### For Whom the Bot Tolls: Specialization and the Earnings Effects of AI

Lukas Freund Lukas Mann Columbia University Minneapolis Fed

BSE Summer Forum 2025: Firms in a Changing Background June 3, 2025

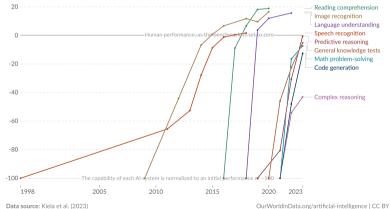
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## AI capabilities are rapidly improving relative to humans

#### Test scores of AI systems on various capabilities relative to human performance



Within each domain, the initial performance of the AI is set to -100. Human performance is used as a baseline, set to zero. When the AI's performance crosses the zero line, it scored more points than humans.



Data source: Kiela et al. (2023)

Note: For each capability, the first year always shows a baseline of -100, even if better performance was recorded later that year.

### Large-scale automation exposure

ASK FT

#### FINANCIAL TIMES

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#### Artificial intelligence + Add to myFT

# Higher earners face greater AI exposure, study finds

Research estimates how much the fast-evolving technology hits various jobs, from software engineers to mechanics





Jobs most affected included blockchain engineers, clinical data managers, public relations specialists and financial quantitative analysts  $\otimes$  Getty Images

Michael Peel in London

Published JUN 20 2024





#### NEWS > TECHNOLOGY

# IMF report: 40 percent of jobs exposed to AI

L' SHARE



The report landed on Sunday, right before the World Economic Forum (WEP) in Davos, where the rise of artificial intelligence and generative AI in particular, will be a major taiking point (Stefani Reynolds/APP via Getty Images

JANUARY 15, 2024 3/33 PM CET BY PIETER HAECK

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[Zeira, 1998; Acemoglu-Autor, 2011; Acemoglu-Restrepo, 2018; ...]

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2 which tasks will be automated

[Webb, 2020; Eloundou et al., 2023; ...]

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This paper:

unify theory & measurement to quantify how specialization governs individual earnings effects of AI

**1 Theory:** canonical task-based model + Roy occupational choice

#### **2** Measurement: distribution of task-specific skills

**3** Quantitative analysis of automation based on task exposure measures

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- $\circ\,$  LLMs: occupational task weights for 30 tasks (clustering of  $\sim$  20,000 O\*NET tasks)
- NLSY: worker panel of occ. choices & wages
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### **3** Quantitative analysis of automation based on task exposure measures

- Industrial robots: automation of material handling tasks
- Al: automation of information-processing tasks

### What's new?

#### • Al: measurement of job exposure

[Brynjolfsson et al., 2018; Webb, 2019; Felten et al., 2021; Eloundou et al., 2023; ... ]

 $\Rightarrow$  map to **structural** model  $\rightarrow$  individual **earnings effects** as a function of skills

• Task-based framework [Acemoglu-Autor, 2011; Acemoglu-Restrepo, 2022; Freund, 2024; ...]  $\Rightarrow$  empirically operationalize  $\rightarrow$  link to forward-looking automation measures

### • Multi-dimensional skills

[Lindenlaub, 2017; Guvenen et al., 2020; Lise-PostelVinay, 2021; Deming, 2023; Grigsby, 2023]

 $\Rightarrow$  estimate distribution of high-dim. task-specific skills  $\rightarrow$  skill specialization

Applications of LLMs in economics research [Korinek, 2023; Athey et al., 2024; Dell, 2024]
 ⇒ use LLMs for clustering & time-share measurement → flexible tool

Theory

### Environment: task-based production meets Roy

- Discrete time (t), repeated static model
- Production technology:
  - $\circ~$  production is Cobb-Douglas over discrete task set  ${\cal T}$
  - $\circ$  occupation  $o \in \mathcal{O}$  bundles tasks with weights  $\{\alpha_{o,\tau}\}_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}}$

economist, teacher, ...

analyzing data, moving objects, ...

