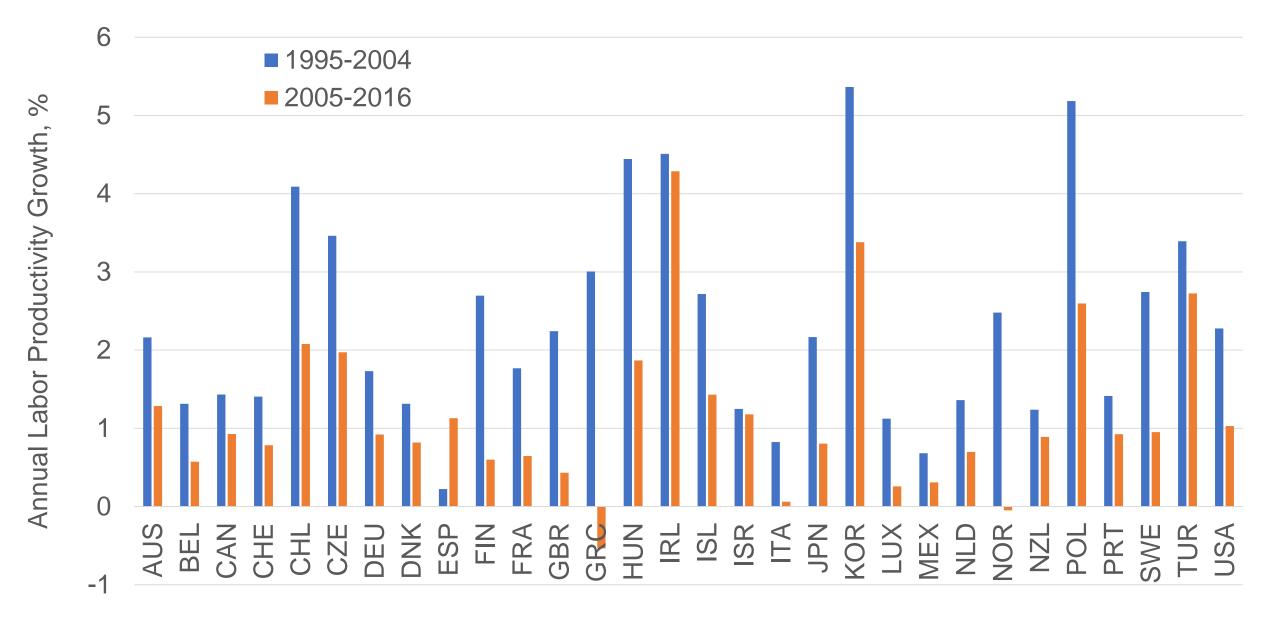


#### **Growth - US Productivity Growth Has Been Slowing Since the 1960s**



Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics <a href="https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/OPHNFB#0">https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/OPHNFB#0</a>

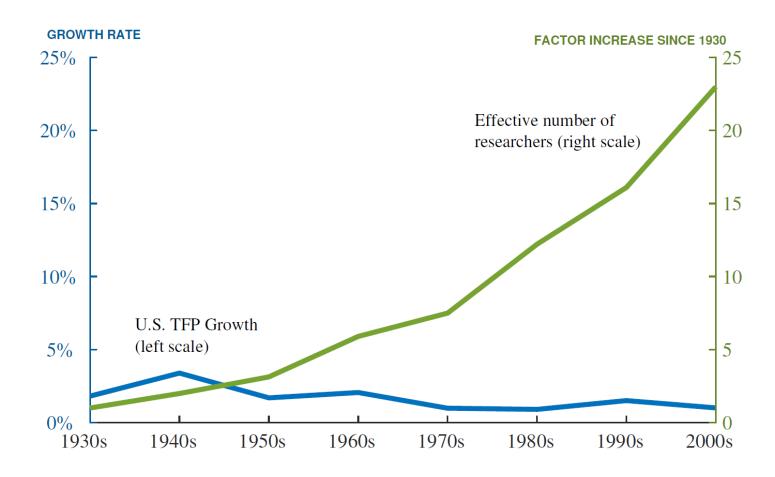
### **Growth - Productivity growth has been slowing in most countries**



Source: Chad Syversson, "The mismeasurement hypothesis and productivity growth" (2018)

#### Our paper argues this is because "Ideas are getting harder to find"

#### **Aggregate Evidence**



American Economic Review 2020, 110(4): 1104-1144 https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20180338

#### Are Ideas Getting Harder to Find?†

By Nicholas Bloom, Charles I. Jones, John Van Reenen, and Michael Webb\*

Long-run growth in many models is the product of two terms: the effective number of researchers and their research productivity. We present evidence from various industries, products, and firms showing that research effort is rising substantially while research productivity is declining sharply. A good example is Moore's Law. The number of researchers required today to achieve the famous doubling of computer chip density is more than 18 times larger than the number required in the early 1970s. More generally, everywhere we look we find that ideas, and the exponential growth they imply, are getting harder to find. (JEL D24, E23, O31, O47)

This paper applies the growth accounting of Solow (1957) to the production function for new ideas. The basic insight can be explained with a simple equation, highlighting a stylized view of economic growth that emerges from idea-based growth models:

Economic growth = Research productivity  $\times$  Number of researchers.

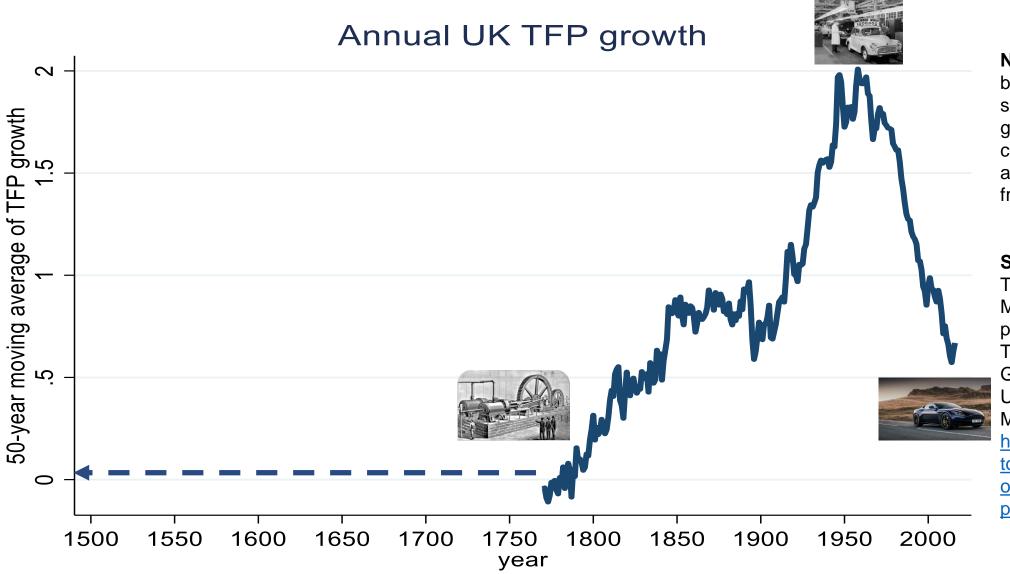
Economic growth arises from people creating ideas. As a matter of accounting, we can decompose the long-run growth rate into the product of two terms: the effective number of researchers and their research productivity. We present a wide range of empirical evidence showing that in many contexts and at various levels of disaggregation, research effort is rising substantially, while research productivity is

