

CEP 21st Birthday public lecture

Restoring Growth

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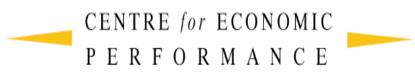
SOURCES OF GROWTH

John Van Reenen

Department of Economics, LSE; Director, Centre for Economic Performance

CEP 21st Birthday Series Lecture No. 2 LSE, November, 2010

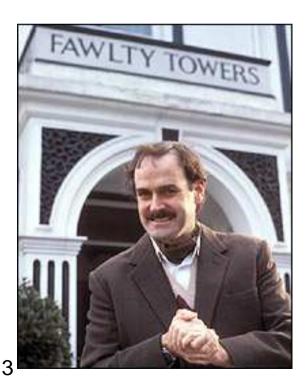




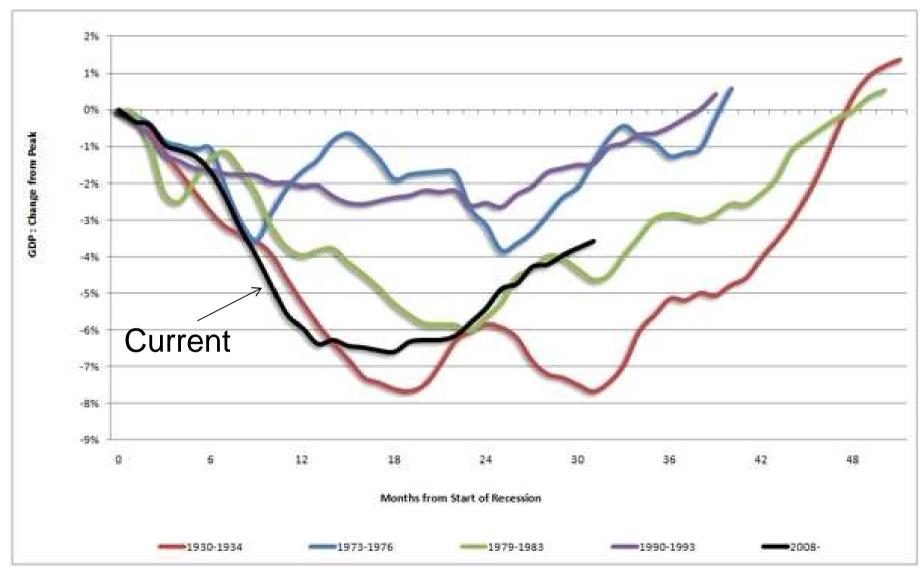
SOURCES OF GROWTH?







2008-09 "GREAT RECESSION" COMPARED TO PREVIOUS RECESSIONS, CUMULATIVE CHANGE IN UK GDP



Source: NIESR (November 2010)

QUESTIONS

- What are the drivers of growth?
 - Technological innovation
 - Management practices
 - Micro-economic structural reforms
- Are the Coalition's <u>accelerated</u> budget cuts the right medicine?
 - No, extreme austerity will harm economy.
- How can we rebalance the UK economy?
 - Within private Sector
 - Between private & public sector

OUTLINE

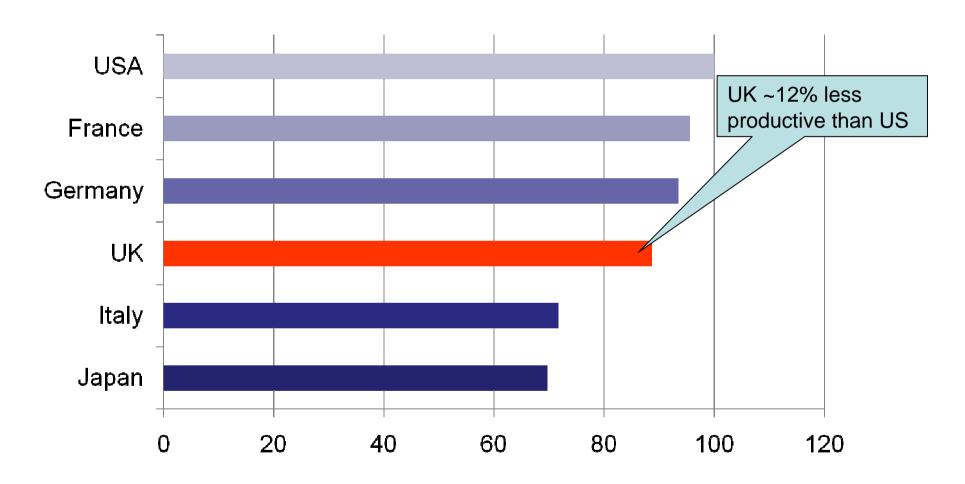
1. Productivity: what is it & how is UK doing?

- 2. Why is there a productivity gap?
- 3. The drivers of better management
- 4. Micro-Policy: Structural reforms for long-term growth
- 5. Macro-Policy: Austerity and its implications

WHAT IS PRODUCTIVITY AND WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

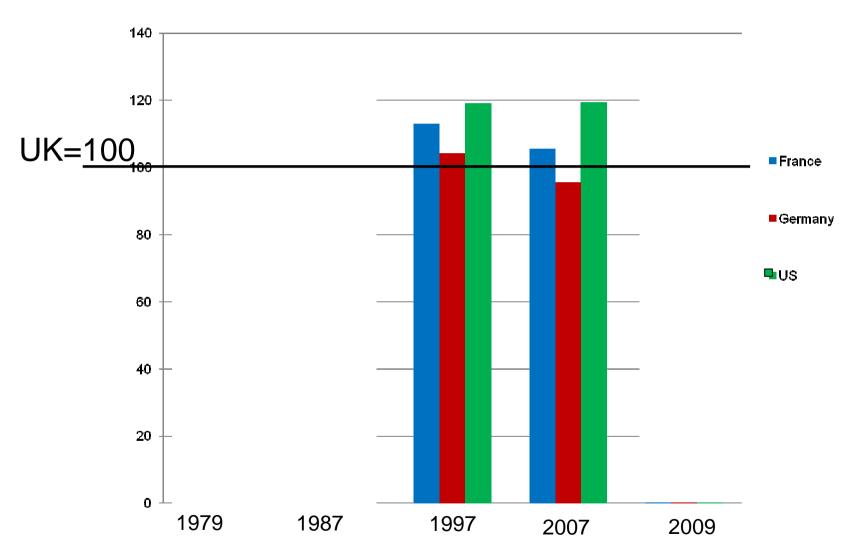
- Absolute growth of GDP not the issue
- Productivity growth is what matters (GDP per hour & Total Factor Productivity)
 - Drives growth of real wages & consumption
 - Can facilitate redistribution
- Downsides to productivity growth
 - Poverty?
 - Happiness?

RELATIVE LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY (GDP PER HOUR) IN 2009, US=100



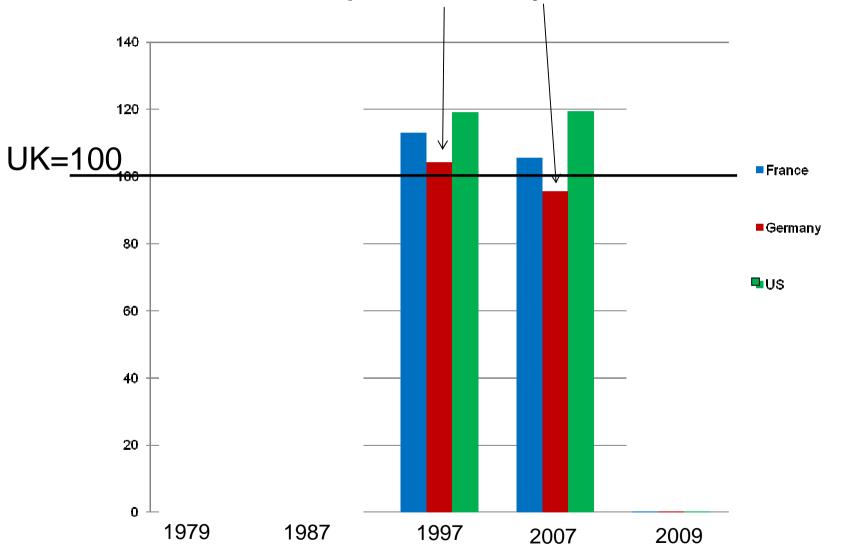
Source: Conference Board World Economy Database, September 2010

GDP PER WORKER RELATIVE TO UK IN US, FRANCE & GERMANY (UK=100), 1979-2009



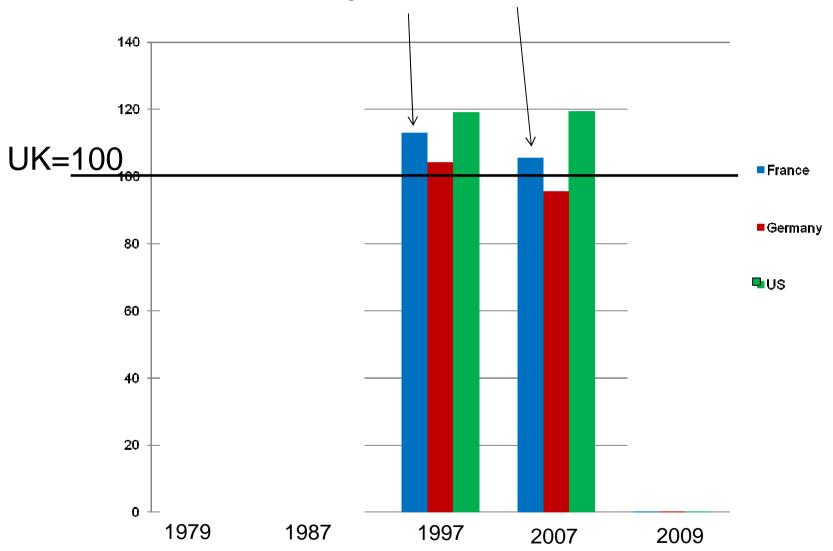
UK RELATIVE PRODUCTIVITY





UK RELATIVE PRODUCTIVITY





RECENT TRENDS IN PRODUCTIVITY

- After 1970s Oil Shocks a global productivity slowdown (e.g. US productivity growth slowed to ~1.2% p.a)
- From mid-1990s, US productivity "miracle"
- Crisis after end 2007

