

# The Returns to Government R&D: Evidence from U.S. Appropriation Shocks

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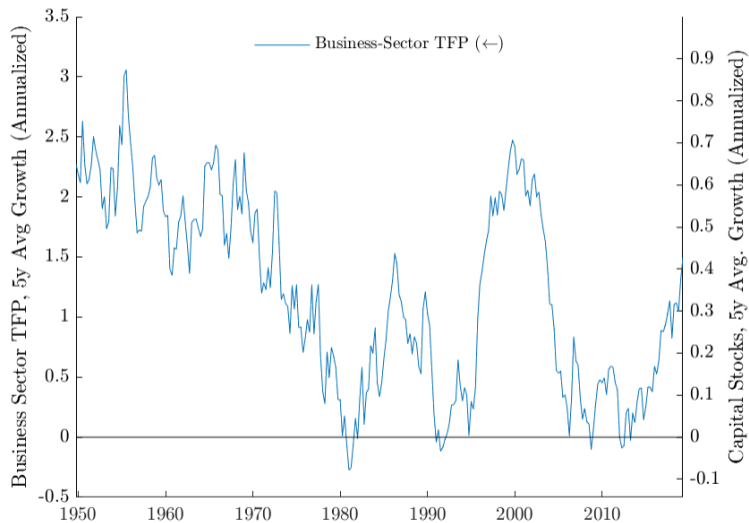
CEPR

American University

October 15, 2025

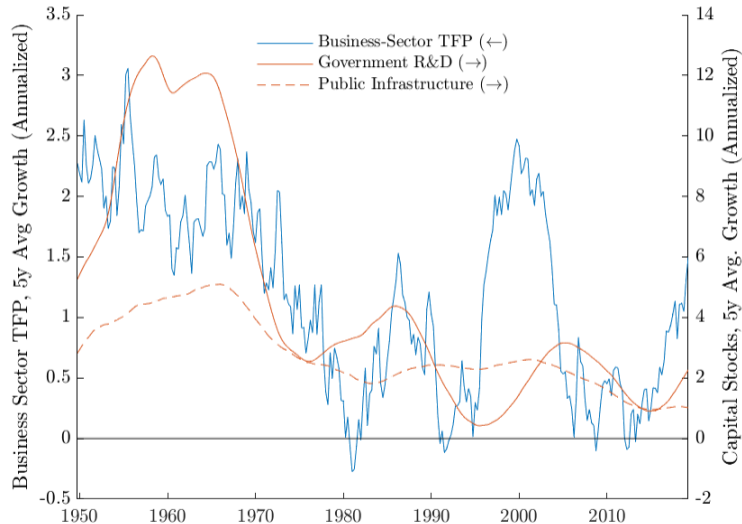
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Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas or the Federal Reserve System.

# Slowdown in U.S. Productivity Growth



Note: Business-sector total factor productivity (TFP) is utilization-adjusted (Fernald 2012)

# Slowdown in U.S. Productivity: Contribution of Public Investment?



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- We estimate the causal effects of government-funded R&D on business-sector TFP, exploiting a new source of exogenous variation in federal R&D appropriations
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## Context for magnitude of results:

- Dyèvre (2024): Public R&D  $\downarrow$  accounts for  $\sim 33\%$  of TFP slowdown over 1950-2017
- Jones and Summers (2022): Social returns to total U.S. R&D expenditure of  $\sim 67\%$

# Is Government-funded R&D Special?

**Theory:** private sector under-invests in basic research because of knowledge externalities, limited returns

► R&D Types

- Nelson (1959), Akcigit, Hanley, and Serrano-Velarde (2021)

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**Micro evidence:** lots on specific government R&D programs boosting patents etc

- Defense: Moretti, Steinwender, and Van Reenen (2021); Energy: Myers and Lanahan (2022); NIH: Li, Azoulay, and Sampat (2017); Azoulay, Graff Zivin, Li, and Sampat (2019); NASA: Kantor and Whalley (2024); Total: Akcigit, Hanley, Serrano-Velarde (2021); Dyèvre (2024)

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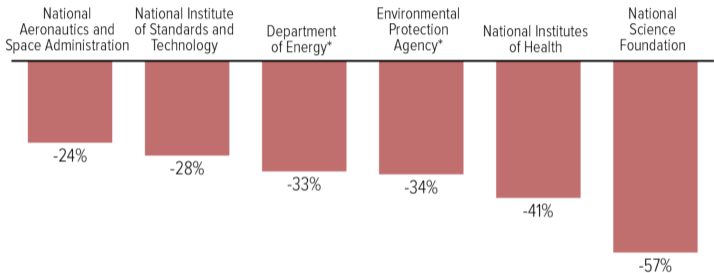
**Macro evidence:** little on aggregate social returns to government-funded R&D

- Bloom, Schankerman, and Van Reenen (2013); Jones and Summers (2020)
- De Lipsis, Deleidi, Mazzucato, and Agnolucci (2023), Antolin-Diaz and Surico (2025)

# Policy Context and Policy Analysis

## Trump Budget Would Severely Cut Wide Range of Non-Defense R&D

Percent cut in nominal R&D appropriations, 2026 versus 2025



Note: Agencies marked by an asterisk do not include whole agency budgets, only non-defense R&D-related spending categories.

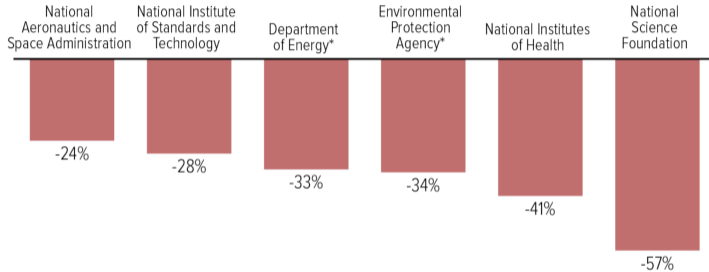
Source: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2025; CBPP calculations based on 2026 agency Budget Justifications

Source: [Center on Budget and Policy Priorities \(2025\)](#)

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We hope our estimates are useful, timely inputs for policy analysis:

- Gonzalez Garcia, Montecino, and Ramaswamy (2025)
- Congressional Budget Office (2025)

“A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS  
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT”

# Narrative Analysis of Federal Appropriations for R&D

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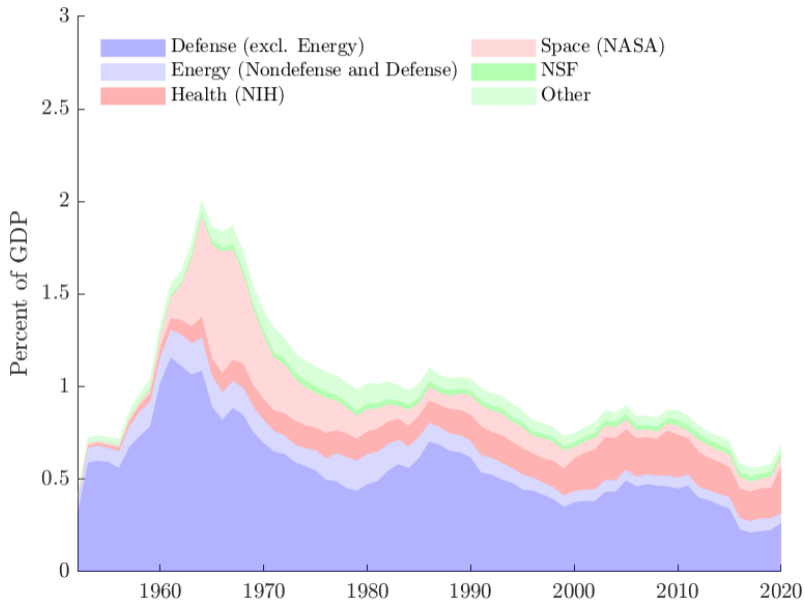
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We analyze R&D appropriations for 5 major agencies (~87-93% of total):

- Department of Defense (DOD): FY1947-2019
- Department of Energy\* (DOE): FY1947-2019
- National Institutes of Health (NIH): FY1947-2019
- National Science Foundation (NSF): FY1952-2019
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA): FY1957-2019

\*Also the Atomic Energy Commission, Energy Research and Development Administration

# Federal R&D Outlays by Agency



# Identifying “Exogenous” R&D Appropriations Shocks

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We analyze 257 appropriations changes by agency, fiscal year

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 2): Forecast:  
Cloudy and cool today and tonight.  
Mostly fair tomorrow.  
Temp. range: 63-73. Yesterday: 62.4-69.2.

