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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

July 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: RO

Roger Porter

Office of Policy Development.

FROM:

Bervl W. Sprinkel

Chairman

SUBJECT:

Paper on "Deindustrialization"

Attached is the CEA paper promised on "Is the U.S. Economy Undergoing 'Deindustrialization'." The other two papers on pending bills and trade complaints were sent to this office, but I understand that these have been forwarded to you for circulation.

Is the United States Undergoing "Deindustrialization"?

The public perception that the U.S. economy is undergoing "deindustrialization" is widespread and has grown substantially in recent years. Many apparently believe that the tradable goods sector, especially manufacturing, is in decline due both to inappropriate policies here at home (the tight money-large budget deficit-strong dollar argument) and to unfair trading practices among our trading partners. Thus, it is claimed, industry is expanding abroad at the expense of industry in the United States. This paper examines whether such arguments are valid.

Deindustrialization presumably refers to a persistent decline in the productive capacity of the manufacturing sector. However, the term is also sometimes used to refer to the goods-producing sector in general, which includes agriculture and mining as well as manufacturing. Productive capacity itself is not directly observed, but is the result of investments in capital stock, employment and other inputs, and the technology of production. Over long periods of time, where one can abstract from demand conditions, actual output is the best measure of trends in productive capacity. Over shorter periods, trends in the capital stock can also be used if the rate of technological change is low. Trends in employment are generally a poor measure of trends in productive capacity — in the short run because of cyclical variations in demand, and in the longer run because of changes in technology.

In subsequent sections we describe and evaluate trends in major sectors of the economy, compare U.S. economic performance overall and in manufacturing to the performance of other countries, and summarize and evaluate exceptional trends in detailed industries.

Trends in Major Sectors

Analysis of recent and longer-term trends in the total, goods-producing, and manufacturing sectors of the U.S. economy suggests the following conclusions:

1) The average annual rate of growth for manufacturing output from 1947-84 is exactly the same as for total real gross domestic product (GDP) -- 3.4 percent (see Table 1). For the more recent period from 1980-84, manufacturing output has continued to grow at about the same rate as total real GDP (2.7 versus 2.8 percent).

- The average annual rate of growth for the goodsproducing sector as a whole (manufacturing plus
 agriculture and mining) from 1947 to 1984 is somewhat
 less than for real GDP (3.0 percent versus 3.4 percent), but this reflects lower growth in agriculture
 and mining rather than in manufacturing (see Table 1).
 For the more recent period from 1980-84, however, the
 goods-producing sector grew almost as rapidly as real
 GDP (2.7 versus 2.8 percent), due primarily to an
 increase in the rate of growth of agriculture to more
 than double the rate in the prior three decades.
- Productivity growth in manufacturing (average labor productivity) substantially exceeds that of the economy as a whole (2.7 percent versus 1.2 percent for 1980-84), and this has been increasingly true in recent decades (see Table 2).
 - The explanation lies both in greater rates of technological change and in shifts to more capital-intensive industries and techniques. Part of the explanation for the shift to more sophisticated, capital-intensive techniques and industries lies in the dynamic adjustment of the U.S. economy to increased competition from abroad in more labor-intensive areas.
 - The result of greater productivity growth in manufacturing (together with the similarity of manufacturing output growth and total output growth) is that manufacturing employment has expanded less rapidly than total employment in each of the last four decades (see Table 3).
- 4) Cyclical fluctuations in the goods-producing and manufacturing sectors are exaggerated relative to the economy as a whole. This well-known attribute of these sectors is easily demonstrated for the 1980-84 period and largely explains their performance during this period.

- o With respect to output, Figure 1(a) illustrates that the most recent recession was substantially more severe than the average and Figure 1(b) that the subsequent recovery was exceptionally strong. The result was an even lower trough for the goods-producing sector (see Figure 2(a)) and an even stronger recovery (see Figure 2(b)). Similar effects are seen for manufacturing in Figures 3(a) and 3(b). Another few quarters are required before the full extent of the current recovery can be assessed.
- o With respect to employment, a similar phenomenon is observed. Figure 4(a) illustrates that total employment declined more than in the average recovery and Figure 4(b) that total employment growth was more rapid than average during the recovery. The even more exaggerated decline in goods-producing employment is presented in Figure 5(a), and Figure 5(b) depicts the exceptionally rapid increase in employment during the recovery. A similar pattern is observed for manufacturing employment in Figures 6(a) and 6(b). The slight downturn of employment in the first-quarter of 1985 is most likely the result of virtually zero growth overall in the first quarter.

International Comparisons

Comparisons of U.S. economic performance overall and in manufacturing to the performance by other countries provide an even more optimistic assessment of the deindustrialization issue and lead to the following major conclusions:

1) The U.S. economy would be in an even stronger position (especially manufacturing) if the rest of the economies of the rest of the world were performing better. In the 1980-84 period, rest of world economic growth was strongly negative, an average annual rate of -6.5 percent (see Table 1). Despite the relative poor performances by many of our trading partners, U.S. economic growth during the period was 2.8 percent overall and 2.7 percent in manufacturing.

- It is not true that most of our major international competitors have expanded manufacturing output at a faster rate than the United States. Table 4 indicates that U.S. manufacturing production, as measured by industrial production, grew at an annual rate of 2.9 percent from 1980-84, almost twice the average of all OECD countries. Only Japan (with an annual rate of 3.9 percent) stands out as having a distinctly stronger performance by manufacturing. Reflecting the cyclical volatility of manufacturing, growth in manufacturing production in OECD countries was significantly below growth in total production. This is not the case for the United States.
- Growth in the U.S. manufacturing capital stock for recent years (1979-82) is substantially above the growth rates for most of our industrialized trading partners (see Table 5). The average annual rate is 4.1 for the United States, well above the rates for France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Austria, and others. Less precise data based on capacity output (real output divided by average capacity utilization rate) show an even more marked divergence for the period from 1979 through last year (see Table 6). U.S. capacity output in manufacturing grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent, more than twice the rate for most of our industrialized trading partners.

Trends in Detailed Industries

Sector aggregates clearly conceal varying industry detail within each sector. Appendix A lists GNP by industry at the 2 digit level (65 industries). Appendix B shows real GNP in 1972\$ over the postwar period in each of the 65 industries. A brief scan of these charts lead to the following general conclusions.

- 1) As suggested above, manufacturing industry output is subject to greater cyclical variation than the rest of the economy.
- 2) Among service industries, only the railroad transportation (0.5% of GNP) and local and interurban transit industries (0.1% of GNP) are in major secular declines.
- 3) Among mining industries only metal mining (0.06% of GNP) is in a major secular decline.
- Among manufacturing industries only primary metal industries (1.1% of GNP), tobacco manufactures (0.2% of GNP) and leather (0.1% of GNP) are in major secular declines.
- Mater transportation (0.2% of GNP), the stone, clay, and glass industry (0.5% of GNP), the motor vehicle and equipment industry (1.5% of GNP), the other transportation equipment industries (0.8% of GNP), the petroleum and coal products industry (0.4% of GNP) and construction (2.7% of GNP) have experienced no trend growth over the last 10 years.

If the definition of deindustrialization is limited to industries exhibiting absolute secular declines in production, then the industries listed in 2), 3), and 4) provide one measure of deindustrialization. The U.S. has six industries that comprise approximately 2.0% of GNP that have been in decline.



I Flat value added in the construction industry primarily reflects a shift in fabrication to other industries (i.e., use of dry wall instead of plaster) and the slowdown in Federal highway construction in the 1960s. Real investment in private structures has grown at a 2-1/2 percent average annual rate over the last 15 years.

A

If the definition also includes industries showing little or no growth in production over the last 10 years then another six industries, enumerated in 5), that comprise 7.0% of GNP should be added to the list.²

*

Across all sectors of the economy -- 65 industries -- 12 industries (less than 10% of GNP) are showing flat or declining output over the last 10 years. Seven of the 12 are in man. facturing, three are service industries, one is mining and construction. All other industries exhibit growth in production that equals or exceeds growth in total real GNP.

In the context of deindustrialization, should the U.S. Government be concerned about the trend in production in the 12 industries listed above? For several, the answer is clearly no. Price supports for tobacco and shifts in demand have driven down tobacco manufactures. Shifts in demand are also responsible for the decline in local and interurban transit. Production has declined in the leather and leather products industry due to shifts in demand and foreign competition. The role of foreign competition, however, appears consistent with dynamic trends in comparative advantage.

For several other industries flat or declining production has resulted from technical innovation and substitution of inputs. As mentioned above, the construction industry has experienced roughly flat value added production over the last 15 years. This does not mean that residential and nonresidential building has been flat. A shift in the source of value added has occurred. Prefabricated components (produced in other industries) now provide a larger proportion of the final product -- a building -- and less production occurs within the construction industry. The decline in the railroad transportation industry, and to a certain extent in the water transportation industry, represents pure substitution from high-cost, relatively inefficient providers of transportation services to lower cost providers such as pipelines. For the petroleum and coal products industry flat production primarily reflects the decline in U.S. oil consumption over the last 12 years. Since 1973 U.S. consumption of petroleum products has fallen at an average annual rate of 1 percent per year. Increases in the relative price of energy and the resulting substitution of other inputs for energy more than account for the decline. In fact, flat to declining output in the refining industry may be viewed as the primary result of a successful adaptation of the U.S. economy to the increase in energy prices in the 1970s. Energy efficiency has increased rapidly in almost all industrial applications.

This list excludes certain service industries, such as personal services and private households, that do not fit the normal definition of an industry.

If the seven industries discussed above are viewed as irrelevant in this context or declining due to technical innovation and/or substitution to more efficient production processes, then the definition of deindustrialization may be applied to five industries that constitute about 4% of GNP.

These five industries (metal mining; motor vehicles and transportation equipment; stone, clay, and glass; other transportation equipment, and primary metals) share several common characteristics that have played major roles in their decline. These characteristics are:

- Very high unit labor costs relative to the average of manufacturing (see Figures 7(a)-(e)). For example, real compensation as a share of real output has exceeded 100% in the metal mining industry since 1975 peaking at above 140% in 1980 and 1982 (see Figure 7(a)).
- 2) Slow growth in demand for the product.
- Relatively high expenditures to meet government regulations for pollution abatement, safety standards, and energy efficiency standards.
- Intense international competition except where the U.S. Government has intervened to limit imports. Based on the available evidence, U.S. Government intervention to alleviate characteristic 4) only exacerbated characteristics 1) and 2).

Conclusions

Four specific conclusions are suggested by the evidence reviewed above.

- 1) The U.S. economy is not undergoing deindustrialization.
 - o Long-term and recent trends in manufacturing output are strongly positive and roughly proportional to total growth of the economy, even for 1980-84.
 - o Productivity growth in manufacturing continues at a pace more than twice that in the rest of the economy.
 - o Employment in manufacturing remains below peak levels. The slow recovery in employment is a consequence of average output growth and above average productivity growth in manufacturing.
- 2) U.S. economic performance overall and even in manufacturing is significantly better than the performances of the vast majority of our trading partners.
 - O Growth in U.S. manufacturing production from 1980-84 is about twice the average of other OECD countries.
 - O Recent growth (1979-84) in the U.S. manufacturing capital stock is well in excess of the growth rates for most of our industrialized trading partners.
- The consequences of variations in economic growth are especially pronounced for manufacturing and the goods-producing sector, helping to explain the deep trough in the last recession for these sectors and their exceptionally strong recovery (which is not yet complete, however).
- 4) Only a handful of U.S. industries exhibit a persistent decline in real output. For some, import competition has played a major role, but one consistent with underlying trends in comparative advantage.