"Bloom: Department of Economics, Stanford University, and NBER (email: nbloom@stanford.edu); Jones: Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, and NBER (email: chad.jones@stanford.edu); Van Reenen: Department of Economics, MIT, LSE, and NBER (email: normeene@mit.edu). Webb Department of Economics, Stanford University (email: nww.@stanford.edu). Emi Nakamura was the coeditor for this article. We are grateful to three anonymous referees for detailed comments. We also thank Daron Acemogle, Philippe Aghion, Ufuk Akcigit, Mitchele Boldrin, Ben Jones, Pete Klenow, Sam Kortum, Peter Kruse-Andersen, Rachel Ngai, Petero Peretto, John Seater, Chris Tonetti, and seminar participants at Bocconi, the CEPR Macroeconomics and Growth Conference, CREI, George Mason, Harvard, LSE, MIT, Minneapolis Fed, NBER growth meeting, the NBER Macro across Time and Space conference, the Rimini Conference on Economics and Finance, and Stanford for helpful comments. We are grateful to Antoine Dechezlepretre, Reith Fuglie, Dietmar Harhoff, Wallace Huffman, Brian Lucking, Unni Pillai, and Greg Tracker for extensive assistance with data. The Alfred Sloan Foundation, SRF, ERC, and ESRC have provided financial support. Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the US Census Bureau. All results have been reviewed to ensure that no confidential information is disclosed. Data and replication files can be found at http://doi.org/10.3886/El11743V1.

<sup>†</sup>Go to https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20180338 to visit the article page for additional materials and author disclosure statements.

1104

# Productivity growth was very low (almost zero) pre-industrial revolution, increased until about 1950, and then started declining



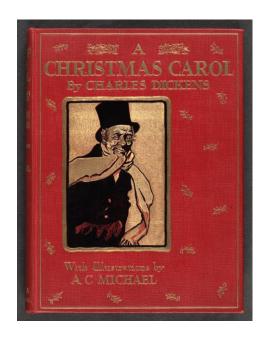
**Notes:** UK data used because of the long time series. Annual productivity growth smoothed with a centered 50 year moving average. Underlying data from 1761 onwards.

Source: Bank of England Three Centuries Macroeconomic Data project via Fred, series TFPGUKA. Very long-run GDP per capita growth in UK 0.1% of from Maddison **Project** https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/his toricaldevelopment/maddis on/releases/maddisonproject-database-2020

### **Productivity Past**

### **Productivity Present: Covid-19**

Productivity Yet to Come



#### **COVID** productivity paper and more on the DMP website

#### The Impact of Covid-19 on Productivity

26 August 2021

Nicholas Bloom, Philip Bunn, Paul Mizen, Pawel Smietanka, Gregory Thwaites

Abstract: Productivity is a key determinant of the sustainability of the public finances. While the initial impact of Covid-19 on labor productivity growth shows a surprisingly positive impact, the impact on total factor productivity (TFP) is less clear. We evaluate this with new survey data on labor and capital inputs, outputs and prices from a UK firm panel survey. We find that Covid-19 reduced private sector TFP by up to 4% during the pandemic, with a projected 1% reduction over the medium term. These numbers comprise a large reduction in 'within-firm' productivity as intermediate costs increased due to measures like protective equipment, screens, hand sanitizer and lower capacity utilization. This was partly offset. however, by a positive 'between-firm' effects as less productive sectors, and less productive firms within them, contracted. This highlights how the Covid-19 shock has had large, but offsetting, within and between firm impacts on aggregate TFP.

> Deutsche Bundesbank Research Centre

Germany

Wilhelm-Epstein-Straße 14

Pawel.Smietanka@bundesbank.de

60431 Frankfurt am Main

Nicholas Bloom Stanford University Department of Economics 579 Serra Mall Stanford, CA 94305-6072

and NBER United States

NBloom@stanford.edu

Paul Mizen School of Economics University of Nottingham Nottingham NG7 2RD United Kingdom

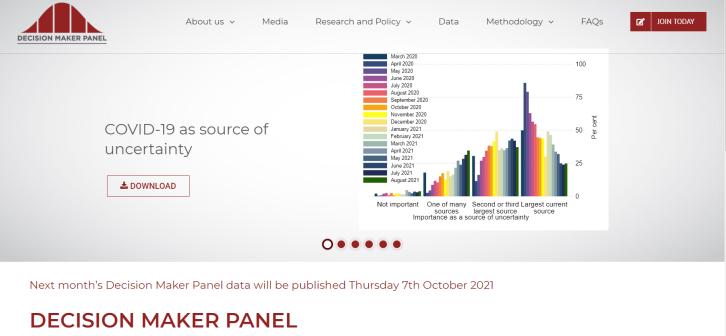
Paul.Mizen@nottingham.ac.uk

Gregory Thwaites School of Economics University of Nottingham Nottingham NG7 2RD United Kingdom Gregory. Thwaites@nottingham.ac.uk

JEL No. L2, M2, O32, O33

The authors would like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council, Nottingham and Stanford universities for financial support. We would like to thank Jonathan Haskell, Richard Heys, Stuart Newman, John Van Reenen, three anonymous referees and seminar participants at Dartmouth, Edinburgh, ESCoE, the Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis, KLEMS, Stanford and the Nottingham Macro Working Group for comments. Corresponding Author: philip.bunn@bankofengland.co.uk. The views do not necessarily represent those of the Bank of England, the Deutsche Bundesbank, or their Committees.





# Going to use data from the Bank-Nottingham-Stanford team started the Decision Maker Panel (DMP)

- Aim was to understand impact of Brexit and then COVID
- Monthly 5-10 minute online survey
- Surveys around 3000 firms monthly, covering about 10% UK employment









# Decision Maker Panel



In the first quarter of 2021 (January to March), what was the approximate sterling value of your SALES REVENUE (in £ THOUSANDS)?

#### Notes:

- (a) Please reply to two significant figures (e.g. 15 thousand, 150 thousand, 1500 thousand)
- (b) For businesses that finance themselves mainly from grants or donations, rather than sales, please provide figures from those sources instead.
- (c) Please include sales of UK-based businesses only and not from any overseas part of the group.

