# What is the impact of rising concentration, rising intangibles, and other changes among firms in the age of the new economy?

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## Background

In recent decades, US businesses experienced

- T1 Declining rates of investment
- T2 Rising returns to capital
- T3 Rising concentration

These trends have attracted attention

Productivity growth slowdown

Distribution of income across factors

## Roadmap

- 1. What are the facts?
- 2. What are the explanations?
- 3. What's missing from the explanations?

## 1. What are the facts?

## Fact 1: Declining PPE investment rates



## Fact 2a: Stable or rising returns to capital



## Fact 2b: Rising valuations



### Fact 3: Rising concentration



Compustat; NAICS-3D sectors weighted by sales.

#### Why do we puzzle over these facts?

$$O_t \equiv \max_{L_t} P_t \left( A_t K_t^{\alpha} L_t^{1-\alpha} \right) - W_t L_t = Z_t K_t \qquad \text{[Neo-classical growth model]}$$
$$\frac{O_t}{K_t} = \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t} = r_t + \delta_K \qquad \text{(-)}$$

 $V_t \equiv \operatorname{NPV}\left[O_t - \Phi(I_t/K_t)K_t\right] = Q_{K,t}K_t \qquad [Q \text{ theory}]$   $\frac{V_t}{K_{t+1}} = \frac{\partial V_t}{\partial K_{t+1}} = \Phi'(I_t/K_t)$  (-)

(Almost) two sides of the same coin

Five (relatively) open questions about the facts

[Related facts]

1. When did the trends start?

[Karabarbounis, Neiman, 2019]

2. Are the trends the same across countries?

3. Are the trends the same across sectors?

[Döttling, Gutierrez, Philippon, 2017]

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2019]

4. Are PPE investment rates really that low?

[Gourio, 2019]

5. Within-firm changes vs. reallocation? [Autor, Dorn, Katz, Patterson, Van Reenen, 2020]

## 2. What are the existing explanations?

Explanation 1: rising rents

$$\frac{O_t}{K_t} = \mu \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t}, \quad \mu > 1$$

$$\frac{O_t}{K_t} = \mu \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t} = \frac{\mu}{(++)} (r_t + \delta_K)$$

[Neo-classical growth model]

## Explanation 1: rising rents

$$\frac{O_t}{K_t} = \mu \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t}, \quad \mu > 1$$

$$Q_{K,t} = q_{K,t} + \mathbb{E}_t \left[ \sum_{j \ge 1} M_{t,t+j} \left( \frac{O_{t+j}}{K_{t+j}} - \frac{\partial O_{t+j}}{\partial K_{t+j}} \right) \right]$$
$$= q_{K,t} + \left( \frac{\mu}{(+)} - 1 \right) \mathbb{E}_t \left[ \sum_{j \ge 1} M_{t,t+j} \frac{\partial O_{t+j}}{\partial K_{t+j}} \right]$$
$$> q_{K,t} = \Phi' \left( \frac{I_t}{K_t} \right)$$
$$(-)$$

[Q-theory]

### Explanation 1: rising rents

$$\frac{O_t}{K_t} = \mu \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t}, \quad \mu > 1$$

#### Mechanisms for $\mu \uparrow$

Oligopoly + rising entry costs [Gutièrrez, Philippon, 2017; Corhay, Kung, Schmid, 2020]

Oligopsony in labor markets

[Krueger, 2018; Benmelech, Bergman, Kim, 2020]

### Does Explanation 1 work in the data?

Measured rents are rising

$$\widehat{\Pi}_t = O_t - (\widehat{r_t + \delta_K}) K_t = \frac{\mu - 1}{\mu} O_t$$

[Estimated rents]

Measured markups are rising

[De Loecker, Eeckhout, Unger, 2020]

$$\boldsymbol{\mu} = 1 + \frac{\widehat{\boldsymbol{\mu}_S} - 1}{\alpha}, \quad \widehat{\boldsymbol{\mu}_S} = (1 - \alpha) \frac{P_t Y_t}{W_t L_t}$$

