

Economics (INCOMPLETE)

Lecture Notes

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Preface

About the notes

💡 A PDF version of these notes is available [here](#).

Please note that while the PDF contains the same content, it has not been optimized for PDF format. Therefore, some parts may not appear as intended.

- These notes aims to support my lecture at the HS Fresenius but are incomplete and no substitute for taking actively part in class.
- I appreciate you reading it, and I appreciate any comments.
- This is work in progress so please check for updates regularly.
- For making an appointment, you can use the online tool that you find on my private homepage: <https://hubchev.github.io/>

About the author

Figure 1: Prof. Dr. Stephan Huber



I am a Professor of *International Economics and Data Science* at HS Fresenius, holding a Diploma in Economics from the University of Regensburg and a Doctoral Degree (summa cum laude) from the University of Trier. I completed postgraduate studies at the Interdisciplinary Graduate Center of Excellence at the Institute for Labor Law and Industrial Relations in the European Union (IAAEU) in Trier. Prior to my current position, I worked as a research assistant to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Joachim Möller at the University of Regensburg, a post-doc at the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) in Regensburg, and a freelancer at Charles University in Prague.

Throughout my career, I have also worked as a lecturer at various institutions, including the TU Munich, the University of Regensburg, Saarland University, and the Universities of Applied Sciences in Frankfurt and Augsburg. Additionally, I have had the opportunity to teach abroad for the University of Cordoba in Spain, the University of Perugia in Italy, and the Petra Christian University in Surabaya, Indonesia. My published work can be found in international journals such as the Canadian Journal of Economics and the Stata Journal. For more information, please visit my private homepage at hubchev.github.io and read my [CV](#).

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Teaching principles

I believe in the *Keep It Simple and Straightforward* principle (KISS), which emphasizes simplicity and clarity in all aspects of learning and teaching. This, however, does not imply that the content of the book is easy to understand. Success still requires logical thinking and a strong work ethic. Those who struggle with this may find it difficult to pass my courses.

In the following sections, I will introduce various mathematical economic models and concepts that provide a structured framework for understanding economics. Familiarity with these concepts is necessary for understanding current literature and analyzing complex scenarios in international trade.

Economic models are based on transparent assumptions and usually consist of a set of equations that explain theories of economic behavior. A robust model should provide valuable insights into the behavior of rational actors and the workings of the economy.

Unfortunately, students sometimes feel overwhelmed by these models because of their reliance on math and rigorous logical reasoning. There is often a perception that there are simpler ways to convey these arguments. While this may occasionally be true, I firmly believe that the formal approach to introducing international economics is most beneficial in the long run. Allow me to back up this belief:

- The narrative method, characterized by storytelling and bullet points, is a quick way to convey information on a variety of topics. However, it also has its drawbacks: students can easily get caught up in intuitive anecdotes without developing critical thinking or recognizing the underlying driving forces. As a result, they memorize information only for exams and forget it shortly thereafter.
- Unlike anecdotes, formal models are not inherently true; however, they can provide deeper insights into a topic than narratives. In [?@sec-anecdote](#), I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of anecdotes from an epistemological perspective in greater detail.
- Compared to anecdotes, formal models usually offer more flexibility. Once students understand the underlying logic of a model and can interpret and evaluate its implications, they can apply their understanding to different circumstances or topics. In contrast, anecdotes often provide a narrow perspective on a problem, making it difficult to draw general conclusions.
- A mathematical economic model functions much like a proof of an argument in that it accurately describes the assumptions under which the argument holds. In contrast, narratives often obscure the underlying assumptions and premises of an argument.
- Formal argumentation is the norm in economic research. Familiarity with basic concepts therefore enables students to understand the current literature, conduct research and solve problems in their professional lives.

- Understanding an economic model means grasping the underlying relationships, which promotes retention. In essence, formal models promote students' independent thinking and reasoning rather than mere repetition of the teacher's words.

How to prepare for the exam

Figure 2: Richard P. Feynman's Los Alamos ID badge



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Richard_Feynman_Los_Alamos_ID_badge.jpg

Richard P. Feynman (1918-1988) was a team leader at the Manhattan Project (see Figure 3.1) and won the Nobel Prize in 1965 in physics. He once said:

“I don't know what's the matter with people: they don't learn by understanding; they learn by some other way – by rote, or something. Their knowledge is so fragile!” [Feynman, 1985]

Of course, the key to learning is understanding. However, I believe that there is no understanding without practice, that is, solving problems and exercises by yourself with a pencil and a blank sheet of paper without knowing the solution in advance. Thus, I recommend the following:

- Attend lectures and take the opportunity to ask questions and actively participate in class.
- Study the lecture notes and work on the exercises.
- Review the material regularly each week. Learning in small increments is more effective than last-minute cramming.
- Test yourself with past exams that you find in the appendix.
- If you have the opportunity to form a study group, make use of it. It is great to help each other, and it is very motivating to see that everyone has problems sometimes.
- If you have difficulties with some exercises and the solutions shown do not solve your problem, ask a classmate or contact me.

I am convinced that following my recommendations is the best method for students to

- maximize leisure time and minimize the time needed to prepare for the exam, respectively,
- getting long-term benefits out of the course,
- improve grades, and
- have more fun during lecture hours.

About the structure of these notes

I present international economics divided into three major branches:

Monetary international economics: This chapter explicitly considers the meaning of the international financial transaction.

International trade: This chapter is concerned with the determination of relative prices and real incomes in international trade abstracting from the intervention of money. That means trade is considered as an exchange of goods with no financial transactions involved. Of course, this assumption is unrealistic. However, it helps to understand the driving forces of real-world problems.

Trade policy: This chapter is about how international economics is taken into action to build the world we live in.

Moreover, in an appendix I offer solutions to the exercises, some microeconomic and mathematical preliminaries, and some past exams.

Literature

My lecture notes are not intended to compete with comprehensive textbooks. They are concise and cannot fully explain various economic phenomena. Therefore, I recommend reading a textbook that provides a basic explanation of the concepts I use. This is especially true if you are looking for a deeper understanding or if you are not familiar with the economic principles discussed. Summarized below and spread across the chapters, you find sources that may serve you well.

Economic textbooks: Any major economics textbook can be used to complement this lecture. I personally recommend [Mankiw \[2024\]](#), [Blanchard & Johnson \[2013\]](#), and the open source textbook [Shapiro et al. \[2022\]](#) but you can also use [Parkin \[2012\]](#), [Case et al. \[2019\]](#), and [Krugman & Wells \[2018\]](#). While it is always nice to have a more recent textbook, basically older copies are just as fine (and much cheaper). Also, there are good books that are freely available online such as [Shapiro et al. \[2022\]](#), [Anon \[2020\]](#), [Goodwin \[2012\]](#), and [Klein & Bauman \[2010\]](#).

International economic textbooks: Of course, this lecture cannot cover all aspects of international economics. It is more like a curated collection of crucial concepts to grasp the fundamentals of global trade. For a deeper dive, I suggest exploring a standard international economics textbook of your preference. Here are some books, I recommend: [Suranovic \[2012\]](#), [Krugman et al. \[2017\]](#), [Feenstra & Taylor \[2017\]](#), [Pugel \[2015\]](#), [Carbaugh \[2016\]](#), and [van Marrewijk \[2012\]](#).

Part I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Scope

Recommended reading:

I recommend reading either [Shapiro et al. \[2022, ch. 1-3\]](#) or [Mankiw \[2024, part I\]](#).

Learning objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Define economics and distinguish between microeconomics and macroeconomics.
- Explain the scope and the big questions of economics.
- Differentiate between efficiency and effectiveness, analyzing how both concepts apply to economics and successful management.
- Identify contemporary economic topics, understanding the significant changes that shape the global economy and their relevance to the study of economics.
- Recognize the principles of scarcity and choice, exploring how these concepts underlie economic decision-making.
- Examine the key aspects that define perfect markets, recognizing the limitations of perfect competition in real-world contexts.
- Apply the rational economic way of thinking to recognize that all choices involve trade-offs, benefits, and costs.
- Investigate the role of the price system and Adam Smith's invisible hand in market operations and resource allocation.

1.1 What is economics?

It is important to note that economics encompasses a wide range of interpretations. There is no single definition that covers all facets. Nevertheless, there are certain aspects on which there is a certain consensus. This is the subject of the next chapter.

1.1.1 Production and productivity

Economics is the study of how to maximize welfare, production, consumption of goods and services, and whatever may be considered beneficial for an economy and the people that live therein.

[Wikipedia \[2022\]](#): “An economy is an area of the production, distribution, and trade, as well as consumption of goods and services. In general, it is defined as a social domain that emphasizes the practices, discourses, and material expressions associated with the production, use, and management of scarce resources. Simplified, one can say that an economy is a system for providing livelihoods to people.”

Exercise 1.1. Production and Productivity

Discuss the meaning of the terms production and productivity.

1.1.2 Efficiency and effectiveness

Economics and successful management revolves around two key concepts: Efficiency and Effectiveness.

Efficiency refers to the ability to achieve an intended result while minimizing waste in terms of time, effort, and resources. It emphasizes performing tasks in the most optimal manner, such as achieving results quickly or at the lowest cost. However, it's important to note that efficiency can sometimes be applied to the wrong activities, meaning that while the task may be done optimally, the outcome may not be the desired one.

Please keep in mind that efficiency is not an indicator of doing the right things. For example, if you are a business that provides a product that nobody wants to buy anymore, you can produce this product with the highest efficiency possible, but you will ultimately fail.