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Table 1

Real Growth in Gross Domestic Product by Industry
(Percent Average Rate of Growth over Period)

	1950s(1)	1960s	1970s	1980s(2)	1947 to 1984
Gross Domestic Product(3)	3.2	3.9	3.0	2.8	3.4
Pri/ate	3.3	4.0	3.3	3.1	3.5
Goods	2.4	3.8	2.8	2.7	3.0
Agriculture Mining	0.9 2.0	. 0.7 3.4	1.5	3.1 0.9	1.5
Manufacturing Durable Non-Durable	2.7 2.6 2.9	4.3 4.4 4.1	3.0 3.1 2.9	2.7 3.2 2.1	3.4 3.4 3.3
Construction	4.7	1.5	-0.2	1.2	2.4
Services					
Capital Intensive(4)	3.4	5.1	3.9	2.0	3.5
Trade Wholesale Retail	3.0 3.9 2.5	4.2 5.3 3.4	3.4 3.8 3.1	4.6 5.6 3.8	3.7 4.4 3.3
FIRE(5)	4.9	4.3	4.2	3.0	4.4
Other Services	3.4	4.3	4.1	3.7	3.8
Government	3.6	3.6	1.5	0.3	2.6
Rest of the World	5.7	4.4	12.4	-6.5	5.7

⁽¹⁾ Decade Averages

^{(2) 1980-1984}

⁽³⁾ Also includes statistical discrepancy and the residual between income and product measures.

⁽⁴⁾ Transportation and Public Utilities (including Communications)

⁽⁵⁾ Finance, Insurance and Real Estate

Table 2

Productivity Growth by Industry

(Growth in Ratio of Real Value Added vs
Number of Full Time Equivalent Employees)

	1950s	ual Rate 1960s		1980s
Gross Domestic Product	2.2	1.6	1.1	1.2
Private	2.6	1.9	1.2	1.2
Goods	2.8	2.7	2.0	2.4
Agriculture Mining	2.2 5.7	4.2 4.8	-0.1 -2.8	0.2
Manufacturing	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.7
Construction	3.0	-0.2	-1.6	0.3
Services				;
Capital Intens	. 3.7	4.2	2.8	1.2
Trade Wholesale Retail	2.8 1.5	3.2	1.3	1.7
FIRE Other	1.2		0.6	-0.1 0.2
Government	. 0.0	0.3	0.4	0.4

Note: See previous Table forFootnotes

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Table 3

Growth in Full-Time Equivalent Employment

(Average Annual Rate in Percent

	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1947 to 1984
Total, wage and salary workers in nonagricultural					
establishments	1.5	2.3	2.0	1.0	1.7
Manufacturing	.8	1.5	. 4	2	.6

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 4

Output Growth in Major Industrial Economies 1960 to 1984

(Average annual rates of change in percent)

		USA		GERMANY		FRANCE		JAPAN		UNITED KINGDOM		OECD
	GD₽	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur ing production
1960-1973	4.0	5.4	4.5	5.2	5.6	5.0	10.5	. 12.5	3.1	3.0	5.0	6.0
1973-1980	2.3	1.8	2.3	1.1	2.7	1.3	3.6	2.9	0.9	-2.2	2.5	1.7
1980-1984	2.5	2.9	. 6	1	1.2	-1.0	4.0	3.9	1.5	.7	2.0	1.5

Notes. -- Due to various adjustments figures may differ from those from national sources. Manufacturing production is measure by industrial output.

Source: OECD.

13 Table 5

Changes in capital stock of total manufacturing (Average annual rates of growth)

6.0 6.2 6.5	3.4 4.0	2.7 3.1
6.2		
6 5		~ ·
0.0	4.1	2.8
6.0	2.3	1.8
4.1	4.8	3.3
4.4	3.7	. 2.1
3.2	2.1	0.6
4.7	3.9	4.1
2.7	3.8	4.1
	4.4 3.2 4.7	4.4 3.7 3.2 2.1 4.7 3.9

Source: OECD

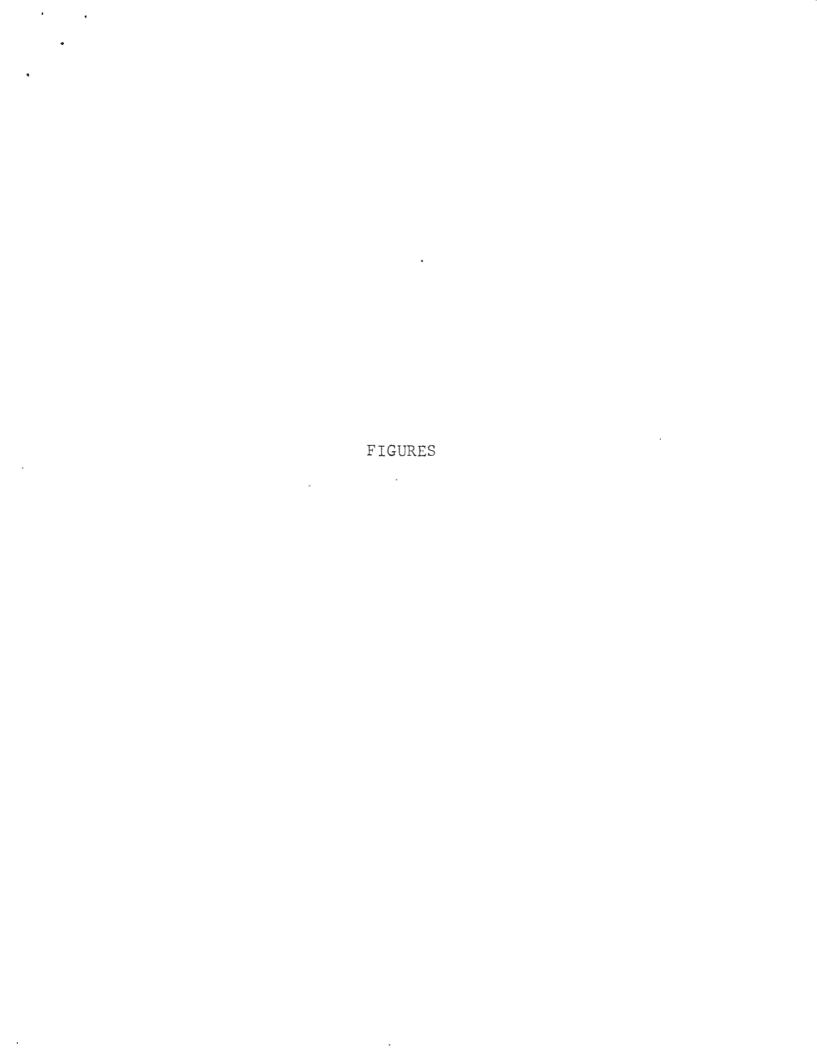
Table 6

Changes in capacity outputa in manufacturing (Average annual rates of growth)

	Annual av	erage rates	of growth
Country	1969-1973	1973-1979	1979-1984
Austria	3.3	3.1	3.7
Belgium	8.1	3.9	0.6
France	6.3	3.7	1.3
Germany,			
Fed.Rep. of	4.6	2.4	0.9
Italy	7.1	3.0	1.2
Netherlands	• •	2.4	-1.0
Sweden			1.7
United Kingdom	2.7	-	-1.7
Canada '	4.3	3.7	3.3
United States	3.6	3.1	2.5

Source: OECD

a. Capacity output is actual real output divided by average capacity utilization rate. Actual real output is the real value added of total manufacturing.



GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

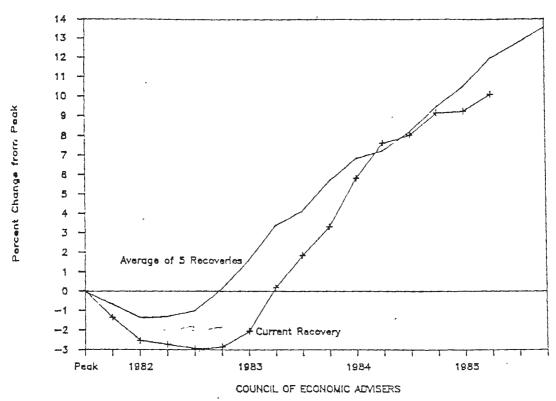


Figure 1(a)

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

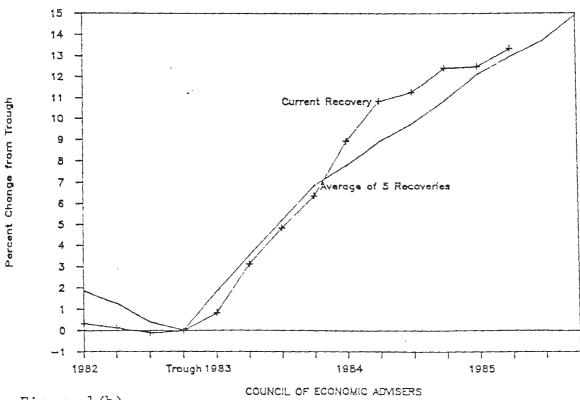


Figure 1(b)

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT -- GOODS

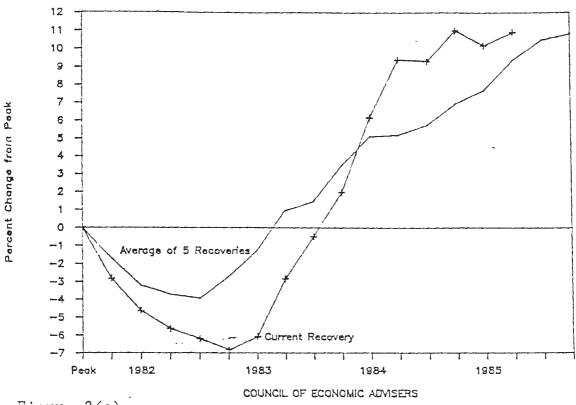


Figure 2(a)

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT -- GOODS

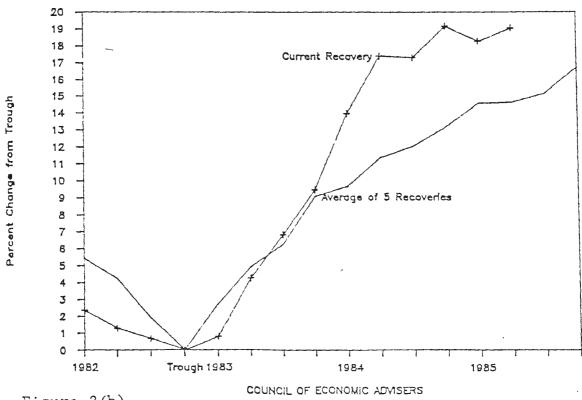


Figure 2(b)

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION -- MANUFACTURING

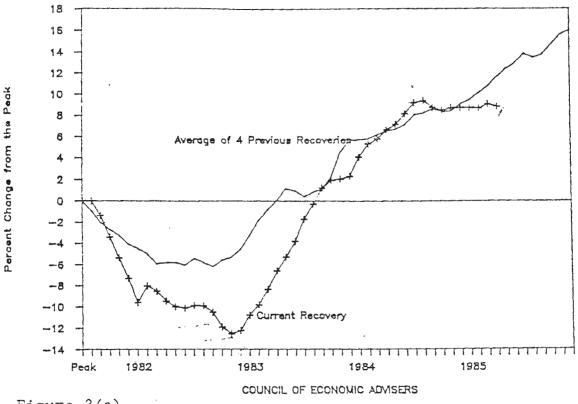


Figure 3(a)

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION -- MANUFACTURING

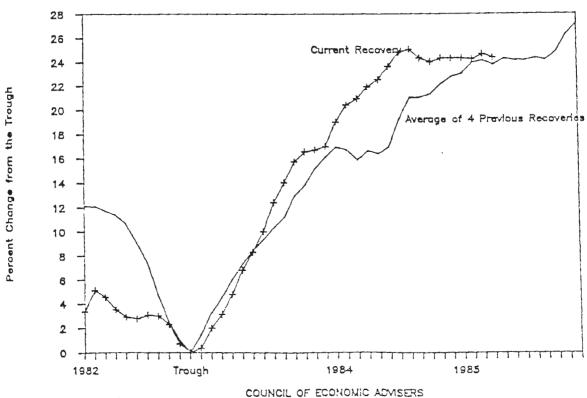


Figure 3(b)

