

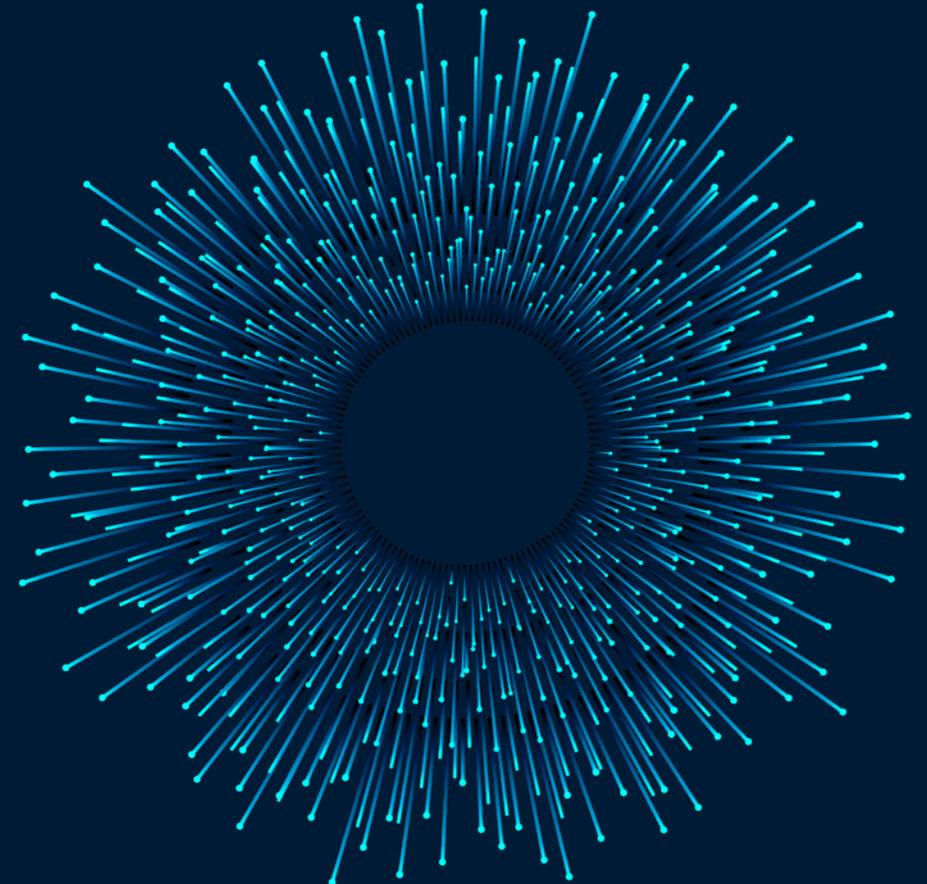
GDP-B: A New Measure of Economic Welfare

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London, May 21

David Nguyen

Stanford University & ESCoE



Today

1. Intro to GDP-B
2. Constructing a digital basket of goods
3. GDP-B 2025: Results
4. Aggregation problem
5. Next steps

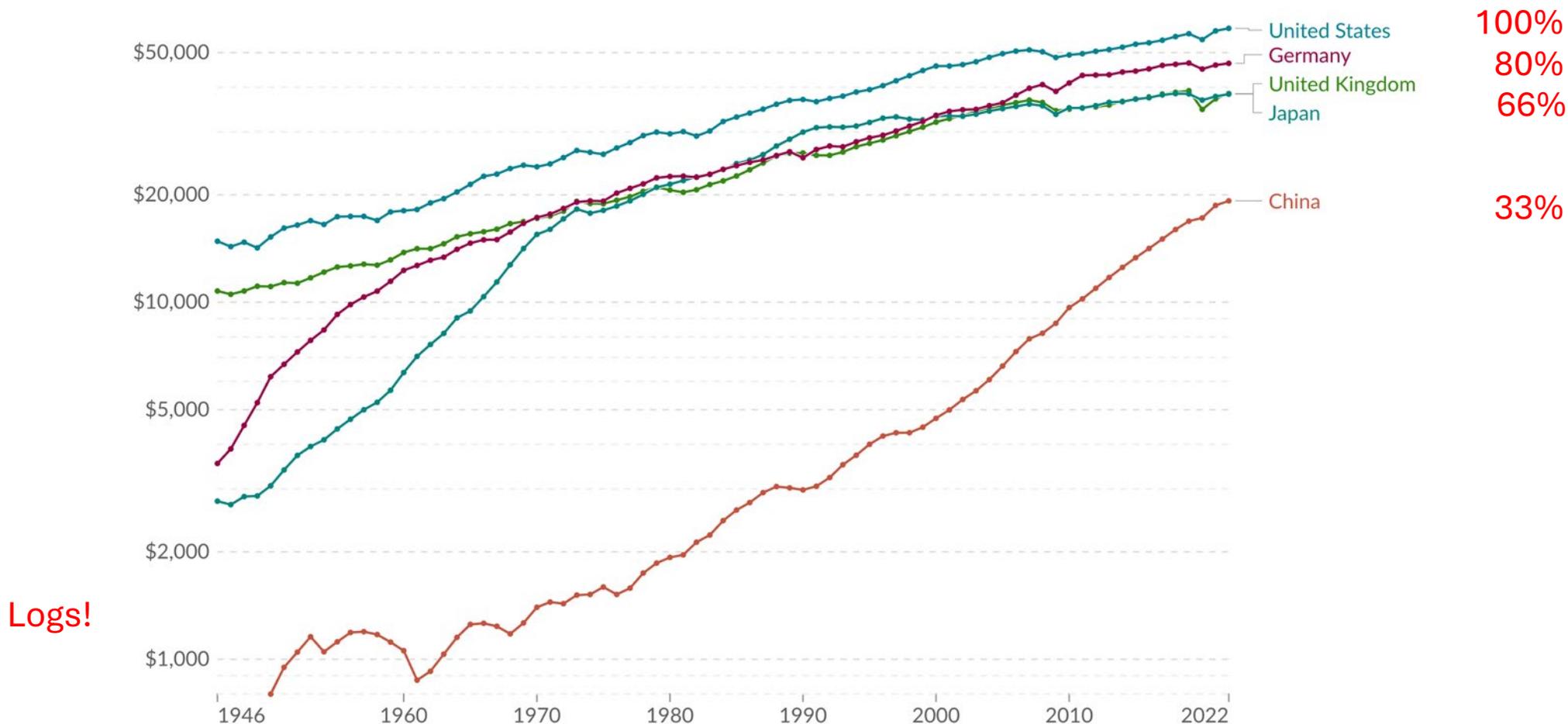
1. GDP v welfare

GDP ≠ welfare

GDP per capita, 1946 to 2022

Our World
in Data

This data is adjusted for inflation and for differences in living costs between countries.



Data source: Bolt and van Zanden - Maddison Project Database 2023

OurWorldinData.org/economic-growth | CC BY

Note: This data is expressed in international-\$¹ at 2011 prices.

GDP ≠ welfare

Life expectancy vs. GDP per capita, 1946 to 2022

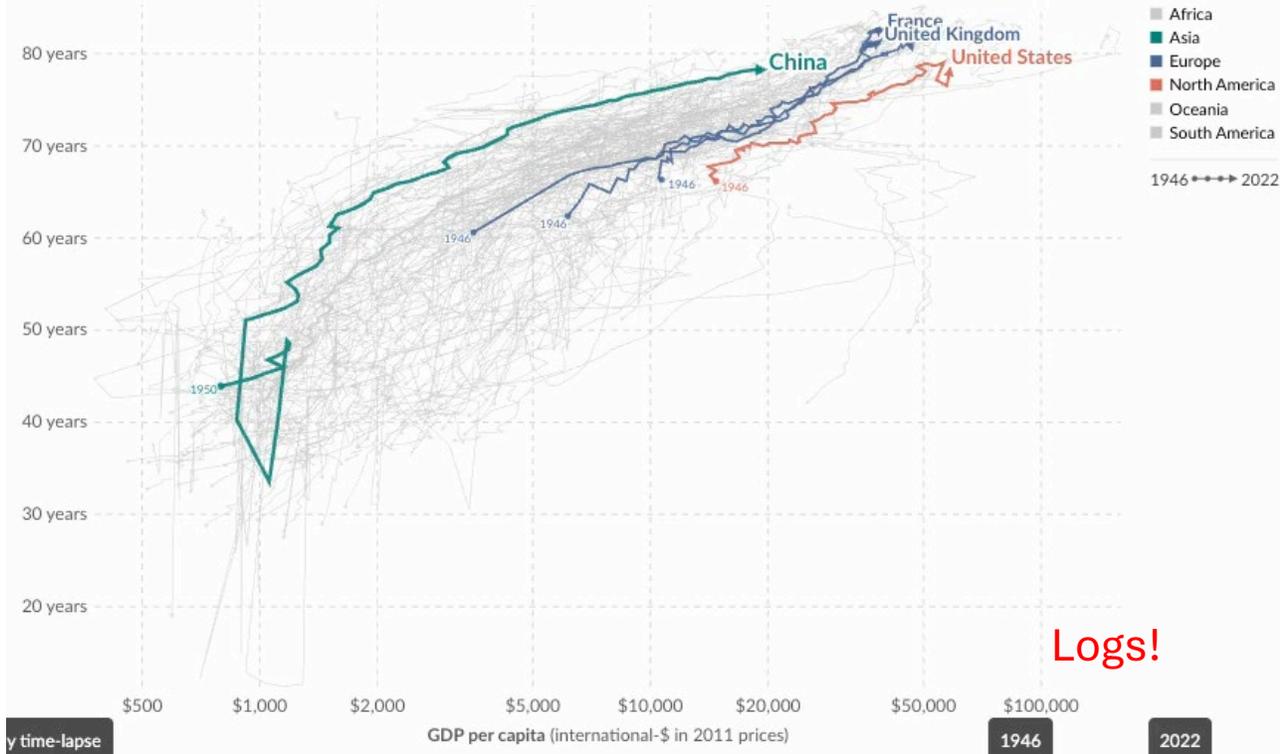
The period life expectancy at birth, in a given year. GDP per capita is adjusted for inflation and differences in living costs between countries.

Our World in Data

Table Chart

Settings

Life expectancy at birth



Data source: UN WPP (2024); HMD (2024); Zijdeman et al. (2015); Riley (2005); Bolt and van Zanden - Maddison Project Database 2023 - [Learn more about this data](#)

Note: GDP per capita is expressed in international-\$ at 2011 prices.