Effectiveness, on the other hand, is the capacity to produce better results that deliver greater value or achieve more favorable outcomes. It focuses on ensuring that the right tasks are carried out, completing activities successfully, and ultimately reaching one's goals.

Managers and individuals with goals should choose actions that are effective—meaning those actions allow them to achieve their intended objectives—and they should strive to execute these actions efficiently.

Exercise 1.2. Wisdom of the Dakota Indians

A well-known piece of wisdom from the Dakota Indians states: “If you realize that you are riding a dead horse, get off!”

Discuss what could that mean in a management context.

Solution

When managers are not doing the right thing they sometimes refuse to accept that they have the wrong business idea or the wrong strategy or product. Instead, they often tend to pursue the chosen strategy trying to do things more efficiently. To stay in the metaphor:

- They procure a stronger whip.
- They change the rider.
- They argue, “That’s how we’ve always ridden this horse!”
- They form a working group to analyze the dead horse.
- They visit other places to see how they handle dead horses there.
- They raise the quality standards for riding dead horses.
- They create a task force to revive the dead horse.
- They schedule a training session to learn how to ride better.
- They make comparisons between different dead horses.
- They change the criteria that determine whether a horse is dead.
- They hire external experts to ride the dead horse.
- They yoke several dead horses together to make them faster.
- They assert, “No horse can be so dead that it can’t be beaten!”
- They allocate additional resources to improve the horse’s performance.
- They commission a study to find out if there are cheaper consultants.
- They purchase something that claims to teach dead horses to run faster.
- They declare that our horse is better, faster, and cheaper when dead.
- They form a quality circle to find a use for dead horses.
- They revise the performance criteria for dead horses.
- They establish an independent cost center for dead horses.
- They have the horses certified as quickly as possible.
- They freeze the horses and wait for a new technology that will allow them to ride dead horses.
- They form a prayer group to pray for the horse’s health.
- They place the horse in someone else’s stable and claim it as theirs.
- They note that others are also riding dead horses and declare this the norm.
- They change the requirements for riding and movement and issue a new development mandate.
- They outsource the horse.
- They bet that the horse is just pretending to be dead.
- If you can’t ride a dead horse, it can at least pull a cart.

1.1.3 Economic topics

You are studying economics at a time of **enormous change**. Some of these changes are for the better, while others are for the worse. Studying economics will help you to **understand the powerful forces that are shaping and changing our world**.

Recent topics in economics:

- COVID
- Protectionism/trade war
- Brexit
- Euro crisis
- Monetary policy
- Refugees
- Germany’s trade surplus
- Greece’s debt crisis
- Real estate crisis
- Global financial crisis in 2009
- Economics of the Corona Crisis
- Oil price fluctuations

- U.S. Dollar strength
- Economics of climate change

1.1.4 Definitions

- All economic questions arise because we want more than we can get.
- Our inability to satisfy all our wants is called **scarcity**.
- Because we face scarcity, we must make **choices**.
- The choices we make depend on the **incentives** we face. An incentive is a reward that encourages or a penalty that discourages an action.

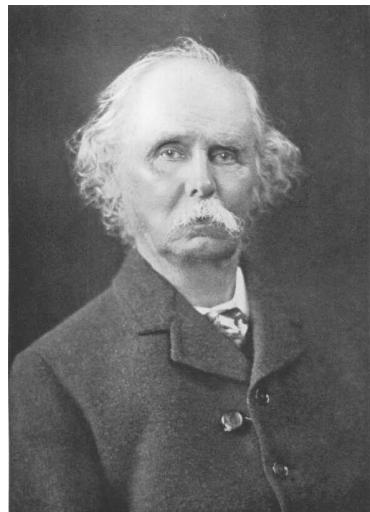
Economics is a social science, and like all social sciences, many of the terms used in it are poorly defined. For example, the term *economy* can be understood differently, as the following quotes from Figure 1.1 to Figure 1.4 demonstrate:

Figure 1.1: John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946)



Keynes [1921]: The theory of economics does not furnish a body of settled conclusions immediately applicable to policy. It is a method rather than a doctrine, an apparatus of the mind, a technique of thinking, which helps its possessors to draw correct conclusions.

Figure 1.2: Alfred Marshall (1842-1924)



Marshall [2009]: “Economics is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and with the use of the material requisites of well-being.”

Colander [2006]: “Economics is the study of how human beings coordinate their wants and desires, given the decision-making mechanisms, social customs, and political realities of society.”

Figure 1.3: James Duesenberry (1918-2009)



Duesenberry [1960]: “Economics is all about how people make choices. Sociology is about why there isn’t any choice to be made.”

Parkin [2012]: “Economics is the social science that studies the choices that individuals, businesses, governments, and entire societies make as they cope with scarcity and the incentives that influence and reconcile those choices.”

Gwartney et al. [2006]: “[E]conomics is the study of human behavior, with a particular focus on human decision making.”

Backhouse & Medema [2009]: “[E]conomics is apparently the study of the economy, the study of the coordination process, the study of the effects of scarcity, the science of choice, and the study of human behavior.”

Greenlaw & Shapiro [2022]: “Economics seeks to solve the problem of scarcity, which is when human wants for goods and services exceed the available supply. A modern economy displays a division of labor, in which people earn income by specializing in what they produce and then use that income to purchase the products they need or want. The division of labor allows individuals and firms to specialize and to produce more for several reasons: a) It allows the agents to focus on areas of advantage due to natural factors and skill levels; b) It encourages the agents to learn and invent; c) It allows agents to take advantage of economies of scale. Division and specialization of labor only work when individuals can purchase what they do not produce in markets. Learning about economics helps you understand the major problems facing the world today, prepares you to be a good citizen, and helps you become a well-rounded thinker.

Backhouse & Medema [2009]: “Perhaps the definition of economics is best viewed as a tool for the first day of principles classes but otherwise of little concern to practicing economists.”

Although many textbook definitions are quite similar in many ways, the lack of agreement on a clear-cut definition of economics is not necessarily problematic, as **Backhouse & Medema [2009]** states:

“[E]conomists are generally guided by pragmatic considerations of what works or by methodological views emanating from various sources, not by formal definitions.”

1.2 Microeconomics vs. Macroeconomics

Parkin [2012]: “**Microeconomics** is the study of the choices that individuals and businesses make, the way these choices interact in markets, and the influence of governments. [...] **Macroeconomics** is the study of the performance of the national economy and the global economy.”

Figure 1.4: Jacob Viner (1892-1970)



Jacob Viner: “Economics is what economists do.” [see [Backhouse & Medema, 2009](#)]

Microeconomics and macroeconomics are two different perspectives on the economy. The microeconomic perspective focuses on parts of the economy:

- Individuals
- Firms
- Industries

Some examples of microeconomic questions are:

- Why are people downloading more movies?
- How would a tax on e-commerce affect eBay?

The term macro comes from the Greek word *makros*, meaning large. Thus, it studies groups or the entire economy using aggregate measures related to welfare and standards of living such as:

- National income
- Money
- Total (un)employment
- Aggregate demand and supply
- Total savings
- Inflation
- General price level
- International trade
- Balance of trade,
- ...

Macroeconomics employs two key policy approaches to pursue these objectives:

- Fiscal policy pertains to the regulation of government revenue, expenditures, and debt to generate positive impacts while averting negative effects on income, output, and employment.
- Monetary policy involves controlling money supply and credit to stimulate business activities, foster economic growth, stabilize price levels, attain full employment, and achieve balance of payments equilibrium.

Some examples of macroeconomic questions are:

- Why is the U.S. unemployment rate so high?
- Can the Federal Reserve make our economy expand by cutting interest rates?

Why separate micro and macroeconomics? Certainly, events occurring at the micro-level can provide insights into phenomena observed at the macro-level, and vice versa. Thus, there is an interdependence of these disciplines. Nevertheless, there remains value in distinguishing them because:

1. What is good at the micro level doesn't have to be good for the economy as a whole.

- Macroeconomic problems can only be comprehended and solved through macro-level policy actions and programs.

Exercise 1.3. Read Krugman [1996], which is also available online: [Harvard Business Review](#).

Figure 1.5: Krugman and Trump

Why businesspeople don't necessarily make great economists.

A Country Is Not a Company

by Paul Krugman

College students who plan to go into business often major in economics, but few believe that they will end up using what they hear in the lecture hall. Those students understand that business school is about what they learn in economics courses won't help them run a business. *The converse is also true. When*

I am not claiming that business people are stupid or that economists are particularly smart. On the contrary, if the 100 top U.S. business executives were ranked against the 100 leading economists, the least impressive of the former group would probably outshine the most impressive of the latter. My point is that

seen particularly inclined to make false analogies between countries and corporations.

Exports and Jobs

Business executives consistently misinterpret two things about the relationship between international trade and domestic job creation.

Trump calls for New York Times to fire economist Paul Krugman in the latest escalation of their longtime feud

Connor Perrott Jan 26, 2020, 7:04 PM

President Trump and Paul Krugman. REUTERS/Jonathan Ernst, REUTERS/Franck Robichon

Source: [Krugman \[1996\]](#) and [www.businessinsider.com](#)

Discuss why Trump may not like Krugman's expertise on international trade and comment on Krugman [1996]'s quote:

"The next time you hear business people propounding their views about the economy, ask yourself: Have they taken the time to study this subject? Have they read what the experts write? If not, never mind how successful they have been in business. Ignore them, because they probably have no idea what they are talking about."