TOTAL PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT

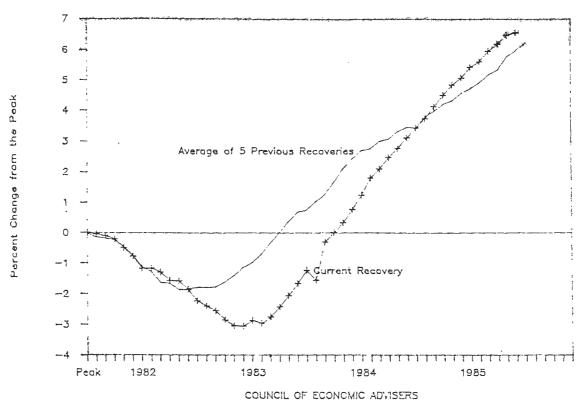
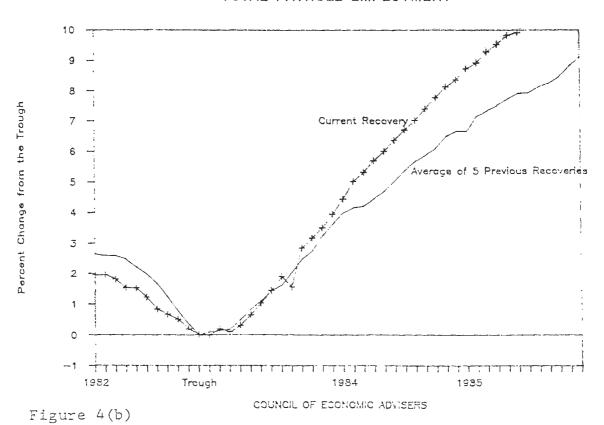
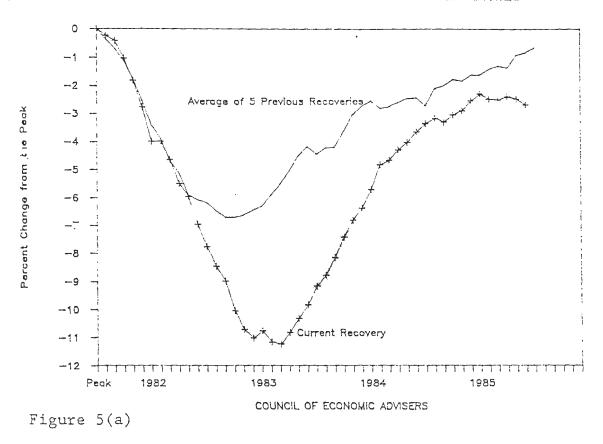


Figure 4(a)

TOTAL PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT



EMPLOYMENT -- GOODS PRODUCING INDUSTRIES



EMPLOYMENT -- GOODS PRODUCING INDUSTRIES

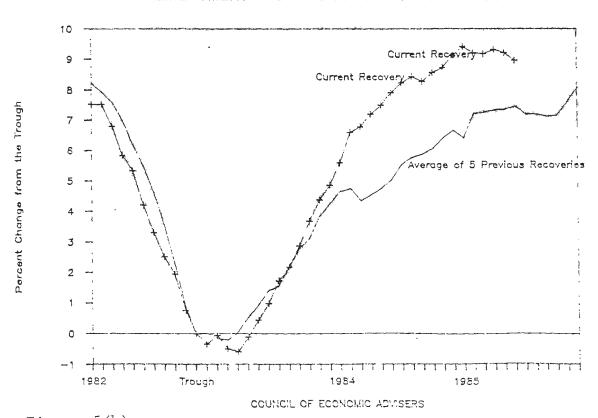


Figure 5(b)

MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

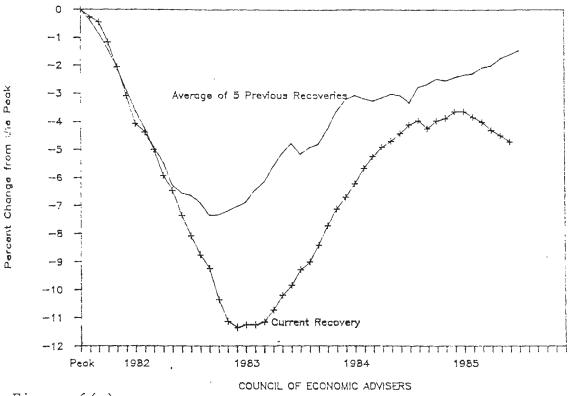


Figure 6(a)

MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

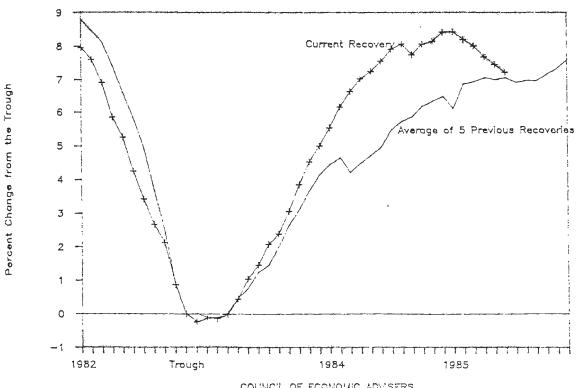
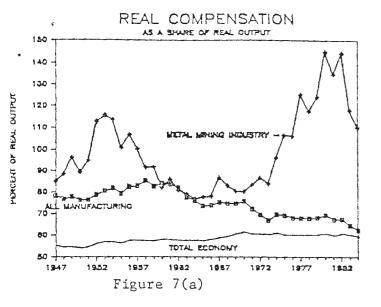
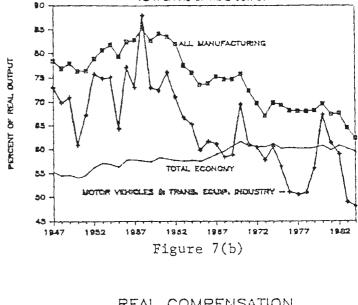


Figure (6b)

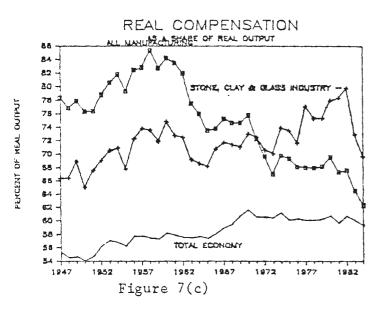
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

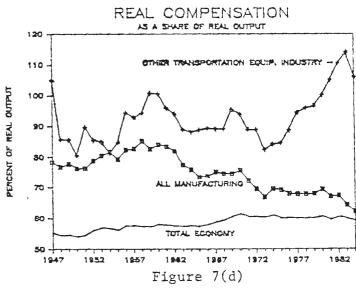


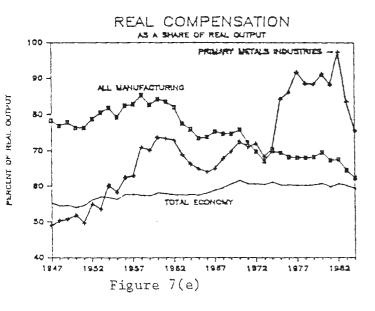


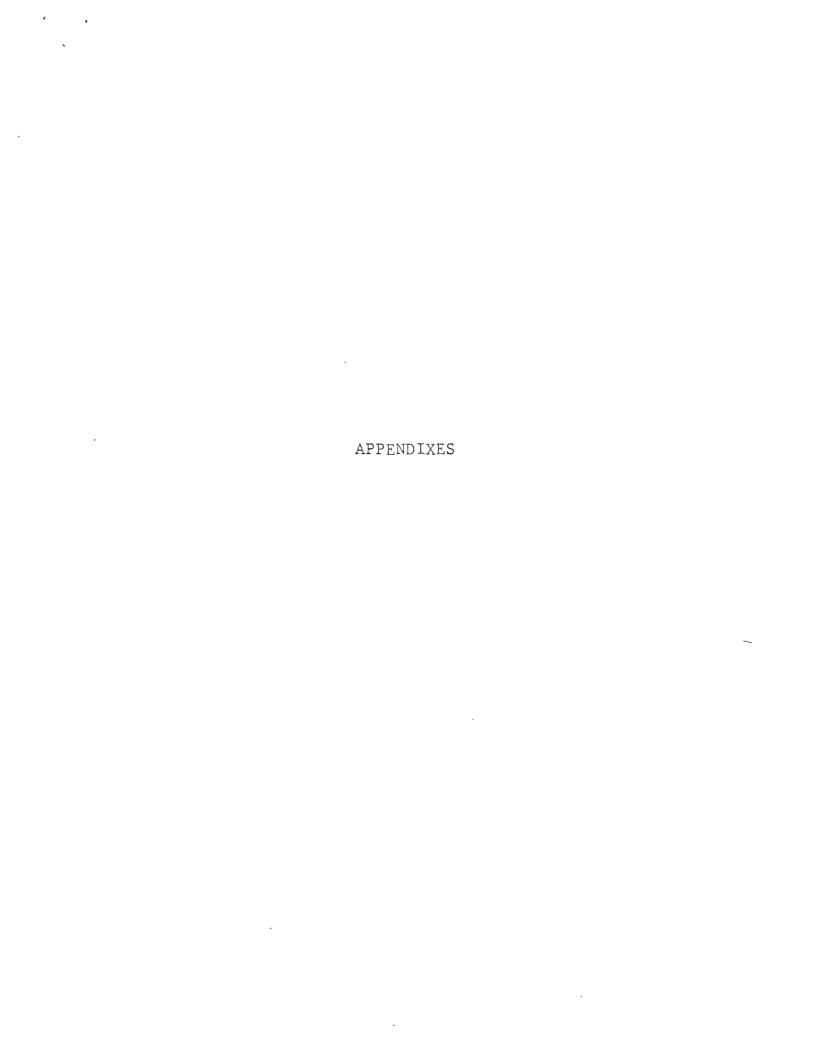
REAL COMPENSATION

AS A SHARE OF REAL DUTPUT









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GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
     2 - DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES (GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT)
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            PRIVATE INCUSTRIES
     4
              AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, & FISHERIES
     5
                FARMS (01-02)
               AGRICULTURAL SERVICES, FORESTRY, & FISHERIES (07-09)
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3
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              MINING
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               METAL MINING
                                      (10)
               COAL MINING (11-12)
OIL & GAS EXTRACTION (13)
NONMETALLIC MINERALS, EXCEPT FUELS (14)
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    12
              CONSTRUCTION (15-17)
   13
            . MANUFACTURING
    14
                DURABLE GOODS
                 LUMBER & WOOD PRODUCTS (24)

FURNITURE & FIXTURES (25)

STONE, CLAY, & GLASS PRODUCTS (32)

PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES (33)

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS (34)

MACHINERY, EXCEPT ELECTRICAL (35)

ELECTRIC & ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT (36)

MOTOR VEHICLES & EQUIPMENT (371)