OurWorldinData.org/life-expectancy | CC BY



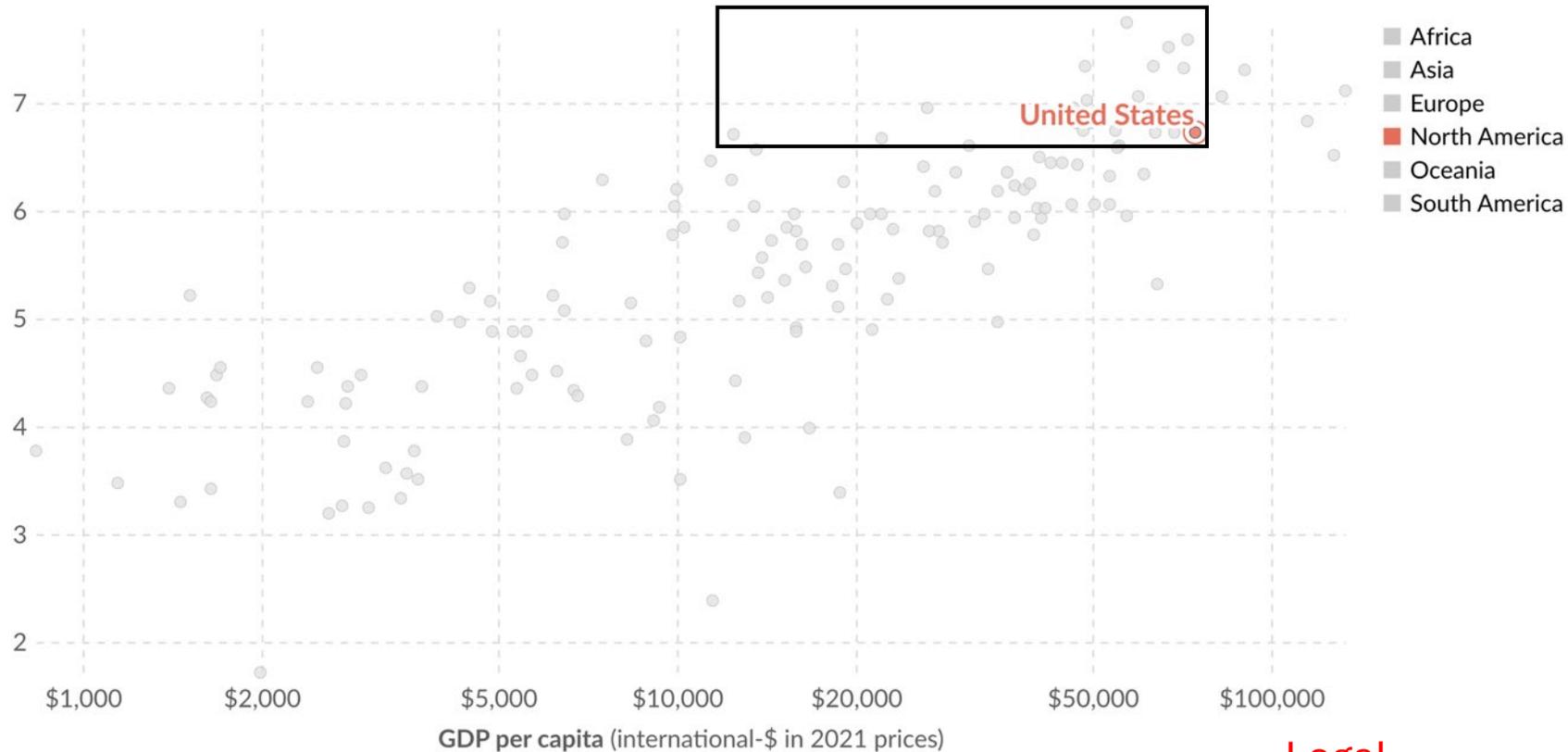
GDP ≠ welfare

Self-reported life satisfaction vs. GDP per capita, United States, 2024

Our World
in Data

Self-reported life satisfaction is measured on a scale¹ ranging from 0-10, where 10 is the highest possible life satisfaction. GDP per capita is adjusted for inflation and differences in living costs between countries.

Life satisfaction (0-10)



Logs!

Data source: Wellbeing Research Centre (2025); Data compiled from multiple sources by World Bank (2025)

Note: GDP per capita is expressed in international-\$² at 2021 prices.

OurWorldinData.org/happiness-and-life-satisfaction | CC BY

GDP-B is our attempt to directly measure consumer welfare



*“The **welfare of a nation** can scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income as defined [by GDP.]” (Simon Kuznets, 1934)*

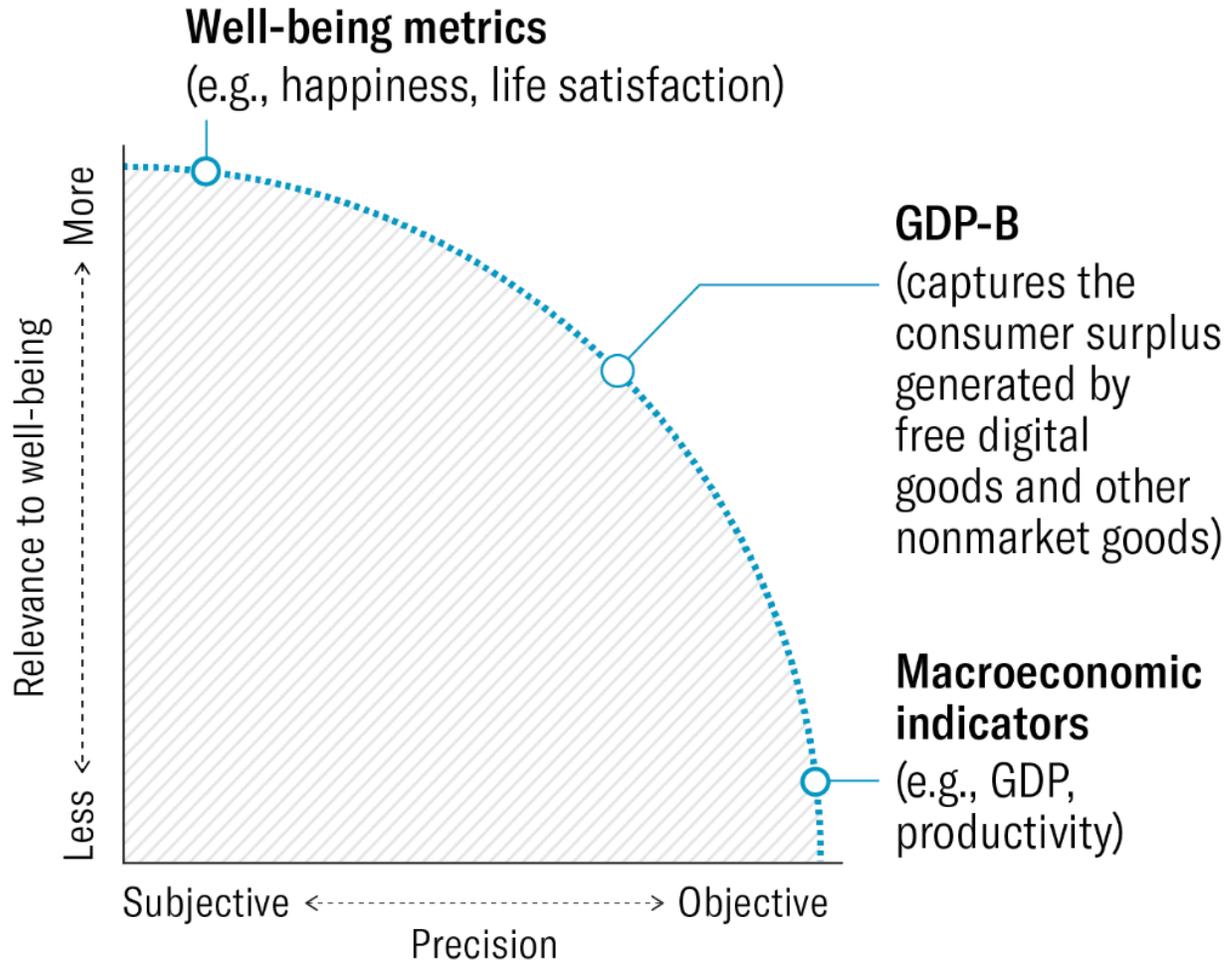
*“[GDP] measures everything in short, **except that which makes life worthwhile**... [it] does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education or the joy of their play.” (Robert F. Kennedy, 1968)*

*“A general increase in the availability of information can **increase consumer utility without increasing GDP**.” (Hulten & Nakamura, 2017)*

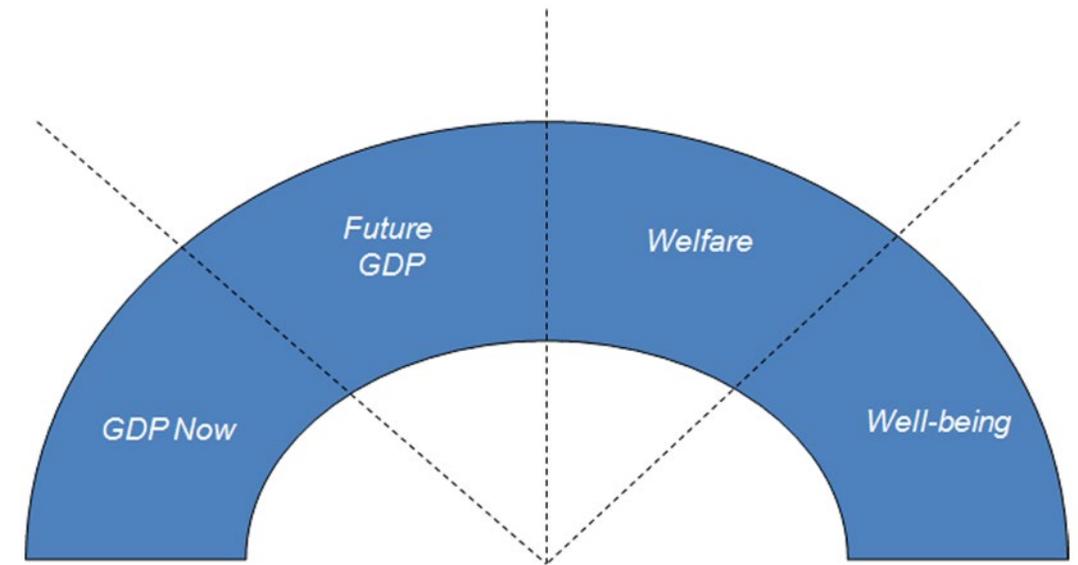
Selected studies

- Renewed interest after report from Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission in 2009, calling for **welfare measures beyond GDP**.
- Ahmad & Schreyer (2016) highlight how **the digital economy poses challenges to GDP** (without invalidating it).
- Nakamura, Samuels, Soloveichik (2017) model **free digital goods as barter** transactions.
- **GDP-B as measure of consumer surplus pioneered** by Brynjolfsson, Collis, Eggers (PNAS: 2019) + theory paper with Diewert & Fox (AEJ: 2025).
- Coyle & Nguyen (2023), exploit sudden COVID lockdown and **expand number of items in UK** studies.