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Times Square, New York 10, N. Y.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1957.

225 largest up cities serve  
from New York City

FIVE CENTS

## SOVIET FIRES EARTH SATELLITE INTO SPACE; IT IS CIRCLING THE GLOBE AT 18,000 M. P. H.; SPHERE TRACKED IN 4 CROSSINGS OVER U. S.

### HOFFA IS ELECTED TEAMSTERS HEAD; WARNS OF BATTLE

Defeats Two Foes 3 to 1  
—Says Union Will Fight  
'With Every Gun'

Text of the Hoffa address  
is printed on Page 6.

By A. H. RABIN

Special to The New York Times.  
MIAMI BEACH, Oct. 4.—The  
scandal-ridden International  
Brotherhood of Teamsters elect-  
ed James R. Hoffa as its presi-  
dent today.

He won by a margin of nearly  
3 to 1 over the combined vote  
of two rivals who campaigned  
on pledges to clean up the na-  
tion's biggest union.

Rumors that investigators  
and Hoffa critics in the  
union rank-and-file immediately  
opened actions to strip the 44-  
year-old former warehouseman  
from Detroit of his election victory.

A jubilant Hoffa exhibited,



Associated Press Wirephoto

IN TOKEN OF VICTORY: Dave Beck, retiring head of the Teamsters Union, raises  
hand of James R. Hoffa upon his election as union's president. At right is Mrs. Hoffa.

### COURSE RECORDED

Navy Picks Up Radio  
Signals—4 Report  
Sighting Device

By WALTER SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times.  
WASHINGTON, Saturday, Oct. 5.—The Naval Research Laboratory announced early today that it had recorded four crossings of the Soviet earth satellite over the United States.

It said that one had passed near Washington. Two crossings were farther to the west. The location of the fourth was not made available immediately.

It added that tracing would be continued in an attempt to pin down the orbit sufficiently to obtain scientific information of the type sought in the International Geophysical Year.

[Four visual sightings, one of which was in conjunction with a radio contact, were reported by early Saturday morning. Two sightings were made at Columbus, Ohio, and one each from Terre Haute, Ind., and Whittier, Calif.]

Press Reports Noted



The New York Times

Oct. 5, 1957

The approximate orbit of the Russian earth satellite is shown by black line. The rotation of the earth will bring the United States under the orbit of Soviet-made moon.

### Device Is 8 Times Heavier Than One Planned by U.S.

Special to The New York Times.

U. S. GASTROPHYSICIAN

560 MILES HIGH

Visible With Simple  
Binoculars, Moscow  
Statement Says

Text of Tass announcement  
appears on Page 3.

By WILLIAM J. JORDEN

Special to The New York Times.  
MOSCOW, Saturday, Oct. 5.—The Russian Tass news agency announced this morning that it success-  
fully launched a man-made earth satellite into space yesterday.

The Russians calculated the satellite's orbit at a maximum of 560 miles above the earth and its speed at 18,000 miles an hour.

The official Soviet news agency Tass said the artificial moon, with a diameter of twenty-two inches and a weight of 184 pounds, was circling the earth once every hour and thirty-five minutes. This mean more than fifteen times a day.

Two radio transmitters, Tass said, are sending signals continuously on frequencies of 20.005 and 40.002 megacycles.

# Identifying Variation in Federal R&D Appropriations

Wars and other national security concerns

- Korean War, Sputnik 1, ICBM race, Vietnam War, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Cold War “peace dividend,” 9/11, Global War on Terror, nuclear arms proliferation

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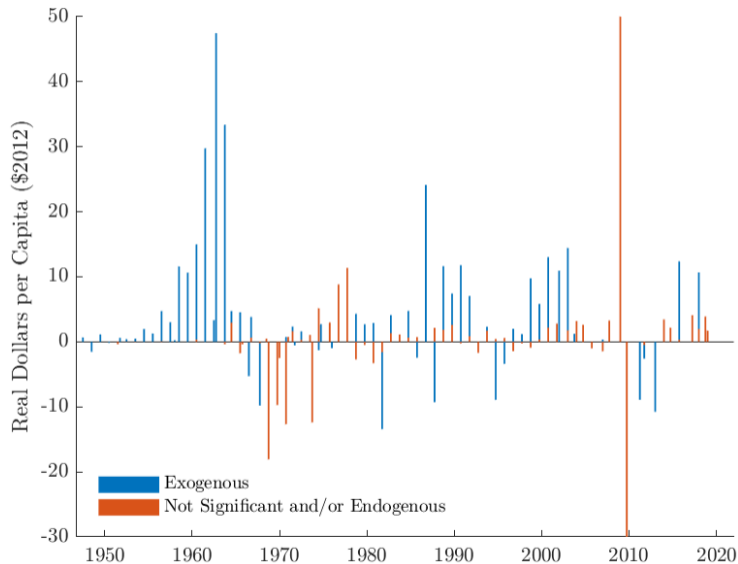
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## Recessions, supply shocks

- Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, Department of Energy Organization Act of 1977, ARRA of 2009

# Changes in Nondefense R&D Appropriations



► NASA

► NIH

► NSF

► DoE: Nondefense

► Defense

BENCHMARK REGRESSION FRAMEWORK  
AND IMPULSE RESPONSES

# Jordà (2005) Local Projections Regression Framework

Direct forecasting regression for each horizon  $h = 0, 1, \dots, 59$  over 1948Q1-2021Q4:

$$y_{t+h} = c_h + \gamma_h z_t^i + \sum_{j=1}^p \beta_h^j \ln a_{t-j}^i + \sum_{j=1}^p \delta_h^j y_{t-j} + \sum_{j=1}^p \zeta_h^{j'} \mathbf{x}_{t-j} + v_{t+h}$$

- $y_{t+h}$ : (4Q-MA) outcome variable of interest at horizon  $h$ , e.g., TFP
- $z_t^i$ : exogenous R&D appropriations shocks for budget category  $i = D, ND$
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Scale factor: Responses scaled to induce a 1% increase in government R&D capital

# Benchmark Controls in Regression Framework

The vector of lagged macroeconomic controls,  $\mathbf{x}_{t-j}$ , includes:

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► *TFP-U*

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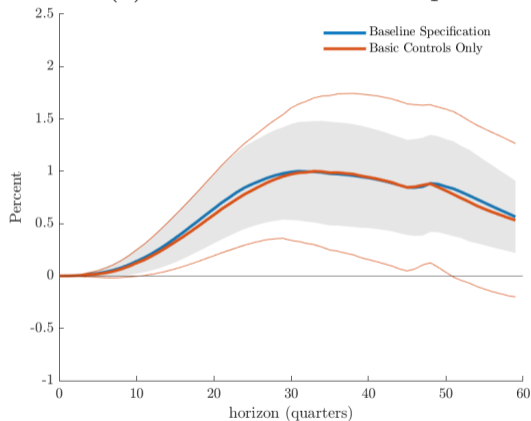
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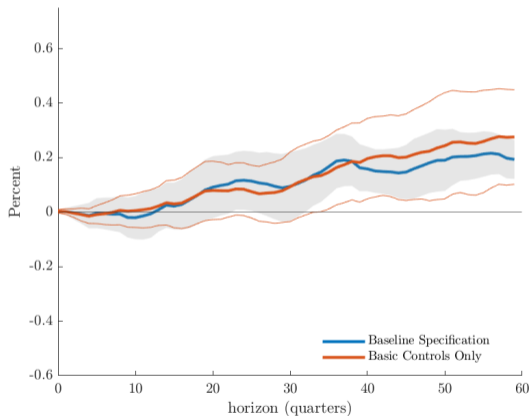
Benchmark specification: 4 quarterly lags of controls ( $p = 4$ )

# Responses to Nondefense R&D Appropriations Shocks

(a) Government R&D Capital



(b) Business-sector TFP

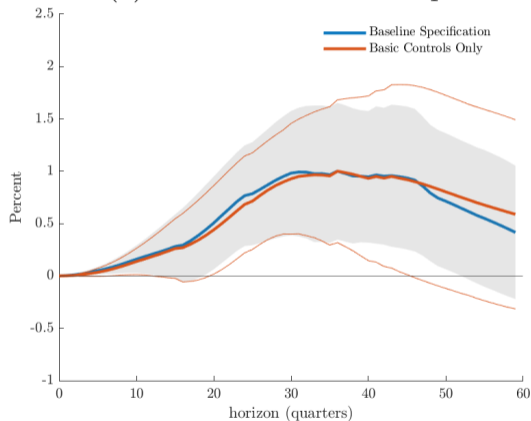


Notes: Shaded areas and finer lines are 95% confidence bands.