# Decision Maker Panel



Looking back over the year from the first quarter of 2021, by what % amount has your SALES REVENUE changed since the same quarter a year ago (January to March 2020)?

5 9

## **Decision Maker Panel**



Looking a year ahead from the first quarter of 2021 to the first quarter of 2022, by what % amount do you expect your SALES REVENUE to have <u>changed</u> in each of the following scenarios?

#### Notes:

- (a) Please include sales of UK-based businesses only and not from any overseas part of the group.
- (b) Sales growth scenarios should be ordered from the lowest to the highest.

| The LOWEST % change in sales revenue would be about:  | -5 | % |
|---|----|---|
| A LOW % change in sales revenue would be about:       | 0  | % |
| A MIDDLE % change in sales revenue would be about:    | 5  | % |
| A HIGH % change in sales revenue would be about:      | 10 | % |
| The HIGHEST % change in sales revenue would be about: | 15 | % |

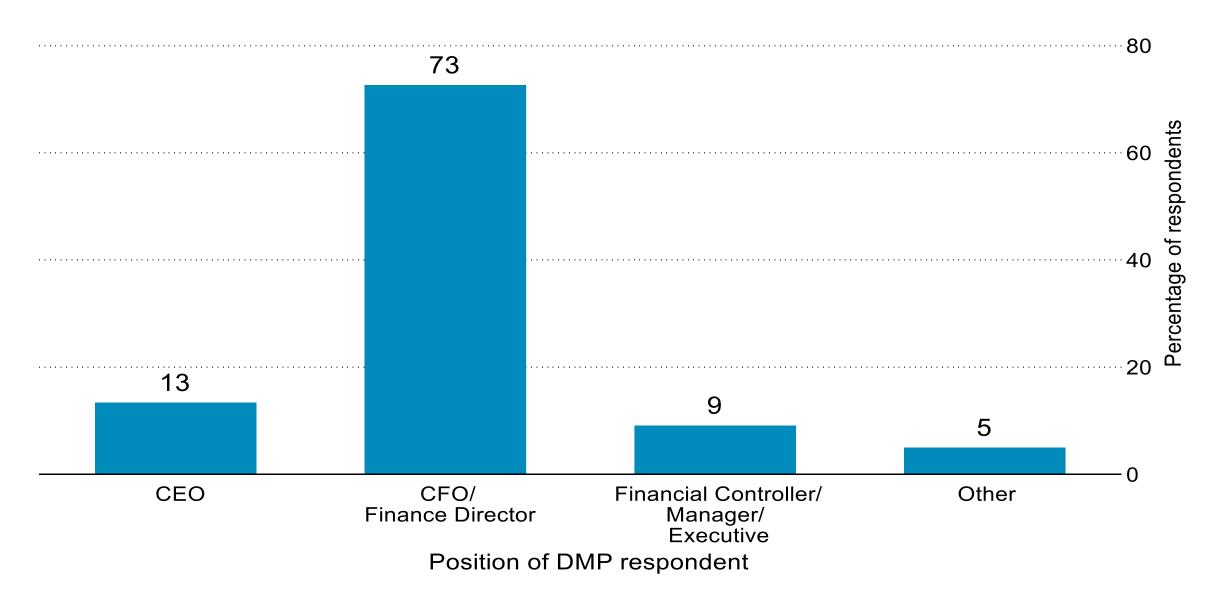
## **Decision Maker Panel**



Please assign a percentage likelihood (probability) to the % changes in SALES REVENUE you entered (values should sum to 100%)

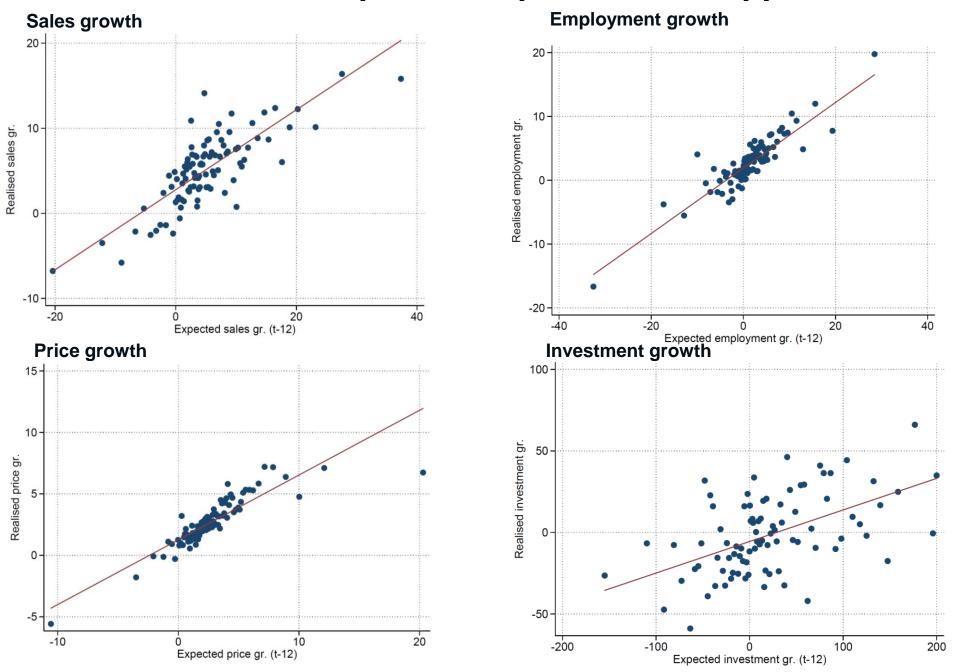
| LOWEST: The likelihood of realising about -5% would be:  | 10 %  |
|--|-------|
| LOW: The likelihood of realising about 0% would be:      | 20 %  |
| MIDDLE: The likelihood of realising about 5% would be:   | 40 %  |
| HIGH: The likelihood of realising about 10% would be:    | 20 %  |
| HIGHEST: The likelihood of realising about 15% would be: | 10 %  |
| Total  | 100 % |