A dashboard of indicators



Brynjolfsson & Collis (2019), HBR



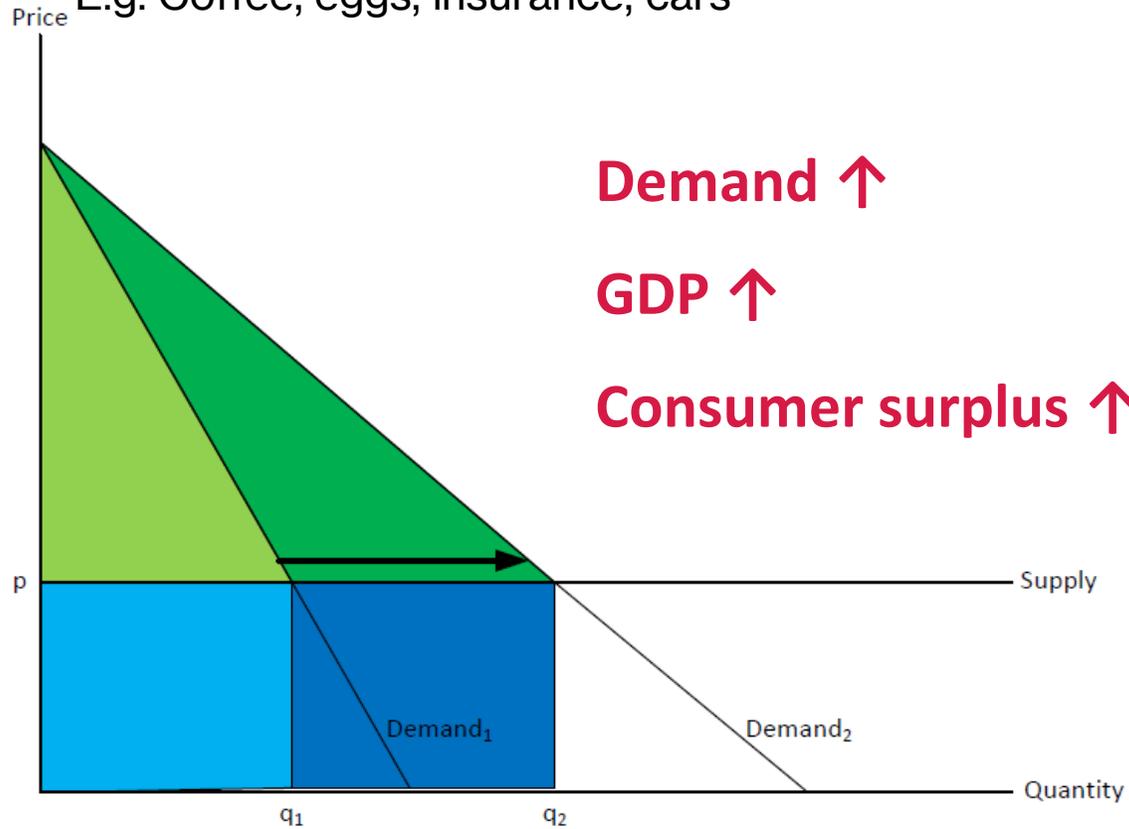
Heys et al. (2019), ESCoE DP

2. Surveys

Production vs consumer surplus

Case 1: Classic goods

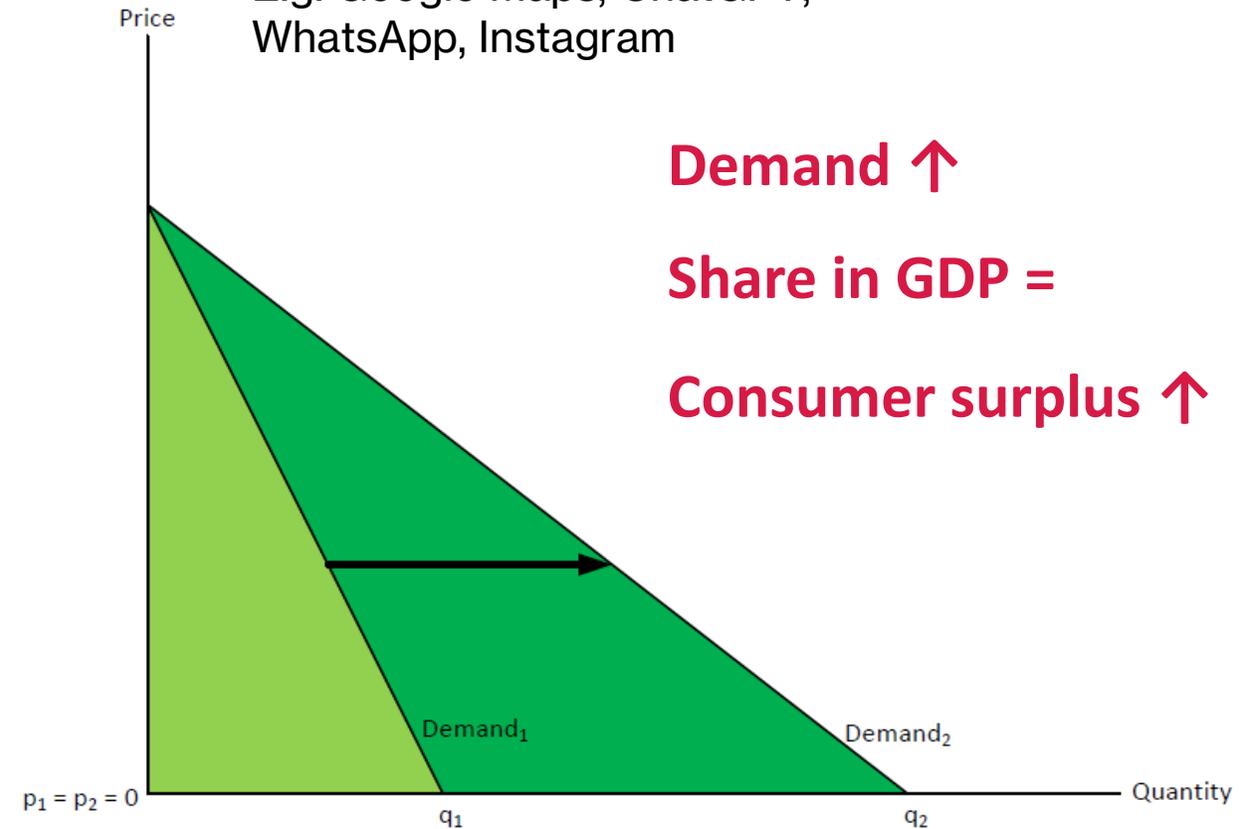
E.g. Coffee, eggs, insurance, cars



Demand ↑
GDP ↑
Consumer surplus ↑

Case 2: Digital goods

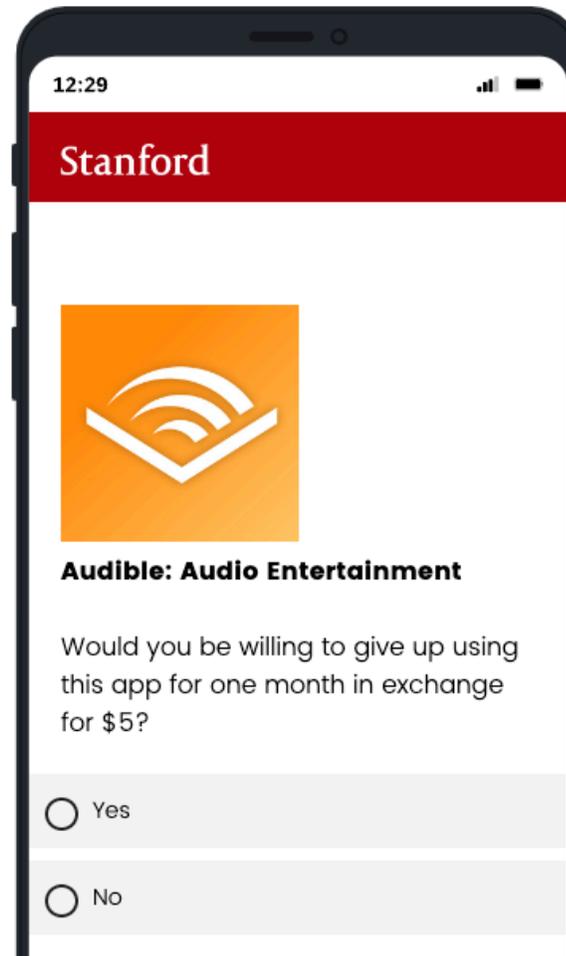
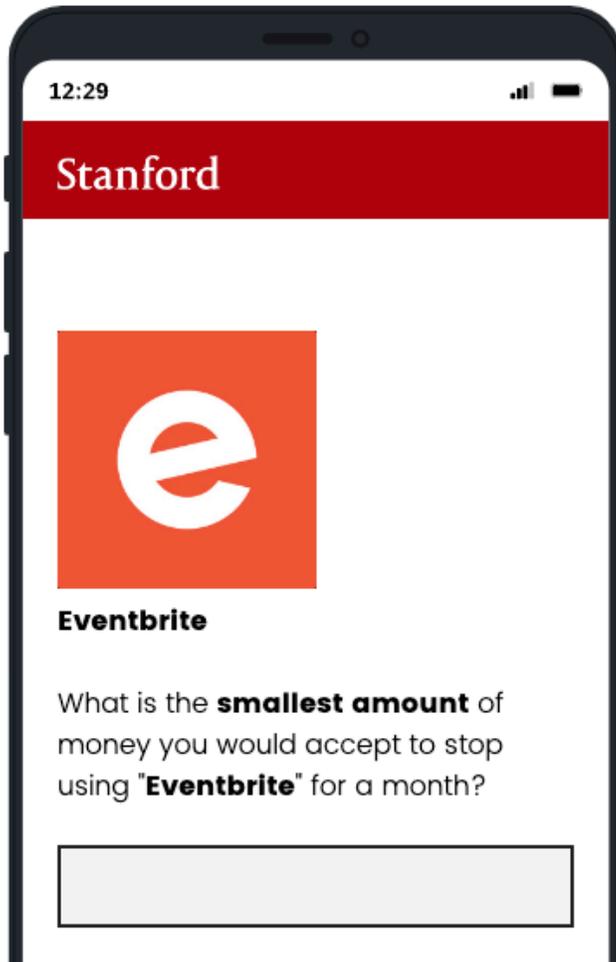
E.g. Google Maps, ChatGPT, WhatsApp, Instagram



Demand ↑
Share in GDP =
Consumer surplus ↑

Open ended text

Cash offer

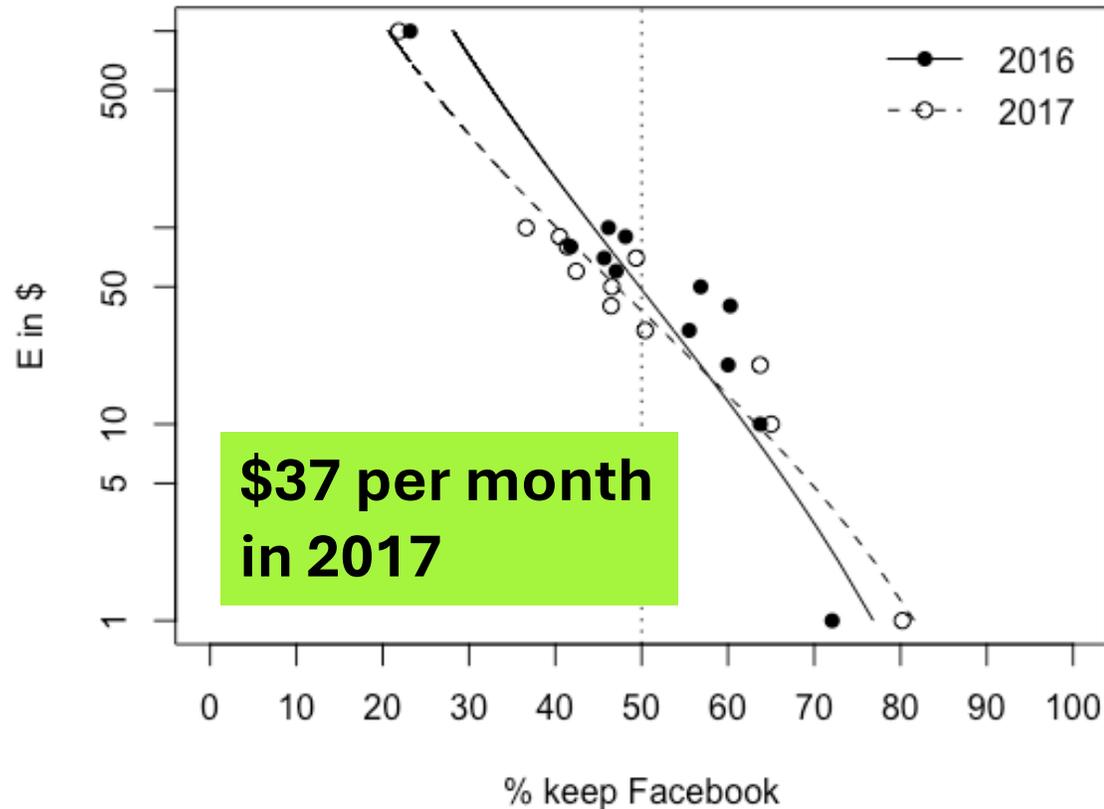


- Intuitive, no training needed.
- Works well on mobile.
- Flexible design, works for monetary and non-monetary offers.
- Easy to add logos and pictures.

