

Declining productivity in Italy and Europe: facts and explanations

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Riccardo Faini Memorial Conference, Bank of Italy, Rome, January 13, 2017

Italy's gradual growth slowdown in the last 60 years



... has been mostly driven by the slowdown of productivity growth

Growth = productivity + hours + demographics Primary source: Istat National Accounts, 1970-2010

Compounded avg growth (%) of:	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
Value added per capita (« growth »)	+3,2	+2,3	+1,5	-0,2
Value added per hour worked				
(« productivity »)	+2,9	+1,7	+1,5	+0,1
Hours worked per 15-64 population				
(« hours»)	+0,3	+0,0	+0,2	+0,0
Population at 15-64 over total				
population ("demographics")	+0,0	+0,6	-0,1	-0,3

Italy's declining productivity performance often seen as if it were specific of Italy.

Long-run productivity data on Europe indicate that Italy's problems are not that specific.

Preliminary measurement issue

Productivity known to be pro-cyclical



To lessen pro-cyclicality

Growth rates computed across peak years 1974, 1992, 2007, 2015 (so far)

Sub-periods: 1974-1992, 1992-2007, 2007-2015 (a bit unfair for 2007-15. Perhaps.)

Source: Oecd productivity database







"It's because of the euro!"

Well

A hand-made comparison of productivity growth rates shows <u>no systematic</u> <u>difference between "twin" Emu and non-Emu countries</u>

Sixteen Emu and non-Emu "twin" countries. Criteria for twinship: size + per capita Gdp																
€	Fra	Ger	Ita	Spa	Fin	Net	Lux	Aut	Bel	Ire	Slk	Slv	Lat	Lit	Por	Gre
Non €	Uk	Uk	Uk	Uk	Swe	Dk	Swi	Swi	Dk	Chi	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Chi	Chi

Missing Oecd data for three € countries: Estonia, Malta, Cyprus "Chi" = average(Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel) (Per capita Gdp of Gre, Por & Ire ≈ 21k in 1992; per capita Gdp in Cze, Hun and Isr = 17.5k) "Ch" = average(Czech Republic, Hungary)

Results for:	Productivity growth over:	Mean difference (n=16 "twins")	Std. deviation
(€-non€)	(1992-2007)	+0.3	1.3
(€-non€)	(2007-2015)	+0.1	1.3
(€-non€)	(2007-2015)-(1992-2007)	-0.2	1.7

1992	-2007	data														
€	Fra	Ger	Ita	Spa	Fin	Net	Lux	Aut	Bel	Ire	Slk	Slv	Lat	Lit	Por	Gre
	1,8	1,8	1,0	0,6	2,9	1,4	1,7	1,8	1,5	3,6	5,2	4,3	6,6	6,0	1,3	2,1
	2,2	2,2	2,2	2,2	2,6	1,6	1,5	1,5	1,6	2,6	3,4	3,4	3,4	3,4	2,6	2,6
Non €	Uk	Uk	Uk	Uk	Swe	Dk	Swi	Swi	Dk	Chi	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Chi	Chi
2007	-2015	data														
€	Fra	Ger	Ita	Spa	Fin	Net	Lux	Aut	Bel	Ire	Slk	Slv	Lat	Lit	Por	Gre
	0,5	0,6	0,1	1,4	-0,2	0,4	-0,3	0,7	0,3	4,9	1,9	0,0	1,4	2,1	0,8	-1,2
	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,5	0,8	0,2	0,2	0,8	1,2	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,2	1,2
Non €	Uk	Uk	Uk	Uk	Swe	Dk	Swi	Swi	Dk	Chi	Ch	Ch	Ch	Ch	Chi	Chi

Raw data behind the twin "€ vs non-€" comparison

Have the ICT revolution and globalization played a role?





Summing up on Italy's and Europe's long-run productivity trends

- Declining productivity is strongly associated to Italy's growth slowdown. This is a long run feature of Italy's productivity data
- But such trends are not specific of Italy
- Such trends are:
 - <u>neither</u> a €-area phenomenon only
 - <u>nor</u> a EU phenomenon only
- The 1992-2007 sub-period has seen resilience or even acceleration of productivity growth in Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Usa, Canada
- This may have been because these countries have adapted more swiftly to the ICT revolution and, more generally, to globalization
- <u>However</u>: in 2007-15, productivity growth fell everywhere, but in Spain.
 Productivity largely failed to restart after the post Lehman crisis

Understanding productivity dynamics requires joint consideration of trends in productivity <u>and</u> hours worked

Back to 1973 first



1973: the good old days of fast productivity growth <u>and</u> low unemployment rates. The results of the prolonged post-WWII boom.