Discuss the following quote from the article *What Do Undergrads Need to Know About Trade?* by Nobel Laureate Paul Krugman [1993]:

"It should be possible to emphasize to students that the level of employment is a macroeconomic issue, depending in the short run on aggregate demand and depending in the long run on the natural rate of unemployment, with microeconomic policies like tariffs having little net effect. Trade policy should be debated in terms of its impact on efficiency, not in terms of phony numbers about jobs created or lost."

1.3 The scope of economics in five questions

- How do choices end up determining **what, where, how, and for whom** goods and services get produced?
- When do choices made in the pursuit of **self-interest** also promote the **social interest**?

1.3.1 What?

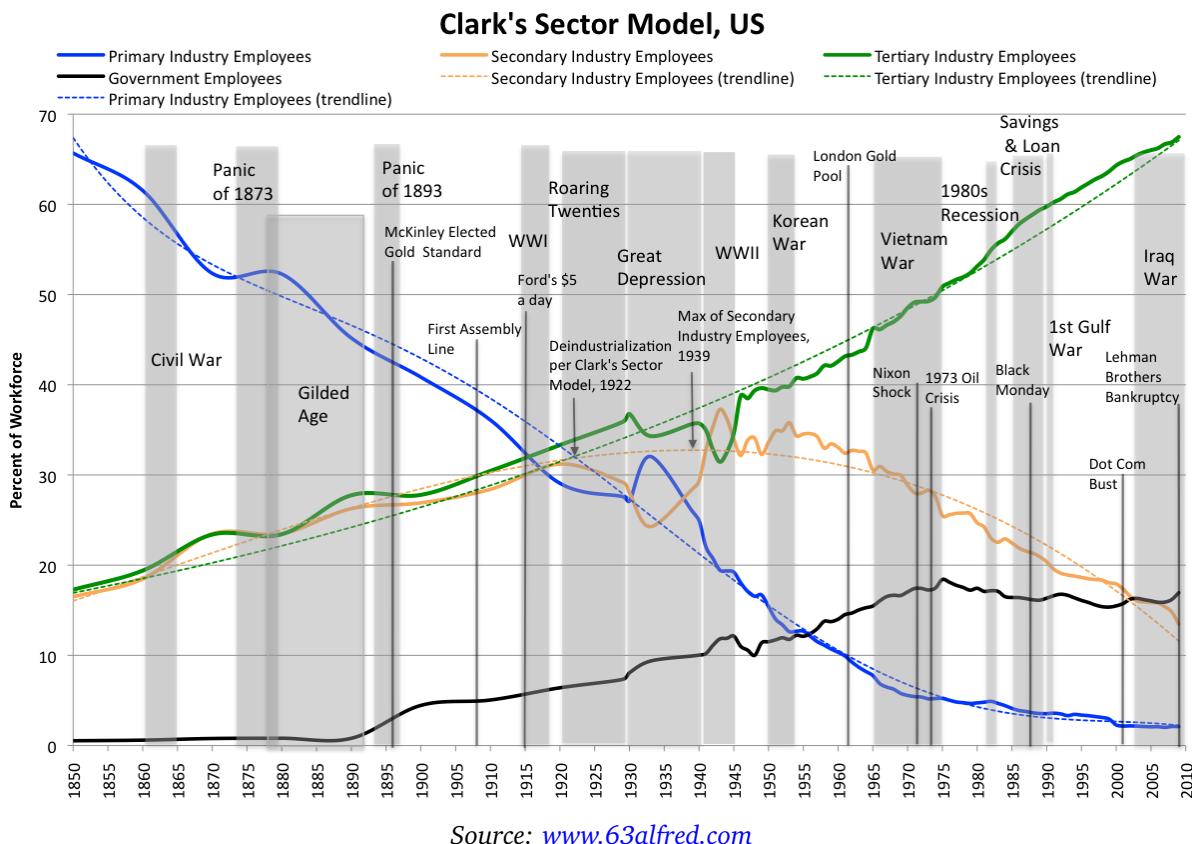
As demonstrated in Figure 1.6, what we produce changes over time.

1.3.2 How?

Goods and services are produced by using productive resources that economists call factors of production:

- Land** (aka *natural resources*): These are the *gifts of nature* that we use to produce goods and services.
- Labor**: This is the work time and effort that people devote to production. The quality of labor depends on *human capital*, which encompasses the knowledge and skill that people obtain from education, on-the-job training, and work experience.
- Capital**: Refers to the tools, instruments, machines, buildings, and other constructions employed in the production process.

Figure 1.6: Clark's Sector Model for US economy with current events highlighted.



- **Entrepreneurship:** This is the human resource that organizes labor, land, and capital. Entrepreneurs come up with new ideas about what and how to produce, make business decisions, and bear the risks that arise from these decisions.

What determines the quantities of factors of production used to produce goods and services is a typical economic question.

1.3.3 For whom?

Who gets the goods and services depends on the incomes that people earn. People earn their incomes by selling the services of the factors of production they own:

- Land earns **rent**.
- Labor earns **wages**.
- Capital earns **interest**.
- Entrepreneurship earns **profit**.

Why is the distribution of income so unequal? Why do women and minorities earn less than white males?

1.3.4 Where?

We all know *the World is not flat*: The placement of land, labor, capital, and entrepreneurs in space is important. In particular, **Regional Science** considers that importance.

"No other discipline can claim such a wide scope of interest and relevance to today's rapidly changing World. Thus, contrary to the claims of the 'end of geography', the process of globalization is making geography more important than ever." **Sokol [2011]**

Unfortunately, the main microeconomic and macroeconomic textbooks usually refrain from discussing the question "*Where?*". One reason for this could be that the introduction of space into the theory is not

trivial. Ignoring the existence of regional differences and transport is accompanied by a lack of reality and may lead to wrong conclusions.

1.4 When is the pursuit of self-interest in the social interest?

7,800,000,000 people make economic choices every day that result in *What*, *How*, and *For Whom* goods and services get produced.

- Do we produce the right things in the right quantities?
- Do we use our factors of production in the best way?
- Do the goods and services go to those who benefit most from them?

Well, it depends on whether we consider self-interest or social interest:

- **Self-interest:** A choice is in your *self-interest* if you think that choice is the best one available for you. You use your time and other resources in the ways that make the most sense to you.
- **Social interest:** A choice is in the social interest if it leads to an outcome that is the best for society as a whole. The social interest has two dimensions: efficiency and equity (or fairness). What is best for society is an efficient and fair use of resources.

Exercise 1.4. Do you act in self-interest and who decides?

- Are you acting in your own interest or are you acting in the interest of a third party? And, do you have freedom of choice?
- Who decides *what*, *how*, and *for whom*? Discuss.
- Is it possible that when each of us makes decisions that are in our own best interest, it also turns out that those decisions are also in society's best interest?
- Do public ownership and central planning do a better job than private corporations and free markets?
- Don't corporate scandals show that large corporations work against society's interest?
- Should pharmaceutical companies be forced to provide HIV/AIDS drugs (or others) to poor people at low cost?
- Why are we destroying the environment?
- Why don't all people have jobs?

1.5 The economic way of thinking

The questions that economics attempts to answer tell us something about the scope of economics, but they do not tell us (1) how economists think and (2) how economists conduct research to find answers.

Exercise 1.5. TANSTAAFL

Figure 1.7: TANSTAAFL



A friend gifts you a shirt, as shown in Figure 1.7. You like it; however, you want to learn what the acronym TANSTAAFL means before you wear it. Take a moment to discover the message associated

with the shirt's imprint. Do you think your friend's gift was truly altruistic?

Solution

See [Wikipedia \[2025c\]](#).

1.5.1 A choice is a tradeoff

Before discussing how economists do research, let's look at six key concepts that define the economic way of thinking:

1. A choice is a **tradeoff**.
2. People make **rational decisions** by comparing benefits and costs.
3. **Benefit** is what you get out of something.
4. **Cost** is what you have to give up to get something.
5. Most choices are *how-much* choices made **at the margin**.
6. Choices respond to **incentives**.

Due to scarcity, we are forced to make a choice. Whenever we make a decision, we choose from the available alternatives. It can be helpful to think of each choice as a trade-off - an exchange in which we give up one thing to get another.

The questions of what, how and for whom become clearer when we consider trade-offs:

- **What?** Trade-offs occur when individuals decide how to divide their income, when governments decide how to spend tax revenues, and when companies decide what products to make.
- **How?** Trade-offs occur when companies evaluate different production technologies to maximise efficiency.
- **For whom?** Trade-offs affect the distribution of purchasing power among citizens. Government redistribution of income from the wealthy to the less fortunate is an example of the great trade-off - the balance between equality and efficiency.

The production of goods and services—what is produced, how it is produced, and for whom it is produced—changes over time, leading to improvements in the quality of our economic lives, provided we make wise decisions. The quality of those decisions hinges on the tradeoffs we face.

Example

We encounter three significant tradeoffs between enjoying current consumption and leisure time versus increasing future production, consumption, and leisure time:

- By saving more today, we can invest in productive capital, such as machinery, which will enhance our production capacity in the upcoming time.
- By reducing our leisure time, we can focus on education and training, ultimately becoming more productive in the long run.
- If businesses choose to decrease current production and allocate resources to research and development of new technologies, they can boost future output.

The decisions we make in this area of conflict have a significant influence on the speed at which our economic conditions improve.

Exercise 1.6.

