Augmented Intelligence: Effects of AI on Productivity and Work Practices

Erik Brynjolfsson¹ and Lindsey Raymond²

¹Stanford University

 ^{2}MIT

ASSAs January 2022

(ロ) (四) (E) (E) (E) (E)

 Knowledge is an essential input into production (Gibbons and Henderson, 2012)

- Knowledge is an essential input into production (Gibbons and Henderson, 2012)
- This knowledge is often embedded in people and difficult to articulate or transfer (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Garicano, 2000)

- Knowledge is an essential input into production (Gibbons and Henderson, 2012)
- This knowledge is often embedded in people and difficult to articulate or transfer (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Garicano, 2000)
- Organizations and hierarchies exist to balance the costs of knowledge acquisition and communication

- Knowledge is an essential input into production (Gibbons and Henderson, 2012)
- This knowledge is often embedded in people and difficult to articulate or transfer (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Garicano, 2000)
- Organizations and hierarchies exist to balance the costs of knowledge acquisition and communication
- Machine learning, a branch of artificial intelligence, has made progress in codification of tacit knowledge
 - ML-driven AI learns by example not by instruction (Brynjolfsson and Mitchell, 2017; Agrawal, Gans and Goldfarb, 2019)

- Knowledge is an essential input into production (Gibbons and Henderson, 2012)
- This knowledge is often embedded in people and difficult to articulate or transfer (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Garicano, 2000)
- Organizations and hierarchies exist to balance the costs of knowledge acquisition and communication
- Machine learning, a branch of artificial intelligence, has made progress in codification of tacit knowledge
 - ML-driven AI learns by example not by instruction (Brynjolfsson and Mitchell, 2017; Agrawal, Gans and Goldfarb, 2019)

- Knowledge is an essential input into production (Gibbons and Henderson, 2012)
- This knowledge is often embedded in people and difficult to articulate or transfer (Jensen and Meckling, 1976; Garicano, 2000)
- Organizations and hierarchies exist to balance the costs of knowledge acquisition and communication
- Machine learning, a branch of artificial intelligence, has made progress in codification of tacit knowledge
 - ML-driven AI learns by example not by instruction (Brynjolfsson and Mitchell, 2017; Agrawal, Gans and Goldfarb, 2019)

This paper: How does progress in ability of machines to codify knowledge affect productivity, production and organization?

This paper

- Research Question: How does AI affect knowledge diffusion and organization of production?
- Setting: Fortune 500 enterprise software tech support
- Technology: Conversational intelligence decision support software or "intelligence augmentation" that augments workers by offering suggestions
- Study Design: Experiment + Staggered deployment
- Data: 4 million conversations, 3,000 agents, 140 teams, 5 firms and 7 countries
- Outcomes: Conversation, agent, team and organization level

1. Al increases efficiency and productivity

Tool increases efficiency by decreasing average chat duration by 5 to 10 percent and increasing productivity or issue resolution rate/customer satisfaction by 6 to 8 percent

1. Al increases efficiency and productivity

- Tool increases efficiency by decreasing average chat duration by 5 to 10 percent and increasing productivity or issue resolution rate/customer satisfaction by 6 to 8 percent
- 2. Less skilled workers disproportionately benefit
 - Less skilled workers increase productivity by 11 to 13 percent and efficiency by 6 percent relative to higher skill workers

1. Al increases efficiency and productivity

- Tool increases efficiency by decreasing average chat duration by 5 to 10 percent and increasing productivity or issue resolution rate/customer satisfaction by 6 to 8 percent
- 2. Less skilled workers disproportionately benefit
 - Less skilled workers increase productivity by 11 to 13 percent and efficiency by 6 percent relative to higher skill workers
- 3. Driven by codification of tacit knowledge
 - Chat text-based evidence of tacit knowledge