[Measurement problems]

Investment correlates with measured markups

[Gutiérrez, Philippon, 2017]

[Barkai, 2020]

## Explanation 2: rising intangibles

$$O_t = O_t \left( K_t, \mathbf{B}_t \right) \iff \frac{O_t}{K_t} = \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t} + \frac{B_t}{K_t} \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial B_t}$$

$$\frac{O_t}{K_t} = r_t + \delta_K + \frac{B_t}{K_t} \frac{\partial O_t}{\partial K_t} \\
 > r_t + \delta_K \\
 (-)$$

[Neo-classical growth model]

$$Q_{K,t} = q_{K,t} + \frac{B_t}{K_t} q_{B,t}$$
(+)
(+)
$$q_{K,t} = \Phi'(I_t/K_t)$$
(-)

[Q-theory]

## What are intangibles?

[Corrado, Hulten, Sichel, 2009, 2005]

Productive capital, but does not have a physical presence

IT capital

 $\rm R\&D$  capital

Organization capital

## An example from Amazon's 2017 10-K

20% of operating expenses under "Marketing" and "Technology and content"

R&D payroll,

website maintenance costs

software development costs for AWS

"Collectively, these costs reflect the **investments** we make in order to offer a wide variety of products and services to our customers."

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Not exogenous — requires investment

## The ratio $B_t/K_t$



## What are intangibles?

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Organization capital

Not exogenous — requires investment

Economic properties

Excludable from use by other firms

Non-rival in use within the firm

## Does Explanation 2 work in the data?

Rising valuations and falling investment

$$Q_{K,t} = q_{K,t} + \frac{B_t}{K_t} q_{B,t} \sim 1 + \frac{B_t}{K_t} < \hat{Q}_{K,t}$$

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2019]

[Firm-level evidence] [Flow returns to capital]

Concentration

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2019]

Across industries, intangible intensity and HHI are correlated Across firms, intangible intensity and market share are correlated

[Firm-level evidence]

# 3. What's missing from the explanations?

The two mechanisms are not mutually exclusive

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2021]

Intangibles and rents interact to increase the investment/valuations gap

$$Q_{K,t} - q_{K,t} = (\mu - 1)N_{K,t} + \frac{B_t}{K_t}q_{B,t} + \frac{B_t}{K_t} \times (\mu - 1)N_{B,t}$$
$$N_{X,t} = \text{NPV}(\partial O_t / \partial X_t), \quad X \in \{K, B\}$$



[Crouzet, Eberly, 2021]



[Crouzet, Eberly, 2021]

#### Rents are endogenous — to past intangible investment

#### Customer capital

customer acquisition costs  $\rightarrow$  durable customer base  $\rightarrow$  pricing power

#### $\rm R\&D$ capital

R&D investment  $\rightarrow$  quality differentiation  $\rightarrow$  pricing power

#### IT capital/Data

[Gourio, Rudanko, 2014]

[Klette, Kortum, 2004]

[Faboordi, Veldkamp, 2021]

data acquisition costs  $\rightarrow$  demand forecasting  $\rightarrow$  (potentially) pricing power

## Challenges for future work:

- 1. General framework capturing common features of these mechanisms
- 2. Mapping to data on investment and valuations

## [B] Why is concentration rising?

#### Concentration is an equilibrium outcome, not a measure of market power

[Bain, 1951; Demsetz, 1973; Syverson, 2019]

At the core of several recents models



[Akcigit and Ates, 2019; Autor et al. 2020; Edmond, Midrigan, Xu, 2020; Peters, 2020; De Ridder, 2020]

## [B] Why is concentration rising?

Barriers to entry  $\uparrow$ ?

But: concentrating sector innovate actively

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2019]

Demand-side factors (market size/globalization)?