- Name choices that involve tradeoffs.
- Give some examples for choices without tradeoffs.

1.5.2 Rational choices

Economists view the choices that people make as **rational**. A rational choice is one that compares **costs and benefits** and achieves the greatest benefit over cost for the person making the choice.

Exercise 1.7. The businessman and the fisherman

A classic tale that exists in different versions goes like this:

One day a fisherman was lying on a beautiful beach, with his fishing pole propped up in the sand and his solitary line cast out into the sparkling blue surf. He was enjoying the warmth of the afternoon sun and the prospect of catching a fish.

About that time, a businessman came walking down the beach, trying to relieve some of the stress of his workday. He noticed the fisherman sitting on the beach and decided to find out why this fisherman was fishing instead of working harder to make a living for himself and his family.

“You aren’t going to catch many fish that way,” said the businessman to the fisherman.

“You should be working rather than lying on the beach!”

The fisherman looked up at the businessman, smiled, and replied, “And what will my reward be?”

“Well, you can get bigger nets and catch more fish!” was the businessman’s answer. “And then what will my reward be?” asked the fisherman, still smiling.

The businessman replied, “You will make money and you’ll be able to buy a boat, which will then result in larger catches of fish!”

“And then what will my reward be?” asked the fisherman again.

The businessman was beginning to get a little irritated with the fisherman’s questions.

“You can buy a bigger boat, and hire some people to work for you!” he said.

“And then what will my reward be?” repeated the fisherman.

The businessman was getting angry. “Don’t you understand? You can build up a fleet of fishing boats, sail all over the world, and let all your employees catch fish for you!”

Once again the fisherman asked, “And then what will my reward be?”

The businessman was red with rage and shouted at the fisherman, “Don’t you understand that you can become so rich that you will never have to work for your living again! You can spend all the rest of your days sitting on this beach, looking at the sunset. You won’t have a care in the world!”

The fisherman, still smiling, looked up and said, “And what do you think I’m doing right now?”

Source: This version of the tale stems from [theStorytellers.com](https://www.thestorytellers.com) [2025].

Who is acting rationally here? The fisherman or the businessman? What are the costs and benefits of both?

1.5.3 Benefit: What you gain

The utility of an item refers to the gain or pleasure it provides and is determined by **preferences**, that is, what a person likes or dislikes and the intensity of those feelings. Economists measure utility as the maximum amount a person **is willing to give up to obtain something**.

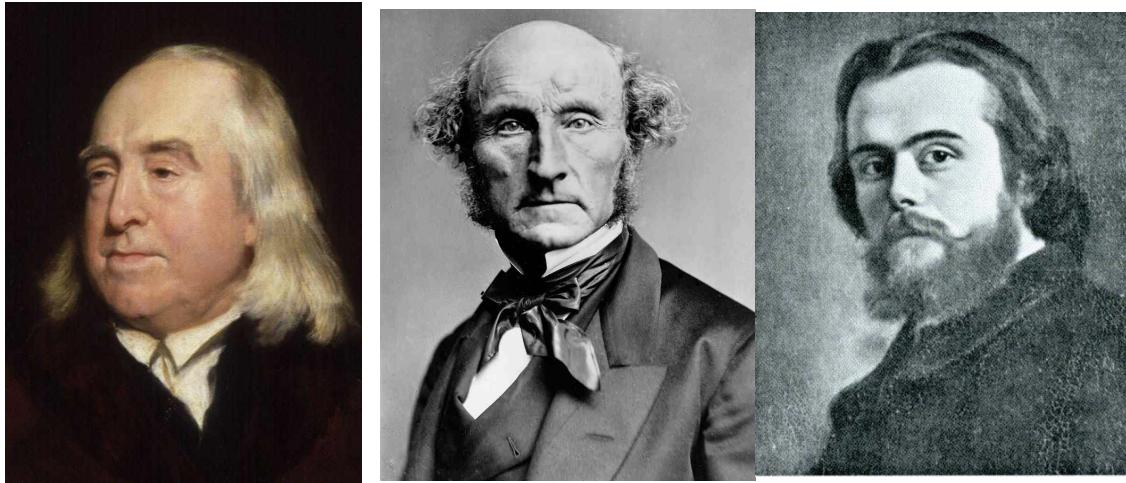
1.5.4 Cost: What you must give up

When considering a choice as a tradeoff, it is essential to emphasize cost as an opportunity foregone. The **opportunity cost** of something is the highest-valued alternative that must be sacrificed to get it.

Utility as a general measure

Figure 1.8: The concept of utility

(a) Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) (b) John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) (c) Léon Walras (1834–1910)



The concept of utility within economics is used to model worth or value, and its usage has evolved significantly over time by many significant people including those shown in Figure 1.8. Initially introduced as a measure of pleasure or happiness within the theory of utilitarianism by moral philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, the concept was later developed and popularized by Léon Walras. In microeconomics, it typically represents the satisfaction or pleasure that consumers derive from consuming a bundle of goods and services.

1.5.5 Choosing at the margin

Choosing between studying or watching Netflix is rarely an **all-or-nothing** decision. Instead, you consider how many minutes to allocate to each activity. In making this decision, you compare the benefit of a bit more study time against its cost, effectively making your choice **at the margin**.

People often make choices at the margin, which means they evaluate the consequences of making incremental changes in the use of their resources.

The benefit derived from pursuing a small increase in activity is known as its marginal benefit, while the opportunity cost of that incremental increase is referred to as its marginal cost.

Our choices respond to **incentives**. For any activity, if the marginal benefit exceeds the marginal cost, people have an incentive to increase that activity. Conversely, if the marginal cost exceeds the marginal benefit, people have an incentive to reduce that activity.

Exercise 1.8. Marginal analysis

Watch [this video](#) and solve the associated problems.

1.6 International economics

International economics is covered in more detail in Chapter 11, Chapter 12 and Chapter 13. However, let us briefly discuss the scope of this important area of economics.

1.6.1 What is international trade?

International trade is the exchange of capital, goods, and services across international borders or territories. Questions of international trade include:

- Why do nations trade?
- What do they trade?
- What is the effect of trade policies on trade and welfare?
- Can trade in goods substitute for factor mobility?
- Is free trade better than autarky?
- What are the effects of trade on income distribution?
- If there are winners and losers from trade liberalization, can the former compensate the latter?
- If nations gain from trade, how are the gains distributed?
- What are the welfare effects of various trade policies?

Exercise 1.9. Trade and Putin

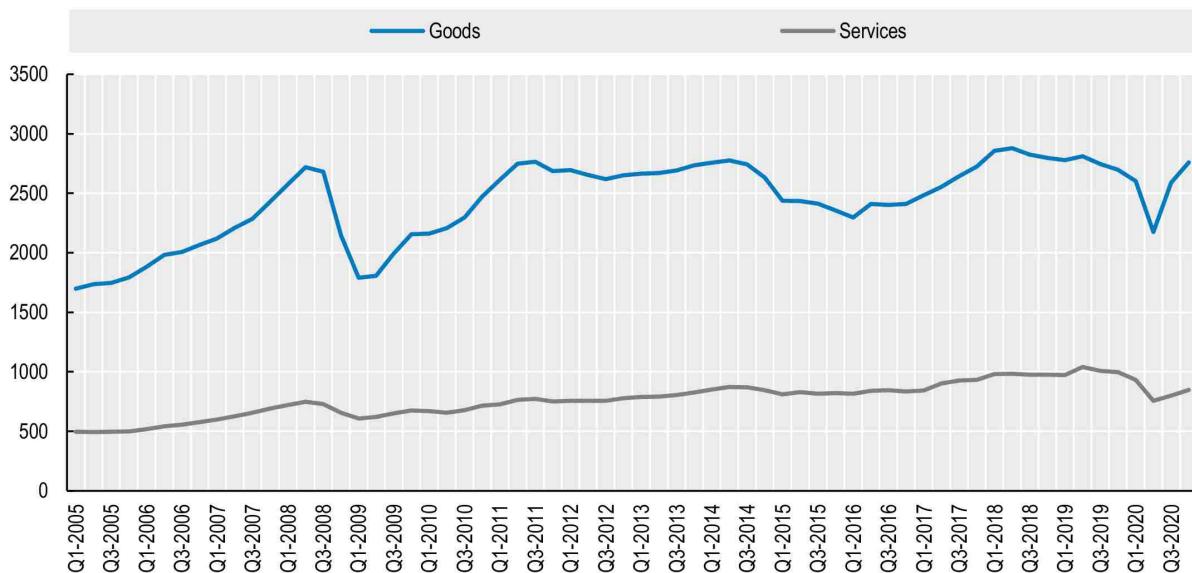
Discuss the following quote in the context of the war between Russia and Ukraine.

“International trade and international capital flows link national economies. Although such links are considered to be beneficial for the most part, they produce an interdependence that occasionally has harmful effects. In particular, shocks that emanate in one country may negatively impact trade partners.” [Helpman & Itsckhoki, 2010]

1.6.2 COVID and international economics: Stylized facts

See Figure 1.9 to Figure 1.11 and read Arriola et al. [2021] for further information.