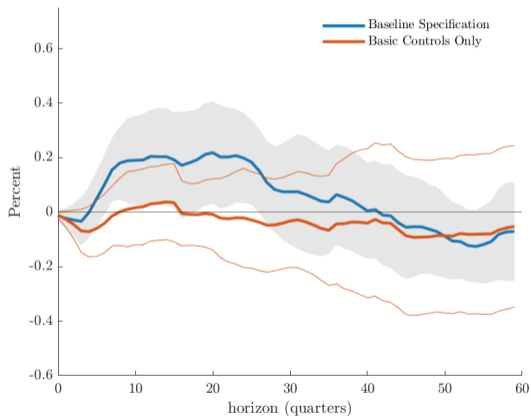
► Role of Narrative Classification

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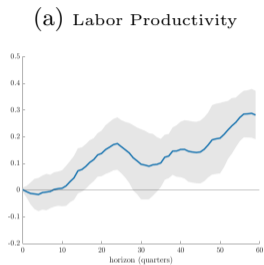


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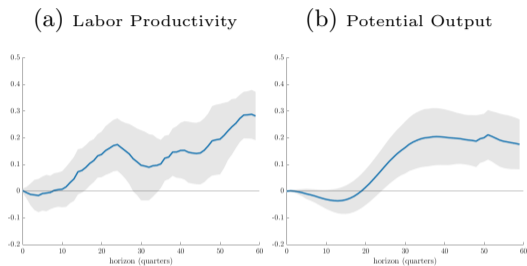
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# Other Productivity/Innovation Responses to Nondefense R&D Shocks



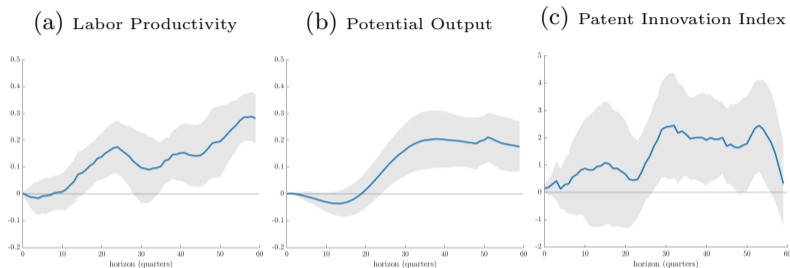
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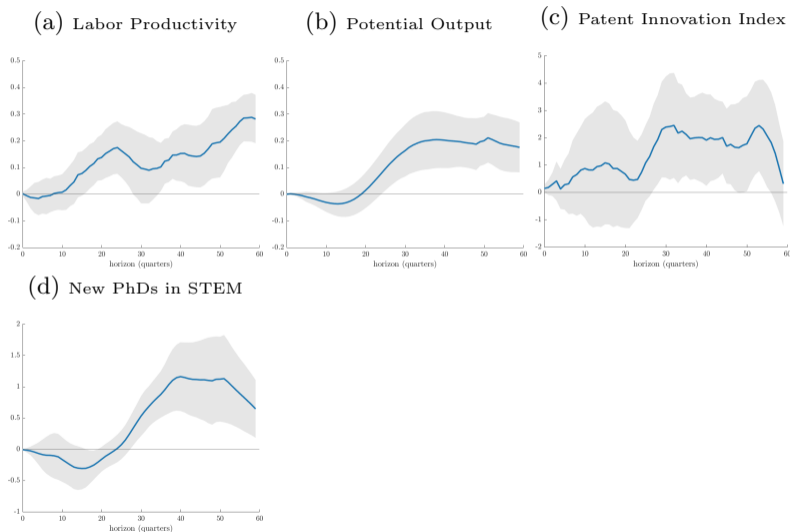
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# Other Productivity/Innovation Responses to Nondefense R&D Shocks



Notes: Shaded areas are 95% confidence bands. Source: Kogan et al. (2017), Gascaldi-Garcia and Vukotic (2022)

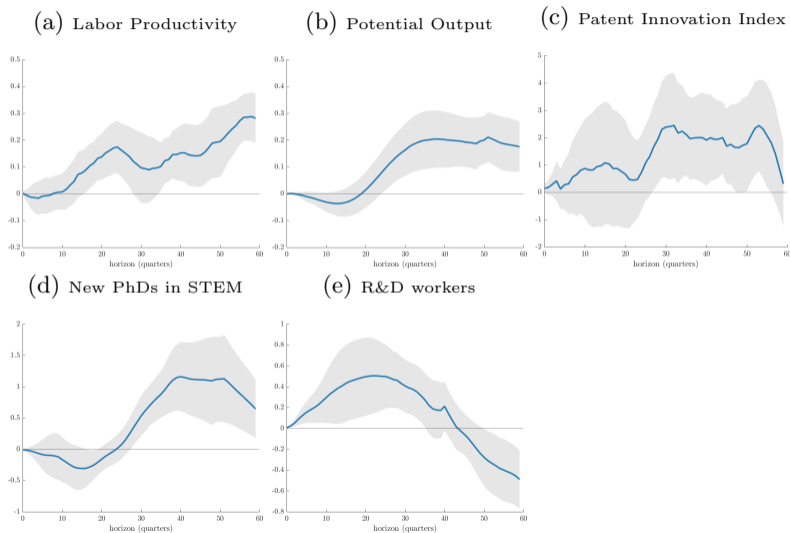
# Other Productivity/Innovation Responses to Nondefense R&D Shocks



Notes: Shaded areas are 95% confidence bands.

Source: NCSES, Survey of Earned Doctorates

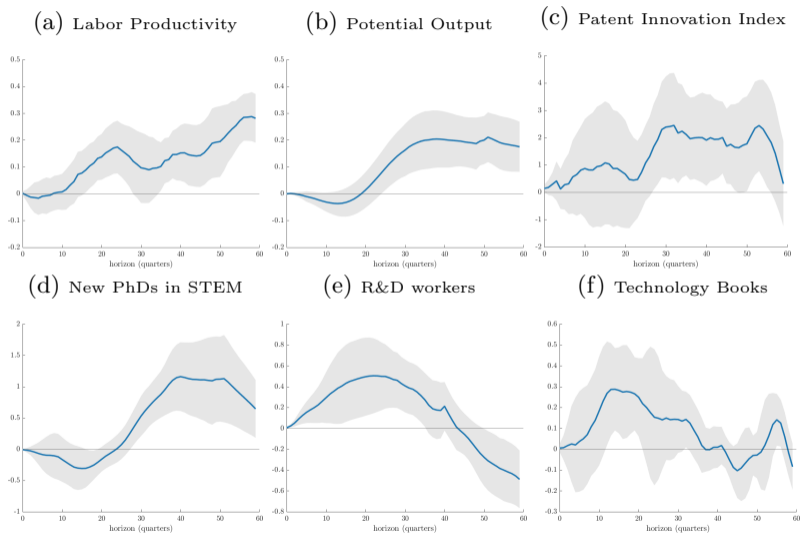
# Other Productivity/Innovation Responses to Nondefense R&D Shocks



Notes: Shaded areas are 95% confidence bands.

Source: OECD, Bloom et al. (2020)

# Other Productivity/Innovation Responses to Nondefense R&D Shocks



Notes: Shaded areas are 95% confidence bands.