1. Al increases efficiency and productivity

- Tool increases efficiency by decreasing average chat duration by 5 to 10 percent and increasing productivity or issue resolution rate/customer satisfaction by 6 to 8 percent
- 2. Less skilled workers disproportionately benefit
 - Less skilled workers increase productivity by 11 to 13 percent and efficiency by 6 percent relative to higher skill workers
- 3. Driven by codification of tacit knowledge
 - Chat text-based evidence of tacit knowledge
- 4. Organization level changes in agent specialization and managerial span of control
 - Increases in the breadth of technical support issues handled by each worker and the managerial span of control

Roadmap

1. Setting and Data

- A. Call Centers and Conversational Intelligence
- B. Augmentation versus Automation
- C. Data and Study Design
- 2. Theory
 - A. A Simple Model of Hierarchical Decision Making

3. Results

- A. Overall Effects of AI on Productivity
- B. Distributional Effects
- C. Mechanism
- D. Organization Level Impacts
- E. Chat Level Effects

<ロ> <回> <回> <回> < 回> < 回> < 三</p>

Setting

Our firm

- Fortune 500 enterprise software firm ("SoftwareCo")
- Chat based technical support

Setting

Our firm

- Fortune 500 enterprise software firm ("SoftwareCo")
- Chat based technical support

Job Characteristics

- Requires customer service, problem solving skills and product and process knowledge
- Average chat is 48 minutes long summary stats
- On-the-job training from manager

Conversational AI

Early Adoption of AI in Call Centers

- Customer service is one of the top two use cases for AI (McKinsey, 2020)
- Augmentation (decision support) rather than automation (Canam Research, 2020)

Conversational AI

- ► AI learns from all current and historical agent-customer interactions
- Customer-agent interactions create the training data set for semi-supervised learning
- Al system makes suggestions to agents

Al offers real-time suggestions on what to say



э

Al offers real-time suggestions on problem and solution



Small number of common problems with a long tail



<ロ><回><週><目><目><目><目><目><目><目><000 10

Three model predictions

- 1. Less skilled agents follow AI suggestions more than higher skilled agents
 - Higher skill agents already have tacit knowledge and don't need assistance while less skilled agents need help

Three model predictions

- 1. Less skilled agents follow AI suggestions more than higher skilled agents
 - Higher skill agents already have tacit knowledge and don't need assistance while less skilled agents need help
- 2. Convergence in productivity levels
 - Lower skill agents improve more than higher skilled workers

Three model predictions

- 1. Less skilled agents follow AI suggestions more than higher skilled agents
 - Higher skill agents already have tacit knowledge and don't need assistance while less skilled agents need help
- 2. Convergence in productivity levels
 - Lower skill agents improve more than higher skilled workers
- 3. Larger effects where diffusion of tacit information is slower
 - Tacit knowledge more likely to diffuse more slowly across;
 - Firm boundaries
 - Cultural boundaries
 - Larger teams

Experiment

- Seven week randomized control trial
- 50 agents across treatment and control
- Treatment group matched to control on issue resolution rates and chat duration

| Group | Baseline Issue Resolution Rate | Baseline Average Chat Duration |
|------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Treatment | 84.5 | 43.2 |
| Control | 83.8 | 42.7 |
| Difference | 0.65 | 1.63 |

Experiment

At end of the RCT, treatment group had two times the increase in issue resolution rates and drop in average call duration

| Group | Change in Issue Resolution Rate | Change in Chat Duration |
|-----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Treatment | 3.26 percentage points | -7.15 minutes |
| Control | 1.90 percentage points | -4.87 minutes |

・ロト ・ 回 ト ・ ヨト ・ ヨト ・ ヨ

Staggered adoption



Performance effects of AI deployment

 $Y_{i,t,e} = \alpha_{i,e} + \gamma_{t,e} + \beta_1 (\textit{Treated}_{i,e} \textit{xPostDeployment}_{t,e}) + \epsilon_{i,t,e}$

| | (1) Average Call Duration | (2) Std Dev. Call Duration | (3) Issue Resolution Rate | (4) Customer Satisfaction |
|--|---|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ${\sf Treated} {\sf xPostDeployment}$ | - <mark>0.049***</mark> (0.002) | -0.012*** (0.002) | | |
| Time FE Unit FE Observations Pre Mean | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 1,153,458 48 | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 1,110,679 40 | | |