Figure 1.9: Imports and exports in USD billion, OECD countries



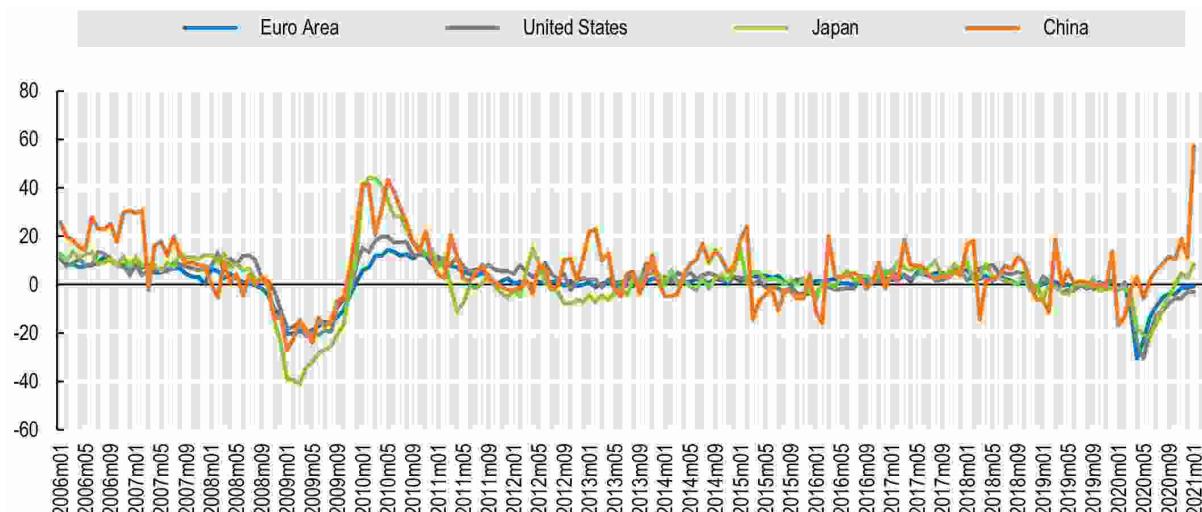
Source: Arriola et al. [2021]

1.6.3 What is international monetary economics?

International monetary economics focuses on the financial aspects of international trade. It studies the flows of money across countries and their effects on economies as a whole.

Exercise 1.10. Discuss the content of Figure 1.12 to Figure 1.14.

Figure 1.10: Year-on-year growth rates of export volumes



Source: Arriola et al. [2021]

Figure 1.12: Lira tumbles

Bloomberg

Markets

Lira Tumbles to Record Low After Central Bank Cuts Rates Again

By Burhan Yuksekkas +Follow
21. Oktober 2021, 13:08 MESZ

A customer exchanges U.S. dollars at a currency exchange bureau in Istanbul. Photographer: Moe Zoyari/Bloomberg

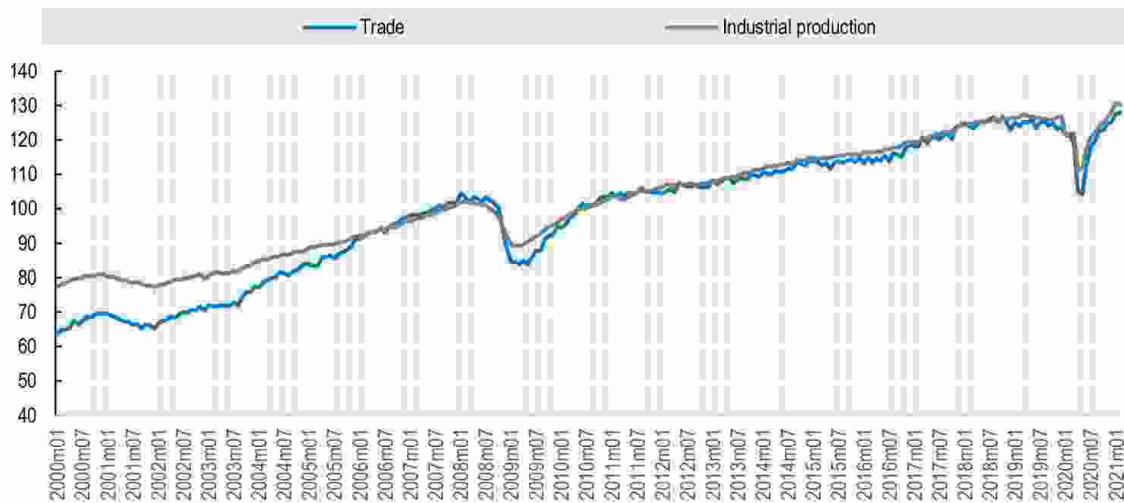
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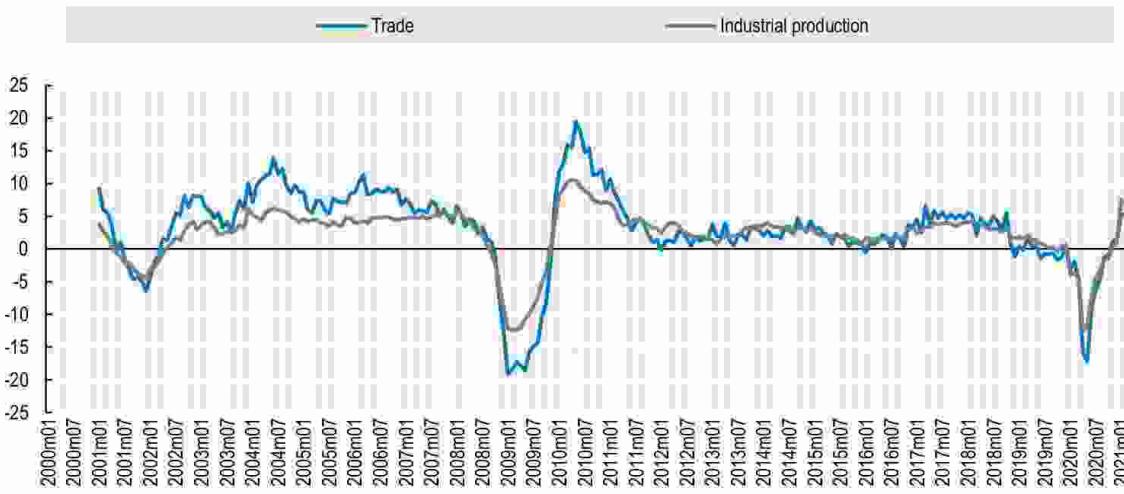
Source: Bloomberg.com

Figure 1.11: World merchandise trade and industrial production volumes

Panel A. Trade volume (2010=100)



Panel B. Year-on-year growth rates (%)



Source: OECD calculations based on CPB data.

Source: Arriola et al. [2021]

Figure 1.13: Turkish lira hits record

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Turkish lira hits record low after Erdogan threatens foreign diplomats with ‘persona non grata’ status

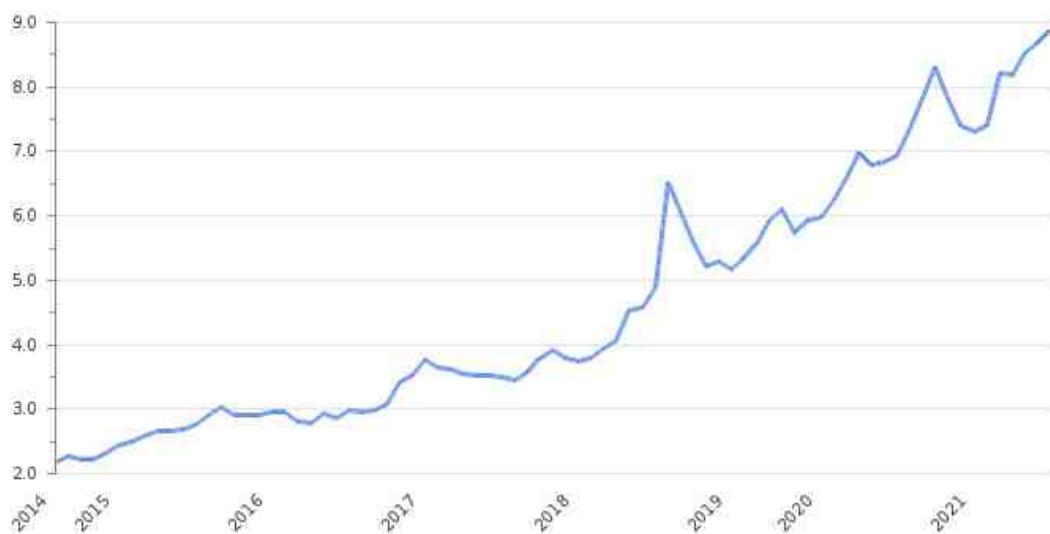
PUBLISHED MON, OCT 25 2021 7:00 AM EDT | UPDATED MON, OCT 25 2021 1:22 PM EDT

Natasha Turak @NATASHATURAK

SHARE f t

Source: [CNBC.com](#)

Figure 1.14: TRY to USD rate (₺/\$)



1.7 What is international trade policy?

International trade policy encompasses the interplay of national interests affecting trade across borders. It is based on the assumption that a country's international trade policy serves its citizens' and companies' interests.

Exercise 1.11. Read [euronews.com](#), see Figure 1.15.

Figure 1.15: Juncker responds on 03/03/2018

Juncker responds to Trump's trade tariffs: 'We can also do stupid' COMMENTS

By [Euronews](#) • Updated 03/03/2018

European Commission chief Jean-Claude Juncker has vowed to fight back against US President Donald Trump's threat of a 25% tariff on steel and 10% on aluminium imports (see Figure 1.15).

"So now we will also impose import tariffs. This is basically a stupid process, the fact that we have to do this. But we have to do it. We will now impose tariffs on motorcycles, Harley Davidson, on blue jeans, Levis, on Bourbon. We can also do stupid. We also have to be this stupid," he said in Hamburg on Friday evening.