Source: Alexopoulos (2011)

# INTERPRETING MACROECONOMIC EFFECTS OF FEDERAL R&D APPROPRIATIONS SHOCKS

# Interpreting TFP Responses to Federal R&D Appropriations Shocks

The interpretation of the TFP response to the federal R&D appropriations shocks hinges on how these shocks affect other determinants of TFP

- e.g., private R&D, public infrastructure...

# Interpreting TFP Responses to Federal R&D Appropriations Shocks

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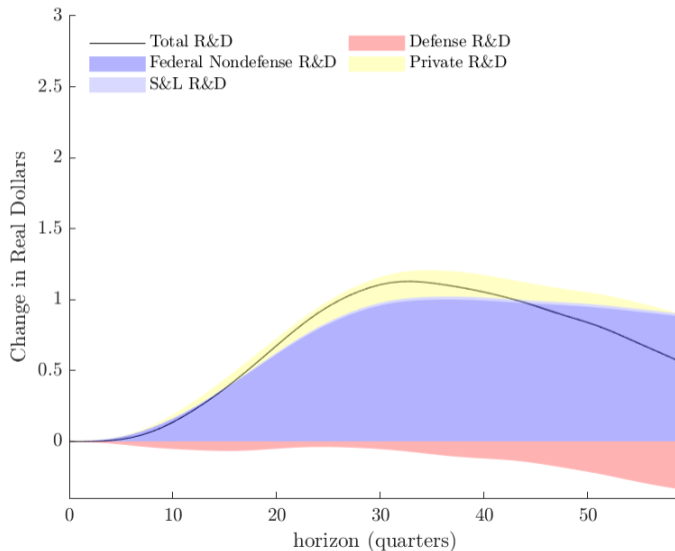
We estimate decompositions of impulse responses to the total real R&D capital stock,  $K_t^{tot}$ , using of the following Tornqvist index approximation of log changes:

$$\Delta \ln K_t^{tot} \approx \sum_j \frac{s_t^j + s_{t-1}^j}{2} \Delta \ln K_t^j$$

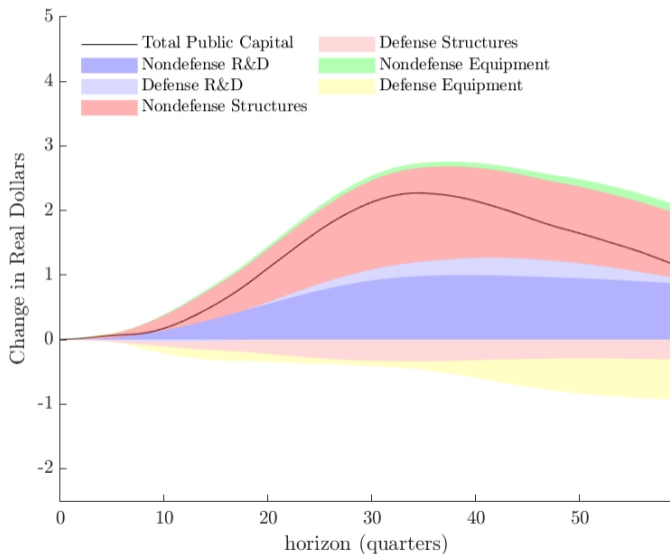
where

- $K_t^j$  is capital in category  $j$  in constant dollars (e.g., private R&D)
- $s_t^j$  denotes the nominal share of category  $j$  ( $K^{n,j}/K^{n,tot}$ )

# Response of R&D by Performer to Nondefense R&D Shocks



# Response of Public Capital Stocks to Nondefense R&D



ESTIMATING ELASTICITIES AND RETURNS  
TO GOVERNMENT R&D CAPITAL

# Structural Estimation of Government R&D Elasticities

From a Cobb-Douglas production function augmented w/ public capital, we define:

$$\Delta tfp_t = \eta \Delta q_t + \phi \Delta k_t + \Delta w_t$$

where

- $\Delta tfp_t$  is utilization-adjusted TFP in the business sector
- $q_t$  is the log of the public infrastructure capital stock
- $k_t$  is the log of the government R&D capital stock
- $\Delta w_t = \Delta \nu_t + \epsilon_t$  is the TFP residual + measurement error

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Taking values of  $\eta$  as known (Ramey 2021, CBO 2021), define:

$$\widetilde{\Delta t f p_t} \equiv \Delta t f p_t - \hat{\eta} \Delta q_t$$

This yields our structural estimation equation for  $\phi$ :

$$\widetilde{\Delta t f p_t} = \phi \Delta k_t + \Delta w_t$$

## SP-IV Estimation of Government R&D Elasticities

We use the [System Projections on Instrumental Variables \(SP-IV\)](#) framework of Lewis and Mertens (2023) to estimate  $\phi$ , the elasticity of government R&D:

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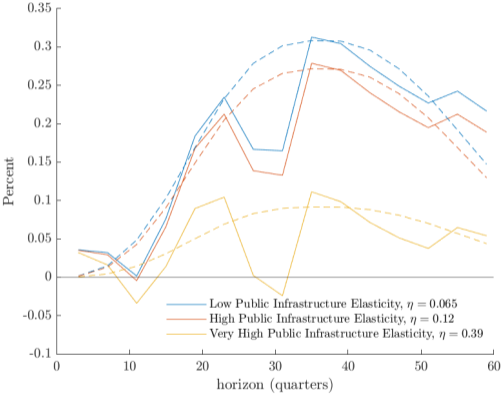
- We use our exogenous R&D shocks as IV for  $k_t$ , government R&D capital (1)
- We also use our exogenous R&D shocks as IV for  $\widetilde{tfp}_t$  growth (2)

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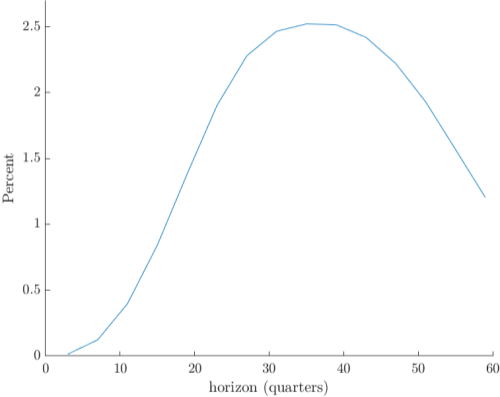
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- We use our exogenous R&D shocks as IV for  $k_t$ , government R&D capital (1)
- We also use our exogenous R&D shocks as IV for  $\widetilde{tfp}_t$  growth (2)
- The SP-IV estimator—a GMM estimator in the impulse response space—essentially regresses the impulse response of  $\widetilde{tfp}_t$  (2) on the response of  $k_t$  (1)
- The SP-IV estimator captures an average effect, significance over our 15-year impulse response horizon (estimation collapsed to one-year horizons)

# Simple Illustration of the SP-IV Estimator



Impulse response of  $t\widetilde{f}p_t$



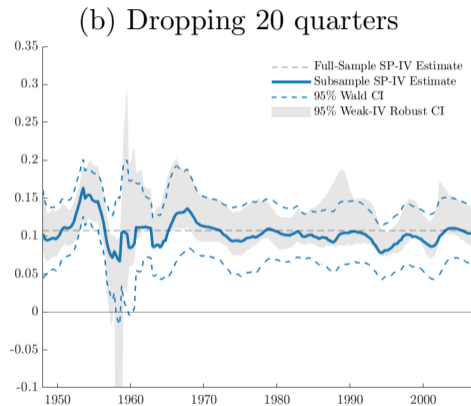
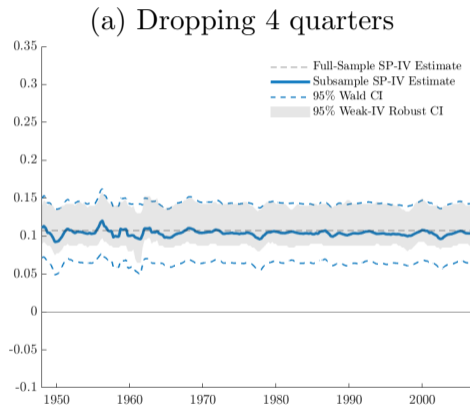
Impulse response of  $k_t$