Performance effects of AI deployment

 $Y_{i,t,e} = \alpha_{i,e} + \gamma_{t,e} + \beta_1 (\textit{Treated}_{i,e} \textit{xPostDeployment}_{t,e}) + \epsilon_{i,t,e}$

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Average Call Duration | Std Dev. Call Duration | Issue Resolution Rate | Customer Satisfaction |
| TreatedxPostDeployment | - <mark>0.049***</mark> | -0.012*** | 0.062*** | 0.075*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.014) | (0.017) |
| Time FE | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment |
| Unit FE | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment |
| Observations | 1,153,458 | 1,110,679 | 57,891 | 58,981 |
| Pre Mean | 48 | 40 | 80 | 60 |

Change in outcome after deployment for treated agents;

- 1. 5% drop in average call duration
- 2. 1% decrease in standard deviation of call duration
- 3. 6% increase in issue resolution rate
- 4. 8% increase in customer satisfaction

Stacked event study of AI deployment on call duration

$$Y_{i,t,e} = \alpha_{i,e} + \sum_{\tau} D_{t,e}^{\tau} + \sum_{\tau} \beta_{\tau} (\mathit{Treated}_{i,e} \mathsf{x} D_{t,e}^{\tau}) + \epsilon_{i,t,e}$$



Stacked event study of AI deployment on issue resolution rate

$$Y_{i,t,e} = \alpha_{i,e} + \sum_{\tau} D_{t,e}^{\tau} + \sum_{\tau} \beta_{\tau} (Treated_{i,e} \times D_{t,e}^{\tau}) + \epsilon_{i,t,e}$$

<ロ> < (回) < (回) < (回) < (回) < (回) < (回) < ((u) < (u)) < ((u)) < (

Lower ability agents benefit the most

Low skill agents follow AI recommendations 20% more than high skill ability workers

| | (1) Average Call Duration | (2) Std Dev. Call Duration | (3) Call Resolution Rate | (4) Customer Satisfaction |
|--|---|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Post Deployment × Low | - <mark>0.055</mark> *** (0.005) | -0.049*** (0.006) | | |
| Time FE Unit FE Observations Pre Mean | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 570,166 48 | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 559,449 40 | | |

Lower ability agents benefit the most

Low skill agents follow AI recommendations 20% more than high skill ability workers

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Average Call Duration | Std Dev. Call Duration | Call Resolution Rate | Customer Satisfaction |
| Post Deployment × Low | - <mark>0.055</mark> *** | -0.049*** | <mark>0.127</mark> *** | 0.109*** |
| | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.010) | (0.013) |
| Time FE | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment |
| Unit FE | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment |
| Observations | 570,166 | 559,449 | 35,332 | 34,580 |
| Pre Mean | 48 | 40 | 80 | 60 |

Change in outcome after deployment for lower skill agents relative to high ability agents;

- 1. 6% greater drop in average call duration
- 2. 5% greater decrease in consistency of call duration
- 3. 11% greater increase in issue resolution rate
- 4. 13% greater increase in customer satisfaction

▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ □ ● ● ●

Codification of previously tacit knowledge

Previously agents learned from experience and coaching

- How to ask diagnostic questions
- Symptoms of common technical problems
- Mapping of customer description to technical problem

Codification of previously tacit knowledge

Previously agents learned from experience and coaching

- How to ask diagnostic questions
- Symptoms of common technical problems
- Mapping of customer description to technical problem

Al can learn from historical interactions without requiring each individual agent to learn from experience

◆□ > ◆□ > ◆三 > ◆三 > ・三 ・ のへで

Usage of knowledge base articles

| | (2) | (3) | |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Technical Documents | Technical Documents | Technical Documents |
| AlxOutsourced | 2.403*** (0.071) | | |
| AlxLarge Team | | | |
| AlxIndia+Phil | | | |
| Time FE | MonthxExperiment | | |
| Unit FE | AgentxExperiment | | |
| Observations | 89,108 | | |
| Pre Mean | 12 | | |