While Trump may be comfortable with the idea of a trade war, it wasn't just across the Atlantic where the leader's plans ruffled feathers.

"We are impressing upon the American administration the unacceptable nature of these proposals that are going to hurt them every bit as much as they will hurt us," said Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

The warnings from leaders around the world mirrored those of the International Monetary Fund, which said Trump's plan would cause damage both internationally and within America itself.

Trump, however, remains defiant, insisting that trade wars are good and easy to win.

Watch [this video](#). Also see Figure 1.16.

Figure 1.16: Trump and Juncker talk (7/25/2018)

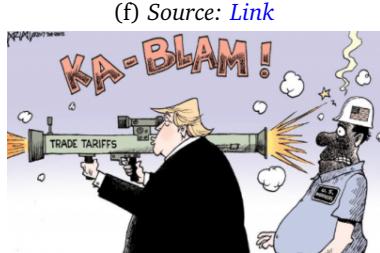
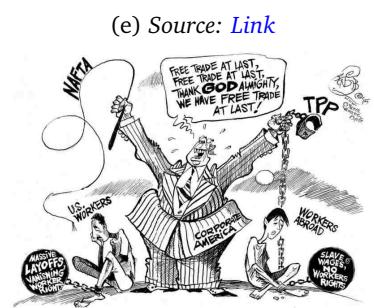
Donald Trump and Jean-Claude Juncker talk trade tariffs

The leaders agreed to work toward "zero tariffs" between the US and the EU, which would decisively reverse the slew of trade tariffs imposed recently. The deal involves the EU purchasing natural gas from the US.

Source: dw.com

Exercise 1.12. Free trade: Good or bad?

Please consider the following subfigures of Figure ?? and discuss whether trade is something 'good' or 'bad'.



Some comments on a solution

The costs and benefits of international trade is a controversial topic in politics and academia. In academia, it is a widely shared belief that free trade can be (don't have to be!) a positive-sum game. Outside of academia, however, many people fear international trade because they might lose their competitive advantage in business or their jobs to foreign competitors. Nevertheless, it has to be stated that consumers decide to buy a lot of items from foreign suppliers without being forced to do so. Politicians take advantage of the topic to make popular statements.

1.7.1 Glossary of terms in international economics

- **Trade:** Trade involves the transfer of goods or services from one person or entity to another, often in exchange for money. Economists refer to a system or network that allows trade as a market.
- **International trade:** International trade is the exchange of capital, goods, and services across international borders or territories.
- **Export:** An export in international trade is a good or service produced in one country that is bought by someone in another country. The seller of such goods and services is an exporter; the foreign buyer is an importer.
- **Import:** An import in the receiving country is an export from the sending country. Importation and exportation are the defining financial transactions of international trade.
- **Balance of trade:** The balance of trade, commercial balance, or net exports (sometimes symbolized as NX), is the difference between the monetary value of a nation's exports and imports over a certain time period.
- **Trade deficit/surplus:** If a country exports a greater value than it imports, it has a trade surplus or positive trade balance; conversely, if a country imports a greater value than it exports, it has a trade deficit or negative trade balance.
- **Balance of payments:** The balance of payments, also known as balance of international payments

and abbreviated B.O.P. or BoP, of a country is the record of all economic transactions between the residents of the country and the rest of the world in a particular period of time (e.g., a quarter of a year). These transactions are made by individuals, firms, and government bodies. Thus, the balance of payments includes all external visible and non-visible transactions of a country. It is an important issue to be studied, especially in the international financial management field.

- **Trade barrier:** Trade barriers are government-induced restrictions on international trade.
- **Tariff:** A tariff is a tax on imports or exports between sovereign states. It is a form of regulation of foreign trade and a policy that taxes foreign products to encourage or safeguard domestic industry. Traditionally, states have used them as a source of income. They are now among the most widely used instruments of protectionism, along with import and export quotas.
- **Trade war:** A trade war is an economic conflict resulting from extreme protectionism in which states raise or create tariffs or other trade barriers against each other in response to trade barriers created by the other party.
- **Protectionism:** Protectionism is the economic policy of restricting imports from other countries through methods such as tariffs on imported goods, import quotas, and a variety of other government regulations.
- **Autarky:** Autarky is the characteristic of self-sufficiency; the term usually applies to political states or their economic systems. Autarky exists whenever an entity survives or continues its activities without external assistance or international trade.
- **Closed economy:** If a self-sufficient economy also refuses to conduct any trade with the outside world, then economists may term it a “closed economy.”
- **Production-possibility frontier:** A production–possibility frontier (PPF) or production possibility curve (PPC) is a curve that shows various combinations of the amounts of two goods that can be produced within the given resources and technology—a graphical representation showing all the possible options of output for two products that can be produced using all factors of production, where the given resources are fully and efficiently utilized per unit time.
- **Indifference curve:** In economics, an indifference curve connects points on a graph representing different quantities of two goods, points between which a consumer is indifferent. That is, any combinations of two products indicated by the curve will provide the consumer with equal levels of utility, and the consumer has no preference for one combination or bundle of goods over a different combination on the same curve.
- **Utility:** Within economics, the concept of utility is used to model worth or value. Its usage has evolved significantly over time. The term was introduced initially as a measure of pleasure or satisfaction within the theory of utilitarianism by moral philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. The term has been adapted and reapplied within neoclassical economics, which dominates modern economic theory, as a utility function that represents a consumer's preference ordering over a choice set. It is devoid of its original interpretation as a measurement of the pleasure or satisfaction obtained by the consumer from that choice.

Chapter 2

Perfect markets

Learning objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Describe the key characteristics and assumptions of perfect markets and perfect competition.
- Explain the implications of the price system on supply, demand, and the allocation of resources.
- Develop insights into the conditions necessary for achieving Pareto efficiency in markets.

2.1 Pencil parable

Figure 2.1: Milton Friedman's pencil parable

<https://youtu.be/67tHtpac5ws>



Source: [Youtube](#)

Milton Friedman (1912–2006), nobel prize winner and one of the great economists (and teachers) of the 20th century, had a 10-hour PBS broadcast series in 1980 called *Free to Choose*. In this show, he presented his vision of how free markets work. In a clip from the show (see Figure 2.1), he distills his arguments into a parable about a pencil. Please watch [this video](#) or read the transcript of the video:

"Look at this lead pencil. There's not a single person in the world who could make this pencil. Remarkable statement? Not at all. The wood from which it is made, for all I know, comes from a tree that was cut down in the state of Washington. To cut down that tree, it took a saw. To make the saw, it took steel. To make steel, it took iron ore. This black center—we call it lead but it's really graphite, compressed graphite—I'm not sure where it comes from, but I think it comes from some mines in South America. This red top up here, this eraser, a bit of rubber, probably comes from Malaya, where the rubber tree isn't even native! It was imported from South America by some businessmen with the help of the British government. This brass ferrule? [Self-effacing laughter.] I haven't the slightest idea where it came from. Or the yellow paint! Or the paint that made the black lines. Or the glue that holds it together."

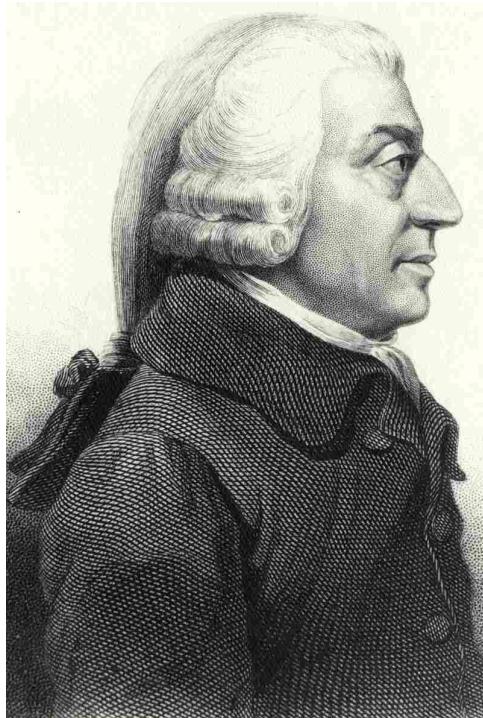
Literally thousands of people co-operated to make this pencil. People who don't speak the same language, who practice different religions, who might hate one another if they ever met! When you go down to the store and buy this pencil, you are, in effect, trading a few minutes of your time for a few seconds of the time of all those thousands of people. What brought them together and induced them to cooperate to make this pencil? There was no commissar sending out orders from some central office. It was the magic of the price system: the impersonal operation of prices that brought them together and got them to cooperate, to make this pencil, so you could have it for a trifling sum. That is why the operation of the free market is so essential. Not only to promote productive efficiency but even more to foster harmony and peace among the peoples of the world."

By the way, the parable actually goes back to Leonard E. Read as you can read [here](#).

2.2 Invisible hand

Smith [1776]: "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest"

Figure 2.2: Adam Smith (1723-1790)



In perhaps the most influential book in economics ever written, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Adam **Smith [1776]** (see Figure 2.2) argued that the pursuit of self-interest in a marketplace would promote the general interest. He said resources would be guided, as if by an **invisible hand**, to their best uses. That invisible hand was the **marketplace**. In particular, he wrote:

"Every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can [...] He is in this, as in many other ways, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention [...] By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it."