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#### • Firms:

- $\circ~$  infinite supply of entrepreneurs who perfectly compete for a worker's labor
- $\circ$  assign tasks ex-ante optimally to humans ( $\rightarrow T_l$ ) or machines w prod.  $\{z_{\tau}\}_{\tau \in T}$  ( $\rightarrow T_m$ )
- $\circ$  match with 1 worker, rent machines from inf. elastic capital market at exog. rate r

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 $|\mathcal{T}_{l}| \times 1$  vector

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### • Workers:

- log utility over consumption
- heterogeneous, fixed **task-specific skills**  $s_i = \{s_{i,\tau}\}_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_l}$  where  $\overset{^{\vee}}{s_i} \sim \mathcal{N}(\bar{s}, \Sigma_s)$
- $\circ\,$  period t: draw shocks, choose occupation o, match with entrepreneur, produce & earn

## Firm's optimal production problem

• **Output** of firm in occ *o* with worker *i* given idiosyncratic shock  $\varepsilon_{i,t} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \varrho)$ :

$$y_{i,o,t}(\cdot) = \prod_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} (\exp(s_{i,\tau} + \varepsilon_{i,t}) \cdot \ell_{i,\tau,t})^{\alpha_{o,\tau}} \prod_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{m}} (\exp(z_{\tau}) \cdot m_{i,\tau,t})^{\alpha_{o,\tau}}$$
worker-produced

• Profits:

$$\pi_{i,o,t} = \max_{\{m_{i,\tau}\}_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_m}, \{\ell_{i,\tau}\}_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_l}} y_{i,o,t} \left(\{\ell_{i,\tau,t}\}_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_l}, \{m_{i,\tau,t}\}_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_m}\right) - \exp\left(w_{i,o,t}\right) - r \sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_m} m_{i,\tau,t}$$
s.t.  $\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_l} \ell_{i,\tau,t} = 1$ 

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• Optimality:

$$\ell_{i,\tau,t} = \frac{\alpha_{\mathbf{0},\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_l} \alpha_{\mathbf{0},\tau}}$$



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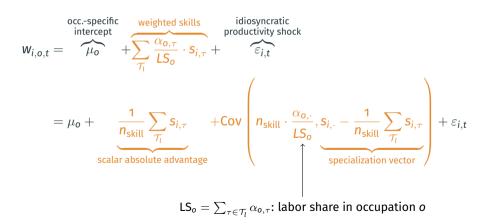
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• Optimality:

$$\ell_{i,\tau,t} = \frac{\alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}} \xrightarrow{\text{matrix A: } |\mathcal{O}| \times |\mathcal{T}_{l}|}$$

FOC capital



• Each period, worker *i* chooses occ. subject to preference shock  $u_{i,o,t} \sim \text{Gumbel}(o, \nu)$ :

$$\hat{o}_{i,t} = \operatorname{argmax}_o w_{i,o,t} + u_{i,o,t}$$

Occupational choice probabilities:

$$P(\hat{o} = o | w_{i,\cdot,t}) = \frac{\exp(w_{i,o,t}/\nu)}{\sum_{o'} \exp(w_{i,o',t}/\nu)}$$

• No exogenous switching costs

### Automation in the model

• Automation of task  $\tau^*$ : a one-time, permanent rise in machine productivity  $z_{\tau^*}$  that is *just* large enough to make it optimal to reassign  $\tau^*$  from humans to machines

$$\mathcal{T}'_l = \mathcal{T}_l \setminus \tau^* \qquad \qquad \mathcal{T}'_m = \mathcal{T}_m \cup \tau^*$$

 $\circ~$  can be viewed as lower bound on positive productivity effects

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• Change in expected log (potential) wage for *i* in occupation o

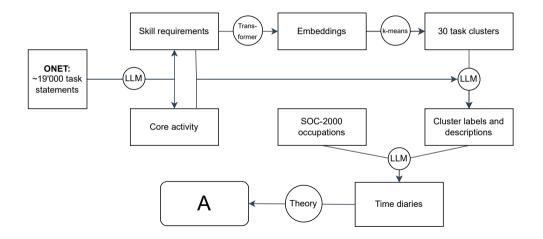
$$\mathbb{E}\left[\mathbf{w}_{i,o,t+1} - \mathbf{w}_{i,o,t}\right] = \mu_{o,t+1} - \mu_{o,t} + \underbrace{\frac{\alpha_{o,\tau^{\star}}}{LS_o}}_{O_{c,\tau^{\star}}} \left( \sum_{\mathcal{T} \setminus \tau^{\star}} \frac{\alpha_{o,\tau}}{LS_o - \alpha_{o,\tau^{\star}}} \underbrace{\frac{\omega_{o,\tau^{\star}}}{S_{i,\tau} - S_{i,\tau^{\star}}}}_{O_{c,\tau^{\star}}} \right)$$