#### 86% respondents CEOs or CFOs (median firm has 60 employees)



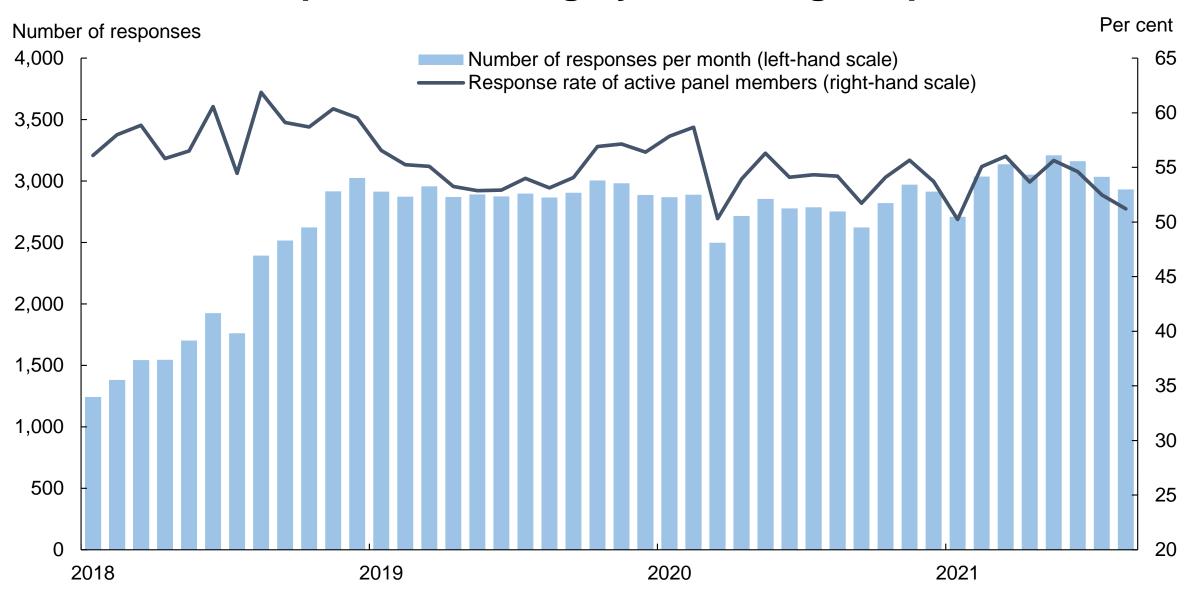
Source: Results are based on the question: 'Could you tell us the position of the person in your business that typically completes the Decision Maker Panel Survey?' and respondents were asked to choose from the following options: 'CFO', 'CEO', 'Other (please state): ...'.

#### Forecasts that DMP respondents provide also appear accurate



Y-axes show realised growth in sales, employment, prices, and investment. X-axes show expectations for year-ahead growth rates calculated from the 5-bin outcomes and probabilities. made between Forecasts September 2016 and June 2018. Binscatter plots which split responses into 100 groups

#### **COVID: DMP response rate roughly flat during the pandemic**



Notes: The response rate of active panel members is calculated as the percentage of panel members who had completed at least one survey over the twelve months who responded to the survey in a given month.

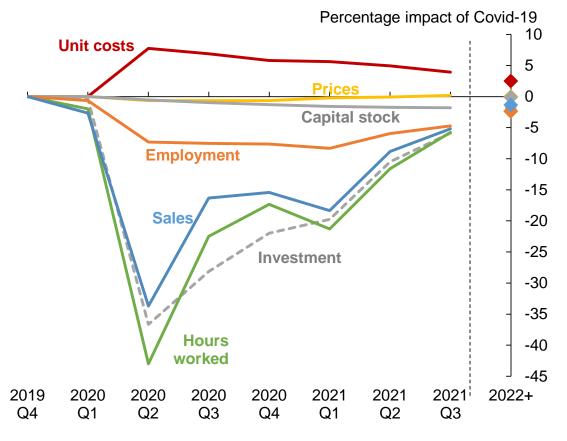
#### Standard productivity growth decomposition (e.g. Baily et al. 1992)

$$\Delta\Pi_t = \sum_{\mathbf{i} \in \mathrm{Surv}} \bar{\varphi}_i \Delta\pi_{\mathbf{i},\mathbf{t}} \qquad \qquad \dots \text{ within firms}$$
 
$$+ \sum_{i \in \mathrm{Surv}} \Delta\varphi_{i,t}(\overline{\pi_t} - \overline{\Pi}) \qquad \qquad \dots \text{ reallocation between surviving firms}$$
 
$$+ \sum_{i \in \Delta Entry} \varphi_{i,t}(\overline{\pi_t} - \overline{\Pi}) \qquad \qquad \dots \text{ reallocation to new firms}$$
 
$$- \sum_{i \in \Delta Exit} \Delta\varphi_{i,t-1}(\pi_{i,t-1} - \overline{\Pi}) \qquad \qquad \dots \text{ reallocation from exiting firms}$$

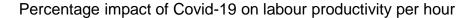
Where  $\pi_{i,t}$  is GVA per head in firm i at time t,  $\Pi_t$  is aggregate GVA per head at time t,  $\varphi_{i,t}$  is the employment share of firm I at time t and a bar over a variable indicates the average of the variables across times t-1 and t.  $\Delta$  is with respect to Covid, not time. So  $\Delta$ Entry and  $\Delta$ Exit denote the firms that, as a result of Covid, enter the set of entering and exiting firms.

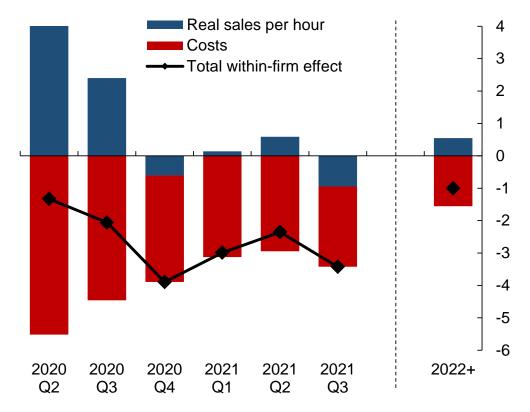
#### Within firms costs have gone up – the main negative impact

