

## US Economics Analyst

## Super Profits and Superstar Firms

- US corporate profit margins have risen over the last two decades to historic highs, especially for the most profitable firms. At the same time, three quarters of the US industries experienced an increase in concentration, with a few large firms earning a larger share of revenue.
- Analyzing industry-level data, we estimate that the rise in industry concentration since 1997 has boosted corporate operating profit margins by approximately 1.5 percentage points (pp), accounting for a third of the 4.2pp increase in operating profit margins between 1996Q4 and 2014Q4.
- The first hypothesis to explain the rising concentration is that new technologies have allowed a small number of “superstar” firms to widen their productivity advantage, tap into network effects, and gain disproportionately large market shares.
- The second hypothesis is that a small number of superstar firms have reaped most of the benefits from global access to new consumers, supply chains, and talent.
- The third hypothesis is that product market and antitrust policies have increasingly favored incumbent firms, rather than promoting competition.
- We single out the technology hypothesis as the likely candidate that best explains the rise in industry concentration, given the overlap in timing of the take-off of information and communication technologies in the mid-90s as well as the finding that industries with rising concentrations are also the ones with faster productivity growth and patenting activities.
- The rising productivity gap between salient superstar firms and non-superstar firms may also help explain why measured aggregate productivity growth has been weak despite a perceived fast disruption.
- While cyclical and other mean-reversion forces could exert downward pressure on corporate margins, the continued momentum of superstar firms could imply that high concentration levels and corporate profit margins may persist for longer.

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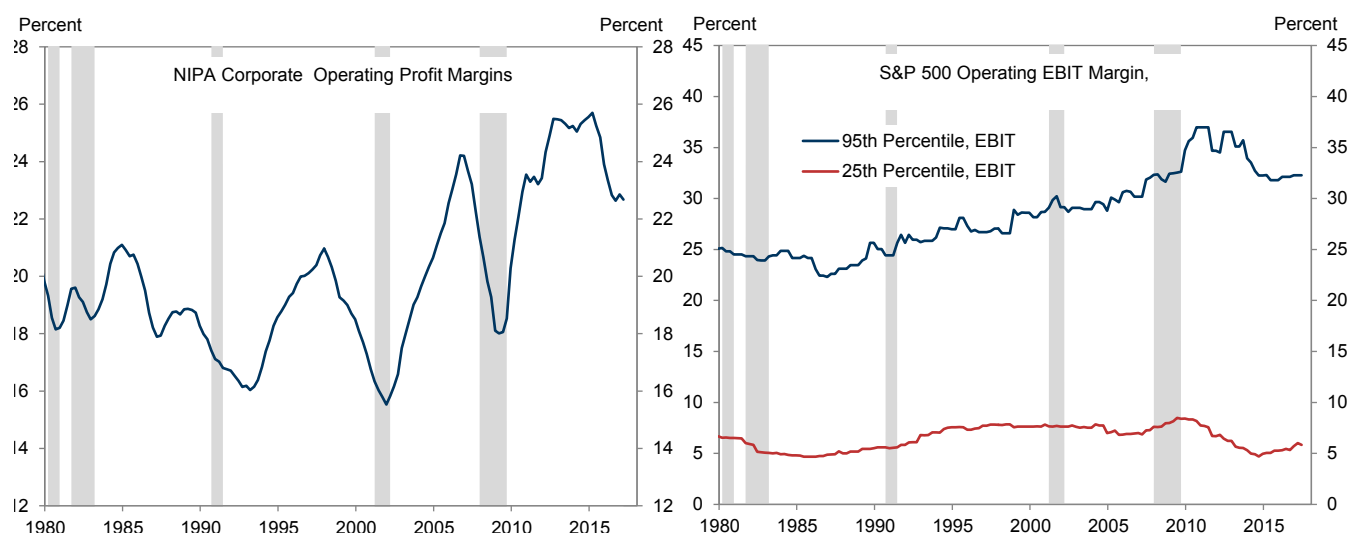
# Super Profits and Superstar Firms

US corporate profit margins have risen over the last two decades to historic levels. At the same time, many industries have become more concentrated with a few large firms earning a larger share of revenue. In this week's Analyst, we explore the contribution of rising industry concentration to the rise in corporate profit margins, dig deeper into the causes of higher concentration, and discuss the longer-run outlook for profit margins.

## Two Facts: Higher Profit Margins and Higher Concentration

Corporate profit margins began a steady rise in 2001Q4 (interrupted by the recession) and rose to a 65-year high in 2015Q1 (Exhibit 1, left panel). While profit margins dipped in 2015-2016 with lower energy prices, our US equity strategists point out that S&P 500 net profit margins excluding energy continued to move higher, and that S&P500 profits are once again in expansion mode. While margins of the most profitable firms have risen significantly in the last two decades, they have been roughly stable at less profitable firms (Exhibit 1, right panel). A deeper understanding of the increased right-skew of margins is key to explaining higher aggregate margins.