 $\Rightarrow$  A worker is more likely to win if *relatively* skilled in non-automated tasks

## **Measurement**

- Goal: parametrize the model at same 'resolution' as task exposure measures
- Step 1: map model tasks & occupations to data, construct A
  - $\circ~$  O\*NET:  $\sim$  19,000 task statements ( $\sim$  most exposure measures) ightarrow cluster them
  - $\circ\,$  occupations: 90+ SOC-2000 minor groups ( $\sim$  3d)
  - $\circ$  task-weights  $A_{o,\tau} = \frac{\alpha_{o,\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_l} \alpha_{o,\tau}}$  for all occupations & tasks
- Step 2: estimate unobserved skill distribution  $(\bar{s}, \Sigma_s)$  using MLE
  - given A + NLSY '79 + model structure

### Step 1: constructing the task-weight matrix A



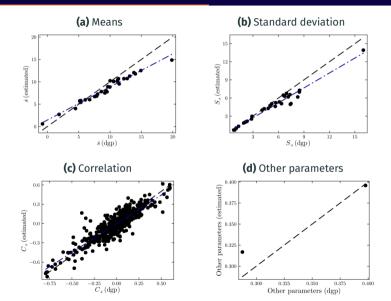




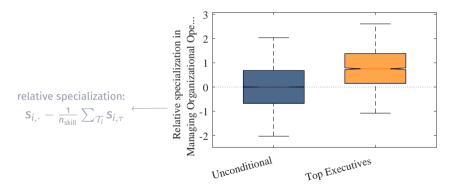
## Step 2: estimation of task-specific skills

- Challenge: skill distribution is unobserved
- Solution: use the structure of the model to estimate  $(\bar{s}, \Sigma_s)$ 
  - $\circ~$  variation: realized wages & occupational choices
  - intuition: economist vs software engineer
- Data: NLSY '79 + A matrix
  - $\circ\;$  worker-level panel of occupational choices and wages
- Formalization: max. likelihood
- Implementation: MC integration + auto-diff. + stochastic gradient descent
   Details
- Validation: Monte Carlo exercise

### Validation: Monte-Carlo study

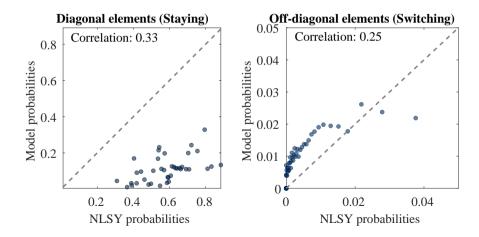


• Workers tend to select into occupations which load heavily on tasks they are relatively skilled at – example of *Top Executives* 



### Model properties: occupational transition probabilities

- Some persistence (but not quite enough)
- Model directionally tracks switching patterns

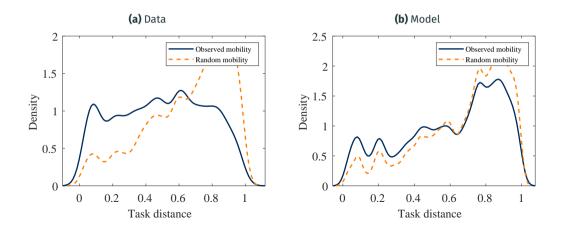


Wages and emp. shares

### Model properties: occupational transitions reflect task requirements

• Workers are more likely to move to occupations with similar task requirements

[cf. Gathmann-Schoenberg, 2010]