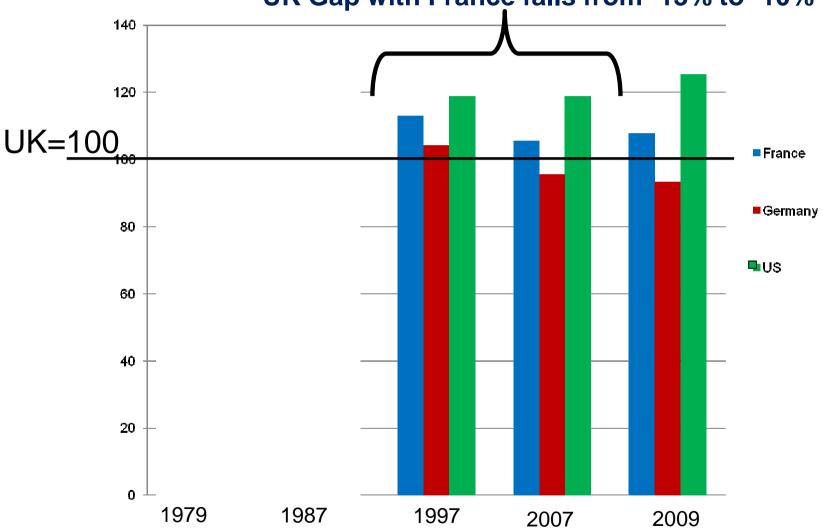
GDP/hour p.a. growth

	US	EU-15	UK	France	Germany
1995- 2005	2.3%	1.5%	2.2%	1.8%	1.6%
2005- 2009	1.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%

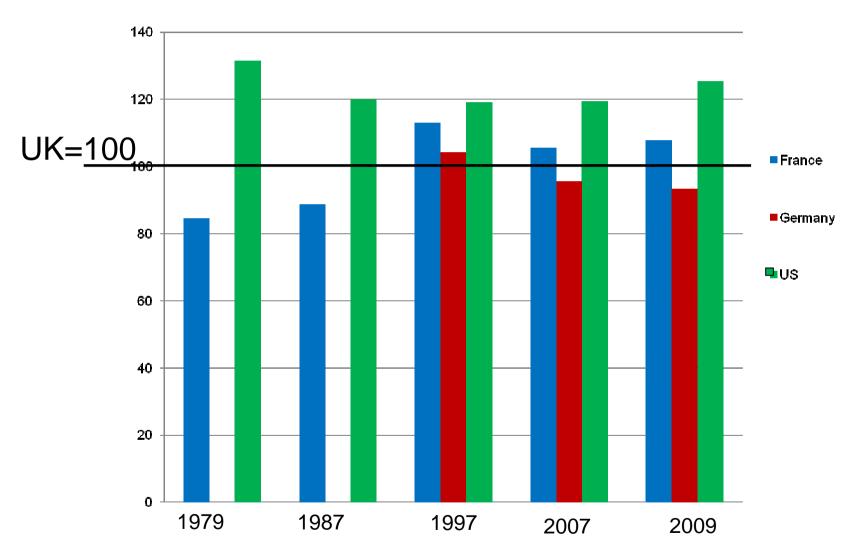
Source: Conference Board, September 2010

UK RELATIVE PRODUCTIVITY, 1979-2009

UK Gap with Germany reverses from -4% to +7% UK Gap with France falls from -13% to -10%



UK RELATIVE PRODUCTIVITY, 1979-2009



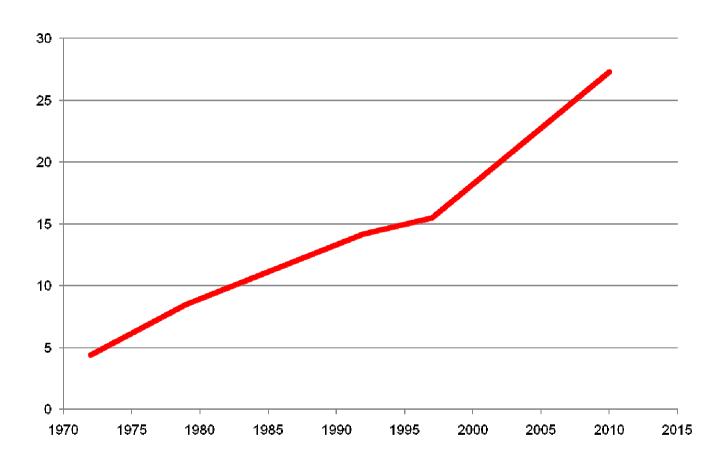
WHAT HELPED IMPROVE UK'S PRODUCTIVITY POSITION POST 1997?

- Not driven just by financial sector; e.g. retail/wholesale had very strong productivity growth
- Increase in human capital through university expansion & school reforms (see over)
- R&D supported both directly & introduction of R&D tax credits (in 2000 for SMEs & 2002 for all firms)
- Product Market competition (e.g. Competition Policy Regime improved & ranked 2nd in world)

Also:

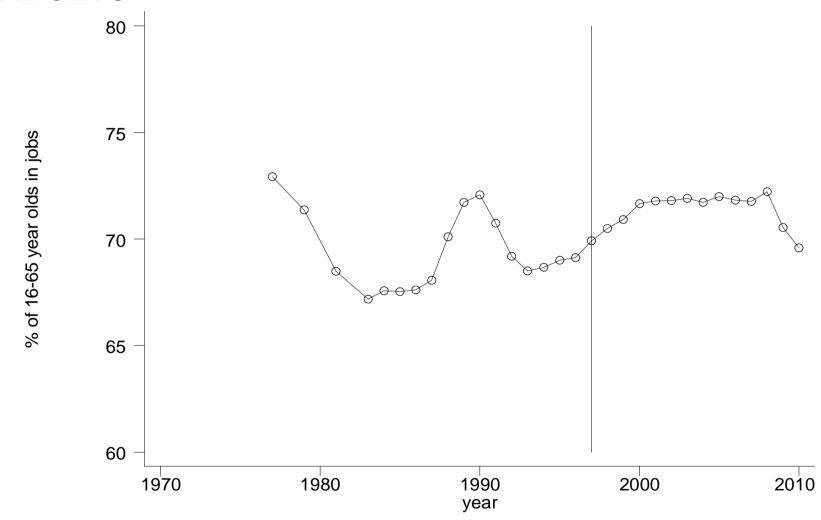
- Labour market flexibility
- Openness to FDI
- Labour market supported by welfare reform (e.g. New Deal)

PROPORTION OF UK WORKERS WITH A COLLEGE DEGREE ROSE BY 12 PERCENTAGE POINTS 1997-2010



Source: GHS and Labour Force Survey, Various years

IMPROVEMENTS IN UK EMPLOYMENT RATE OF ADULTS



Source: Labour Force Survey, Various years, ages 16-65

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TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION THE CAUSE OF PRODUCTIVITY GAP WITH THE US?

- Partially correct: UK has innovation deficit:
 - Although universities/basic science strong (e.g. highest paper citation to GDP ratio of G8 nations)
 - But commercialization weak: Research & Development (R&D), Patenting, etc.

UK SECOND ONLY TO US IN ELITE SCIENCE



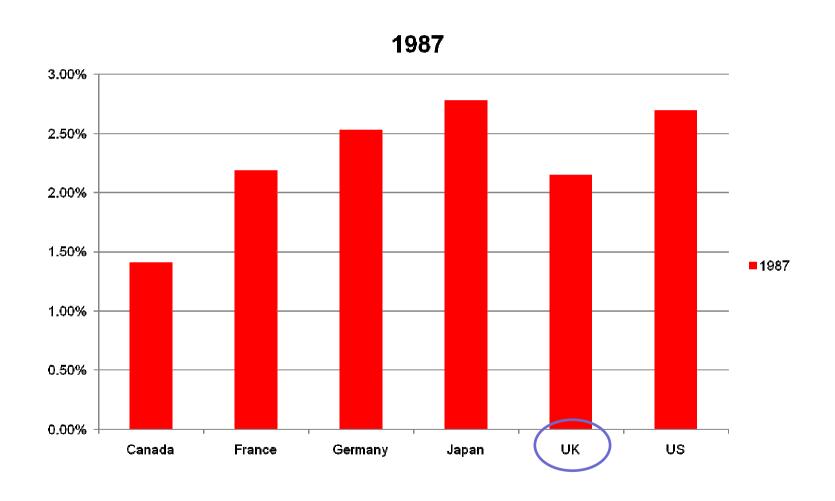
	Share of top scientific papers	Rank
US	58.6	1
UK	14.4	2
GERMANY	11.1	3
FRANCE	7.0	4
CANADA	6.2	5
JAPAN	6.1	6
ITALY	4.8	7
NETHERLANDS	4.3	8
CHINA	4.2	9

Notes: Shares of the most cited scientific papers 1999-2008 (top 1%)

Source: BIS/Thompson-Reuters (2009) "International comparative performance of the UK research base", Table 1.12, p.60