But: tradable and non-tradable sectors both concentrating

[Autor et al., 2020]

 $var(z_i) \uparrow?$ 

[Andrews, Criscuolo, Gal, 2016]

## Challenges for future work:

- 1. What explains  $var(z_i)$   $\uparrow$ ? Does intangible investment play a role? [De Ridder, 2020]
- 2. Is there really a one-size-fits all (sectors) story?

## [C] Firm boundaries

To what extent is rising concentration due to changing firm boundaries? M&A activity among incumbents

Start-up acquisitions

Intangibles and rents can both shape firm boundaries

Intangibles create economies of scope across incumbents

Dominant incumbents allow potential entrants to "scale" [Kamepalli, Rajan, Zingales, 2021]

Challenges for future work:

Pretty wide open!

# Conclusion

## Take-aways

In recent decades, US businesses experienced

- T1 Declining rates of investment
- T2 Rising returns to capital
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T1/T2 can be accounted for by jointly rising rents and rising intangibles general, quantifiable model of intan  $\rightarrow$  rents

Causes and implications of T3 are more elusive

drivers of productivity gaps; sectoral heterogeneity; role of firm boundaries

# More

## Intangible vs. physical investment flows



## Measured markups are rising

#### Are magnitudes plausible?

[Basu, 2019]

De Loecker, Eeckhout, Unger, 2020: $\mu_S \sim 1.60$ 

Rents are  $\sim 35\%$  of sales,  $\sim 70\%$  of value added

Can we hope to use income statements to recover variable costs?

 $\mu_S \sim \frac{\text{sales}}{\cos + 0.7 \times (\text{sg\&a} - \text{r\&d})}$ 

Walmart: all wages are in sg&a;  $\mu_{S,Walmart} = 1.12$  in 2015

Costco: only some wages in sg&a;  $\mu_{S, \text{Costco}} = 1.06$  in 2015

 $\mu_{S,\text{Walmart}} > \mu_{S,\text{Costco}}$ ? Or  $0.7 \times (\text{sg\&a} - \text{r\&d})$  too low for Walmart?

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## Intangibles and returns to capital

Are measured returns to capital rising?

[Koh, Santaeulàlia-Llopis, Zheng, 2020] [Eisfeldt, Falato, Xiaolan, 2020]

 $O_t^{unadj}/(P_tY_t) = (O_t - P_{B,t}B_t)/(P_tY_t)$  is trendless

But is  $P_{B,t}B_t$  really capital income? Or is it paid to key firm talent?

### The investment gap after controlling for intangibles



Solid :  $(I/K)_{j,t} = \alpha_j + \gamma_t + \beta Q_{K,j,t} + \epsilon_{j,t}$ Dashed :  $(I/K)_{j,t} = \alpha_j + \gamma_t + \beta Q_{K,j,t} + \zeta(B/K)_{j,t} + \epsilon_{j,t}$ 

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2019]

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	Market share		
	(A)	(B)	(C)
Compustat intangible share	$0.1308^{***}$	$0.0096^{***}$	$0.0073^{***}$
	(17.69)	(5.40)	(4.91)
Observations	98520	97245	97245
Industry $\times$ year f.e.	Yes	No	No
Firm f.e.	No	Yes	Yes
Year f.e.	No	No	Yes

[Crouzet, Eberly, 2019]

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## Measured rents are rising





## **Related facts**

Declining labor share

[Karabarbounis, Neiman, 2014]

$$LS_t = \frac{W_t L_t}{P_t Y_t} = 1 - \frac{O_t}{K_t} \frac{K_t}{P_t Y_t}$$

Declining "business dynamism"

Falling entry rates[Gourio, Messer, Siemer, 2016]Rising productivity gap between leaders and laggards[Andrews, Criscuolo, Gal, 2016]Falling rates of job reallocation[Decker, Haltiwanger, Jarmin, Miranda, 2016]

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