

The Future Of U.S. Productivity Growth: A Skeptical View

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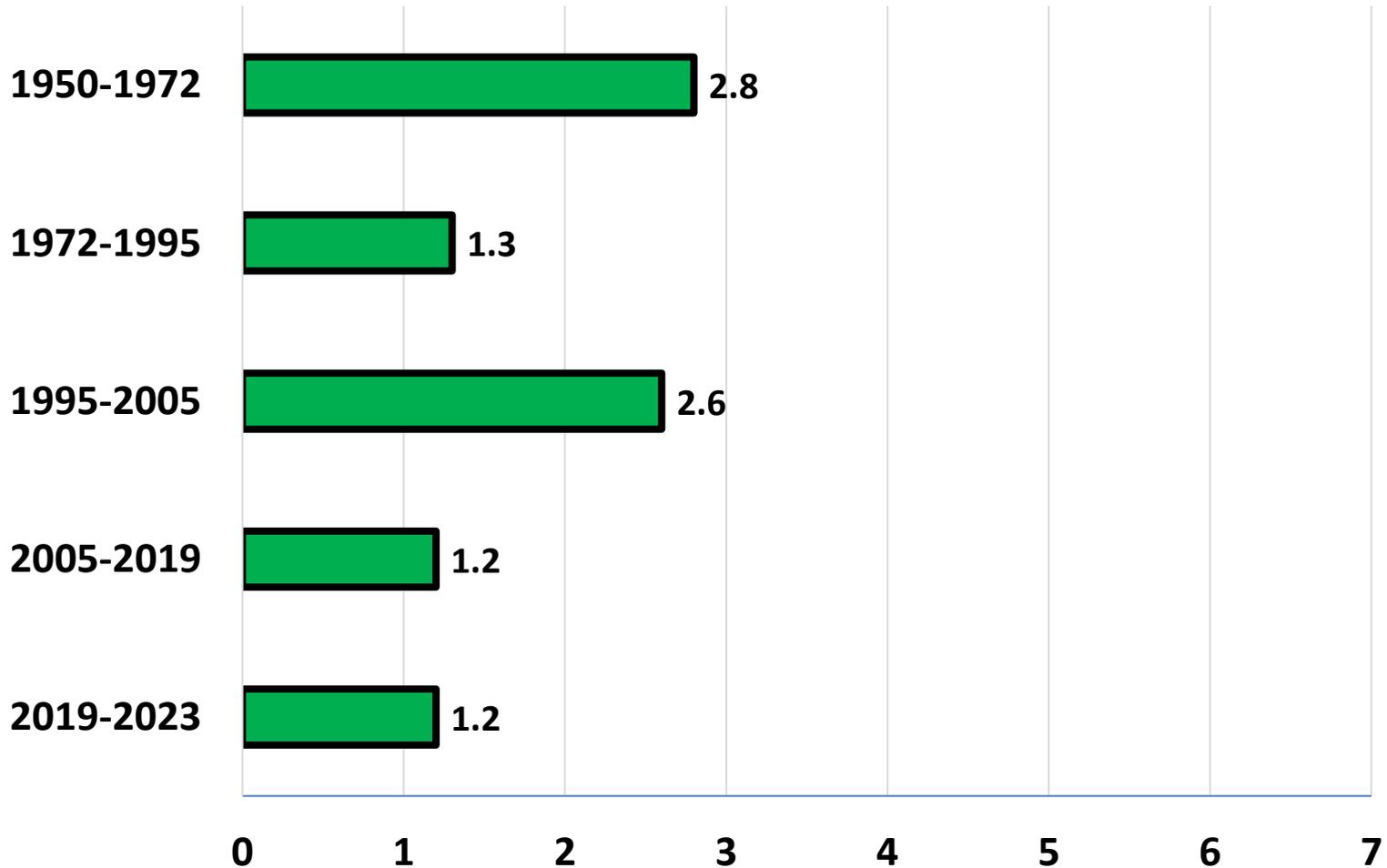
**Symposium: U.S. Productivity
Growth – Looking Ahead**

