25 Production and Growth



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In this chapter, look for the answers to these questions:

- What are the facts about living standards and growth rates around the world?
- Why does productivity matter for living standards?
- What determines productivity and its growth rate?
- How can public policy affect growth and living standards?

A typical family with all their possessions in the



Life expectancy: 78 years

Adult literacy: 99%



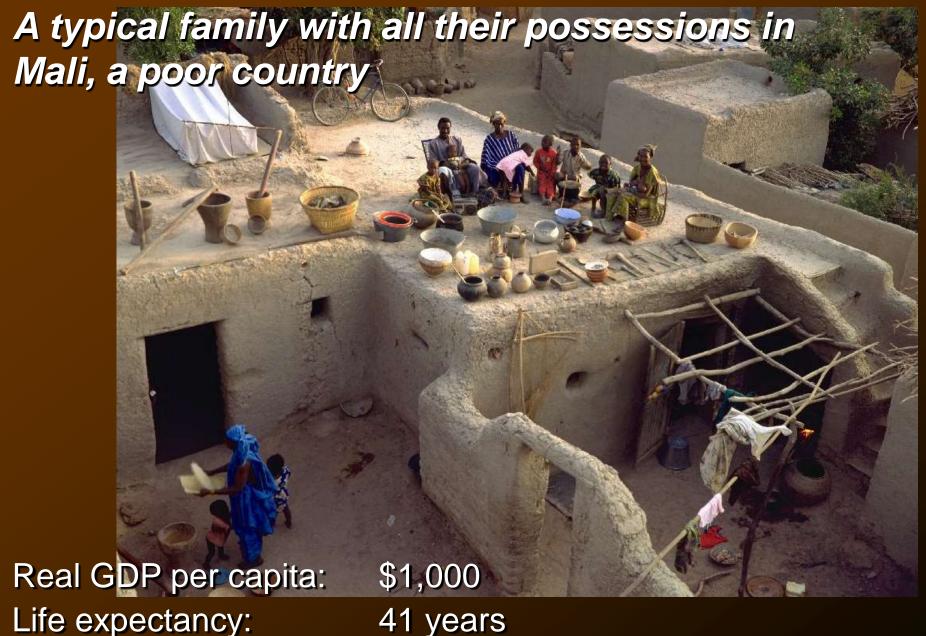
Real GDP per capita:

Life expectancy:

74 years

Adult literacy:

92%



Life expectancy:

Adult literacy: 46%

FACT 1:

There are vast differences in living standards around the world.

	GDP per capita, 2004			Growth rate, 1960-2004
China		\$5,495		5.6%
Singapore		27,273		5.4%
Japan		29,539		3.9%
Spain		25,341		3.2%
Israel		24,082		2.6%
India		3,115		2.5%
United States		39,618		2.2%
Canada		31,129		2.1%
Colombia		7,121		1.8%
New Zealand		22,912		1.4%
Philippines		4,558		1.3%
Argentina		12,723		0.8%
Saudi Arabia		14,022		0.8%
Rwanda		1,326		0.2%
Haiti		1,685		-1.3%

FACT 2:

There is also great variation in growth rates across countries.

	GDP per capita, 2004	Growth rate, 1960-2004) ,
China	\$5,495		5.6%	
Singapore	27,273		5.4%	
Japan	29,539		3.9%	
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Since growth rates vary, the country rankings can change over time:

- Poor countries are not necessarily doomed to poverty forever – e.g., Singapore, incomes were low in 1960 and are quite high now.
- Rich countries can't take their status for granted: They may be overtaken by poorer but faster-growing countries.

Questions:

- Why are some countries richer than others?
- Why do some countries grow quickly while others seem stuck in a poverty trap?
- What policies may help raise growth rates and long-run living standards?

Productivity

 Recall one of the Ten Principles from Chapter 1: A country's standard of living depends on its ability to produce g & s.



- This ability depends on productivity: the average quantity of g&s produced per unit of labor input.
- Y = real GDP = quantity of output produced
 L = quantity of labor
 so we can write productivity as
 Y/L (output per worker)

Why Productivity Is So Important

- When a nation's workers are very productive, real GDP is large and incomes are high.
- When productivity grows rapidly, so do living standards.
- What, then, determines productivity and its growth rate?

