

NBER Disability Research Center

### The Work of the Future:

Challenges and Opportunities for Workers with Disabilities in the 'Robot-ificial' Intelligence Era

David Autor, Ford Professor MIT Department of Economics and NBER Disability Research Center Annual Meeting Aug 1, 2018. Washington DC

## Outline

1) Context: What has happened to the employment of adults with work limitations – and why?

- The role of aging
- The role of education
- The role of occupational change
- The SSDI program

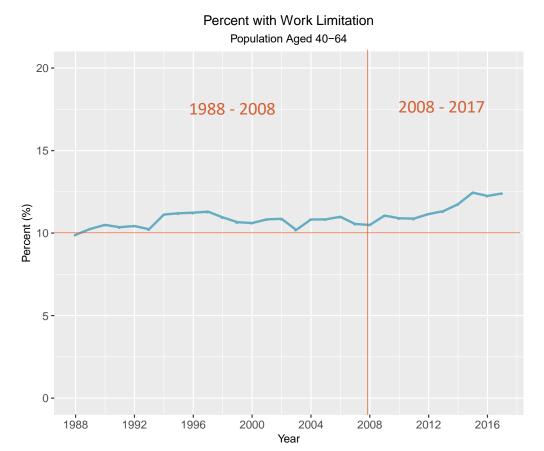
### 2) Challenges ahead

- The "hollowing" labor market
- Opportunities for high-skill work
- Opportunities for service-oriented work

### 3) Assisting the workers of the future

- Assistive technologies
- The medical-vocational grid

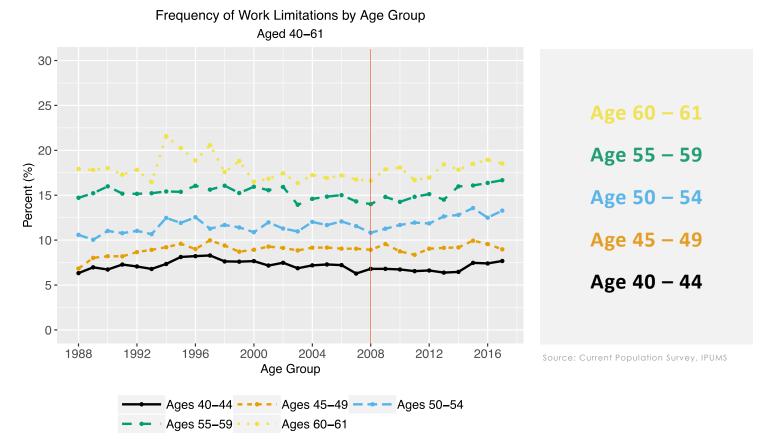
# The Surprising Stability of Self-Reported Work Limitations Among U.S. Adults 40 - 64, 1988 – 2017



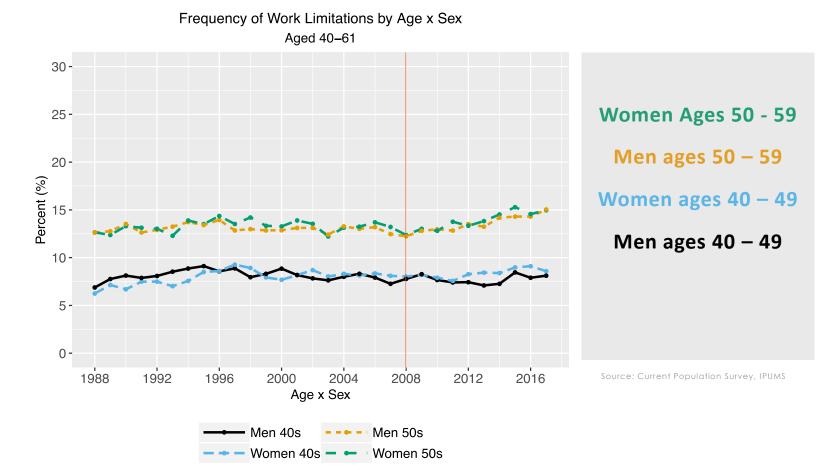
#### Despite pop'n aging

- Almost no rise in self-reported work limitations between 1988 – 2008
- Work limitation trends upward only in last decade, 2008 – 2017

# Frequency of Self-Reported Work Limitations Also <u>Remarkably Stable by Age Group</u>, 1988 – 2017



## Similarly Stable by Gender, with Some Rise after 2008



# But Employment of Work-Limited Adults <u>Fell</u> from 1992 – 2012, then <u>Rebounded</u> after 2012



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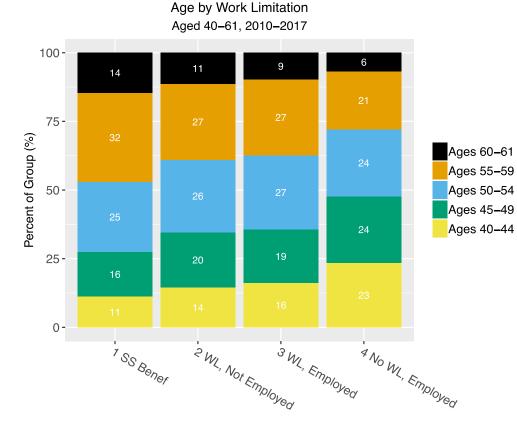
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# Even Among Those Ages 40 – 61, Adults with Work Limitations are Older than Average