TABLE 1: ESTIMATES OF PRODUCTION FUNCTION ELASTICITIES  
OF GOVERNMENT R&D CAPITAL

Public R&D			Intermediate $\eta = 0.08$		Low $\eta = 0.065$	High $\eta = 0.12$
Measure	Instruments		$\hat{\phi}/\hat{\phi}_{ND}$	$\hat{\phi}/\hat{\phi}_D$	$\hat{\phi}/\hat{\phi}_{ND}$	$\hat{\phi}/\hat{\phi}_{ND}$
[1]	Total	Exo ND	0.11*** (0.09,0.15)		0.11*** (0.09,0.15)	0.10*** (0.08,0.13)
[2]	Total	Exo ND, No NASA	0.11*** (0.08,0.20)		0.12*** (0.08,0.21)	0.10*** (0.07,0.19)
[3]	Total	All ND	0.10*** (0.09,0.14)		0.11*** (0.09,0.15)	0.09*** (0.07,0.13)
[4]	Total	Exo D		-0.13 (-1.20,0.04)		
[5]	Total	All D		-0.11 (-1.11,0.05)		
[6]	ND/D	Exo ND	0.10*** (0.06,0.19)	-0.01 (-0.22,0.39)	0.11*** (0.06,0.20)	0.09*** (0.05,0.18)
[7]	ND/D	Exo ND/D	0.10*** (0.04,0.19)	-0.07 (-0.27,0.40)	0.10*** (0.04,0.19)	0.09*** (0.03,0.18)
[8]	ND/D	Exo ND, No NASA	0.11 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,0.58)	0.20 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,0.69)	0.11 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,0.60)	0.10 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,0.54)
[9]	ND/D	All ND	0.10*** (0.06,0.18)	-0.03 (-0.23,0.35)	0.10*** (0.06,0.18)	0.09*** (0.05,0.17)

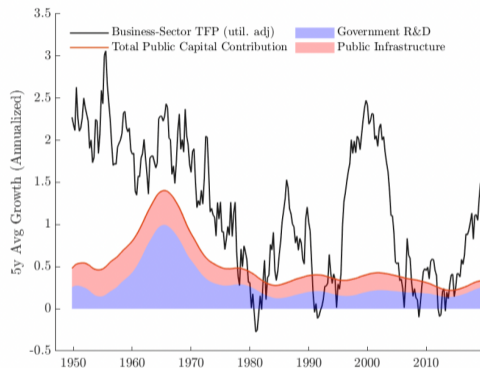
Notes: Stars \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* denote statistical significance at 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

# Subsample Stability of Production Function Elasticities



# Historical Contributions of Public Investment to TFP Growth

Assumption:  $\phi_D = 0, \phi_{ND} = 0.11$



	'47-'69	'70-'89	'90-'09	'10-'21
TFP growth	1.98	0.98	1.15	0.87
<i>a. Intermediate <math>\eta</math></i>				
Infrastructure	0.33	0.19	0.19	0.09
R&D	0.48	0.25	0.19	0.19
<i>b. Low <math>\eta</math></i>				
Infrastructure	0.27	0.16	0.15	0.07
R&D	0.50	0.25	0.20	0.20
<i>c. High <math>\eta</math></i>				
Infrastructure	0.50	0.29	0.28	0.14
R&D	0.44	0.22	0.18	0.18

→ Government R&D explains ~20-25% of TFP growth, TFP slowdown since late 1960s

→ Government R&D contributes roughly as much (or more) than public infrastructure

# Composition of Public Capital Stock

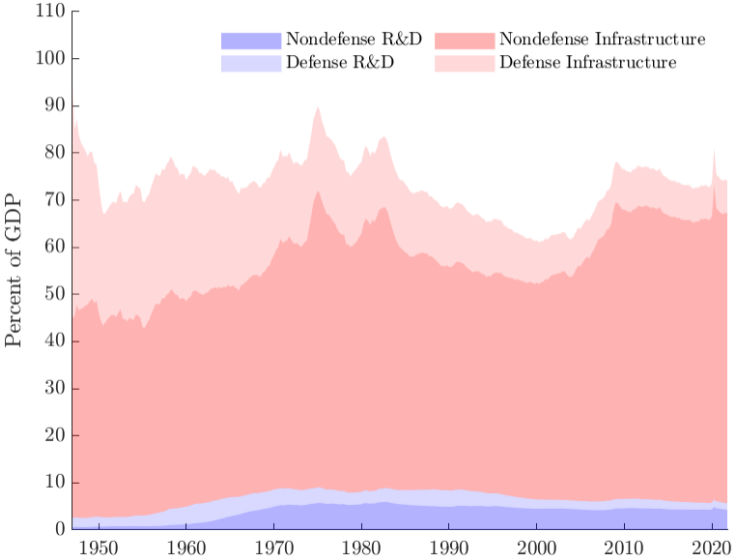


TABLE 2: ESTIMATES OF THE RETURN TO GOVERNMENT R&amp;D CAPITAL

Government R&D			Intermediate $\eta = 0.08$		Low $\eta = 0.065$		High $\eta = 0.12$	
Measure	Instruments		$\hat{\phi}_{ND}$ $\times \frac{Y}{K}$	$\hat{\rho}_{ND}$	$\hat{\phi}_{ND}$ $\times \frac{Y}{K}$	$\hat{\rho}_{ND}$	$\hat{\phi}_{ND}$ $\times \frac{Y}{K}$	$\hat{\rho}_{ND}$
[1] Total	Exo ND		1.85	1.71*** (1.07,2.22)	1.91	1.77*** (1.13,2.26)	1.67	1.57*** (0.91,2.11)
[2] Total	Exo ND, No NASA		1.94	1.60** (0.62,4.01)	2.00	1.62** (0.69,4.03)	1.77	1.53** (0.42,3.97)
[3] Total	All ND		1.79	1.58*** (1.04,2.08)	1.86	1.63*** (1.10,2.12)	1.62	1.44*** (0.88,1.98)
[4] ND/D	Exo ND		1.75	1.68** (0.23,3.20)	1.81	1.74** (0.30,3.24)	1.58	1.52** (0.08,3.11)
[5] ND/D	Exo ND/D		1.67	2.04** (0.12,3.79)	1.73	2.10** (0.16,3.81)	1.50	1.88** (0.01,3.70)
[6] ND/D	Exo ND, No NASA		1.92	6.84 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,5.00 <sup>†</sup> )	1.98	6.91 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,5.00 <sup>†</sup> )	1.75	6.65 (-2.00 <sup>†</sup> ,5.00 <sup>†</sup> )
[7] ND/D	All ND		1.72	1.58** (0.27,2.90)	1.78	1.64** (0.32,2.95)	1.55	1.42** (0.11,2.81)

Notes: Stars \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* denote statistical significance at 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

## Summary: Big Kick from Nondefense R&D

Our exogenous nondefense R&D appropriations shocks yield a significant, often persistent increase in measures of productivity and innovation

Scaled to a 1% shock to government R&D capital:

- Utilization-adjusted TFP rises  $\sim 0.2\%$  after 8 years
- Potential output rises  $\sim 0.2\%$  after 8 years
- Increases in employment of scientific researchers, new STEM PhDs, new patents...

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Nondefense government R&D capital has a high rate of return:

- Estimated production function elasticity:  $\hat{\phi}_{ND} = 0.11$
- Accounts for  $\sim 20\text{-}25\%$  of U.S. business-sector TFP growth since WWII
- Estimated macroeconomic (social) returns:  $\sim 140\text{-}210\%$

## Summary: No Kick from Defense R&D?

We find no evidence of an economically or statistically significant increase in TFP or measures of innovation in response to U.S. defense R&D spending\*

\*At least not over the 15-year horizons we consider

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► Responses by R&D Type

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► Responses by R&D Type

Defense R&D surely contributes to national security, but does not appear to drive post-war economic growth the same way as nondefense R&D...