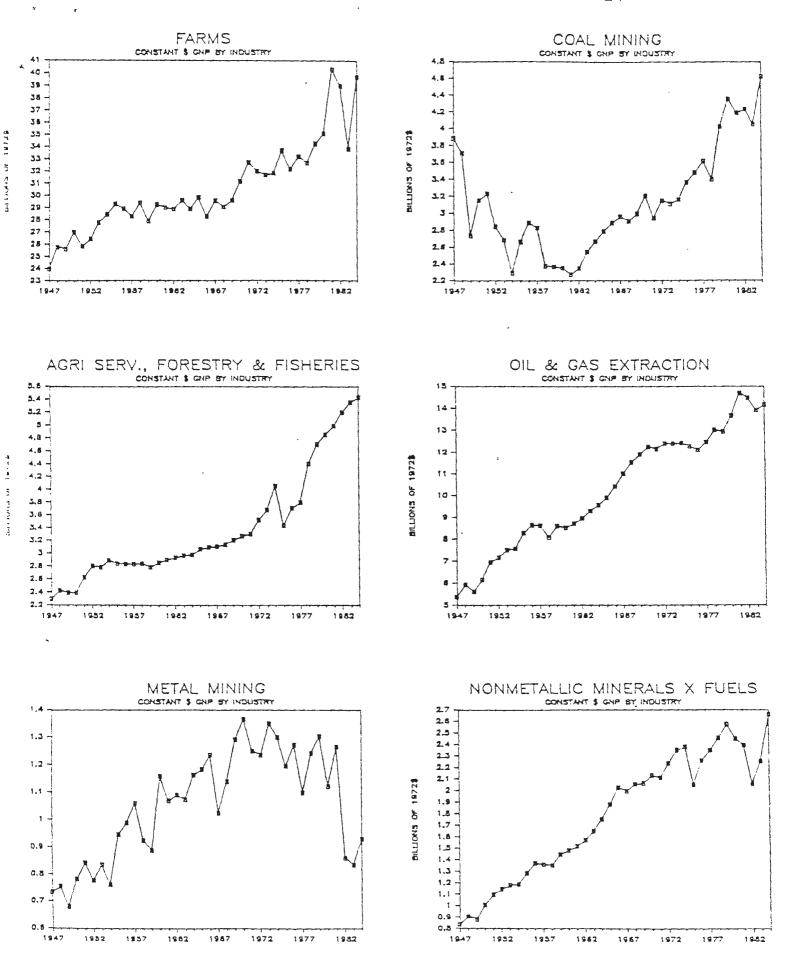
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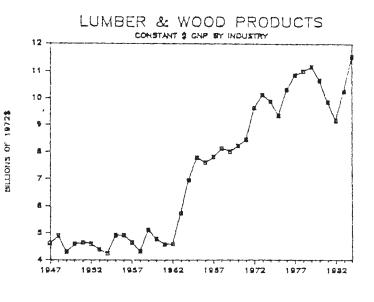
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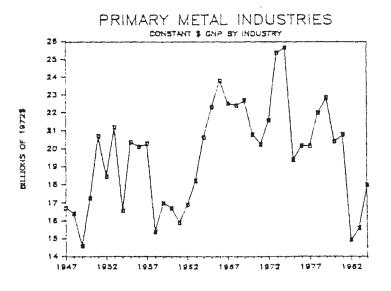
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                                          MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES (39)
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TOBACCO MANUFACTURES (21)
TEXTILE MILL PRODUCTS (22)
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PRODUCTS (26)
                                    PUBLISHING (27)
ALLIED PRODUCTS
                  PRINTING & CHEMICALS &
                  PETROLEUM &
                                                               (29)
                                      COAL PRODUCTS
    35
                  RUBBER
                              & MISCELLANEOUS
                                                         PLASTIC PRODUCTS (30)
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                  LEATHER & LEATHER PRODUCTS
               TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC UTILITIES
    37
                TRANSPORTATION
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    38
                  RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION (4C)
LOCAL & INTERURBAN PASSENGER TRANSIT (41)
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                  TRUCKING & WAREHOUSING (4) WATER TRANSPORTATION (44)
     4123
                                                          (42)
                  TRANSPORTATION BY AIR (45)
PIPELINES, EXCEPT NATURAL GAS
                                                                       (46)
                                                            (47)
                  TRANSPORTATION SERVICES
     45
7
                 COMMUNICATION
     46
                   TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH (481,2,9) RADIO & TELEVISION BROADCASTING (483)
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     48
                 ELECTRIC, GAS, & SANITARY SERVICES (49)
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 9
               WHOLESALE TRADE (50-51)
     50
               RETAIL TRADE (52-59)
     51
                FINANCE, INSURANCE, & REAL ESTATE
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                  BANKING (60)
CREDIT AGENCIES
SECURITY COMMO
INSURANCE CARRI
                 BANK ING
CREDIT
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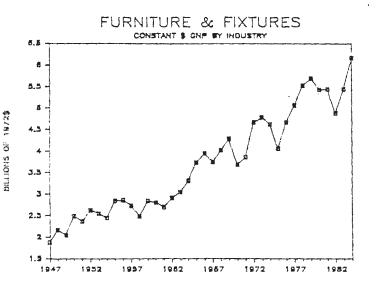
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BUSINESS SERVICES (73)
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MOTION PICTURES (78)
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AMUSEMENT & RECREATION SERVICES (79)
HEALTH SERVICES (80)
LEGAL SERVICES (81)
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES (82)
SOCIAL SERVICES & MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS (83,86)
MISCELLANEOUS PROFESSIONAL SERVICES (84,89)
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS (88)
       890123
777
       74
                  GOVERNMENT
                                           & GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES
                     GOVERNMENT
12
       75
       76
77
                       FEDERAL
                                        GOVERNMENT (91-97)
                       STATE & LOCAL GOVERNMENT (91-96)
       78
                       GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES
                       FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES (01-89) STATE AND LOCAL ENTERPRISES (01-89)
        79
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                  STATISTICAL DISCREPANCY
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                   RESIDUAL
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        83
                 REST OF THE WORLD
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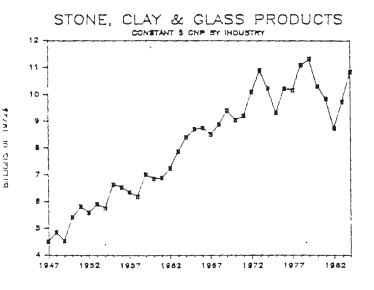


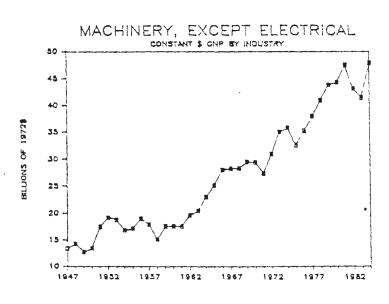


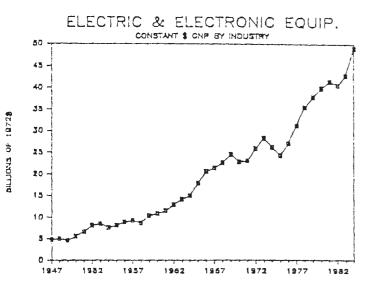


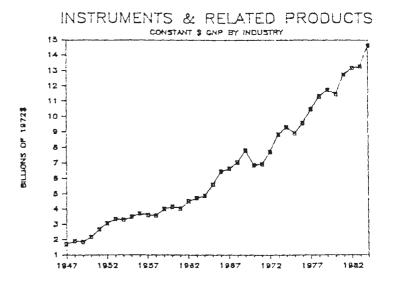


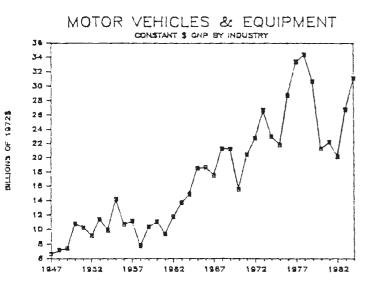




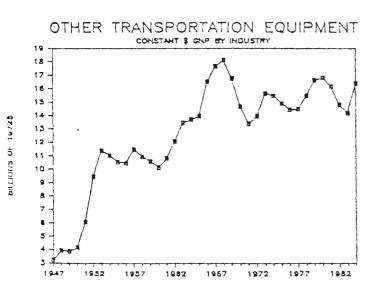




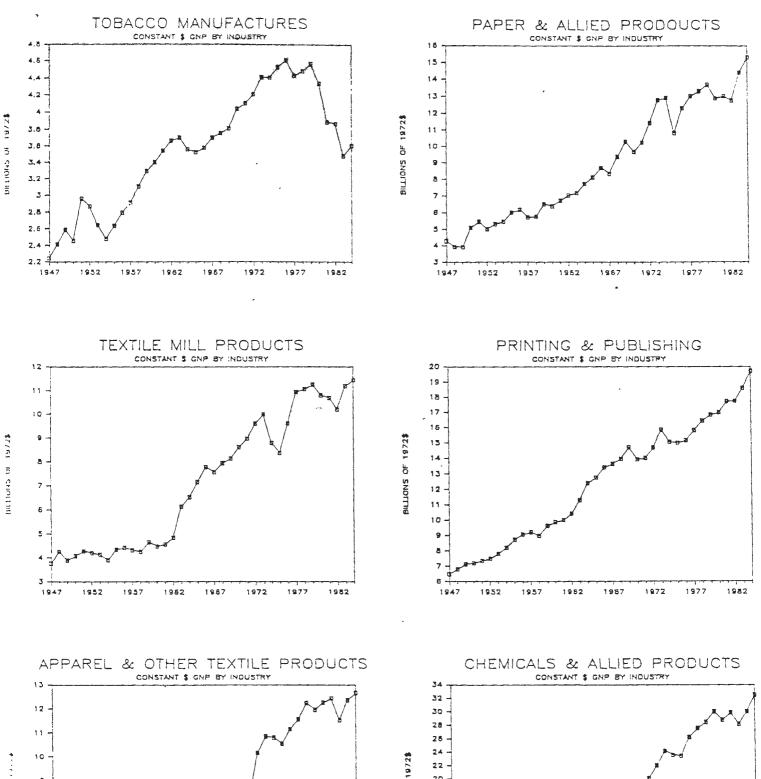












CONSTANT \$ GNP BY INDUSTRY

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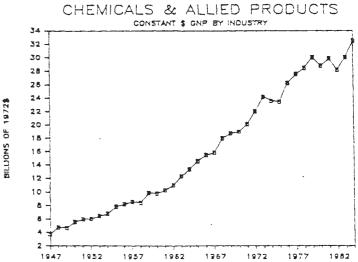
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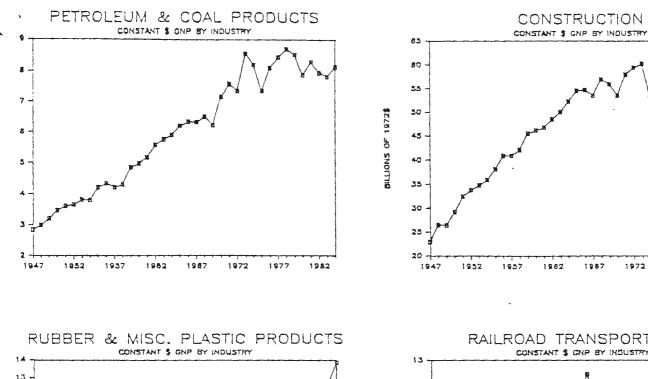
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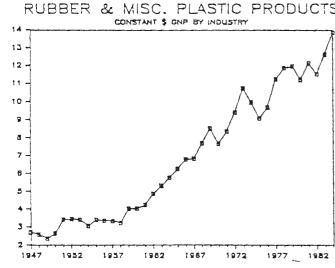
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1947 1952 1957 1962 1957 1972 1977 1982