NY Fed, February 16, 2024

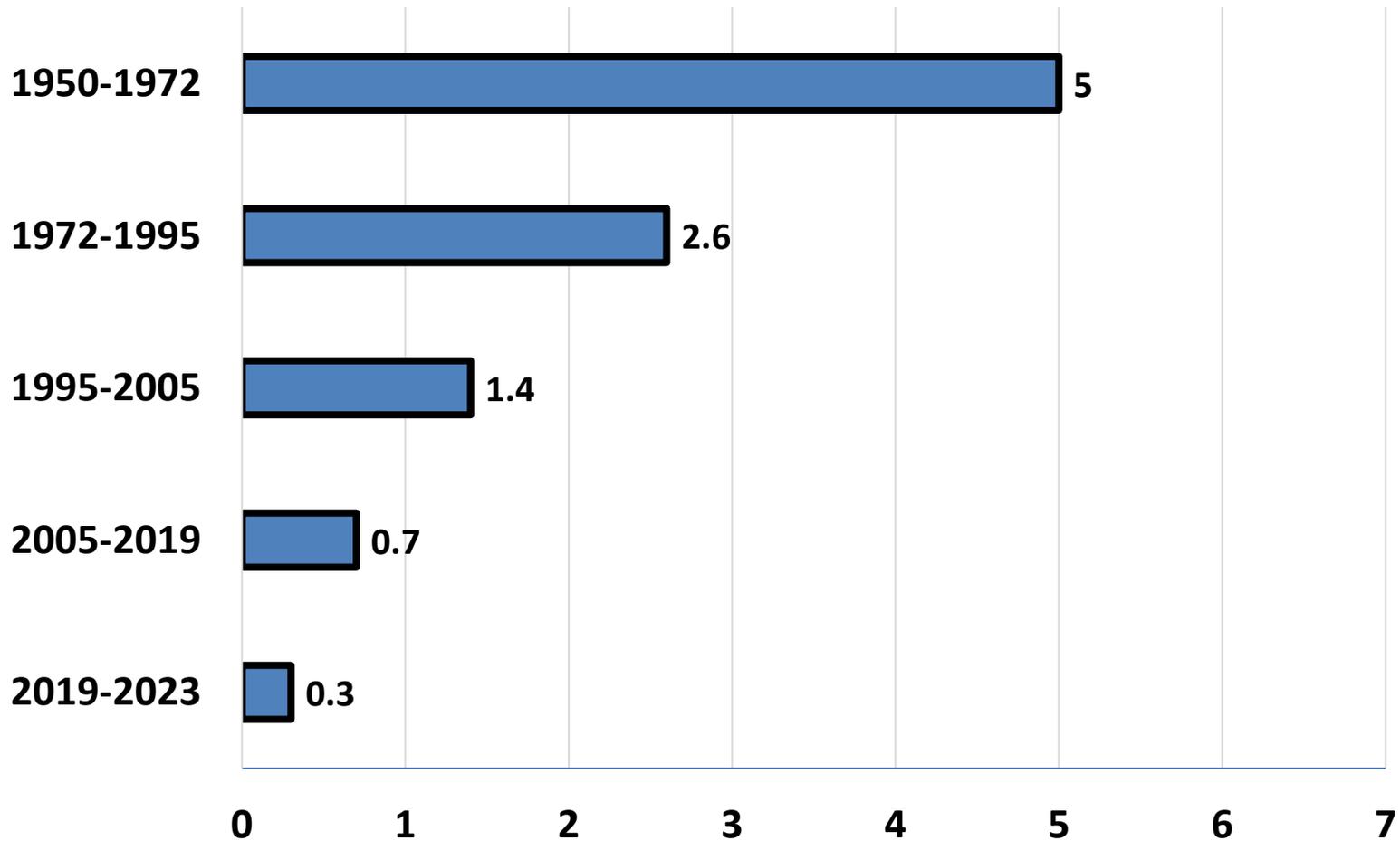
To Forecast the Future We Need a Starting Point

- **Will U.S. Productivity Growth Over the Next Two Decades be:**
 - **1.0%? 1.5? 2.0%? 2.5%? 3.0%?**
- **CBO new forecast 1.4% for 2024-34**
- **Review U.S. History since 1950**
- **Comparison to E17 (17 nations of Western Europe) and to Developed East Asia since 1950**
- **What factors will make productivity grow faster or slower than this history?**