Digital items without market prices



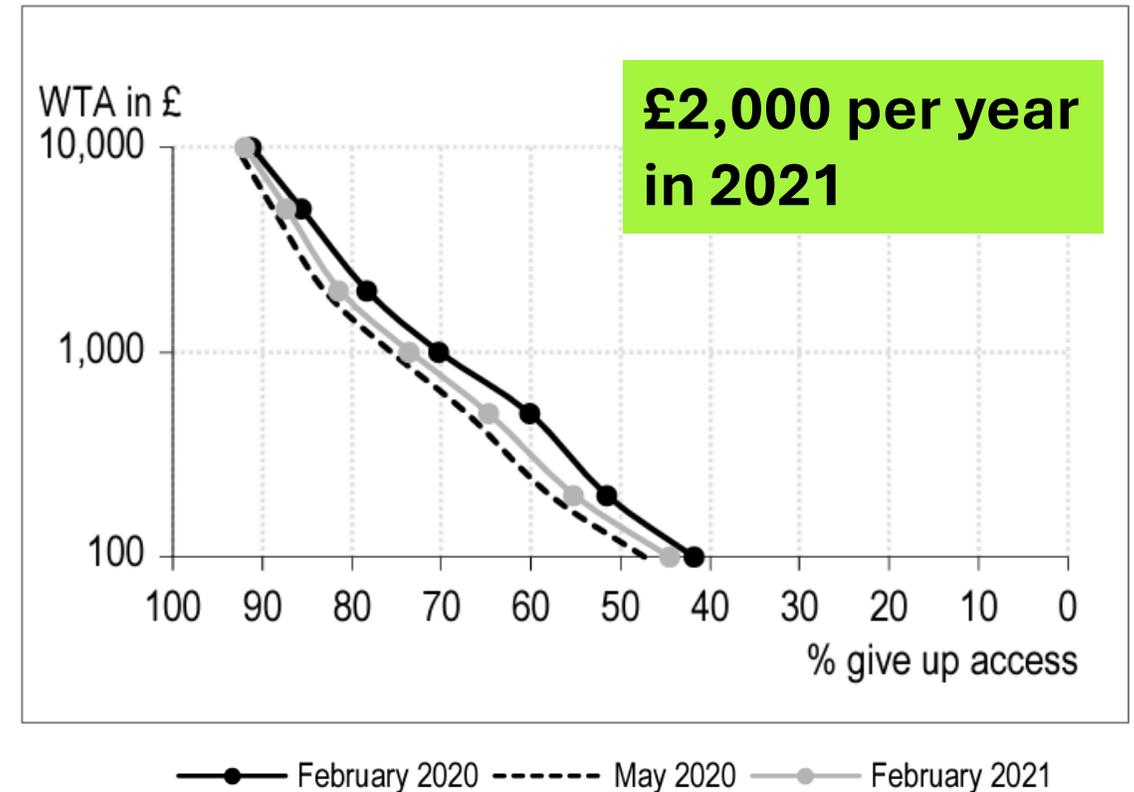
Facebook, US



Brynjolfsson, Collis, Eggers (2019), *PNAS*



Google Maps, UK



Coyle & Nguyen (2023), *Economie et Statistique*

GDP-B: Traditional consumption items

- The goal is to build a **representative basket for the traditional and digital economy**.
- For traditional items we rely on Consumer Expenditure Surveys (CE) from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).
- We choose 264 items covering most of the consumer spending (apart from housing).
- For example: eggs, apples, health insurance, sports equipment, private vehicles

Level	All items		In GDP-B	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
1	14	1.98	4	1.52
2	84	11.90	34	12.88
3	188	26.63	66	25.00
4	215	30.45	78	29.55
5	150	21.25	71	26.89
6	38	5.38	11	4.17
7	17	2.41	-	-
Total	706	100.00	264	100.00

Table 2: Number of items in GDP-B by level

A “digital basket of goods”

Build long list of 1,000+ items:

- Number of downloads
- Number of website visits
- Number of active users
- Time spent



- + pre-installed apps (alarm, clock, calculator)
- + app categories (social media, navigation, etc)
- + top items in each category

Data collection process



Run Single Binary Discrete Choice Surveys via Prolific, representative of US population (N=33,000) + open box survey (N=4,400).



Data collected in December 2024 and March 2025.

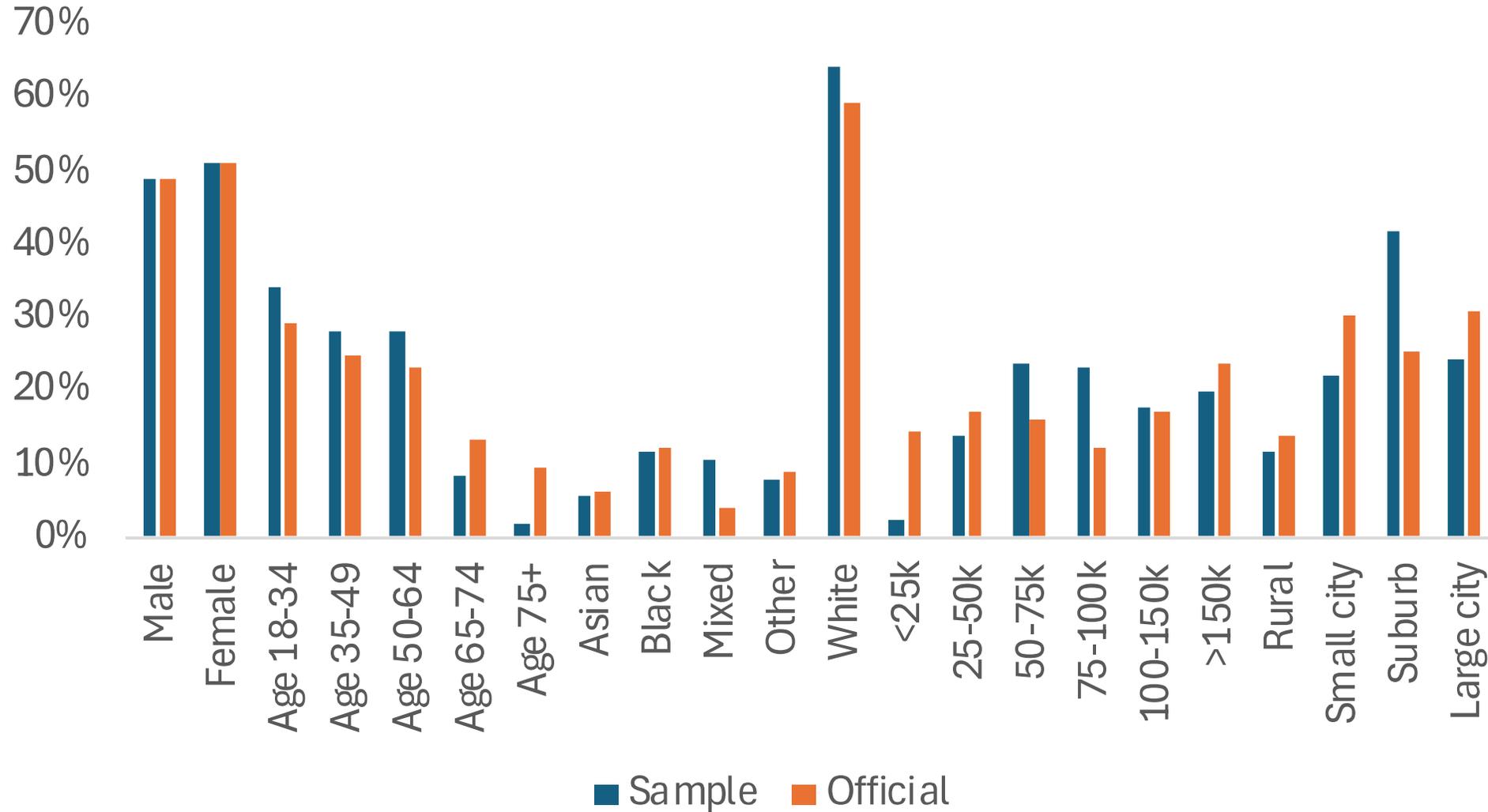


Average response time of 2:30 minutes for 15 questions.



Explicit and implicit attention checks (i.e. “fake apps”) passed by 97.3% of respondents.

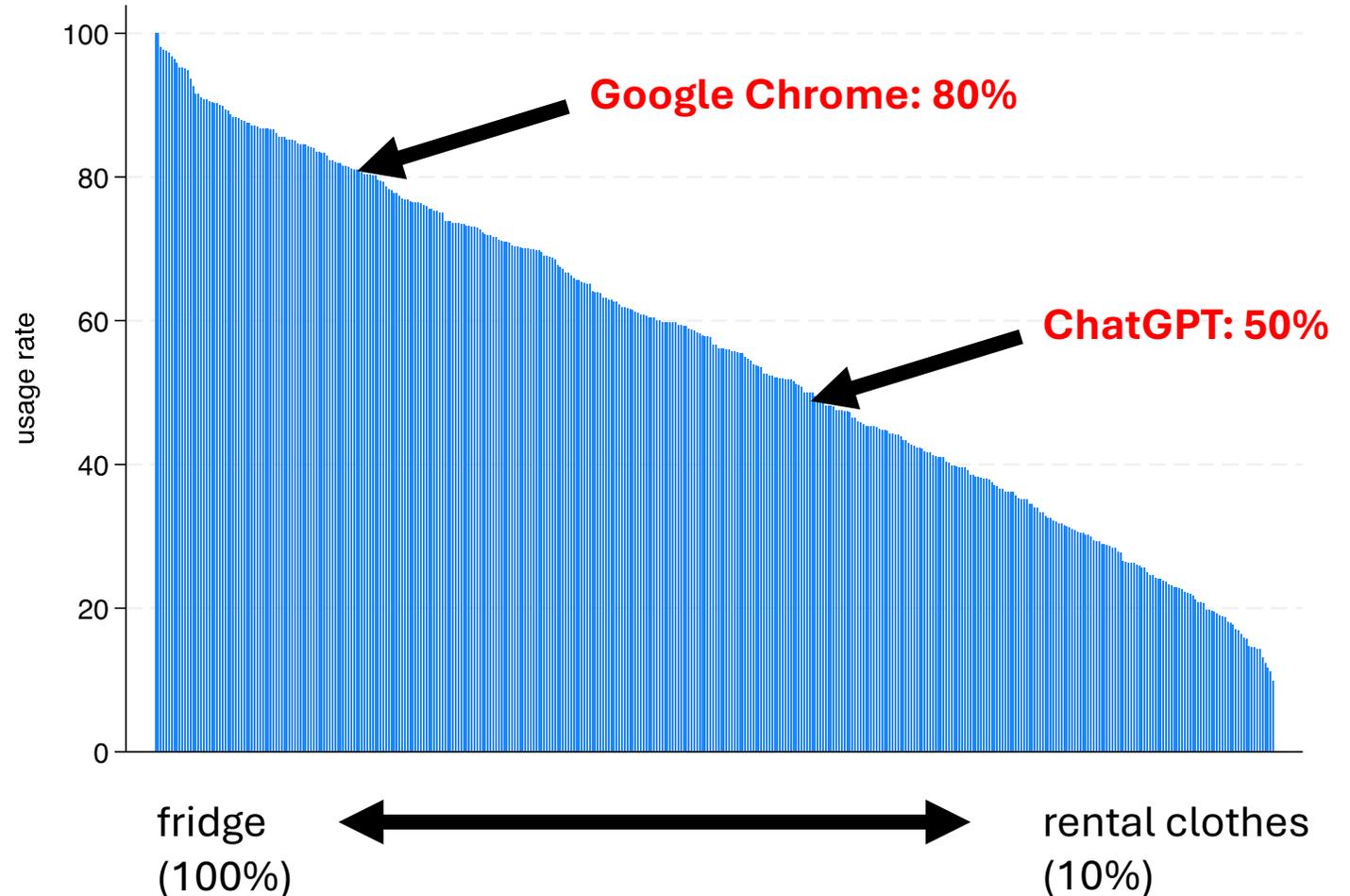
Survey representativeness (unweighted)