#### Panel A: Impact of Covid-19 on businesses



# Panel B: Contributions to impact of Covid-19 on within-firm labour productivity per hour

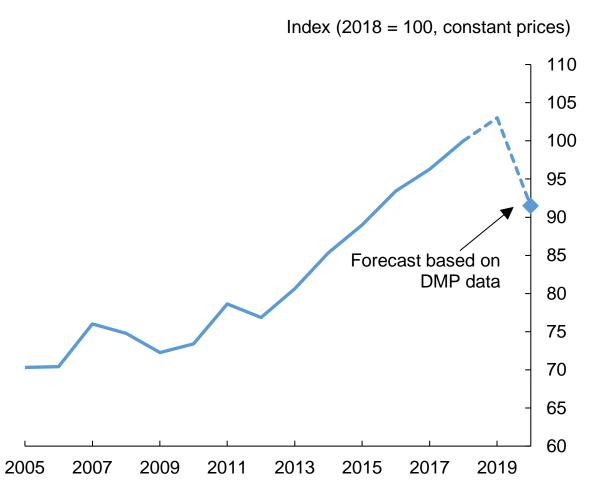




Notes: The results are based on the questions: 'Relative to what would otherwise have happened, what is your best estimate for the impact of the spread of Covid-19 on the sales/employment/average hours worked per active employee/capital expenditure of your business in each of the following periods?'; 'Relative to what would otherwise have happened, what is your best estimate for the impact of measures to contain coronavirus (social distancing, hand washing, masks and other measures) on the average unit costs of your business in each of the following periods?'; and 'Approximately what percentage of your employees fall into the following categories in each of the following periods? (i) Still employed but not required to work any hours (eg 'on furlough'), (ii) Unable to work (eg due to sickness, self-isolation, childcare etc.), (iii) Continuing to work on business premises, (iv) Continuing to work from home'. Data are the most recent observation per firm for each period collected between July 2020 and June 2021. Data on the impact of Covid-19 in 2020 Q1 have not been collected in the DMP. Data shown for Q1 are absolute changes in aggregate ONS data for private sector output, business investment, private sector employment and hours worked between 2019 Q4 and 2020 Q1. The impact on unit costs is assumed to be zero in Q1. Effects on the capital stock are estimated using by cumulating the investment impacts. The effects on the price level are estimated using data from DMP questions on actual price inflation and expected year-ahead price inflation: the impact of Covid-19 is estimated as the difference relative to 2019 at the 1-digit industry level. See notes to Figure 1 for details on how the impact of Covid-19 on within-firm productivity is calculated.

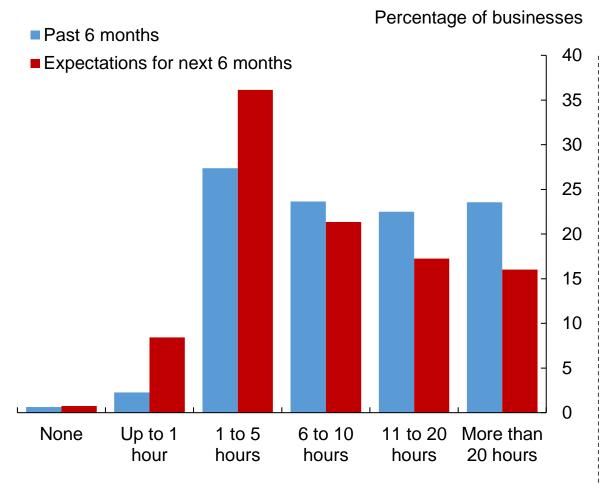
#### Covid may also damage long-run productivity growth?

#### Panel A: Aggregate R&D investment



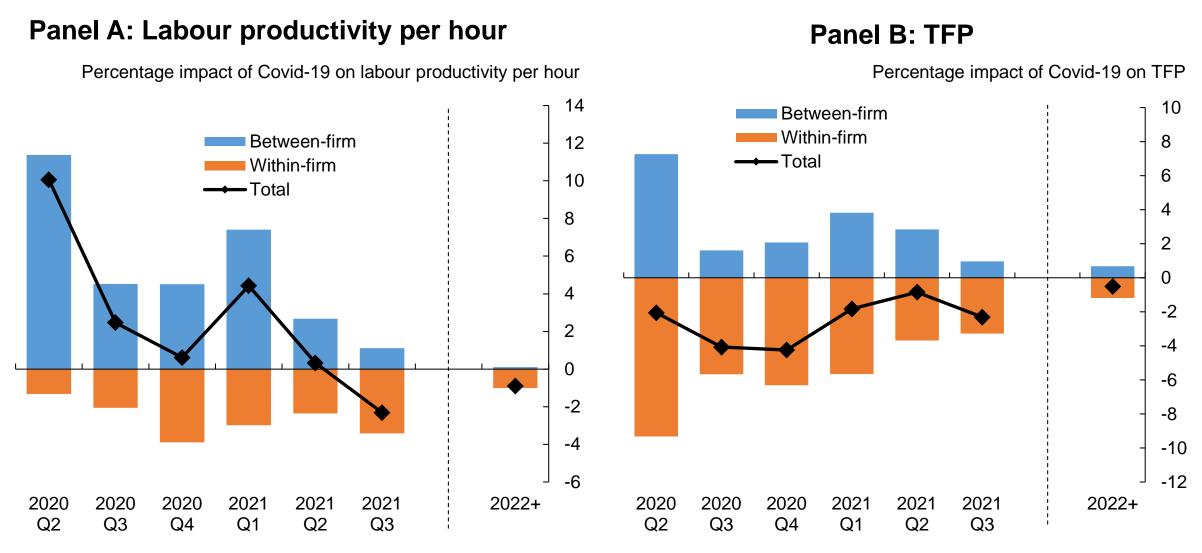
**Notes**: The solid line is real business sector R&D expenditure from the UK National Accounts. For 2019, for which we do not have data, we extrapolate an average growth between 2005 and 2018. For 2020, we extrapolate again and then adjust according to the response to the following DMP question: 'Relative to what would otherwise have happened, what is your best estimate for the impact of the spread of coronavirus (Covid-19) on spending on research and development of your business in 2020?'. DMP data were collected between August and October 2020.

## Panel B: Average hours per week spent by CEOs managing effects of Covid-19



**Notes**: Based on the question 'Approximately how many hours a week has the CEO of your business spent managing the effects of Covid-19 on your business over the past six months? And how many hours a week do you expect them to spend on this over the next six months?'. Data were collected between November 2020 and January 2021.

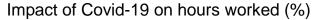
#### Use Survey & Accounting Data to Estimate to impact of Covid-19 on productivity

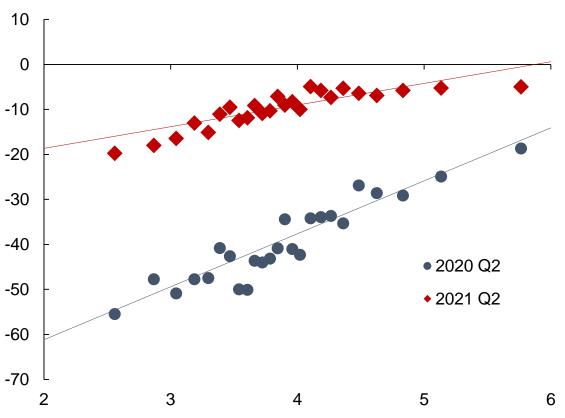


**Notes**: Impacts on productivity are estimated as  $\Delta\Pi_t = \sum_{i \in Surv} \bar{\varphi}_i \Delta\pi_{i,t} + \sum_{i \in Surv} \Delta\varphi_{i,t} (\overline{\pi_t} - \overline{\Pi})$  where  $\pi_{i,t}$  is productivity in firm i at time t,  $\Pi_t$  is productivity at time t,  $\Psi_{i,t}$  is the labour input share of firm i at time t and a bar over a variable indicates the average of the variables across times t-1 and t. Changes between t and t-1 are changes due to Covid-19 only. The first term represents the within-firm effects. The second term represents between-firm effects. The impact of Covid-19 on labour productivity for each firm is calculated as  $\frac{dLP}{LP} = \frac{dY}{Y} - \frac{dP}{P} - \frac{dL}{L} - \frac{dM}{M}$  where  $\frac{dM}{M} = \frac{M}{Y-M} \frac{dM^U}{M^U}$ . The impact of Covid-19 on TFP for each firm is calculated as  $\frac{dTFP}{TFP} = \frac{dY}{Y} - \frac{dP}{P} - \frac{dL}{L} - \alpha \frac{dK}{K} - \frac{dM}{M}$ . LP is labour productivity, TFP is total factor productivity, Y is nominal sales, P is the price level, L is labour input, M are non-labour intermediate costs, M<sup>U</sup> are intermediate unit costs and K is capital input.