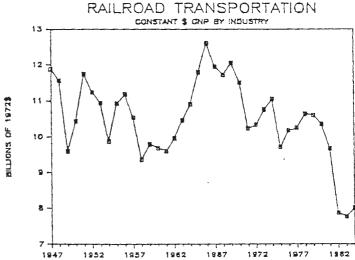






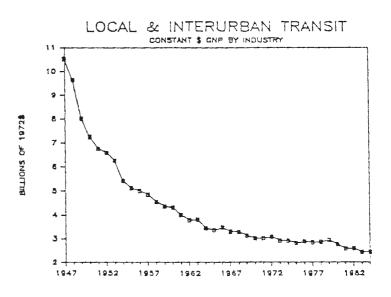
BILLIONS OF 1972\$

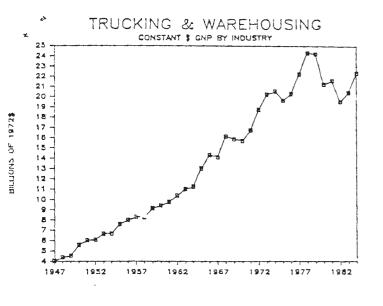
BILLIONS OF 1972\$

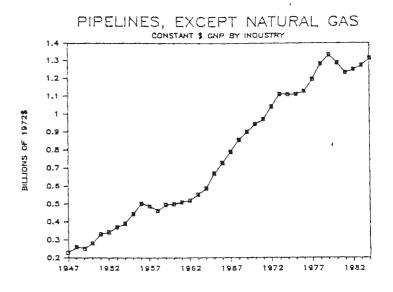


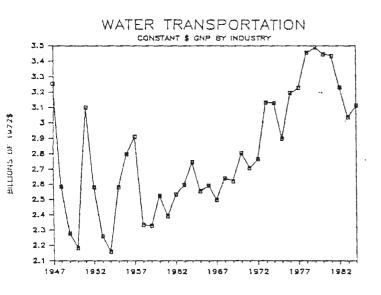
1982

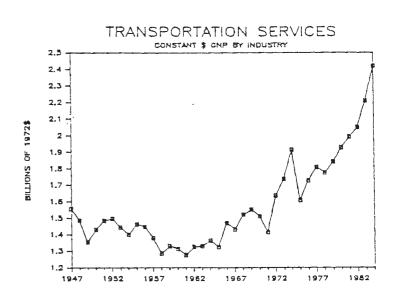


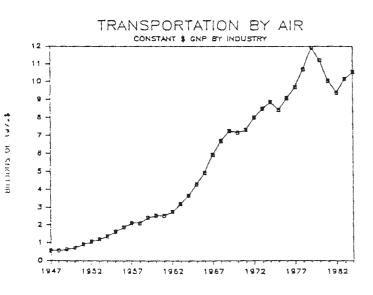


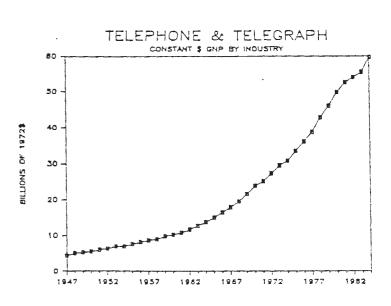


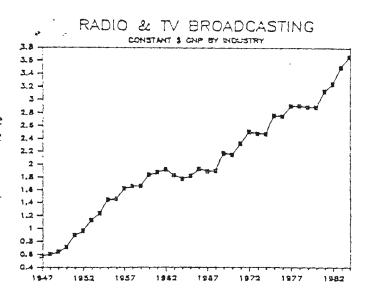




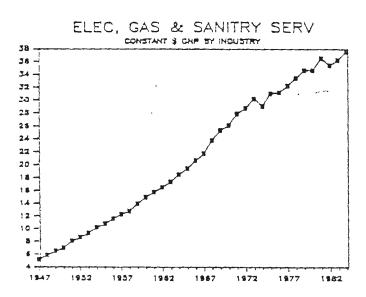




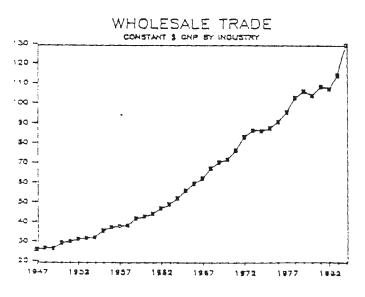


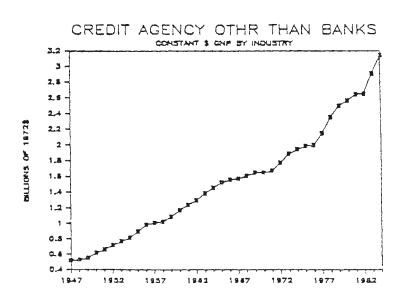


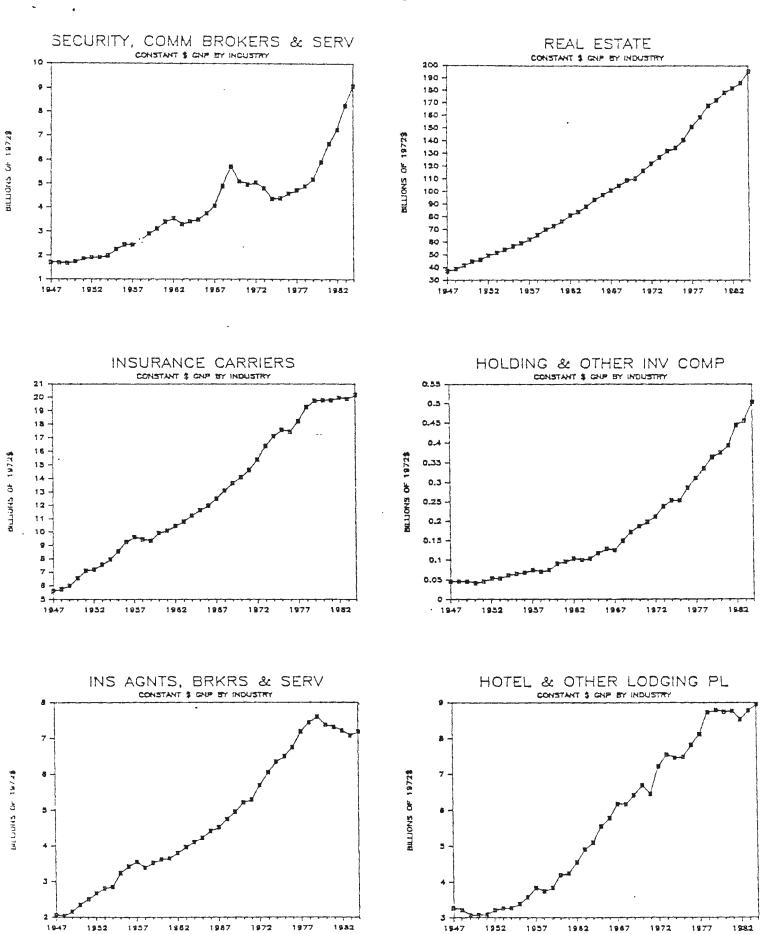


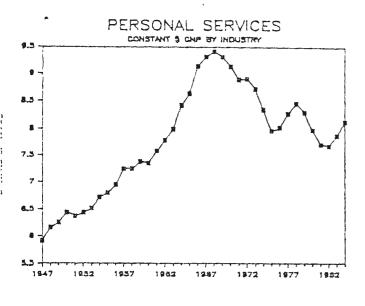




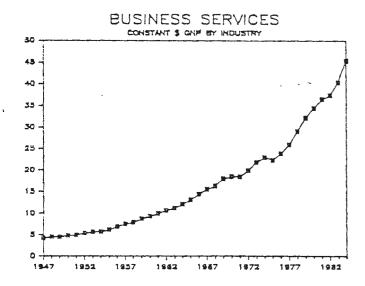


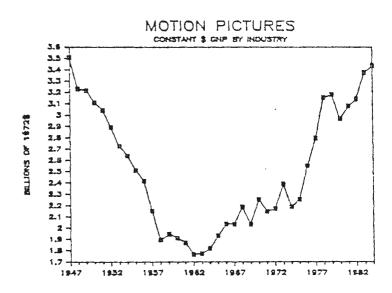


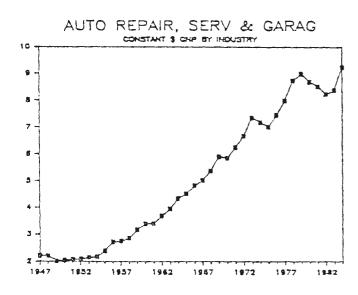


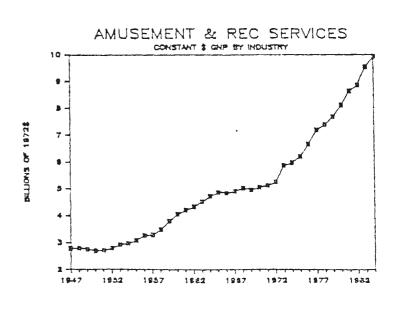


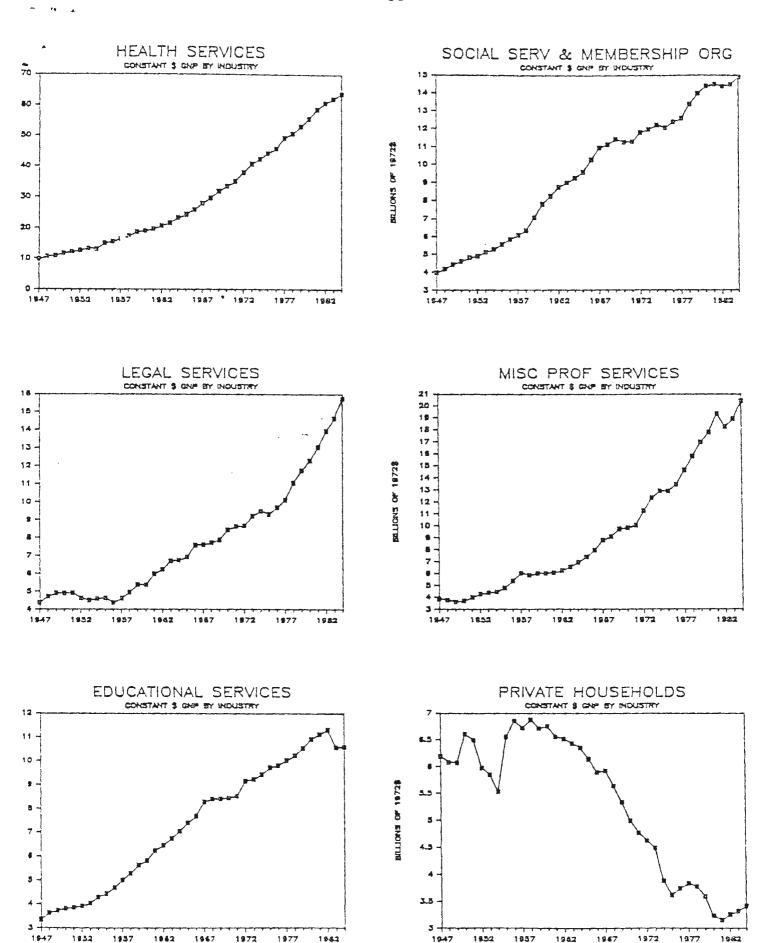


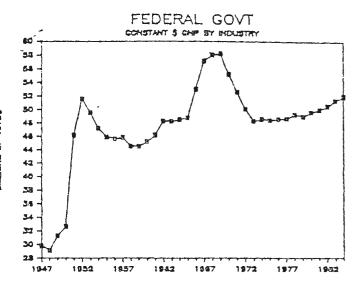




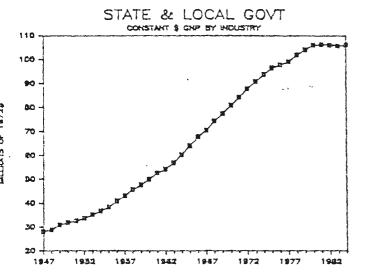




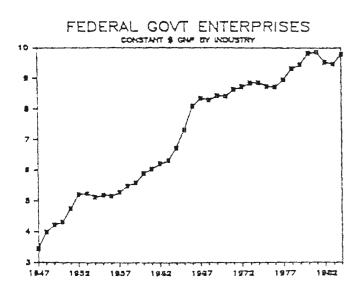












EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

July 16, 1985

Dr. Sprinkel ✓ Dr. Moore Joe Stone

Attached for your information are informal notes from the July 15 trade meeting.

