New Perspectives on the Decline of US Manufacturing Employment

Teresa Fort ¹ Justin Pierce² Peter Schott³

¹Tuck School at Dartmouth, NBER and CEPR

²Federal Reserve Board

 $^3\mathrm{Yale}$ School of Management and NBER

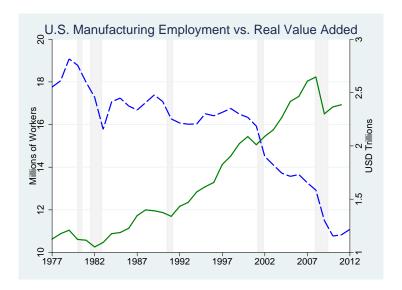
BFI Globalization and Inequality Conference May 11, 2018

Disclaimer: Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Census Bureau, the Board of Governors or its research staff. All results have been reviewed to ensure that no confidential information has been disclosed.

US manufacturing employment is on the decline



US manufacturing employment versus real value added



Explanations for the decline

Import competition, especially from China

Bernard, Jensen, and Schott (2006); Autor, Dorn, Hanson (2013); Acemoglu et al. (2016), Pierce and Schott (2016); Caliendo, Dvorkin, and Parro (2017); Autor et al. (2016)

• Foreign sourcing and offshoring

Harrison and McMillan (2011); Antràs, Fort, and Tintelnot (2017); Boehme, Flaaen, and Pandalai-Nayar (2017); Kovak, Oldenski, and Sly (2018)

Technology adoption and automation

Autor, Levy, Murname (2003); Autor and Dorn (2013); Acemoglu and Restrepo (2017); Graetz and Michaels (2017)

Can we distinguish effects of trade versus technology?

- Some papers attempt to disentangle trade and technology
 - ► Technology affects polarization: Goos, Manning, Solomans (2014)
 - ▶ Trade matters most for employment loss, esp after 2000: ADH (2015)
- But, technology facilitates trade and production fragmentation
 Fort (2017); Steinwender (2018); Juhasz and Steinwender (2018)
- And, trade induces technology and R&D investment (or reduces it)
 Bernard et al. (2006); Khandelwal (2013); Boler, Moxnes, and
 Ultveit-Moe (2015); Bloom, Draca, Van Reenen (2016); Bernard et al. (2018); (Autor et al. (2017))



"When Drew Greenblatt bought ...a small Baltimore maker of wire baskets for bagel shops, he knew nothing about robotics. That was 1998, and workers made products manually using 1950s equipment....



"When Drew Greenblatt bought ...a small Baltimore maker of wire baskets for bagel shops, he knew nothing about robotics. That was 1998, and workers made products manually using 1950s equipment....

Pushed near insolvency by Chinese competition in 2001, he started investing in automation. Since then, Marlin has spent \$5.5 million on modern equipment. Its revenue, staff and wages have surged and it now exports to China and Mexico."



"When Drew Greenblatt bought ...a small Baltimore maker of wire baskets for bagel shops, he knew nothing about robotics. That was 1998, and workers made products manually using 1950s equipment....

Pushed near insolvency by Chinese competition in 2001, he started investing in automation. Since then, Marlin has spent \$5.5 million on modern equipment. Its revenue, staff and wages have surged and it now exports to China and Mexico."

Were changes at Marlin caused by trade or technology?



"When Drew Greenblatt bought ...a small Baltimore maker of wire baskets for bagel shops, he knew nothing about robotics. That was 1998, and workers made products manually using 1950s equipment....

Pushed near insolvency by Chinese competition in 2001, he started investing in automation. Since then, Marlin has spent \$5.5 million on modern equipment. Its revenue, staff and wages have surged and it now exports to China and Mexico."

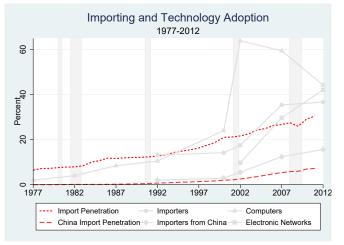
Were changes at Marlin caused by trade or technology? What about changes at Marlin's competitors?