**Exhibit 1: Rise in Margins Especially at Very Profitable Firms**



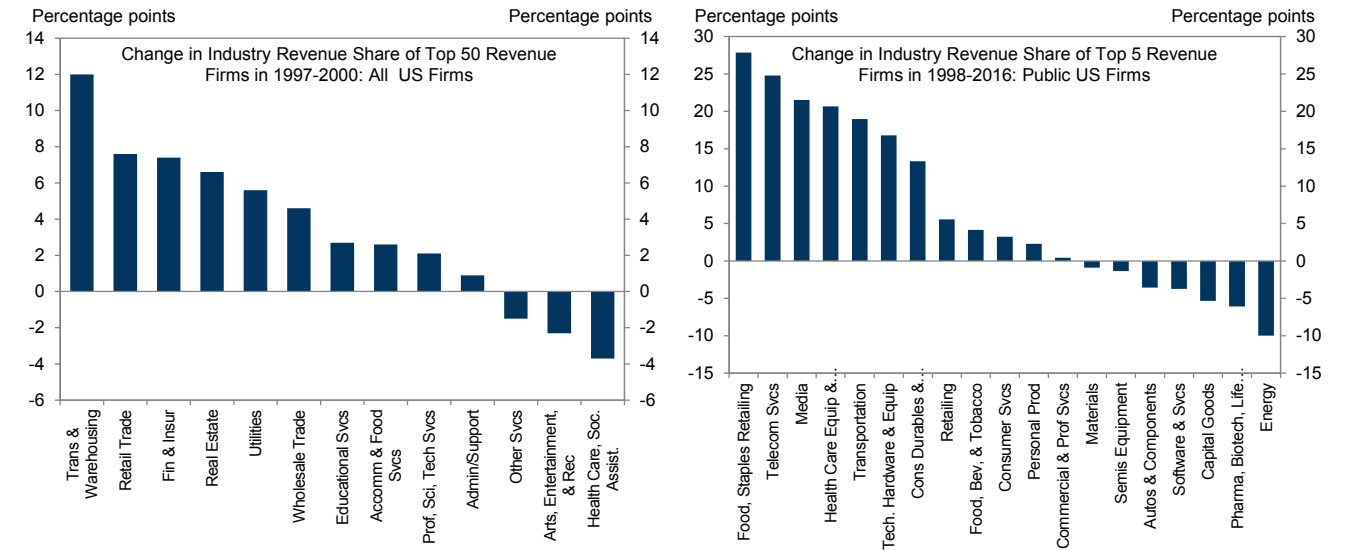
Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

The last two decades have been characterized by increases in both corporate profit margins and concentration of activity in the hands of a few firms. For instance, the share of total industry sales of the 4 largest firms has increased from 55.9% in 1997 to 82.7% in 2012 in the general merchandise stores industry and from 20.5% in 1997 to 57.0% in 2012 in air transportation.

The left panel in Exhibit 2 shows that the CR50—or the share of total industry sales attributed to the largest 50 firms—has increased in 10 of the 13 two-digit industries covered by the Economic Census. The increases were the most pronounced in transportation and warehousing, retail trade, and finance and insurance. Overall, about

75% of the NAICS three-digit industries experienced an increase in concentration levels over the last two decades. The right panel of Exhibit 2 shows that activity among public firms has also become increasingly concentrated, especially in food and staples retailing, telecom services, and media.<sup>1</sup>

