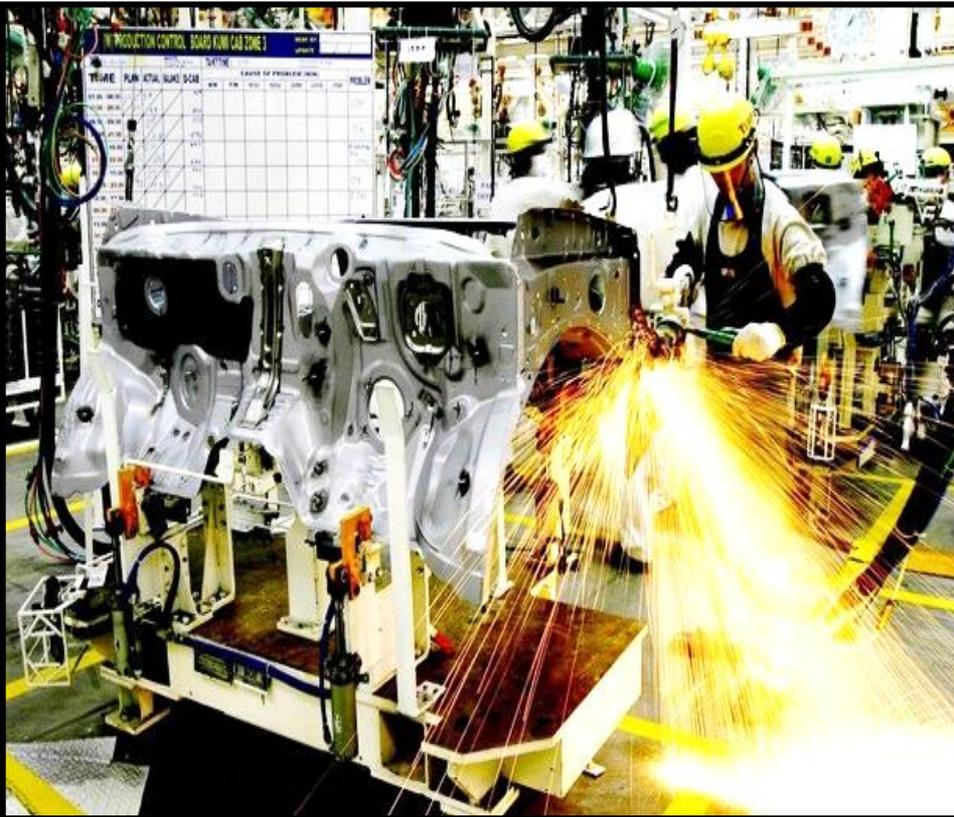


Management and Productivity

Nick Bloom (Stanford)

ABFER Masterclass 24th 2018



Ohio, USA



Maharashtra, India

Francis Walker (1840-1897), the founding President of the AEA

Walker ran the 1870 and 1880 Censuses

Based on this Walker wrote his 1887 paper "*On the Source of Business Profits*" published in the first volume of the QJE.

It claimed management was the major source of performance differences across US firms.



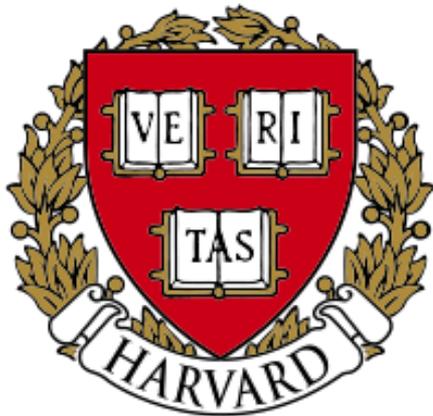
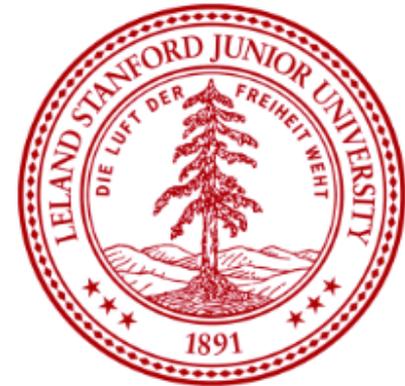
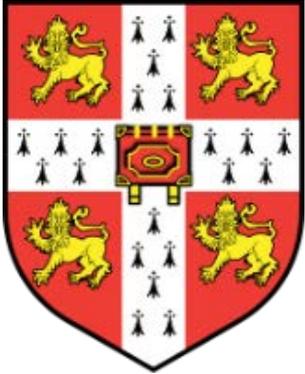
But the evidence on management is limited

“No potential driving factor of productivity has seen a higher ratio of speculation to empirical study”.

Chad Syversson (2011, JEL)



Part of a research group looking scientifically at management, and summarize 15+ years research



accenture

McKinsey & Company

Summary key findings

- 1) Massive variation in productivity across firms
- 2) About $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ variation appears to be due to management
- 3) Management driven by regulation, ownership, competition, education and knowledge spillovers
- 4) Managers matter – large fixed effects and variations in style

Great opportunities – huge areas almost nothing is know about.
Strategy, diversity, work-life balance, manager RCTs etc.

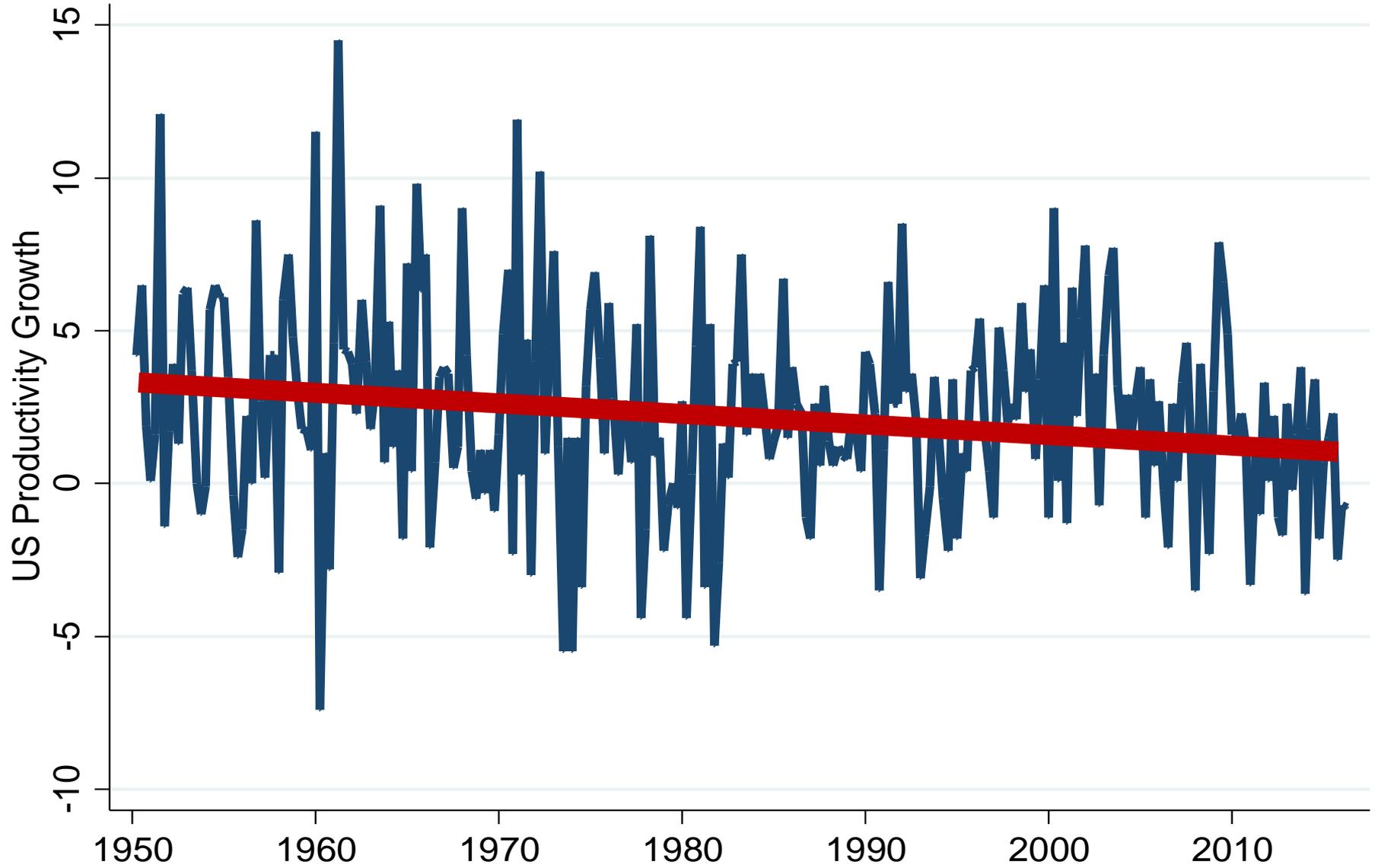
(1) Productivity – “A Tale of Two Facts”

(2) Management Practices

(3) Management field experiments

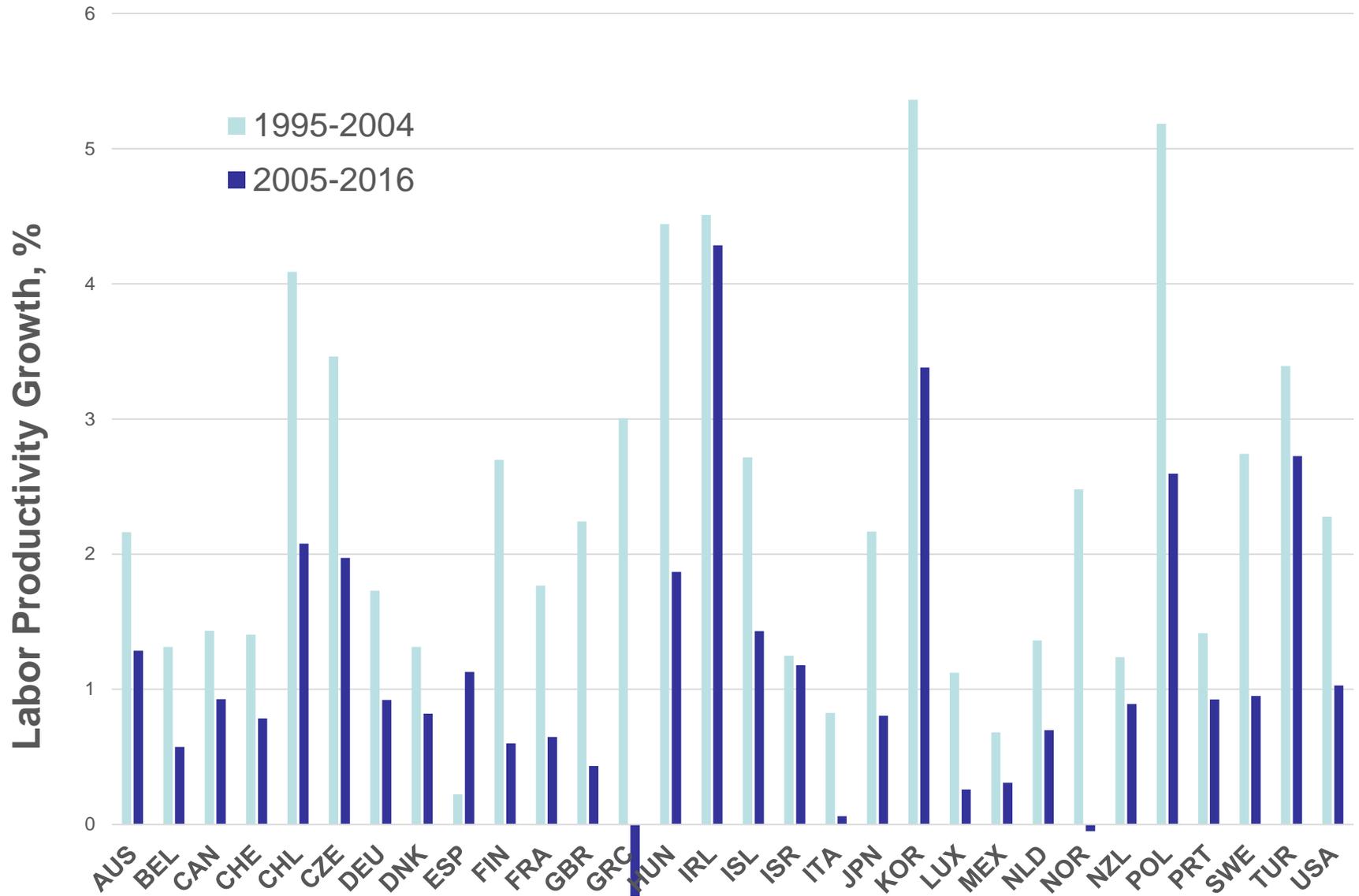
(4) Managers (the people at the top)

Macro Fact: US productivity growth has been slowing (where is the IT revolution)?



Source: US Bureau of Labor Statistics, growth of real output per hour (labor productivity), series PRS84006092

Macro Fact: Productivity growth is slowing across almost all countries (including Singapore)



Source: OECD, Syverson (2018)

But what exactly is productivity?

Labor Productivity (basically GDP per hour worked):

$$LP_{i,t} = va_{i,t} - l_{i,t} \leftarrow$$



Three factor TFP (control for capital):

$$TFP_{i,t}^3 = y_{i,t} - \alpha_l l_{i,t} - \alpha_k k_{i,t} - \alpha_m m_{i,t} \leftarrow$$

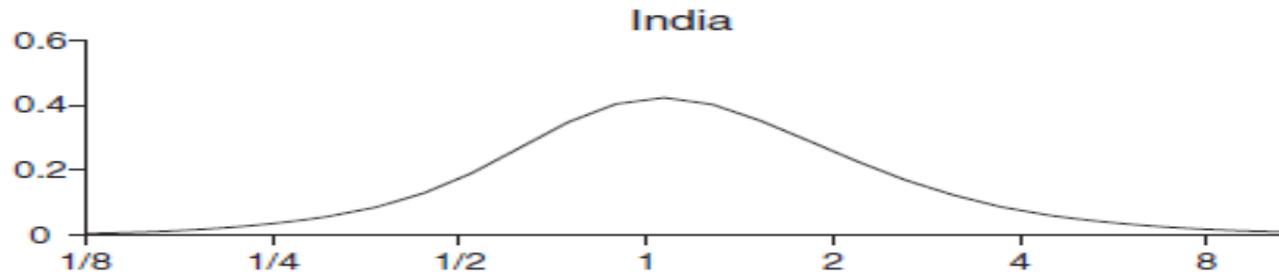


Five factor TFP (e.g. control for capital, energy and computers):

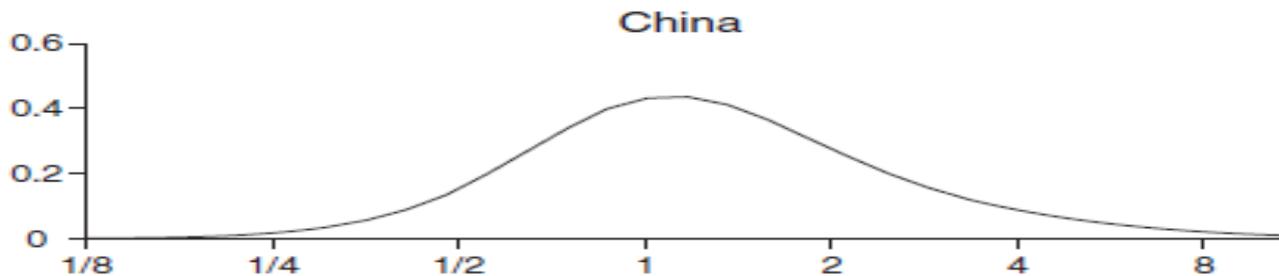
$$TFP_{i,t}^5 = y_{i,t} - \alpha_l l_{i,t} - \alpha_k k_{i,t} - \alpha_m m_{i,t} - \alpha_e e_{i,t} - \alpha_c c_{i,t}$$

Note: va=log(value added), l=log(labor force), k=log(tangible capital), m=log(materials, e=log(energy), c=log(IT). If IT included need to remove from tangible capital.

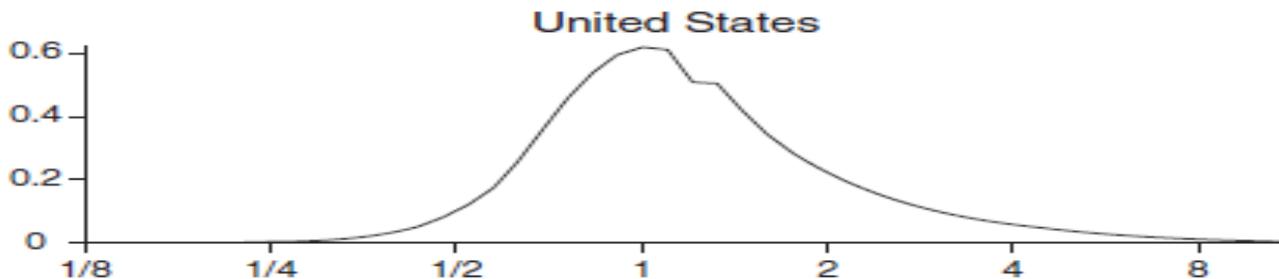
Micro Fact: Economists also noticed massive productivity spreads across firms



90:10
TFP 6:1



90:10
TFP 4:1



90:10
TFP 2:1

FIGURE II
Distribution of TFPR

Source: Hsieh and Klenow (2008); mean=1

Is this productivity spread just bad data (all measurement error) - unlikely

1. Productivity is strongly linked with exit and growth
2. In very homogeneous industries (e.g. boxes, white pan bread, carbon black) still see this spread – e.g. Foster, Haltiwanger and Syverson, 2008 AER



Are low macro productivity growth and micro productivity dispersion related?