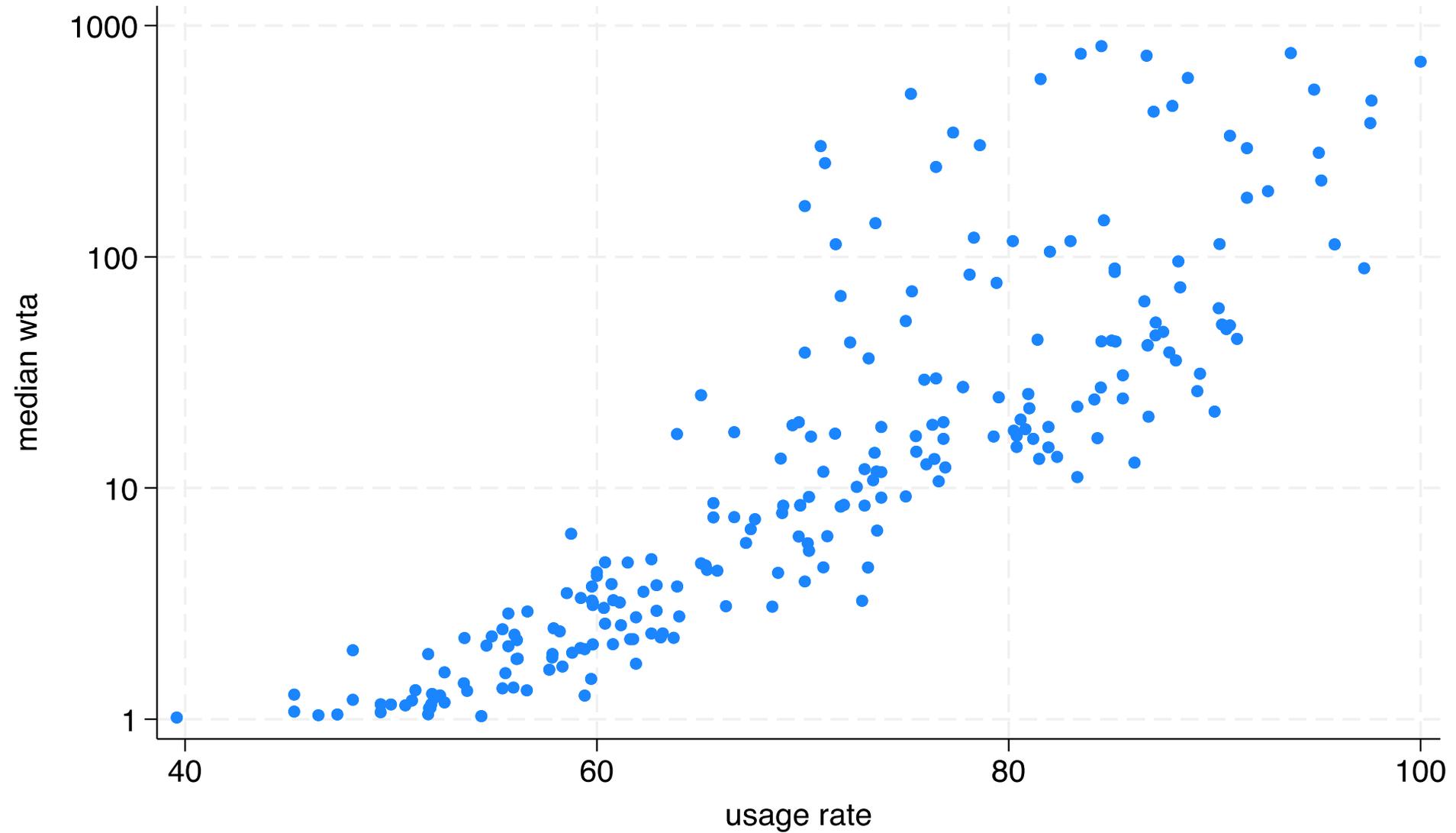
3. GDP-B: 2025 Results

Usage rates range from 10% to 100%

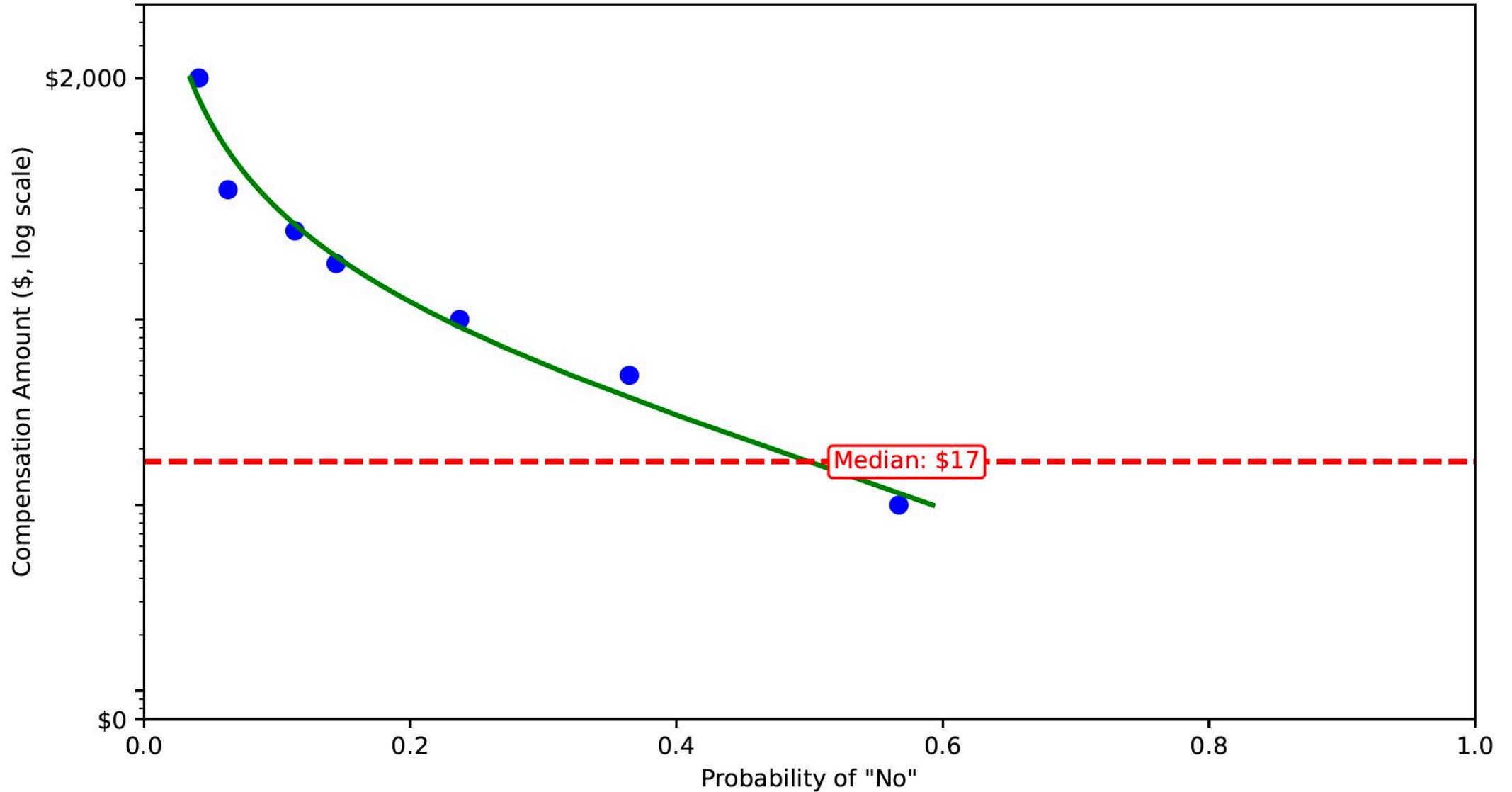
- Average usage rate is 44%, ranging from 10% (rental clothes) to 100% (fridge).
- High usage rates (80% or more) observed for one third of items.
- Low usage rates (30% or less) observed for 17% of items.



