Do Labour Market Changes Explain the Slowdown in European Productivity Growth?

> Robert J. Gordon Northwestern University, NBER, CEPR HM Treasury March 18, 2008

Is There an Employment-Productivity Tradeoff?

■ Two marked events in Europe after 1995

- Slowdown in productivity growth to well below the U.S. rate
- Increase in growth of employment per capita at well above the U. S. rate
- Are these connected causally or just a coincidence?
 - Which way does the causation go?
- Co-authored with Ian Dew-Becker
 - Look him up on google, at age 23, he has 4000+ entries

Ian in SF, you can't see "MV=PY"



The US Accelerates, Europe Decelerates

- From 1950 to 1995 EU productivity growth was faster than in the US
- But in the past decade since 1995 we have witnessed
 An explosion in US productivity growth
 A slowdown in EU productivity growth roughly equal in size
 An explosion in research on the US takeoff and but much less research on Europe's slowdown

The magnitude of the shift (average EKS&GK Groningen)
 EU/US level of labor productivity (ALP)
 1979 1995 2004
 80% 97% 89%

Point of Departure: Post-95 **Turnaround Plus New Heterogeneity** This paper begins with two simple observations: 1. While European productivity (Y/H) has fallen back since 1995 relative to the US, output per capita (Y/ N) has not fared nearly as badly >Y/H growth gap: 0.9%

>Y/N growth gap: 0.2%

2. After 1995, we see divergence across the EU-15 in Y/H growth

St. Dev. 1970-1995: 0.62
St. Dev. 1995-2005: 1.01

The Key Identity Suggests the Tradeoff

• An identity links Y/N and Y/H to H/N:

Y/N = Y/H * H/N

Thus the paradox of high European Y/H and low Y/N must be resolved by lower H/N

- Also, Y/H and H/N are jointly determined
- The task of this paper is going to be figure out which direction the causation runs
 - We will argue that a good deal of the decline in ALP growth is due to exogenous employment shocks
 - Also we will highlight the reversal of almost everything at 1995, comparing 1970-95 vs. 1995-2005

Bringing Together the Disparate Literatures

- Literature #1, why did Europe's hours per capita (hereafter H/N) decline before 1995? Prescott, Rogerson, Sargent-Lundqvist, Alesina, Blanchard
 - High taxes, regulations, unions, high minimum wages
 - Europe made labor expensive
 - Movement up Labor Demand curve => low employment + high ALP
- Literature #1 has missed the turnaround
 - Since 1995 there has been a decline in tax rates and employment protection measures; unionization earlier
 - Big increase in hours per capita, turnaround in both absolute terms and relative to the US Move back down L^D curve

The Employment-Productivity Tradeoff

- Take any CRS production F(K,L)
 Intensive form, L·F(K/L,1) = L·f(K/L)
 Y/L=f(K/L)
- As long as capital is fixed, an increase in employment lowers labor productivity
- We don't know how fast capital adjusts though; the tradeoff may be quantitatively small
- A major goal of this paper is to quantify the tradeoff

Textbook Labor Economics



Labor Input

Pre-1995: Moving Northwest

■ 1970-95 EU climbs to the northwest

- Hours per capita decline, average labor productivity increases
- In this sense much of Europe's 1970-95 productivity catchup was "artificial," propelled by policies making labor expensive
 - No busboys, grocery baggers, valet parkers
 - Product regulations kept stores shut tight many hours of the day/night
 - All this reduced Europe's employment share in retail/ services

Post-1995: Moving Southeast

1995-2004 EU slides southeast

- Hours per capita start increasing while they decline in the US
- Effects are magnified by slow reaction of capital, eventually capital should grow faster offsetting much or all of productivity slowdown
- Literature #1 misses the turnaround
 - Since 1995 decline in tax rates and employment protection measures
 - We are unaware of much macro-level research on the turnaround in hours
 - Allard and Lindert (2006) do not really mention it data only goes to 2001