Define a macro productivity as P_t

$$P_t = \sum s_{i,t} \omega_{i,t}$$

Where:

$\omega_{i,t}$ is the productivity of establishment i in period t (i.e. $\log(\text{labor productivity})$ or $\log(\text{TFP})$)

$s_{i,t}$ is the share of establishment i in the economy in period t (i.e. the share of employment)



Decomposing productivity

$$\begin{aligned} P_t - P_{t-1} &= \sum s_{i,t} \omega_{i,t} - \sum s_{i,t-1} \omega_{i,t-1} \\ &= \sum s_{i,t-1} (\omega_{i,t} - \omega_{i,t-1}) \quad \text{Within term} \\ &+ \sum (s_{i,t} - s_{i,t-1}) \omega_{i,t-1} \quad \text{Between term} \\ &+ \sum (s_{i,t} - s_{i,t-1}) (\omega_{i,t} - \omega_{i,t-1}) \quad \text{Cross term} \\ &+ \sum s_{i,t}^{Entry} (\omega_{i,t}^{Entry} - \omega_{i,t}^{Average}) \quad \text{Entry term} \\ &- \sum s_{i,t}^{Exit} (\omega_{i,t}^{Exit} - \omega_{i,t}^{Average}) \quad \text{Exit term} \end{aligned}$$

This is the Bailey, Hulten and Campbell (1992) decomposition



These two effects are well known to cricket fans

Within batsman
(each batsman improves)



Between batsman (more time for your best batsman, to raise your “batting average”)



In economics this led to a recent explosion of papers on “reallocation” and “misallocation”



(2) Management Practices – “The Inside Job”

Two ways to collect management data

- Telephone Surveys

- National Statistical Office Surveys

THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF ECONOMICS

Vol. CXXII November 2007 Issue 4

MEASURING AND EXPLAINING MANAGEMENT
PRACTICES ACROSS FIRMS AND COUNTRIES*

NICHOLAS BLOOM AND JOHN VAN REENEN

We use an innovative survey tool to collect *management practice* data from 732 medium-sized firms in the United States, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. These measures of managerial practice are strongly associated with firm-level productivity, profitability, Tobin's Q , and survival rates. Management practices also display significant cross-country differences, with U.S. firms on average better managed than European firms, and significant within-country differences, with a long tail of extremely badly managed firms. We find that poor management practices are more prevalent when product market competition is weak and/or when family-owned firms pass management control down to the eldest sons (primogeniture).

I. INTRODUCTION

Economists have long speculated on why such astounding differences in productivity performance exist between firms and plants within countries, even within narrowly defined sectors. For example, labor productivity varies dramatically even within the

* More details can be found in the working paper version of this paper (Bloom and Van Reenen 2006). We would like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council, the Anglo-German Foundation, and the Advanced Institute for Management for their substantial financial support. We received no funding from the global management consultancy firm we worked with in developing the survey tool. Our partnership with John Dowdy, Stephen Dorgan, and Tom Rippin has been particularly important in the development of the project. The Bundesbank and the UK Treasury supported the development of the survey. Helpful comments have been received from many people including Larry Katz, Ed Glaeser, and four anonymous referees, as well as seminar audiences at Berkeley, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, the Federal Reserve Board, Harvard, Hebrew University, LSE, Maryland, Minnesota, MIT, NBER, Northwestern, NYU, Princeton, PSE, Stanford, UCL, Wharton, and Yale.

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The Quarterly Journal of Economics, November 2007

Telephone
Surveys

Survey methodology (Bloom & Van Reenen, 2007, QJE)

1) Developing management questions

- Scorecard for 18 monitoring, targets & people management practices ≈45 minute phone interview of plant managers

2) Getting firms to participate in the interview

- Introduced as “Lean-manufacturing” interview, no financials
- Official Endorsement: Bundesbank, RBI, World Bank, BOJ etc.

3) Obtaining unbiased comparable responses, “Double-blind”

- Interviewers do not know the company’s performance
- Managers are not informed (in advance) they are scored

Some typical endorsement letters



भारतीय रिज़र्व बैंक
RESERVE BANK OF INDIA
www.rbi.org.in

मुख्य महासंचालक
Chief General Manager

RECEIVED
21 APR 2006
ICC
COMMUNICATIONS OFFICE

HRDD No. 2843 / 0240.01 / 2005-06 April 18, 2006

Dear Prof. Bloom

I would like to confirm the official support of Reserve Bank of India in your joint London School of Economics and Stanford project talking to managers across India. Continually improving our productivity and management practices is important for ensuring economic growth and employment, and we believe this project would be very helpful in pursuing this.

With regards
Yours sincerely
SC Ghose
(Sandip Ghose)

Prof. Nick Bloom
PI Program Director
Centre for Economic Performance
London School of Economics
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE



MINISTERSTWO SKARBU PAŃSTWA

Warszawa, dnia 17 maja 2006r.

Sekretarz Stanu
Paweł Szalamacha
MSP/000299/06

Prof. Nick Bloom
Director of the Productivity
And Innovation Program
Centre for Economic Performance
London School of Economics

Szanowny Panie Profesorze.

Chciałbym wyrazić poparcie dla badań naukowych prowadzonych przez London School of Economics w porozumieniu z Uniwersyteciem w Cambridge i Uniwersyteciem Stanforda dotyczących praktyk zarządzania i badania produktywności w małych i średnich firmach. Często się również, że do badań prowadzonych w wielu krajach świata planuje państwo włączyć około 200 polskich firm.

Uważam, że taki projekt obok oczywistych walorów naukowych, ma olbrzymi walor praktyczny, a dane uzyskane dotyczące Polskich firm przyczynia się do lepszej ich konkurencyjności na globalnym rynku.

Życzę Panu i Pana zespołowi wielu sukcesów w realizacji tego ambitnego projektu i jestem zainteresowany jego rezultatami.

Z wyrazami szacunku,

Paweł Szalamacha
Paweł Szalamacha

World Bank
INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

1818 H Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20433
U.S.A.

(202) 473-2111
Cable Address
Cable Address

May 28, 2013

Professor Nicholas Bloom
Department of Economics
Stanford University

Dear Nick Bloom, Renata Lemos and Daniela Scur,

I would like to confirm our enthusiastic support for the joint project between academia at London School of Economics, Stanford University, Harvard Business School, Cambridge University and Oxford University.

This study, aimed at understanding management practices across a range of organizations in African countries and at comparing these practices to practices in North American, European, Asian and Latin American countries, provides a valuable and timely contribution to sectoral competitiveness and overall regional development.

We will follow your results with great interest.

Sincerely,
Ja
Gauri Tata
Sector Director

Financial and Private Sector Development Department



Toshihiko Fukui
GOVERNOR

Bank of Japan

MAILING ADDRESS:
CPO BOX 203
TOKYO 100-8630
JAPAN
TEL. 3-3279-1111

2007.09.18 09:08 P1

FROM : FROM NO. : FROM NO. :
FROM NO. : FROM NO. : FROM NO. :

中國人民銀行
THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA
32 Chungfeng Street, West District, Beijing, China 100800

Toshihiko Fukui
GOVERNOR

July 4, 2006

Sir Howard Davies
Director
The London School of Economics and
Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
United Kingdom

Dear Howard,

Thank you for your letter regarding your international project on comparative productivity in manufacturing companies around the world.

Given the deepening global linkage of economic activities, your initiative to expand the

J. Van Reenen

Professor Nicholas Stern
Director of the Asia Research Centre
London School of Economics

September 12, 2007

Dear Professor Nicholas Stern,

Thank you for your email of August 20 addressed to Governor Zhou. On his behalf, I would like to congratulate you on your appointment as the first holder of the IG Patel Chair at the London School of Economics and the Director of the Asia Research Centre.

Governor Zhou thanks you for informing him of the joint London School of Economics and Stanford research project led by Professor John Van Reenen. He agrees with you that improving productivity and management practices is important for ensuring economic growth and employment, and believes that this project would be valuable in understanding managerial strengths and weaknesses. Personally he welcomes this project. He suggests that Professor Van Reenen approach the concerned

Survey methodology (Bloom & Van Reenen, 2007, QJE)

1) Developing management questions

- Scorecard for 18 monitoring, targets & people management practices ≈45 minute phone interview of plant managers

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- Interviewers do not know the company’s performance
- Managers are not informed (in advance) they are scored

Example monitoring question, scored based on a number of questions starting with “*How is performance tracked?*”

Score	(1): Measures tracked do not indicate directly if overall business objectives are being met. Many processes aren't tracked at all	(3): Most key performance indicators are tracked formally. Tracking is overseen by senior management	(5): Performance is continuously tracked and communicated, both formally and informally, to all staff using a range of visual management tools
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Note: All 18 questions & 50+ examples in <http://worldmanagementsurvey.org/>

Examples of performance metrics – Heathrow



Example of no performance metrics: Textile Plant

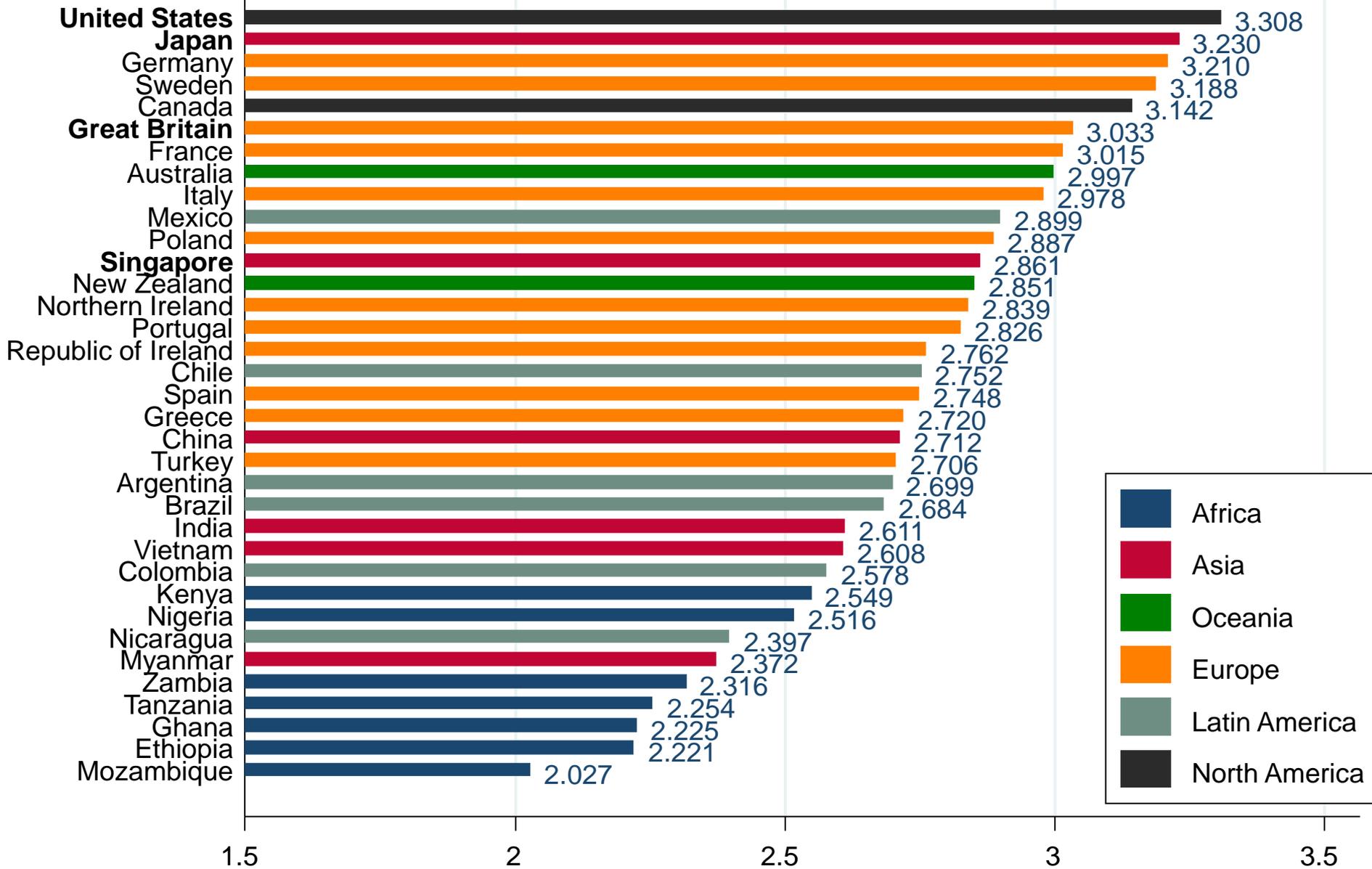


Example incentives question, scored based on questions starting with “*How does the promotion system work?*”

Score	(1) People are promoted primarily upon the basis of tenure, irrespective of performance (ability & effort)	(3) People are promoted primarily upon the basis of performance	(5) We actively identify, develop and promote our top performers
--------------	---	--	---

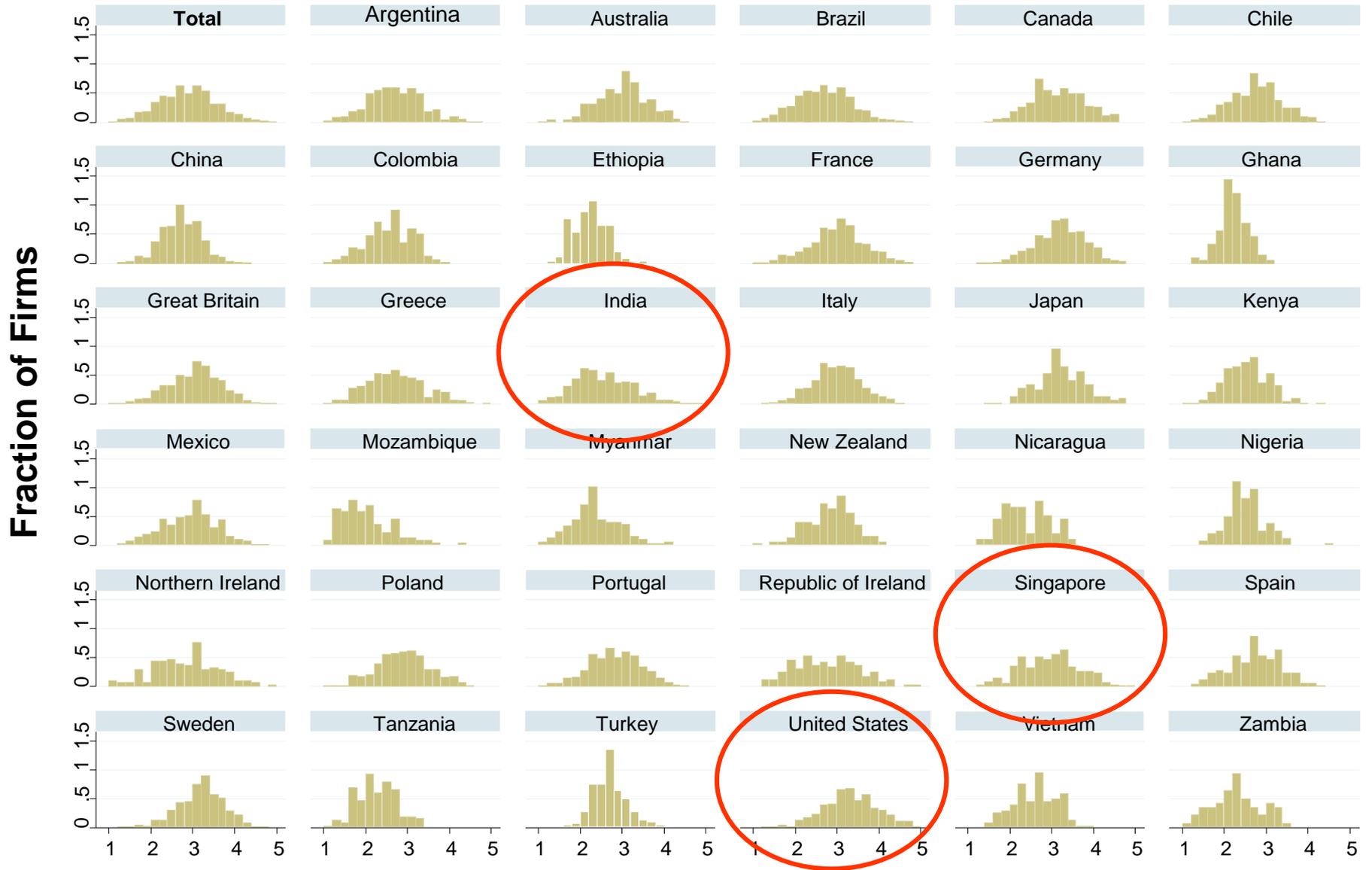
Note: All 18 questions & 50+ examples in <http://worldmanagementsurvey.org/>

Wide spread of management in manufacturing



Average Management Scores, Manufacturing Firms

Management also varies heavily within countries



Firm level average management scores, 1 (worst practice) to 5 (best practice)

These management scores are positively correlated with firm performance – even with many controls

Dependent variable	Productivity	Profits (ROCE)	5yr Sales growth	Share Price (Tobin Q)	Exit
Estimation	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	Probit
Firm sample	All	All	All	Quoted	All
Management	28.7***	2.018***	0.047***	0.250***	-0.262**
Firms	3469	1994	1883	374	3161

Includes controls for country, industry, year, firm-size, firm-age, skills etc. All firms (public and private) for which accounts data is available

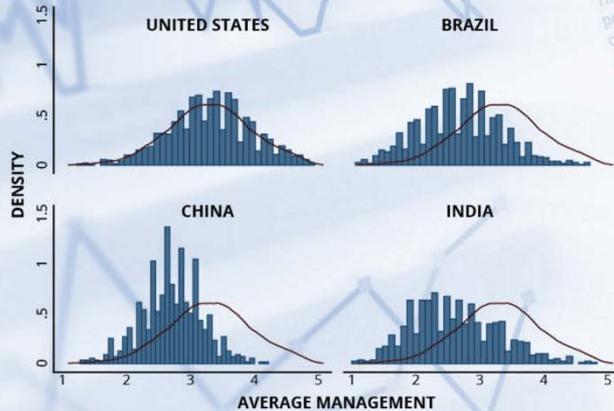
Significance levels: *** 1%, ** 5%, * 10% (clustered by firm)

Now run surveys in 35+ countries and counting

www.worldmanagementsurvey.com



ACADEMIC POLICY & BUSINESS TEACHING SURVEY DATA MEDIA ABOUT US



RESEARCH

We have worked with thousands of managers from nearly 40 countries to measure performance in their firms.

LATEST NEWS

DATE FOR YOUR CALENDARS: NEXT EMPIRICAL MANAGEMENT CONFERENCE AT MIT ON DECEMBER 8-9, CALL FOR PAPERS COMING IN JULY.

NEW PAPER: INTERNATIONAL DATA ON MEASURING MANAGEMENT PRACTICES



Benchmark your organization

Using our web-based tool, answer a set of questions to benchmark your organization against our full dataset in the four main sectors of the WMS research.

[BENCHMARK NOW](#)



Survey Data

Four things this experience taught me:

1. Focus on topics if you feel they matter

2. Ta

3. Su

4. Sh

31 Looking ahead to the 2017 calendar year, what is the approximate dollar value of **products shipped** you would anticipate for this establishment in the following scenarios, and what likelihood do you assign to each scenario?