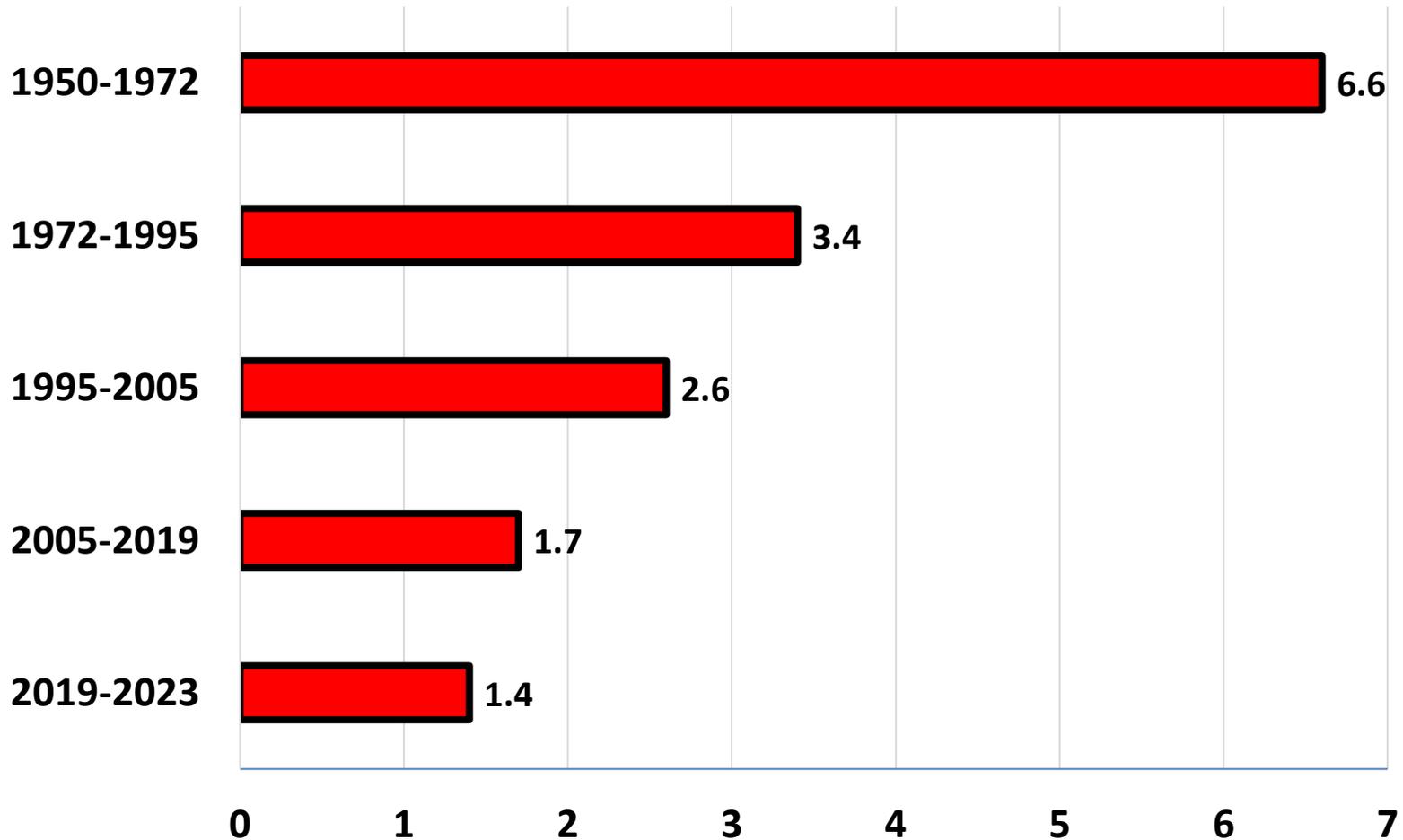
U.S. Total Economy Productivity Growth, 1950-2023