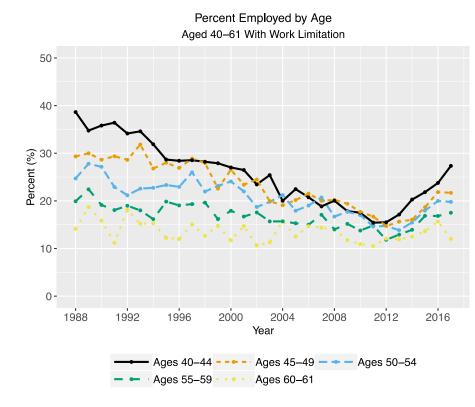


#### What share are 55+?

- 46% among Soc. Security beneficiaries
- 38% among <u>Work Limited</u>, <u>not Employed</u>
- 36% among <u>Work Limited</u>, <u>Employed</u>
- 27% among Non-Work Limited

Source: Current Population Survey, IPUMS

# Seems Natural that Population Aging <u>Should be Key</u> Cause of Falling Employment among Work-Limited Adults

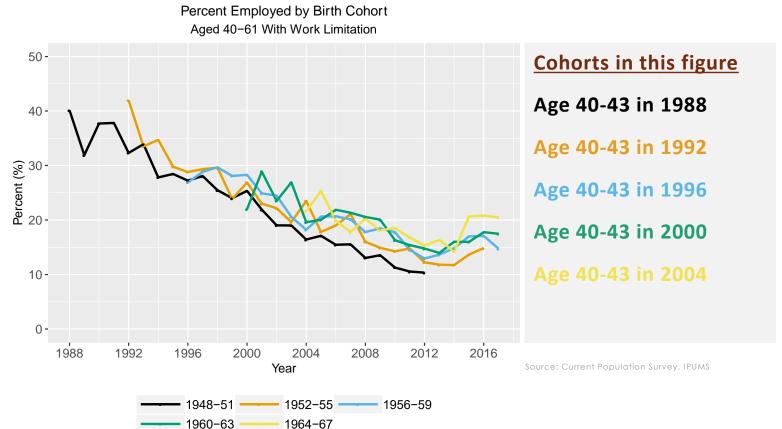


#### **But Aging is Not the Explanation**

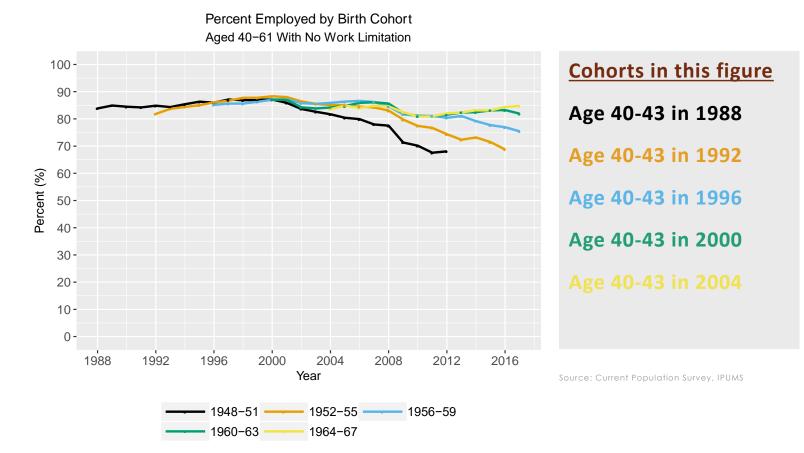
- Employment fell among every age bracket of work-limited adults
- Largest fall among those ages 40-44 (23 pts!)
- And largest rebound among this group after 2012

Source: Current Population Survey, IPUMS

# But Employment Fell Uniformly Across Cohorts at Every Age Level



# Compare to Employment Rates of Adults without Work-Limitations: No Decline in Employment Across Cohorts



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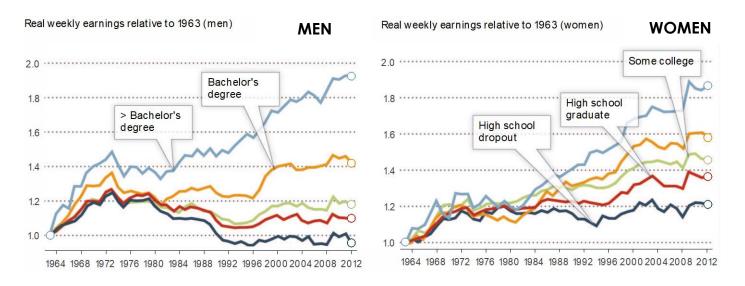
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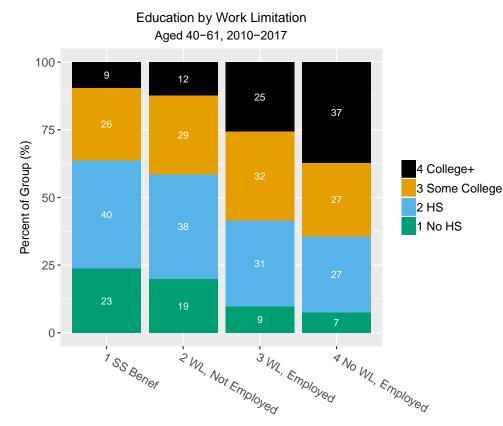
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# The Earnings Premium for Higher Education Has Risen Steeply since 1980