#### Figure 4: Impact of Covid-19 on between-firm productivity

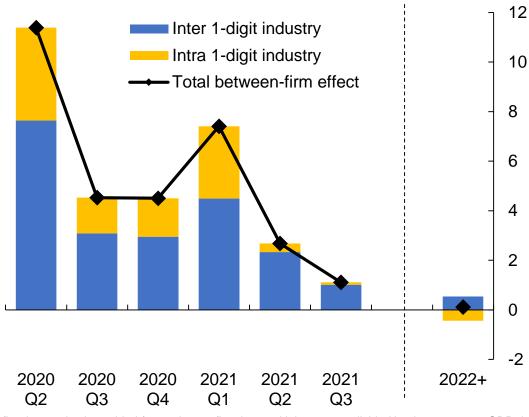
## Panel A: Impact of Covid-19 on hours worked and labour productivity





# Panel B: Contributions to impact of Covid-19 on between-firm labour productivity per hour

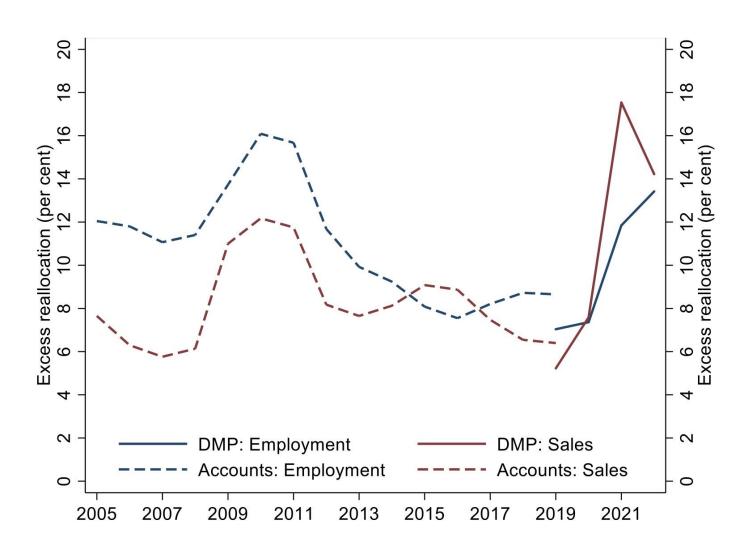
Percentage impact of Covid-19 on labour productivity per hour



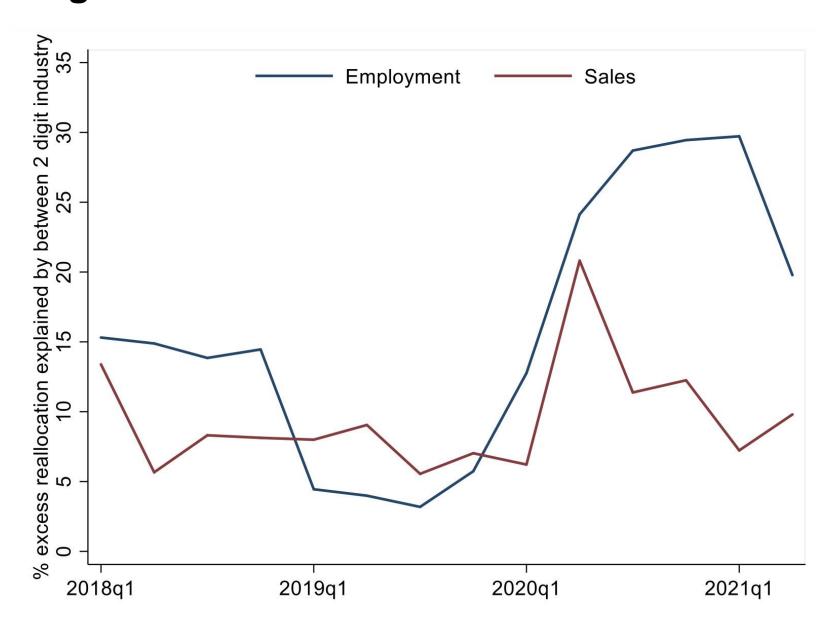
Log labour productivity from accounts (2017-19 average)

Notes: See notes to Figure 2 for details on how impact of Covid-19 on hours worked is calculated. Labour productivity is defined as real value-added (operating profits plus total labour costs divided by the aggregate GDP deflator) per employee using accounting data from Bureau van Dijk. Between-firm impacts are estimated as  $\sum_{i \in Surv} \Delta \varphi_{i,t}(\overline{\pi_t} - \overline{\Pi}) = \sum_{j \in Sectors} \sum_{i \in Surv} D_i^j \overline{\rho_j} \Delta \overline{\theta}_{i,t}(\overline{\pi_i} - \overline{\pi_j}) + \sum_{j \in Sectors} \Delta \rho_{j,t}(\overline{\pi_i} - \overline{\Pi})$  where  $\pi_{i,t}$  is productivity in firm i at time t,  $\pi_{i,t}$  is the labour input share of firm i at time t,  $\pi_{i,t}$  is the share of firm i's labour input in it sector at time t,  $\pi_{i,t}$  is productivity of firms in sector j at time t,  $\pi_{i,t}$  is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 when firm i is located in sector j, and a bar over a variable indicates the average of the variables across times t-1 and t. Changes between t and t-1 are changes due to Covid-19 only. The first term on the right hand side represents reallocation effects between industries – inter industry effects.