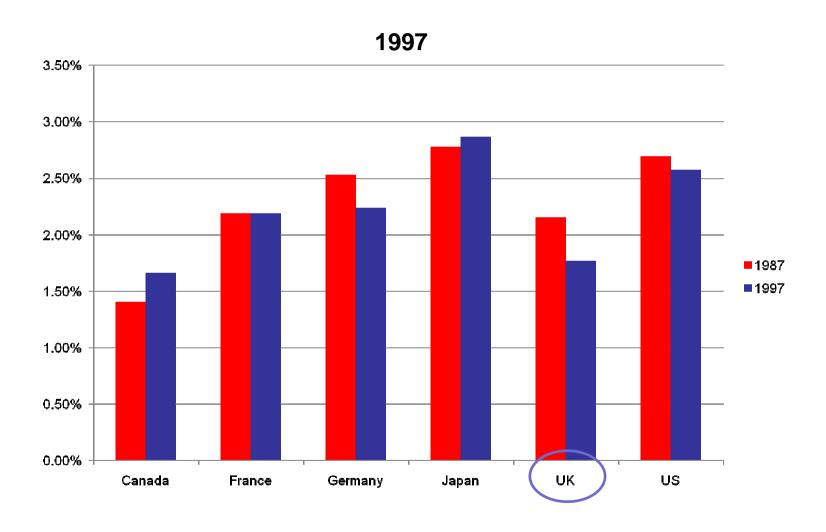
http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/corporate/migratedd/publications/i/icpruk09v1_4.pdf

UK R&D LOW COMPARED TO OTHER COUNTRIES. TOTAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AS A % OF GDP



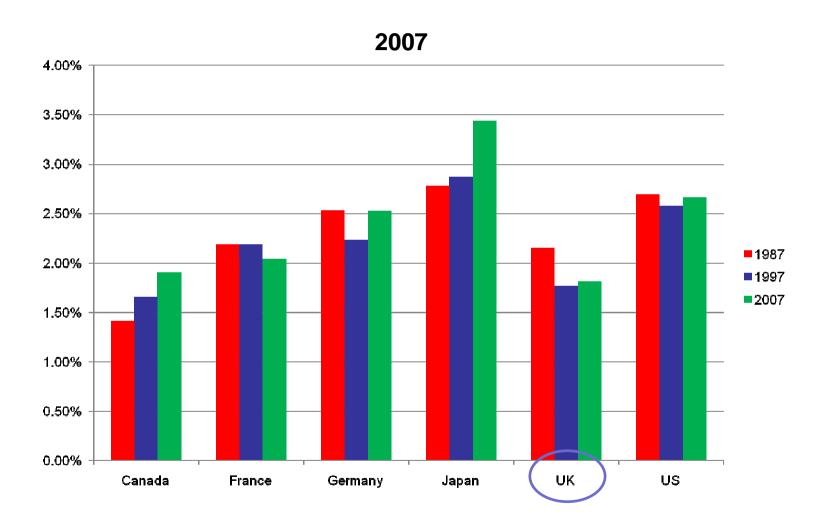
Source: OECD (GERD/GDP)

UK R&D DECLINE 1987-1997? TOTAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AS A % OF GDP



Source: OECD (GERD/GDP)

UK R&D DECLINE HALTED? TOTAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AS A % OF GDP



Source: OECD (GERD/GDP)

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION THE CAUSE OF PRODUCTIVITY GAP WITH THE US?

- But problem is not just "hard" technologies. Also problems with the way firms are <u>managed</u>
- "Innovations" in management, such as
 - Toyota's Lean Manufacturing system (1970s)
 - Taylor's Scientific management (1900s)
 - Mass production (1920s)
 - Alfred Sloan's M-form firm (1930s)
 - Demming's quality movement (1950s)
- 7 year research Program with Nick Bloom (Stanford)
 - —Quantify & compare management in firms & nations
- Why don't all firms adopt best practice immediately?
 Same as "hard" technologies (hybrid corn, ICT, etc.)
 - Information, Incentives, human Capital, etc.

THE SURVEY METHODOLOGY

- 1) Developing management questions
 - Scorecard for 18 monitoring, targets and people
 - ≈45 minute phone interview of manufacturing plant managers
- 2) Obtaining unbiased comparable responses ("Double-blind")
 - Interviewers do not know the company's performance
 - Managers are not informed (in advance) they are scored
 - Run from LSE, with same training and country rotation
- 3) Getting firms to participate in the interview
 - Introduced as "Lean-manufacturing" interview, no financials
 - Official Endorsement: Bundesbank, PBC, RBI, etc.
 - Run by 55 MBA types (loud, assertive & business experience)

MONITORING – e.g. HOW IS PERFORMANCE TRACKED?"

Score	(1): Measures tracked do not indicate directly if overall	(3): Most key performance indicators are tracked	(5): Performance is continuously tracked and communicated,
	business objectives are being met. Certain	formally. Tracking is overseen by senior	both formally and informally, to all staff using a range of visual
	processes aren't tracked at all	management	management tools
		_	

Note: All 18 dimensions and over 50 examples in Bloom & VanReenen (2006).

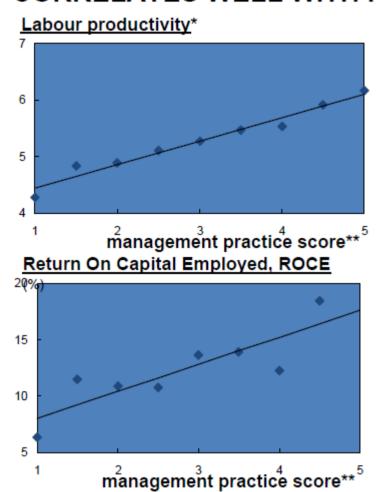
MANAGEMENT SURVEY SAMPLE

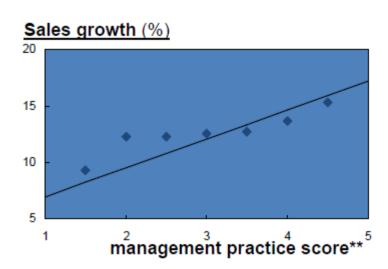
- Interviewed over 8,000 firms across Americas, Asia & Europe
- Obtained ~45% response rate from sampling frame (with responses uncorrelated with performance measures)

Medium sized manufacturing firms:

- Medium sized (100 5,000 employees, median ≈ 250) because firm practices more homogeneous
- Manufacturing as easier to measure productivity
- Also examined management in Hospitals, Schools, Retail, Law Firms, nursing homes, charities, tax collection agencies

EXTERNAL VALIDATION: MANAGEMENT SCORE CORRELATES WELL WITH PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

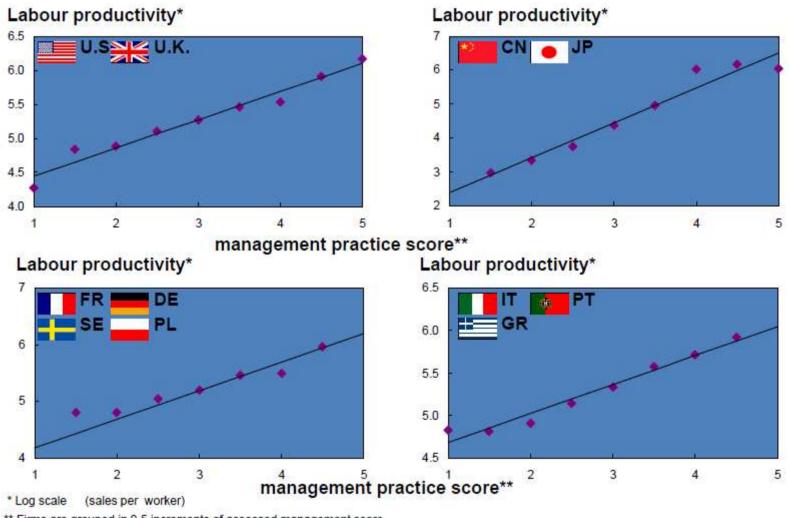




^{*} Log scale

[&]quot;* Firms are grouped in 0.5 increments of assessed management score

THE LINK BETWEEN PRODUCTIVITY AND MANAGEMENT HOLDS TRUE ACROSS DIFFERENT COUNTRIES



^{**} Firms are grouped in 0.5 increments of assessed management score

THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF MANAGEMENT ON PRODUCTIVITY

- Randomized Control Trials of Indian textile firms outside Mumbai
- All Firms receive a "light" management treatment then a randomized treatment group receive in-depth management consultancy from top international consulting firm for ~6 months
- Followed these firms for ~2 years
- Large improvements in management, quality and profitability (~\$200,000 p.a.)
- So evidence of an important and large causal effect of these practices on performance

MANY PARTS OF THESE INDIAN PLANTS WERE DIRTY AND UNSAFE



Garbage outside the plant



Flammable garbage in a plant



Garbage inside a plant



Chemicals without any covering

THE PLANT FLOORS WERE DISORGANIZED

Instrument not removed after use, blocking hallway.