1973, data in %	Labor productivity growth rates	Unemployment rates
Italy	6.5	4.5
France	5.7	2.3
Germany (West)	5.1	1.0
Spain	6.3	2.7
Netherlands	6.6	2.6
United Kingdom	1.8	3.6

What happened to trends of productivity and labor utilization since 1973?



Productivity and labor utilization: most large EU countries start N-W in the picture in 1974-92. Then move S-E in 1992-2007 & then S-W in 2007-15



Why such shifts?







1974-92: the rise of welfare spending and labor taxes (Alesina & Perotti, AER 1997; Daveri & Tabellini, EP 2000)

TABLE 1-GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AND TAXATION IN OECD COUNTRIES, 1960-1990

	Soc	cial diture	Gover consur	nment nption	Labor taxation		
	1960	1990	1960	1990	1965	1990	
average ^a	8.3	15.3	15.1	17.3	13.2	21.2	
growth rate (percent)	8	5	14	.9	6	0	

Notes: Social expenditure: social security benefits plus social assistance grants plus other current transfers, general government. Government consumption: expenditure on goods and services, general government. Labor taxation: direct taxes on households, social security taxes paid by employees and by employers, and payroll taxes, general government. The sample includes all current OECD countries, except the Czech Republic, Hungary, Iceland, the Republic of Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand, Poland, and Turkey. For some countries, the starting year is 1965, 1970, or 1975, depending on data availability. Source: *Economic Outlook Database* OECD (1995).

^a Weighted average, with weights represented by 1980 GDP in dollars.

1974-92, L^s and L^D shifted to the left (L^s by more). The rise of welfare spending & labor taxes raised non-wage labor costs, stifling labor market performance and prompting K-L substitution that pushed up labor productivity. Result: EU labor markets couldn't accommodate all baby boomers into the employed.







1992-2007 Four shocks and one policy response



Shock 1: Europe's IT revolution could have pushed L^D to the right, but it didn't.

% points				
	1990	1995	2001	(1995-01)-(1990-95)
US	3.3	3.7	4.2	+0.5
European Union 15	2.2	2.1	2.6	+0.3
US minus EU-15	1.1	1.6	1.6	-

Table 2. IT investment over GDP in the EU and the US, 1990s

Source: Own calculations from Timmer et al. (2003).

Table 1. Growth of GDP per hour worked in the EU and the US, 1979-2001

Total economy					
OECD	1970-80	1980-90	1990-95	1995-02	(1995-02) minus (1990-95)
European Union 11	3.6	2.3	2.6	1.4	-1.2
US	1.6	1.4	1.2	2.0	+0.8
US	3.0 1.6	2.3 1.4	1.2	2.0	

Shock 2: Financial globalization taking off in 1995-2005. Good time for investment to take off and shift L^D to the right.

CAGR.² % 2000-2007 -Q2 2012 Total 8.1 1.9 8.0 -5.5Equity Government 8.3 9.2 bonds Financial-sector 10.7 1.5 bonds Corporate 5.1 9.1 bonds Securitized 15.9 -0.7loans Nonsecuritized 5.5 4.8 loans Q2 Financial depth (ie, % of GDP)

Global stock of debt and equity outstanding, \$ trillion¹

End-of-year figures for a sample of 183 countries, based on constant 2011 exchange rates. Figures may not sum to totals, because of rounding.

²Compound annual growth rate.

Source: McKinsey Global Institute analysis

Shock 3: Booming imports from China. L^D to the left (German exception)





Shock 4: The EZ budget cuts of the 1990s and the €

Policy response: labor market reform towards more flexibility



1992-2007: productivity growth down, while labor utilization went up Seemingly, the four shocks hitting labor demand in 1992-2007 offset each other, so labor demand did not shift much. Instead, labor market reform made labor more flexible. L^s shifted to the right.

(Germany's exception: East-West reunification \Rightarrow Govt transfers shifted L^{s} up)







2007-15: the (Lehman + euro) crises unambiguously shifted L^D to the left in most Eu countries (not in Germany). Accumulated debt also weighs on the pace of recovery.



Conclusions on the causes of productivity trends in Italy and Europe

1974-1992

Rise in non-wage labor costs aligned Italy to other EU countries, lowering labor utilization and keeping productivity growth relatively high (though lower than in the 1960s for the dying out of post-war reconstruction impulses)

1992-2007

Low productivity growth & high employment originated from rightward shift of labor supply due to piecemeal labor market reform (end of 1990s) coupled with anemic labor demand (delayed adoption of ICT, China entry, €-related fiscal contractions)

2007-2015

Low/negative productivity and hours growth due to labor demand leftward shifts, like in all Eu countries with the exception of Germany which did well and Spain where productivity rose in parallel with above-average reduction in hours.