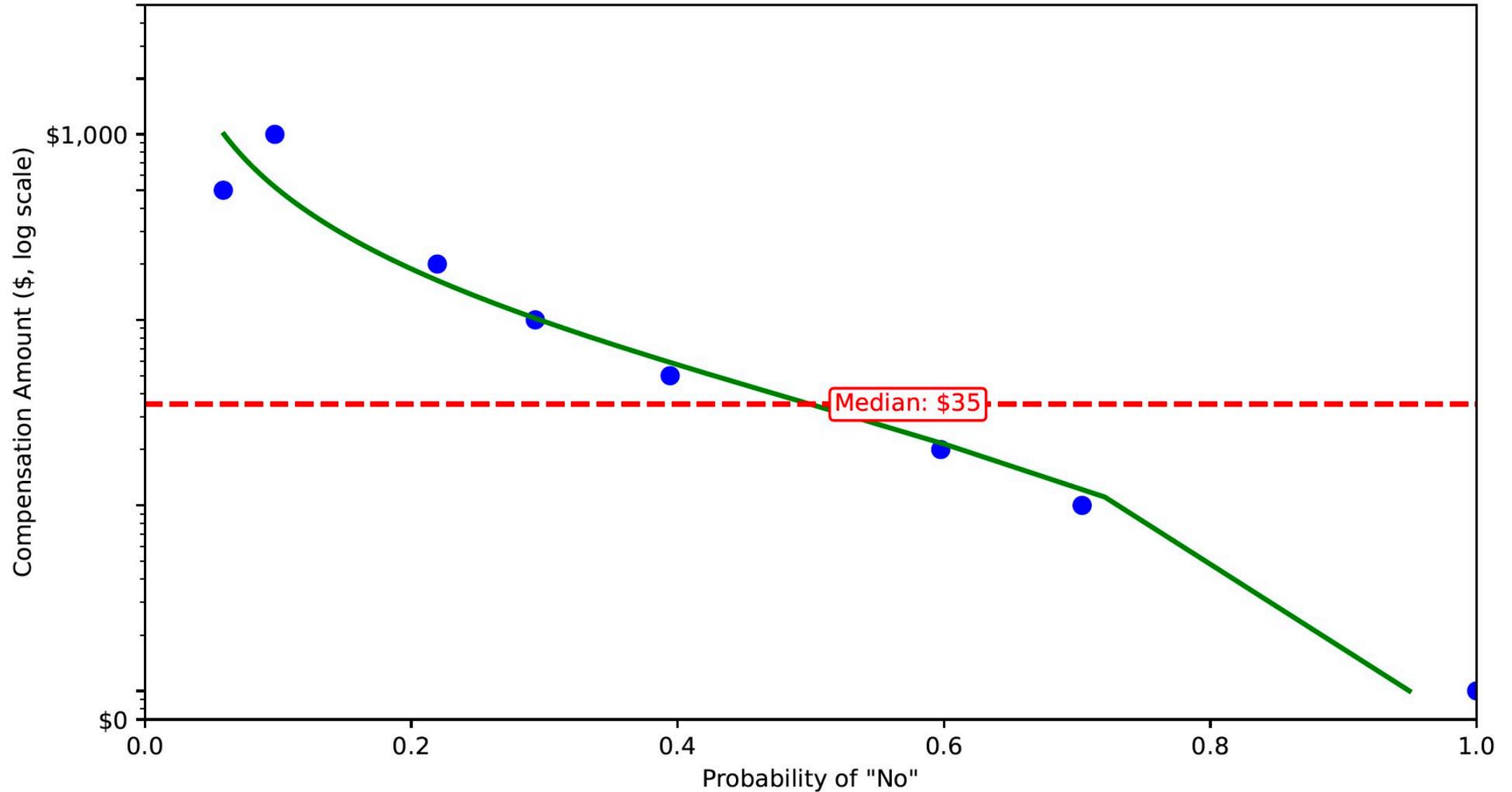
Usage correlated with WTA



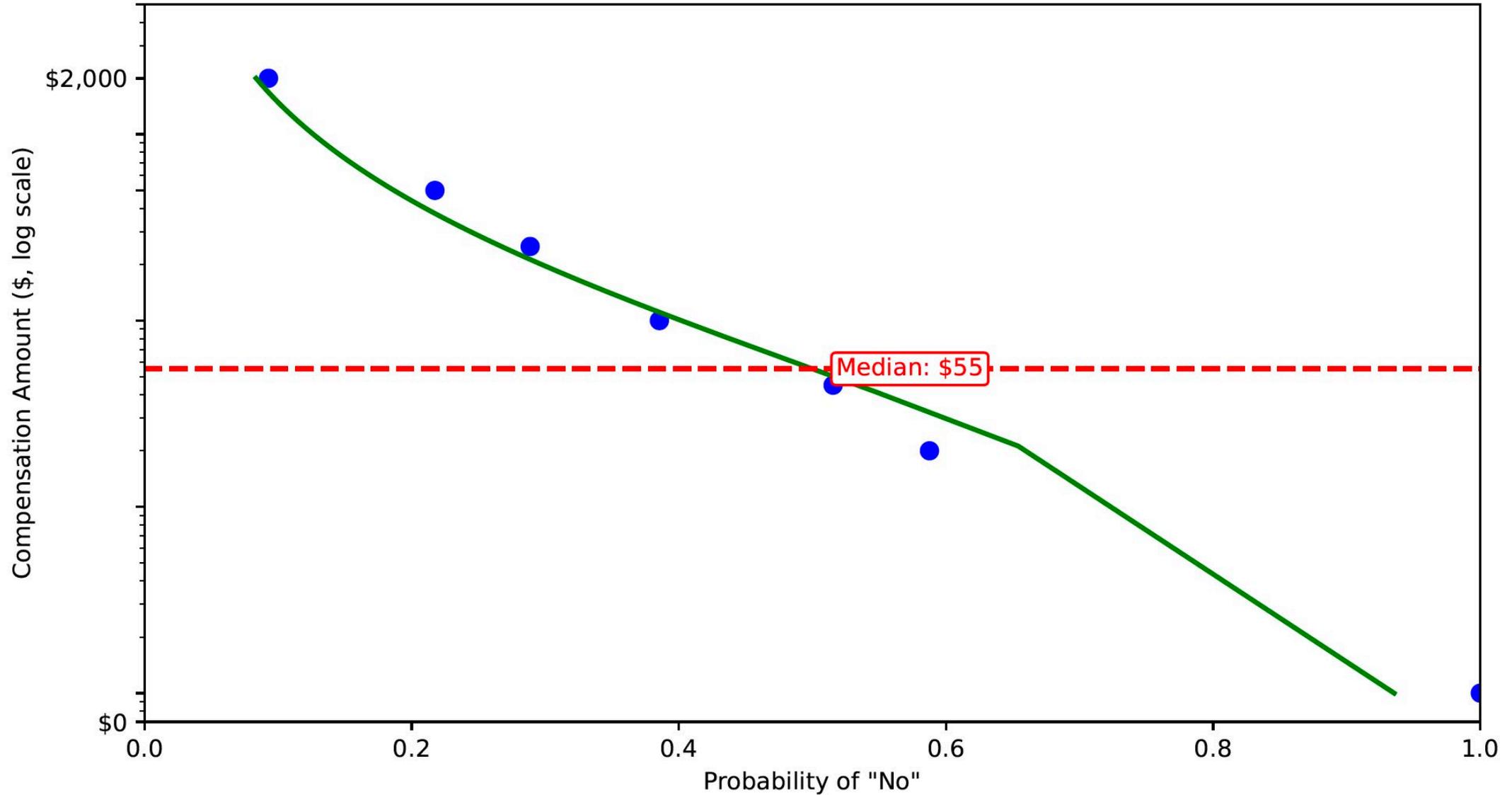
Traditional item example: Beef



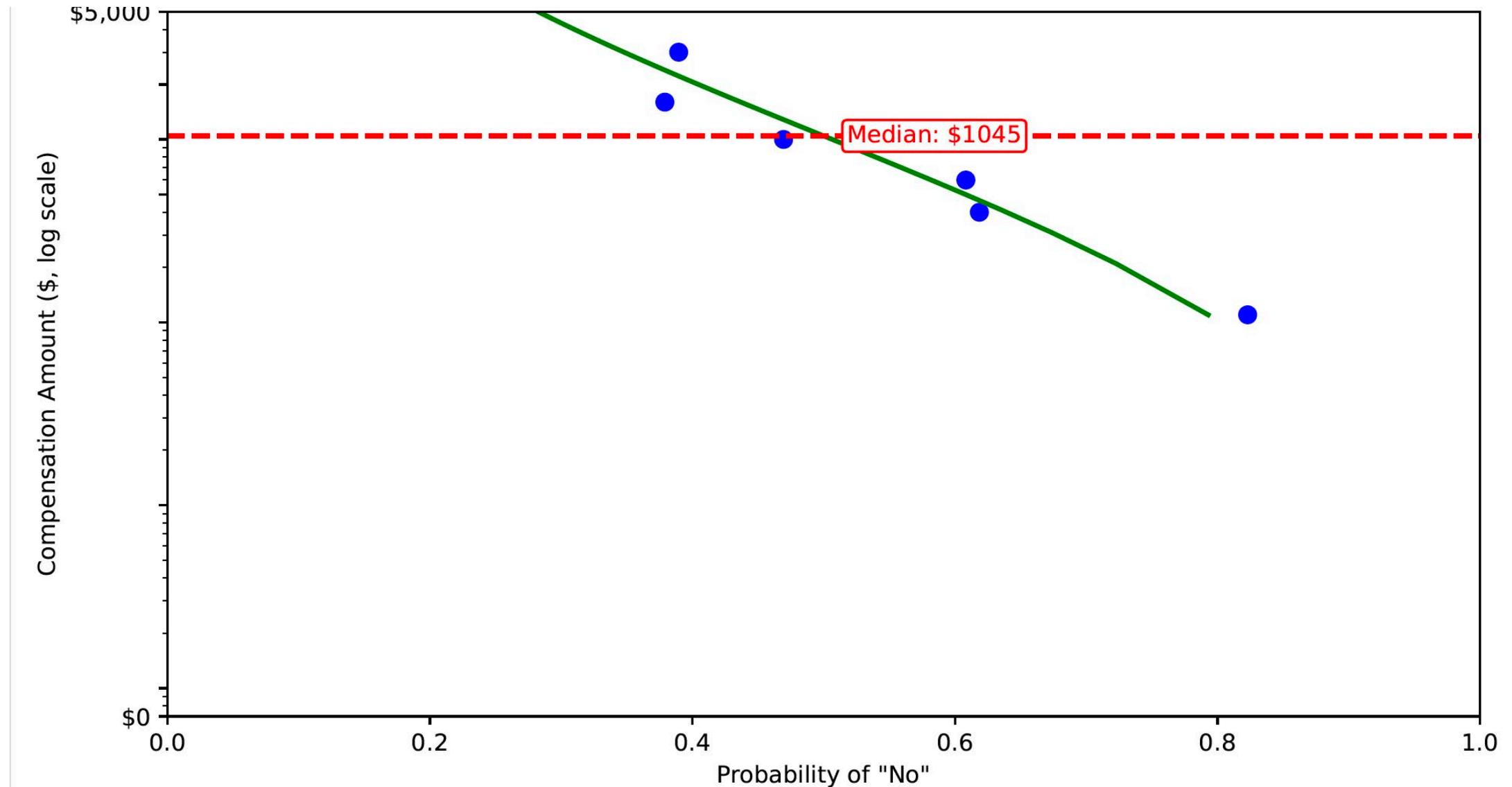
Digital item example: Google Chrome



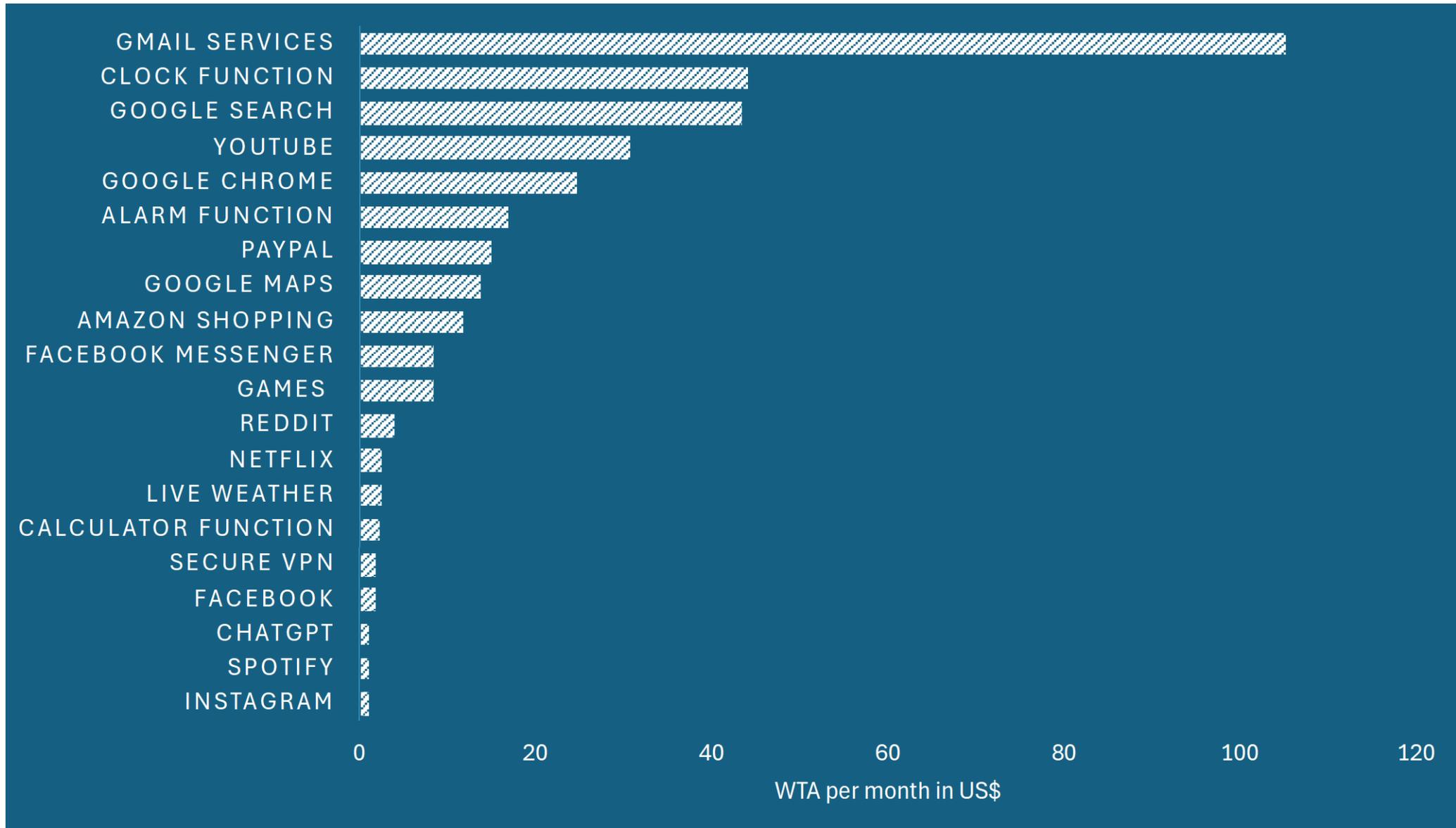
Seasonal item example: Air conditioning



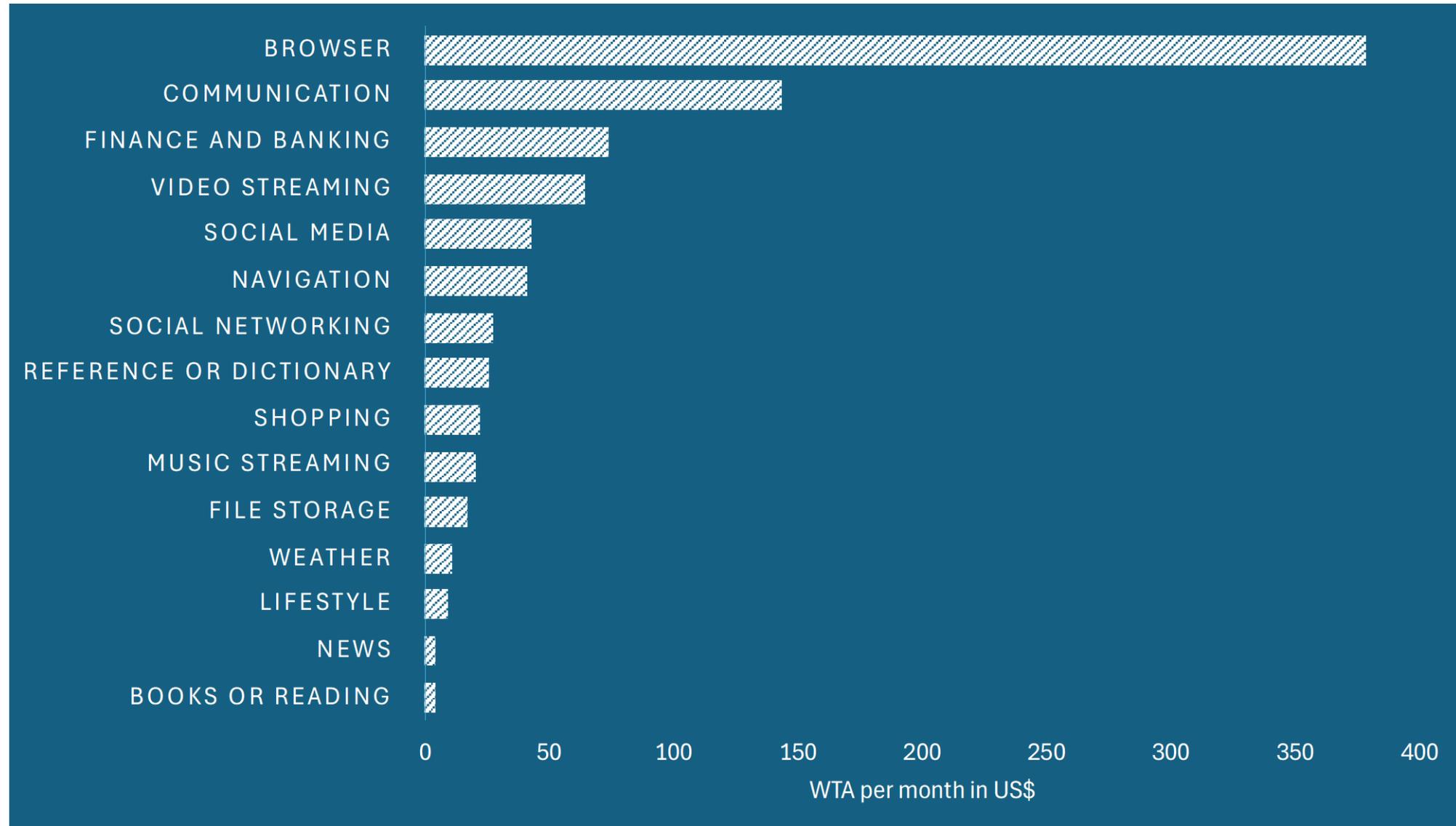
Durable item example: vehicles



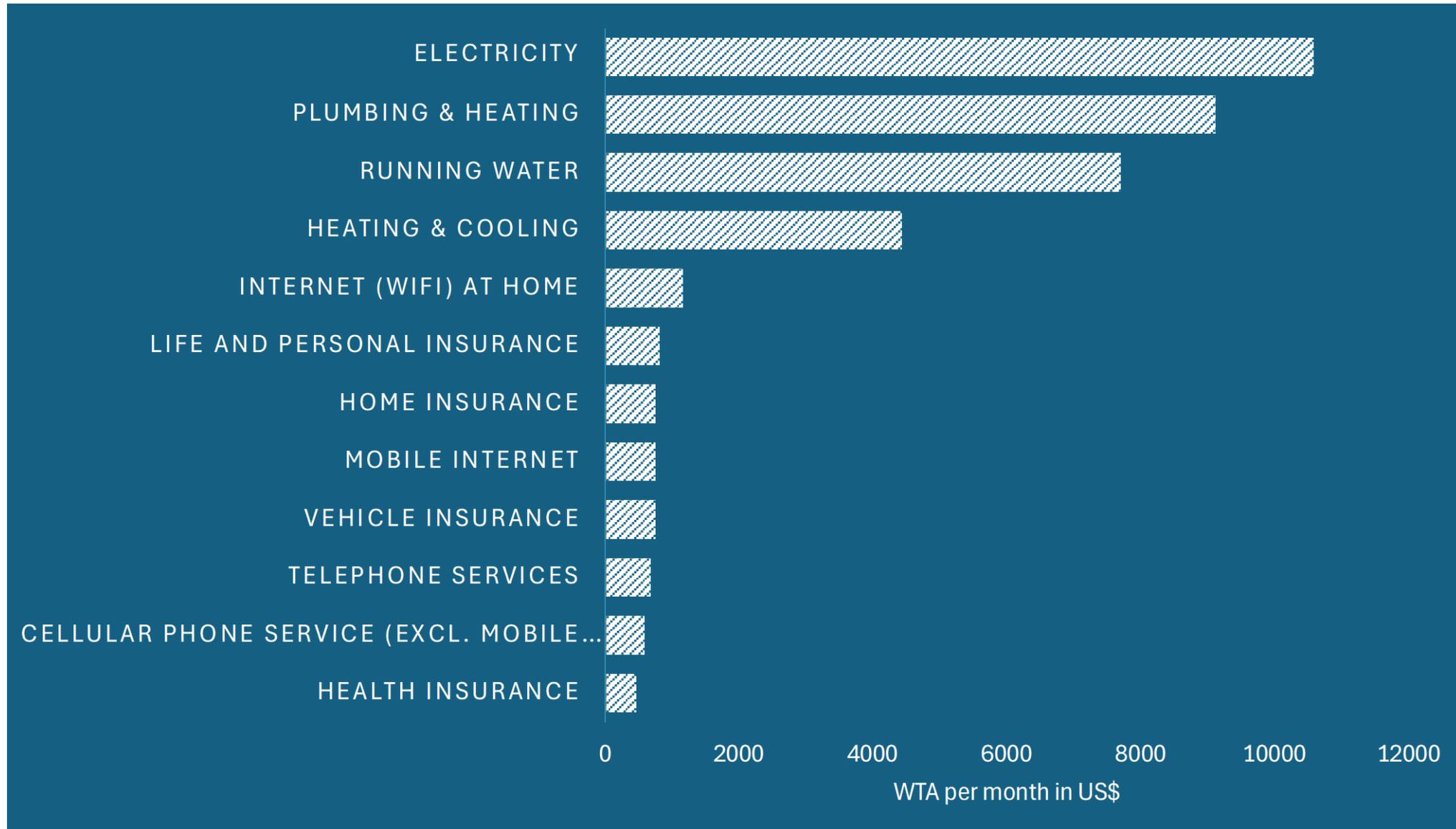
GDP-B: Digital items



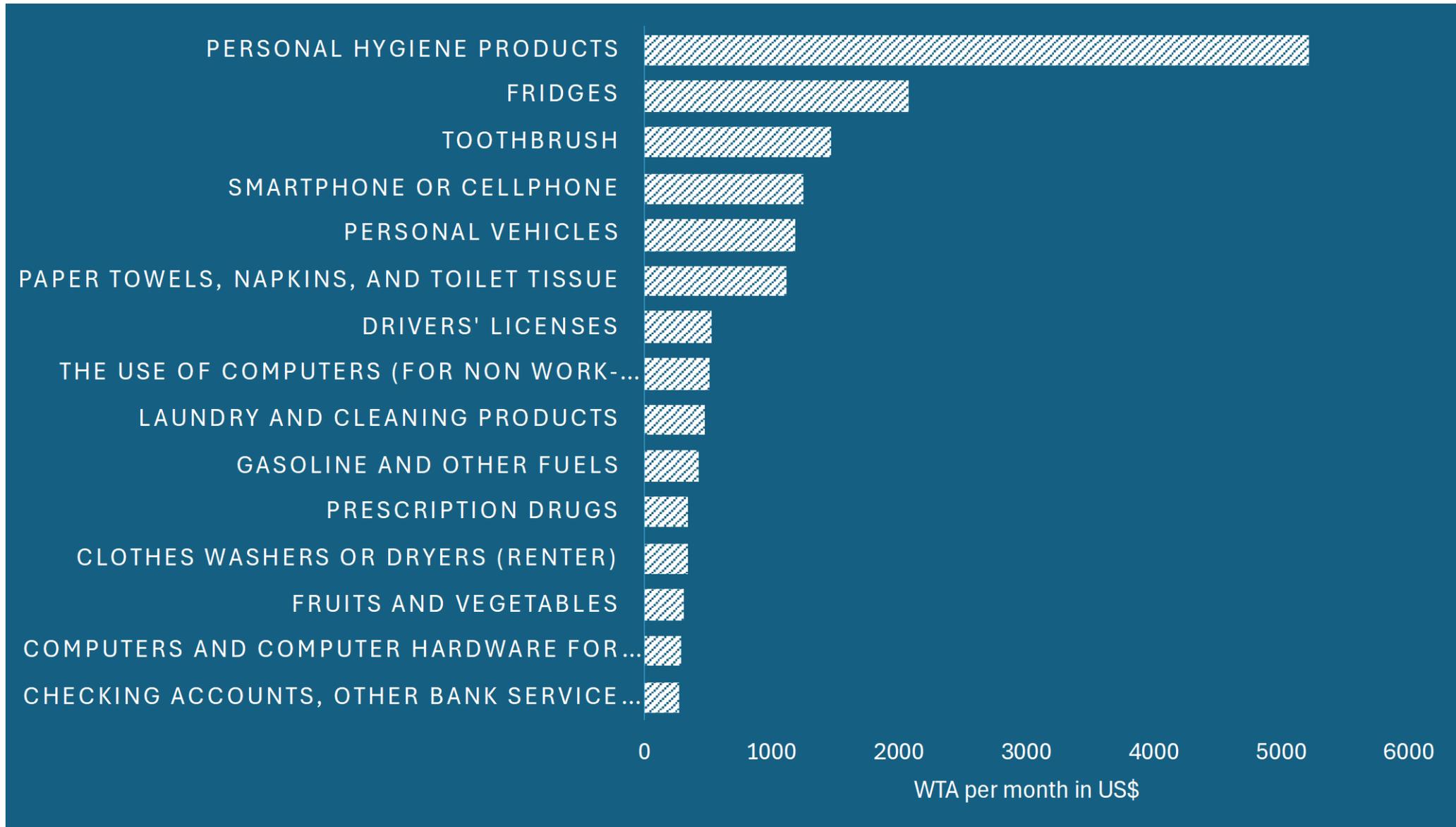
GDP-B: Digital categories