Old warp beam, chairs and a desk obstructing the plant floor

Dirty and poorly maintained machines

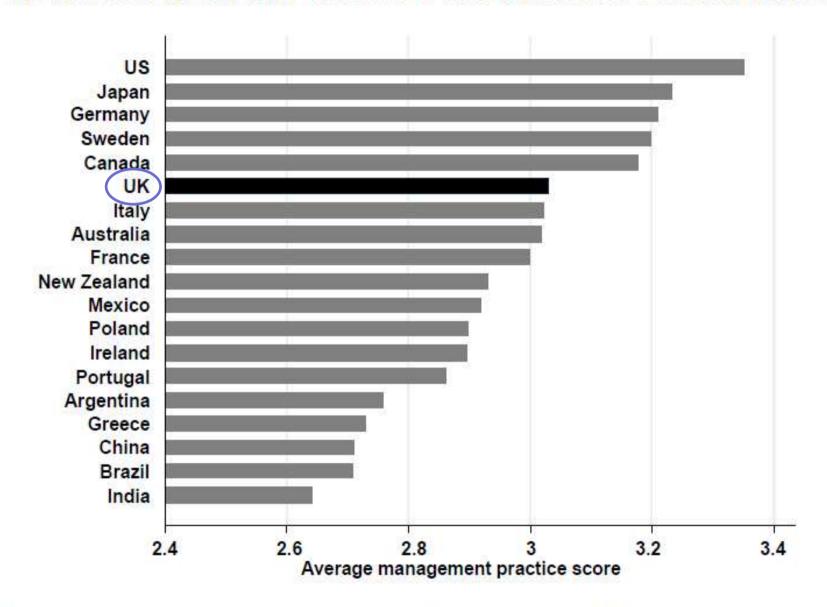


Tools left on the floor after use

THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF MANAGEMENT ON PRODUCTIVITY

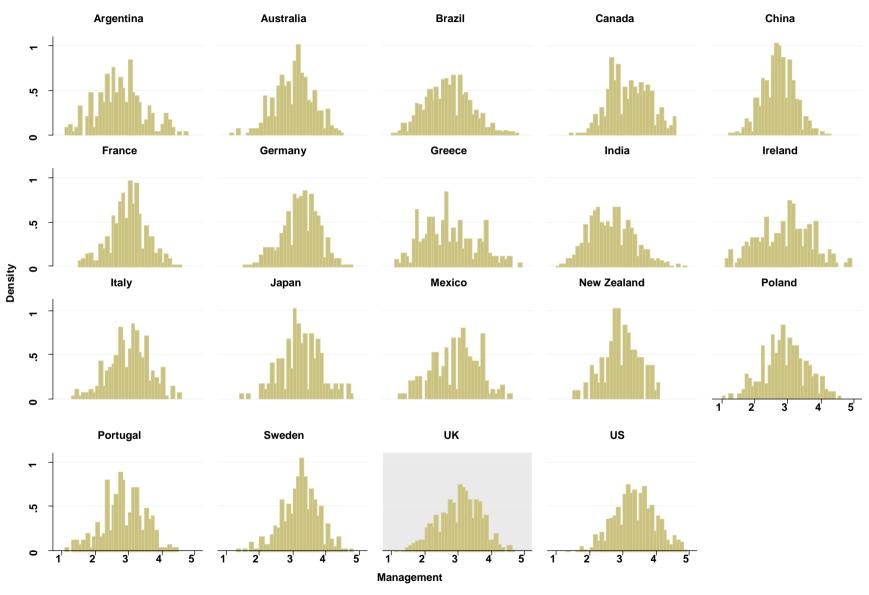
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UK MANAGEMENT MID-TABLE BY INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS



Note: Based on 8,261 management interviews between 2006 and 2010. We pool across multiple survey waves to maximize the extent of cross-country management comparison

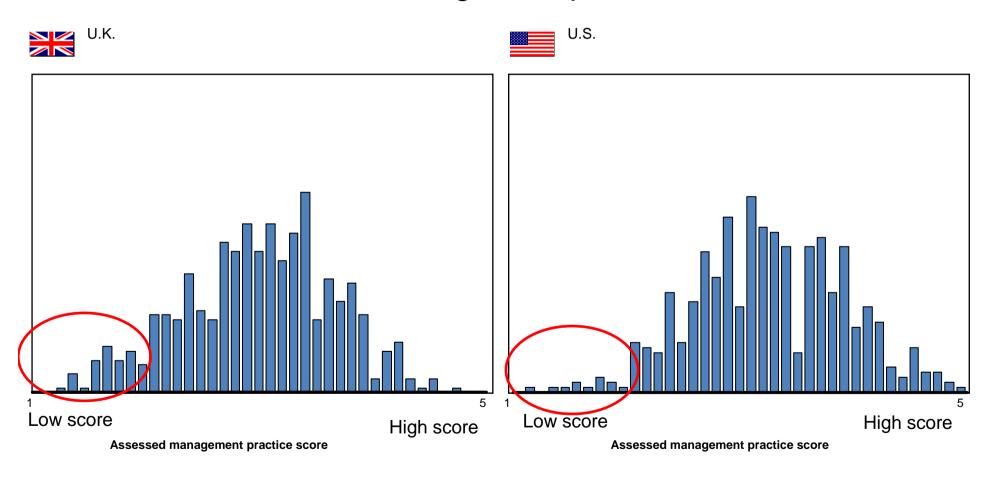
HUGE VARIATION OF MANAGEMENT PRACTICES COMPARED WITHIN ALL COUNTRIES



Note: Based on 8,261 management interviews between 2006 and 2009.

MUCH OF THE CROSS-COUNTRY DIFFERENCES DUE TO THE "LOWER TAIL"

Distribution of firm level management practice scores



OUTLINE

1. Productivity: what it is & how is UK doing?

2. Why is there a productivity gap?

- 3. The drivers of better management
 - Competition
 - Ownership & control (Family Firms)
 - Skills & other factors
- 4. Micro-Policy: Structural reforms for long-term growth
- 5. Macro-Policy: Austerity and its implications

COMPETITION & MODELS OF MANAGEMENT

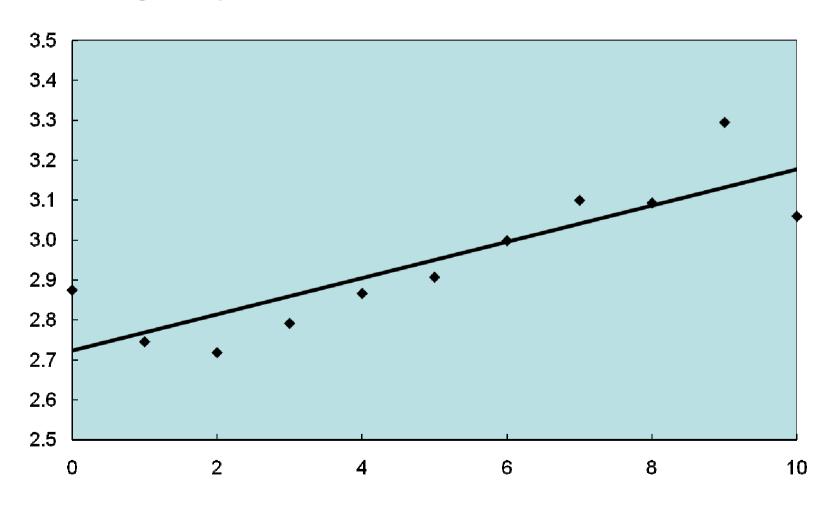
Various ways that competition may influence management

- <u>Selection</u> badly run firms more likely to exit
- Effort forces badly run firms to try harder to survive

We find competition is strongly linked with better management through a mixture of selection & effort

COMPETITION IS ASSOCIATED WITH BETTER MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

Assessed management practice score

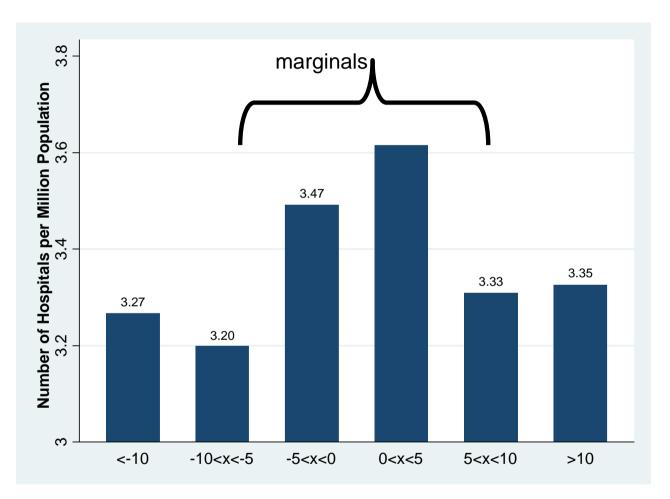


Note: Reported number of competitors (10=10 or more)

IS COMPETITION A CAUSAL FACTOR IN IMPROVING MANAGEMENT?

- Examine management in NHS hospitals. Mid 2000s reforms increased competition by geographically closer hospitals
- Closing hospitals very politically unpopular, so we use exogenous variation in degrees of political contestability to construct a "natural experiment"
 - Hospital in "marginal" wards much less likely to be closed

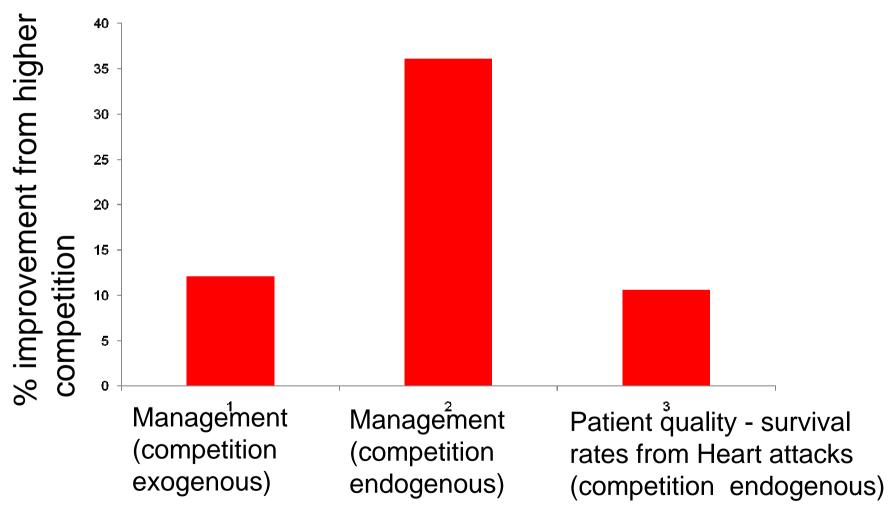
MORE HOSPITALS IN MARGINAL CONSTITUENCIES



Labour party's winning % margin (1997)

Notes: Mean number of hospitals per 1 million people within a 30km radius of centre of a political constituency; "winning margin" (x) is % of votes ahead of second party