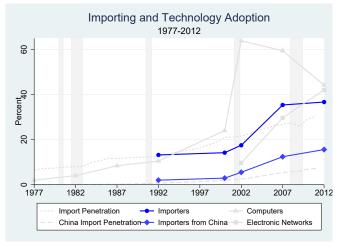
"When Drew Greenblatt bought ...a small Baltimore maker of wire baskets for bagel shops, he knew nothing about robotics. That was 1998, and workers made products manually using 1950s equipment....

Pushed near insolvency by Chinese competition in 2001, he started investing in automation. Since then, Marlin has spent \$5.5 million on modern equipment. Its revenue, staff and wages have surged and it now exports to China and Mexico."

Were changes at Marlin caused by trade or technology? What about changes at Marlin's competitors? What if Marlin imported its robots?



- Import penetration rising from 1980s
- Chinese import penetration increases most in 2000s



• Direct importing by manufacturers rises, esp in 2000s



- Huge surge in share of plants purchasing computers in early 2000s
- Plant use of electronic networks to control/coordinate shipments rises



- Considerable rise in importing
- Concurrent increases in technology use

- Industry-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ Real value added grows even as employment declines within sectors
 - ▶ Import competition seems to have different effects from offshoring

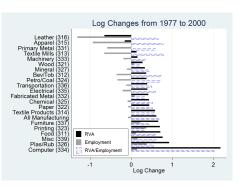
- Industry-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ Real value added grows even as employment declines within sectors
 - ▶ Import competition seems to have different effects from offshoring
- Firm-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ 75% of decline occurs in continuing firms
 - Main margin is net closure of plants by continuers

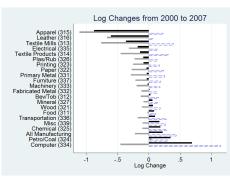
- Industry-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ Real value added grows even as employment declines within sectors
 - ▶ Import competition seems to have different effects from offshoring
- Firm-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ 75% of decline occurs in continuing firms
 - Main margin is net closure of plants by continuers
- Regional margins of adjustment
 - ▶ Pre-2000, manufacturing employment declines in only 3 regions
 - ▶ Firm death concentrated in just 2 regions

- Industry-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ Real value added grows even as employment declines within sectors
 - ▶ Import competition seems to have different effects from offshoring
- Firm-level margins of adjustment
 - ▶ 75% of decline occurs in continuing firms
 - Main margin is net closure of plants by continuers
- Regional margins of adjustment
 - ▶ Pre-2000, manufacturing employment declines in only 3 regions
 - Firm death concentrated in just 2 regions
- Non-manufacturing employment at manufacturing firms grows
 - ▶ Non-manuf emp growth offsets man emp declines (pre-2000)
 - Growth concentrated in retail and services

Some reallocation occurs across industries

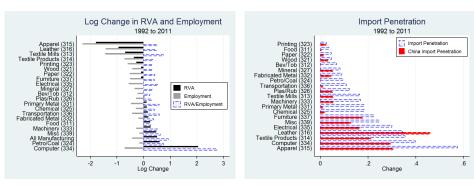
Changes in Real Value Added and Employment





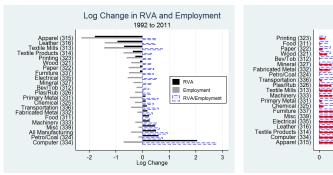
- Majority of RVA growth driven by Computers
- Divergence between emp and output not just a cross-industry story
- Fewer sectors with RVA growth in 2000s

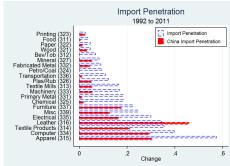
Import penetration high in declining sectors