Exhibit 2: Growing Industry Concentration in Economy and Stock Market

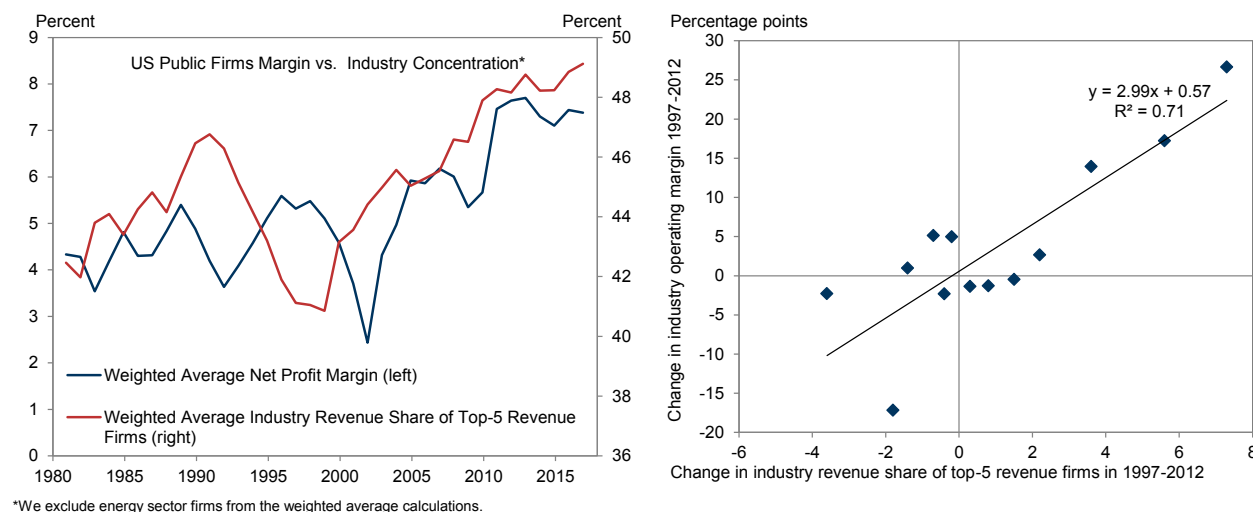


Source: Census Bureau, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

### The Impact of Concentration on Profit Margins

Has increased industry concentration boosted corporate profit margins? In principle, industries with a higher concentration could charge higher prices and earn higher profit margins. Empirically, the left panel of Exhibit 3 suggests that years in which the industry concentration rises tend to be followed by years in which margins rise. The Economic Census data show that the industries that became more concentrated in 1997-2012 were also the ones in which margins rose the most (Exhibit 3, right panel).

<sup>1</sup>. Changes over time in the tendency for firms to be publicly listed can create some bias in concentration ratios. However, a growing academic literature shows that the trend of higher concentration in most industries over the last 20 years is robust across concentration metrics, datasets and industry granularity.

**Exhibit 3: Margins and Industry Concentration Are Positively Correlated**

Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

Several recent academic papers have shown that increased industry concentration is associated with higher profit margins, higher stock returns, and a lower labor share (Exhibit 4). For instance, Gustavo Grullon and co-authors [find](#) that an increase in industry concentration from the 25<sup>th</sup> to the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile leads to an increase in the ROA of 45% (relative to the median ROA).

**Exhibit 4: Literature on Market Concentration and Margins**

Study	US Firms: Sample	Higher Market Concentration is Associated with...	Magnitude of Effect
Grullon, Larkin, Michaely (2016)	Public: 1972-2014	Higher ROA, margins, stock returns.	Rise concentration from p25 to p50 increases ROA by 45% vs. median.
Bloningen, Pierce (2016)	Manufacturing: 1997-2012	Higher margins following M&As	Markups at acquired plants rises by ~30%.
Autor et al (2017)	Economy-wide: 1987-2012	Lower labor share	Rise concentration accounts for 1/3 fall in services labor share since 1982.
Barkai (2016)	Economy-wide: 1997-2012	Lower labor share	Rise concentration accounts for ~100% fall in labor share since 1997.

Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

We estimate the impact of industry concentration on margins in an industry panel dataset using concentration data from the Economic Census and gross operating margins from the BEA.<sup>2</sup> We find evidence that increases in industry concentration are associated with rising margins (Exhibit 5).

<sup>2</sup> We define gross operating margins as gross operating surplus over gross output.

**Exhibit 5: Impact of Concentration on Profit Margins in Industry Panel**

Dependent Variable: Operating Margin				
	1	2	3	4
Constant	19.112 [2.35]*	24.215 [5.49]**	19.273 [2.28]*	26.078 [5.80]**
Industry Revenue Share of Top-4 Revenue Firms	3.377 [4.28]**	2.786 [5.52]**	3.359 [4.08]**	2.57 [4.99]**
Observations:	54	54	54	54
R-squared:	0.26	0.99	0.26	0.99
Sector Fixed Effects:		X		X
Time Fixed Effects:			X	X
Note: Figures in brackets denote t-statistics.				
*Significant at 5% level. **Significant at the 1% level.				

Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

Next, we attempt to quantify the contribution of rising concentration to the increase in margins using our regression results. We focus on 1996Q4 and 2014Q4; two roughly comparable quarters in the business and energy price cycle. Operating profit margins of non-financial corporations as a share of net value added increased 4.2pp from 19.7% in 1996Q4 to 23.8% in 2014Q4.

Combining the average increase in the industry revenue-share of the top-4 firms in 1997-2012 and our coefficient estimates, we calculate that the rise in product market concentration accounts for a 1.5pp increase in operating profit margins in 1997-2014, or one third of the overall increase in margins. This estimate is roughly consistent with the finding by David Autor and co-authors that the rise in product market concentration accounts for one third of the fall in the labor share of the service sector over that period.