Usage of knowledge base articles

| | (2) | (3) | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | Technical Documents | Technical Documents | Technical Documents |
| AlxOutsourced | 2.403*** (0.071) | | |
| Al×Large Team | | 0.386*** (0.038) | |
| Al×India+Phil | | | 0.628*** (0.058) |
| Time FE Unit FE Observations Pre Mean | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 89,108 12 | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 74,296 12 | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 89,108 12 |

Codification of tacit knowledge and problem solving rates

| | (1) Issue Resolution Rate | (2) Issue Resolution Rate | (3) Issue Resolution Rate |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| AlxOutsourced | 0.129** (0.052) | | |
| AlxLarge Team | | | |
| $AI \times India + Phil$ | | | |
| Time FE | MonthxExperiment | | |
| Unit FE | AgentxExperiment | | |
| Observations | 57,891 | | |
| Pre Mean | 80 | | |

Codification of tacit knowledge and problem solving rates

| | (1) Issue Resolution Rate | (2) Issue Resolution Rate | (3) Issue Resolution Rate |
|--|--|--|--|
| AlxOutsourced | 0.129** (0.052) | | |
| Al×Large Team | | 0.061*** (0.019) | |
| AlxIndia+Phil | | | 0.032* (0.018) |
| Time FE Unit FE Observations Pre Mean | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 57,891 80 | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 57,891 80 | MonthxExperiment AgentxExperiment 55,395 80 |

Larger teams, less specialization

| (1) | (2) |
|------------------|---|
| Team Size | Skill Breadth |
| 0.068*** | |
| (0.005) | |
| | |
| | |
| MonthxExperiment | |
| TeamxExperiment | |
| 3,042 | |
| 20 | |
| | (1) Team Size 0.068*** (0.005) MonthxExperiment TeamxExperiment 3,042 20 |

Larger teams, less specialization

| (1) | (2) |
|------------------|---|
| Team Size | Skill Breadth |
| 0.068*** | |
| (0.005) | |
| | 0.073** |
| | (0.031) |
| MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment |
| TeamxExperiment | AgentxExperiment |
| 3,042 | 85,300 |
| 20 | 4 |
| | (1) Team Size 0.068*** (0.005) MonthxExperiment TeamxExperiment 3,042 20 |

Summary of Main Results

- AI has potential to change nature and organization of work in ways that may affect all workers whether or not directly interacting with AI
 - $1. \ \mbox{Al}$ can increase efficiency and productivity
 - 2. Less skilled workers disproportionately benefit
 - 3. Tacit knowledge codification
 - 4. Reduces specialization, increased managerial span of control
- Distinct types of AI will have different effects
 - On individuals: augmentation versus automation
 - On organizations: natural of specialization and span of control

イロン 不得 とうほう イロン しゅ

Open Questions

- Implications for the theory of the firm (e.g. Garicano, 2000)
- Implications for the labor market (e.g. skill biased technological change)
- Implications for organizations (e.g. Sah and Stiglitz, 1986)

Appendix

◆□ → ◆□ → ▲目 → ▲目 → ▲□ →

Stacked Differences in Differences

Stacked differences in differences are robust to biases from negative weighting and heterogeneous treatment effects across groups or over time (Cengiz et al., (2019); Baker et al., (2021); Deshpande and Li, 2019)

$$Y_{i,t,e} = \alpha_{i,e} + \gamma_{t,e} + \beta_1(T_{i,e} \times P_{t,e}) + \epsilon_{i,t,e}$$

- Y_{i,t,e} is the outcome for agent i at time t in sub-experiment e where each sub-experiment is a individual deployment
- $\alpha_{i,e}$ are agent by sub-experiment fixed effects
- $\gamma_{t,e}$ are time by sub-experiment fixed effects
- *T_{i,e}* are the treatment agents in each sub-experiment
- \triangleright $P_{t,e}$ is a dummy for when AI is deployed in sub-experiment e
- Standard errors are clustered at the sub-experiment by agent level