• Apparel, leather, and textiles decline and face imports

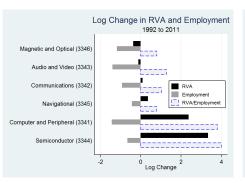
Import penetration high in declining sectors

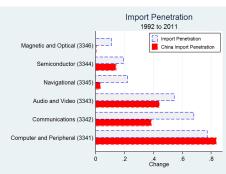




- Apparel, leather, and textiles decline and face imports
- Computers has second highest import penetration growth
 - Despite being main contributor to RVA growth
 - Suggests distinct effects of import competition vs. offshoring

Some similar patterns within Computer and Electronics





- Semiconductors accounts for 71% of RVA growth over this period
- Computers accounts for 11% of RVA growth over this period
- Both industries with offshoring and Factoryless Goods Production

Data

- Longitudinal Business Database (LBD)
 - All private, employer, non-farm establishments from 1977 2015
 - Location, employment, payroll
 - Firm identifiers assign estabs to firms
 - Use consistent NAICS codes from Fort and Klimek (2016)
- Census of Manufactures
 - All manufacturing establishments every 5 years, 1977 2012
 - Purchase of computers (except in 1997)
 - Use of electronic networks to control or coordinate shipments in 2002
- Longitudinal Foreign Trade Transaction Database
 - Customs data from 1992 2015
 - Firm-level import by country and product
 - ▶ Identify imports of industrial robots after 1996 (HS code 84.7950.0000)

Definitions

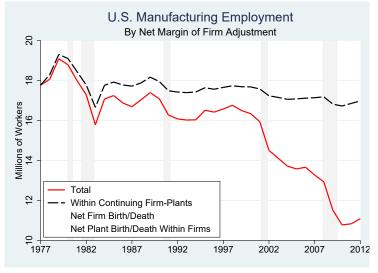
- Classification of employment
 - Employment generally classified based on establishment's industry
 - ► An establishment's industry can change across years
- Manufacturing Firms defined as:
 - ▶ Firm that ever has a manufacturing plant between 1977 2012
 - Big firms often have both manuf and non-manuf estabs
- Firm birth/death (Haltiwanger et al. 2013)
 - ▶ Birth: all establishments are new
 - Death: all establishments in the firm exit (forever)

Decomposing employment losses across firm-level margins

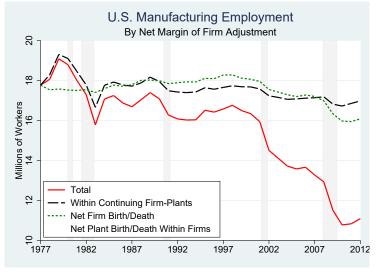
- Net margins of firm adjustment, based on firm's 1977 status
 - Net firm birth since 1977
 - Continuing firms (birth/death of estabs and continuing estabs)
 - Also redefine firm and plant status by decade
- Gross margins of firm adjustment
 - Net margins mask differences in churn
 - Potentially different stories for low versus high churn gross margins

$$\Delta \textit{Emp}_t = (\textit{Emp}_t^{\textit{FB}} - \textit{Emp}_t^{\textit{FD}}) + (\textit{Emp}_t^{\textit{CFBE}} - \textit{Emp}_t^{\textit{CFDE}}) + \\ (\textit{Emp}_t^{\textit{CFCE}^+} - \textit{Emp}_t^{\textit{CFCE}^-})$$

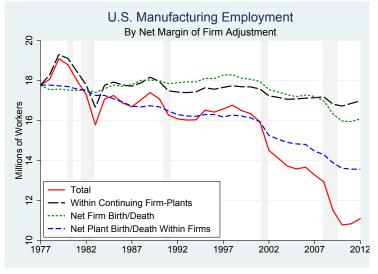




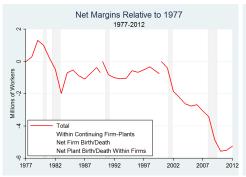
Continuing firm-plants account for 12% of aggregate decline