## APPENDIX SLIDES

# Glossary: Standard Definitions of Types of R&D

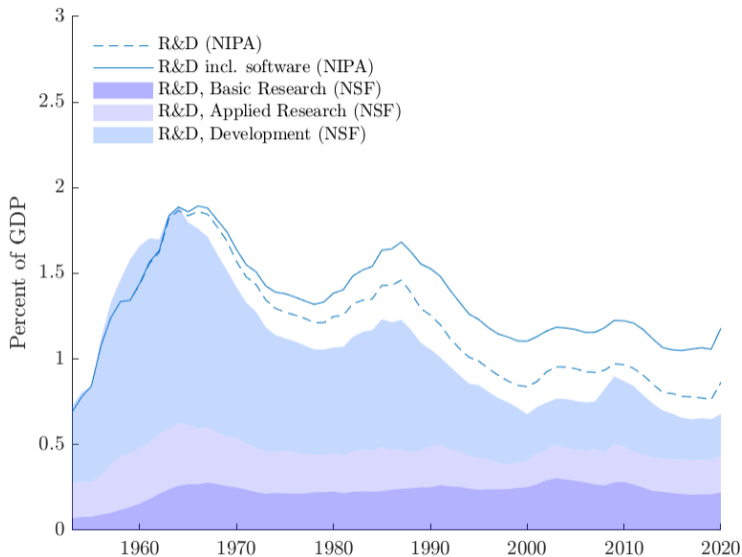
**Basic research:** “In basic research the objective of the sponsoring agency is to gain more complete knowledge or understanding of the fundamental aspects of phenomena and of observable facts, without specific applications toward processes or products in mind”

**Applied research:** “In applied research the objective of the sponsoring agency is to gain knowledge or understanding necessary for determining the means by which a recognized need may be met”

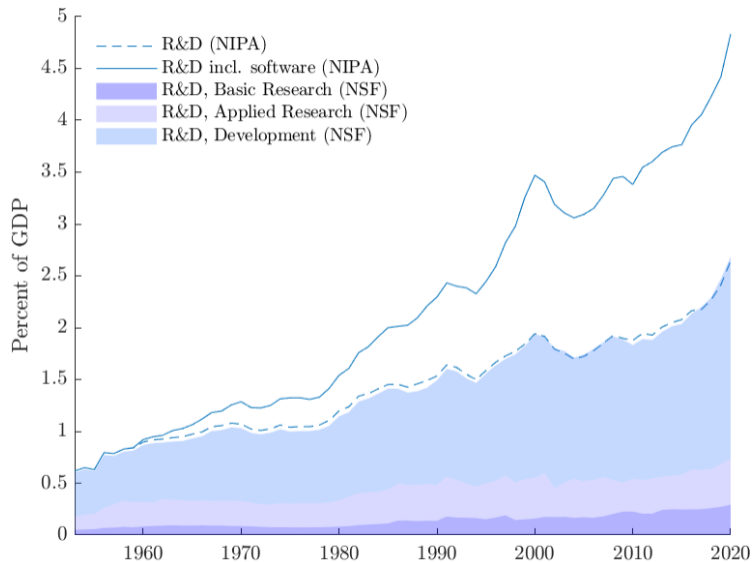
**Development:** “Development is systematic use of the knowledge or understanding gained from research, directed toward the production of useful materials, devices, systems, or methods, including design and development of prototypes, and processes...”

*Source: NSF (2022) and OECD (2015)*

# Government R&D Spending by Type of Research



# Private R&D Spending by Type of Research



# Narrative Approach to Identification

## Monetary policy shocks

- Friedman and Schwartz ('63), Romer and Romer ('89, '04, '23), Cloyne and Hürtgen ('16)

## Oil supply shocks

- Hamilton ('83)

## Military spending shocks

- Ramey and Shapiro ('98), Ramey ('11), Ramey and Zubairy ('18)

## Tax policy shocks

- Romer and Romer ('10), Mertens and Ravn ('13), Cloyne ('13)

## Government mortgage purchase shocks

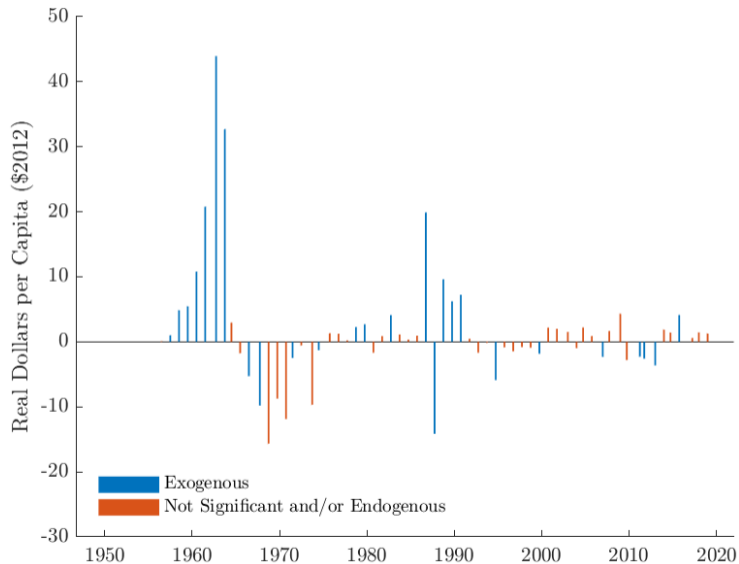
- Fieldhouse and Mertens ('17)

# Narrative Analysis Data Sources

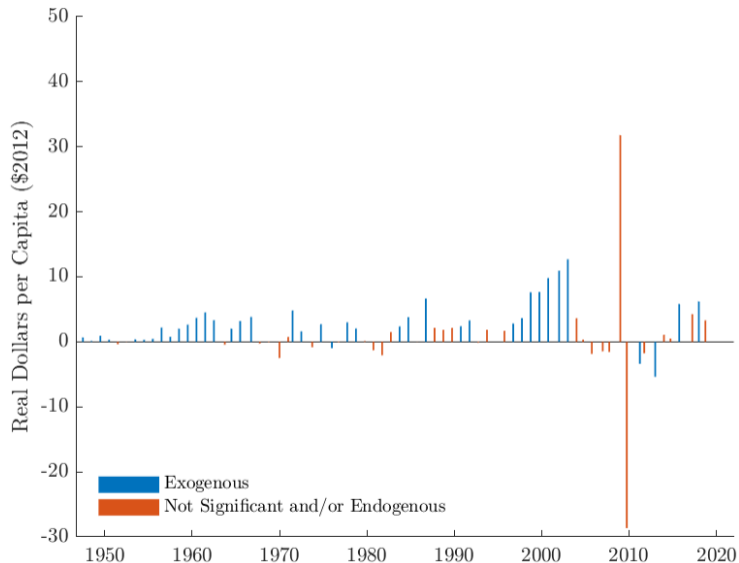
Analyze primary, secondary sources for each agency, fiscal year:

- Congressional committee reports, hearings (ProQuest)
- Budget of the U.S. Government
- Budget Message of the President
- State of the Union Addresses
- Presidential signing statements, vetos, speeches
- *CQ Almanac, NYT, WaPo, WSJ, Politico, CRS,...*