Margot Machol



Beryl W. Sprinkel Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ALFRED H. KINGON.

W. ALLEN WALLIS DANIEL G. AMSTUTZ MICHAEL B. SMITH BRUCE W. SMART DAVID C. MULFORD DOUGLAS W. McMINN THOMAS KAY

THOMAS KAY
ROBERT CORNELL

FROM:

ROGER B. PORTER REP

SUBJECT:

Deindustrialization

At the trade policy meeting on July 2, the Council of Economic Advisers agreed to review the literature and prepare a paper on "Is the U.S. Economy Undergoing 'Deindustrialization'."

A copy of this paper is attached.

Attachment

cc: Beryl W. Sprinkel \

Is the United States Undergoing "Deindustrialization"?

The public perception that the U.S. economy is undergoing "deindustrialization" is widespread and has grown substantially in recent years. Many apparently believe that the tradable goods sector, especially manufacturing, is in decline due both to inappropriate policies here at home (the tight money-large budget deficit-strong dollar argument) and to unfair trading practices among our trading partners. Thus, it is claimed, industry is expanding abroad at the expense of industry in the United States. This paper examines whether such arguments are valid.

Deindustrialization presumably refers to a persistent decline in the productive capacity of the manufacturing sector. However, the term is also sometimes used to refer to the goods-producing sector in general, which includes agriculture and mining as well as manufacturing. Productive capacity itself is not directly observed, but is the result of investments in capital stock, employment and other inputs, and the technology of production. Over long periods of time, where one can abstract from demand conditions, actual output is the best measure of trends in productive capacity. Over shorter periods, trends in the capital stock can also be used if the rate of technological change is low. Trends in employment are generally a poor measure of trends in productive capacity — in the short run because of cyclical variations in demand, and in the longer run because of changes in technology.

In subsequent sections we describe and evaluate trends in major sectors of the economy, compare U.S. economic performance overall and in manufacturing to the performance of other countries, and summarize and evaluate exceptional trends in detailed industries.

Trends in Major Sectors

Analysis of recent and longer-term trends in the total, goods-producing, and manufacturing sectors of the U.S. economy suggests the following conclusions:

1) The average annual rate of growth for manufacturing output from 1947-84 is exactly the same as for total real gross domestic product (GDP) -- 3.4 percent (see Table 1). For the more recent period from 1980-84, manufacturing output has continued to grow at about the same rate as total real GDP (2.7 versus 2.8 percent).

Table 1

Real Growth in Gross Domestic Product by Industry
(Percent Average Rate of Growth over Period)

	1950s(1)	1,960s	1970s	1980s(2)	1947 to 1984
Gross Domestic Product(3)	3.2	3.9	3.0	2.8	3.4
Private	3.3	4.0	3.3	3.1	3.5
Goods	2.4	3.8	2.8	2.7	3.0
Agriculture	0.9	, 0.7	1.5	3.1	1.5
Mining	2.0	3.4	1.3	0.9	2.0
Manufacturing	2.7	4.3	3.0	2.7	3.4
Durable	2.6	4.4	3.1	3.2	3.4
Non-Durable	2.9	4.1	2.9	2.1	3.3
Construction	4.7	1.5	-0.2	1.2	2.4
Services					
Capital Intensive(4)	3.4	5.1	3.9	2.0	3.5
Trade ,	3.0	4.2	3.4	4.6	3.7
Wholesale	3.9	5.3	3.8	5.6	4.4
Retail	2.5	3.4	3.1	3.8	3.3
FIRE(5)	4.9	4.3	4.2	3.0	4.4
Other Services	3.4	4.3	4.1	3.7	3.8
Government	3.6	3.6	1.5	0.3	2.6
Rest of the World	5.7	4.4	12.4	-6.5	5.7

⁽¹⁾ Decade Averages

^{(2) 1980-1984}

⁽³⁾ Also includes statistical discrepancy and the residual between income and product measures.

⁽⁴⁾ Transportation and Public Utilities (including Communications)

⁽⁵⁾ Finance, Insurance and Real Estate

- The average annual rate of growth for the goodsproducing sector as a whole (manufacturing plus
 agriculture and mining) from 1947 to 1984 is somewhat
 less than for real GDP (3.0 percent versus 3.4 percent), but this reflects lower growth in agriculture
 and mining rather than in manufacturing (see Table 1).
 For the more recent period from 1980-84, however, the
 goods-producing sector grew almost as rapidly as real
 GDP (2.7 versus 2.8 percent), due primarily to an
 increase in the rate of growth of agriculture to more
 than double the rate in the prior three decades.
- 3) Productivity growth in manufacturing (average labor productivity) substantially exceeds that of the economy as a whole (2.7 percent versus 1.2 percent for 1980-84), and this has been increasingly true in recent decades (see Table 2).
 - o The explanation lies both in greater rates of technological change and in shifts to more capital-intensive industries and techniques. Part of the explanation for the shift to more sophisticated, capital-intensive techniques and industries lies in the dynamic adjustment of the U.S. economy to increased competition from abroad in more labor-intensive areas.
 - O The result of greater productivity growth in manufacturing (together with the similarity of manufacturing output growth and total output growth) is that manufacturing employment has expanded less rapidly than total employment in each of the last four decades (see Table 3).
- 4) Cyclical fluctuations in the goods-producing and manufacturing sectors are exaggerated relative to the economy as a whole. This well-known attribute of these sectors is easily demonstrated for the 1980-84 period and largely explains their performance during this period.

Table 2

Productivity Growth by Industry
(Growth in Ratio of Real Value Added vs
Number of Full Time Equivalent Employees)

	1950s	al Rate o		1980s
Gross Domestic Product	2.2	1.6	1.1	1.2
Private	2.6	1.9	1.2	1.2
Goods	2.8	2.7	2.0	2.4
Agriculture Mining	2.2 5.7	4.2 4.8	-0.1 -2.8	0.2
Manufacturing	2.9	2.8	2.5	2.7
Construction	3.0	-0.2	-1.6	0.3
Services				
Capital Intens	3.7	4.2	2.8	1.2
Trade Wholesale Retail	2.8 1.5	3.2	1.3	1.7
FIRB Other	1.2 1.2	1.1	0.6 0.3	-0.1 0.2
Government	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.4

Note: See previous Table forFootnotes

Table 3

Growth in Full-Time Equivalent Employment

(Average Annual Rate in Percent

	1950s	1960s	1970s	<u>1980s</u>	1947 to 1984
Total, wage and salary workers in nonagricultural					
establishments	1.5	2.3	2.0	1.0	1.7
Manufacturing	. 8	1.5	. 4	2	.6

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

- With respect to output, Figure 1(a) illustrates that the most recent recession was substantially more severe than the average and Figure 1(b) that the subsequent recovery was exceptionally strong. The result was an even lower trough for the goods-producing sector (see Figure 2(a)) and an even stronger recovery (see Figure 2(b)). Similar effects are seen for manufacturing in Figures 3(a) and 3(b). Another few quarters are required before the full extent of the current recovery can be assessed.
- o With respect to employment, a similar phenomenon is observed. Figure 4(a) illustrates that total employment declined more than in the average recovery and Figure 4(b) that total employment growth was more rapid than average during the recovery. The even more exaggerated decline in goods-producing employment is presented in Figure 5(a), and Figure 5(b) depicts the exceptionally rapid increase in employment during the recovery. A similar pattern is observed for manufacturing employment in Figures 6(a) and 6(b). The slight downturn of employment in the first-quarter of 1985 is most likely the result of virtually zero growth overall in the first quarter.

International Comparisons

Comparisons of U.S. economic performance overall and in manufacturing to the performance by other countries provide an even more optimistic assessment of the deindustrialization issue and lead to the following major conclusions:

1) The U.S. economy would be in an even stronger position (especially manufacturing) if the rest of the economies of the rest of the world were performing better. In the 1980-04 period, rest of world economic growth was strongly negative, an average annual rate of 5.5 percent (see Table 1). Despite the relative poor performances by many of our trading partners, U.S. economic growth during the period was 2.8 percent overall and 2.7 percent in manufacturing.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

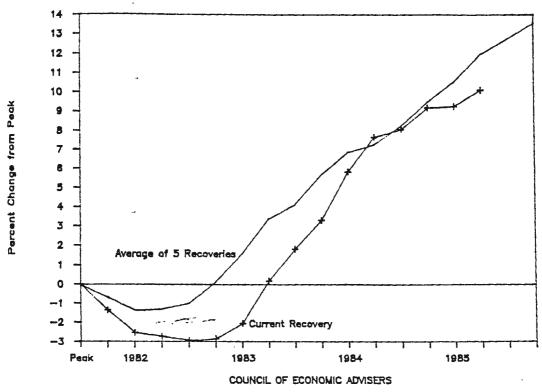


Figure 1(a)

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

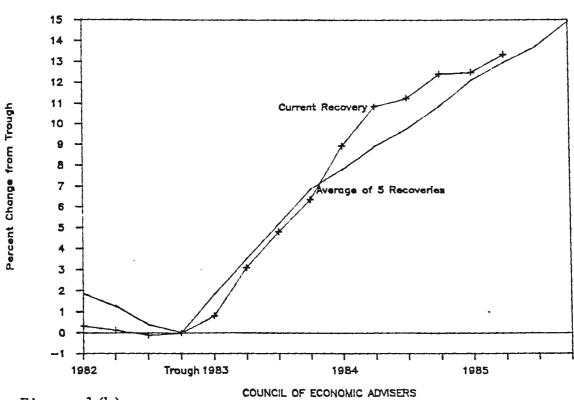
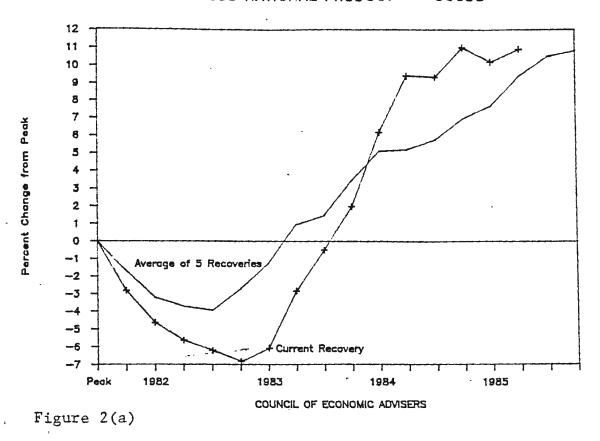
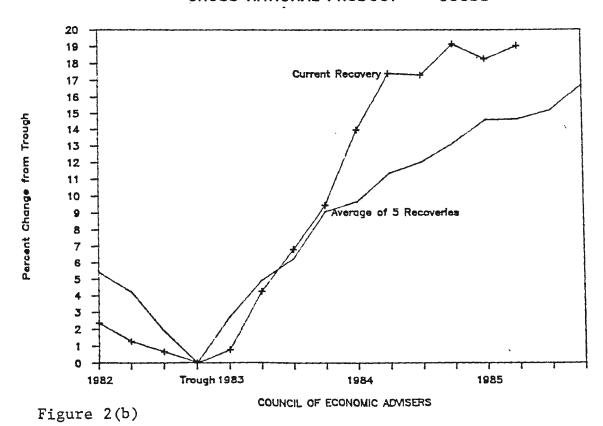