2017 scenarios, from lowest to highest	Approximate dollar value of shipments in 2017			Percentage likelihood (values in this column should sum to 100)	
	\$Bil.	Mil.	Thou.		%
LOWEST	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
LOW	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
MEDIUM	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
HIGH	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
HIGHEST	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Total				<input type="text" value="100"/>	<input type="text" value=""/>

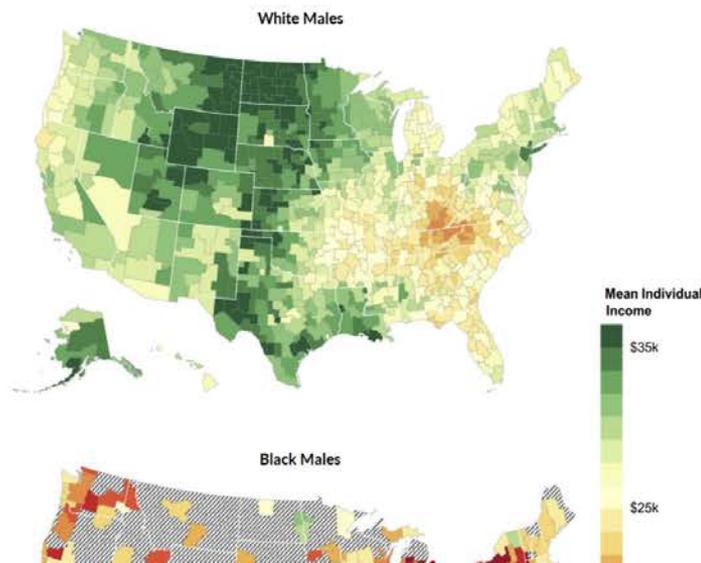
Data sharing website – four examples

How can we improve economic opportunities for our children?

We use big data to identify new pathways to upward mobility.

Two Americas: Upward Mobility for White vs. Black Children

Average incomes of children growing up in low-income (25th percentile) families



[Our Latest](#)

[Race and Opportunity in the United States](#)

In our most recent study, we analyze racial differences in economic opportunity using data on 20 million children and their parents. We show black children have much lower rates of upward mobility and higher rates of downward mobility than white children, leading to black-white income disparities that persist across generations. While Hispanic and black Americans presently have comparable incomes, the incomes of Hispanic Americans are increasing steadily across generations.

The black-white gap in upward mobility is driven entirely by differences in men's, not women's, outcomes. Black and white men have very different outcomes even if they grow up in two-parent families with comparable incomes, education, and wealth; live on the same city block; and attend the same school. Black-white gaps are smaller in low-poverty neighborhoods with lower levels of racial bias among whites and a larger fraction of black fathers at home. We conclude that reducing the black-white income gap will require efforts

MY FAVOURITE QUOTES:

The difficulties of defining ownership in Europe

Production Manager: “We’re owned by the Mafia”

Interviewer: “I think that’s the “*Other*” category.....although I guess I could put you down as an “*Italian multinational*” ?”

Americans on geography

Interviewer: “How many production sites do you have abroad?”

Manager in Indiana, US: “Well...we have one in Texas...”

Two ways to collect management data

- Telephone Surveys**

- National Statistical Office Surveys**

National Statistical Office Surveys

What Drives Differences in Management Practices?

Nicholas Bloom¹, Erik Brynjolfsson², Lucia Foster³, Ron Jarmin³,
Megha Patnaik⁴, Itay Saporta-Eksten⁵ and John Van Reenen⁶

This version: April 25th, 2018

Abstract: Partnering with the US Census Bureau, we implement a new survey of “structured” management practices in two waves of about 35,000 manufacturing plants each in 2010 and 2015. We find enormous dispersion of management practices across plants, with 40% of this variation across plants *within* the same firm. This variation in management practices accounts for about a fifth of the spread of productivity, a similar fraction as that accounted for by R&D, and larger than the fraction explained by ICT and human capital. Management practices are more predictive of long-term survival than productivity. We find causal evidence that two drivers are very important in improving management. Regulation of the business environment (as measured by the Right-to-Work laws) boosts management practices associated with incentives. Learning spillovers as measured by the arrival of large new entrants in the county (“Million Dollar Plants”) increases the management scores of incumbents.

Keywords: Management, productivity, competition, learning

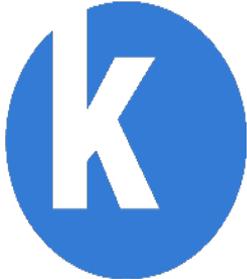
JEL Classification: L2, M2, O32, O33.

Disclaimer: Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Census Bureau. All results have been reviewed to ensure that no confidential information was disclosed.

Acknowledgements: Financial support was provided in part by the National Science Foundation, Kauffman Foundation, the MIT Initiative on the Digital Economy, and the Sloan Foundation and administered by the National Bureau of Economic Research. We thank Hyunseob Kim for sharing data on large plant openings. We are indebted to numerous Census Bureau staff for their help in developing, conducting and analyzing the survey; we especially thank Julius Smith, Cathy Buffington, Scott Ohlmacher and William Wisniewski. This paper is an updated version of a working paper previously titled “Management in America” and we thank Stefano DellaVigna and Marianne Bertrand, our anonymous referees, our formal discussants Philippe Aghion, Namrata Kala and Andrea Pratt as well as numerous participants at seminars and conferences for many helpful comments.

¹ Stanford and NBER, ² MIT and NBER, ³ U.S. Census Bureau, ⁴ Stanford, ⁵ Tel-Aviv and UCL, ⁶ MIT, CEP and NBER

In 2010 raised funding to run a big management survey with the US Census



EWING MARION
KAUFFMAN
FOUNDATION



Management and Organizational Practices Survey 2010

It was delivered to ~50,000 manufacturing plants in 2011 (asking about 2010) and 2016 (asking about 2015)

This was quick and easy to fill out - and mandatory - so 74% of plants responded.

In 2010: covering 5.6m employees (>50% of US manufacturing employment)



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Economic and Statistics Administration
U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

FORM
MP-10002 (DRAFT)

2010 MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES SURVEY

OMB No. 0607-0963; Approval Expires 2/28/2014

MP-10002	
Need help or have questions about filling out this form? Visit www.census.gov/econhelp/mops Call 1-301-763-4673, between 8:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m., Eastern time, Monday through Friday. - OR - Write to the address below. Include your 11-digit Census File Number (CFN) printed in the mailing address.	
Mail your completed form to: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU 1201 East 10th Street Jeffersonville, IN 47132-0001	
<input type="text"/> (Please correct any errors in this mailing address.)	
YOUR RESPONSE IS REQUIRED BY LAW. Title 13, United States Code, requires businesses and other organizations that receive this questionnaire to answer the questions and return the report to the U.S. Census Bureau. By the same law, YOUR CENSUS REPORT IS CONFIDENTIAL. It may be seen only by persons sworn to uphold the confidentiality of Census Bureau information and may be used only for statistical purposes. Further, copies retained in respondents' files are immune from legal process.	
INTERNET REPORTING OPTION AVAILABLE - We encourage you to complete this survey online at: www.census.gov/econhelp/mops	
User ID: <input type="text"/>	Password: <input type="text"/>
Public reporting burden for this collection is estimated to be 30 minutes. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to: Paperwork Project 0607-0963, U.S. Census Bureau, 4600 Silver Hill Road, ASMD - 3K138, Washington, DC 20233. You may e-mail comments to Paperwork@census.gov ; use "Paperwork Project 0607-0963" as the subject.	
An Office of Management and Budget (OMB) approval number is printed in the upper right corner of this form. Without displaying this number, we could not collect this information or require your response.	
The reporting unit for this form is an establishment which is generally a single physical location where business is conducted or where services or industrial operations are performed.	

10002012

The Management and Organizational Practices survey asked about two basic types of management practices

Monitoring: data collection and analysis

Incentives: rewarding high performers, “fixing” low performers

We call intensive use of these practices “Structured management”

The Management and Organizational Practices survey asks about performance monitoring e.g.

2 In 2005 and 2010, how many key performance indicators were monitored at this establishment?

Examples: Metrics on production, cost, waste, quality, inventory, energy, absenteeism and deliveries on time.

Check one box for each year

	2005	2010
1-2 key performance indicators	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3-9 key performance indicators	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10 or more key performance indicators	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No key performance indicators (If no key performance indicators in both years, SKIP to 6)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

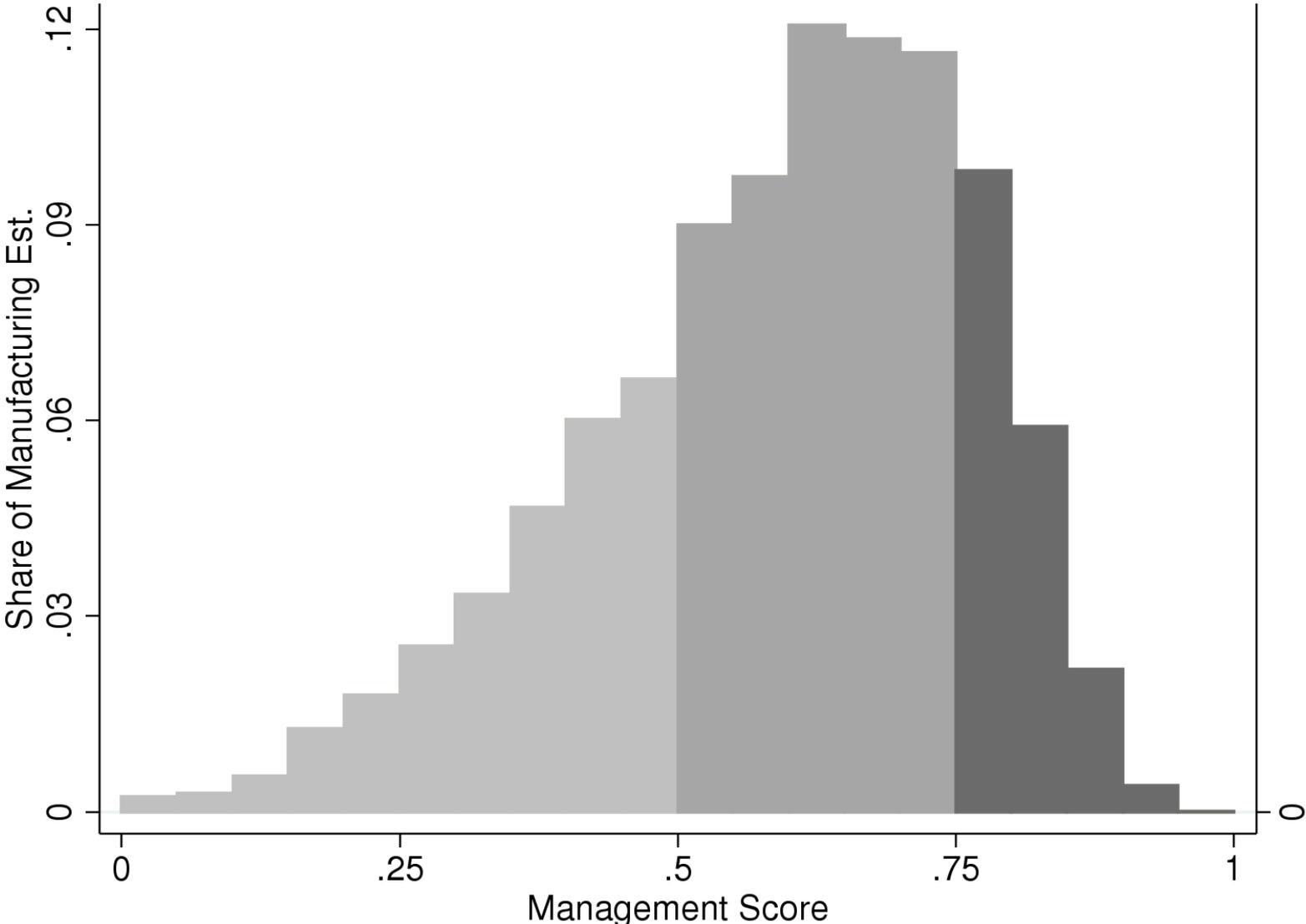
The Management and Organizational Practices survey asks about incentives e.g.

14 In 2005 and 2010, what was the primary way **managers** were promoted at this establishment?

Check one box for each year

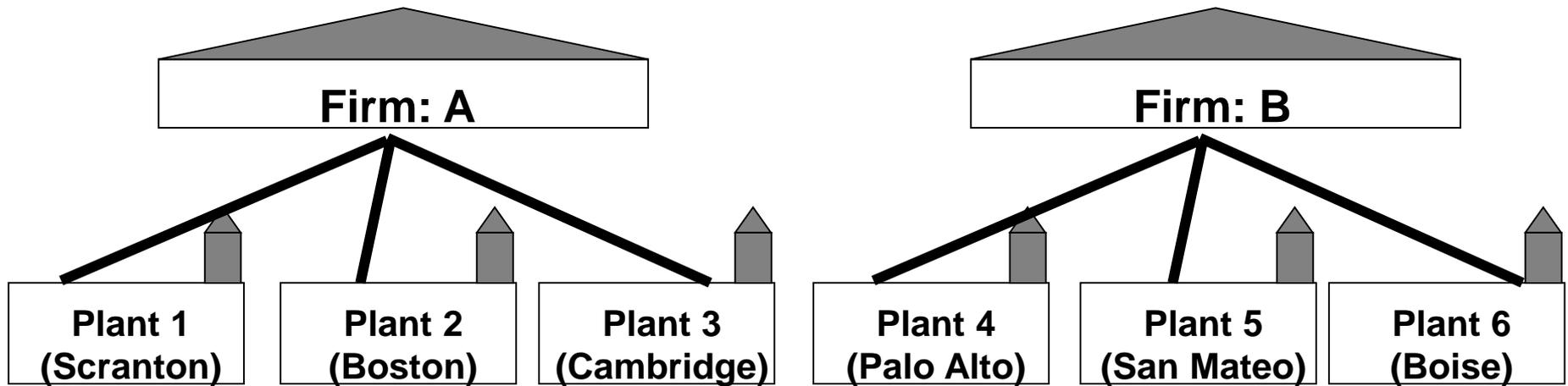
	2005	2010
Promotions were based solely on performance and ability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Promotions were based partly on performance and ability, and partly on other factors (for example, tenure or family connections)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Promotions were based mainly on factors other than performance and ability (for example, tenure or family connections)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Managers are normally not promoted	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Found a big spread of management (even in the US!)



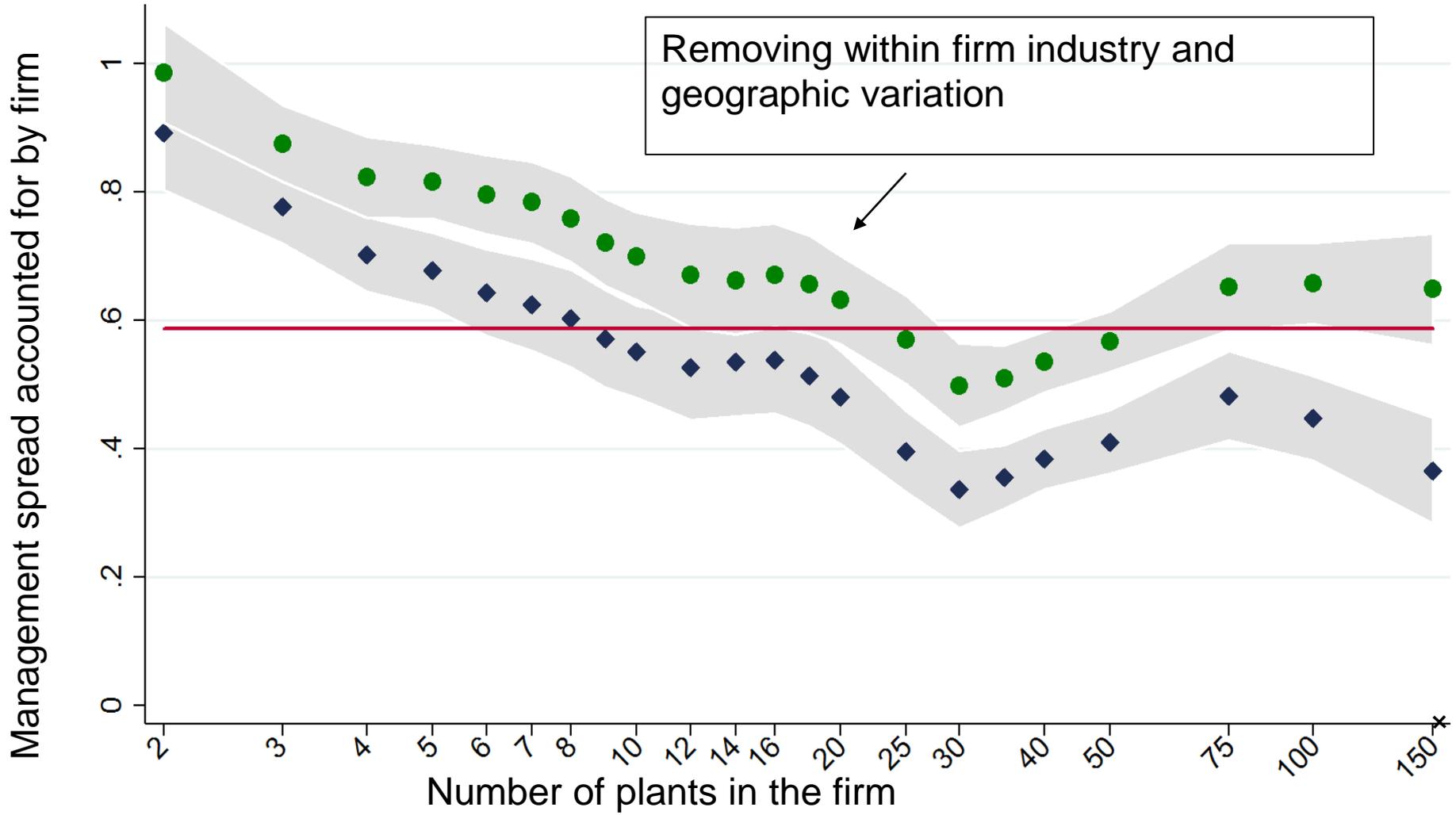
Note: The management score is the average of the scores for each of the 16 questions, where each question is normalized on a 0-1 scale (from least to most structured).

Old question: how much is within vs between firms?



- Need to strip out measurement error - pervasive (in all data) and for variance decompositions generates bias
- MOPS 2010 fortunate to have ≈ 500 plants in which two *different people* responded to the same survey – find $\approx 45\%$

Found about 60% between firms (so 40% within firms)



Note: Dots show the share of management score variation accounted for by the firm with different numbers of manufacturing establishments ranging from that number to the next value – so for example, 50 plants refers to 50 to 74 plants. After removing the 45.4% accounted for by measurement error. The bootstrap sampled 95% confidence interval shown in grey shading. Sample of 16,500 establishments across the 3100 firms with 2+ establishments in the 2010 MOPS survey. Industry variation captured by 6-digit NAICS code and geographic variation by MSA dummies (State is the MSA if missing).

Management score strongly predictive for firm performance, including long-run growth & survival

Time Window	2010 to 2015 (5)	2014 to 2015 (6)	2010 to 2015 (7)	2010 to 2015 (8)
Panel A: Dependent variable: Exit Rate				
Management	-0.180*** (0.014)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.286*** (0.033)	-0.153*** (0.014)
Log(Value Added/Emp)				-0.025*** (0.003)
Marginal R^2 for Management (*100)				0.506
Marginal R^2 for Log worker prod (*100)				0.308
Panel B: Dependent variable: Employment Growth				
Management	0.412*** (0.033)	0.088*** (0.018)	0.629*** (0.075)	0.326*** (0.035)
Log(Value Added/Emp)				0.078*** (0.007)
Marginal R^2 for Management (*100)				0.394
Marginal R^2 for Log worker prod (*100)				0.525
Firm Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	No
Observations	~32,000	~29,000	~17,000	~32,000

So what drives differences in management?