Stacked Event Study

Stacked event studies are robust to biases from negative weighting and heterogeneous treatment effects (Cengiz et al., (2019); Baker et al., (2021); Deshpande and Li, 2019)

$$Y_{i,t,e} = \alpha_{i,e} + \sum_{\tau} D_{t,e}^{\tau} + \sum_{\tau} \beta_{\tau} (T_{i,e} \times D_{t,e}^{\tau}) + \epsilon_{i,t,e}$$

- Y_{i,t,e} is the outcome for agent i at time t in sub-experiment e where each sub-experiment is a individual deployment
- $\alpha_{i,e}$ are agent by sub-experiment fixed effects
- ► *T_{i,e}* are the treatment agents in each sub-experiment
- ► $D_{t,e}^{\tau}$ are dummies equal to one if an agent is τ periods away from time of treatment in sub-experiment *e*
- Standard errors are clustered at the sub-experiment by agent level

Main Effects Regressions

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Average Call Duration | Std Dev. Call Duration | Issue Resolution Rate | Customer Satisfaction |
| AI Deployment | -0.049*** | -0.012*** | 0.062*** | 0.075*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.014) | (0.017) |
| Time FE | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment |
| Unit FE | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | Agent×E×periment |
| Observations | 1,153,458 | 1,110,679 | 57,891 | 58,981 |
| Pre Mean | 48 | 40 | 80 | 60 |

Table: AI Deployment on Outcomes

NOTES: This table shows regressions on logged measures of agent performance after Al deployment. Each stacked regression controls for sub-experiment by agent level and sub-experiment by month fixed effects and standard errors are clustered at the agent by sub-experiment level. Standard errors are in the parentheses. Sample includes January 2020 to June of 2021 and all data come from the firm production records. An agent is counted as deployed when trained on the Al tool and agent starts receiving Al output. Standard errors are in the parentheses. The coefficient on "Al Deployment" is the log point change in the outcome after Al deployment.

figure

Results by Agent Skill

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| | Customer Satisfaction | Call Resolution Rate | Average Call Duration | Std Dev. Call Duration |
| Post Deployment x Low | 0.109*** | 0.127*** | -0.055*** | -0.049*** |
| | (0.013) | (0.010) | (0.005) | (0.006) |
| Time FE | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment | MonthxExperiment |
| Unit FE | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment | AgentxExperiment |
| Observations | 35,332 | 34,580 | 570,166 | 559,449 |
| Pre Mean | 4 | 4 | 48 | 40 |

Table: Effects by Ex-Ante Agent Skill

NOTES: This table shows regressions on logged measures of agent performance after AI deployment. Each stacked regression controls for sub-experiment by agent level and sub-experiment by month fixed effects and standard errors are clustered at the agent by sub-experiment level. Standard errors are in the parentheses. Sample includes January 2020 to June of 2021 and all data come from the firm production records. An agent is counted as deployed when trained on the AI tool and agent starts receiving AI output. The coefficient on "AI Deployment" is the log point change in the outcome after AI deployment for low skill agents who are ranked below average within their company in the past two months prior to AI deployment relative to above average agents.



Sample Summary Statistics

| Variable | All | Control Agents | Treated Agents |
|------------------------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| Chats | 3,758,698 | 374,731 | 2,635,864 |
| Agents | 6,846 | 1,035 | 1,813 |
| Number of Teams | 142 | 111 | 88 |
| Share US Agents | .13 | .095 | .14 |
| Distinct Locations | 17 | 10 | 16 |
| Average Chats per Month | 158 | 112 | 212 |
| Share Outsourced | .84 | .62 | .91 |
| Number of Skills | 2.8 | 2.3 | 3.3 |
| Team Size | 62 | 49 | 70 |
| Average Call Duration (Min) | 48 | 44 | 48 |
| St. Dev. Call Duration (Min) | 40 | 37 | 39 |
| Issue Resolution Rate | 79 | 77 | 81 |
| Customer Satisfaction | 62 | 62 | 61 |

Table: Sample Summary Statistics

2

イロン イヨン イヨン -

AI Usage by Skill



Figure: Use of AI Suggestions by Agent Skill