Physical Capital Per Worker

- Recall: The stock of equipment and structures used to produce g&s is called [physical] capital, denoted K.
- K/L = capital per worker.
- Productivity is higher when the average worker has more capital (machines, equipment, etc.).
- i.e.,an increase in K/L causes an increase in Y/L.

Human Capital Per Worker

- Human capital (H): the knowledge and skills workers acquire through education, training, and experience
- H/L = the average worker's human capital
- Productivity is higher when the average worker has more human capital (education, skills, etc.).
- i.e.,an increase in H/L causes an increase in Y/L.

Natural Resources Per Worker

- Natural resources (N): the inputs into production that nature provides, e.g., land, mineral deposits
- Other things equal, more N allows a country to produce more Y. In per-worker terms, an increase in N/L causes an increase in Y/L.
- Some countries are rich because they have abundant natural resources (e.g., Saudi Arabia has lots of oil)
- But countries need not have much N to be rich (e.g., Japan imports the N it needs).

Technological Knowledge

- Technological knowledge: society's understanding of the best ways to produce g&s
- Technological progress does not only mean a faster computer, a higher-definition TV, or a smaller cell phone.
- It means any advance in knowledge that boosts productivity (allows society to get more output from its resources).
 - e.g., Henry Ford and the assembly line.

Tech. Knowledge vs. Human Capital

- Technological knowledge refers to society's understanding of how to produce g&s.
- Human capital results from the effort people expend to acquire this knowledge.
- Both are important for productivity.

The Production Function

The production function is a graph or equation showing the relation between output and inputs:

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Y = A F(L, K, H, N)
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F() – a function that shows how inputs are combined to produce output

- "A" the level of technology
- "A" multiplies the function F(), so improvements in technology (increases in "A") allow more output (Y) to be produced from any given combination of inputs.

The Production Function

$$Y = A F(L, K, H, N)$$

- The production function has the property constant returns to scale: Changing all inputs by the same percentage causes output to change by that percentage. For example,
- Doubling all inputs (multiplying each by 2) causes output to double:

$$2Y = A F(2L, 2K, 2H, 2N)$$

Increasing all inputs 10% (multiplying each by 1.1) causes output to increase by 10%:

1.1Y = A F(1.1L, 1.1K, 1.1H, 1.1N)

The Production Function

$$Y = A F(L, K, H, N)$$

If we multiply each input by 1/L, then output is multiplied by 1/L:

$$Y/L = A F(1, K/L, H/L, N/L)$$

- This equation shows that productivity (output per worker) depends on:
 - the level of technology (A)
 - physical capital per worker
 - human capital per worker
 - natural resources per worker

ACTIVE LEARNING 1: Discussion question

Which of the following policies do you think would be most effective at boosting growth and living standards in a poor country over the long run?

- a. offer tax incentives for investment by local firms
- b. ...by foreign firms
- c. give cash payments for good school attendance
- d. crack down on govt corruption
- e. restrict imports to protect domestic industries
- f. allow free trade
- g. give away condoms

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PUBLIC POLICY

Next, we look at the ways public policy can affect long-run growth in productivity and living standards.

Saving and Investment

- We can boost productivity by increasing K, which requires investment.
- Since resources scarce, producing more capital requires producing fewer consumption goods.
- Reducing consumption = increasing saving.
 This extra saving funds the production of investment goods. (More details in the next chapter.)
- Hence, a tradeoff between current and future consumption.



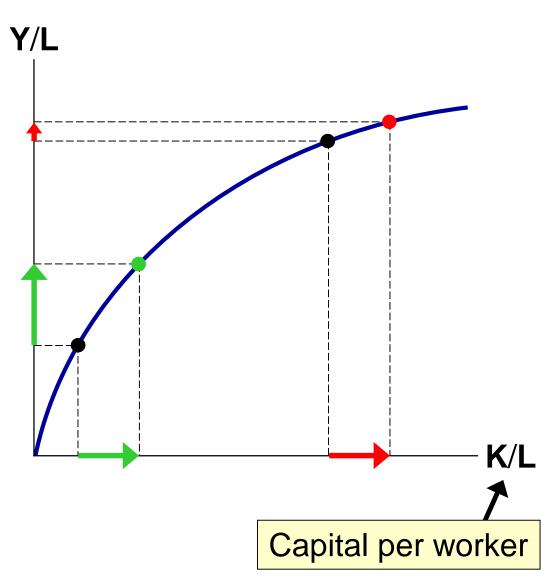
Diminishing Returns and the Catch-Up Effect

- The govt can implement policies that raise saving and investment. (Details in next chapter.) Then K will rise, causing productivity and living standards to rise.
- But this faster growth is temporary, due to diminishing returns to capital: As K rises, the extra output from an additional unit of K falls....