Western Europe 17 Nations, Productivity Growth, 1950-2023



Developed East Asia, Productivity Growth 1950-2023



Confronting This History

- **U.S. record 1.3% 1950-72, 1.2% 2005-2023**
 - **Contrast to 2.6% 1995-2005, more later**
- **Continuous slowdown in Europe, Asia**
- **Sources of slowdown to date**
 - **Innovation is less potent**
 - **“Ideas are getting harder to find”**
 - **Education plateau**
 - **Corporate profits used for dividends and share buybacks in place of innovation-oriented investment**

Conference Agenda for this Session

- **Conference agenda: demographics, superstar firms and employees**
- **Demographics?**
 - **Babyboom teen bulge 1970s cited for initial post-1970 slowdown**
 - **Bulge over by 2028, then even age distribution.**
 - **Flat age distribution means little productivity impact of aging: Vigorous youth vs. experienced older workers**

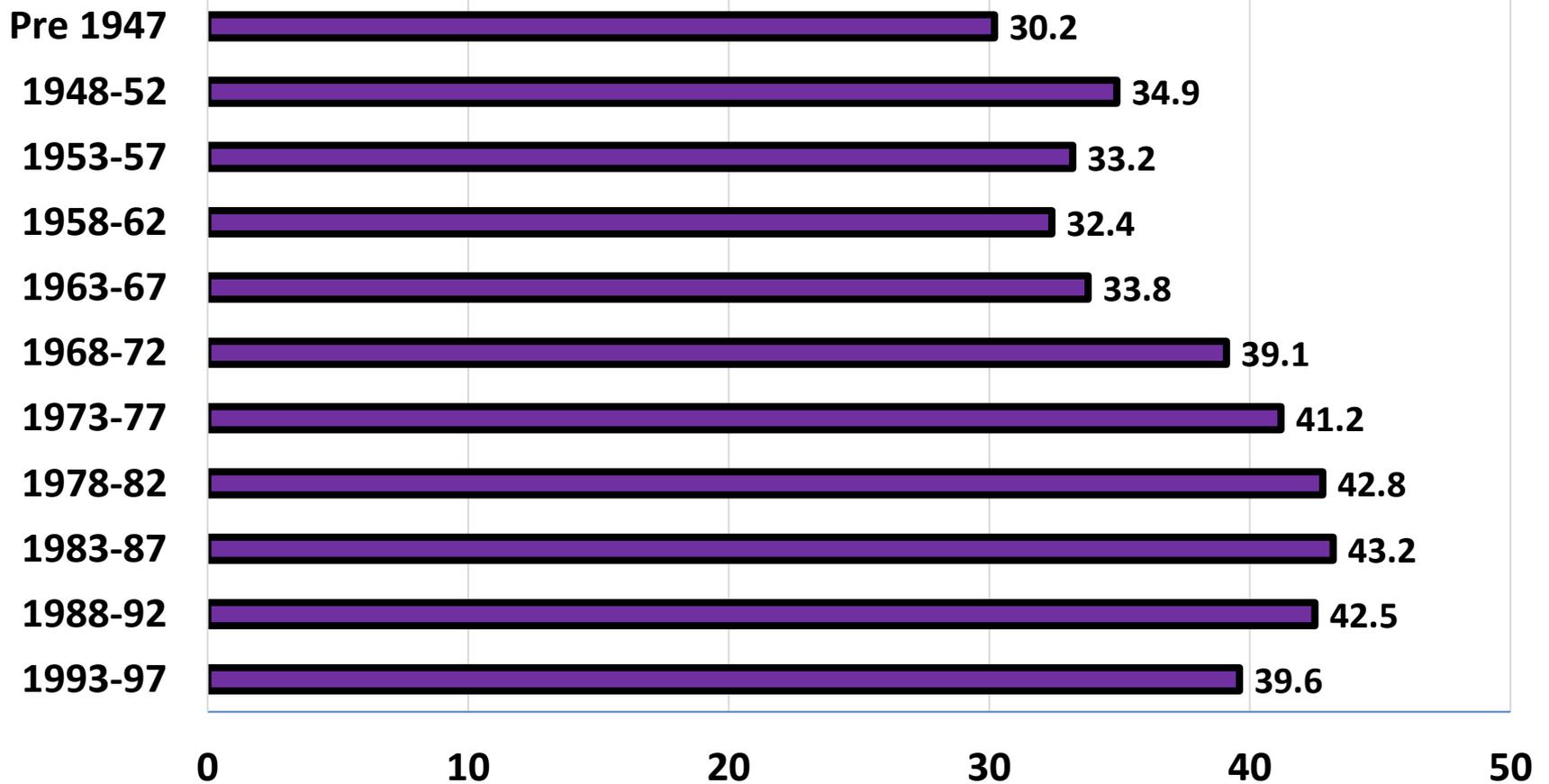
More Important than Productivity Differences by Age: Fiscal Debt