# Large rise in excess employment and sales reallocation following COVID



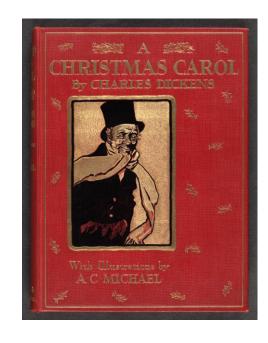
#### Large rise in fraction of reallocation between industries



**Productivity Past** 

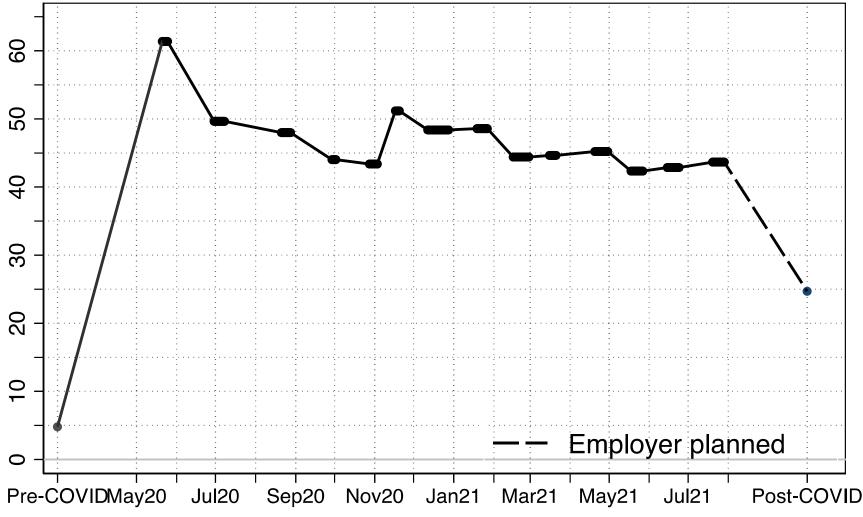
Productivity Present: Covid-19

**Productivity Yet to Come** 



#### Days WFH go from 5% (pre-COVID) to 50% (now) to ≈25% (post-COVID)

#### Percentage of paid full days worked from home



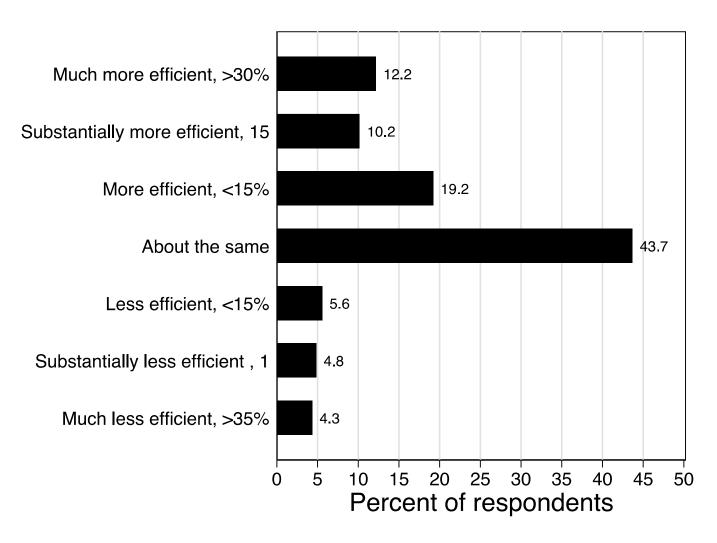
**Notes:** Data are from the survey waves carried out by QuestionPro and IncQuery with 2,500 to 5000 responses per month. We re-weight raw responses to match the share of working age respondents in the 2010-2019 CPS in each {industry x state x earnings} cell.

**Source**: "Why working from home will stick", Jose Barrero, Nick Bloom and Steve Davis (2021, NBER WP)

<sup>\*</sup>Pre-COVID estimate taken from the 2017-2018 American Time Use Survey

<sup>\*\*</sup>Post-COVID estimate based on the latest survey wave

#### **Growth - WFH could potentially raise productivity by 3%-5%**

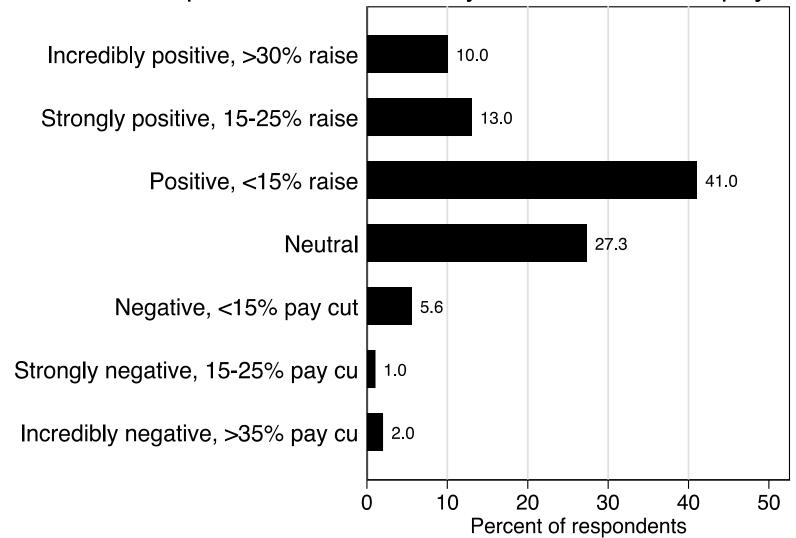


How does your efficiency working from home *during the COVID-19 pandemic* compare to your efficiency working on business premises *before the pandemic?* 

**Notes:** From August to October 2020, we surveyed 7,500 Americans aged 20-64 with labor earnings > \$20,000 in 2019. We re-weight raw responses to match the industry-state-earnings shares of working-age persons in the CPS from 2010 to 2019. The right chart also uses responses to questions about employment status (selection), pay levels (for earnings weights) and, for the blue bar, how much their employer plans for them to work from home after the pandemic ends. **Source:** "Working from Home Will Stick" by Jose Maria Barrero, Nick Bloom and Steven J. Davis, October 2020.

#### **Inequality - Working from Home is a Valuable Perk**

Value of the option to WFH 2 - 3 days/wk, % of current pay?



Response to a two-part question.