2.3 Allocation of resources

Markets use prices as signals to allocate resources to their highest valued uses. Consumers will pay higher prices for goods and services that they value more highly. Producers will devote more resources to the

production of goods and services that have higher prices, other things being equal. And, other things being equal, workers will provide more hours of labor to jobs that pay higher salaries.

This allocation principle applies to both product markets, such as those for cars, houses, and haircuts, and resource markets, including labor, land, and equipment. Individuals and households play two crucial roles in the economy: they demand goods and services and supply resources. Similarly, businesses also have dual roles; they supply goods and services while demanding resources. The interaction of demand and supply in both product and resource markets generates prices, which help allocate items to their highest valued alternatives.

The question of how resources can and should be allocated is a normative issue, and economists require normative criteria to make decisions. A widely accepted criterion is the Pareto principle (see Note 1).

i Note 1: Pareto concept

An allocation of resources is considered **Pareto efficient** (or Pareto optimal) when no reallocation can make at least one individual better off without making someone else worse off. In other words, it is a state where resources are allocated in such a way that it is impossible to improve one person's situation without disadvantaging another.

A change in allocation that benefits at least one individual without harming anyone else is known as a Pareto improvement. This improvement is often used by economist that aim to give policy advice.

When economists discuss an optimal allocation of resources, they typically imply that the Pareto efficiency criterion is met, which defines optimal resource allocation as a state where no further improvements can be made without harming someone.

Factors that disrupt the functioning of a competitive market lead to an inefficient allocation of resources, ultimately diminishing society's overall well-being. This disruption is referred to as market failure. We will explore several forms of market failure later in the notes.

Exercise 2.1. Read and watch:

Milton Friedman: “There was no commissar sending out orders from some central office. It was the magic of the price system: the impersonal operation of prices that brought them together and got them to cooperate, to make this pencil, so you could have it for a trifling sum.”

Further explanations can be found in Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4:

Figure 2.3: Coordination Through Prices

https://youtu.be/j_awx6F6z-U



Source: Youtube

Figure 2.4: What if there were no prices?



Source: YouTube

Exercise 2.2. Magic of the price system

Explain in your own words what Friedman means when he talks about the *magic of the price system*. Why is this different from Adam Smith's *invisible hand*? Can you think of situations where the *magic of the price system* does not work properly? Can you think of necessary conditions that must be met for the "magic" to become reality?

Solution

The magic of the price system actually requires markets to be *perfect*. See Section 2.4.

2.4 Assumptions

The assumptions of perfect markets and perfect competition are as follows:

1. **Many buyers and sellers:** In a perfectly competitive market, there are numerous buyers and sellers, none of whom have a significant influence over market price. Each participant is a price taker, meaning they have no control over the price at which goods or services are exchanged.
2. **Homogeneous products:** The products offered by all firms in a perfectly competitive market are identical or homogeneous. Consumers perceive no differences between the goods or services provided by different sellers. As a result, buyers base their purchase decisions solely on price.
3. **Perfect information:** All buyers and sellers in a perfectly competitive market have complete and accurate information about prices, quality, availability, and other relevant factors. This assumption ensures that market participants can make rational decisions and respond efficiently to changes in market conditions.
4. **Free entry and exit:** Firms can freely enter or exit the market in response to profits or losses. There are no barriers to entry or exit, such as legal restrictions or substantial costs, that prevent new firms from entering the market or existing firms from leaving it.
5. **Perfect mobility of factors of production:** The resources used in production, such as labor and capital, can move freely between different firms and industries. There are no constraints on the mobility of factors of production, allowing firms to allocate resources efficiently.
6. **Profit maximization:** All firms in a perfectly competitive market are profit maximizers. They aim to maximize their profits by adjusting their output levels based on prevailing market conditions. If firms can increase their profits, they will expand production, and if they incur losses, they will reduce output or exit the market.
7. **No externalities and no transaction costs:** There are assumed to be no externalities, meaning no external costs or benefits to third parties not involved in the transaction.

These assumptions collectively define perfect competition. When all conditions are met, there is no need for government regulation, as welfare is maximized, resources are allocated optimally, and no Pareto improvement can be achieved.

While perfect competition is never fully realized in the real world, it serves as a valuable theoretical model that acts as a benchmark for analyzing actual markets. This model provides insights into market functioning and helps inform policymakers on how to address instances of market failure, where at least one assumption of perfect markets is not met.

It is important to note that the fact that real markets are usually imperfect does not imply that such imperfect markets necessarily fail or perform worse than centrally planned economies, for example.

Theory would predict that if firms in an industry would make some profits, new firms will enter the market or existing firms would produce more which both yields an increase in supply. That, in turn, will drive down market prices until all firms earn zero profits and no more firms would have an incentive to enter the market. In the equilibrium, total revenue equals total cost. Thus, firms do not make profits. Firms can only make profits if they have some sort of competitive advantage and hence are not price takers which would be against assumption 1. The most extreme form of competitive advantage is a monopoly. It describes that one firm is the only provider of a certain good or service. This firm can set prices and the supply of the good and service completely. We will discuss that extreme case in Chapter [10](#).

Chapter 3

Methods

Recommended reading:

More information on how economists think and act can be found in Chapter 2 of *Mankiw (2020)*.

Learning outcomes:

Students will be able to:

- Understand the distinction between economic models and theories, recognizing their roles in analyzing economic problems,
- Apply scientific thinking in the construction of economic models, identifying and justifying the assumptions made in their development.
- Analyze positive statements, which can be tested through empirical observation, and normative statements, which reflect subjective opinions and values.
- Comprehend the reasons behind disagreements among economists, including differences in values and interpretations of positive theories.
- Appreciate the context in which economists operate, understanding that differing perspectives may arise from various interpretations of economic theory.

3.1 Theory and models

Economists utilize models and theories to analyze various problems. Distinguishing between these two concepts can be challenging, and practitioners often use the terms interchangeably.

A theory is a set of assumptions that aims to explain a particular phenomenon in nature. It must be possible to prove a theory true or false. In contrast, a model is a purposeful representation of reality. Models typically simplify the complexities of the real world by focusing only on the features that are relevant to the specific purpose at hand. Their goal is to reduce complexity, thereby facilitating a better understanding of the world. Furthermore, models assist in identifying key variables that can be empirically examined.

The art of scientific thinking and the construction of a theory or model lies in deciding which assumptions to make. Once we grasp the foundational model or theory, we can begin to relax or modify some of those assumptions.

For example, to understand how consumers make purchasing decisions, it may be helpful to start with the assumption that there are only two distinct goods and that the sole determinant of consumers' decisions is price. When we test our model against real data, we will likely find that while price accounts for a significant portion of consumer behavior, it does not explain everything. We can then refine our theory to enhance the explanatory power of our model.

A model typically includes endogenous variables, whose values are determined within the model, and exogenous variables, whose values are set externally by the researcher.

In the words of Nobel laureate Robert Solow:

“All theory depends on assumptions which are not quite true. That is what makes it theory. The art of successful theorizing is to make the inevitable simplifying assumptions in such a way that the final results are not very sensitive.”
— Robert M. Solow [1956, p. 65]

3.2 A didactical note on models

In these note, I introduce some mathematical economic models. I strongly believe that these models are useful for thinking about economics in a structured way. Familiarity with them will enable you to engage with contemporary textbooks and literature. The models including their formulas and their graphical visualizations, can assist in understanding, analyzing, and memorizing the more complex facets of economics.

Economic models are built on transparent assumptions. Often these assumptions are formulated in a set of equations. A good model should provide valuable insights into how rational agents behave and how the economy functions. Unfortunately, students often feel overwhelmed by these models, as the application of mathematics and hence rigorous logical thinking is sort of new to them. I frequently hear that there are simpler ways to convey the argument. While there may be some truth to this, I firmly believe that formally introducing international economics is the most effective approach in the medium and long term. Allow me to justify my conviction:

1. The narrative method, such as telling stories and listing bullet points, efficiently informs about different topics but also has its drawbacks. Students can easily get lost in intuitive anecdotes without learning to think critically or identify underlying driving forces. They often cram the presented information only for exams and forget it shortly afterward.
2. Compared to anecdotes, formal models are not necessarily true, yet they provide deeper insights into topics than anecdotal storytelling.
3. A formal model is usually more flexible than stories or anecdotes. Once students grasp the underlying logic of a model and can interpret and evaluate its meaning, they can apply their findings to various circumstances or problems. In contrast, an anecdote is merely a story that offers a limited perspective. Drawing general conclusions and analogies from anecdotal evidence is problematic.
4. A mathematical economic model represents a proof of an argument, precisely stating the assumptions under which the argument holds true. In a narrative, the underlying assumptions and premises of an argument are often obscured.
5. Formal reasoning is the standard in economic research. By understanding the basic concepts, students can read and comprehend current literature, allowing them to conduct research and solve problems in their professional lives.
6. Once students understand an economic model, they grasp the underlying relationships, making it less likely for them to forget. In other words, **a formal model ensures that students are not merely repeating the teacher’s words but are capable of thinking and reasoning independently.**

3.3 Feynman on scientific method

Richard P. Feynman was an American theoretical physicist. At the age of 25, he became a group leader of the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos, received the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1965, authored one of the most famous science books of our time (*Surely You’re Joking, Mr. Feynman!*) [Feynman, 1985], and remains a hero for many enthusiasts, educators, and nerds (see Figure 3.1). In 1964, more than half a century ago, he gave a good description of scientific method which is still worth considering.