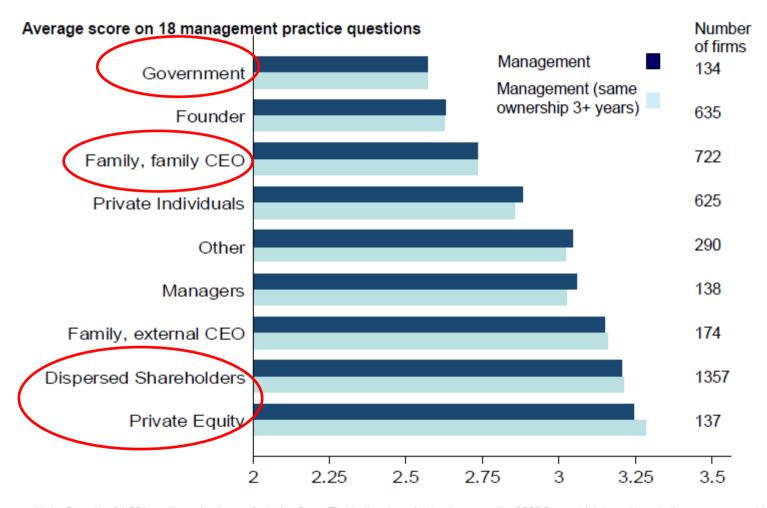
EFFECT OF AN INCREASE IN COMPETITION (1 EXTRA RIVAL HOSPITAL) ON MANAGEMENT AND CLINICAL QUALITY



Source: Bloom, Propper, Seiler & Van Reenen (2010)

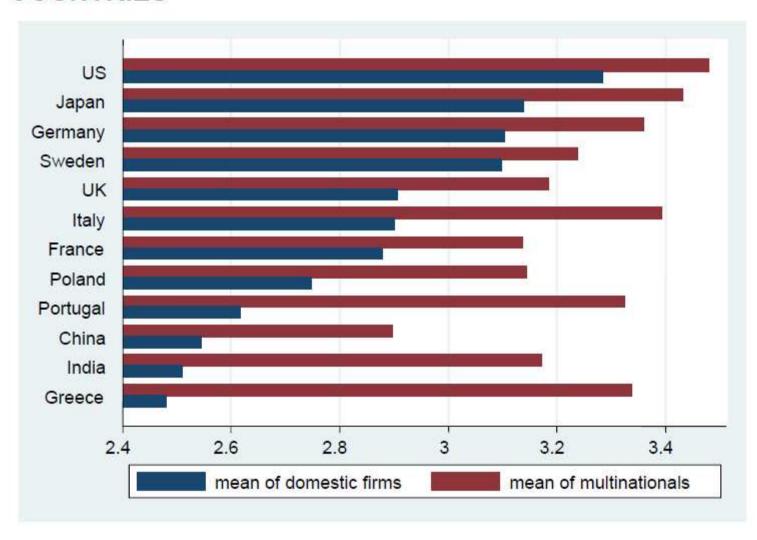
Notes: Derived from OLS and 2SLS regressions

FAMILY FIRMS (OWNED WITH ELDEST SON AS CEO) AND GOVERNMENT FIRMS HAVE WORST MANAGEMENT

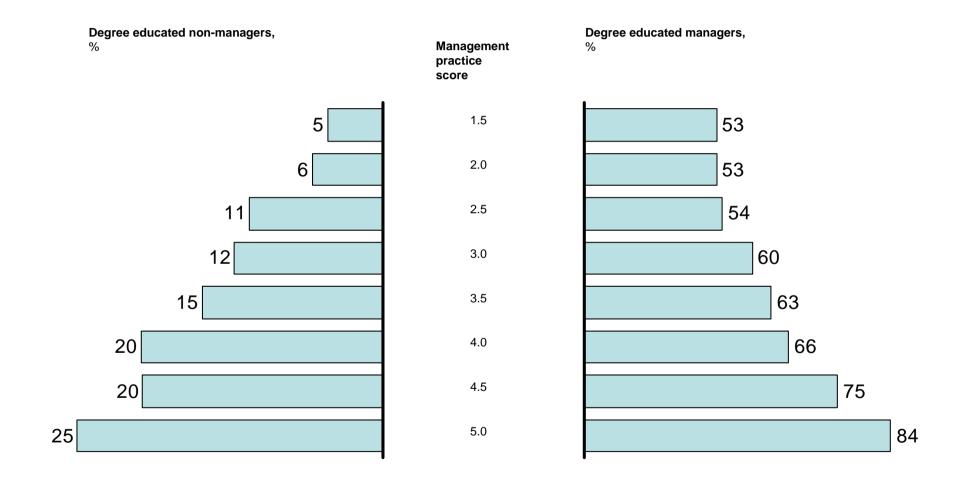


Note: Sample of 4,221 medium-sized manufacturing firms. The bottom bar-chart only covers the 3696 firms which have been in the same ownership for the last 3 years. The "Other" category includes venture capital, joint-ventures, charitable foundations and unknown ownership.

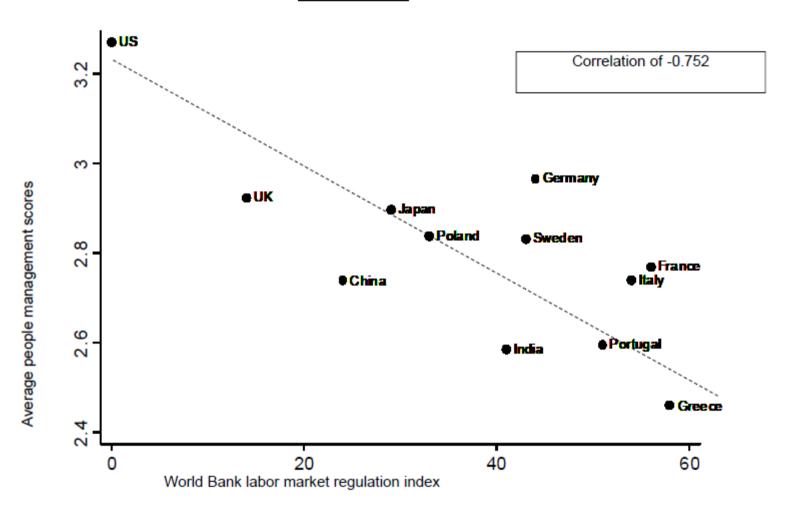
MULTINATIONALS APPEAR TO BE WELL MANAGED IN ALL COUNTRIES



BETTER MANAGEMENT IS LINKED WITH HIGHER SKILL LEVELS OF BOTH MANAGERS AND NON-MANAGERS



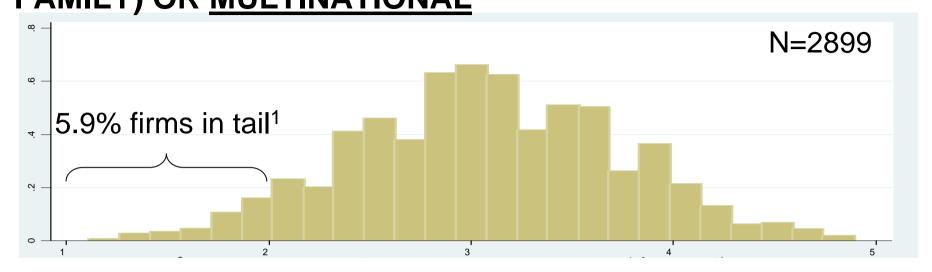
LABOUR MARKET REGULATION ARE NEGATIVELY CORRELATED WITH <u>PEOPLE</u> MANAGEMENT...



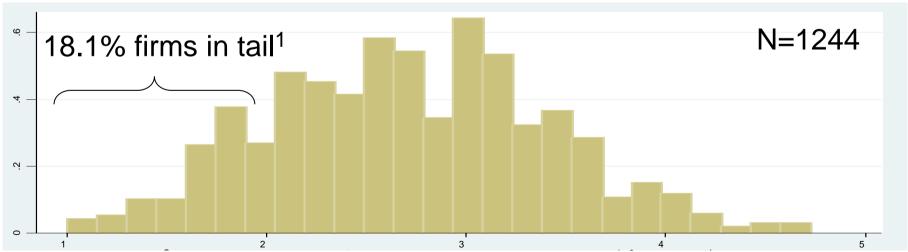
QUANTIFYING EFFECTS OF COMPETITION, FAMILY FIRMS & MULTINATIONAL:

- ACROSS FIRMS ~ ½ VARIATION
- ACROSS COUNTRIES ~ ½ VARIATION

"GOOD DOMESTIC" (MANY COMPETITORS, NOT PG FAMILY) OR MULTINATIONAL



"BAD DOMESTIC" (FEW COMPETITORS OR PG FAMILY)



¹ Tail defined as a score ≤ 2. In the whole sample 9.6% of firms are in the tail. PG= "Promo geniture"

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STRUCURAL REFORMS TO IMPROVE MANAGEMENT & PRODUCTIVITY

- Product market Competition
 - Competition policy, Trade policy, planning
 - Public sector (e.g. UK hospital reforms)
- Meritocratic CEO appointment not eldest sons
 - e.g. 100% Inheritance Tax exemption for family business assets, promotes family firms (cf. Mirrlees Review)
- Human Capital
 - UK weak at lower end (e.g. EMA, Apprenticeships,)
- Openness to foreign investment
- Labour market regulation
- Financial market regulation

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS – INNOVATION

Structural reforms will tend to also boost innovation

- Universities and basic science
 - Funding & Browne Response; student visas
 - University linkages (Technology Transfer)