Main focus (policy relevant, good identification):

- 1) Regulation (via “right-to-work” laws in states)
- 2) Spillovers (Multinationals)

Other drivers (frankly, hard to get good identification):

- 1) Education (via land grant colleges)
- 2) Competition (via trade and ex. rate variations)

Regulation – particularly “Right to work” - is a topical issue, with seven states (IN, WI, MI, OH, WV, KY and MO) voting on this since 2012

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. OPINION Nicholas's Journal Live Help

SEARCH The New York Times

The Opinion Pages ROOM for DEBATE

Facebook Twitter Pinterest Email

What Happens as More States Curtail Labor's Rights?

Are "right to work" laws worthwhile?

Read More »

DEBATERS

- Income Rises When These Laws Are Passed**
RICHARD VEDDER, ECONOMICS PROFESSOR
- Wages Are Lower in States With These Laws**
ELISE GOULD, ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE
- A Key to Economic Growth**
SCOTT MANLEY, WISCONSIN MANUFACTURERS AND COMMERCE
- Call It 'Right-to-Work-for-Less'**
GEORGE GRESHAM, 1199SEIU UNITED HEALTHCARE WORKERS EAST
- Both Sides Exaggerate Its Effects**
BARRY HIRSCH, ECONOMICS PROFESSOR

Call It 'Right-to-Work-for-Less,' Not Right-to-Work

George Gresham is the president of [1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East](#).

UPDATED MARCH 12, 2015, 12:07 PM

What are called right-to-work laws would more accurately be termed “right-to-work-for-less,” for their aim is to deprive unions of dues and money essential to their ability to represent workers and enforce contracts.

A signal achievement of the New Deal was the Wagner Act of 1935, guaranteeing labor's rights to organize and bargain collectively. It established that when the majority of workers in a facility votes for union representation, all the members of the bargaining unit are union members and pay membership dues. Unions saw enormous growth, and their strength helped create conditions and legislation that benefited all of society – including the weekend, the 8-hour day, Social Security, unemployment compensation and the elimination of child labor.

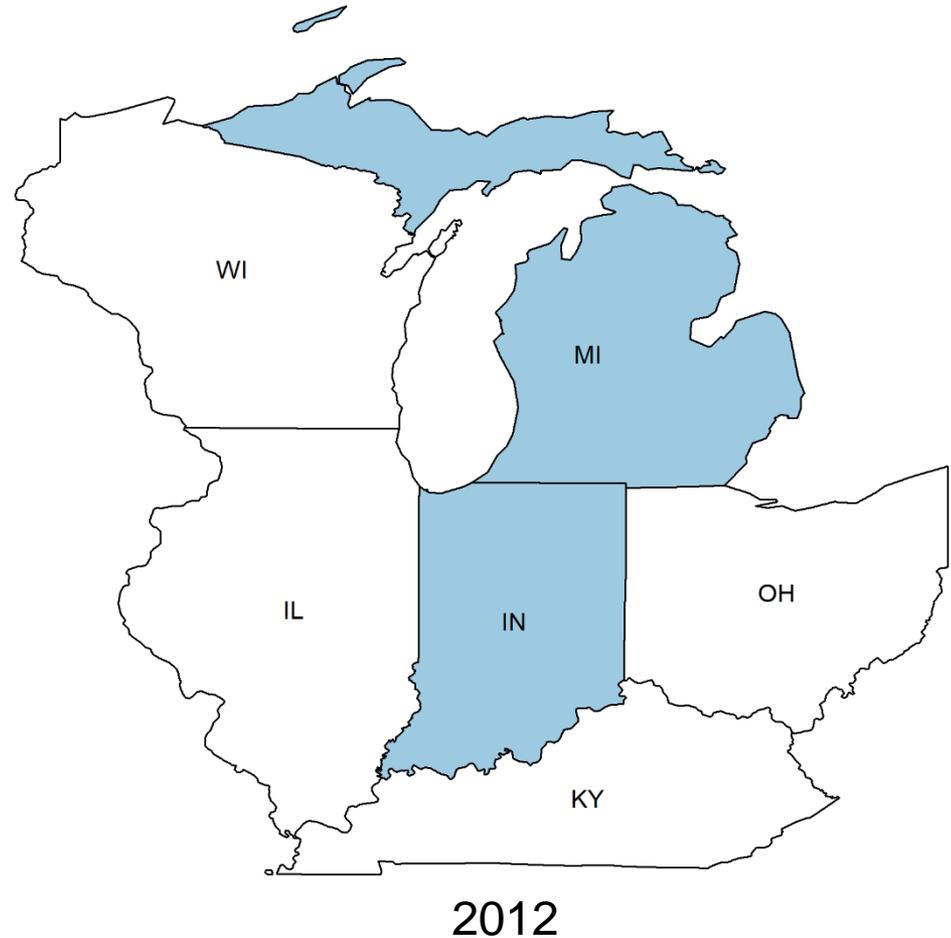
But since World War II, we have witnessed a war by corporate America to weaken workers and their unions. The first blow came with the 1947 Taft-Hartley Law, which allowed states to pass “right-to-work” laws.

Its aim is to deprive unions of dues money

How to Tease Out the Causal Effect of RTW?

First approach:

Diff-in-diff comparing Michigan and Indiana (switched 2012) to neighboring states



RTW Switch Increases Use of Incentives Practices

Management outcomes			
Dependent variable:	Management score (1)	Incentives (2)	Non-incentives (3)
Panel A: DID estimates for the effect of RTW			
PostXTreat	0.009* (0.005)	0.017*** (0.007)	0.003 (0.006)
Obs	~15,000	~15,000	~15,000
Panel C: DID estimates controlling for 6-digit NAICS			
PostXTreat	0.007 (0.005)	0.014** (0.006)	0.002 (0.005)
Obs	~15,000	~15,000	~15,000

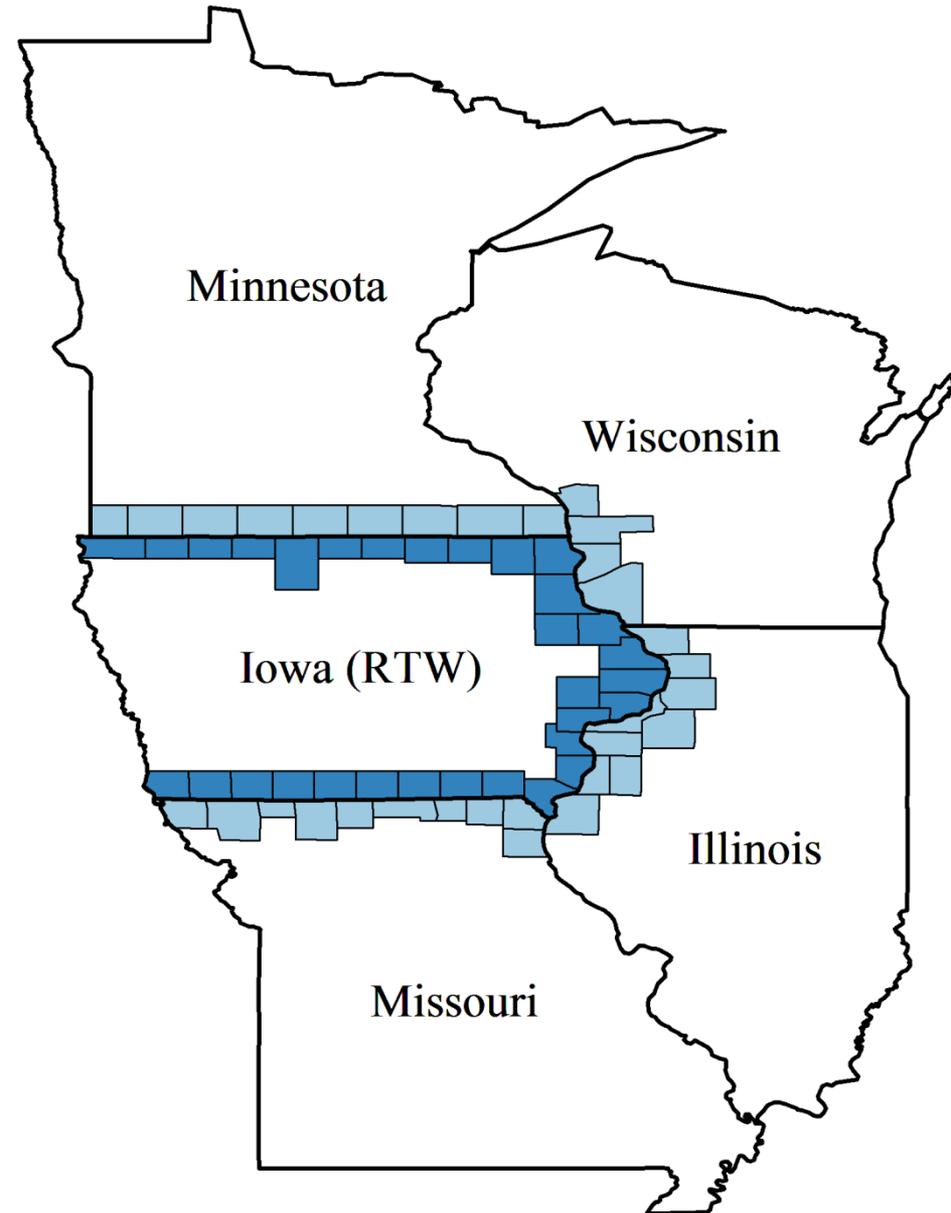
How to Tease Out the Causal Effect of RTW?

First approach:

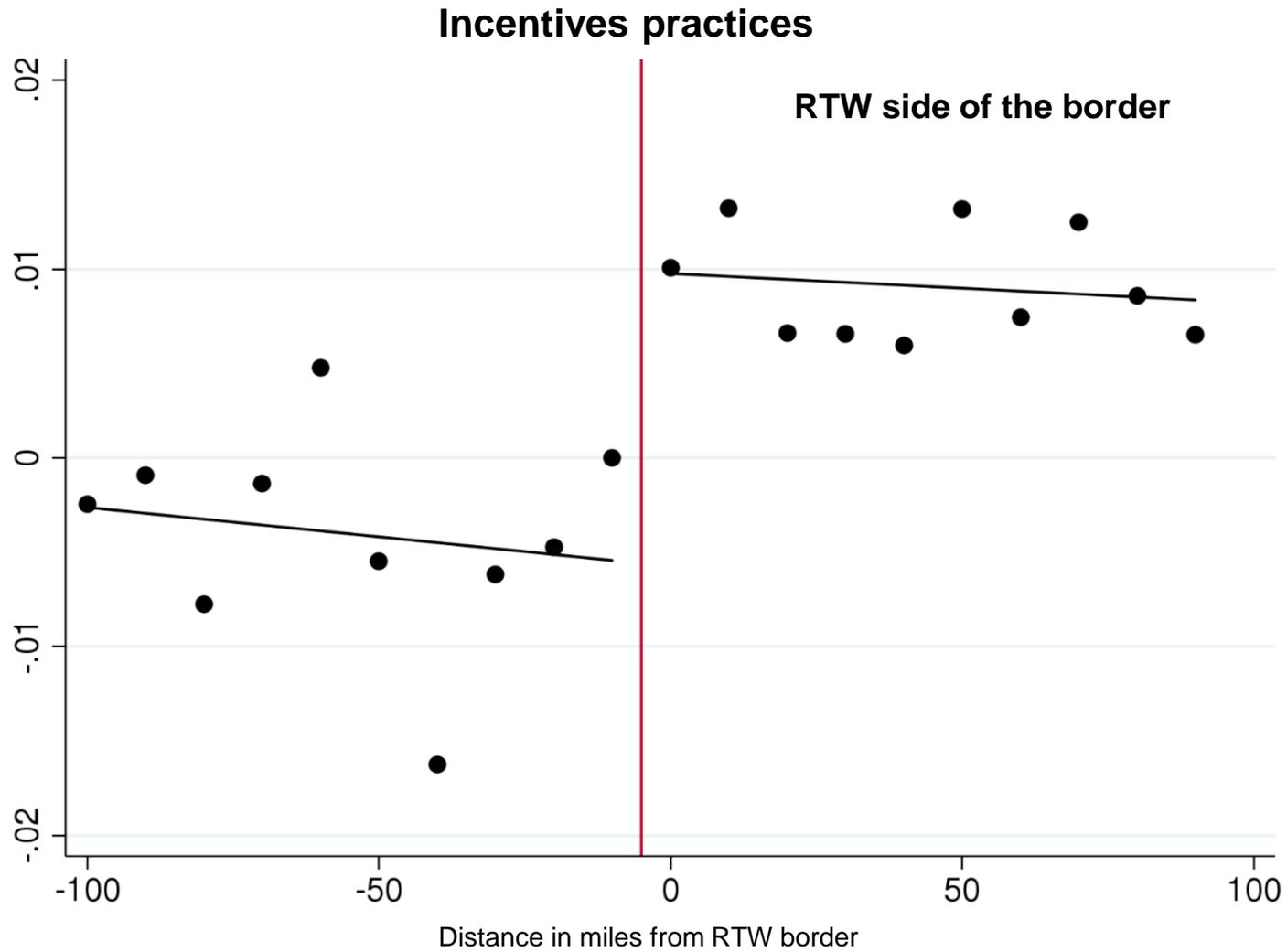
Diff-in-diff comparing Michigan and Indiana (switched 2012) to neighboring states

Second approach:

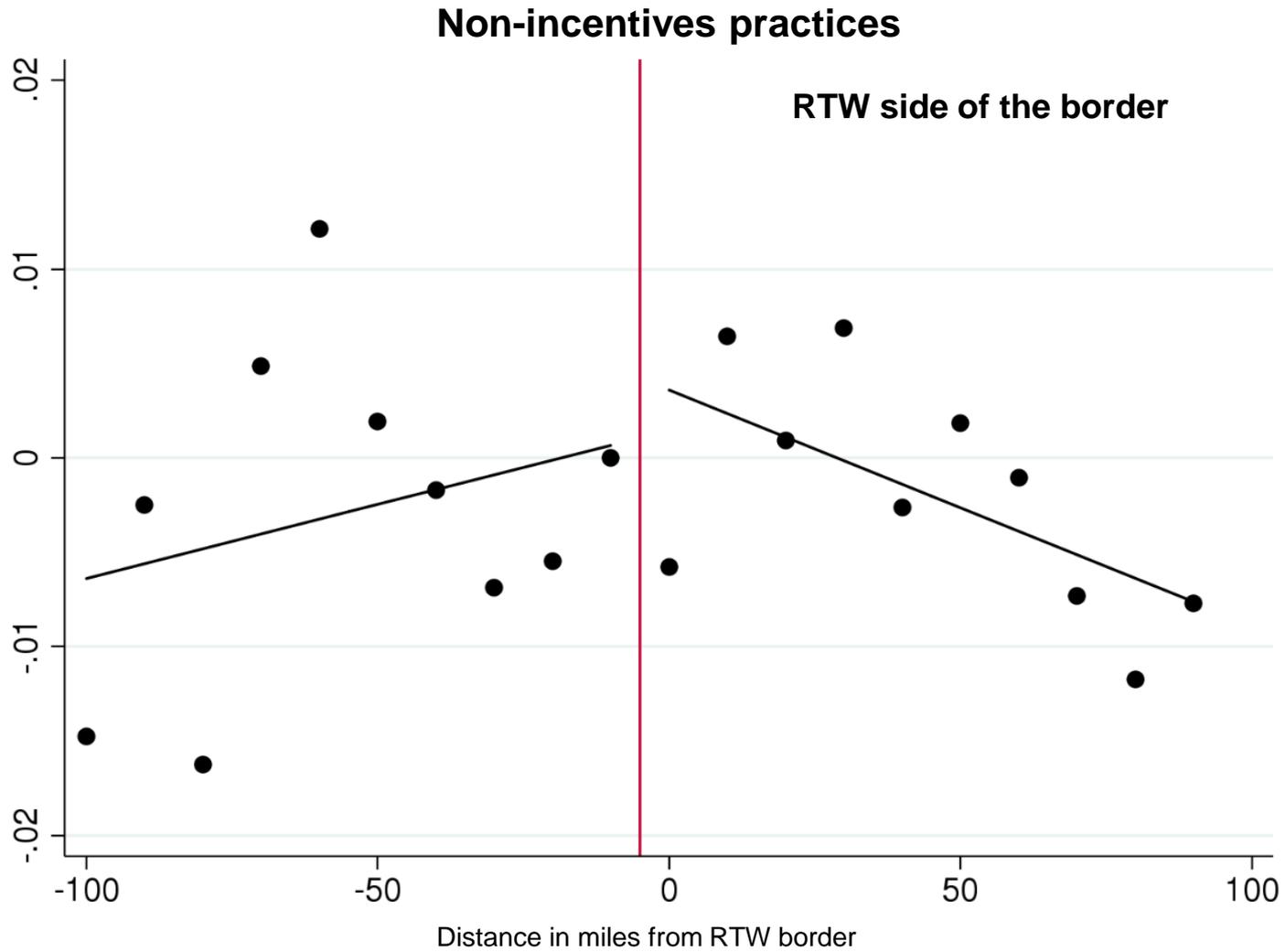
Regression discontinuity over RTW borders (inspired by Holmes 1998)



Clear Discontinuity in Incentives Practices



No Discontinuity in non-Incentives Practices



Spillovers - Look at impact of winning a “Million Dollar Plant” versus being the runner up

Toyota Motor Corp. – Huntsville, Ala. \$220 million; 350 jobs

One of the Southeast's most prized catches of the year landed in Huntsville, Ala., where Japanese automaker Toyota Motor Corp. announced that it would locate a \$220 million, 350-job manufacturing plant for V-8 engines for the Toyota Tundra pickup.

Huntsville beat out Clarksville, Tenn., and Buffalo, W.Va.



Senator Jeff
Gov. Don Sieg
the future p

annual payroll of \$20.75 million, or about \$85,000 per job

Major new plants lead to localized increases (spillovers) in management, TFP and employment

Dependent variable:	Change in Management		Change in Log(TFP)		Employment Growth	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: All industries pooled						
MDP Opens	0.012** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.007)	0.022 (0.016)	0.024 (0.017)	0.011** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.005)
Panel B: Split high/low manager flow						
MDP Opens×High	0.023*** (0.008)	0.031*** (0.008)	0.074*** (0.027)	0.069*** (0.019)	0.013** (0.006)	0.017*** (0.006)
MDP Opens×Low	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.059 (0.040)	-0.050 (0.034)	0.007 (0.009)	0.009 (0.01)
P-value for equal	0.056	0.007	0.026	0.004	0.606	0.495

What this experience taught me:

1. Statistical Offices can be open to new survey ideas
2. Look for semi-random variation – e.g. Right to Work in US
3. There is a lot we don't know in management!