CPS Annual Demographic File (Autor, 2014)

# Adults Ages 40 - 61 with Work Limitations Have Relatively Low Educational Attainment



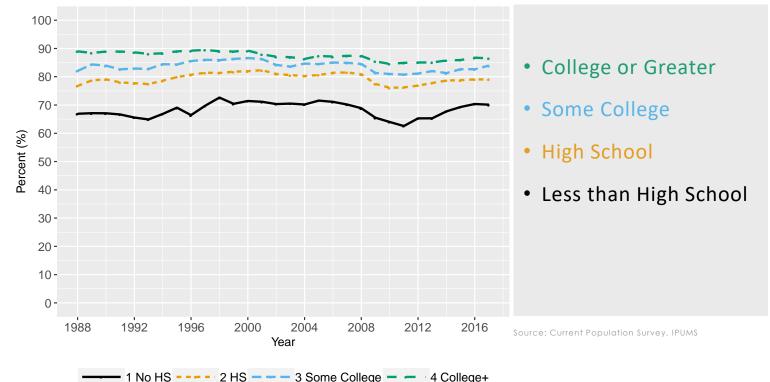
# Fraction with some college or greater

- Soc. Sec. beneficiaries: 35%
- Work-Limited, <u>not employed</u>: 41%
- Work-Limited, <u>employed</u>: 57%
- Not Work-Limited: 65%

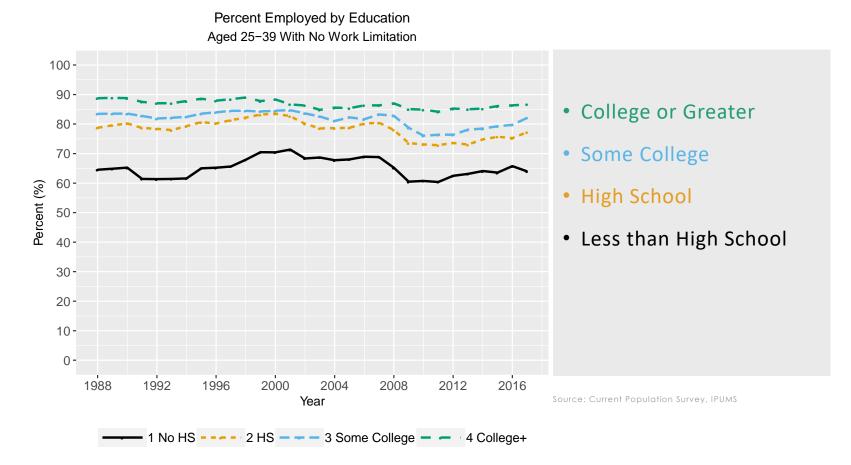
Source: Current Population Survey, IPUMS

## Employment Among Adults <u>Without</u> Work Limitations is Higher Among More Educated Adults

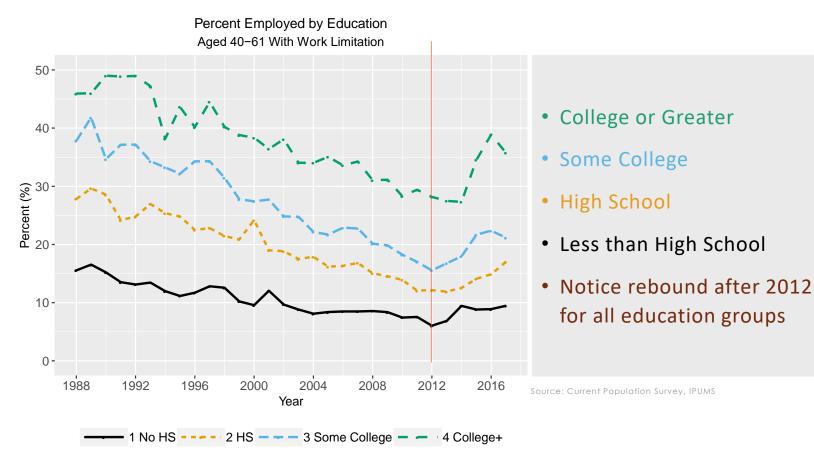
Percent Employed by Education Aged 40–61 With No Work Limitation