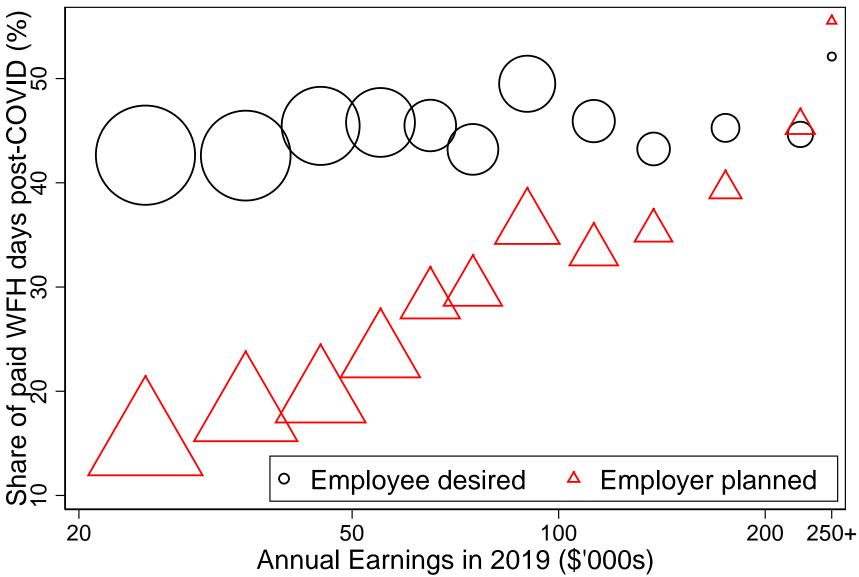
Part 1: "After COVID, in 2022 and later, how would you feel about working from home 2 or 3 days a week?"

- Positive: I would view it as a benefit or extra pay
- Neutral
- Negative: I would view it as a cost or a pay cut

Part 2: "How much of a **pay raise [cut]** (as a percent of your current pay) would you value as much as the option to work from home 2 or 3 days a week?"

**Source:** "Working from Home Will Stick" by Jose Maria Barrero, Nick Bloom and Steven J. Davis, October 2021.

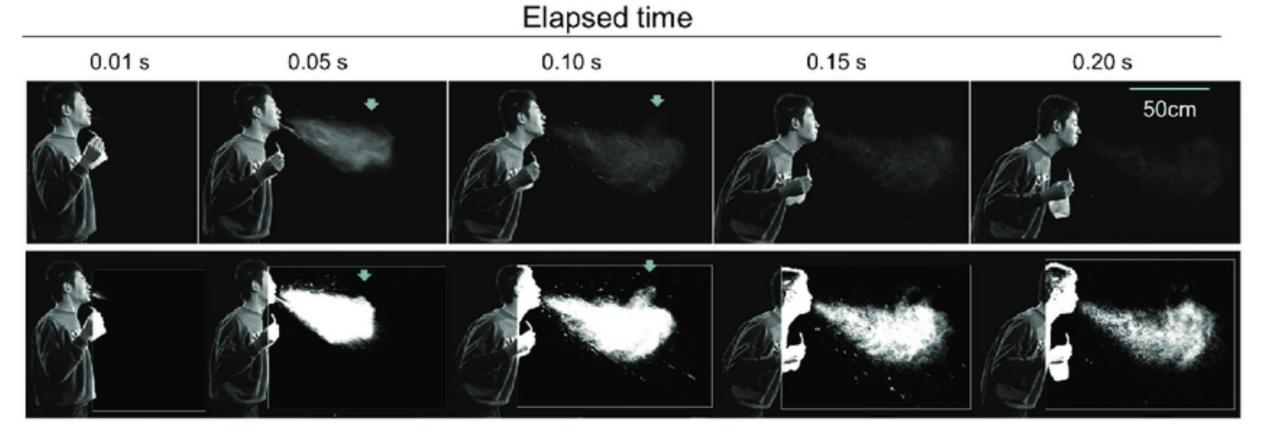
#### **Inequality** – Mostly Higher Paid Employees Get to WFH



Note: Marker size is proportional to the number of respondents per income level.

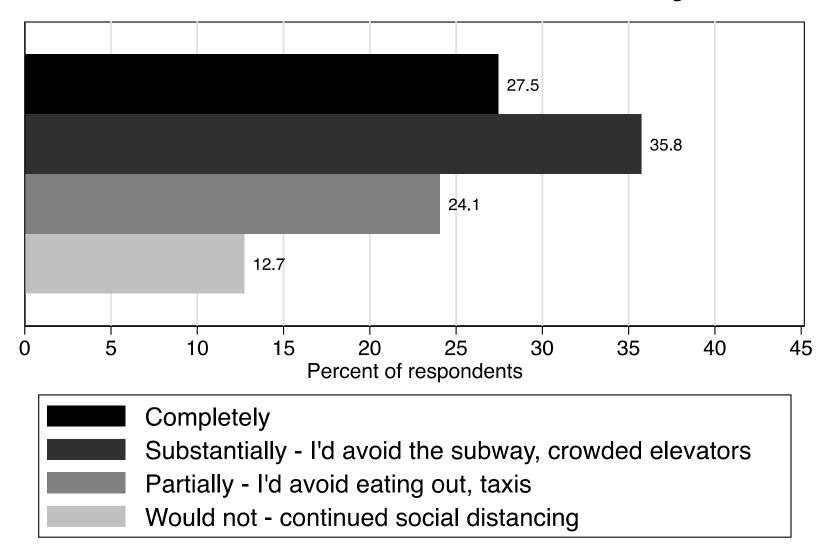
Notes: Data are from four survey waves carried out QuestionPro and IncQuery in May, July, August, and September/October 2020 with 2,500 responses in the first two and the last, plus 5,000 in August. We re-weight raw responses to match the share of working age respondents in the 2010-2019 CPS in each {industry state Χ earnings} cell.

#### **Density** - Residual Fear of Proximity to Other People...



Source: Nishimura, Sakata and Kaga (2013, PLoS ONE), "A New Methodology for Studying Dynamics of Aerosol Particles in Sneeze and Cough Using a Digital High-Vision, High-Speed Video System and Vector Analyses"

#### ....and this Residual Fear of Proximity to Other People May Stick



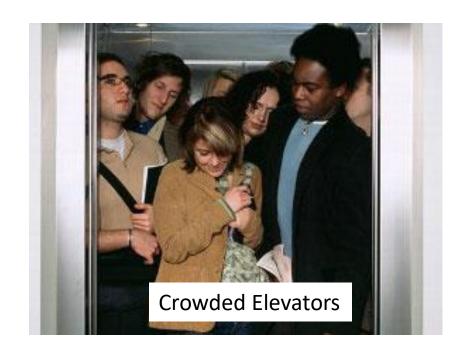
Which of the following would best fit your views on return to activity post-pandemic (in 2022+)?

**Notes:** Data are from four survey waves carried out by QuestionPro and IncQuery in May, July, August, 2021. We re-weight raw responses to match the share of working age respondents in the 2010-2019 CPS in each {industry x state x earnings} cell.

#### **Density** – it makes me wonder longer-run TFP impact that will have









#### In summary, we do not see any long-run productivity boosters

- Productivity will not move much due to COVID (costs and WFH roughly offset)
- Hence, the short-run COVID-era burst in productivity will be reversed ("corrected")
- So looking forward hours will rise faster than GDP, so TFP growth will slow (reverse)
- Of course we could be wrong: robots/AI/VR/apps may generate a TFP revolution...

....but they do not happen often (twice since 1750) so we're not optimistic