(3) Management Field Experiments

- India**

- China**

Almost all management field experiments are on micro enterprises

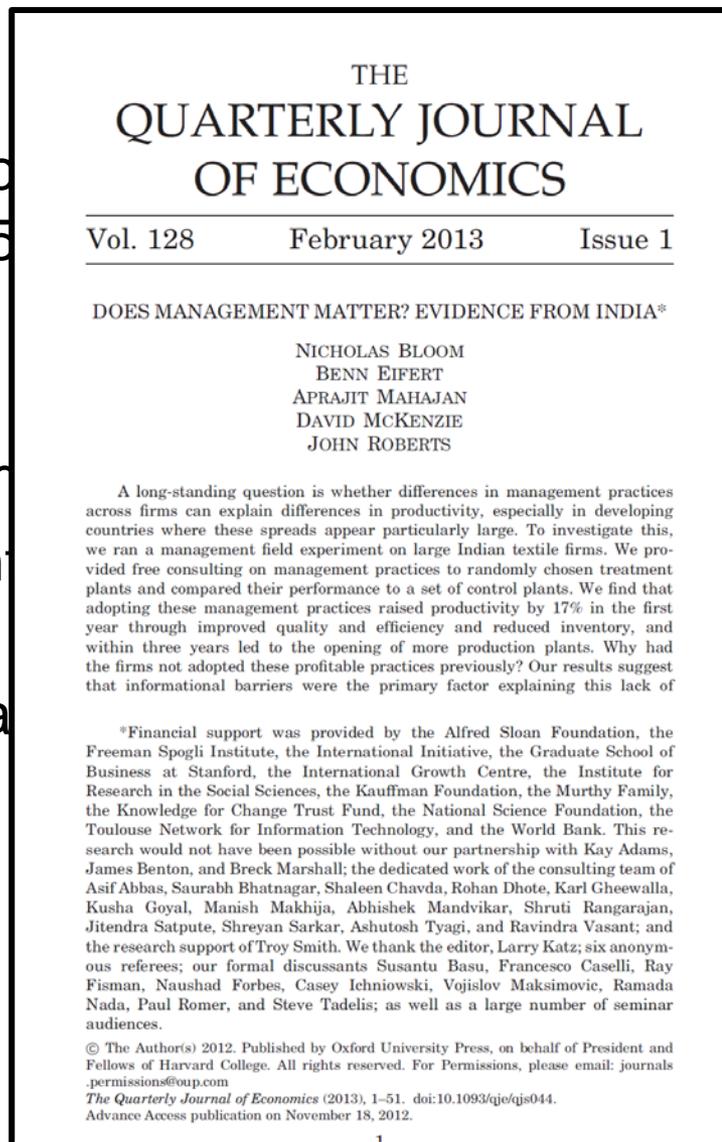
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In 2008-2010 I ran a large-firm management Randomized Control Trial (RCT)

- Worked with Acadia to 17 large (≈ 25) plants
- From these firms
– 14 treatment (with consulting)
– 6 control plants
- Then collected



management consulting firms running 28

were randomized into 4 months

Large multi-plant firms operating 24 hours a day



Large multi-plant firms operating 24 hours a day



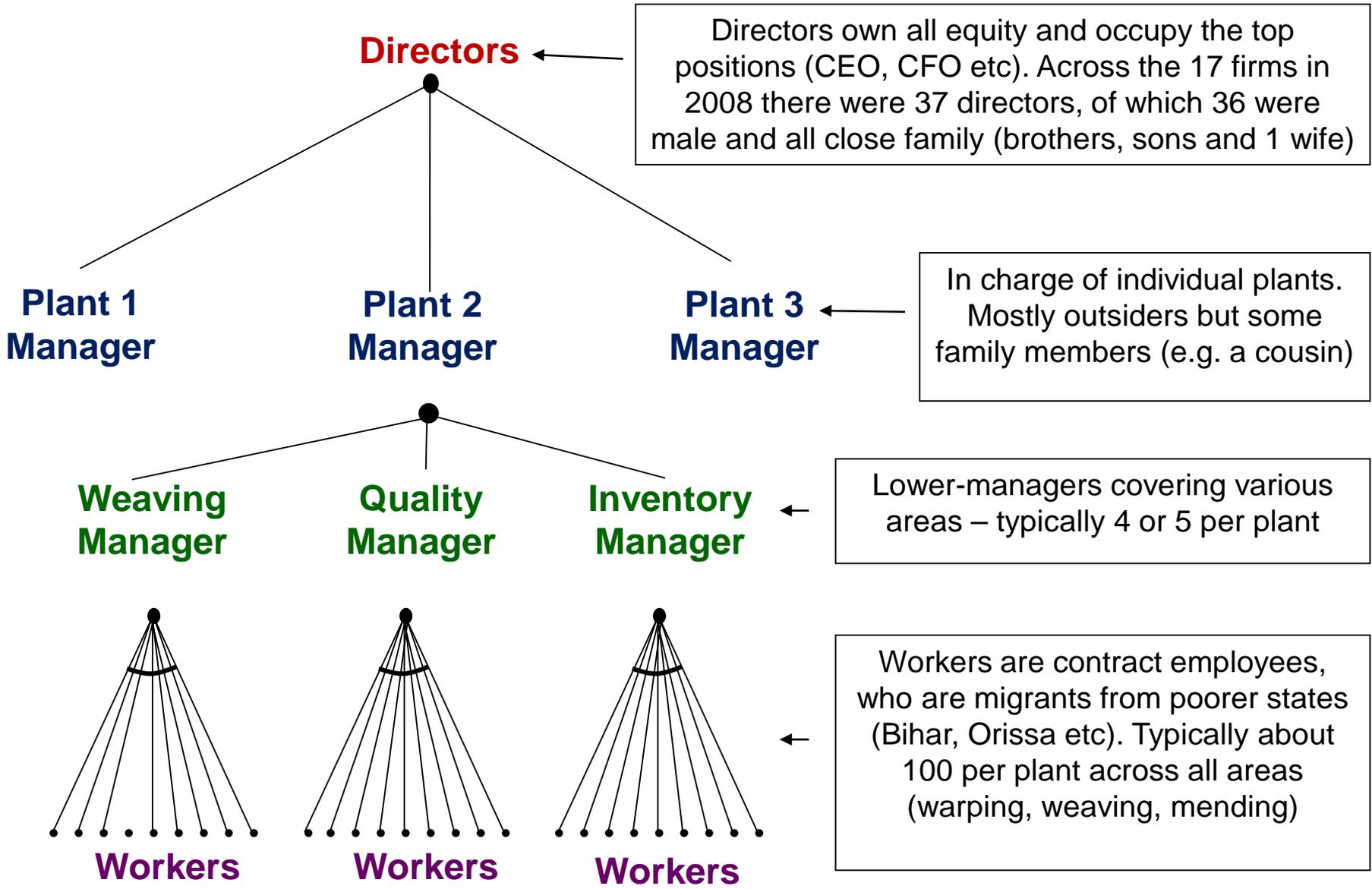
Intervention aimed at 38 core textile management practices in 6 areas

Area	Specific practice
Factory Operations	Preventive maintenance is carried out for the machines
	Preventive maintenance is carried out per manufacturer's recommendations
	The shop floor is marked clearly for where each machine should be
	The shop floor is clear of waste and obstacles
	Machine downtime is recorded
	Machine downtime reasons are monitored daily
	Machine downtime is analyzed at least fortnightly & action plans created and implemented to try to reduce this
	Daily meetings take place that discuss efficiency with the production team
	Written procedures for warping, drawing, weaving & beam gaiting are displayed
	Visual aids display daily efficiency loomwise and weaverwise
	These visual aids are updated on a daily basis
	Spares stored in a systematic basis (labeling and demarked locations)
	Spares purchases and consumption are recorded and monitored
Scientific methods are used to define inventory norms for spares	
Quality Control	Quality defects are recorded
	Quality defects are recorded defect wise
	Quality defects are monitored on a daily basis
	There is an analysis and action plan based on defects data
	There is a fabric gradation system
	The gradation system is well defined
Daily meetings take place that discuss defects and gradation	
Standard operating procedures are displayed for quality supervisors & checkers	

Intervention aimed at 38 core textile management practices in 6 areas

Inventory Control	Yarn transactions (receipt, issues, returns) are recorded daily
	The closing stock is monitored at least weekly
	Scientific methods are used to define inventory norms for yarn
	There is a process for monitoring the aging of yarn stock
	There is a system for using and disposing of old stock
There is location wise entry maintained for yarn storage	
Loom Planning	Advance loom planning is undertaken
Human Resources	There is a regular meeting between sales and operational management
Sales and Orders	There is a reward system for non-managerial staff based on performance
	There is a reward system for managerial staff based on performance
	There is a reward system for non-managerial staff based on attendance
	Top performers among factory staff are publicly identified each month
	Roles & responsibilities are displayed for managers and supervisors
Sales and Orders	Customers are segmented for order prioritization
	Orderwise production planning is undertaken
	Historical efficiency data is analyzed for business decisions regarding designs

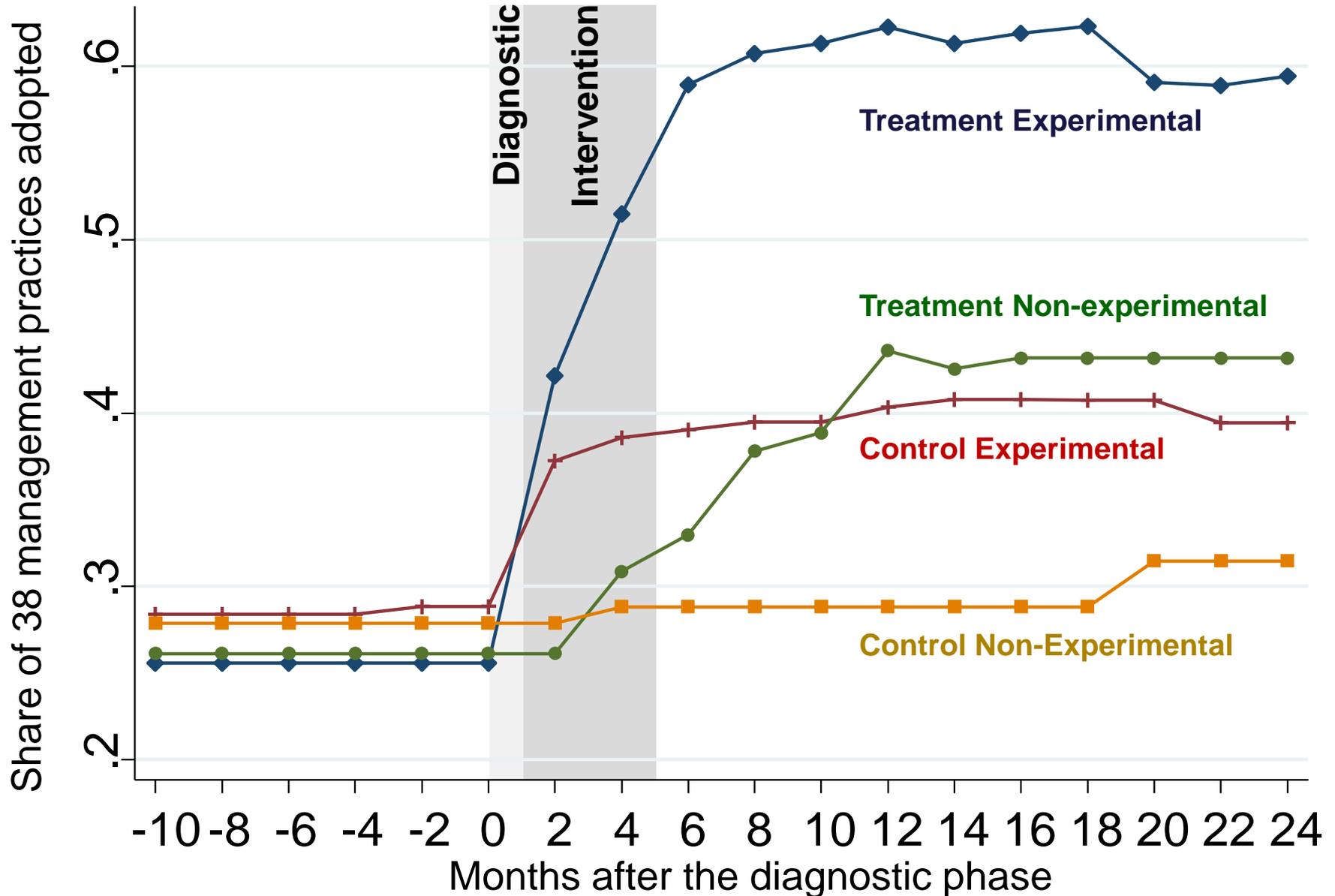
Typical organization of one of the textile firms



Experimental design has four types of plants

	Experimental	Non-Experimental
Treatment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 1 month diagnostic• 4 months intervention,• Performance and management measurement	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Management measurement
Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 1 month diagnostic• Performance and management measurement	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Management measurement

Observed a large increase in the 38 management practices



Production floor was often cluttered

Before



Production floor was often cluttered

Before



After



**Clean up the
production floor**

After



Intervention also focused on data analysis

FABRICS PVT. LTD.

Design No: SP 1600910 Beam Length: 1150 Getting Date: _____
 Beam No: 469 No. of Pieces: 10x 100 Finish Date: _____
 Read: 215 Total Ends: 1082 2150 2108 Beam Weight: _____
 Picks: 55' Selvage: 3296 Warp Weight: _____
 Picks: 34 609 Warp Weight: _____
 Loom No: 13 Total Quality Weight: 21000

WARP PATTERN	DRAWING PATTERN	PEG PLAN
21-A	1-2-3-4-5-X4	1-2-3-5-7
1-B	6-7-8-9-10	1-2-4-5-23
1-A	1-2-3-4-5-X4	1-2-3-4-5-6
1-R	4-3-2-1-5	1-2-4-5-8
21-A	4-3-2-1-5	2-3-4-5-10
21-C	4-3-2-1-5	5 P/K
21-C	12 dent 60 cent	

Go End

A - 160 den. Damodara psh-1113/507
 B - 160 den. white Top
 C - 160 den. Sarangp. right white/
 (110)

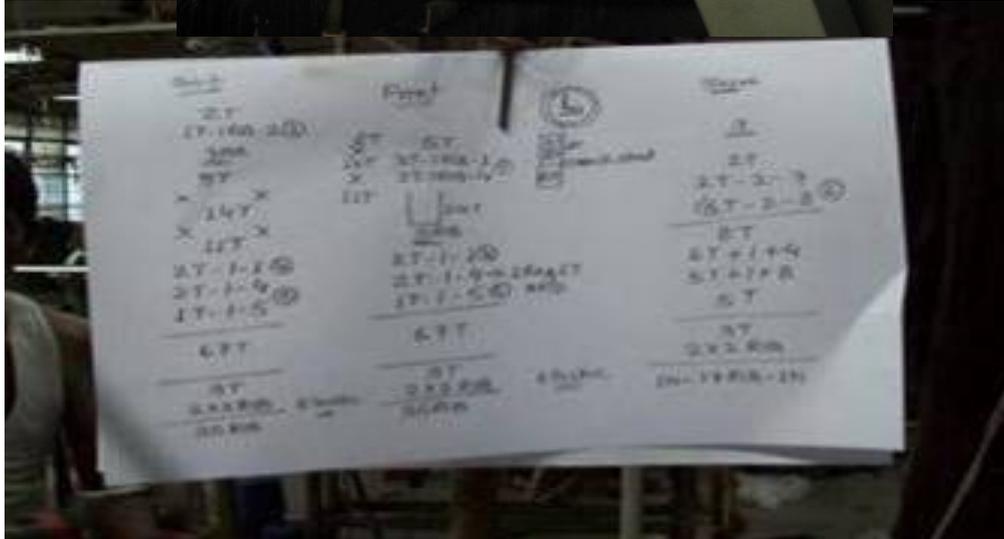
Selvage
 12 dent = 26 470 A/100
 8 dent = 1-1152
 24 1-1176
 2-1152

25 dent = 108 ends

TEXTILE MILLS (P) LTD.
LOG BOOK & EFFICIENCY BOOK

Sl. No.	Geog. No.	W.P.	D.P.	W.P.	D.P.	W.P.	D.P.	W.P.	D.P.	Remarks	W.P.	D.P.
1	1000	63	500	4400	220	48						
2	1001	63	510	4400	220	48				W.P. 2150-2108	1	
3	1002	65	500	4400	220	48						
4	1003	65	510	4400	220	48						
5	1004	65	520	4400	220	48						
6	1005	65	530	4400	220	48						
7	1006	65	540	4400	220	48						
8	1007	65	550	4400	220	48						
9	1008	65	560	4400	220	48						
10	1009	65	570	4400	220	48						
11	1010	65	580	4400	220	48						
12	1011	65	590	4400	220	48						
13	1012	65	600	4400	220	48						
14	1013	65	610	4400	220	48						
15	1014	65	620	4400	220	48						
16	1015	65	630	4400	220	48						
17	1016	65	640	4400	220	48						
18	1017	65	650	4400	220	48						
19	1018	65	660	4400	220	48						
20	1019	65	670	4400	220	48						
21	1020	65	680	4400	220	48						
22	1021	65	690	4400	220	48						
23	1022	65	700	4400	220	48						
24	1023	65	710	4400	220	48						
25	1024	65	720	4400	220	48						

Sl. No.	Warp Stop			W.P. Stop			Other Stop		
	W.P.	D.P.	DIFF	W.P.	D.P.	DIFF	W.P.	D.P.	DIFF
1	1000	500	200	4400	220	48			
2	1001	510	200	4400	220	48			
3	1002	500	200	4400	220	48			
4	1003	510	200	4400	220	48			
5	1004	520	200	4400	220	48			
6	1005	530	200	4400	220	48			
7	1006	540	200	4400	220	48			
8	1007	550	200	4400	220	48			
9	1008	560	200	4400	220	48			
10	1009	570	200	4400	220	48			
11	1010	580	200	4400	220	48			
12	1011	590	200	4400	220	48			
13	1012	600	200	4400	220	48			
14	1013	610	200	4400	220	48			
15	1014	620	200	4400	220	48			
16	1015	630	200	4400	220	48			
17	1016	640	200	4400	220	48			
18	1017	650	200	4400	220	48			
19	1018	660	200	4400	220	48			
20	1019	670	200	4400	220	48			
21	1020	680	200	4400	220	48			
22	1021	690	200	4400	220	48			
23	1022	700	200	4400	220	48			
24	1023	710	200	4400	220	48			
25	1024	720	200	4400	220	48			



Before
(not standardized, on loose paper)

After
(standardized, so easy to enter into a computer)

The organization of inventory



Before

Yarn without labeling, order or damp protection



Before

Yarn piled up so high and deep that access to back sacks is almost impossible



Before

Different types and colors of yarn lying mixed

A crushed yarn cone, which is unusable as it leads to irregular yarn tension

The organization of inventory

After



Introduced worker and manager incentives

Daily Efficiency Report

M.No.	Worker Name	Efficiency %	Worker Name	Efficiency %
1	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
2	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
3	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
4	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
5	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
6	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
7	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
8	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
9	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
10	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
11	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
12	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
13	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
14	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
15	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
16	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
17	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
18	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
19	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
20	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
21	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
22	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
23	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
24	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
25	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
26	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
27	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
28	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
29	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
30	विनायक	72%	विनायक	72%
Total		3253	62%	3253

Synthetics Pvt. Ltd.