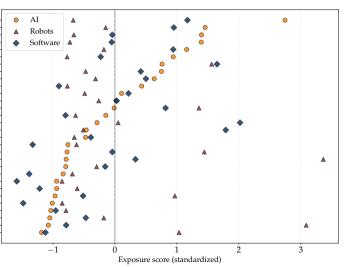


# **Application: AI**

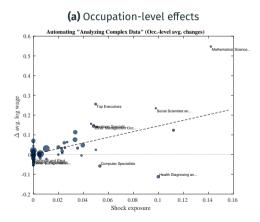
#### Patent criteria Eloundou et al. (2023)

### Webb's (2020) exposure measures

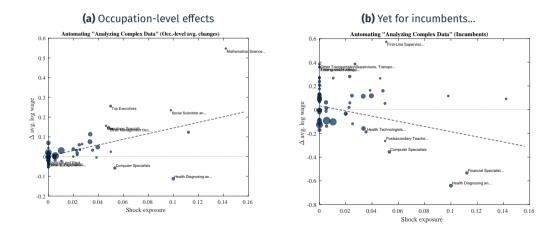
Analyzing Complex Data Evaluating and Enhancing Technical Systems Evaluating and Analyzing Information Evaluating and Strategizing Performing Verification and Inspection Analyzing Financial and Business Data Repairing and Maintaining Equipment Designing and Analyzing Systems Drafting Technical Representations Delivering Integrated Clinical Care Developing Technical Systems Performing Clinical and Laboratory Procedures Overseeing Safety Operations Monitoring Regulatory Compliance Performing Detail-Oriented Verification Documenting and Organizing Information Managing Organizational Operations Coordinating Multifunctional Processes Performing Precision Technical Tasks Performing Material Handling Tasks Coordinating and Organizing Logistics Designing and Delivering Instruction Coordinating and Consulting Services Instructing and Demonstrating Practices Performing Precision Fabrication and Maintena... Managing Customer Communications Composing Technical Documentation Maintaining Organized Records Manipulating and Positioning Materials Managing Food Service Operations



## AI: automating "analyzing complex data"

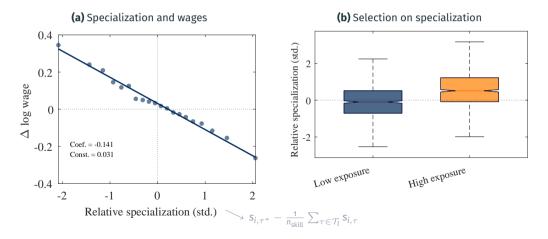


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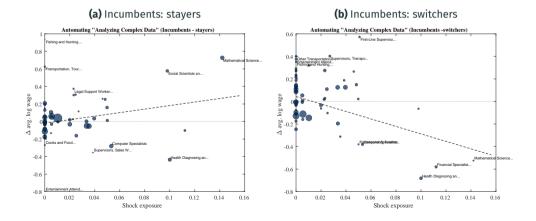
### Mechanism: specialization + selection

⇒ As workers select into occupations by comparative advantage, high occupational exposure also tends to imply relative skill specialization in the automated task



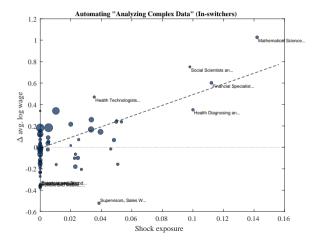
### Incumbents: stayers do better than switchers

• Consistent with evidence on task 'upgrading' for stayers [Bartel et al., 2007; Dauth et al., 2021] and losses for occupation switchers [e.g. Huckfeldt, 2022]



### So why the positive effect at the occupational level? In-switchers!

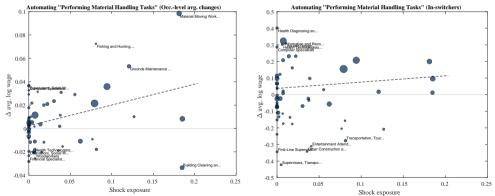
• Consistent with evidence on positive wage effects from in-switching [e.g Humlum, 2021]; magnitude likely overstated (no GE) & too fast (no frictions)



### Robots: Partial automation of "performing material handling tasks"

- **Robots:** smaller gradient exposure  $\leftrightarrow$  wage change
  - in-switching channel weaker