The estimate that rising product market concentration accounts for only one third of the increase in trend operating margins since 1996 suggests that other factors have also played an important role. Changes in the labor market—rising import competition and institutional changes—likely provide the most compelling complementary explanation for higher trend operating margins.<sup>3</sup> As our market economists have shown, the slow growth of real wages relative to average labor productivity over the last 20 years has boosted profit margins, whereas the catch-up of real wages with average labor productivity would lower margins. Focusing on product markets, we then dig deeper into three potential causes of rising concentration.

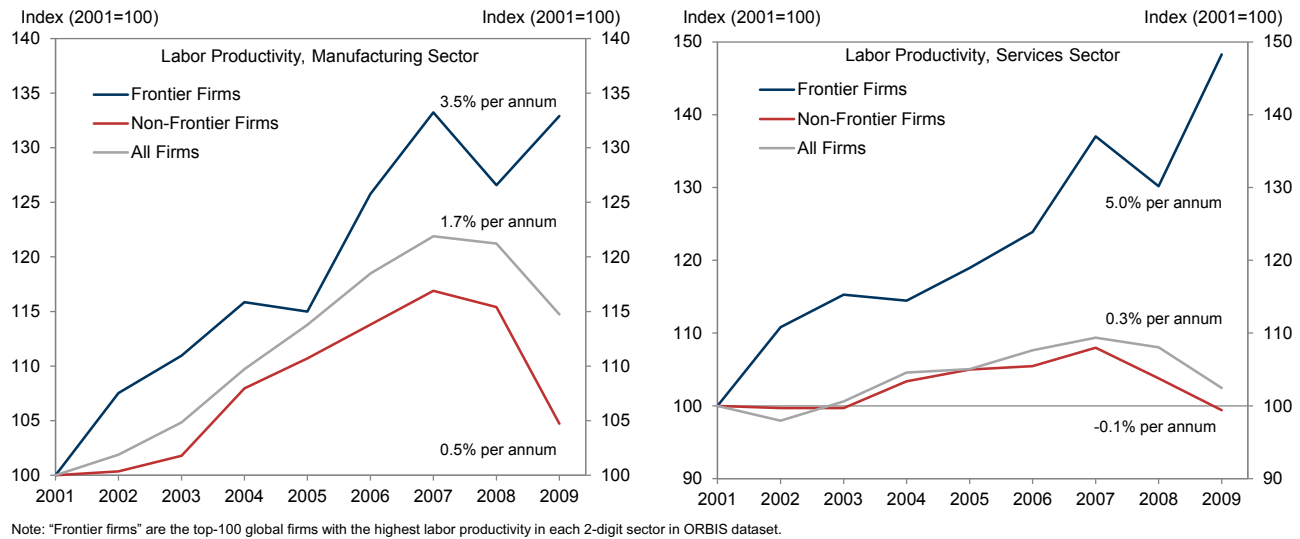
**Concentration Story 1: Technology and Superstar Firms**

The first hypothesis explaining rising concentration is that new technologies have allowed a small number of superstar firms to gain very large market shares. The starting

<sup>3</sup> The declines in interest rates and effective corporate tax rates have also boosted net corporate profit margins. The decline in the effective tax rate has boosted net margins by approximately 0.6pp in 1997-2014.

point is that some firms are much more productive than others within a given industry.<sup>4</sup> OECD research estimates that the frontier firms—the global top-100 most productive firms in a given industry—are 5 times more productive than non-frontier firms. Moreover, the productivity advantage of frontier firms has widened over time, as shown in Exhibit 6.

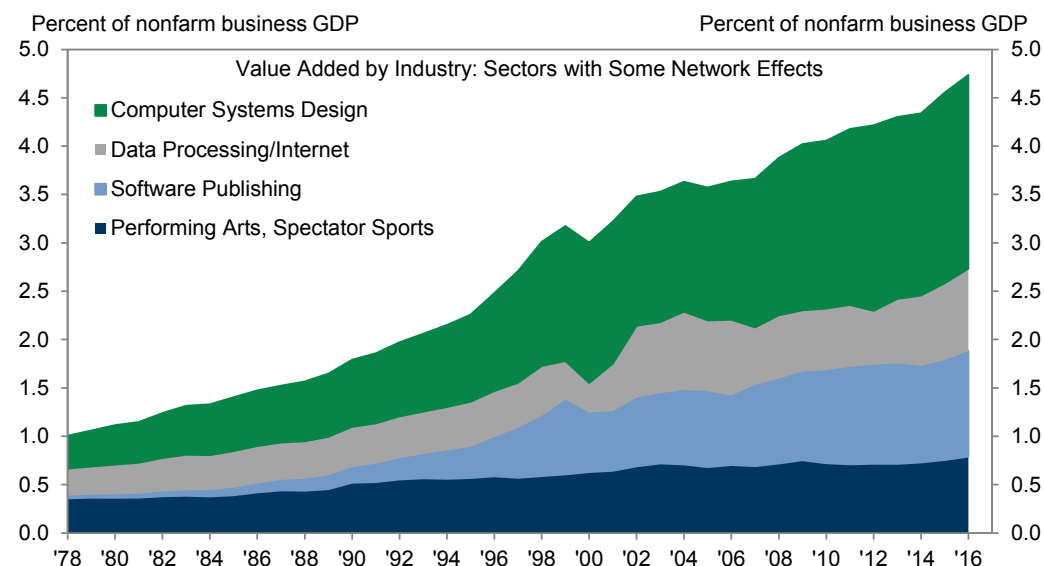
**Exhibit 6: Productivity Differences across Firms Have Risen over Time**