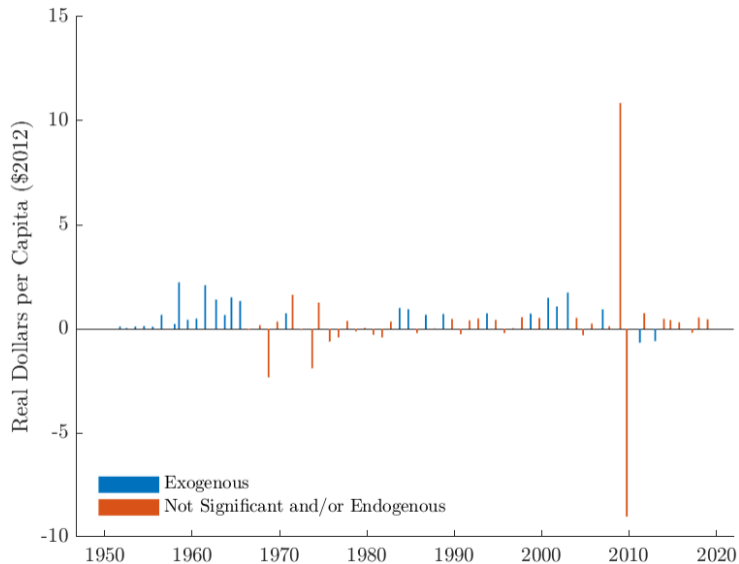
# Changes in NASA R&D Appropriations



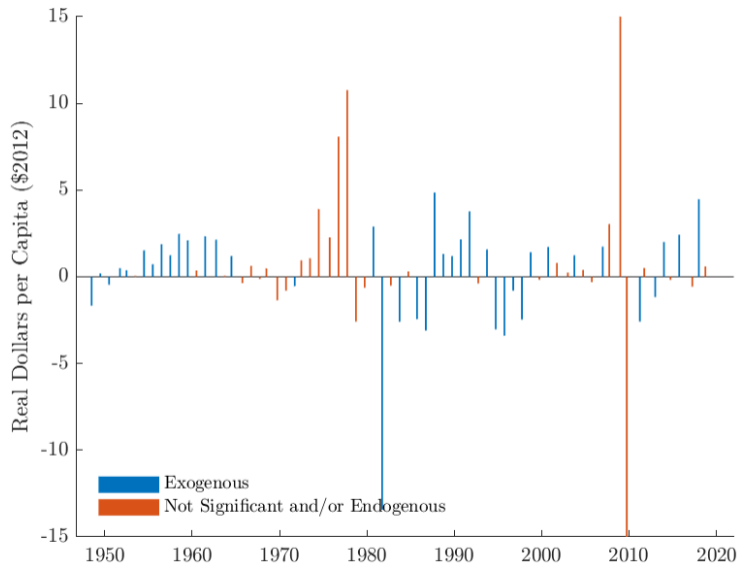
## Changes in NIH R&D Appropriations



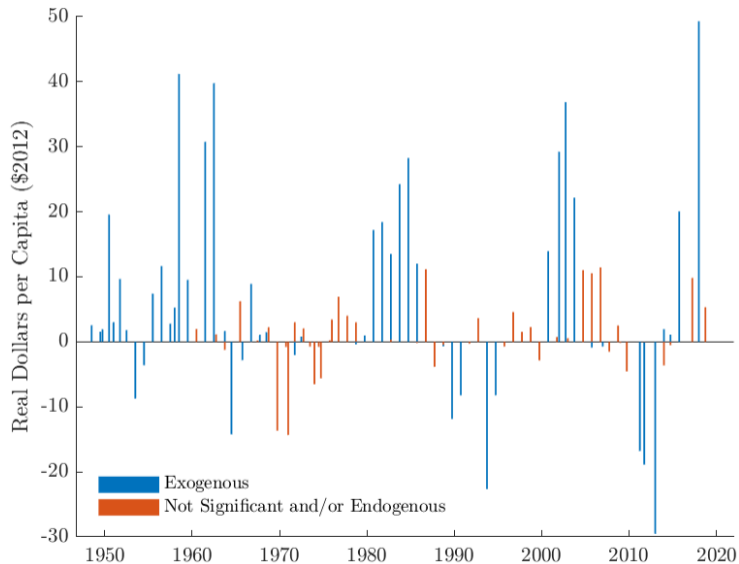
## Changes in NSF R&D Appropriations



## Changes in Nondefense Energy Appropriations



# Changes in Defense R&D Appropriations



## Fernald (2012) TFP-U from Cobb-Douglas Production

$$Y_t = F(Z_t \times K(K_{1,t-1}, K_{2,t-1}, \dots, K_{J,t-1}), E_t \times L(H_{1,t-1}, H_{2,t-1}, \dots, H_{N,t-1}), A_t)$$

where

- $Y_t$  is business-sector output
- $K_t$  is capital input, aggregated from aggregated from  $J$  types
- $L_t$  is labor input, aggregated from  $H$  hours worked by  $N$  types
- $Z_t$  is capital utilization (e.g., average workweek of machinery)
- $E_t$  is effort per unit of labor
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Assuming perfect competition and taking log first differences:

$$\Delta \ln Y = \alpha \Delta \ln K + (1 - \alpha) \Delta \ln L + \Delta \ln U + \Delta \ln A$$

where  $\Delta \ln U = \alpha \Delta \ln Z + (1 - \alpha) \Delta \ln E$

## Fernald (2012) TFP-U from Cobb-Douglas Production

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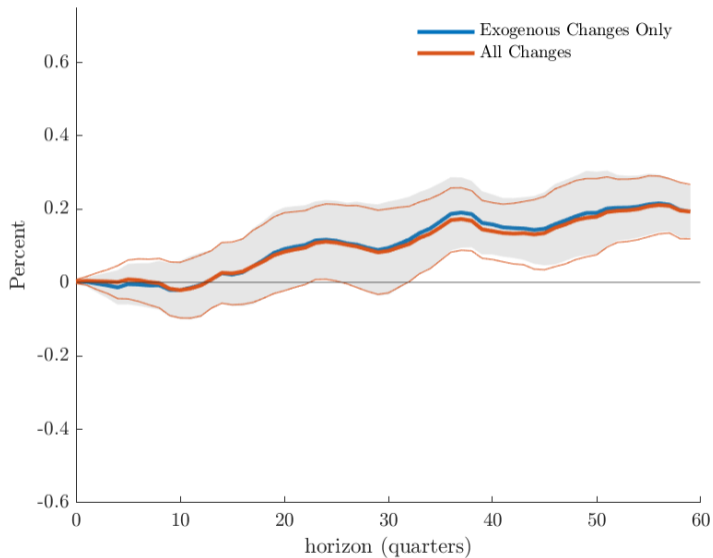
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TFP and utilization-adjusted TFP (*TFP-U*) are defined as:

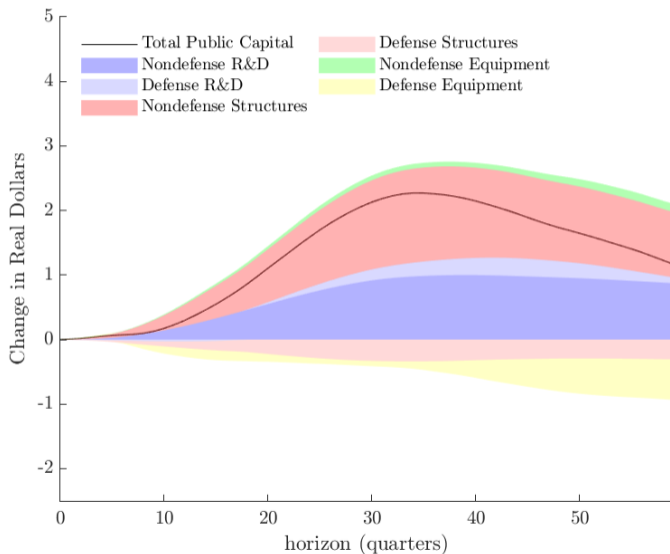
$$\Delta \ln TFP \equiv \Delta \ln Y - \alpha \Delta \ln K - (1 - \alpha) \Delta \ln L$$

$$\Delta \ln TFP-U \equiv \Delta \ln TFP - \Delta \ln U = \Delta \ln A$$

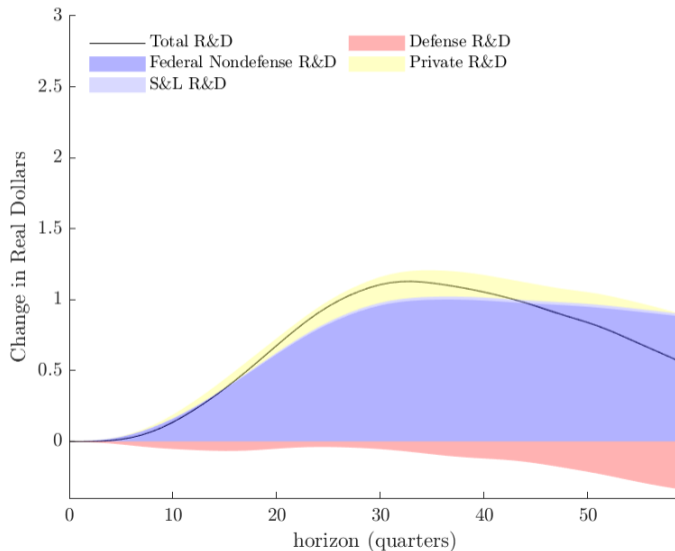
# Role of Narrative Classification for Nondefense R&D Appropriations