(a) Occupation-level



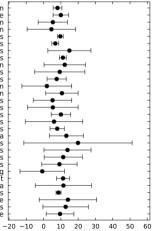
### (b) In-switchers

Incumbents

### Robots: Partial automation of "performing material handling tasks"

### • Reason: Much smaller dispersion in specialization

Designing and Delivering Instruction Performing Precision Fabrication and Maintenance Performing Detail-Oriented Verification Composing Technical Documentation Managing Food Service Operations Manipulating and Positioning Materials Evaluating and Enhancing Technical Systems Managing Customer Communications Performing Verification and Inspection Developing Technical Systems Performing Precision Technical Tasks Evaluating and Analyzing Information Documenting and Organizing Information Performing Clinical and Laboratory Procedures Designing and Analyzing Systems Coordinating and Organizing Logistics Coordinating and Consulting Services Instructing and Demonstrating Practices Analyzing Financial and Business Data Coordinating Multifunctional Processes Managing Organizational Operations Overseeing Safety Operations Drafting Technical Representations Evaluating and Strategizing Repairing and Maintaining Equipment Analyzing Complex Data Performing Material Handling Tasks Monitoring Regulatory Compliance Maintaining Organized Records Delivering Integrated Clinical Care



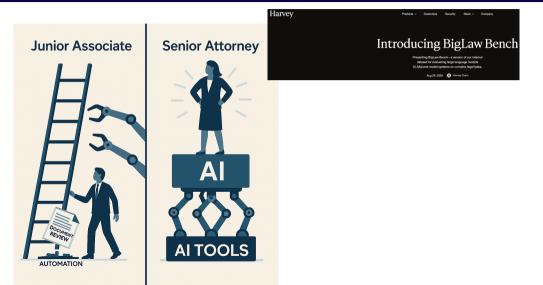
# Conclusion

### Summary: Specialization and the Earnings Effects of AI

- Early stage feedback very welcome!
- **Core contribution:** empirically rich tractable framework to quantify & forecast who wins and who loses from (AI-induced) task automation
- Key insight: automation effects depend on skill specialization
  - automation harms you if you are specialized in the automated task
    - $\rightarrow \ \text{incumbent switchers}$
  - + but benefits you if freed up to pursue tasks in which you're more productive
    - $\rightarrow$  incumbent stayers & in-switchers
- Next steps: GE; self-driving vehicles; minimum human-in-the-loop regulation

## **Extra Slides**

### Automated document review: good or bad?



Back

- Missing important model feature: heterogeneous, endogenous occupation prices
  - $\circ$  steady-state: high-wage occ's involve scarce skills hence high *o* price
  - $\circ~$  counterfactual: occupational price response as a function of demand elasticities
- Identification challenge:  $\mu_o$  becomes endogenous and the following equation is satisfied by more than one pair  $(\mu_o, \bar{s})$ :

mean potential wage<sub>o</sub> =  $\mu_o + A'_{o,\cdot} \circ \bar{s}$ 

where  $\bar{s}$  is vector of average skills

- Options we're exploring:
  - 1 time variation in task shares
  - Ø dynamic skill accumulation
  - **3** identifying restriction A  $\perp \mu_o$

### FOCs

• FOC for machines  $m := \sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_m} m_{ au}$ :

$$\left(\sum_{\tau\in\mathcal{T}_m}\alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}\right)\frac{\mathbf{y}}{\mathbf{r}}=\mathbf{m}$$

and

$$m_{\tau} = \frac{\alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_m} \alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}} m$$

• Given

$$\log \mathbf{y}_{o} = \left[\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \frac{\alpha_{o,\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{o,\tau}} \mathbf{s}_{i,\tau}\right] + \varepsilon_{i,o} + \left[\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}} \frac{\alpha_{o,\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{o,\tau}} \log(\alpha_{o,\tau})\right] - \log\left(\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{o,\tau}\right) + \left[\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{m}} \frac{\alpha_{o,\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{o,\tau}} \left(\mathbf{z}_{\tau} - \log \mathbf{r}\right)\right],$$

### Wage equation: details

Intercept

$$\mu_{\mathbf{o}} = \sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}} \frac{\alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}} \log\left(\alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}\right) + \left(\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{m}} \frac{\alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}}{\sum_{\tau \in \mathcal{T}_{l}} \alpha_{\mathbf{o},\tau}} \left(\mathbf{z}_{\tau} - \log \mathbf{r}\right)\right)$$

• We assume that in the initial steady state there is only one composite machine task with productivity normalized to  $\log r$ , which implies that  $\mu_o$  is known for all occupations.