- **This topic depends on immigration policy**
- **Aging population implies growing dependency ratio**
 - **Sustained consumption, labor shortage**
- **Depletion of Medicare and Soc. Sec. Funds**
 - **Higher taxes or lower benefits**
- **Debt/GDP ratio from 99% now to 116% in 2034**
- **Continuing rise of debt service from 2.4% of GDP now to 3.9% in 2034**
- **Crowding out of private investment, government R&D and infrastructure spending**

The Educational Plateau

- **Conference agenda: superstar workers, inequality, and superstar firms**
 - **Differing impact across Europe and Asia but the growth slowdown is common**
- **More important, educational plateau**
 - **1900-1970, HS graduation 10 to 80%**
 - **Gradual increase college completion**
 - **Goldin-Katz, added 0.4% to LP growth**
 - **But HS and college completion flatline**
 - **Completion of 4-year BA and higher degree: born 1968 39.1%, 1997 39.6%**

Percent Completing BA or More Advanced Degrees, By Birth Year (2022 Data)



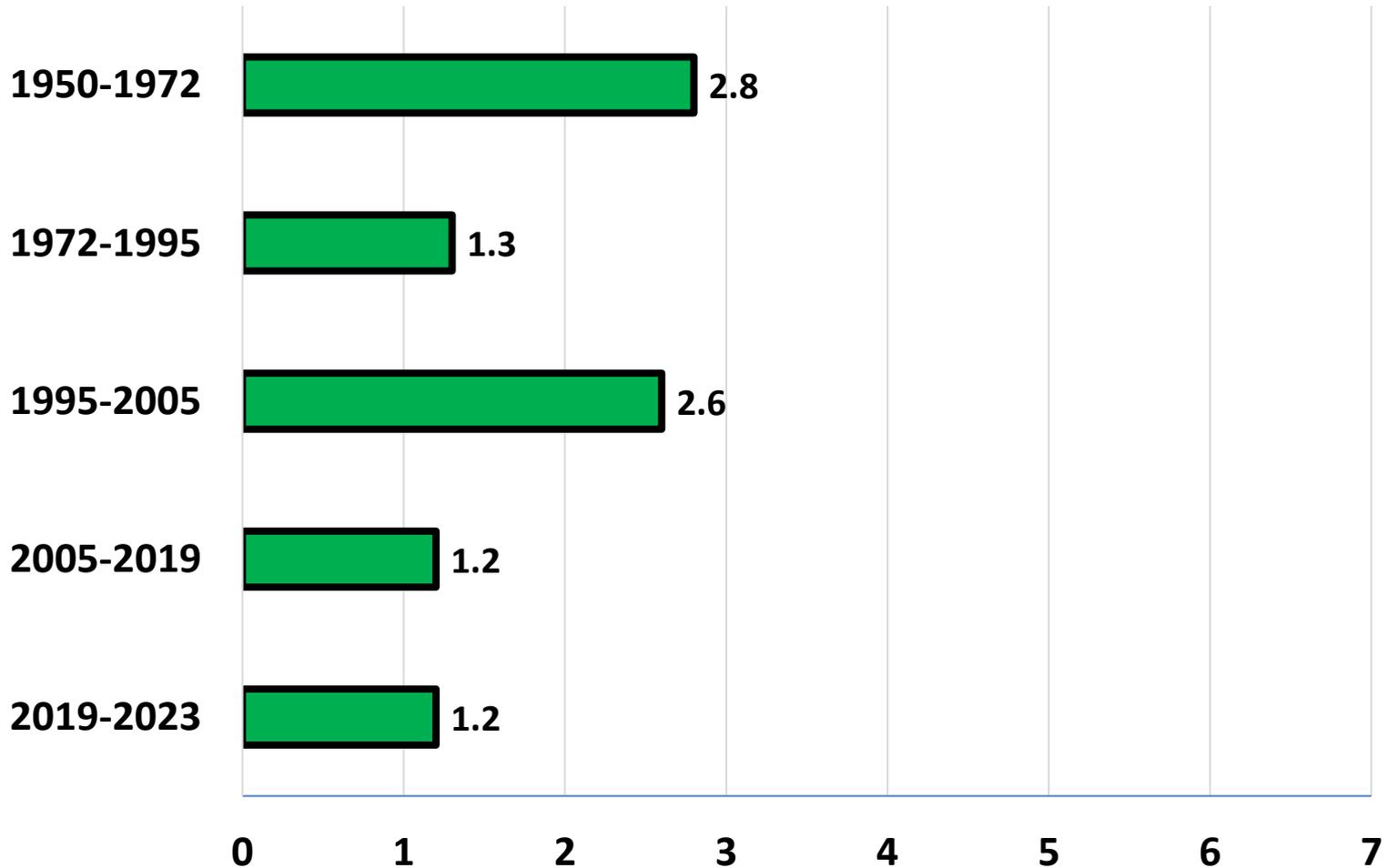
End of Education's Contribution to Productivity Growth