Literature #2: The EU-US ALP gap

- Central Focus of Lit #2 on post-1995 turnaround in US Productivity Growth
 - Jorgenson, Ho and Stiroh (2006): '95-'00 due to ICT, '00-'05 something else
 - Retail is often noted
 - Van Ark, Inklaar and McGuckin (2003)
 - Foster, Haltiwanger and Krizan (2002) on new establishments
 - Baily and Kirkegaard (2004) on regulations
 Need to free land use restrictions

- Fully 85% of EU productivity slowdown has its counterpart in a speed-up of EU H/N
 - Europe paid for lower ALP mainly with higher hours rather than less consumption
 - Saltari and Travaglini have made a similar point with respect to Italy
- This runs counter to the Blanchard story about preferences for leisure
 - Now we hear that they're not lazy, just unproductive
 - Huge literature on different structural reasons for EU sclerosis

Literature #3: relationship between Y/H and H/N

- There is a long line of research examining the relationship between hours and productivity
- Even using an IV approach, increases in H/N drive down Y/H
 - This makes sense in a single factor model or with any slow adjustment of capital
 - Measuring the speed of adjustment of investment is difficult
 future research for us

View today's talk as a report on research in progress, not the final polished word

Trends in Labor Productivity Growth, 1970-2006



Growth Trends in Y/N and H/N, 1970-2006



Growth Trends in E/N, 1970-2006



Growth Trend Turnaround in H/E is less Dramatic, 1970-2006



Interpreting the Post-1995 Turnaround

- Simple HP trends
- Europe is continuing its long slow decline
- Turnaround is generally pegged at 1995
 - The EU-15 stops catching up, and the US takes off
- We are mainly going to examine the determinants of the turnaround i.e. changes in Y/H growth post-1995
- Qualification: US trend peaks in 2002-03 and is now declining

U. S. Productivity Growth Trends Based on Data to 2007:Q4



We Need to Look at Everything Per Capita

- Population growth in EU 0.7 percent per year slower than US over the past decade
- Output per capita in the EU doesn't look bad at all
- Post-1995 hours turnaround is a counterpart to the Y/H turnaround
- We will see that there is a similar pattern *within* the EU – strong negative correlation between the hours and ALP turnarounds

Turnarounds in Hours and Output

- Turnarounds are 1995-2006 minus 1980-1995 growth
- The relative turnarounds (EU minus US) cancel each other out
 - Y/H + H/N = Y/N
 - -2.20 1.99 -0.21
- 1980-2005 Y/N growth is identical
- But the EU is not catching up

<u>US vs EU E/N</u>





- The US has experienced an enormous decline in hours growth when capital growth fell
 Thus "capital-deepening" numbers for US are misleading as they reflect as much movements in the denominator as in the numerator.
 - Cumulative hours growth zero 2000-06, growth in hours per capita negative
- The EU had strong hours growth while the US went through its recession and recovery

Defining the Four Country Groups, Pop Share and ALP Growth 1995-2006

Nordic: Denmark, Finland, Sweden ■ Pop Share: 5 ALP: 2.09 Anglo-Saxon: UK and Ireland ■ Pop Share: 17 ALP: 2.18 Continental: Benelux, Austria, France, Germany, Portugal ■ Pop Share: 49 ALP: 1.75 Mediterranean: Greece, Italy, Spain ■ Pop Share: 29 ALP: 0.24

A closer look at the Mediterranean Countries

Mainly driven by Spain and Italy Spain:

-4.43 turnaround in Y/H
+5.04 turnaround in H/N

Italy:

-2.28 turnaround in Y/H
+1.16 turnaround in H/N
Had we ranked the countries according to output per capita, Spain would be a Tiger, behind only Greece and Ireland

Making Sense of Cross-EU Heterogeneity in Table 1

- Notice the homogeneity pre-1995 and heterogeneity post-'95. Stdev LP 0.63 to 1.0. Stdev H/N 0.46 to 1.02
- The only two countries with a noticeable acceleration in LP are Sweden, Greece and Ireland
- Declines < 1% for Finland, UK, Austria, Lux, NL
- Sharp declines for Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Portugal, and especially Italy and Spain
- We emphasize the experience of the Mediterranean countries and their contrast with Nordic & Anglo-Saxon

Research Strategy

- Divergence across the EU has increased
- The Y/H slowdown in the Med countries is balanced by healthy H/N growth, which mainly consists of E/N growth
- We will estimate regressions that allow us to determine how much of the turnaround in E/N growth can be attributed to policy/institutional variables
- Then how much of the productivity slowdown can be explained by the E/N growth and by policy variables, separately and together?