R&D policies

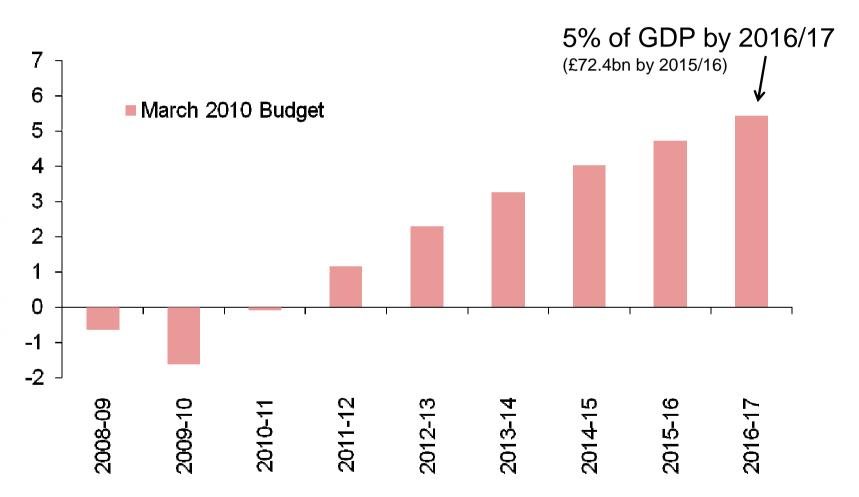
 R&D tax credits raise R&D (Bloom, Griffith & VR, 2002) but improving supply side better

OUTLINE

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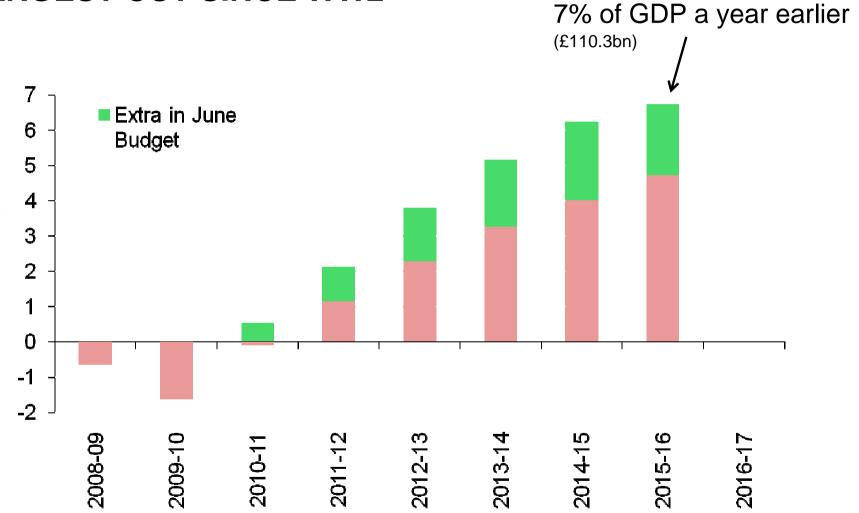
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AUSTERITY – LABOUR'S PLANS FOR FISCAL TIGHTENING



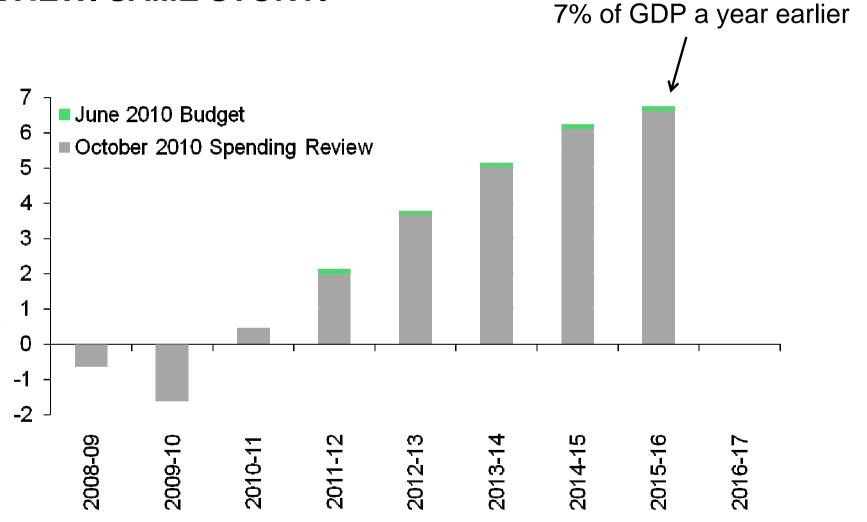
Source: IFS, HMT

EXTREME AUSTERITY – JUNE EMERGENCY BUDGET. LARGEST CUT SINCE WW2



Source: IFS, HMT

EXTREME AUSTERITY – OCTOBER SPENDING REVIEW. SAME STORY.



Source: IFS, HMT

COSTS OF ACCELERATED AUSTERITY

Withdrawal of demand risks recovery

- Private sector cannot speedily adjust to the fiscal shock
- Recovery is fragile (e.g. 2010 UK growth through construction & stimulus & US very weak)

Long-run effects of short-run fiscal contraction

- Scrapping of human and fixed capital (a pessimistic view of UK capacity becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy)
- Example: long-term unemployment (Pissarides)

Destruction of successful policies

- Crisis forces removal of unsuccessful policies, but also a bonfire of successful programs (e.g. EMA)
- Combined with huge changes (e.g. decentralization to GPs in NHS upheaval) creates uncertainty

Fairness

BENEFITS OF ACCELERATED AUSTERITY

UK faces a "Greek scenario?": unsustainable debt

- Deficit driven by global recession & consensus on need for reduction, mainly via spending cuts
- Reduce borrowing costs? Not if contraction severe
- Debt crisis exaggerated:(i) Historically moderate (42% in 2006;79% 2011;av=102%); (ii) maturity;(iii) no default

Credibility & Confidence

- "Frontloading" to reassure irrational bond markets?
- Better to deliver a realistic good plan than fail to deliver an unrealistic bad plan

Productive capacity is much lower

 Too pessimistic? some genuine productivity progress post 1997

EXTREME AUSTERITY – THE NEED FOR A "PLAN B"

- Chancellor has argued against a Plan B
- Mervyn King & MPC to the rescue?
 - Low interest rates?
 - Quantitative Easing
- Tax cuts & spending increases
 - Hard to fine tune
 - Extreme loss of credibility

WHAT "REBALANCING" IS NECESSARY?

Within Private sector

- Away from finance, construction, etc.
- Towards manufacturing, high tech service exports

Between Public and private sector

- Need to reduce public spending
- But to what level? Problem in 2000-07 was that taxes should have been raised more to cover spending choices
- Expansion of health & education a choice post 1999
- Reducing also a <u>political choice</u>, not an <u>economic</u> necessity, e.g. US vs. Northern EU

CONCLUSIONS

- Sources of productivity growth are innovation (wellstudied) and management (understudied)
- Management and productivity can be improved by microeconomic structural reforms - especially over competition, human capital, tax reform, labour markets.
- Extreme austerity a political choice not economic necessity, will have long-lasting negative effects
 - An experiment

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..."

Who rules the home in Ireland

Interviewer: "Would you mind if I asked how much your bonus is as a manager?"

Manager. "I don't even tell my wife how much my bonus is!" Interviewer. "Frankly, that's probably the right decision..."

Staff retention the American way

Manager: "I spend most of my time walking around cuddling and encouraging people - my staff tell me that I give great hugs"

The trusted Secretary

French secretary: "You want to talk to the plant manager? There are legal proceedings against him, so hurry up!!"

The traditional British Chat-Up

[Male manager speaking to an Australian female interviewer]

Production Manager: "Your accent is really cute and I love the way you talk. Do you fancy meeting up near the factory?"

Interviewer "Sorry, but I'm washing my hair every night for the next month...."

The traditional Indian Chat-Up

Production Manager: "Are you a Brahmin?"

Interviewer "Yes, why do you ask?"

Production manager "And are you married?"

Interviewer "No?"

Production manager "Excellent, excellent, my son is looking for a bride and I think you could be perfect. I must contact your parents to discuss this"

FURTHER READING

- Bloom and Van Reenen (2010) "Why do Management Practices Differ across Firms and Countries?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 24(1) 203-224 http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/jep.24.1.203%20
- 2. Bloom and Van Reenen (2007) "Measuring and Explaining Management practices across firms and nations" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122(4), 1351–1408. CEP Discussion Paper (2006) http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp0716.pdf
- Bloom, Sadun and Van Reenen (2007) "Americans do I.T. better" CEP Discussion Paper No. 788, forthcoming, American Economic Review http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/dp0788.pdf
- 4. UK productivity http://cep.lse.ac.uk/briefings/pa_uk_productivity.pdf

Back Up

RECENT TRENDS IN PRODUCTIVITY

• TFP p.a. growth (Conference Board, Sept. 2010)

	US	UK	France	German y	Japan
1995- 2005	0.9%	0.5%	0.3%	0.8%	0.1%
2005- 2009	-0.5%	0.5%	-0.5%	0.5%	0.1%

TARGETS - e.g. "HOW TOUGH ARE TARGETS?"

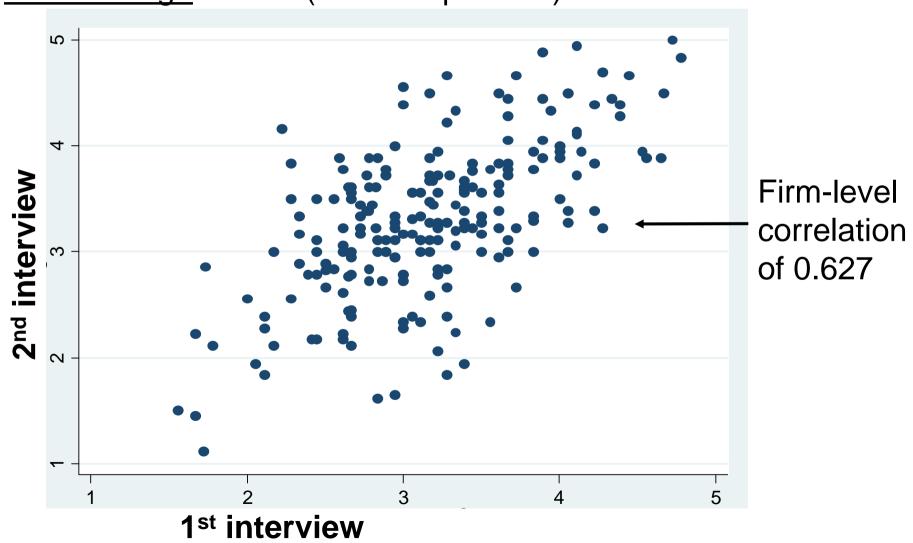
Score (1) Goals are (3) In most areas, (5) Goals are either too genuinely top management demanding for all pushes for easy or impossible to aggressive goals divisions. They based on solid achieve; are grounded in economic solid, solid managers low-ball rationale. There economic rational estimates to are a few "sacred cows" not held to ensure easy the same rigorous goals standard

Note: All 18 dimensions and over 50 examples in Bloom & VanReenen (2006).