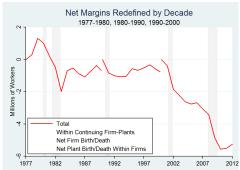


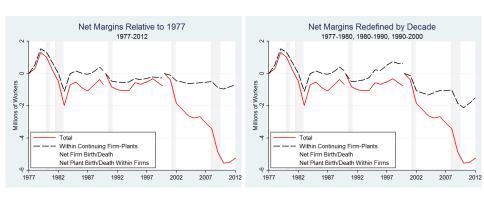
Employment changes at firm births minus deaths are 25% of total



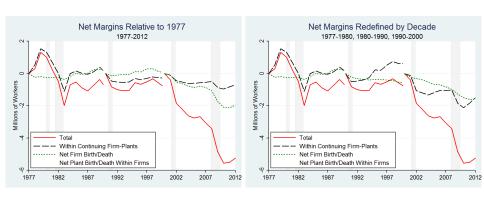
Continuing firms' net plant closures account for 63% of aggregate



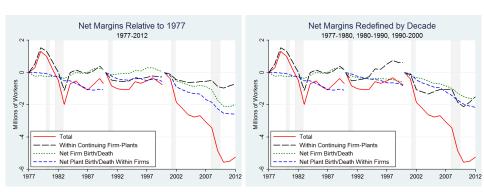




• Plants at firms born in 1980s grow in 1990s, legacies stable in 2000s



- Plants at firms born in 1980s do grow in 1990s
- Firms born after 1990 do not contribute emp on net



- Plants at firms born in 1980s do grow in 1990s
- Firms born after 1990 do not contribute emp on net
- Legacy plants shrink less if they survive

Summary of key results

- 75% of overall decline occurs within firm
- 63% due to net plant death within 1977 incumbents
- Net firm death becomes important in 2000s
- Surviving legacy plants resilient

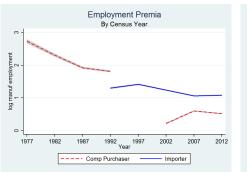
Is adoption of trade and tech easier for incumbents?

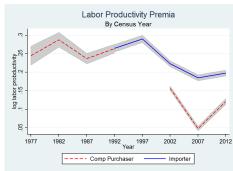
Estimate size and productivity advantages by year

$$In(Attribute_f^t) = \alpha + \beta_t Activity_f^t + \eta_i^t + \varepsilon_f^t$$

- Attributes: employment, productivity
- Activities: importing, purchasing computers, importing robots, using electronic networks
- Estimate separately by year

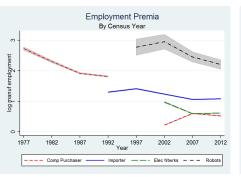
Adopters are larger and more productive

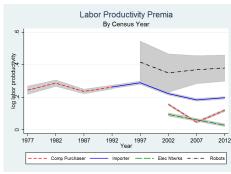




- Computer purchase premia fall dramatically over time
- Importer premia relatively flat

Adopters are larger and more productive





- Computer purchase premia fall dramatically over time
- Importer premia relatively flat
- Only the very biggest firms import robots
- Premia generally falling

Does plant closure within firms relate to trade or tech?

 Estimate probability that plant i, in firm f, and industry j exits over next 5 years

$$Pr(Death_{ijf}^{t:t+5} = 1|X_{ijf}^t) = \alpha + \beta Activity_{ijf}^t + \gamma In(emp_{ijf}^t) + \eta_f^t + \delta^t$$

- Activities: purchasing computers, using electronic networks, concurrent changes in industry import penetration
- Estimate separately for pre and post 2000
- Control for plant size

Dep var is an indicator equal to one if a plant exits in the next 5 years

	Plant Death		
	Pre 2000	2000s	
CompPurch ^t _{pf}	-0.057*** (0.003)	0.00 (0.003)	