Source: OECD, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

Recent technological changes have likely benefited the superstar firms the most. First, the proliferation of large social networks, online search engines, and software platforms illustrate the growing value of services as a function of the number of users. Sectors where such "network externalities" are an important factor account for a growing share of economic activity, as shown in Exhibit 7.

<sup>4</sup> Chad Syverson estimates that plants at percentile 90 of the total factor productivity (TFP) distribution are twice as productive as plants at percentile 10 within narrow 4-digit SIC industries.

**Exhibit 7: Sectors with Some Network Effects Are Growing Part of the Economy**

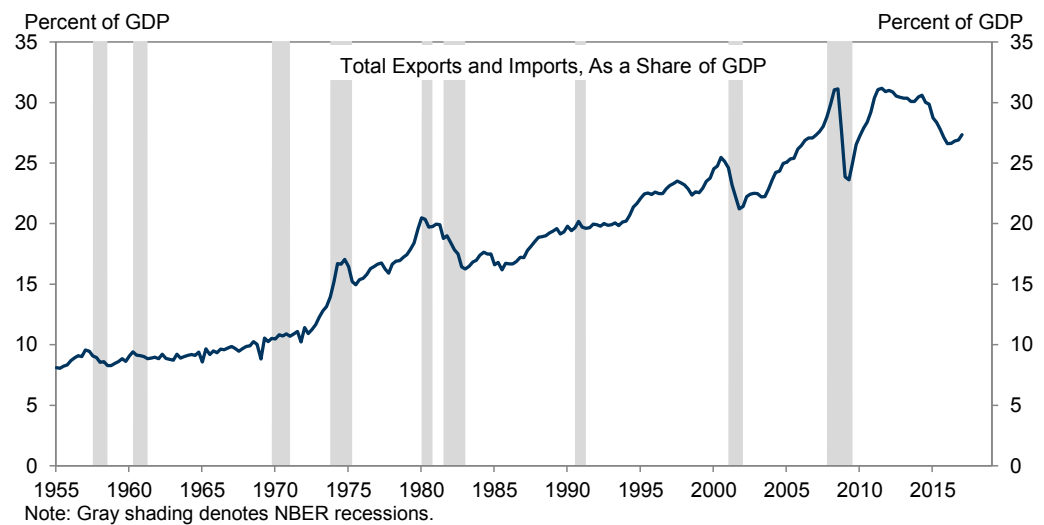
Source: Department of Commerce, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

Second, easier online price/quality comparisons help the most efficient firms to win market share. Third, in general, firms with skills and scale advantages are better positioned to pay the fixed costs of inventing, adopting complex technologies or information technologies that facilitate collaboration.

**Concentration Story 2: Globalization and Superstar Firms**

The second hypothesis is that a small number of superstar firms have reaped most of the benefits from globalization. Globalization can give firms access to specialized global supply chains, and larger pools of consumers, and talented workers. However, in practice the vast majority of US firms do not export or recruit abroad, and the benefits of globalization have thus mostly accrued to a small share of firms.<sup>5</sup> One challenge for the second hypothesis is that trade volume had already started accelerating in the 1970s and 1980s when concentration ratios and profits fell (Exhibit 8).

<sup>5</sup> Mark Melitz has documented that only 21% of U.S. plants reported exporting anything in 1992 and that exporters have an average 33% advantage in labor productivity relative to non-exporters.

**Exhibit 8: Trade Volume Already Started Accelerating in the 1970s and 1980s**

Source: Department of Commerce, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