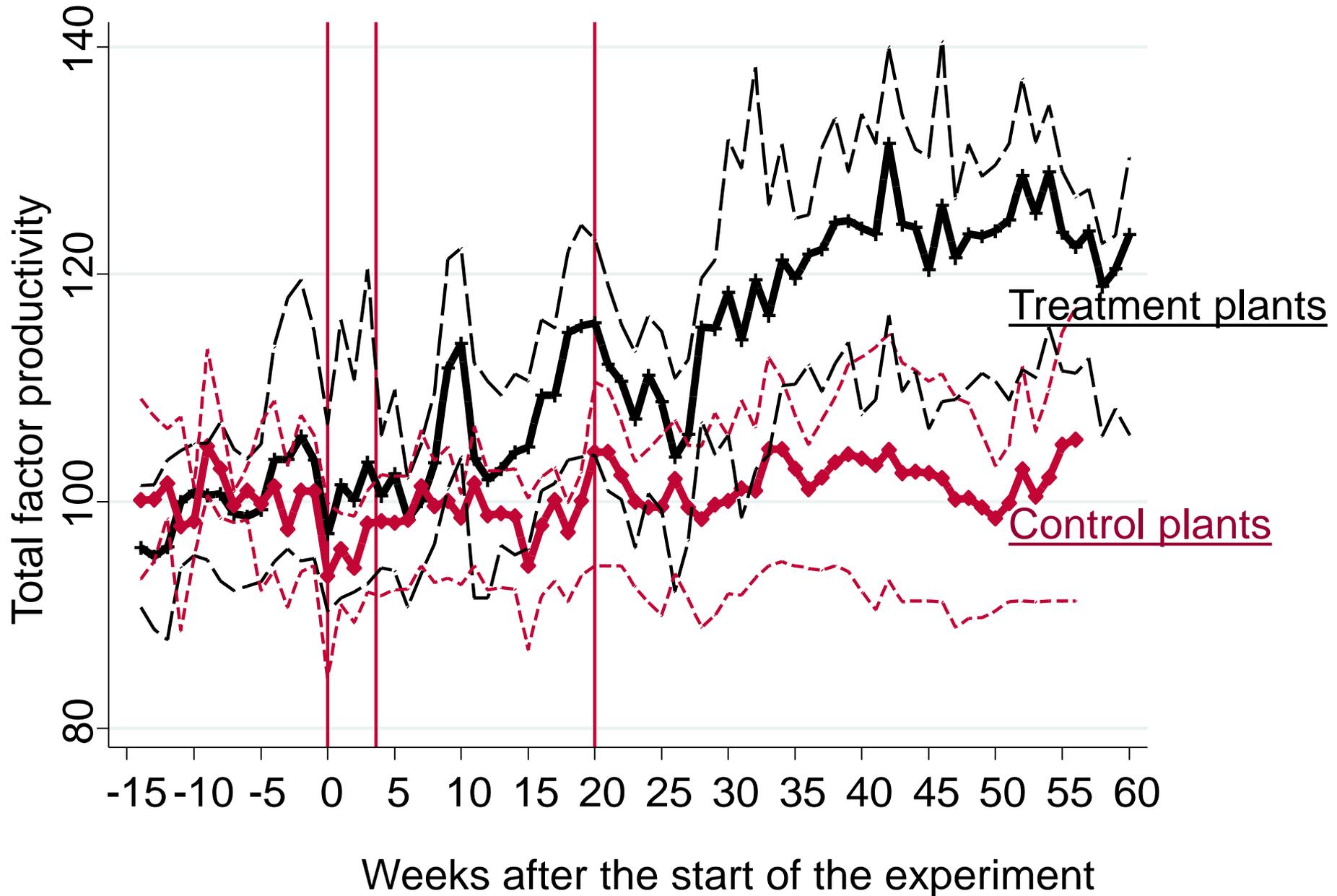
LOOM No.	Counter Reading - A	Eff% - A	Counter Reading - B	Eff% - B
1	180	72%	107	72%
2	138	72%	132	72%
3	131	72%	135	72%
4	129	72%	125	72%
5	165	72%	165	72%
6	147	72%	164	72%
7	171	72%	151	72%
8	146	72%	157	72%
9	150	72%	148	72%
10	120	72%	121	72%
11	151	72%	144	72%
12	0	72%	151	72%
13	0	72%	154	72%
14	165	72%	160	72%
15	174	72%	154	72%
16	150	72%	132	72%
17	124	72%	122	72%
18	150	72%	120	72%
19	128	72%	94	72%
20	162	72%	151	72%
21	132	72%	121	72%
22	48	72%	151	72%
23	114	72%	127	72%
24	148	72%	129	72%
25	174	72%	177	72%
26	184	72%	207	72%
27	190	72%	170	72%
28	146	72%	181	72%
29	213	72%	213	72%
30	200	72%	105	72%
Total	4960	76.6%		

Jacquard Division

Loom No.	Total Picks 'A'	Eff% 'A'	Total Picks 'B'	Eff% 'B'
1	76800	54	72000	51
2	112	55	120000	50
3	1025	46	176640	42
4	33760	28	104160	45
5	180000	79	196000	51
6	92040	46	90640	37
7	104160	57	107520	43
8	147100	63	158240	52
9				
10	136000	60	72000	33
11	140000	54	80000	39
12	134000	45	120400	44
13	87600	61	164640	55
14				
15	152600	65	182200	54
16				

07/07/2009 00:58

TFP rose about 20% in treatment plants vs controls



Recently went back to these firms – 8 years later – to ask what happened next?

BGC and McKinsey claim about 2/3 of all management interventions fail in 3 years (e.g. Sirkin et al. 2005)



In January 2017 re-contacted all the firms to collect follow-up management and performance data

All treatment & control firms agreed to work with us again, aided by:

- 1) The initial intervention has been beneficial to the firms
- 2) These are large firms, so had same address and contact details
- 3) The same Accenture manager and partners worked with us again

In January 2017 re-contacted all the firms to collect follow-up management and performance data

But two caveats:

- 1) We spent only 2 months with the firms because of a limited budget. So we collected only basic management and performance data
- 2) One treatment firm with one plant was closing down after the death of the owner (with no sons), so provided limited data

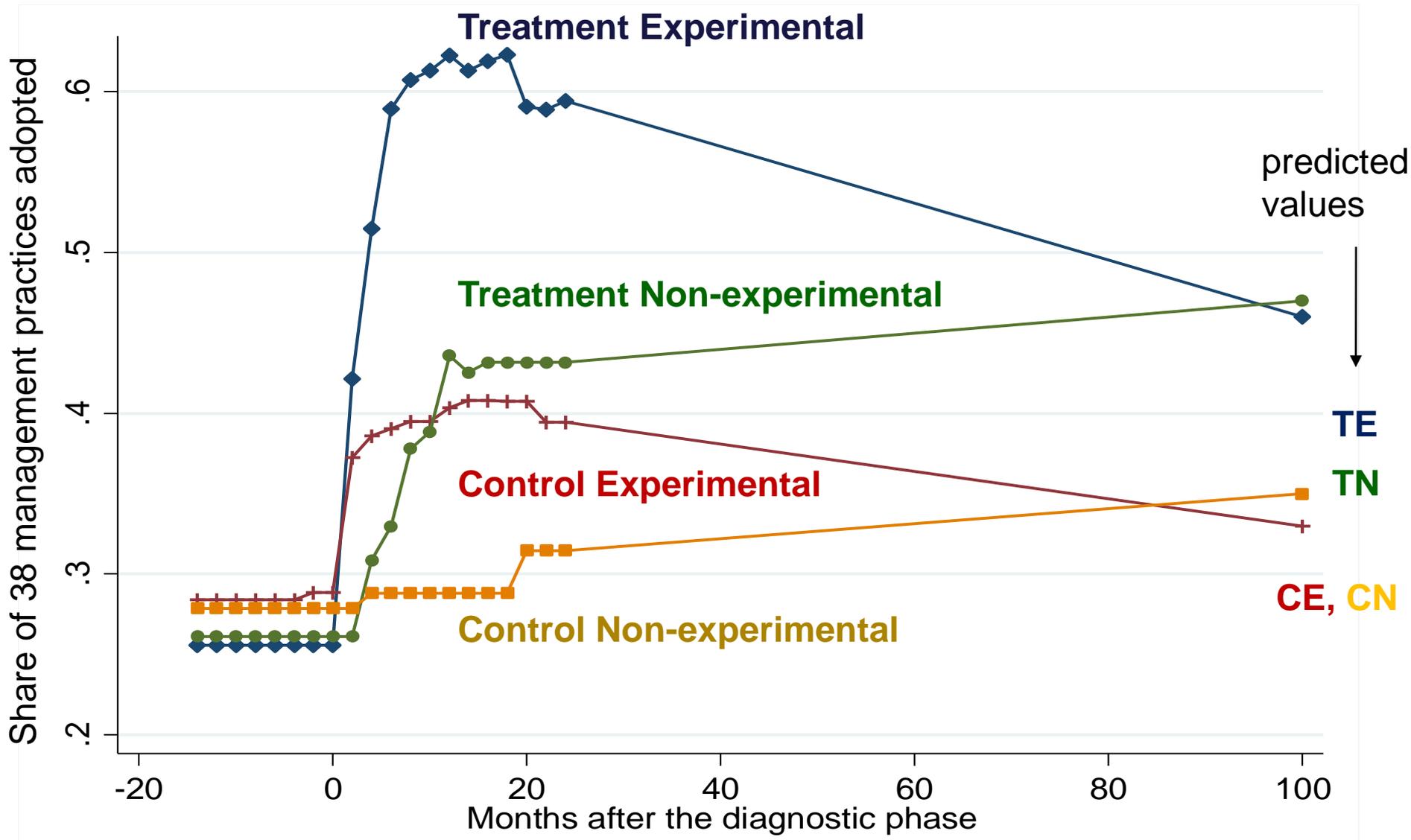
Two extreme views on the long-run persistence



TOYOTA



The management intervention was surprisingly persistent



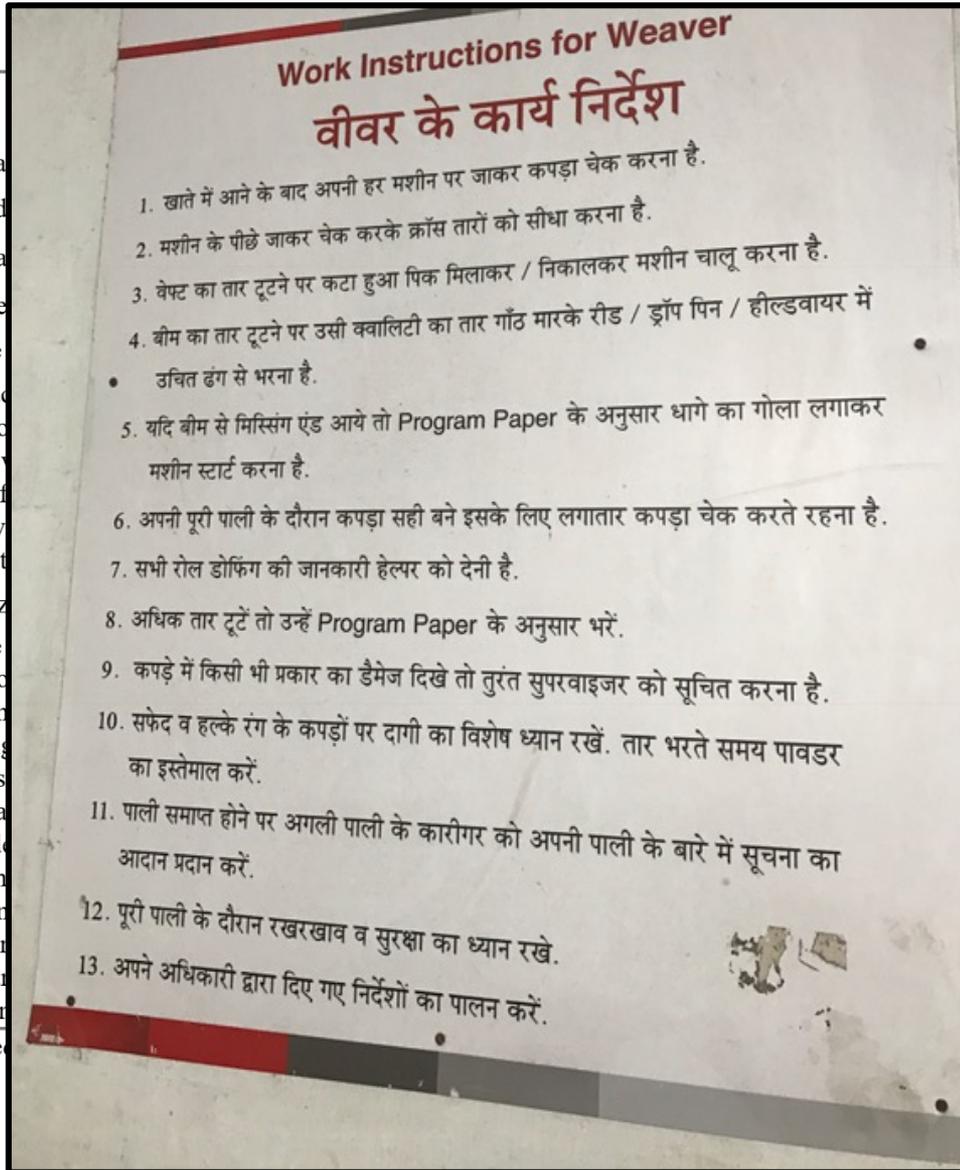
Notes: Sample comprised of the balanced panel of plants from 2008 to 2017 (11 treatment experimental, 6 treatment non-experimental, 6 control experimental and 2 control non-experimental). The letters on the right are the average predicted values from the 3-person Accenture team and 4 co-authors made before re-contacting the firms for the Treatment Experimental (TE) at 0.4, Treatment Non-Experimental (TN) at 0.36, Control Experimental and Control Non-Experimental (CE and CN) both at 0.29 respectively.

Procedure display practices were the least persistent, quality and operations monitoring/feedback were the most

Table A3: Practice stickiness

	Adopted	Dropped	Share Dropped
9 Written procedures for wa	7	7	1.00
22 Standard operating proced	11	10	0.91
11 These visual aids are upda	11	7	0.64
10 Visual aids display daily e	11	6	0.55
21 Daily meetings take place	13	7	0.54
18 There is an analysis and ac	14	7	0.50
17 Quality defects are monito	16	6	0.38
4 The shop floor is clear of y	6	2	0.33
33 There is a reward system f	9	3	0.33
20 The gradation system is w	8	2	0.25
24 The closing stock is monit	13	3	0.23
7 Machine downtime analyz	15	3	0.20
8 Daily meetings take place	19	3	0.16
5 Machine downtime is recd	9	1	0.11
6 Machine downtime reason	13	1	0.08
27 There is a system for using	15	1	0.07
1 Preventive maintenance is	10	0	0.00
12 Spares stored in a systema	6	0	0.00
16 Quality defects are record	20	0	0.00
19 There is a fabric gradation	9	0	0.00
26 There is a process for mon	11	0	0.00
28 There is location wise ent	7	0	0.00
35 Roles & responsibilities at	9	0	0.00
37 Orderwise production plan	6	0	0.00

Notes: Lists the practices ordered



2017.

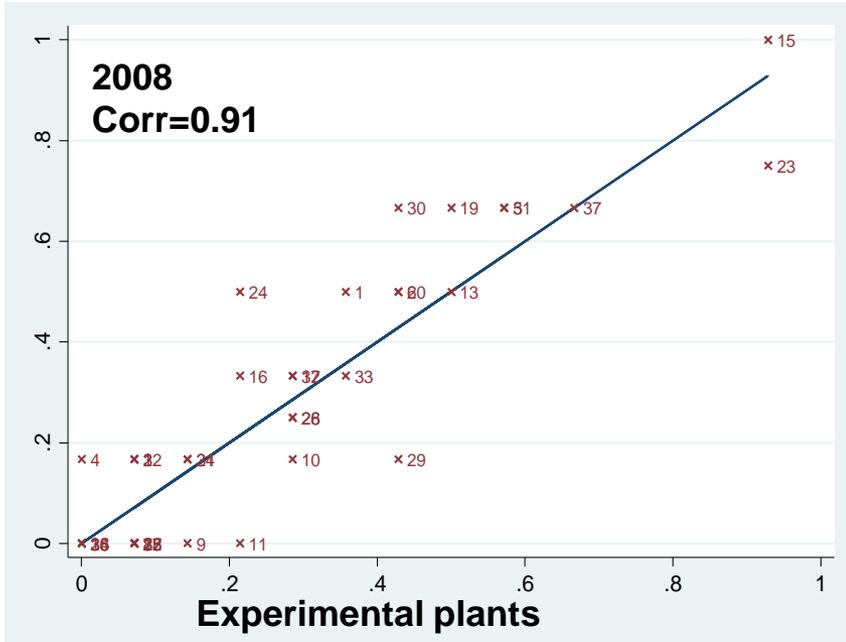
Performance improvements also persisted, with firms actively increasing consulting & marketing practices