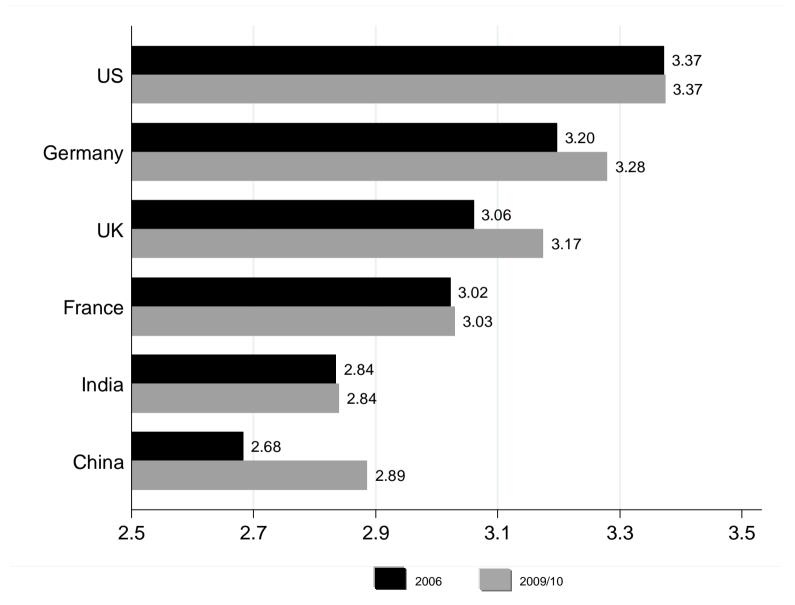
INTERVAL VALIDATION OF THE SCORING

Re-interviewed 222 firms with different interviewers & managers

Firm average scores (over 18 question)

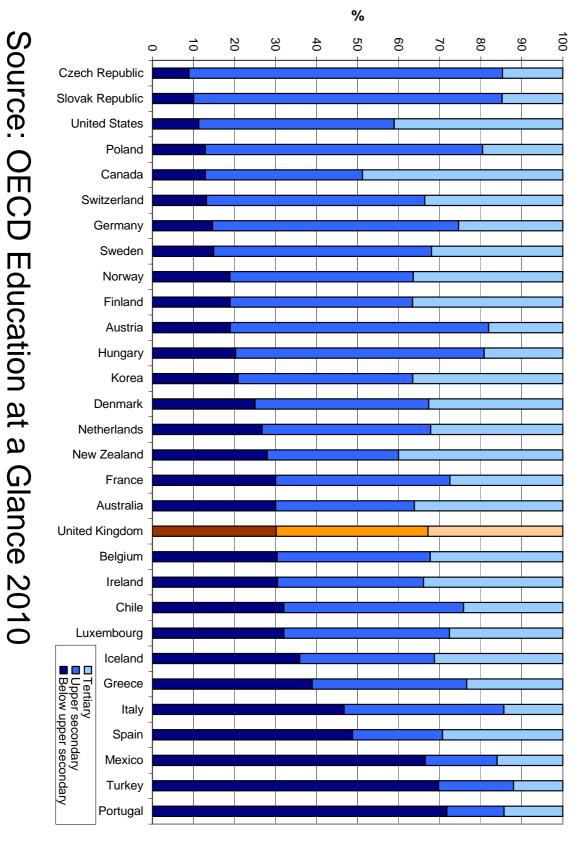


CHANGES IN MANAGEMENT SCORES ACROSS COUNTRIES

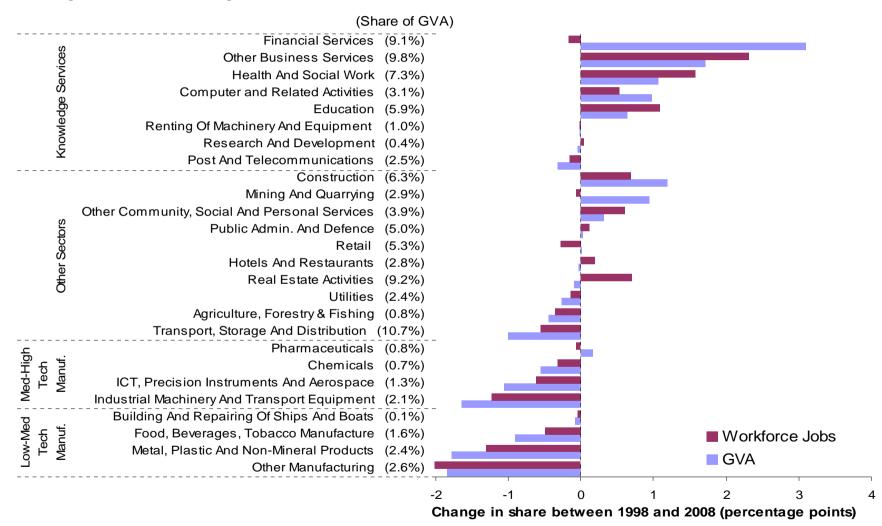


Note: Data from a total of 1,718 firms interviewed in 2006 and 2009/10 (263 US, 118 German, 253 UK, 157 French, 197 Chinese, 107 India firms).

% 25-64 with below upper secondary, upper secondary & tertiary education (2008)

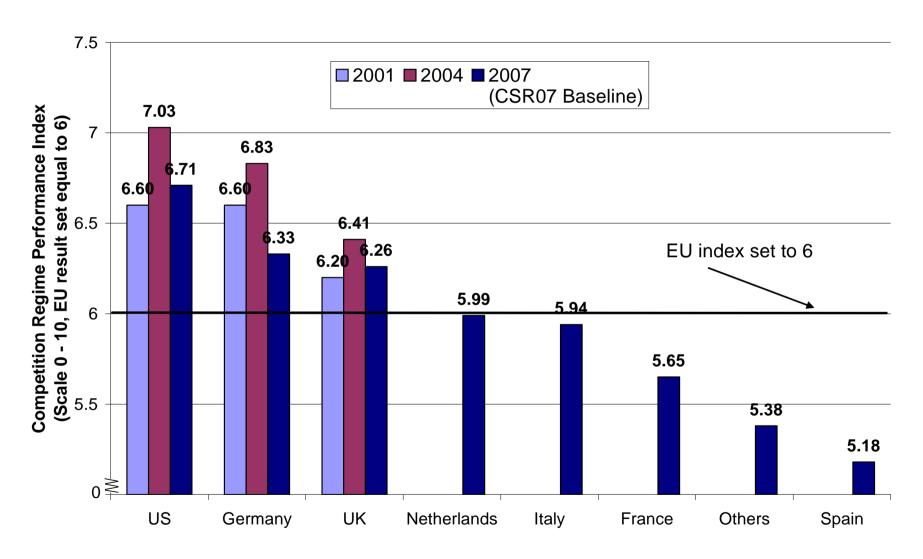


CHANGE IN THE SHARE OF UK EMPLOYMENT & VALUE ADDED (1998-2007)

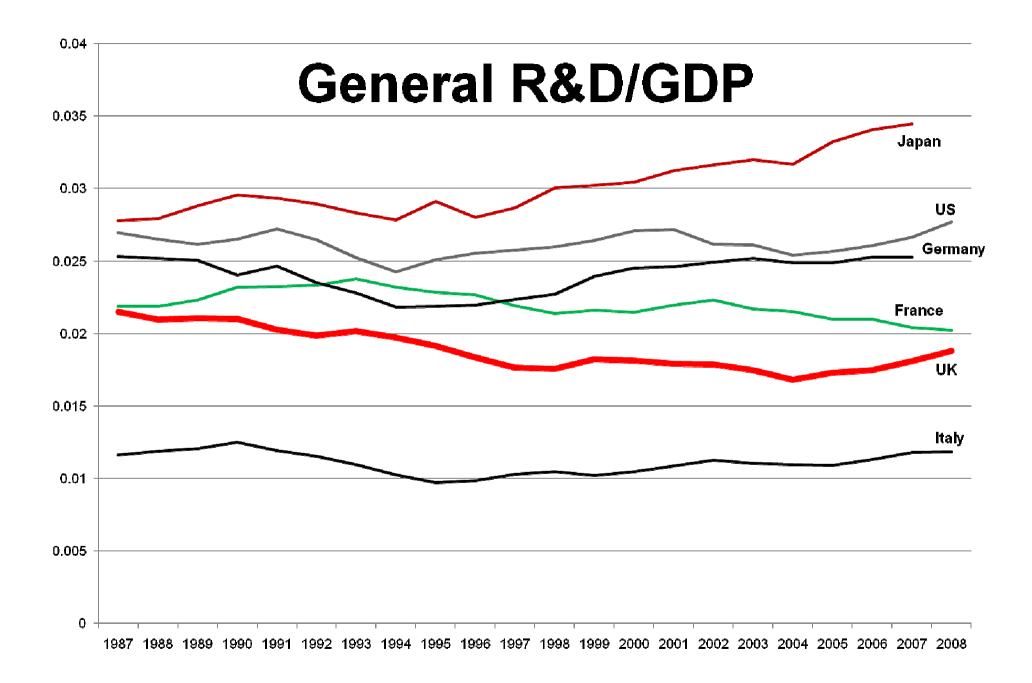


Source: BIS (2010)

COMPETITION REGIME PERFORMANCE



Source: BIS (2010), KPMG



UK STRONG POSITION IN ELITE SCIENCE

- UK 1% of world's population but....
 - 7.9% of all scientific papers (2nd in world)
 - 11.8% of all citations to these papers (2nd in world)
 - 14.4% of all top papers (in top 1% of citations), 2nd
 - 32 papers per \$bn GDP 1st in G8
 - Citations per \$bn GDP 1st in G8
 - 2.5 papers per \$m GERD 1st in G8 (3rd in world)
- Universities are very strong area of UK comparative advantage
 - Major export industry
 - Threatened by spending cuts
 - Threatened by new student visa regime

INCENTIVES - e.g. "HOW DOES THE PROMOTION SYSTEM WORK?"