Figure 1(b)

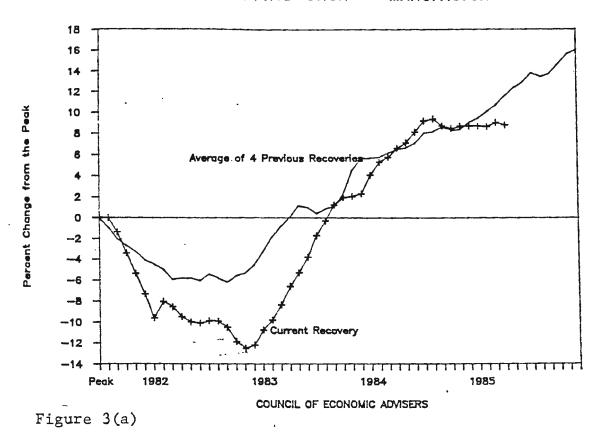
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT -- GOODS



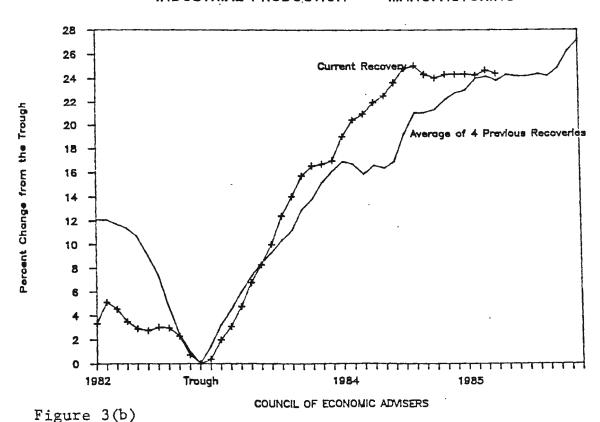
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT -- GOODS



INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION -- MANUFACTURING



INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION -- MANUFACTURING



TOTAL PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT

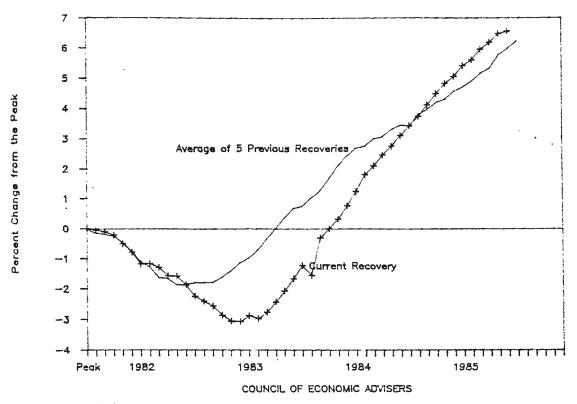


Figure 4(a)

TOTAL PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT

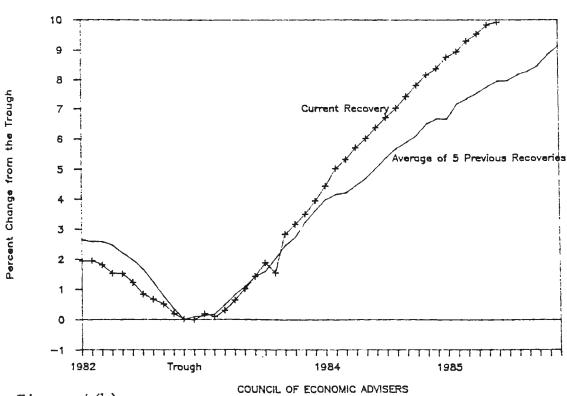
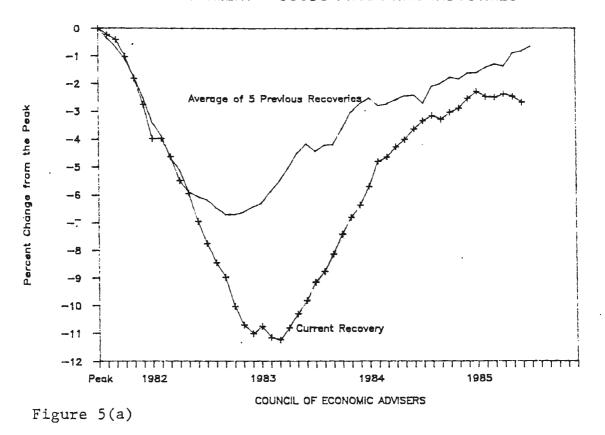


Figure 4(b)

EMPLOYMENT -- GOODS PRODUCING INDUSTRIES



EMPLOYMENT--GOODS PRODUCING INDUSTRIES

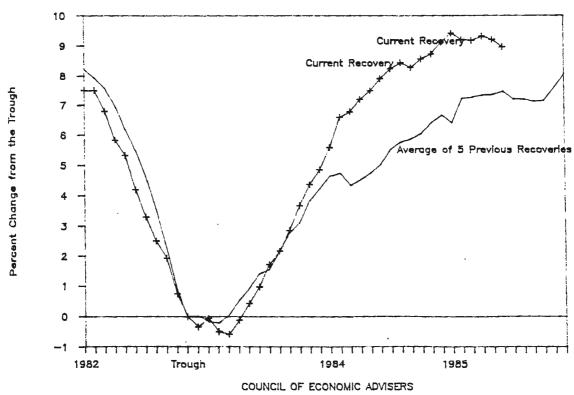
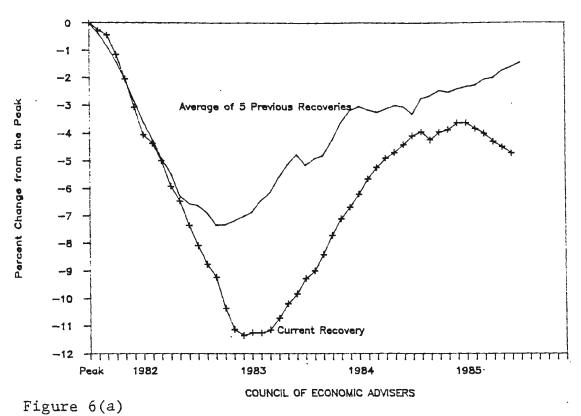


Figure 5(b)

MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT



MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

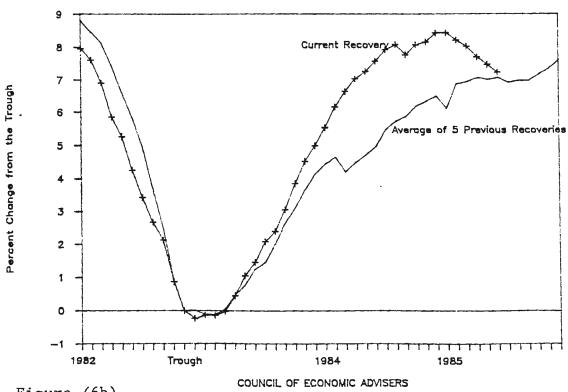


Figure (6b)

- 2) It is not true that most of our major international competitors have expanded manufacturing output at a faster rate than the United States. Table 4 indicates that U.S. manufacturing production, as measured by industrial production, grew at an annual rate of 2.9 percent from 1980-84, almost twice the average of all OECD countries. Only Japan (with an annual rate of 3.9 percent) stands out as having a distinctly stronger performance by manufacturing. Reflecting the cyclical volatility of manufacturing, growth in manufacturing production in OECD countries was significantly below growth in total production. This is not the case for the United States.
- 3) Growth in the U.S. manufacturing capital stock for recent years (1979-82) is substantially above the growth rates for most of our industrialized trading partners (see Table 5). The average annual rate is 4.1 for the United States, well above the rates for France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Austria, and others. Less precise data based on capacity output (real output divided by average capacity utilization rate) show an even more marked divergence for the period from 1979 through last year (see Table 6). U.S. capacity output in manufacturing grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent, more than twice the rate for most of our industrialized trading partners.

Table 4
Output Growth in Major Industrial Economies 1960 to 1984
(Average annual rates of change in percent)

		USA	GERMANY FRANCE		JAPAN			UNITED KINGDOM		OECD		
	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production	GDP	Manufactur- ing production
1960-1973	4.0	5.4	4.5	5.2	5.6	5.0	10.5	12.5	3.1	3.0	5.0	6.0
1973-1980	2.3	1.8	2.3	1.1	2.7	1.3	3.6	2.9	0.9	-2.2	2.5	1.7
1980-1984	2.5	2.9	.6	1	1.2	-1.0	4.0	3.9	1.5	.7	2.0	1.5

Notes. -- Due to various adjustments figures may differ from those from national sources. Manufacturing production is measured by industrial output.

Source: OECD.

Table 5

Changes in capital stock of total manufacturing (Average annual rates of growth)

	1969-1973	1973-1979	1979-1982
Austria	6.0	3.4	2.7
Finland	6.2	4.0	3.1
France	6.5	4.1	. 2.8
Germany, Fed. Rep. of	6.0	2.3	1.8
Norway	4.1	4.8	3.3
Sweden	4.4	3.7	2.1
United Kingdom	3.2	2.1	0.6
Canada .	4.7	3.9	4.1
United States	2.7	3.8	4.1

Source: OECD

Changes in capacity output^a in manufacturing (Average annual rates of growth)

Table 6

	Annual av	erage rates	of growth	
Country	1969-1973	1973-1979	1979-1984	
Austria	3.3 .	3.1	3.7	
Belgium	8.1	3.9	0.6	
France	6.3	3.7	1.3	
Germany,				
Fed.Rep. of	4.6	2.4	0.9	
Italy	7.1	3.0	1.2	
Netherlands	• •	2.4	-1.0	
Sweden	• •		1.7	
United Kingdom	2.7	-	-1.7	
Canada	4.8	3.7	3.3	
United States	3.6	3.1	2.5	

Source: OECD

a. Capacity output is actual real output divided by average capacity utilization rate. Actual real output is the real value added of total manufacturing.

Trends in Detailed Industries

Sector aggregates clearly conceal varying industry detail within each sector. Appendix A disaggregates U.S. GNP in 1972\$ to GNP by industry at the 2 digit level (65 industries). Appendix B shows real GNP over the postwar period in each of the 65 industries. A brief scan of these charts lead to the following general conclusions.

- 1) As suggested above, manufacturing industry output is subject to greater cyclical variation than the rest of the economy.
- 2) Among service industries, only railroad transportation (0.5% of GNP) and local and interurban transit (0.1% of GNP) are in major secular declines.
- Among mining industries only metal mining (0.06% of GNP) is in a major secular decline.
- Among manufacturing industries only primary metal industries (1.1% of GNP), tobacco manufactures (0.2% of GNP) and leather (0.1% of GNP) are in major secular decline.
- Mater transportation (0.2% of GNP), the stone, clay, and glass industry (0.5% of GNP), the motor vehicle and equipment industry (1.5% of GNP), the other transportation equipment industries (0.8% of GNP), the petroleum and coal products industry (0.4% of GNP) and construction (2.7% of GNP) have experienced no trend growth over the last 10 years.

If the definition of deindustrialization is limited to industries exhibiting absolute secular declines in production, then the industries listed in 2), 3), and 4) provide one measure of deindustrialization. The U.S. has six industries that comprise approximately 2.0% of GNP that have been in decline.

If the definition also includes industries showing little or no growth in production over the last 10 years then another six industries, enumerated in 5), that comprise 7.0% of GNP should be added to the list.²

Flat value added in the construction industry primarily reflects a shift in fabrication to other industries (i.e., use of dry wall instead of plaster) and the slowdown in Federal highway construction in the 1960s. Real investment in private structures has grown at a 2-1/2 percent average annual rate over the last 15 years.

This list excludes certain service industries, such as personal services and private households, that do not fit the normal definition of an industry.