- **Plateau in educational attainment has already occurred after rapid rise in 20th century**
- **Declining demand for college education**
 - **Rising tuition, student debt**
 - **40% of BAs cannot find a suitable job**
 - **Low U.S. standing on intl PISA tests**
 - **Lack of systematic apprenticeships**
- **Social changes**
 - **Age 25-54 %married down 67 => 53**
 - **“Unpartnered” now 38%**
 - **Children of single-parent families**

Conference Agenda: The Green Technology Transition

- **Green transition implies crowding out**
 - **Discarding fossil fuel heating and industrial equipment to be replaced by electric equipment**
 - **Replacement of diesel truck fleet**
 - **Multifold increase in electric grid for EVs**
 - **Crowding out of R&D and productivity-enhancing technology**
 - **Humble example: gas leaf blowers**
- **Higher productivity in making Evs and in operating solar and wind renewables**

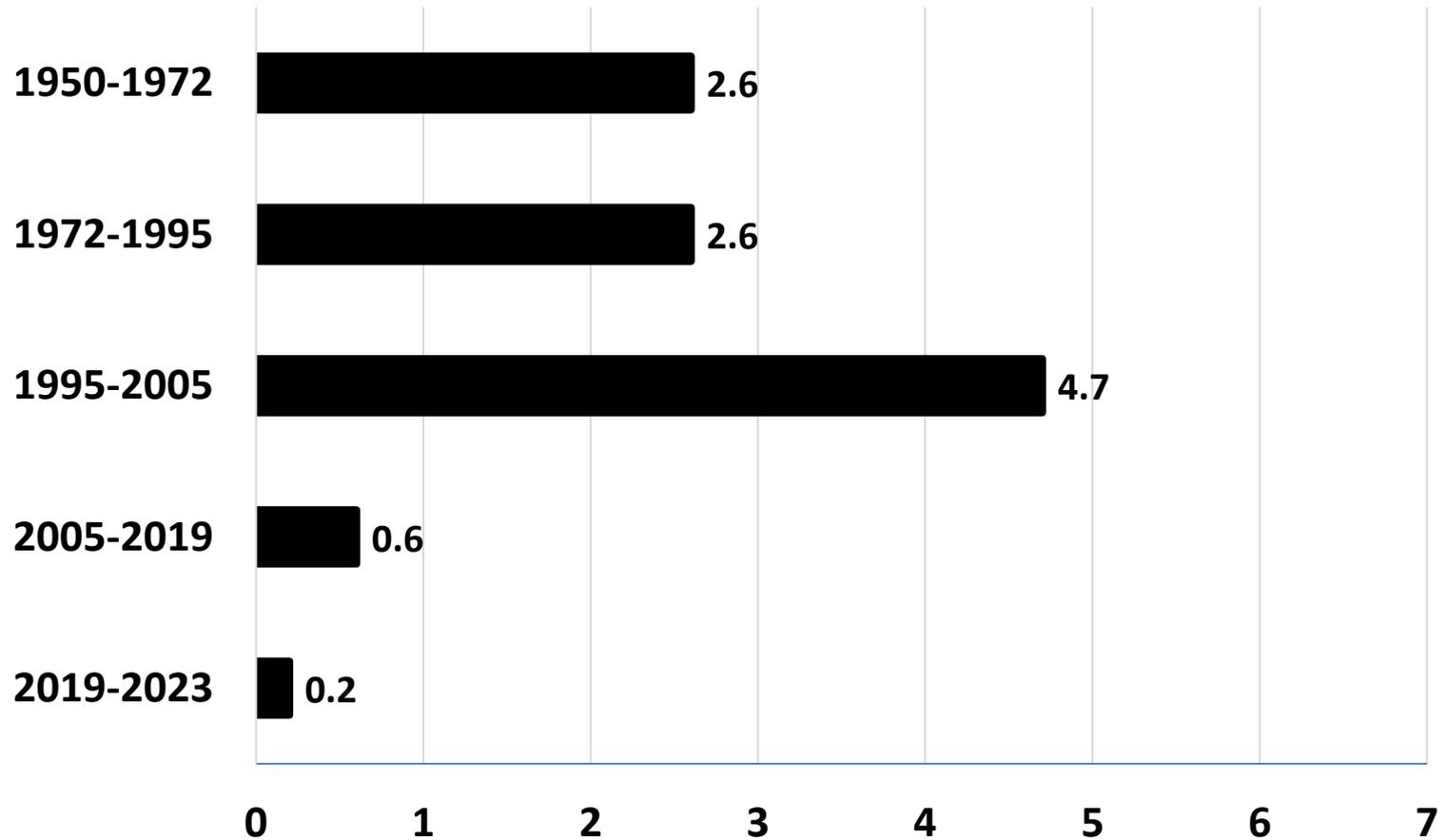
U.S. Total Economy Productivity Growth, 1950-2023