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

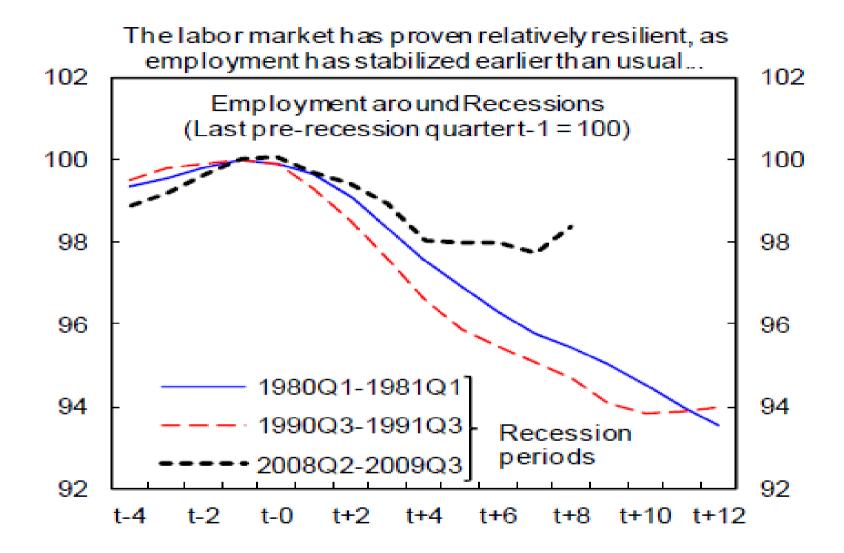
Note: All 18 dimensions and over 50 examples in Bloom & VanReenen (2006).

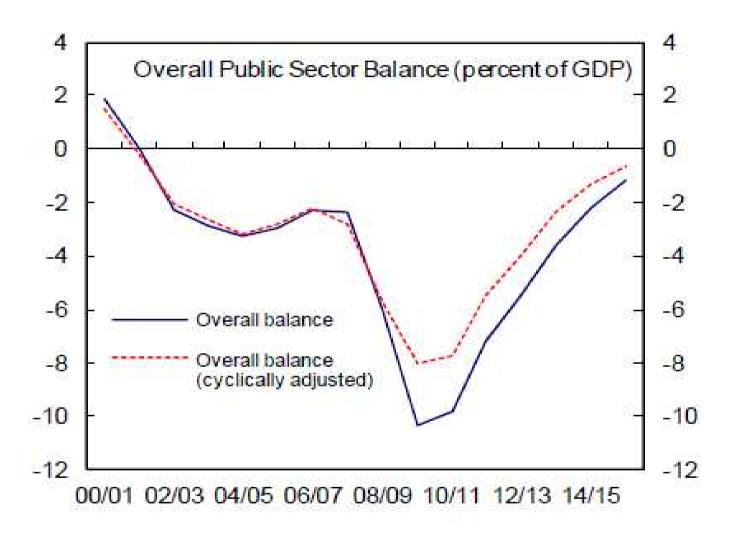
CAUSAL EFFECT OF COMPETITION ON MANAGEMENT & PATIENT OUTCOMES (DEATH RATES) IN HOSPITALS

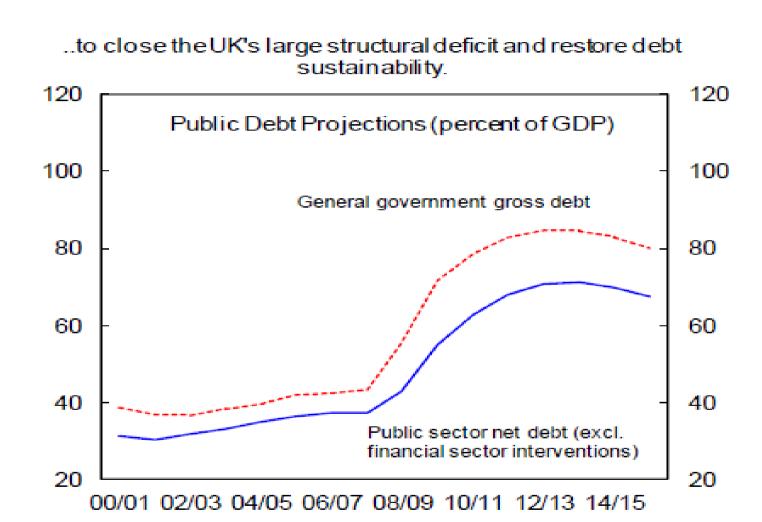
Type of Regression	OLS	IV: 1st Stage	IV: 2nd Stage	IV: 2 nd Stage			
Dependent variable	Management	# Competing	Management	Emergency			
		Hospitals		AMI death rate			
# Competing	0.121**		0.361*	-1.827*			
Hospitals	(0.058)		(0.215)	(1.037)			
Marginal		5.850***					
Constituencies		(1.553)					
F-statistic of exclude	d instrument	14.18					
Observations	161	161	161	140			

Source: Bloom, Propper, Seiler & Van Reenen (2010)

Notes: Constituency marginal if won by <5%. S.Es clustered by hospital. Controls include casemix (age/gender of admissions), population density, age profile (11 categories), Foundation Trust & interviewer dummies (4); % Labour votes, #political constituencies & mortality in catchment area; respondent tenure & whether she was a manager or clinician, regional dummies, # hospital sites, # admissions, % managers with a clinical degree and a dummy for joint decision making at the hospital level.







Public Sector Finances (percent of GDP) 1/

	done sector.	T manes (1		, , , ,							
	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16				
	_	June 2010 Budget									
Overall balance	-11.0	-10.1	-7.5	-5.5	-3.5	-2.1	-1.1				
Cyclically adjusted overall balance	-8.7	-7.4	-5.0	-3.4	-1.8	-0.8	-0.3				
Current balance	-7.5	-7.5	-5.8	-4.1	-2.4	-1.0	0.1				
Cyclically adjusted current balance	-5.3	-4.8	-3.3	-2.0	-0.7	0.3	0.8				
Fiscal stance 2/	2.4	-1.3	-2.4	-1.7	-1.6	-1.0	-0.6				
of which: new policy measures	337	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.4	-0.3	3373				
General government gross debt	71.2	78.9	83.6	85.5	84.9	83.1	80.4				
	_			Staff proj	ections						
Overall balance	-10.4	-9.9	-7.2	-5.5	-3.6	-2.3	-1.2				
Cyclically adjusted overall balance	-8.1	-7.7	-5.5	-4.0	-2.4	-1.4	-0.7				
General government gross debt	71.6	78.5	82.8	84.8	84.6	82.9	80.2				

Sources: Office for National Statistics, HM Treasury, and staff estimates.

^{1/} Fiscal year starts in April and ends in March.

^{2/} Negative of the change in cyclically adjusted balance.

UK sovereign debt has a favorable structure, featuring a longer average maturity than in any comparator country. Average Maturity of Government Debt, August 2010 (In years)

Source: IMF (2010), Article IV Consultation

Table 1. United Kingdom: Selected Economic and Social Indicators, 2005-11

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
						Proj.	Proj.
Real Economy (change in percent)							
Real GDP	2.2	2.8	2.7	-0.1	-5.0	1.7	2.0
Domestic demand	2.1	2.5	3.1	-0.7	-5.5	2.6	1.5
Private final domestic demand	2.0	2.7	3.3	-1.4	-6.6	1.3	2.6
CPI, end period	1.9	3.0	2.1	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.5
Unemployment rate (in percent) 1/	4.8	5.4	5.4	5.6	7.5	7.9	7.5
Gross national saving (percent of GDP)	14.5	14.1	15.6	15.0	12.3	12.1	12.9
Gross domestic investment (percent of GDP)	17.1	17.5	18.2	16.6	13.6	14.5	15.2
Public Finance (fiscal year, percent of GDP) 2/							
General government balance	-2.9	-2.3	-2.7	-6.7	-11.3	-9.9	-7.4
Public sector balance	-2.9	-2.3	-2.4	-6.0	-10.4	-9.9	-7.2
Cyclically adjusted balance (staff estimates)	-2.8	-2.2	-2.9	-5.8	-8.1	-7.7	-5.5
Public sector net debt	35.5	36.0	36.5	42.7	53.5	61.2	66.3
FX-denominated public debt (percent of gross debt)	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0		

Manay and Credit (and period, 12 month persont change) 2

Table A1. United Kingdom: Public Sector Debt Sustainability Framework, 2005-2015 (In percent of GDP, unless otherwise indicated)

		Actual				Projections						
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Debt-stabilizing
												primary
												balance 9/
Baseline: Public sector debt 1/	41.7	42.4	43.1	55.4	71.6	78.5	82.8	84.8	84.6	82.9	80.2	-0.7
o/w foreign-currency denominated	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	



CEP 21st Birthday public lecture

Restoring Growth

Professor John Van Reenen

Director, Centre for Economic Performance, LSE

Stuart Corbridge Chair, LSE