### Details on the estimation strategy I

• Exact likelihood:

$$\prod_{i} \int_{s} \left[ \left( \int_{w_{i,\cdot,-\omega_{\cdot}}} \prod_{t} P(\hat{o}_{i,t} = \omega_{i,t} | w_{i,\cdot,\cdot}, \nu) \cdot f(w_{i,t,-\omega_{t}} | s, w_{i,\cdot,\omega_{\cdot}}, \varsigma) \right) \cdot f(s | w_{i,\cdot,\omega_{\cdot}}, \varsigma, \bar{s}, \Sigma_{s}) \right] \cdot f(w_{i,\cdot,\omega_{\cdot}} | \varsigma, \bar{s}, \Sigma_{s})$$

• Strategy: Monte Carlo integration - for all *i* generate *n*<sub>o</sub> draws from

$$f(w_{i,\cdot,-\omega_{\cdot}}|w_{i,\cdot,\omega_{\cdot}},\varsigma,\bar{s},\Sigma_{s}) = \int_{s} f(w_{i,\cdot,-\omega_{\cdot}}|s,w_{i,\cdot,\omega_{\cdot}},\varsigma)f(s|w_{i,\cdot,\omega_{\cdot}},\varsigma,\bar{s},\Sigma_{s})$$

and evaluate the mean of  $P(\hat{o}_{i,t} = \omega_{i,t} | w_{i,\cdot,t}, \nu)$  to obtain an estimator for  $\mathcal{L}_i(\theta)$ :

$$\hat{\mathcal{L}}_{i}(\mathsf{w}_{i,t,\omega},\nu,\varsigma,\bar{\mathsf{s}},\Sigma_{\mathsf{s}}) = \left(\frac{1}{n_{\mathsf{o}}}\sum_{j}\prod_{t}\mathsf{P}(\hat{\mathsf{o}}_{i,t}=\omega_{i,t}|\mathsf{w}_{j,t,\cdot},\nu)\right) \cdot f(\mathsf{w}_{i,\cdot,\omega}|\varsigma,\bar{\mathsf{s}},\Sigma_{\mathsf{s}})$$

### Details on the estimation strategy II

- Two numerical techniques help speed up the maximum likelihood computation
- · Auto-differentiation: efficiently compute the gradient of this function
- Stochastic gradient descent:
  - basic technique: gradient descent

$$\theta_{t+1} = \theta_t - \eta \cdot \nabla \left( -\mathcal{L}(\theta_t) \right)$$

• randomly partition individuals into *n* groups:

$$\{1,2,\ldots,I\}=B_1\cup B_2\cup\ldots\cup B_n,\quad B_i\cap B_j=\emptyset$$

- $\circ$  calculate the likelihood based on batch  $B_1, \ldots, B_n$  only
- when done, draw a new partition

### Why not use O\*NET GWAs and importance weights

- Potential alternative to our approach: use O\*NET "General Work Activities" (GWAs) and occupational importance weights
- Reasons we prefer our approach:
  - GWAs themselves are not mutually exclusive (e.g. "Analyzing Data or Information" vs "Processing Information") nor exhaustive (esp. regarding activities differentiating high-wage occupations, e.g. complex quantitative analyses), and some seem ambiguous ("Getting Information")
  - Weights available (importance/level/frequency) don't correspond to time shares, as required to map onto the theory
  - ${f 3}$  GWAs + LLM-generated time shares: resulting A matrix is low-rank (ightarrow poor model fit)
  - Flexibility: our approach is consistent with different occupational classifications (e.g. SOC-2000, which can be x-walked to NLSY) and time periods

### Validation of LLM-generated time shares: overview

f 0 Comparison of time share measurement: LLM vs BIBB survey  $\checkmark$ 

 $\odot$  Comparison of LLM-generated time shares for GWAs to O\*NET importance weights  $\checkmark$ 

f s Internal consistency: do measurements for detailed occupations aggregate up?  $\checkmark$ 

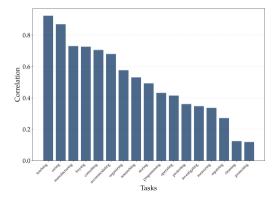
- What else would you like us to check?
  - comparison across LLMs?