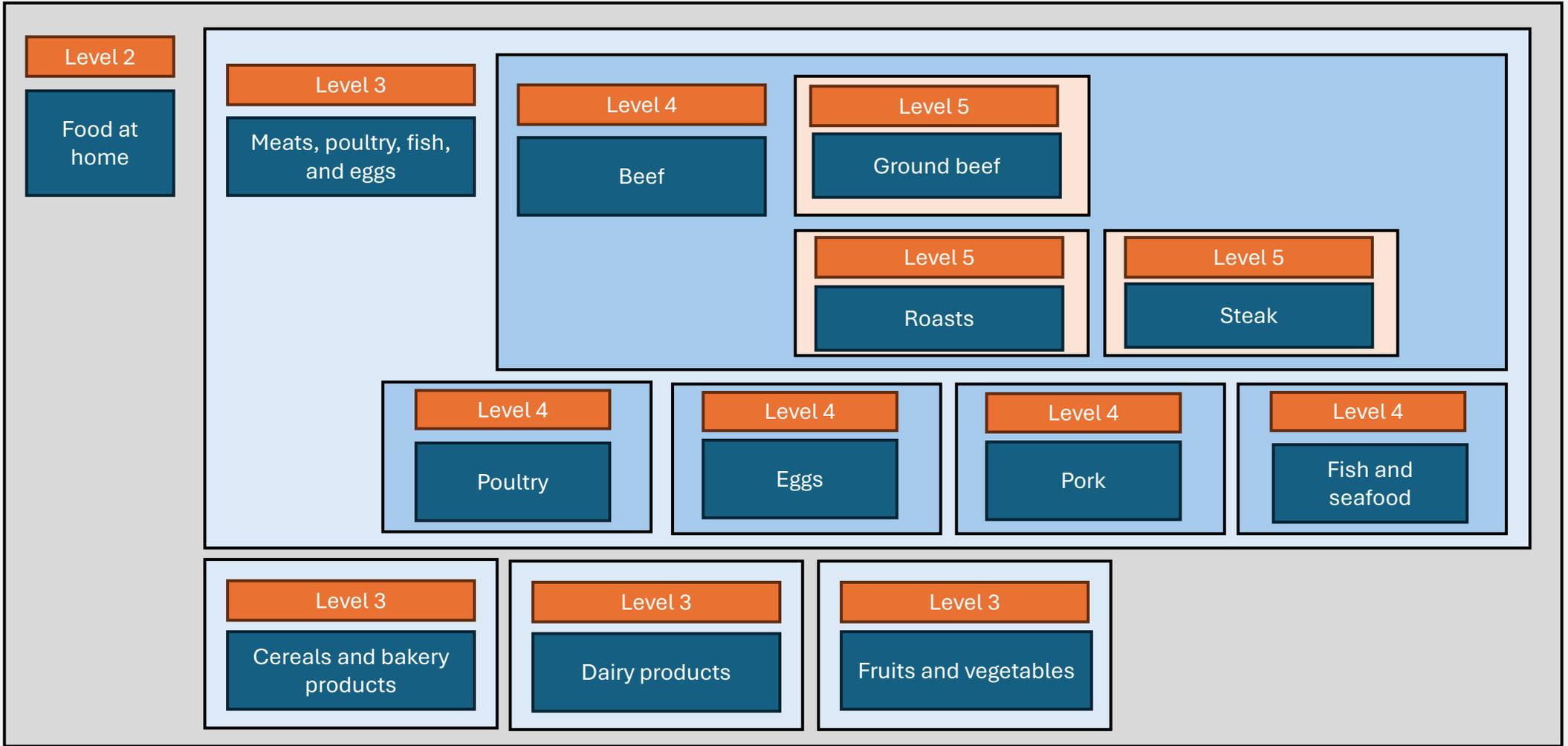
GDP-B: Basic utilities and insurance items



GDP-B: Other traditional items



4. Aggregation problem



Meats, poultry, fish, and eggs

\$179.9
\$38.8 4.6

\$16.8

Beef

1.6

\$10.3

\$2.2

Pork

0.3

\$7.2

\$22.1

Poultry

3.1

\$7.1

\$3.3

Fish and
seafood

0.6

\$6.1

\$14.4

Eggs

4.4

\$3.3

\$4.3

Other meats

0.9

\$5.0

\$63.1
\$38.8

1.6

\$8.3

Ground beef

2.1

\$4.7

\$1.2

Roasts

0.9

\$1.3

\$1.2

Steak

0.4

\$3.0

Other beef

\$0.9

Bacon,
breakfast
sausage, and...