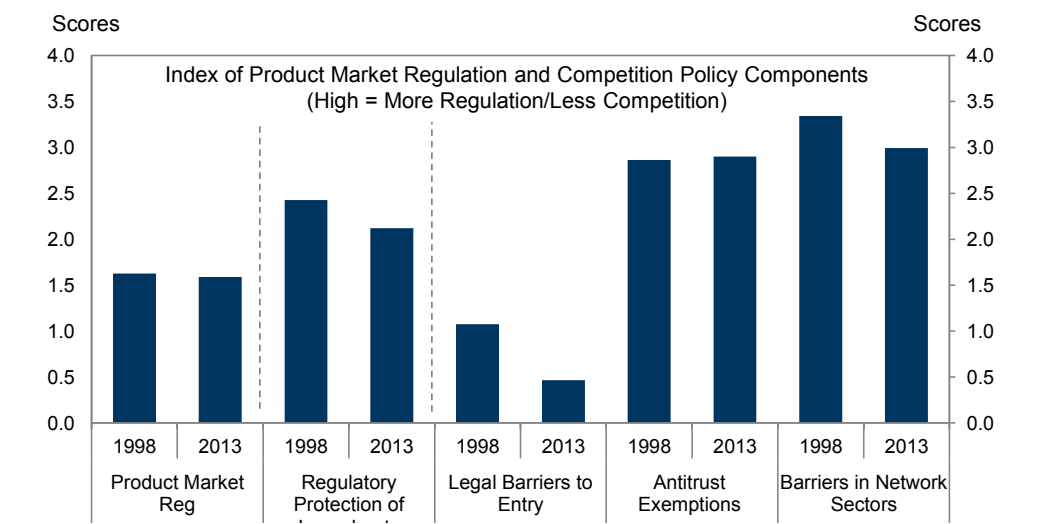
**Concentration Story 3: Competition Policy**

The third hypothesis is that product market policies have increasingly favored incumbent firms, rather than promoting competition. Germán Gutiérrez and Thomas Philippon find that industries where regulation has risen the most also exhibited larger increases in industry concentration. Luigi Zingales and Mara Faccio suggest that lower antitrust activism in the US relative to Europe contributes to the higher average telecom services revenue per subscriber in the US than in Denmark and Germany.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Faccio and Zingales document average revenues per unique subscriber of \$68 in the US, \$31 in Denmark, and \$23 in Germany, but also higher 4G coverage rates in the US.



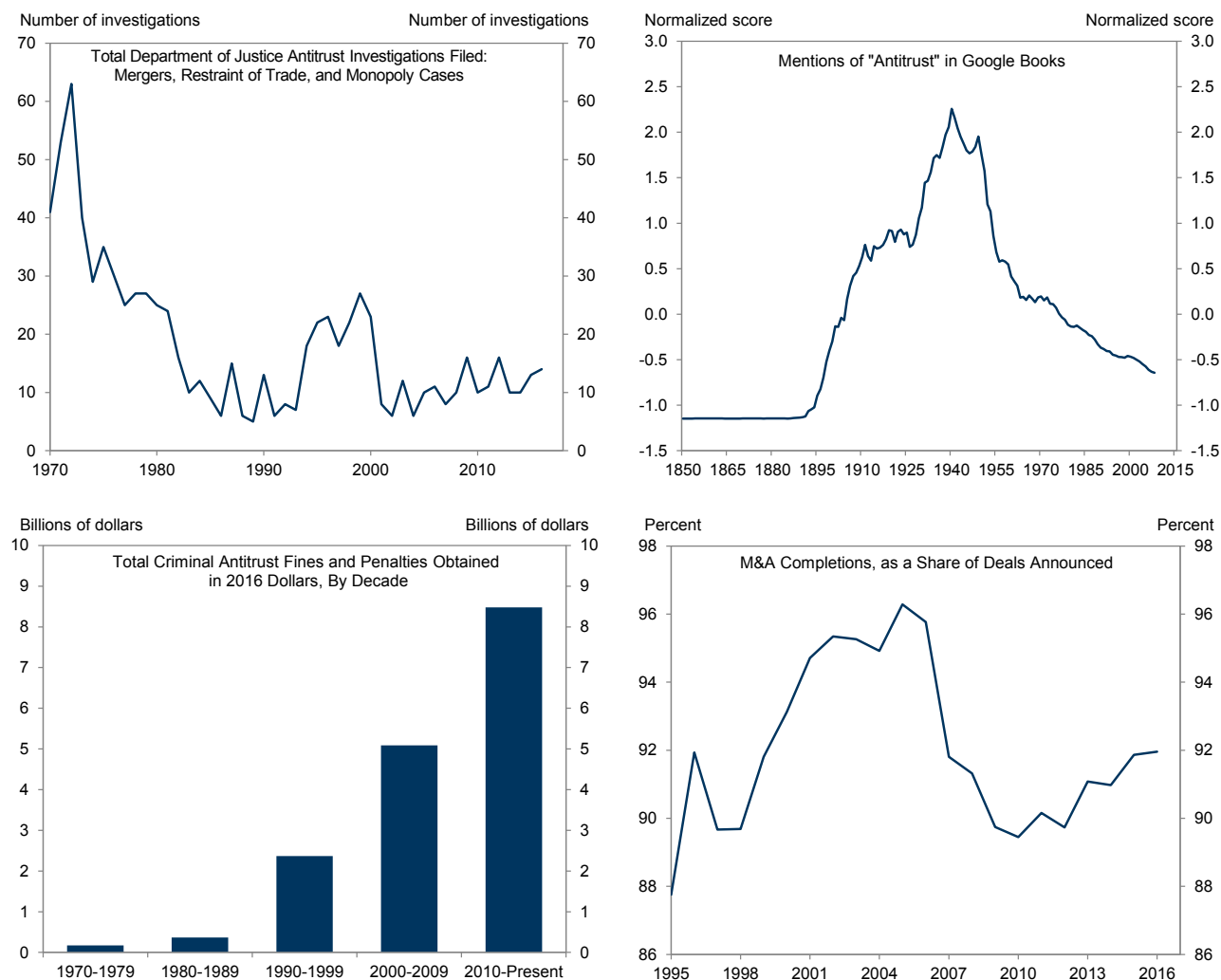
Exhibit 9: OECD Index of Product Market Regulation Shows Stability for US