Initial log of firm emp	Yes	Yes
Fixed Effects	Firm and	l Year

Dep var is an indicator equal to one if a plant exits in the next 5 years

	Plant Death		
	Pre 2000	2000s	
$CompPurch_{pf}^t$	-0.057***	0.00	
	(0.003)	(0.003)	
ElecNetworks ^t _{pf}		-0.039***	
p.		(0.003)	

Initial log of firm emp	Yes	Yes
Fixed Effects	Firm and	Year

Dep var is an indicator equal to one if a plant exits in the next 5 years

	Plant Death		
	Pre 2000	2000s	
CompPurch ^t	-0.057***	0.00	
,	(0.003)	(0.003)	
ElecNetworks ^t _{pf}		-0.039***	
=		(0.003)	
Δ Imp P en $_{pi}^{t:t+5}$	0.251***	0.06	
•	(0.059)	(0.046)	

Initial log of firm emp	Yes	Yes
Fixed Effects	Firm and	Year

Dep var is an indicator equal to one if a plant exits in the next 5 years

	Plant Death	
	Pre 2000	2000s
$CompPurch_{pf}^{t}$	-0.057***	0.00
ElecNetworks ^t	(0.003)	(0.003) -0.039***
ρ,		(0.003)
$\Delta ImpPen_{pi}^{t:t+5}$	0.251***	0.06
r.	(0.059)	(0.046)
$\Delta \mathit{ChinaImpPen}_{pi}^{t:t+5}$	0.721***	0.09
,	(0.121)	(0.084)
Initial log of firm emp	Yes	Yes
Fixed Effects	Firm and Year	

Dep var is an indicator equal to one if a plant or firm exits in the next 5 years

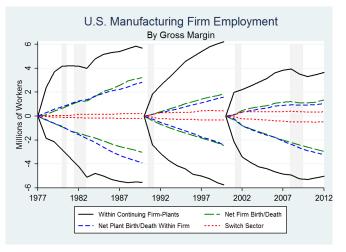
	Plant Death		Fire	m Death
	Pre 2000	2000s	Pre 2000	2000s
$CompPurch_{pf}^t$	-0.057*** (0.003)	0.00 (0.003)	0.060***	-0.019*** (0.00)
ElecNetworks ^t _{pf}	(5.555)	-0.039***	(5.55)	-0.027***
r -		(0.003)		(0.00)
Δ Imp P en $_{pi}^{t:t+5}$	0.251***	0.06		
Δ ChinalmpPen $_{pi}^{t:t+5}$	(0.059) 0.721***	(0.046) 0.09		
•	(0.121)	(0.084)		
Initial log of firm emp	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fixed Effects	Firm and Year		Industry and Year	
Notes: Each cell is a separate regression. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ Standard errors for regressions with ind import penetration clustered at the ind level.				

23 / 37

Dep var is an indicator equal to one if a plant or firm exits in the next 5 years

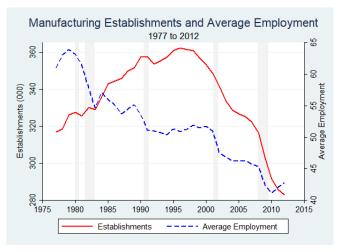
	Plant Death			Firm Death	
	Pre 2000	2000s		Pre 2000	2000s
$CompPurch_{pf}^t$	-0.057*** (0.003)	0.00 (0.003)		0.060***	-0.019*** (0.00)
$ElecNetworks_{pf}^{t}$,	-0.039***		,	-0.027***
Δ Imp P e $n_{pi}^{t:t+5}$	0.251***	(0.003) 0.06		0.003	(0.00) 0.034
ŗ	(0.059)	(0.046)		(0.06)	(0.05)
$\Delta \mathit{ChinaImpPen}^{t:t+5}_{\mathit{pi}}$	0.721***	0.09		-0.036	0.204***
	(0.121)	(0.084)		(0.13)	(0.06)
Initial log of firm emp	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
Fixed Effects	Firm and Year			Industr	ry and Year
Notes: Each cell is a separate regression $* n < 0.10$ ** $n < 0.05$ *** $n < 0.01$					