# Also True Among Young (25-39) Not Work-Limited Adults



## <u>Unhappy Surprise</u>: Employment of Adults with Work-Limitations *Fell* at All Education Levels, 1988 – 2012



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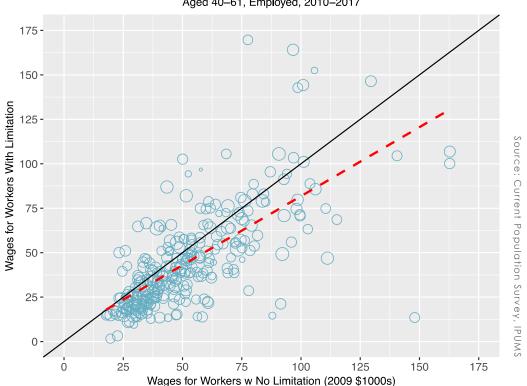
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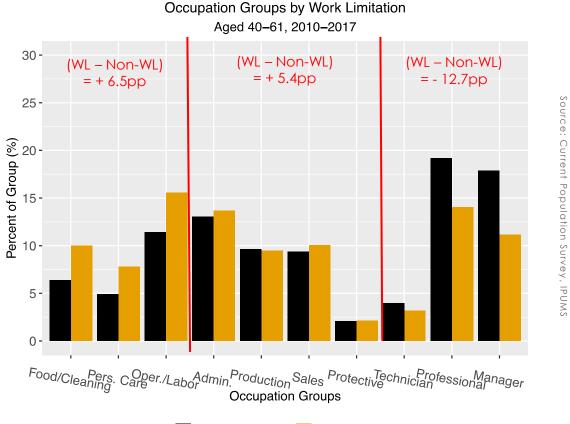
# Happily, Adults with Work Limitations Have <u>Comparable</u> <u>Earnings</u> to Non-Limited Workers in Same Occ's



Average Wages by Occupation Aged 40–61, Employed, 2010–2017

Includes DI/SSI beneficiaries.

# Adults with Work Limitations Overrepresented in Low- and Middle-Income Occupations



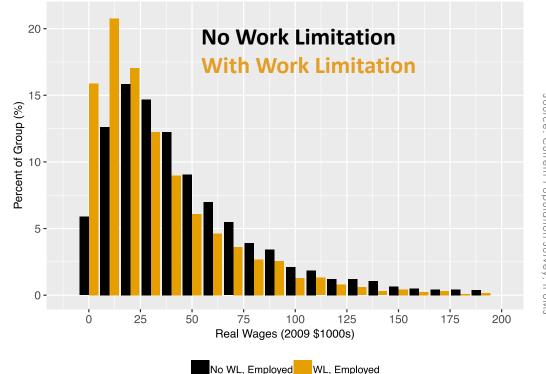
No WL, Employed WL, Employed

Source

C Jrren

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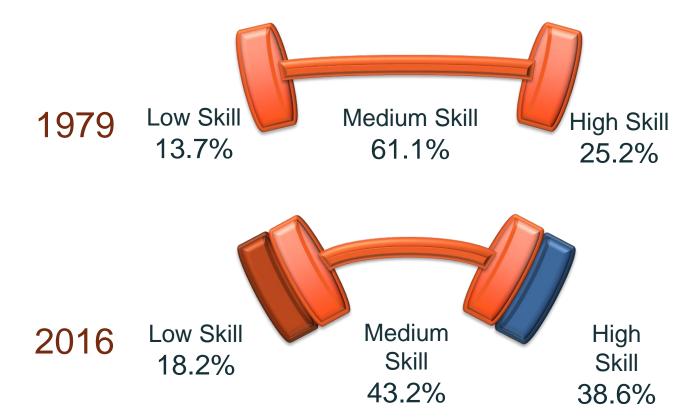
Earnings by Work Limitation Aged 40–64, 2010–2017



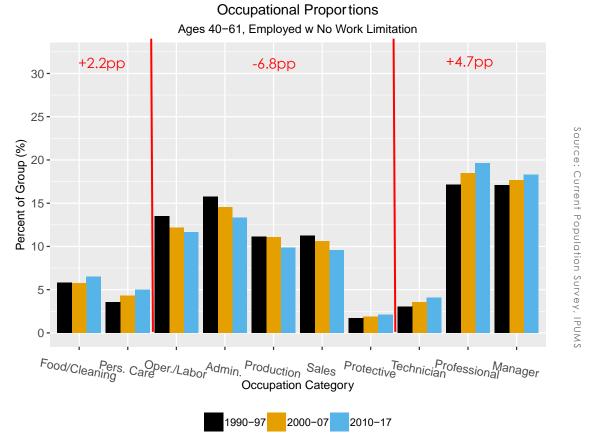
Source: Current Population Survey, IPUMS

Includes DI/SSI beneficiaries.