### Validation: LLM-generated task shares vs. BIBB

### ---- Mean (0.54) Top 3 Correlations Bottom 3 Correlations 4 5 Count 2 1 0 0.0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1.0 Correlation coefficient

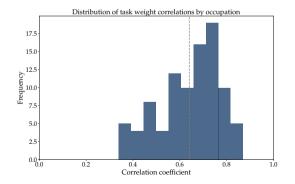
### (a) Occupation-level correlations

(b) Task-level correlations



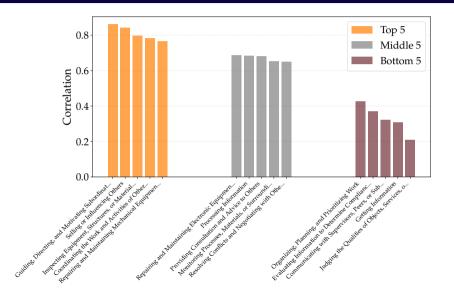
## Validation: O\*NET GWAs (1)

- Take O\*NET GWAs (O\*NET 5.0, consistent with SOC-2000), construct relative importance for each GWA by occupation, aggregate to SOC-2000-3d
- Let LLM generate time shares for the GWAs for each SOC-2000-3d occ
- How do LLM-time shares correlate with vector of O\*NET importance weights?



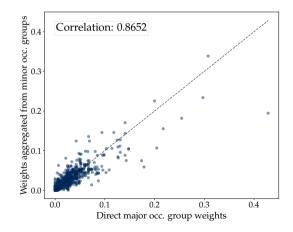
#### Extra Slides

### Validation: O\*NET GWAs (2): correlation across occupations by task



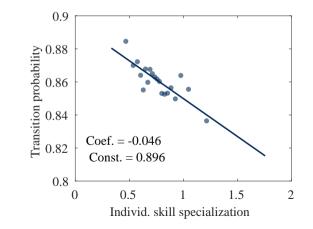
#### Extra Slides

### Validation: internal consistency

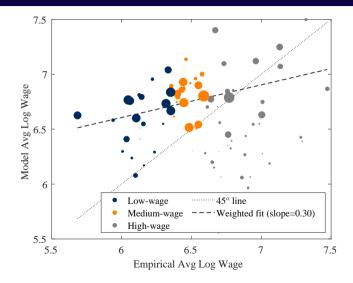


## Model properties: transition probabilities decline in specialization

• Workers with v specialized (= dispersed) skills are less likely to switch occupation



### Model fit: occupational wages and employment shares



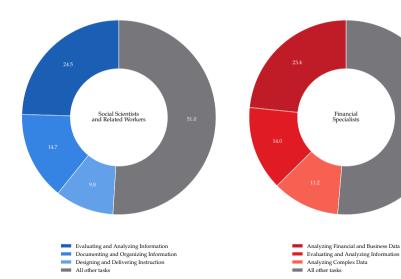
Back

### A matrix: example tasks - extracted skills - tasks

Task	Activity	Skills	Cluster
Direct or coordinate an organization's financial or budget activities to fund operations, maximize investments, or increase efficiency	Direct financial opera- tions	Financial management (expert), strategic planning (advanced), budgeting (advanced), analytical thinking (advanced)	Evaluating and Strate- gizing
Clean and sterilize vats and factory processing areas	Clean and sterilize processing areas	Manual dexterity (basic)	Performing Material Handling Tasks
Press switches and turn knobs to start, adjust, and regulate equipment, such as beaters, extruders, discharge pipes, and salt pumps	Operate equipment controls	Technical knowledge (in- termediate), manual dex- terity (basic)	Performing Precision Technical Tasks
Conduct research, data analysis, systems design, or support for software such as Geographic Infor- mation Systems (GIS) or Global Positioning Systems (GPS) mapping software	Conduct research and data analysis for GIS software	Research skills (advanced), data analysis (advanced), systems design (advanced)	Analyzing Complex Data