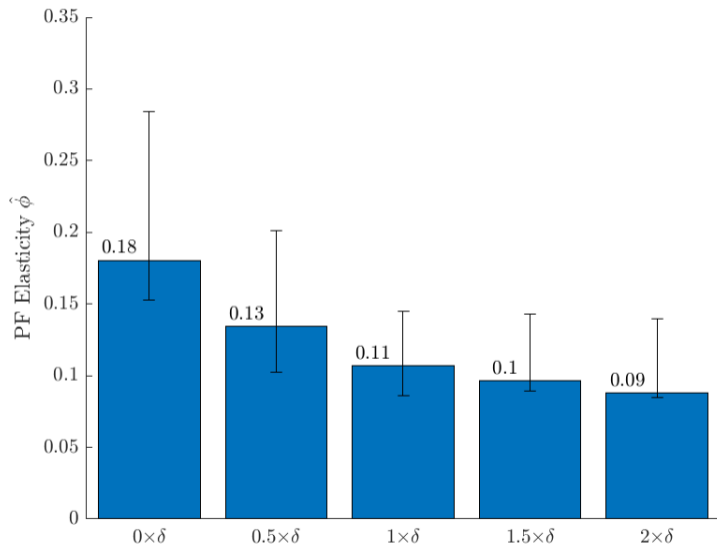
# Response of Public Capital Stocks to Nondefense R&D



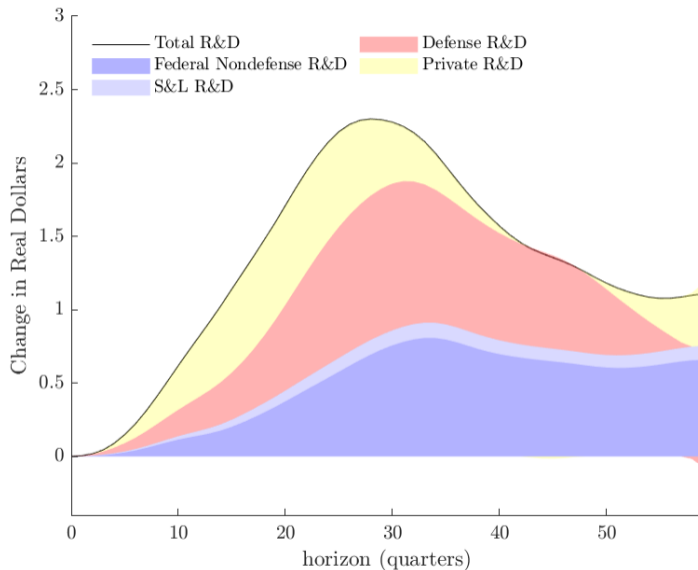
# Response of R&D by Performer to Nondefense R&D Shocks



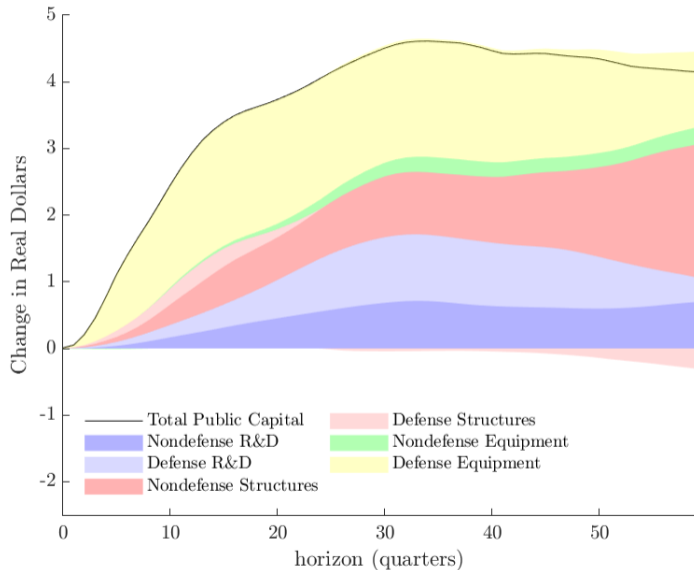
# Government R&D Elasticities Under Alternative Depreciation Rates



## Response of R&D by Performer to Defense R&D Shocks



# Response of Public Capital Stocks to Defense R&D Shocks



# Regression for Direct Estimates of Returns to Government R&D

Define the net rate of return on government R&D as

$$\rho_t^n = \rho_t - \delta_t$$

where

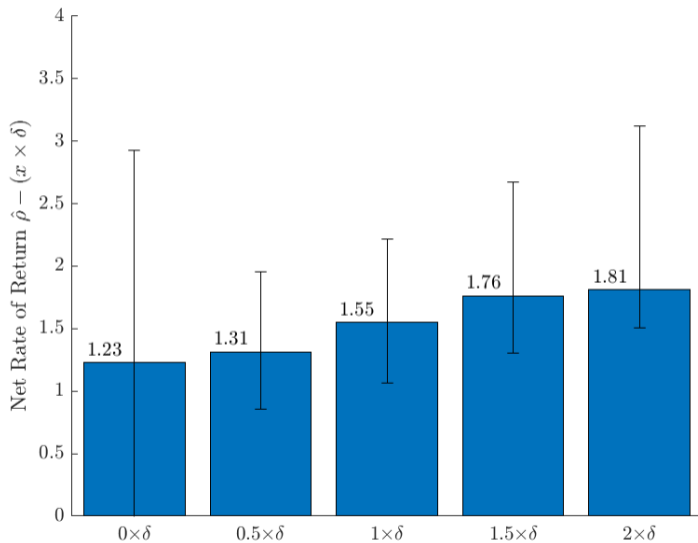
- $\rho_t = \phi_t K_t / Y_t$  is the gross return
- $K_t / Y_t$  is the government R&D capital stock/output ratio
- $\delta_t$  is the depreciation rate of government R&D capital

Using  $\Delta k_t \approx (K_t - K_{t-1}) / K_{t-1}$  and substituting yields

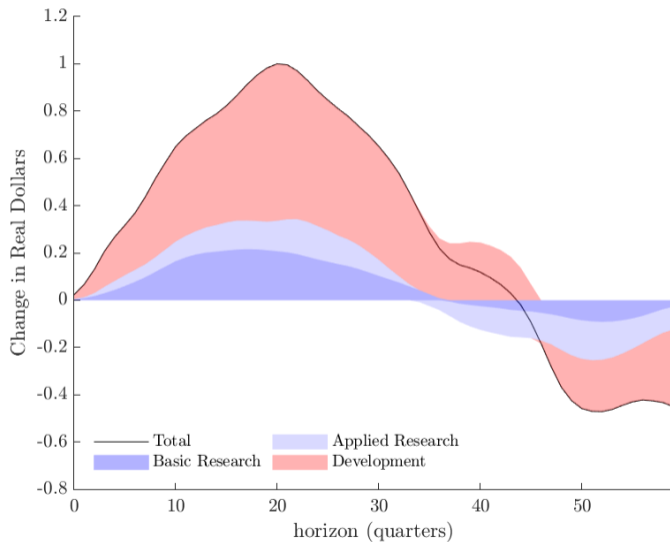
$$\widetilde{\Delta t f p_t} = \rho \frac{\Delta K_t}{Y_t} + \Delta w_t$$

Which we estimate via SP-IV, now instrumenting  $\frac{\Delta K_t}{Y_t}$  with  $z_t^i$

# Returns to Government R&D Under Alternative Depreciation Rates



## Changes in R&D by Type to Defense R&D Shock



## Changes in R&D by Type to Nondefense R&D Shock