Why is this Overrepresentation a Concern? Job Polarization: The 'Barbell' Labor Market

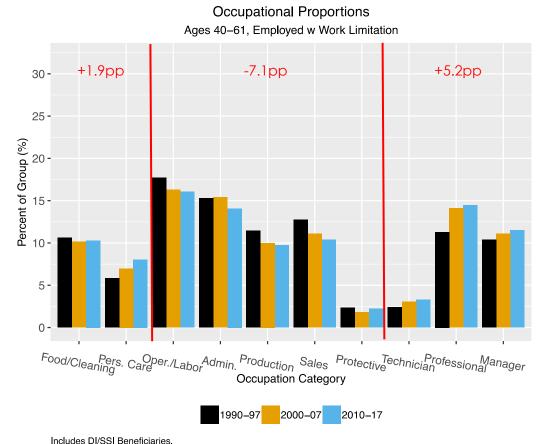


## Employment Has 'Polarized' Among Workers Ages 40 – 61 <u>Without</u> Work Limitations



Includes DI/SSI Beneficiaries.

# Employment Has Also Polarized Among Adults with <u>Work Limitations</u>: Steep Decline in Middle-Skill/Wage Jobs



ource: Current Population Survey, IPUMS

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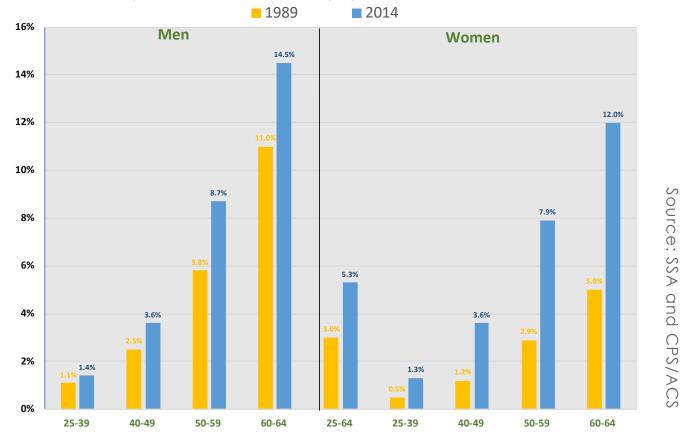
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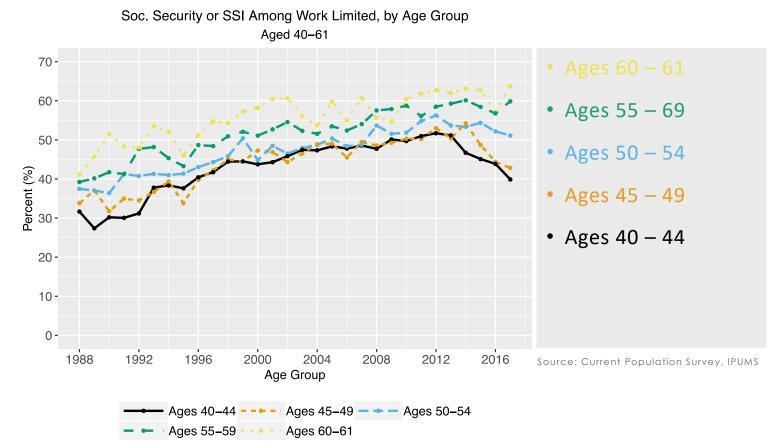
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# SSDI Receipt Rose 1989 - 2014 for All Age Groups + Sexes, Largest Jumps Among Ages 50–59, 60–64

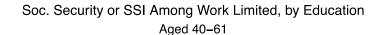
Comparison of SSDI Prevalence by Age and Gender, 1989 and 2014