0.3

\$2.6

\$0.3

Pork chops

0.3

\$1.2

\$0.8

Ham

0.7

\$1.2

Other pork

\$21.4

Chicken

4.0

\$5.3

Other
poultry

\$1.7

Fresh fish
and shellfish

0.5

\$3.5

\$0.9

Processed
fish and
seafood

0.3

\$2.6

\$0.1

Frankfurters

0.07

\$1.4

\$3.5

Lunchmeats

1.2

\$2.9

\$0.3

Lamb, organ
meat, and
game

0.75

\$0.4

\$40.6
\$30.1 1.3

Total surplus from traditional items

- Anywhere between **infinity** and **almost zero**?
 - CS from not being able to spend or do anything
 - CS from this apple versus that apple
- 135 million consumer units in the US in 2023.
 - Average income (after tax): \$7,300 / month
 - Average spending: \$6,450 / month
 - Average surplus: \$???

Total surplus from traditional items

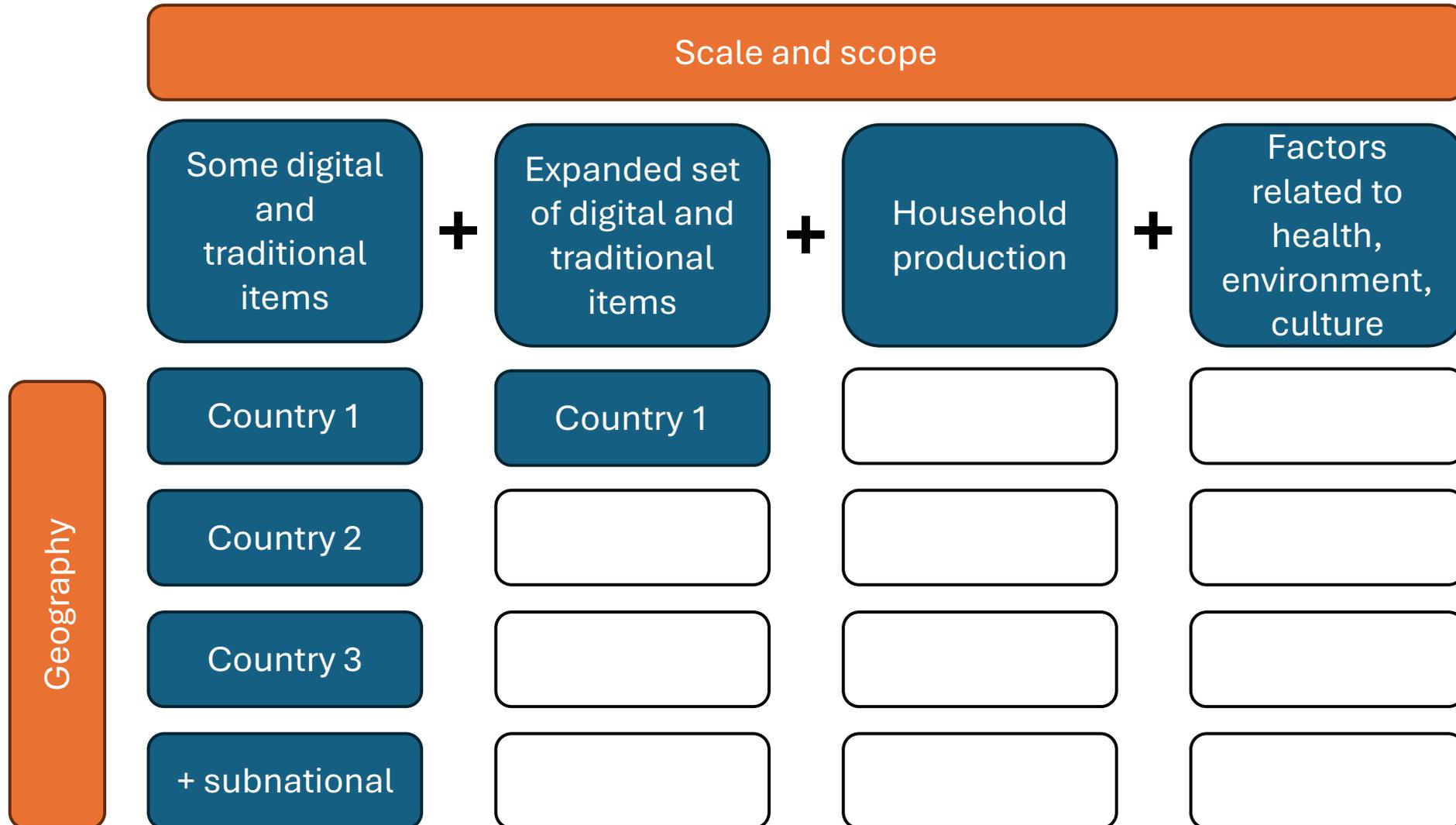
Category	Surplus	Expenditure	Ratio
Housing	44,694	2,120	21.1
Personal care products and services	6,857	79	86.6
Transportation	3,498	1,098	3.2
Healthcare	2,243	513	4.4
Food	1,904	832	2.3
Personal insurance and pensions	814	796	1.0
Entertainment	474	303	1.6
Miscellaneous	379	99	3.8
Apparel and services	217	170	1.3
Reading	65	10	6.6
Education	34	138	0.2
Alcoholic beverages	3	53	0.1
Cash contributions	2	198	0.0
Tobacco products and smoking supplies	0	31	0.0

GDP-B for the digital economy

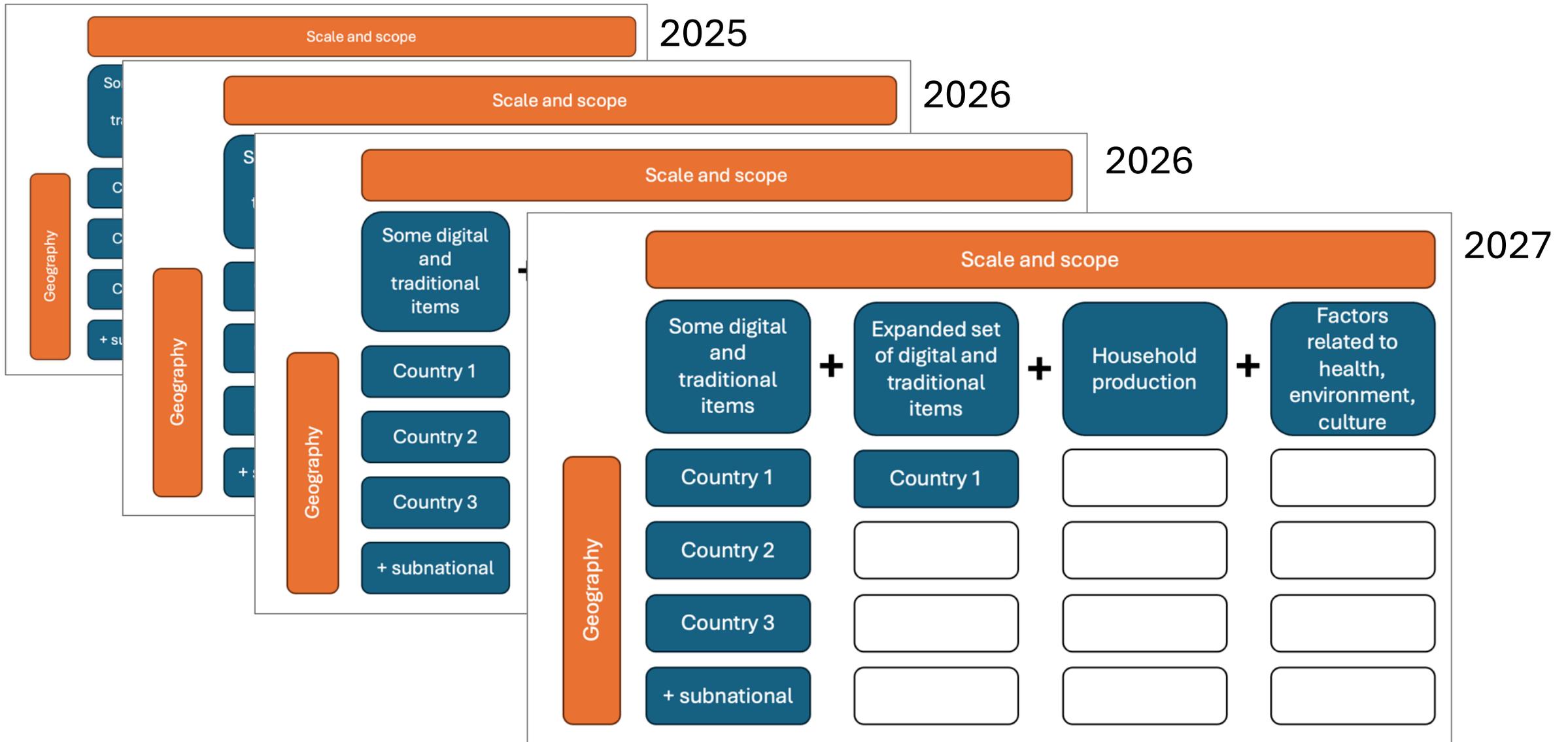
- The surplus from all 24 digital categories adds up to **\$900 per month**, around **18% of average monthly income** in the US.
 - Accounts for substitutability within categories (e.g. Google v Apple Maps) but not across categories (e.g. Social media v news).
 - Upper bound: smartphone **\$1,245** + computer **\$506**
- Not all digital items are free (Netflix, Spotify, ChatGPT), so **GDP-B measures surplus on top of savings**.
 - For example, surplus from video and audio streaming is \$166, needs to be added to the \$31 the average person spends on these per month.
 - Google Maps is free so it's 100% surplus.

5. Next steps for GDP-B

GDP-B next steps: Expanding geography and scale and scope of basket



GDP-B next steps: Expanding geography and scale and scope of basket



Next steps for GDP-B

1. Producing and **publishing regular GDP-B numbers**. We aim to match the official quarterly GDP release schedule.
2. **Expanding the number of items** (traditional, digital) + **quality of life factors** health, environmental assets, household production, culture and social connection.
3. **Exploit variation across groups and geography**. Quantify types of survey biases.
4. **Augment surveys with LLM agents** from complementary projects at the lab. This should enhance efficiency, speed, and lower costs of surveying.
 - Sophia Kazinnik presenting more on this tomorrow, Thursday, in Contributed session K: New methods/data

Where to find more

- Brynjolfsson, Erik, Avinash Collis, and Felix Eggers. "**Using massive online choice experiments to measure changes in well-being**". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116.15: 7250-7255, 2019.
- Brynjolfsson, Erik, Avinash Collis, W. Erwin Diewert, Felix Eggers, and Kevin J. Fox. "**GDP-B: Accounting for the value of new and free goods in the digital economy**". Forthcoming in *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*.
- Brynjolfsson, Erik, et al. "**The digital welfare of nations: New measures of welfare gains and inequality**". NBER Working Paper No. w31670, 2025.
- Brynjolfsson, Erik, Avinash Collis, Sophia Kazinnik, David Nguyen. "**Measuring Consumer Surplus at Scale**". Working Paper, 2025.
- Brynjolfsson, Erik, Sophia Kazinnik, José Ramón Enríquez, and David Nguyen. "**Augmenting Human Survey Responses with Generative AI: An Application to Economic Research**". Working Paper, 2025.
- Brynjolfsson, Erik, Avinash Collis, and Felix Eggers. "**LLM Time Machines: Valuing digital goods over time**". Working Paper, 2025

Stanford team behind GDP-B

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Additional slides