Source: OECD, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

Various OECD measures shown in Exhibit 9 suggest that US product market policy has not become more anti-competitive over the last 2 decades.<sup>7</sup> Exhibit 10 therefore provides some further proxies of the antitrust policy stance, sending conflicting signals. Declines in the number of Department of Justice antitrust investigations filed and the mentions of “antitrust” in books suggest a less restrictive policy. On the other hand, increases in antitrust fines/penalties and lower M&A completion rates suggest that policy may have become more restrictive. While each proxy is imperfect, the data do not lend support to a major trend in the stance of antitrust policies.

<sup>7</sup> Germán Gutiérrez and Thomas Philippon note that most European countries exhibited improvements in the OECD product market regulation index but did not see rises in concentration ratios.

**Exhibit 10: Proxies of Antitrust Policies Do Not Suggest Major Trend in the Stance of Antitrust Policy**

Source: Department of Justice, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

## Taking Stock

Technological change, globalization, and product market policies all play a role in industry concentration, and more research is needed to quantify the contributions. Presently, we think that the impact of technological change on superstar firms is likely the most important driver of the rise in industry concentration for four reasons.

First, the take-off of information and communication technologies in the mid-90s coincides with the turning point in profit margins (while trade and product market policy data suggest no breaks in the mid-90s). Second, the technology channel is intuitive (e.g. network effects) and consistent with the large market shares of several big US tech firms and their major contributions to the rise in S&P500 profit margins. Third, David Autor and co-authors report that industries with rising concentrations are also the ones with faster productivity growth and patenting activities. Fourth, the rising productivity gap between salient frontier firms and non-frontier firms may help explain why

measured aggregate productivity growth has been weak despite a perceived fast disruption.

Cyclical factors and secular mean-reversion forces could exert downward pressure on corporate margins. Our US portfolio strategists expect S&P500 profit margins to peak in 2018 and expect that a tight labor market and rising wages will result in S&P500 margin contraction in 2019 and 2020. Over a longer horizon, our analysis suggests that the continued momentum of superstar firms could imply that relatively high concentration levels and trend corporate profit margins may persist.