Employment Regressions

■ Cover 1980-2003 EU-15, N=320, population weighted

Explanatory Variables:

- Output Gap
- Average Replacement Rate (ARR)
- Employment Protection Legislation (EPL)
- Product Market Regulation (PMR)
- Union Density
- Tax wedge
- Various dummies
- These are common across this literature

Taxes in Europe



Employment Protection Legislation



Unemployment Benefits



OECD Product Market Regulation Index



Employment Regression Results

<u>Tax Wedge</u>	-0.28 ***
-	(0.07)
<u>Employment</u>	0.86
Protection Legislation	(0.79)
<u>Product Market</u>	-0.44
<u>Regulation</u>	(0.55)
<u>Unemployment</u>	-0.18 ***
Benefits (ARR)	(0.05)
<u>Union Density</u>	-0.46 ***
-	(0.10)
<u>High Corporatism Dummy</u>	-2.04 **
	(0.98)
<u>Output Gap</u>	0.52 ***
	(0.05)
Post-1995 Dummy	0.94
	(0.15)
<u>R2</u>	0.52
N	320
<u>RMSE</u>	1.18

- Our tax wedge coefficient is consistent with what others have found
- EPL and PMR seem to have no effects
- Everything else has the correct sign – regulations and taxes reduce employment
- The post-1995 dummy is substantial
 - Growth in the employment rate rose by 1% after '95

Employment Regression Results

Robustness

Results are the same if population weights are dropped or year dummies are added

Dropping the Mediterranean countries or Spain does not affect the size of the post-1995 dummy

Employment Regression Results

With all of our dummies, we need to determine the effects of the policy/institutional variables holding constant the country and time dummies.

We plot predicted values with policy fixed at its 1995 level

The output gap and dummies are still allowed to vary

Female Employment



Male Employment



Suppose we are in a Cobb-Douglas world. What coefficient would we expect on employment? y = 0.33*k + 0.67*l (y-l) = 0.33*(k/l)

■ If capital is fixed, the coefficient will be -0.33

- If capital adjusts it will be smaller
- If labor is not homogenous it could be larger
 - The last people to enter the labor force are likely the least skilled and experienced

We can't simply regress productivity on employment

A shock to productivity affects wages and hence employment

Identification

- We want variables that affect employment but not productivity
- The tax wedge is our best candidate
- We also consider using the post-1995 dummy and union density
 - Pragmatism
 - This gives more power and passes identification tests, but raises the question as to what caused the post-1995 change as quantified by the dummy

Employment Rate	-0.64 ***	
	(0.20)	
Employment	1.66 ***	i
Protection Legislation	(0.65)	
Product Market	0.56	
<u>Regulation</u>	(0.45)	t
<u>Unemployment</u>	0.14 ***	_
<u>Benefits (ARR)</u>	(0.05)	ł
<u>Union Density</u>	0.03	1
-	(0.12)	1
<u>High Corporatism Dummy</u>	-0.49	
	(0.94)	e
<u>Output Gap</u>	0.68 ***	ŧ
• •	(0.11)	L.
Post-1995 Dummy	-0.14	1
	(0.24)	
R2	0.63	
N	320	
<u>RMSE</u>	0.95	

Tax wedge is the only instrument in this version

Coefficient on employment is twice what we would expect
EPL and ARR have independent positive effects on productivity
We can drive the SE on employment down to 0.10, but the result remains the same

Not dependent on Med.