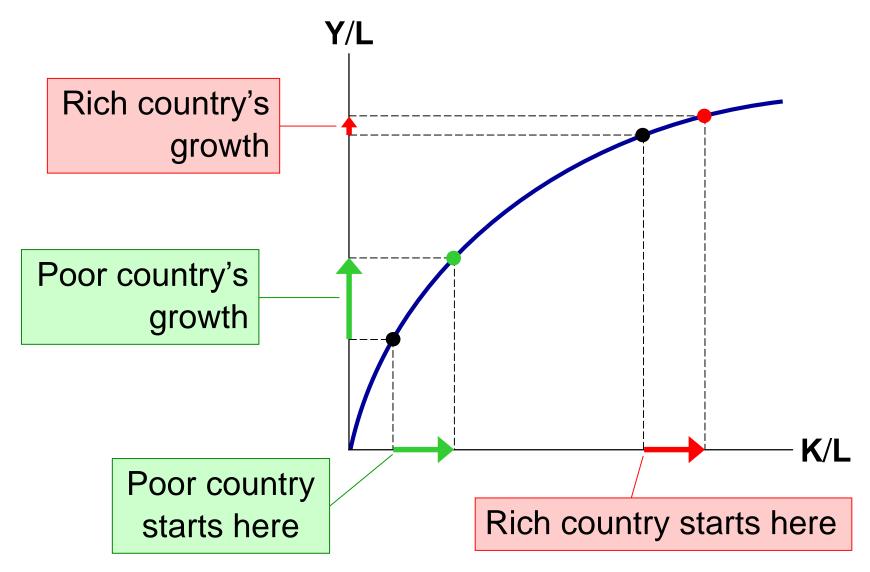
The Production Function & Diminishing Returns

If workers have little **K**, giving them more increases their productivity a lot.

If workers already have a lot of **K**, giving them more increases productivity fairly little.



The catch-up effect: the property whereby poor countries tend to grow more rapidly than rich ones



Example of the Catch-Up Effect

- Over 1960-1990, the U.S. and S. Korea devoted a similar share of GDP to investment, so you might expect they would have similar growth performance.
- But growth was >6% in Korea and only 2% in the U.S.
- Explanation: the catch-up effect. In 1960, K/L was far smaller in Korea than in the U.S., hence Korea grew faster.

Investment from Abroad

- To raise K/L and hence productivity, wages, and living standards, the govt can also encourage
 - Foreign direct investment:

 a capital investment (e.g., factory) that is owned & operated by a foreign entity.
 - Foreign portfolio investment:

 a capital investment financed with foreign money but operated by domestic residents.
- Some of the returns from these investments flow back to the foreign countries that supplied the funds.

Investment from Abroad

- Especially beneficial in poor countries that cannot generate enough saving to fund investment projects themselves.
- Also helps poor countries learn state-of-the-art technologies developed in other countries.

Education

- Govt can increase productivity by promoting education—investment in human capital (H).
 - public schools, subsidized loans for college
- Education has significant effects: In the U.S., each year of schooling raises a worker's wage by 10%.
- But investing in H also involves a tradeoff between the present & future:
 Spending a year in school requires sacrificing a year's wages now to have higher wages later.



Health and Nutrition

- Health care expenditure is a type of investment in human capital – healthier workers are more productive.
- In countries with significant malnourishment, raising workers' caloric intake raises productivity:
 - Over 1962-95, caloric consumption rose 44% in S. Korea, and economic growth was spectacular.
 - Nobel winner Robert Fogel: 30% of Great Britain's growth from 1790-1980 was due to improved nutrition.

Property Rights and Political Stability

 Recall: Markets are usually a good way to organize economic activity.
 The price system allocates resources to their most efficient uses.



This requires respect for property rights, the ability of people to exercise authority over the resources they own.

Property Rights and Political Stability

- In many poor countries, the justice system doesn't work very well:
 - contracts aren't always enforced
 - fraud, corruption often go unpunished
 - in some, firms must bribe govt officials for permits
- Political instability (e.g., frequent coups) creates uncertainty over whether property rights will be protected in the future.