Industrial Revolutions, #3 vs. #4

- **Total economy productivity growth in 1995-2005 was 2.6%**
- **Upsurge vs. pre-1995 and post-2005 linked to digital revolution, “dot.com” decade**
- **Ubiquity of IR#3. Web, e-mail, spreadsheets, end of repetitive retyping, conversion of paper records to digital, bar-code scanning, electronic checkout, medical records**
- **How can IR#4 match this pervasiveness?**
- **Consider robots in manufacturing**
- **Then consider LLMs**

The Robot Paradox: U.S. Manufacturing Productivity Growth, 1950-2023



AI Revolution is Already Here

- **Last decade expansion of AI in . . .**
 - **Customer service phone response**
 - **Voice recognition (my doctor's dictation)**
 - **Language translation**
 - **Legal searches**
 - **Radiology diagnosis**
- **New: Large Language Models (LLMs)**
 - **Creation of written text, memos, sales**
 - **Creation of moving and still images**
 - **Creation of software code**

How Many Jobs Will Vanish?

- Consider what workers actually do
- 20% are producing **goods**
 - **Manufacturing, mining, construction, utilities**
- 53% are producing **contact services**
 - **Retail, wholesale, transportation, recreation, food, education, health**
- 27% are producing **creative services**
 - **Management, information, technical, scientific, administrative, finance, insurance, real estate**

How Many Jobs Will Be Lost in Creative Services?

- **Substantial job loss in content creation**
 - **Software coding, Image creation**
 - **Marketing documents, TV scripts**
- **But each call to a LLM requires a person to:**
 - **feed prompts & review results for errors and hallucinations**
 - **Check copyright violations & robocalls**
 - **Wall St. Journal, Wed Feb 14, p. A4**
- **LLMs are trained by scraping the web**
 - **They know the past, not the future**
 - **Corporate data confidentiality**

Conclusion: Pros and Cons for Faster Growth

- **Starting 1.2% since 2005, slower than CBO**
- **Education attainment plateau**
- **Future crowding out**
 - **Student debt, government debt**
 - **Green transition**
- **4th IR less pervasive than 3rd IR 1995-2005**
- **Robots: too few to revive manufacturing**
- **AI: Main source of optimism, but how much?**
 - **Impact on 25% of workers, little on 75%**
 - **Worker still needed to prompt and manage LLMs**