Net margins mask significant churn at continuers



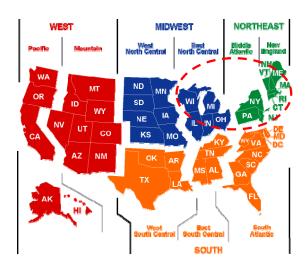
- Continuing firm-plants churn significantly more
- Decrease in churn and disproportionate increase in deaths
- Increase in switching over decades

Average plant size has been falling throughout

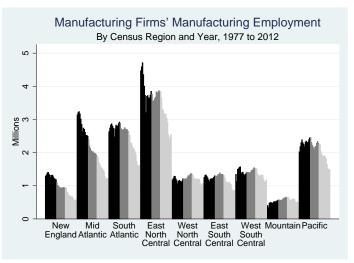


- Average plant size falls 29% from 1977-2012
- Number of plants starts to decline in 1997
- Number of plant births starts to decline in 1995

We examine firm margins by 9 Census regions

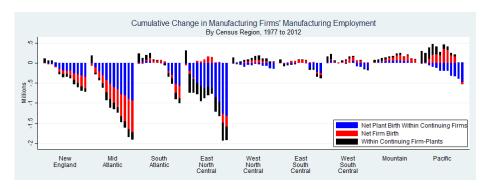


Manufacturing employment differs across these regions



- NE and MA declining throughout
- Many regions grow in 1990s—all decline in 2000s

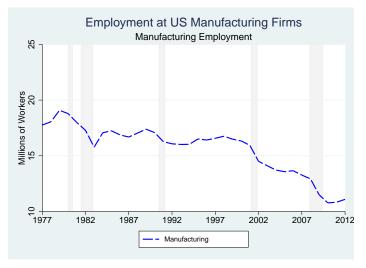
Manufacturing employment margins differ across regions



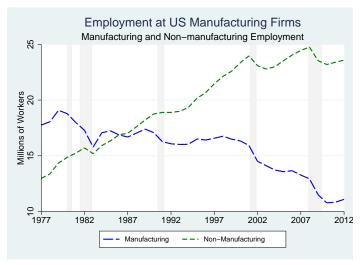
- Majority of emp loss from firm death in NE and Mid-Atlantic
- Mountain and Pacific have net emp gains from firm births



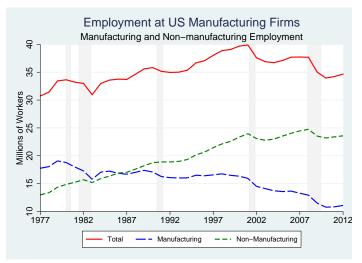
• Manuf firm definition: firm with 1+ manuf estab in 1+ years



Manufacturing employment falls by 6.7 M

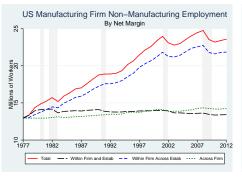


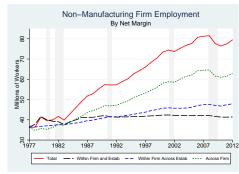
- Manufacturing employment falls by 6.7 M
- \bullet Non-manufacturing employment rises by 10.6 M



- Manufacturing employment falls by 6.7 M
- Non-manufacturing employment rises by 10.6 M
- Total employment rises by 3.9 M (but falling in 2000s)