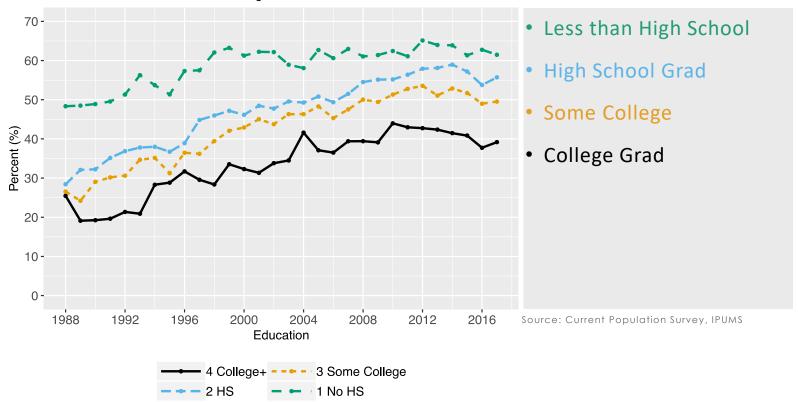


# Rise in SSDI/SSI Receipt Pronounced at <u>All Age Levels</u> Among Work-Limited Adults – then Rebound 2012-Forward

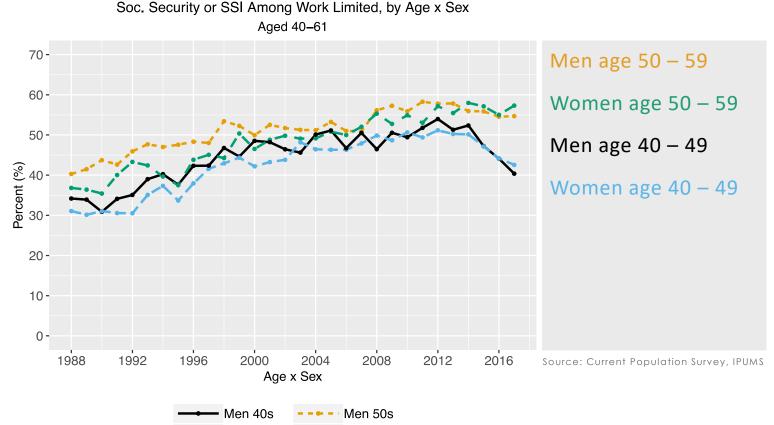


# Rise in SSDI/SSI Pronounced at All <u>Education Levels</u> Among Work-Limited Adults – then Rebound 2012-Forward



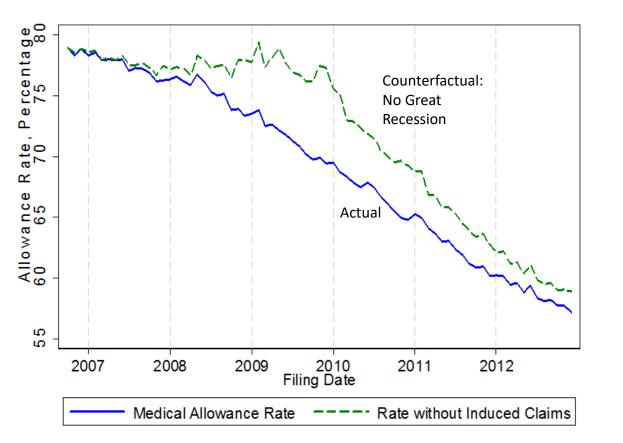


# Rise in SSDI/SSI Pronounced Among <u>Both</u> Sexes Among Work-Limited Adults – Then Rebound 2012-Forward



– 🛶 – Women 40s – 🗕 🖓 Women 50s

## The Sharp Reduction in <u>Hearing Allowance Rates</u> Slowed Program Inflows, Deterred Applications



Source: Maestas, Mullen and Strand 2018

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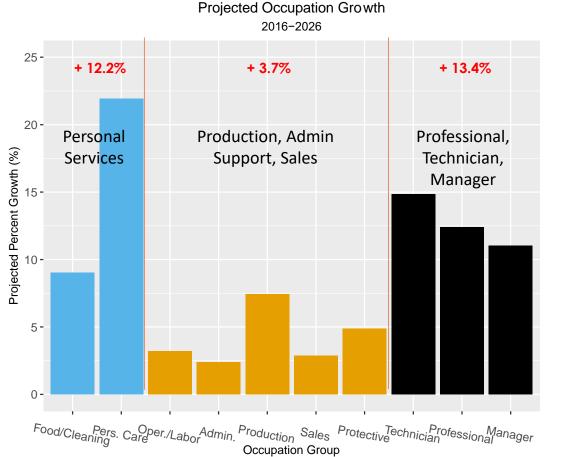
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# The Twelve Occupations with Largest Projected Numerical Employment Gains 2016—2026

Personal care aides							7781	<
Combined food preparation and serving workers					580K			
Registered nurses			43	38K				
Home health aides			43	1K				
Software developers, applications		255K						
Janitors and cleaners, except maids and housekeeping cleaners	2	.37K						
General and operations managers	205	К						
aborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand	200	K						
Medical assistants	184K	I						
Waiters and waitresses	183K							
Nursing assistants	173K							
Construction laborers	150К							
(	ок 100к :	200К	300К 4	оок 5	оок е	600К	700K	800

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018

# Occupations with Most Projected Growth Are <u>Personal Services</u> and <u>Prof/Tech/Management</u> Occupations



Source:

BLS

Occupational Outlook, 2018

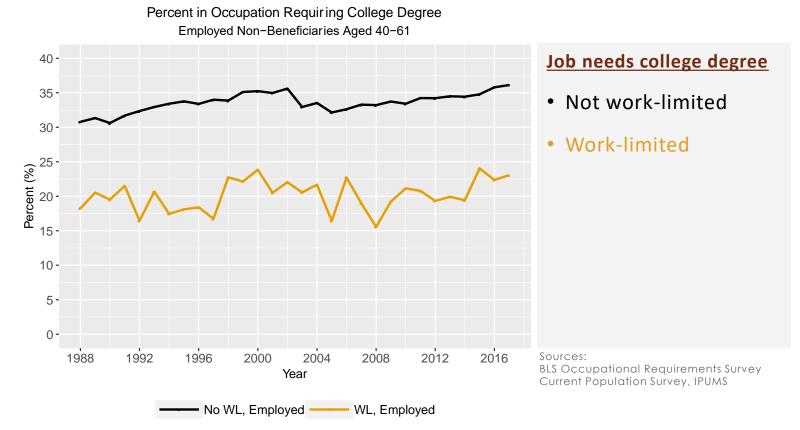
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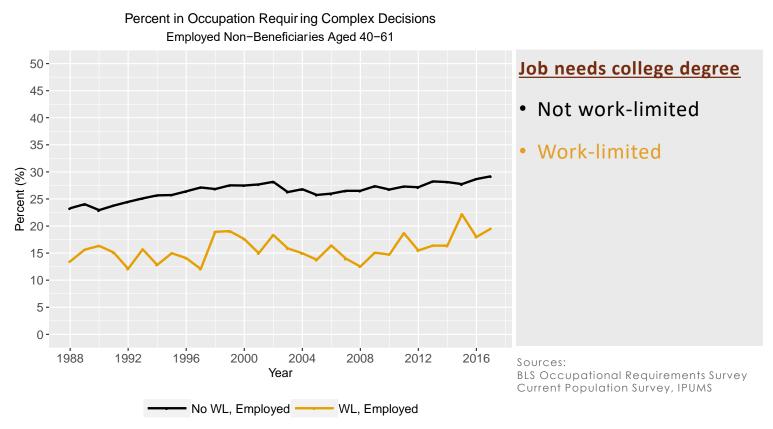
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# Fraction of Jobs Requiring College Degree <u>Rising Among Non-Limited</u>, <u>Flat Among Work-Limited</u>