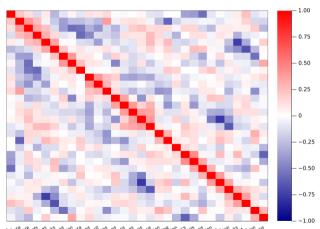
#### Extra Slides

## A matrix: example occupations



### Estimated skill correlation matrix

Evaluating and Enhancing Technical Sys... Analyzing Financial and Business Data Delivering Integrated Clinical Care Maintaining Organized Records Coordinating Multifunctional Processes Performing Precision Technical Tasks Instructing and Demonstrating Practices Composing Technical Documentation Analyzing Complex Data Developing Technical Systems Repairing and Maintaining Equipment Overseeing Safety Operations Drafting Technical Representations Managing Organizational Operations Coordinating and Consulting Services Managing Customer Communications Monitoring Regulatory Compliance Designing and Delivering Instruction Evaluating and Strategizing Performing Detail-Oriented Verification Coordinating and Organizing Logistics Manipulating and Positioning Materials Managing Food Service Operations Evaluating and Analyzing Information Performing Clinical and Laboratory Pro... Documenting and Organizing Information Performing Material Handling Tasks Performing Precision Fabrication and M... Performing Verification and Inspection Designing and Analyzing Systems



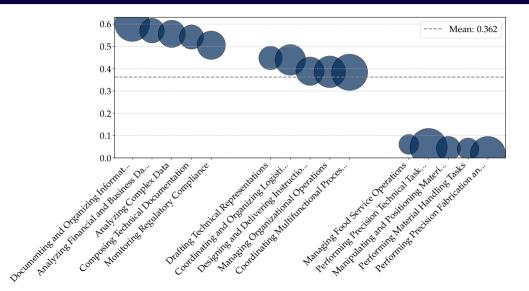
### Table A1: Patent selection criteria.

Definition
Title/abstract include "neural network", "deep learning", "reinforcement learning", "supervised learning", "unsupervised learning", or "generative model"
Title/abstract include "software", "computer", or "program" AND title/abstract exclude "chip", "semiconductor", "bus", "circuit", or "circuitry"
Title/abstract include "robot"

*Notes:* Patents corresponding to each technology are selected using these keyword inclusion/exclusion criteria.

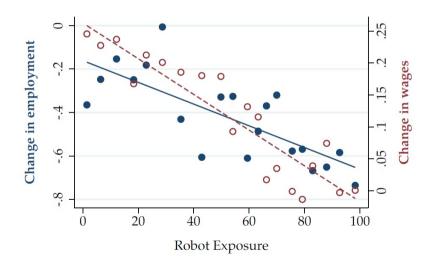
### Aggregated task exposure measures from Eloundou et al. (2023)

▶ Webb (2020)



### Webb's historical evidence on effects of robots

Extra Slides



### The ins and outs of occupations: robots

(a) Incumbents

#### Automating "Performing Material Handling Tasks" (Incumbents) Automating "Performing Material Handling Tasks" (In-switchers) 0.6 First-Line Superviso.... 0.5 0.4 Health Diagnosing an... 0.5 0.4 Supervisors, Traffspo. Entertainment Attend. Eisbing and Husting.... 0.2 0.3 avg. log wage avg. log wage 0. 0.7 •. -0.1 1 ⊲ -0.2 Transportation, Tour. -0.1 -0.3 First-Line Superviewher Construction a. -0.2 -0.4 Supervisors, Transpo... -----0.3 -0.5 0.15 0.2 0.05 0.1 0.25 0.05 0.1 0.15 0.2 0.25 0 0 Shock exposure Shock exposure

(b) In-switchers

### Why stayers do better than switchers

Relative specialization (std.) 2 0 -2 Low exposure High exposure High exp. stayers High exp. switchers Stayers vs switchers