Level of Labor Productivity



Effects of the Policy and Institutional Variables

Assuming hours per employee is stable, E/N + Y/H = Y/N

 Policy has effects on both employment and productivity

■ We just add these effects up

Effects of Policy & Institutions

	Shock Size	Employment	Productivity	Output Per Capita
<u>Tax Wedge</u>	9.21	-2.67 ***	1.71 ***	-0.96 **
		(0.64)	(0.53)	(0.4)
Employment	0.87	0.74 **	0.23	0.97 ***
Protection Legislation		(0.36)	(0.37)	(0.31)
Product Market	0.9	-0.14	0.35	0.21
<u>Regulation</u>		(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.22)
Unemployment	11.31	-0.90 ***	1.37 ***	0.47 *
Benefits (ARR)		(0.34)	(0.31)	(0.25)
Union Density	23.32	-7.93 ***	5.07 ***	-2.85 ***
		(1.17)	(1.23)	(1.07)
High Corpratism Dummy	1	-1.02 **	0.65 **	-0.37 *
		(0.48)	(0.33)	(0.21)

Tax wedge and union density lower Y/N

■ ARR and EPL have *positive* effects

Driven by their direct effects on productivity

Effects of Government Policy

- Why would ARR and EPL raise productivity and output?
 - Acemoglu and Shimer on reservation wages and matching
 - Match quality may improve
 - More incentive to create job-specific human capital

The New Results in this Paper at the Industry Level

- We aggregate productivity growth by industry in a way that allows us to determine the relative role of productivity and shares
- The "productivity" effect is just the difference in productivity growth in a given industry
- The "share" effect is the addition or subtraction from growth as shares shift within industries.
 - Example: Ireland shifts to high tech manufacturing, this comes out as a "share" effect within manufacturing

Contributions, Productivity vs. Share Effects, in EU-US, 1995-2003

Manufacturing is nearly as important



ALP growth multiplied by nominal shares



Cross-Industry Correlation of Y/H and E/N Turnarounds



Table 12: Regressions of LP Turnaround* on E/NTurnaround*

Countries	Exclude ICT and Comm.	Coefficient	T-Statistic	Ν	R2	RMSE
All	No	-0.45	-4.35	179	0.10	3.000
All	Yes	-0.54	-5.94	149	0.19	2.495
Mediterranean Only	No	-0.82	-4.19	36	0.34	2.920
Mediterranean Only	Yes	-0.83	-5.60	30	0.53	2.140

* Turnaround equals 1995-2004 average growth minus 1980-1995 average growth

Comparing Nordic with EU-15



Comparing Anglo-Saxon with EU-15

Anglo-Saxon



Comparing Continental with EU-15



Comparing Med with EU-15

Mediterranean



Comparing US with EU-15



Conclusions from Employment and Productivity Growth Regressions

- Growing heterogeneity with EU-15 in employment and productivity growth after 1995.
- There is a strong negative correlation between growth in Y/H and E/N evident in the data, emerging from our regressions, and also in the crossindustry data displayed at the end
- At least in short run, lower taxes and looser regulations raise employment growth and reduce productivity growth
- The novelty in our framework is to show that policy changes widely endorsed in Europe as desirable (Lisbon agenda) may boost E/N at the cost of reducing Y/H, thus leaving ambiguous effects on growth in output per capita (Y/N)
- A 1% increase in employment only raises output by 0.36% in the short-run
- Summary of effects
 - Unions reduce output per capita
 - EPL and unemployment benefits raise output per capita
 - PMR and the tax wedge have roughly no effects

Further Conclusions from Cross-Industry Results

- Differences across Europe are in part reflected in industries that are "national champions". Compared to EU average, LP turnaround reveals
 - Nordic strong in ICT manufacturing
 - Anglo-Saxon strong in finance and business services
 - Continental average as would be expected
 - Mediterranean weak across the board, consistent with a broad-based macro explanation rather than an industry-specific explanation

Final Qualification

The E/N and Y/H regression analysis is static and does not trace further dynamic adjustment

- Negative effect of policy reforms on K/H should in many models be followed by faster growth in K
- This has not happened (yet) in much of Europe
- There are fundamental differences in industry performance between the US and EU that have widely accepted structural explanations
 - Wholesale and retail trade, big boxes vs. inner-city pedestrian walking districts (role of land-use planning as another policy reform)