Table 5: Longer-run Plant performance and management changes

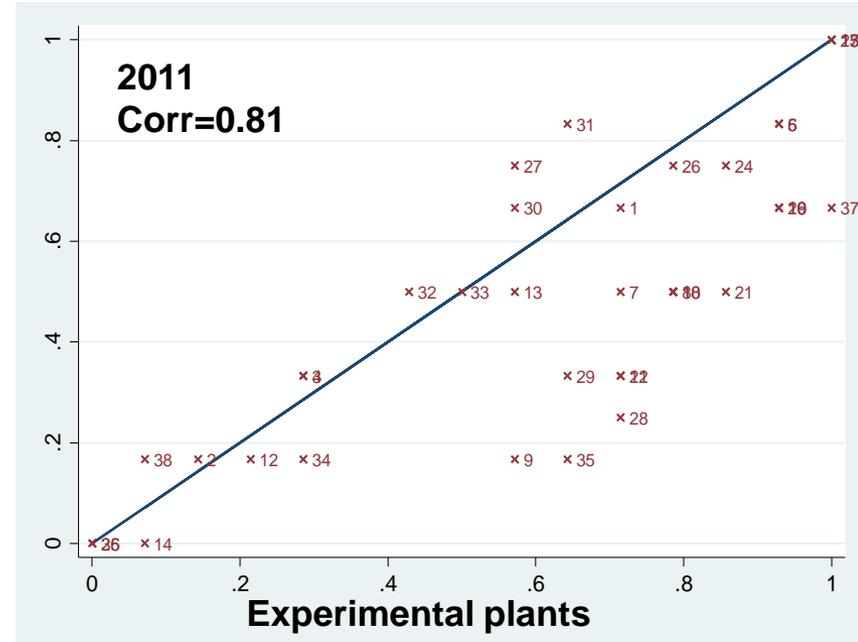
Dep Var	Looms (in logs) (1)	Looms per employee (in logs) (2)	Consulting days (in logs) (3)	Marketing practices (4)
Panel A: Long-run performance				
Treatment _i *(Year>=2011) _t	0.296** (0.120)	0.088** (0.038)	1.414* (0.666)	1.405** (0.514)
Permutation Test (p-value)	0.010	0.068	0.149	0.044
Panel B: Experimental and non-Experimental plants				
Experimental*Treatment _i *(Year>=2011) _t	0.171* (0.074)	0.300** (0.139)	1.21** (0.53)	1.31** (0.55)
Permutation Test (p-value)	0.127	0.128	0.167	0.063
Non-Experimental*Treatment _i *(Year>=2011) _t	0.511*** (0.067)	0.300* (0.137)	2.08 (1.39)	1.70*** (0.52)
Permutation Test (p-value)	0.008	0.084	0.278	0.058
Panel C: Treatment impact by period				
Treatment _i *(Year==2011) _t	0.123 (0.076)	0.163 (0.101)	-0.073 (0.080)	1.149** (0.450)
Permutation Test (p-value)	0.238	0.237	0.643	0.109
Treatment _i *(Year==2014) _t	0.100 (0.082)	0.289* (0.147)	1.859* (0.943)	-1.494** (0.518)
Permutation Test (p-value)	0.397	0.377	0.234	0.072
Treatment _i *(Year==2017) _t	0.296* (0.138)	0.451** (0.168)	2.77** (1.120)	2.294** (0.884)
Permutation Test (p-value)	0.059	0.047	0.109	0.023
F-test Treatment _i *(Year==2014) _t & Treatment _i *(Year==2017) _t	0.123	0.047	0.073	0.015
Control group mean (all in levels)	57.6	0.509	0.114	0.486
Years	2008, 11, 14, 17	2008, 11, 14, 17	2008, 11, 14, 17	2008, 11, 14, 17
Firms	17	17	17	17
Plants	31	31	31	31
Observations	109	109	109	109

Practices appear to spread out fully in treatment firms

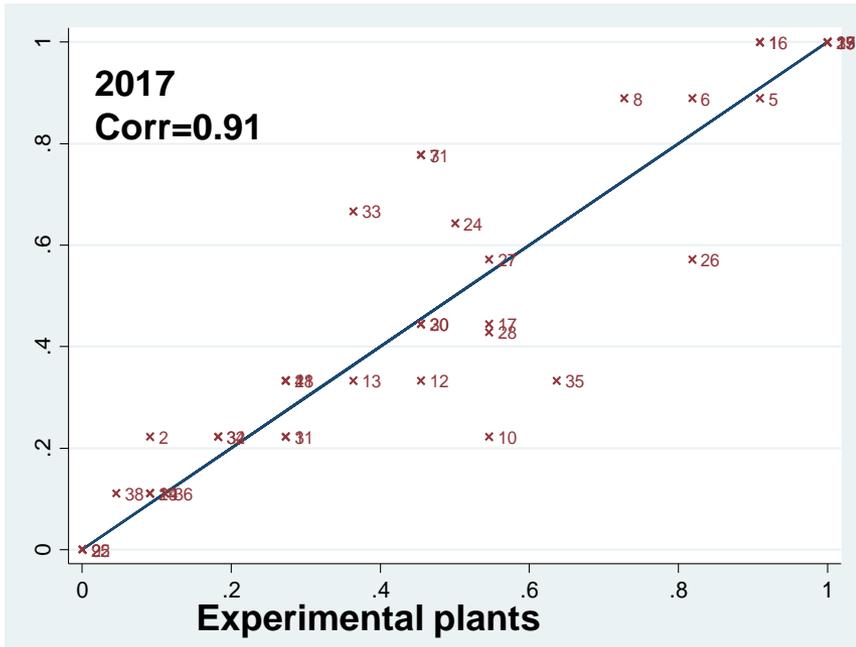
Non-experimental plants



Non-experimental plants



Non-experimental plants

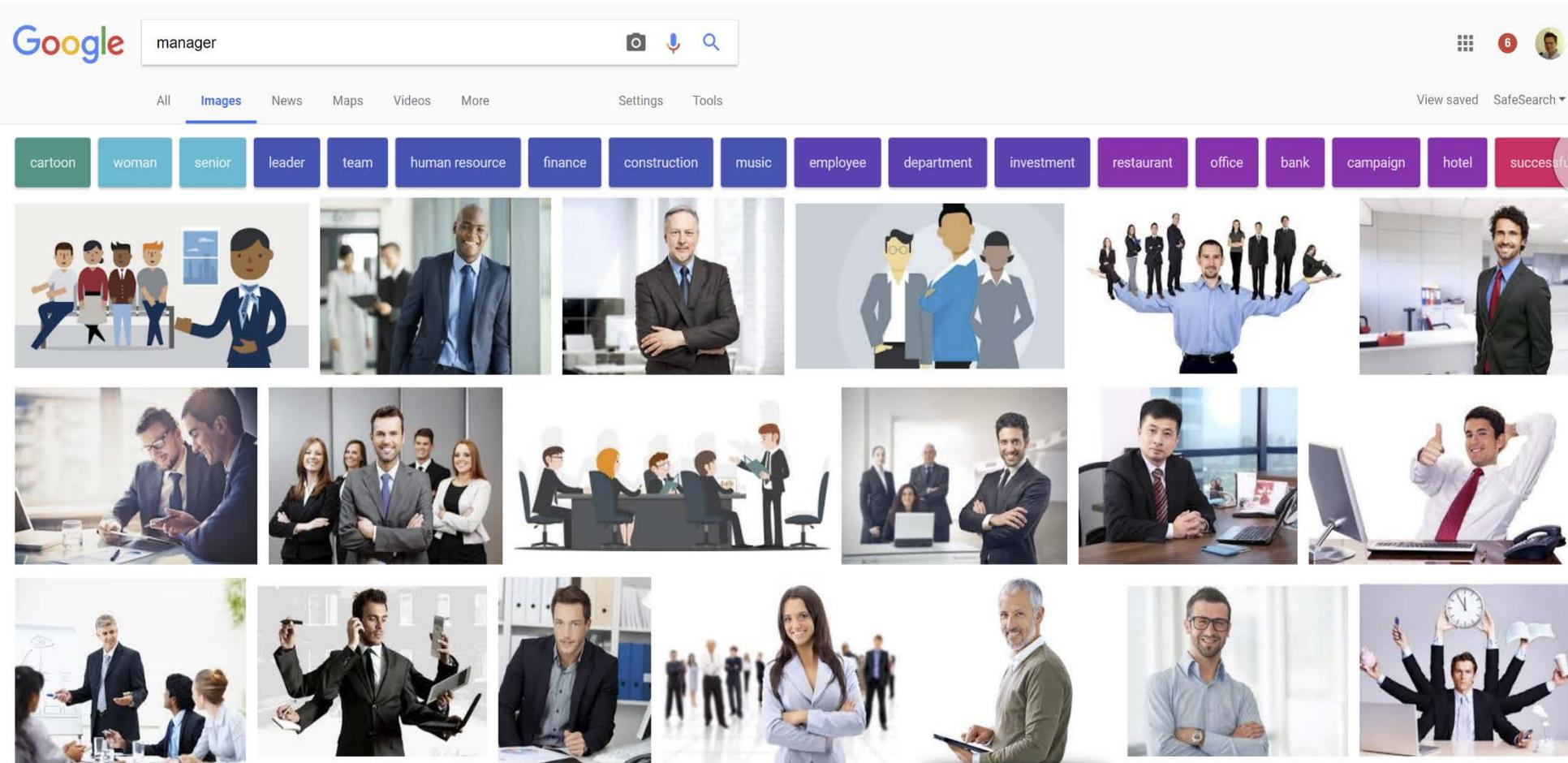


Note: The three graphs plot the average scores for each of the 38 questions for the 14 (11 in 2017) treatment experimental plants (on the x-axis) and the 6 treatment non-experimental plants (on the y-axis) in 2008 (top-left), 2011 (top-right) and 2017 (bottom-left). The correlations between these scores for the 38 practices are reported as well on the graphs.

What this experience taught me:

1. Working with firms on the ground is great for ideas generation (and photos for presentations.....)
2. You can be creative – e.g. work with a government agency to randomize their management interventions
3. There are massive gaps in the management RCT literature
 - Almost nothing on large firms
 - Almost nothing beyond simple incentive interventions
 - Almost nothing on joint interventions (e.g. HR & operations)
 - Whole fields appear to be missed (e.g. strategy, CSR)

Or the role of diversity in firm performance?



MY FAVOURITE QUOTES:

Don't get sick in Britain

Interviewer : “Do staff sometimes end up doing the wrong sort of work for their skills?”

NHS Manager: “You mean like doctors doing nurses jobs, and nurses doing porter jobs? Yeah, all the time. Last week, we had to get the healthier patients to push around the beds for the sicker patients”

Don't do Business in Indian hospitals

Interviewer: “Is this hospital for profit or not for profit”

Hospital Manager: “Oh no, this hospital is only for loss making”

MY FAVOURITE QUOTES:

Don't get sick in India

Interviewer : “Do you offer acute care?”

Switchboard: “Yes ma'am we do”

Interviewer : “Do you have an orthopaedic department?”

Switchboard: “Yes ma'am we do”

Interviewer : “What about a cardiology department?”

Switchboard: “Yes ma'am”

Interviewer : “Great – can you connect me to the ortho department”

Switchboard?: “Sorry ma'am – I'm a patient here”

China working from home field experiment



Go Ahead, Tell Your Boss You Are Working From Home | Nicholas Bloom | TEDxStanford

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Working from home (or WFH) has an undeservedly bad reputation, says Stanford economist Bloom. Based on research comparing the productivity of those who are "home working on their couches or in their parents' with those commuting and sitting in a cubicle 8 hours a day, Bloom

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DOES WORKING FROM HOME WORK? EVIDENCE FROM A CHINESE EXPERIMENT*

NICHOLAS BLOOM
JAMES LIANG
JOHN ROBERTS
ZHICHUN JENNY YING

A rising share of employees now regularly engage in working from home (WFH), but there are concerns this can lead to “shirking from home.” We report the results of a WFH experiment at Ctrip, a 16,000-employee, NASDAQ-listed Chinese travel agency. Call center employees who volunteered to WFH were randomly assigned either to work from home or in the office for nine months. Home working led to a 13% performance increase, of which 9% was from working more minutes per shift (fewer breaks and sick days) and 4% from more calls per minute (attributed to a quieter and more convenient working environment). Home workers also reported improved work satisfaction, and their attrition rate halved, but their promotion rate conditional on performance fell. Due to the success of the experiment, Ctrip rolled out the option to WFH to the whole firm and allowed the experimental employees to reselect between the home and office. Interestingly, over half of them switched, which led to the gains from WFH almost doubling to 22%. This highlights the benefits of learning and selection effects when adopting modern management practices like WFH. *JEL Codes: D24, L23, L84, M11, M54, O31.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Working from home (WFH; also called telecommuting or telework) is becoming an increasingly common practice. In the United States, the proportion of employees who primarily work

*We thank Jennifer Cao, Mimi Qi, and Maria Sun from Ctrip for data, advice, and logistical support. We thank Chris Palauni, David Butler, Jared Fletcher, and Michelle Rowan for their time discussing home working and the call center industries. We thank our formal discussants, Mushfiq Mobarak, Rachael Heath, Sabrina Pabilonia, Shing-Yi Wang, our editors (Larry Katz and Andrei Shleifer) and our four anonymous referees, and numerous seminar audiences for many helpful comments. We thank the National Science Foundation and Toulouse Network for Information Technology (which is supported by Microsoft) for co-funding for this project. No funding was received from Ctrip. James Liang is the co-founder of Ctrip. During the experiment we report here he was nonexecutive chairman of Ctrip. Since the end of the experiment he has returned to Ctrip as CEO. No other coauthor has any financial relationship with Ctrip. Neither the results nor the article were prescreened by anyone. The experiment received Stanford University IRB approval. The IRB did not require changes in our experimental design.

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The Quarterly Journal of Economics (2015), 165–218. doi:10.1093/qje/qju032.
Advance Access publication on November 20, 2014.

**'WORK FROM HOME!!!! EARN
THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS MONTHLY!'**

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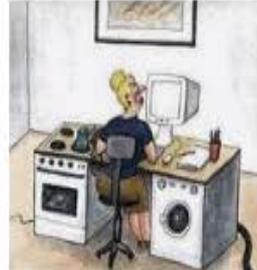
Working From Home
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Benefits Of
Working From Home



And suspicion over WFH was clear in the media after Yahoo's 2013 decision (to ban WFH)

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Yahoo Comment (92) E-mail

Mayer culpa

Forcing workers to come into the office is a symptom of Yahoo's problems, not a solution to them

Mar 2nd 2013 | From the print edition



IN JONATHAN SWIFT'S 1726 novel, "Gulliver's Travels", the Yahoos are a degraded band of humanoids kept tethered in stalls by their equine captors. It is therefore appropriate that a recent, widely leaked memo from Yahoo's human-resources manager,

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL Nicholas Bloom • My Journal • Live Help

U.S. EDITION Tuesday, February 26, 2013 As of 8:03 PM EST

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THEORY & PRACTICE February 26, 2013, 8:03 p.m. ET

The Home Office in the Spotlight

Yahoo's Move Shows Tension Between Workers' Desire for Flexibility and the Need for Visibility

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By RACHEL EMMA SILVERMAN And QUENTIN FOTTRILL

Jobs may get done when employees work from home, but careers are made in the office.

Vote **Should employees be able to work remotely?**

The outcry surrounding a decision by Yahoo Inc. [YHOO -0.66%]—led by new Chief Executive Marissa Mayer—to end work-from-home arrangements has

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Why Both Sides Are Wrong in the Debate Over Telecommuting

By the Editors Mar 4, 2013 3:30 PM PT

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This editorial was produced in an office, so it may be 13 percent less productive and efficient at its job than if it were written at home. Then again, if it were produced at home, away from the boss's gaze, it might still be goofing off, collecting glib phrases and sentence fragments without cohering into anything persuasive.

In the latest debate over telecommuting, sparked by Yahoo Inc. (YHOO)'s announcement that all employees working from home must start showing up at the office, the two camps have staked out their positions. Advocates of working from home cite studies showing that telecommuting benefits employers and employees alike. Opponents extol the benefits that can come only from a spontaneous, collaborative work environment.

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Out of the Office, on the Clock

Marissa Mayer of Yahoo wants all her employees to work in the office, not from home. Is she moving in the wrong direction? Read More >

At Home, Work a Bit Longer and Get Lots More Done

Nicholas Bloom is a professor of economics at Stanford University.

UPDATED FEBRUARY 26, 2013, 1:06 PM

I have always worked from home – in government at the Treasury, in consulting at McKinsey and as a professor at Stanford. But my friends would always tease me: was I "working remotely" or just "remotely working"?

Piqued by years of teasing, I decided to uncover the truth about working from home.

DEBATERS

Workers Know Where to Work CALI RESSLER AND JODY THOMPSON, CO-FOUNDERS, CULTUREX

One Approach Does Not Fit All ANNE-LAURE FAYARD, POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Workplaces Can Adapt to Reap the

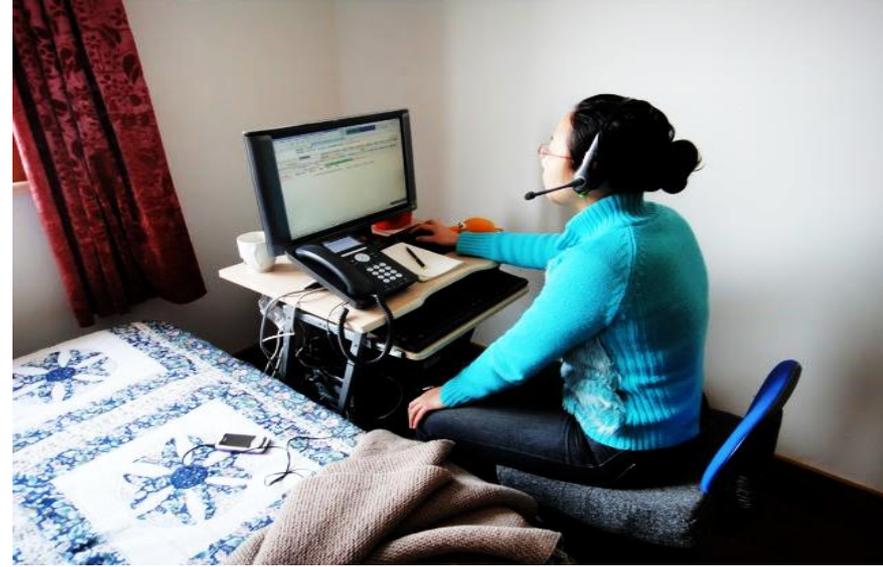
Ran a working from home RCT



Individuals randomized home (even birthdays)