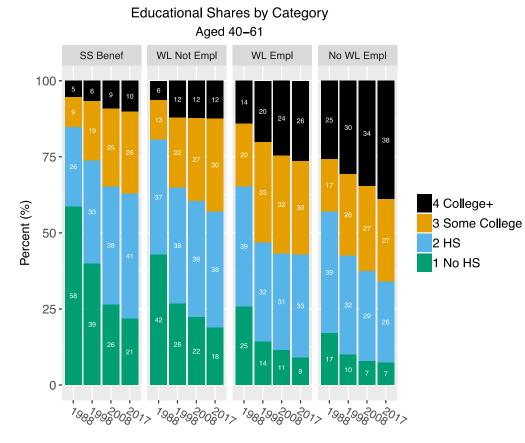
Includes DI/SSI Beneficiaries.

# Fraction of Jobs w/ Complex Decision-Making <u>Rising</u> <u>Among Non-Limited</u>, <u>Flatter Among Work-Limited</u>



Includes DI/SSI Beneficiaries.

# Education Has Risen Among All Worker Groups, <u>but</u> Remains Much Lower Among Adults with Work Limitations



#### **Rise in college-share**

- 5 pts: SS Beneficiaries
- 6 pts: Work-limited, not Working
- 12 pts: Work-limited, Working
- 13 pts: Not Work-Limited

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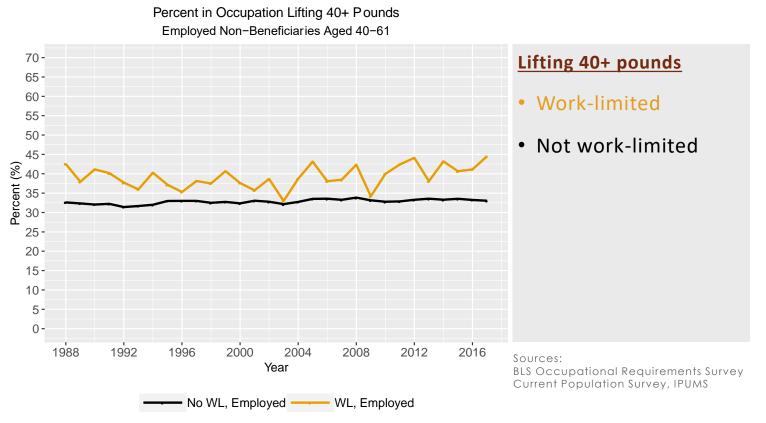
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### Ironically, Jobs Held by Adults with Work-Limitations are Disproportionately Likely to Require <u>Standing</u>



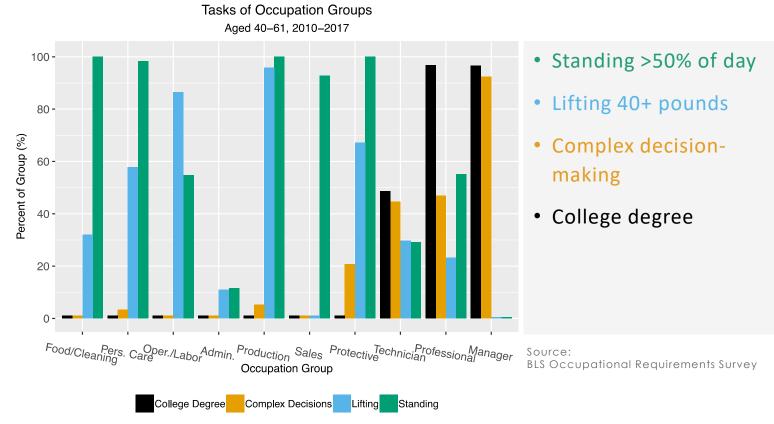
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### Ironically, Jobs Held by Adults with Work-Limitations are Disproportionately Likely to Require <u>Lifting</u>



Includes DI/SSI Beneficiaries.