Manufacturing firms create net employment at new plants

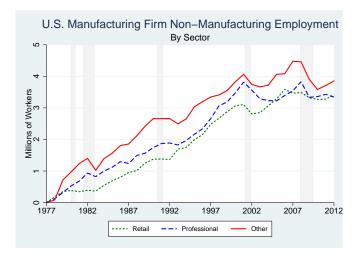




(a) Manufacturing firms

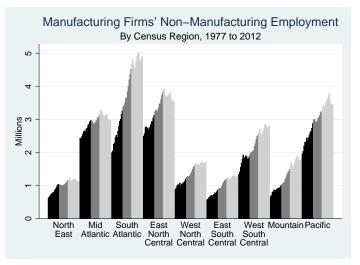
- (b) Non-manufacturing firms
- At manuf firms, 80% of growth within firm, across estabs
- At non-manuf firms, growth driven by new firms

Retail and professional services growth equally important



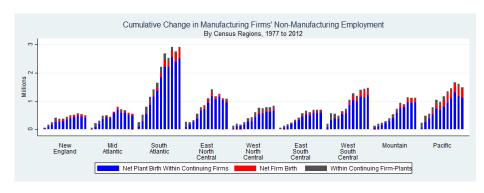
- ullet About 1/3 of growth accounted by each of these categories
- All types recover after 2001 recession, in contrast to manuf emp

Non-manufacturing employment also differs across regions



- Growth across regions in 1980s and 1990s
- Growth in 2000s in several regions

Non-manufacturing employment margins differ across regions

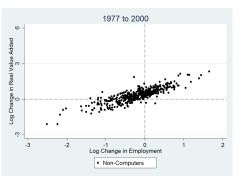


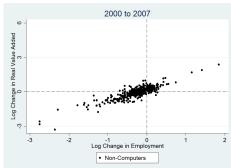
- Net firm birth emp growth concentrated in a few regions
- Net plant birth within continuers dominates margins

Conclusion

- Manufacturing employment is declining, but real output is not
 - Most of the decline is within firm
 - ▶ These firms are growing in other (potentially complementary) sectors
- Trade and technology highly interrelated
 - Adopters bigger and more productive
 - Tech and trade adoption premia decline over time
 - ► Tech and trade relate to survival and growth
- Potential heterogeneity in terms of trade and technology effects
 - Non-traders and non-adopters face increased competition
 - ▶ Import competition and foreign sourcing/offshoring not the same

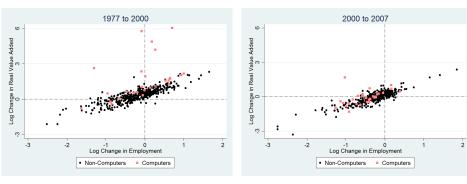
Employment and output diverge within NAICS 6 industries





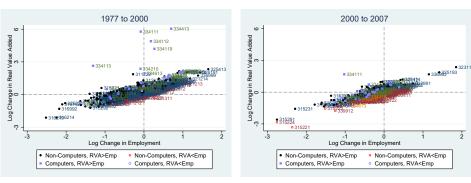
- Outside computers, log changes in emp and RVA correlated
- Outside computers, in 2000s
 - ► Fewer industries w/emp growth
 - ► Fewer industries with divergence b/w emp and RVA

Employment and output diverge within NAICS 6 industries



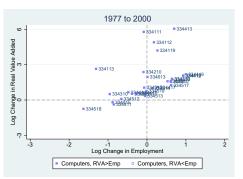
- Higher share of Computer inds with RVA growth pre 2000
- Fewer Computer inds with emp growth in 2000s
- Higher share of Computer inds with divergence b/w emp and RVA

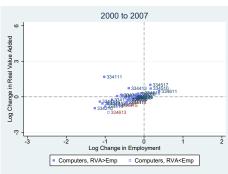
Employment and output diverge within NAICS 6 industries



- 334113 is Computer Terminal Manufacturing
- 334111 is Electronic Computer Manufacturing
- 334413 is Semiconductor and Related Device Manufacturing

Just Computers





- 334113 is Computer Terminal Manufacturing
- 334111 is Electronic Computer Manufacturing
- 334413 is Semiconductor and Related Device Manufacturing

Population across these regions