Working at home



Working at home



Working at home

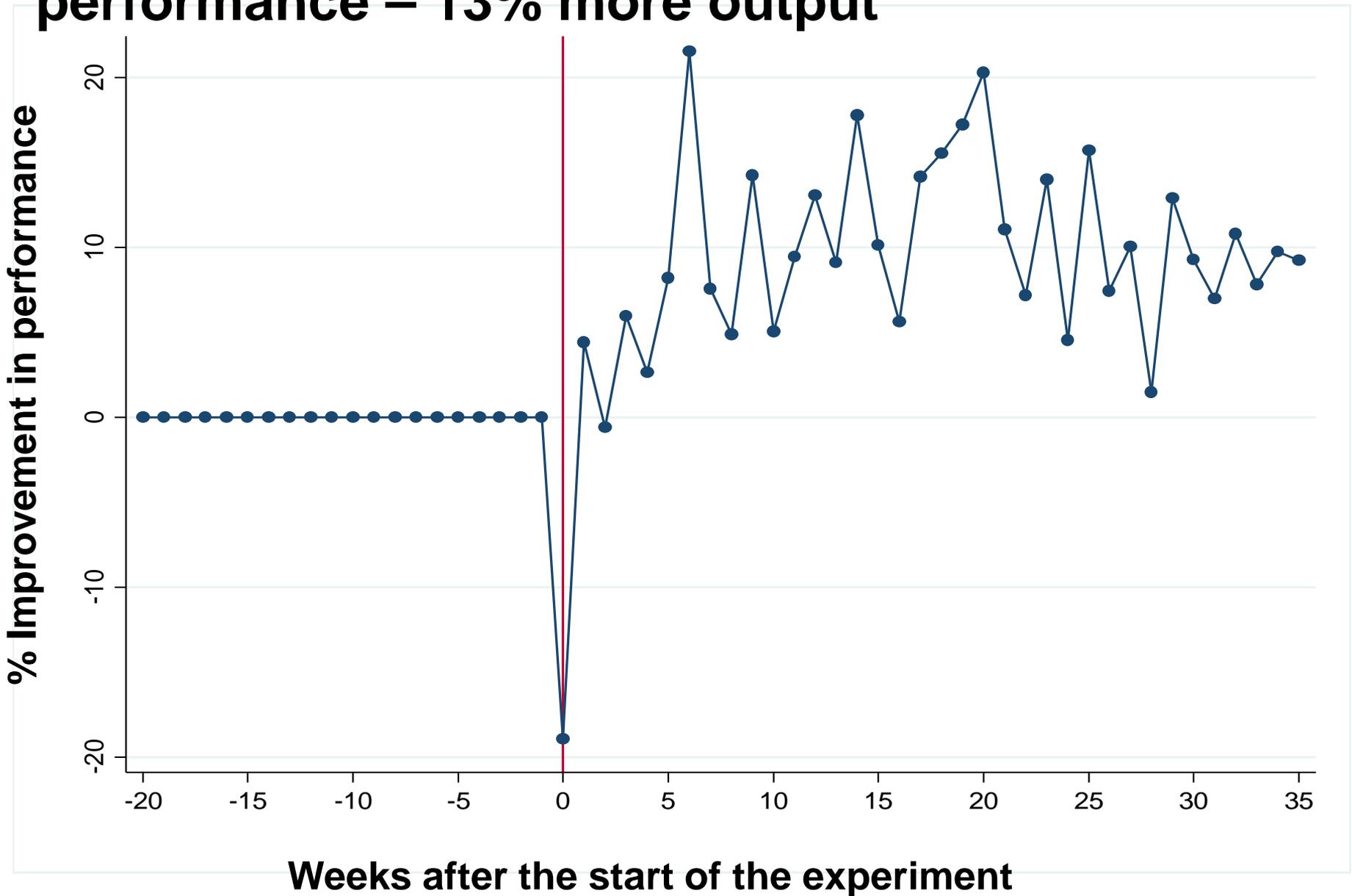


Working at home

Home based employees were still actively managed



First, found a massive improvement in performance – 13% more output



Of this 13% found 3.5% from more calls taken per minute and 9.5% from more minutes on the phone

	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dependent Variable	Phonecalls	Phonecalls Per Minute	Minutes on the Phone
Dependent Normalization	log	log	log
Period: 11 months pre-experiment			
Experiment*Treatment	0.122*** (0.026)	0.033** (0.013)	0.089*** (0.028)
Number of Employees	137	137	137
Number of Weeks	85	85	85
Observations	9503	9503	9503

Note: All regressions include a full set of individual and week fixed effects, with standard errors clustered by individual. Treatment=even birthday. Hours worked from log-in data.

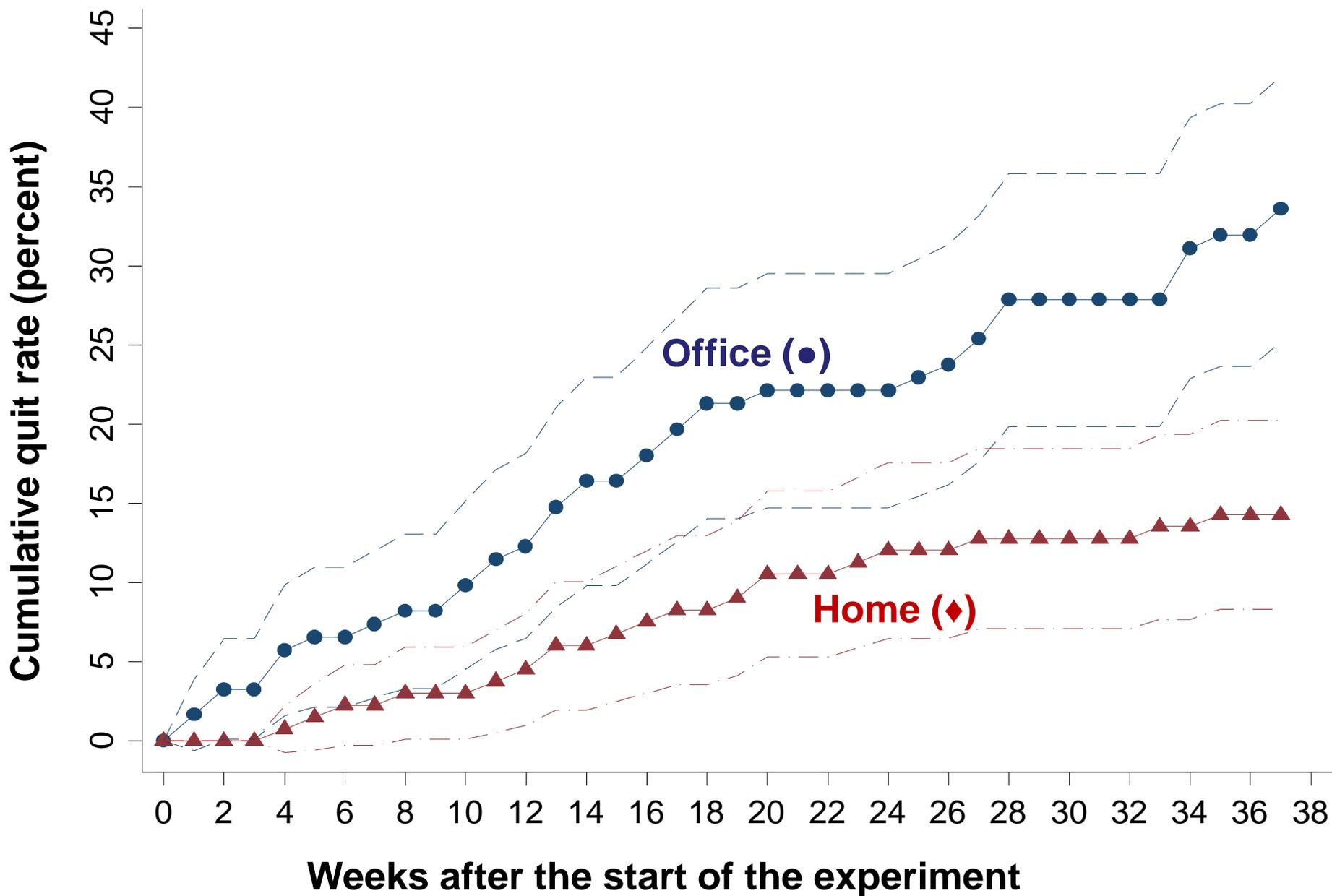
Time on the phone rose 9.5%, 2/3 due from more hours per day (better punctuality and less breaks) and 1/3 from more days worked (less “sick” days)

Table 3: Decomposition of the change in labor supply

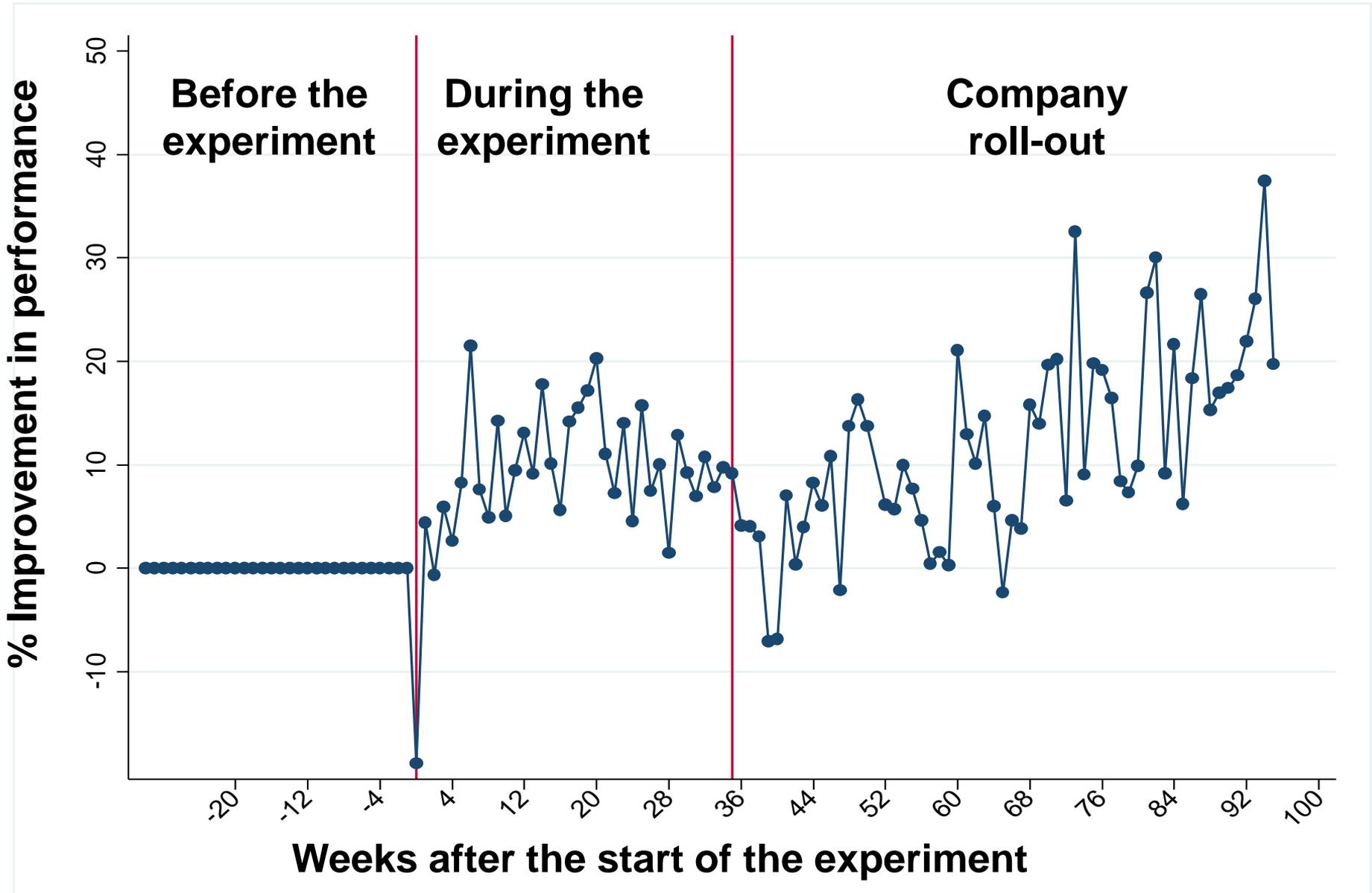
VARIABLES	(1) Minutes on the Phone	(2) Minutes on the Phone	(3) Minutes on the Phone/ Hours Worked	(4) Hours Worked/ Days Worked	(5) Days Worked
Sample	All	Airfare	Airfare	Airfare	Airfare
Period: 11 months pre-experiment and 9 months of experiment					
Experiment*Treatment	0.089*** (0.028)	0.090** (0.044)	-0.017 (0.033)	0.068** (0.028)	0.039** (0.015)
Number of Employees	137	89	89	89	89
Number of Weeks	85	85	85	85	85
Observations	9,503	3531	3531	3531	3531

Note: All regressions include a full set of individual and week fixed effects, with standard errors clustered by individual. Treatment=even birthday. Hours worked from log-in data.

Second, quit rates drop by 50%



Third, choice doubled the impact – after the experiment the firm let all employees choose



WFH raised profits by \$1900 by person per year, leading CTrip to roll out WFH

Reduction in costs per employee WFH per year from :

- Rent: \$1,200
- Hiring and training: \$400
- Wages (per call): \$300

So obvious question is why CTrip (or any other firm) did not do this before?

在家办公

如果你也想报名参加“在家办公”请报名给你们的区长

还在为挤车而烦恼吗?还在为吃饭而着急吗?
还在为监控而压抑吗?还在为没有足够的时间陪伴家人,照顾家里而忧心吗?
梦想中的自我空间——一张桌子,一台电脑,一把舒适的椅子,一套好的音响,一杯浓郁的咖啡,一束飘出淡香的鲜花或是一丛春意盎然的绿植。在这样一个无拘无束的环境里,你可以随时进入工作状态,也可以任意漫步;你想工作到几点就几点;你可以完成公司交给你的工作,也可以做游戏;甚至可以和朋友在网上海阔天空地聊天……只要你愿意,足不出户就可以跟世界上任何地方交流。
这些舒适和自由的“老板”工作,你准备好了吗?

在家办公好处:

- 1不用早起
- 2没有上下班路上的时间,不用挤公交或者地铁,只要完成了工作,你可以立即和家人在一起。
- 3自己做饭节约就餐费用,其实最大的好处就是节约了上下班花在路上的时间
- 4工作环境由我掌控,工作环境可以完全由你布置,可以根据自己的喜好来摆放办公设备,甚至是房间的装修,壁纸的选择都由你决定,而且工作的环境更安静,可以更安心的工作
- 5成本降低了。在家工作的最大好处之一就是成本低,如果你在家工作,各种费用会降低至最低。

一个人一间房,一台电脑,一天一张订单,一瞬间。
轻松自由在家办公,你报名了吗?

想听什么音乐都行
“想SHOW就SHOW”

一个人一间房,一台电脑,一天一张订单,一瞬间。

想穿什么上班都行
“想裸奔就裸奔”

想吃什么美食都行
“想自助就自助”

想装什么家居都行
“我是老板”

What this experience taught me:

1. Exploit random chance – I met James sitting in my class
2. In management also consider the less obvious topics – maternity and paternity leave, job-sharing, diversity etc
3. Measure everything – we asked Ctrip to record everything!

Limited performance tracking in African firms

Interviewer “What kinds of Key Performance Indicators do you use for performance tracking?”

Manager: “Performance tracking? That is the first I hear of this Performance tracking. Why should we spend money to track our performance?”

Interviewer “How do you identify production problems?”

Production Manager: “With my own eyes. It is very easy”

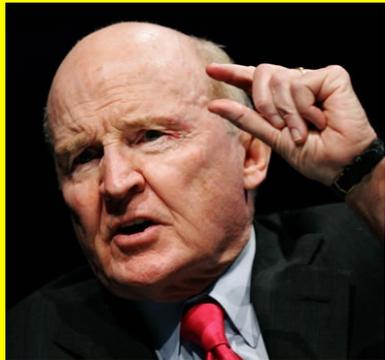
Some rather weird quotes

The bizarre

Interviewer: “[long silence].....hello, hello....are you still there....hello”

Production Manager: “.....I’m sorry, I just got distracted by a submarine surfacing in front of my window”

(4) Managers –



TOYOTA



Great managers?

Well management practices

Actually three strand of literature – e.g.

- Management practices: Ichniowski, Shaw and Prenushi (1997), Black and Lynch (2001), Bloom and Van Reenen (2007), McKenzie and Woodruff (2012), Bloom, Eiffert, Mahajan, McKenzie and Roberts (2013), Chandra, Finkelstein, Sacarny & Syverson (2016), Bruhn, Schoar and Karlan (2016), Braguinsky, Ohyama, Okazaki and Syverson (2016), Giorcelli (2016)
- Managers: Bertrand and Schoar (2003), Bennesden et al. (2007), and Lazear, Shaw and Stanton (2014), Bender et al. (2016), Kaplan and Sorenson (2016), Bandiera et al. (2017), Gow et al. (2017)
- Theory: e.g. Lucas (1978), Brynjolfsson and Milgrom (2013) Caselli & Gennaioli (2013), Guner, Parkomenko, & Ventura (2016), Akcigit, Alp & Peters (2016), Halac & Prat (2016),

Bertrand and Schoar (2003, QJE)

Build a panel dataset tracking managers across S&P500 publicly traded US firms, allowing for firm and top manager fixed effects

Average size of firms about 10,000 employees – so impact of strategy by the top managers. They find:

1. Manager fixed effect exist (but R^2 about 2%, but very significant), for M&A, dividend policy, debt ratios & cost-cutting
2. Managers have styles - more/less aggressive, internal/external growth focus. These correlated with CEO birth cohort & MBA
3. Managers are also absolutely “better” or “worse” – performance fixed effects exist, linked to compensation & governance

Perez-Gonzalez (2006, AER)

- Looks at the 335 management transitions in US publicly quoted firms (1980-2001) with concentrated family holdings
- Find the announcement that the founding CEO will step-down leads to:
 - Big stock rise if the next CEO is not a family-member
 - Big drop if the next CEO is a family member, driven by the family members from “non-selective colleges” (defined as outside top 189 US Colleges)
- Related paper (Bennedsen, Mortenson, Perez-Gonzalez and Wolfenson, 2007 QJE) looks at family CEOs in Denmark, using gender of first born as an instrument, finding large negative impact of family CEOs

Lazear, Shaw and Stanton (2014)

- Look at detailed micro data on workers and team managers in a large service firm (i.e. call center type place)
- Find large “boss-effects” – going from top to bottom 10% equivalent to adding 15% more workers to the team
- Good bosses also reduce workers quit rates and worth about 1.75 workers (also about their salary difference)

Other broad types CEO papers

1. CEO performance papers (just discussed)
2. CEO behavior papers (e.g. Kaplan and Sorenson (2016), Malmendier and Tate (2009), Mullins and Schoar (2013))
 - “people” or “technical”
 - “over optimistic” vs “rational”
3. CEO time use (Mintzberg, 1973), Bandiera, Hansen, Pratt and Sadun 2018) – micromanagers vs coordinators

Summary key findings

- 1) Massive variation in productivity across firms
- 2) About $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ variation appears to be due to management
- 3) Management driven by regulation, ownership, competition, education and knowledge spillovers
- 4) Managers matter – large fixed effects and variations in style

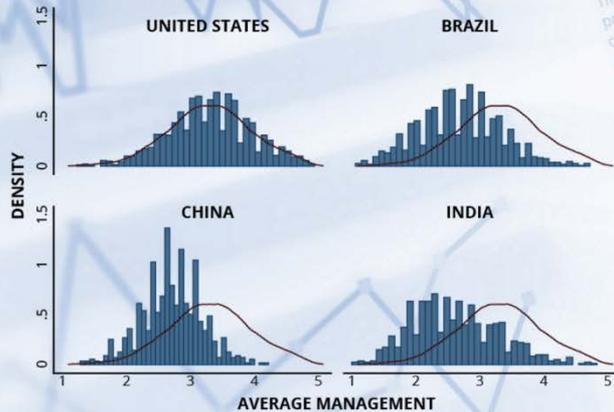
Great opportunities – huge areas almost nothing is know about. Strategy, diversity, work-life balance, manager RCTs etc.

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