Across all sectors of the economy -- 65 industries -- 12 industries (less than 10% of GNP) are showing flat or declining output over the last 10 years. Seven of the 12 are in manufacturing, three are service industries, one is mining and construction. All other industries exhibit growth in production that equals or exceeds growth in total real GNP.

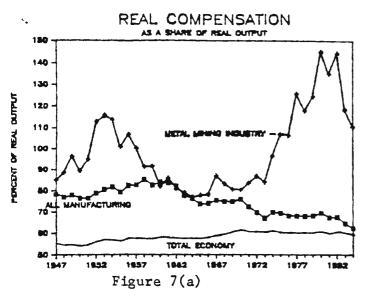
In the context of deindustrialization, should the U.S. Government be concerned about the trend in production in the 12 industries listed above? For several, the answer is clearly no. Poor pricing policy and shifts in demand have driven down tobacco manufactures. Shifts in demand are also responsible for the decline in local and interurban transit. Production has declined in the leather and leather products industry due to shifts in demand and foreign competition. The fate of these three industries is clearly irrelevant in this context.

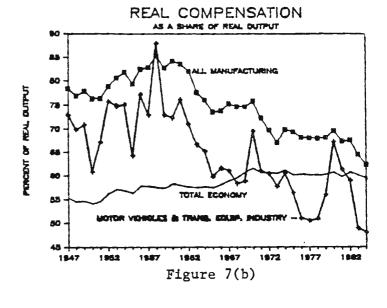
For several other industries flat or declining production has resulted from technical innovation and substitution of As mentioned above, the construction industry has experienced roughly flat value added production over the last This does not mean that residential and 15 years. nonresidential building has been flat. A shift in the source of value added has occurred. Prefabricated components (produced in other industries) now provide a larger proportion of the final product -- a building -- and less production occurs within the construction industry. The decline in the railroad transportation industry, and to a certain extent in the water transportation industry, represents pure substitution from high-cost, relatively inefficient providers of transportation services to lower cost providers such as pipelines. For the petroleum and coal products industry flat production primarily reflects the decline in U.S. oil consumption over the last 12 years. Since 1973 U.S. consumption of petroleum products has fallen at an average annual rate of 1 percent per year. Increases in the relative price of energy and the resulting substitution of other inputs for energy more than account for the decline. In fact, flat to declining output in the refining industry may be viewed as the primary result of a successful adaptation of the U.S. economy to the increase in energy prices in the 1970s. efficiency has increased rapidly in almost all industrial applications.

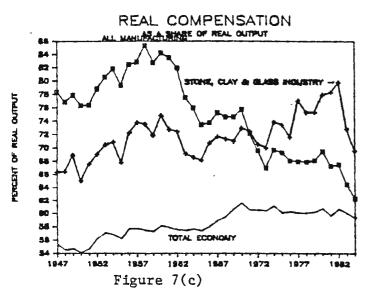
If the seven industries discussed above are viewed as irrelevant in this context or declining due to technical innovation and/or substitution to more efficient production processes, then the definition of deindustrialization may be applied to five industries that constitute about 4% of GNP.

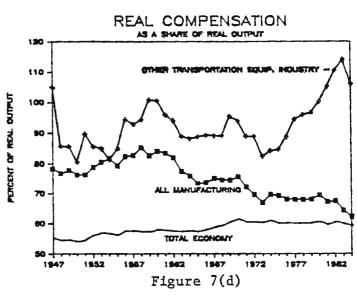
These five industries share several common characteristics that have played major roles in their decline. These characteristics are:

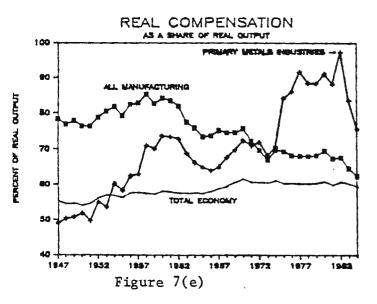
- Very high unit labor costs relative to the average of manufacturing (see Figures 7(a)-(e)). For example, real compensation as a share of real output has exceeded 100% in the metal mining industry since 1975 peaking at above 140% in 1980 and 1982 (see Figure 7(a)).
- Slow growth in demand for the product.
- Relatively high expenditures to meet government regulations for pollution abatement, safety standards, and energy efficiency standards.
- 4) Intense international competition except where the U.S. Government has intervened to limit imports. Based on the available evidence, U.S. Government intervention to alleviate characteristic 4) only exacerbated characteristics 1) and 2).











Conclusions

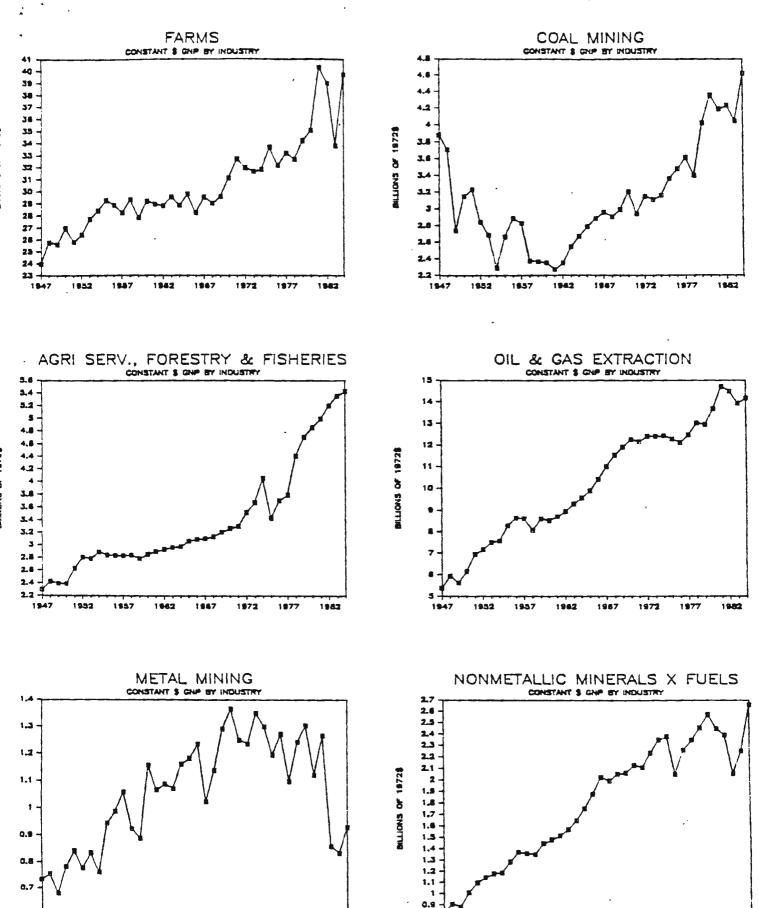
Four specific conclusions are suggested by the evidence reviewed above.

- 1) The U.S. economy is not undergoing deindustrialization:
 - o Long-term and recent trends in manufacturing output are strongly positive and roughly proportional to total growth of the economy, even for 1980-84.
 - o Productivity growth in manufacturing continues at a pace more than twice that in the rest of the economy.
- 2) U.S. economic performance overall and even in manufacturing is significantly better than the performances of the vast majority of our trading partners:
 - o Growth in U.S. manufacturing production from 1980-84 is about twice the average of other OECD countries.
 - o Recent growth (1979-84) in the U.S. manufacturing capital stock is well in excess of the growth rates for most of our industrialized trading partners.
- 3) The consequences of variations_in economic growth are especially pronounced for manufacturing and the goods-producing sector, helping to explain the deep trough in the last recession for these sectors and their exceptionally strong recovery (which is not yet complete, however).
- 4) Only a handful of U.S. industries exhibit a persistent decline in real output.

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22
     1
                    GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
     2 - DOMESTIC INGUSTRIES (GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT)
     3
            PRIVATE INDUSTRIES
               AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, & FISHERIES
1
     4
                 FARMS (01-02)
                 AGRICULTURAL SERVICES, FORESTRY, & FISHERIES (07-09)
     6
     7
               MINING
                METAL MINING (10)
COAL MINING (11-12)
OIL & GAS EXTRACTION (13)
     89
   10
                 NONMETALLIC MINERALS, EXCEPT FUELS (14)
   11
   12
               CONSTRUCTION (15-17)
1 13
               MANUFACTURING
   14
                 DURABLE GOODS
                  LUMBER & WOOD PRODUCTS (24)
FURNITURE & FIXTURES (25)
STONE, CLAY, & GLASS PRODUCTS (32)
PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES (33)
FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS (34)
MACHINERY, EXCEPT ELECTRICAL (35)
ELECTRIC & ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT (36)
MOTOR VEHICLES & EQUIPMENT (371)
OTHER TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT (372-379)
INSTRUMENTS & RELATED PRODUCTS (38)
MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES (
   16
17
18
19
   2222345
                 NONDURABLE GOODS
   26
                   FOOD & KINDRED PRODUCTS (20)
TOBACCO MANUFACTURES (21)
TEXTILE MILL PRODUCTS (22)
                   APPAREL & OTHER TEXTILE PRODUCTS (23)
PAPER & ALLIED PRODUCTS (26)
PRINTING & PUBLISHING (27)
CHEMICALS & ALLIED PRODUCTS (28)
PETROLEUM & COAL PRODUCTS (29)
RUBBER & MISCELLANEOUS PLASTIC PRODUC
    35
                                                                                PRODUCTS (30)
                   LEATHER & LEATHER PRODUCTS (31)
                TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC UTILITIES
    37
                  TRANSPORTATION
                                                 ----
    38
                   RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION (4C)
LOCAL & INTERURBAN PASSENGER TRANSIT (41)
    39
40
                    TRUCKING & WAREHOUSING (42) WATER TRANSPORTATION (44)
    41
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43
                   TRANSPORTATION BY AIR (45)
PIPELINES, EXCEPT NATURAL CAS (46)
TRANSPORTATION SERVICES (47)
     45
                  COMMUNICATION
    46
                    TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH (481,2,9) RADIO & TELEVISION BROADCASTING (483)
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     48
                   ELECTRIC, GAS, & SANITARY SERVICES (49)
     49
                 WHOLESALE TRADE (50-51)
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                 RETAIL TRADE (52-59)
     51
                 FINANCE, INSURANCE, & REAL ESTATE
    52
10
                                  (60)
     55555555
                   BANKING
                   CREDIT AGENCIES OTHER THAN BANKS (61)
SECURITY, COMMODITY BROKERS & SERVICES (62)
INSURANCE CARRIERS (63)
INSURANCE AGENTS, BROKERS, & SERVICES (64)
REAL ESTATE (65-66)
                   HOLDING & OTHER INVESTMENT COMPANIES (67)
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23
                     SERVICES
11
       60
                       HOTELS & OTHER LODGING PLACES (70)
PERSONAL SERVICES (72)
BUSINESS SERVICES (73)
AUTO REPAIR, SERVICES, & GARAGES (75)
MISCELLANEOUS REPAIR SERVICES (76)
MOTION PICTURES (78)
AMUSEMENT & RECREATION SERVICES (79)
HEALTH SERVICES (80)
LEGAL SERVICES (81)
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES (82)
SOCIAL SERVICES & MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS (83,86)
MISCELLANEOUS PROFESSIONAL SERVICES (84,89)
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS (88)
       61
62
63
      64567890123
       74
                   GOVERNMENT & GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES
                      GOVERNMENT
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77
                        FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (91-97)
                        STATE & LOCAL GOVERNMENT (91-96)
        78
                        GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES
                         FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES (01-89) STATE AND LOCAL ENTERPRISES (01-89)
        79
        80
                    STATISTICAL DISCREPANCY
        81
        82
                    RESIDUAL
 13
        83
                  REST OF THE WORLD
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