**Daan Struyven**

*We would like to thank Arjun Menon for his contributions.*

# The US Economic and Financial Outlook

(% change on previous period, annualized, except where noted)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2017				2018			
			(f)	(f)	(f)	(f)	(f)	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
<b>OUTPUT AND SPENDING</b>															
Real GDP	2.4	2.6	1.6	2.1	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.9	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.0	2.0
Consumer Expenditure	2.9	3.2	2.7	2.6	2.1	1.6	1.5	1.1	3.0	2.4	2.3	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.8
Residential Fixed Investment	3.5	11.7	4.9	3.3	1.5	1.7	1.9	12.9	-4.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Business Fixed Investment	6.0	2.1	-0.5	4.0	2.8	2.6	2.3	10.4	3.3	2.3	2.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9
Structures	10.3	-4.4	-2.9	7.3	1.9	2.0	1.7	22.5	4.7	0.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Equipment	5.4	3.5	-2.9	2.6	3.0	2.4	2.0	7.8	2.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Intellectual Property Products	3.9	4.8	4.7	3.8	3.0	3.2	3.0	6.4	3.5	2.0	2.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5
Federal Government	-2.5	0.0	0.6	-0.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	-2.0	1.5	0.3	0.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0
State & Local Government	0.2	2.9	0.9	0.3	1.9	2.2	2.0	-0.2	0.1	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5
Net Exports (\$bn, '09)	-426	-540	-563	-599	-609	-640	-680	-596	-602	-602	-602	-602	-607	-611	-616
Inventory Investment (\$bn, '09)	58	84	22	0	16	23	25	3	-16	5	10	13	15	18	20
Industrial Production, Mfg.	1.2	0.1	0.0	1.4	1.7	1.2	1.0	2.1	1.4	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
<b>HOUSING MARKET</b>															
Housing Starts (units, thous)	1,001	1,107	1,177	1,272	1,397	1,458	1,480	1,238	1,164	1,337	1,350	1,371	1,390	1,406	1,420
New Home Sales (units, thous)	440	503	561	642	715	769	795	619	621	652	676	693	708	722	736
Existing Home Sales (units, thous)	4,923	5,234	5,440	5,493	5,483	5,539	5,598	5,620	5,467	5,437	5,449	5,462	5,476	5,489	5,503
Case-Shiller Home Prices (%yoy)*	6.1	4.8	4.9	4.9	3.7	3.2	2.3	5.2	5.5	5.2	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.6
<b>INFLATION (% ch, yr/yr)</b>															
Consumer Price Index (CPI)	1.6	0.1	1.3	1.9	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.6	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.9	2.2	2.1
Core CPI	1.7	1.8	2.2	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.2	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.2	2.2
Core PCE**	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.8	2.1	2.2	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.9
<b>LABOR MARKET</b>															
Unemployment Rate (%)	6.2	5.3	4.9	4.4	4.2	4.2	4.4	4.7	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.1
U6 Underemployment Rate (%)	12.0	10.4	9.6	8.6	8.2	8.2	8.4	9.2	8.6	8.5	8.3	8.2	8.2	8.2	8.1
Payrolls (thous, monthly rate)	237	228	194	168	119	60	60	182	164	175	150	125	125	125	100
<b>GOVERNMENT FINANCE</b>															
Federal Budget (FY, \$bn)	-483	-439	-587	-675	-700	900	1,050	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>FINANCIAL INDICATORS</b>															
FF Target Range (Bottom-Top, %)^	0-0.25	0.25-0.5	0.5-0.75	1.25-1.5	2.25-2.5	3.25-3.5	3.25-3.5	0.75-1.0	1.0-1.25	1.0-1.25	1.25-1.5	1.5-1.75	1.75-2	2.0-2.25	2.25-2.5
10-Year Treasury Note^	2.17	2.27	2.45	2.75	3.25	3.60	3.70	2.40	2.31	2.65	2.75	2.90	3.00	3.10	3.25
Euro (€/\$)^	1.21	1.09	1.06	1.07	1.10	1.15	1.20	1.07	1.14	1.08	1.07	1.06	1.05	1.08	1.10
Yen (\$/¥)^	120	120	117	116	120	125	125	111	112	114	116	117	118	119	120

\* Weighted average of metro-level HPIs for 381 metro cities where the weights are dollar values of housing stock reported in the American Community Survey.

\*\* PCE = Personal consumption expenditures. ^ Denotes end of period.

Note: Published figures in bold.

Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research

## Economic Releases and Other Events

		Time		Estimate		
Date		(EDT)	Indicator	GS	Consensus	Last Report
Mon	Jul 24	10:00	Existing Home Sales (Jun)	-1.5%	-0.8%	+1.1%
Tue	Jul 25	9:00	FHFA House Price Index (May)	n.a.	+0.6%	+0.7%
		9:00	S&P/Case Shiller Home Price Index (May)	+0.2%	+0.3%	+0.3%
		10:00	Consumer Confidence (Jul)	115.0	116.0	118.9
		10:00	Richmond Fed Survey (Jul)	n.a.	7	7
Wed	Jul 26	10:00	New Home Sales (Jun)	+1.5%	+0.8%	+2.9%
		14:00	FOMC Meeting Results			
Thu	Jul 27	8:30	Durable Goods Orders (Jun)	+5.3%	+3.1%	-0.8%
		8:30	Durable Goods Orders Ex-Transport (Jun)	+0.5%	+0.4%	+0.3%
		8:30	Core Capital Goods Orders (Jun)	+0.5%	+0.3%	+0.2%
		8:30	Core Capital Goods Shipments (Jun)	+0.3%	+0.3%	+0.1%
		8:30	Advanced Goods Trade Balance (Jun)	-\$65.5bn	-\$65.0bn	-\$66.3bn
		8:30	Wholesale Inventories—Prel (Jun)	n.a.	+0.2%	+0.4%
		8:30	Initial Jobless Claims	250,000	240,000	233,000
		8:30	Continuing Claims	n.a.	1,959,000	1,977,000
		11:00	Kansas City Fed Survey (Jul)	n.a.	+12	+11
		17:00	GS Analyst Survey (Jul)	n.a.	n.a.	52.9
Fri	Jul 28	8:30	Real GDP— Q2 Annualized (Advance)	+1.9%	+2.5%	+1.4%
		8:30	Personal Consumption (Q2)	+3.0%	+2.8%	+1.1%
		8:30	Employment Cost Index (Q2)	+0.6%	+0.6%	+0.8%
		10:00	UMich Consumer Sentiment—Final (Jul)	93.2	93.1	93.1

Source: Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Bloomberg

# Disclosure Appendix

## Reg AC

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