Property Rights and Political Stability

- When people fear their capital may be stolen by criminals or confiscated by a corrupt govt, there is less investment, including from abroad, and the economy functions less efficiently. Result: lower living standards.
- Economic stability, efficiency, and healthy growth require law enforcement, effective courts, a stable constitution, and honest govt officials.

Free Trade

- Inward-oriented policies (e.g., tariffs, limits on investment from abroad) aim to raise living standards by avoiding interaction with other countries.
- Outward-oriented policies (e.g., the elimination of restrictions on trade or foreign investment) promote integration with the world economy.

Free Trade

Recall: Trade can make everyone better off.



- Trade has similar effects as discovering new technologies – it improves productivity and living standards.
- Countries with inward-oriented policies have generally failed to create growth.
 - e.g., Argentina during the 20th century.
- Countries with outward-oriented policies have often succeeded.
 - e.g., South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan after 1960.

Research and Development

- Technological progress is the main reason why living standards rise over the long run.
- One reason is that knowledge is a public good: Ideas can be shared freely, increasing the productivity of many.
- Policies to promote tech. progress:
 - patent laws
 - tax incentives or direct support for private sector R&D
 - grants for basic research at universities

...may affect living standards in 3 different ways:

1. Stretching natural resources

- 200 years ago, Malthus argued that pop. growth would strain society's ability to provide for itself.
- Since then, the world population has increased sixfold. If Malthus was right, living standards would have fallen. Instead, they've risen.
- Malthus failed to account for technological progress and productivity growth.

2. Diluting the capital stock

- more population = higher L = lower K/L
 lower productivity & living standards.
- This applies to **H** as well as **K**:
 fast pop. growth = more children
 = greater strain on educational system.
- Countries with fast pop. growth tend to have lower educational attainment.

2. Diluting the capital stock

To combat this, many developing countries use policy to control population growth.

- China's one child per family laws
- contraception education & availability
- promote female literacy to raise opportunity cost of having babies

3. Promoting tech. progress

- More people
 - = more scientists, inventors, engineers
 - = more frequent discoveries
 - = faster tech. progress & economic growth
- Evidence from Michael Kremer:
 Over the course of human history,
 - growth rates increased as the world's population increased
 - more populated regions grew faster than less populated ones

ACTIVE LEARNING 2: Productivity

- List the determinants of productivity.
- List three policies that attempt to raise living standards by increasing one of the determinants of productivity.

ACTIVE LEARNING 2: Answers

Determinants of productivity:

physical capital per worker (**K**/**L**) human capital per worker (**H**/**L**) natural resources per worker (**N**/**L**) technological knowledge (**A**)

Policies to boost productivity:

- Encourage saving and investment, to raise K/L
- Encourage investment from abroad, to raise K/L
- Provide public education, to raise H/L

ACTIVE LEARNING 2: Answers

Determinants of productivity:

physical capital per worker (K/L) human capital per worker (H/L) natural resources per worker (N/L) technological knowledge (A)

Policies to boost productivity:

- Patent laws or grants, to increase A
- Control population growth, to increase K/L

Are Natural Resources a Limit to Growth?

- Some argue that population growth is depleting the Earth's non-renewable resources, and thus will limit growth in living standards.
- But technological progress often yields ways to avoid these limits:
 - Hybrid cars use less gas.
 - Better insulation in homes reduces the energy required to heat or cool them.
- As a resource becomes scarcer, its market price rises, which increases the incentive to conserve it and develop alternatives.

CONCLUSION

- In the long run, living standards are determined by productivity.
- Policies that affect the determinants of productivity will therefore affect the next generation's living standards.
- One of these determinants is saving and investment.
- In the next chapter, we will learn how saving and investment are determined, and how policies can affect them.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- There are great differences across countries in living standards and growth rates.
- Productivity (output per unit of labor) is the main determinant of living standards in the long run.
- Productivity depends on physical and human capital per worker, natural resources per worker, and technological knowledge.
- Growth in these factors especially technological progress – causes growth in living standards over the long run.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Policies can affect the following, each of which has important effects on growth:
 - saving and investment
 - international trade
 - education, health & nutrition
 - property rights and political stability
 - research and development
 - population growth
- Because of diminishing returns to capital, growth from investment eventually slows down, and poor countries may "catch up" to rich ones.