# Adults with Work Limitations Concentrated in Standing/ Lifting Jobs—<u>Which Are Projected to Grow</u>



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### Not All Robots are Engineered to Replace Workers



Phoenix Exoskeleton by SuitX

RIBA II Care Robot by RIKEN

Assistive technologies will improve dramatically but remain expensive. <u>And SSI/SSDI cannot assist workers</u> (paradox)

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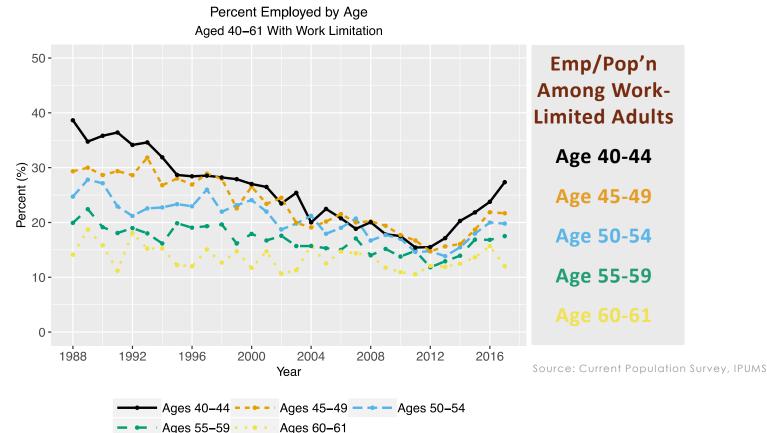
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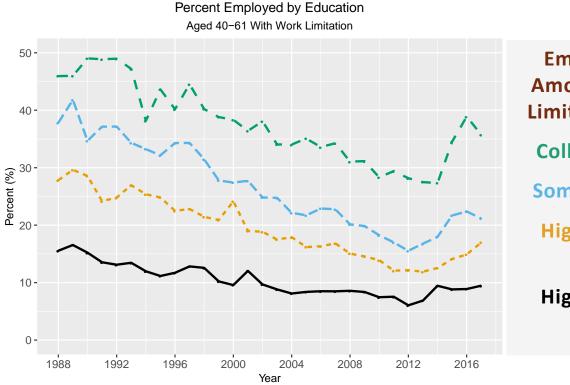
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# Revisiting the Medical-Vocational Grid: <u>Age is Much Less Relevant than It Used to Be</u>



## Revisiting the Medical-Vocational Grid: Education Remains Quite Important

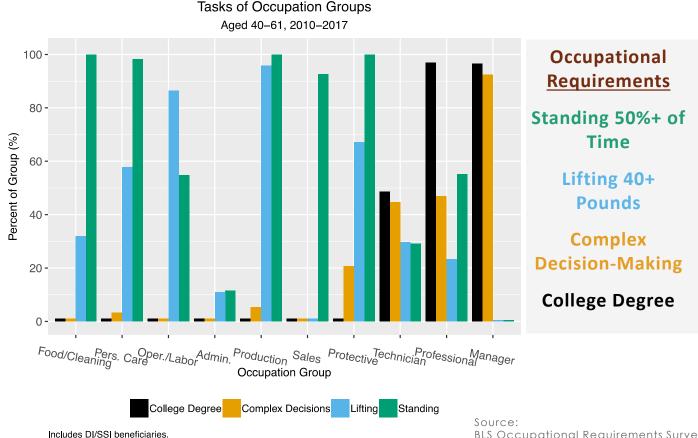


Emp/Pop'n Among Work-**Limited Adults College Grad** Some College **High School** Grad **High School** Drop

- 1 No HS --- 2 HS --- 3 Some College - 4 College+

Source: Current Population Survey, IPUMS

# Challenge for Adults w/Work Limitations in Future Jobs: Most Require <u>Either</u> College Degree <u>or</u> Physical Labor



**BLS** Occupational Requirements Survey

Implications for the Medical-Vocational Grid

- 1. Age is much less relevant for employment of work-limited adults than it used to be
  - Related to less strenuous jobs?
- 2. Physical tasks (e.g. standing) remain important
  - Assistive technologies will greatly improve
  - But SSA is not designed to provide these support
  - Can the Americans with Disabilities Act help?
  - Automation will not reverse this pattern soon
- 3. Four-year college education increasingly <u>critical</u> to nonphysically-task-intensive jobs
  - Growth of professional, technical, managerial jobs
  - Automation will not reverse this pattern soon

### Conclusions: Challenges and Opportunities for Workers with Disabilities in the 'Robot-ificial' Intelligence Era

- Employment of adults with work limitations collapsed 1992 2011
  - *—then* rebounded since 2012. What caused the collapse *and* rebound?
    - 1. Occupational change
    - 2. Labor market tightness
    - 3. SSA policy
    - You can order these as you prefer
- The key employment challenges going forward...
  - 1. Rising demand for workers with college degree
  - 2. Rising demand for non-college low-paid, physically demanding jobs
- Future of work for work-limited adults...
  - <u>Opportunity</u>: Assistive technologies will be amazingly good
  - <u>Challenge</u>: But Social Security disability programs not designed to assist adults to remain in the labor force