# The Boskin Commission One Decade Later 

Robert J. Gordon
Northwestern University and NBER AEA Meetings, Boston MA, January 7, 2006


## I' $m$ Here as the Boskin Surrogate

- Nostalgia
- A great group of people (Boskin, Dulberger, Griliches, and Jorgenson) who met at least a dozen times
- Wonderful cooperation from BLS: Kathy Abraham, John Greenlees, and many others at many meetings
- Challenging Topic that we addressed with vigor
- Moynihan, the corridors of power \& the bean soup
- The press conference, almost as many TV cameras as Alan Greenspan
- Live on the Lehrer Newshour
- Better yet, in the control room of the Lehrer Newshour


## Why So Much Publicity

- BC tried to do two things at once
- \#1 assess the CPI bias
\#2 urge a "bias correction" for Social Security indexation, the "CPI minus X" approach
- Set off a storm of controversy over both \#1 and \#2
\# \#1, BLS and others defended their methods and criticized some aspects of the BC report
- \#2 launched a kill-campaign by the AARP
- Moynihan: "Oh, we came so very close!"


# Let me Take You Behind the Scenes 

- Nine years later, I can confess, I' $m$ here as the surrogate for a good reason
- Most of what is criticized about BC was my fault
- Fingers slipping on the keyboard
- The two-hour phone call from Zvi
- The fate of Social Security (in principle, not in practice) was decided at the dining room table in Jacksonville FL at my wife's cousin's house


## Differences with the 1961 Stigler Report

- Stigler had a budget for new studies, we had no budget at all
- This partly explains the "off the cuff"" nature of the quality change estimates
- A survey, not new research
- Novelty: Divide CPI into 27 categories and try to come up with a quality bias estimate for each, including zero for many categories
- Overriding issue - extrapolating across categories rather than assuming bias was zero when there was no research on that category


# About \#1, The BC Conclusions about the Bias (in Percentage 

Source of Bias
Estimate

- Upper Level Substitution 0.15
- Apples vs. bananas
- Lower Level Substitution
0.25
- Golden apples vs. red delicious apples
- Outlet Substitution
0.10
- New Products / Quality Change 0.60
- Total

1.10<br>Plausible Range ( $0.80-1.60$ )

# About Substitution Bias: CPI Immediate Fix in 1999, Previously Planned 

- Switch to geometric weights for most lower-level categories
- Retain fixed weights for upper-level categories
In principle this should have eliminated 0.25 of the total 1.1 bias

> Outlet Substituion: the "Walmart Effect"

- New forms of retailing have been invented going way back to the Sears catalog vs. the rural general store
- In our period (1995-96) there was a rapid shift toward discount merchants
- Side Comment: this is the same phenomenon of "big box" retailing that has caused U. S. productivity growth to sprint ahead of Europe's
- Martin Baily is the expert on the productivity and price effects of big box retailing.
- Linked out by CPI


# Quality Change and New Products, the Controversial Part 

- 27 categories
- 8 we assumed no bias
- Other 19, we imputed bias estimates ranging as high as $3 \%$ for medical care and $5 \%$ for electronics
- This came out to $0.6 \%$ on average with 1982 weights
- New product bias and late intro bias implicitly included


## Our recommendations

- Short-term
- Introduce a research-based index to redo history. Done almost immediately (StewartReed).
- Upper-level substitution bias - move to a "trailing Torngvist" index with instant reweighting instead of 1982-84 weights in 1996
- Use scanner data to get fast revisions on weights

No Comment or Response

## on an Important Recommendation:

 Misallocation of Data Resources- Data collection: too much emphasis on city indexes
- There are "National Goods" vs. "Local Goods"
- Why collect thousands of observations on bananas when a few would do?
- Free up resources to collect prices on local goods, i.e., non-imported produce, fuel costs, and household services
- For national goods like DVD players, this would free up resources to do more hedonics


## Criticism of The Boskin

## Recommendations and Approach

- Particular praise of Moulton-Moses (1997) who called BC the most influential critique of the CPI in decades"
- No adequate attention to quality deterioration
- BLS already makes lots of quality adjustments
- Back of envelope, extrapolation from one category to the next
- Can't be implemented month-to-month
- (But others claimed the Opposite) Should have been more aggressive in estimates of value of new products


## Today's 2005 Commission

## Response

- Shapiro-Wilcox (1996), Our substitution estimates were too low, should be 0.5 not 0.4
- About substitution bias, we will have this persistent difference between CPI vs. PCE, where does this come from?

CPI PCE Difference

| 1995:1-1998:1 | 2.35 | 1.68 | 0.67 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1998:1-2001:1 | 2.73 | 2.00 | 0.73 |
| 2001:1-2003:1 | 2.04 | 1.70 | 0.34 |
| 2003:1-2005:3 | 2.92 | 2.51 | 0.41 |

## Quality Change: Too Subjective

- But we know a lot even if we don't have evidence, e.g., that the value of the invention of the jet airplane is positive rather than zero (Me: value of invention of air transport $=3 \%$ of GDP per year)
- Would you want to assign a zero value just because there is no formal research?
- Moulton-Moses: "the overall approach seems to us to be a sensible and useful way to approach the problem of coming up with an overall assessment of bias."


## Dimensions of Defense

- The BLS in 1995-96 actually did very little adjustment for quality change, it was mostly linking
- No explicit adjustments for new and improved goods, greater speed, durability, variety, convenience, safety, and energy efficiency
- Some of our estimates were too high, others too low
- Especially value of new products (Hausman)


## Speed of the BLS Response

- Geometric weighting at lower level, expected to reduce CPI by 0.2
- Faster change in upper-level weights (2 years vs, 11 years)
- New sampling procedures to rotate items faster
- Adoption of previous PPI approach to hospital care
- Personal computers, TVs

New Research Since 1999-2000: Hausman on Wal-Mart

- "Does the BLS Know that Wal-Mart Exists?" NBER WP 10712 Aug 2004
- Typical food item at Wal-Mart is 15-25\% cheaper than at standard supermarkets (based on scanner data)
- BLS links out lower Wal-Mart Prices
- Food at home inflation overstated by 0.32-0.42 points
- Helps with puzzle: negligible growth in median real income since 1973 but everyone seems to be getting better off


## New Research on Medical Care

- Cutler et, Al/, heart attack treatments bias of 3.1-3.5\%
- Ellison and Hellerstein, cephalexin class of antibiotics 3.78\% per year
- Shapiro et al on cataract surgery
- There was already a 2.0 difference between PPI and CPI, so the Boskin 3.0 estimate of bias only allowed 1.0 for pure measurement bias.


## New Research on Durable Goods

- Ohashij 12 percent per year on VCRs 1978-87
- Cell phones alone (Hausman) account for 0.8-1.9 percent per year
- Indirect approach by Bils (NBER WP 10606) 2004

Increased expenditures on goods with higher prices, implicit quality change of $5.8 \%$ per year, more than double that in CPI