Watch the video [Feynman on scientific method](#):

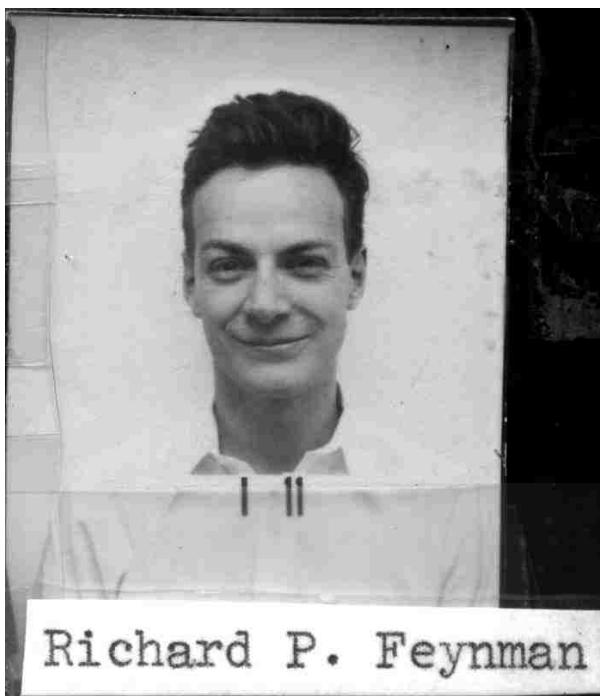
Here is a transcript of his lecture:

“Now, I’m going to discuss how we would look for a new law. In general, we look for a new law by the following process. First, we guess it.

Figure 3.1: Richard P. Feynman (1918 - 1988)

(b) Feynman's best seller

(a) ID badge in Los Alamos



(c) Feynman's bus



(d) The Big Bang Theory

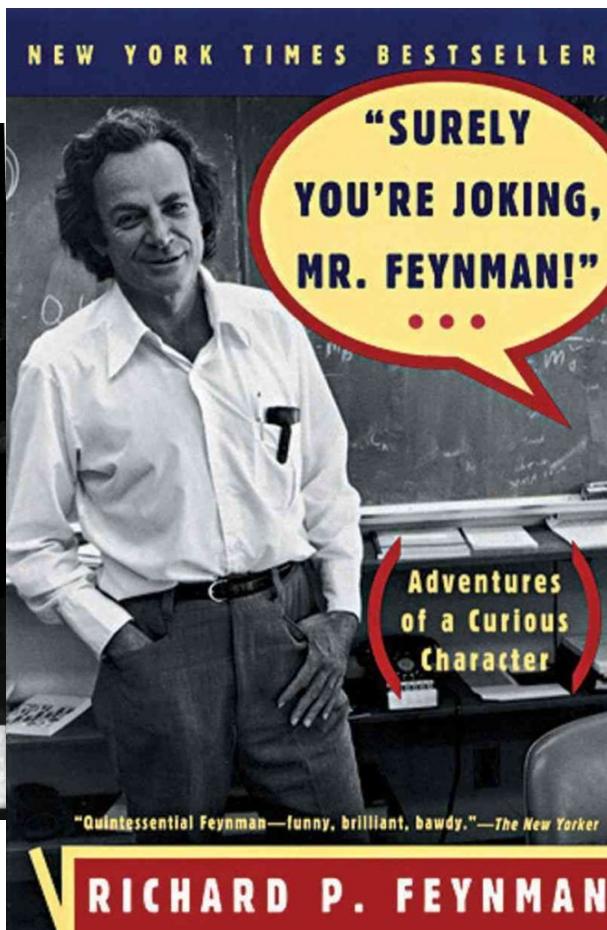


Figure 3.2: Feynman on scientific method

<https://youtu.be/EYPapE-3FRw>



Source: *Youtube*

Then we—well, don't laugh. That's really true. Then we compute the consequences of the guess to see if this law that we guessed is right. We check what it would imply and compare those computed results to nature. Or we compare it to experiments or experiences, comparing it directly with observations to see if it works.

If it disagrees with experiment, it's wrong. And that simple statement is the key to science. It doesn't matter how beautiful your guess is. It doesn't matter how smart you are, who made the guess, or what his name is; if it disagrees with experiment, it's wrong. That's all there is to it.

It's therefore not unscientific to take a guess, although many people outside of science think it is. For instance, I had a conversation about flying saucers a few years ago with laymen.

Because I'm a scientist, I said, 'I don't think there are flying saucers.' Then my antagonist said, 'Is it impossible that there are flying saucers? Can you prove that it's impossible?' I said, 'No, I can't prove it's impossible. It's just very unlikely.'

They replied, 'You are very unscientific. If you can't prove something is impossible, then how can you say it's unlikely?' Well, that's how science works. It's scientific to say what's more likely or less likely, rather than attempting to prove every possibility and impossibility.

To clarify, I concluded by saying, 'From my understanding of the world around me, I believe it's much more likely that the reports of flying saucers are the result of the known irrational characteristics of terrestrial intelligence rather than the unknown rational efforts of extraterrestrial intelligence. It's just more likely, that's all. And it's a good guess. We always try to guess the most likely explanation, keeping in the back of our minds that if it doesn't work, we must consider other possibilities.'

[...]

Now, you see, of course, that with this method, we can disprove any specific theory. We can have a definite theory or a real guess from which we can compute consequences that could be compared to experiments, and in principle, we can discard any theory. You can always prove any definite theory wrong. Notice, however, we never prove it right.

Suppose you invent a good guess, calculate the consequences, and find that every consequence matches the experiments. Does that mean your theory is right? No, it simply has not been proved wrong. Because in the future, there could be a wider range of experiments, and you may compute a broader range of consequences that could reveal that your theory is actually incorrect.

That's why laws, like Newton's laws of motion for planets, have lasted for such a long time. He guessed the law of gravitation, calculated various consequences for the solar system, and it took several hundred years before the slight error in the motion of Mercury was discovered.

[...]

I must also point out that you cannot prove a vague theory wrong. If the guess you make is poorly expressed and rather vague, and if the method you use to compute the consequences is also vague—you aren't sure. You might say, 'I think everything is due to [INAUDIBLE], and [INAUDIBLE] does this and that,' more or less. Thus, you can explain how this works. However, that theory is considered 'good' because it cannot be proved wrong.

If the process for computing the consequences is indefinite, then with a little skill, any experimental result can be made to fit—at least in theory. You're probably familiar with that in other fields. For example, A hates his mother. The reason is, of course, that she didn't show him enough love or care when he was a child. However, upon investigation, you may find that she actually loved him very much and everything was fine. Then the explanation changes to say she was overindulgent when he was [INAUDIBLE]. With a vague theory, it's possible to arrive at either conclusion.

[APPLAUSE]

Now, wait. The cure for this is the following: it would be possible to specify ahead of time how much love is insufficient and how much constitutes overindulgence precisely, enabling a legitimate theory against which you can conduct tests. It's often said that when this is pointed out regarding how much love is involved, you're dealing with psychological matters, and such things can't be defined so precisely. Yes, but then you can't claim to know anything about it. [APPLAUSE]

Now, I want to concentrate for now on—because I'm a theoretical physicist and more fascinated with this end of the problem—how you make guesses. It is irrelevant where the guess originates. What matters is that it agrees with experiments and is as precise as possible.

But, you might say, that's very simple. We just set up a machine—a great computing machine—with a random wheel that makes a succession of guesses. Each time it guesses hypotheses about how nature should work, it computes the consequences and compares them to a list of experimental results at the other end. In other words, guessing is a task for simpletons.

Actually, it's quite the opposite, and I will try to explain why. [...]

3.4 The economic way of doing research

Economics is a social science. When economists are trying to ...

- ... change the world, they act as **policy advisors**.
- ... explain the world, they are **scientists**.

Economists distinguish between two types of statements:

1. A **positive** statement attempts to describe the world as it is and can be tested by checking it against facts. In other words, a positive statement deals with assumptions about the state of the world and some conclusions. The validity of the statement is verifiable or testable in principle, no matter how difficult it might be.
2. A **normative** statement claims how the world should be and cannot be tested. Normative statements often contain words such as *have to*, *ought to*, *must*, *should*, or non-quantifiable adjectives like *important*, which cannot be objectively measured. Consequently, normative statements cannot be verified or falsified by scientific methods.

Exercise 3.1. Positive or normative

1. An increase in the minimum wage will cause a decrease in employment among the least-skilled.
2. Higher federal budget deficits will cause interest rates to increase.
3. Nobody should be paid less due to their gender, race, age, or religion.

The task of economic science is to discover positive statements that align with our observations of the world and enable us to understand how the economic world operates. This task is substantial and can be broken into three steps:

1. **Observation and measurement:** Economists observe and measure economic activity, tracking data such as quantities of resources, wages and work hours, prices and quantities of goods and services produced, taxes and government spending, and the volume and price of traded goods.
2. **Model building**
3. **Testing models**

Research methodologies in economics often blend the inductive and deductive approaches. Inductive reasoning builds theories, while deductive reasoning tests existing ones. It's a methodical interplay between creation and scrutiny in the realm of economic research.

When scientists want to act as political advisors, they are often asked to make normative statements. From an ethical point of view, however, it is difficult to make normative statements without including subjective judgments, which can make such statements unscientific. Therefore, scientists should rely on moral criteria to justify their judgments and normative statements.

Among these criteria, the Pareto criterion is one of the best known and most widely used. It states that only changes that benefit at least one individual without harming others can be considered improvements. This concept is often used in economics to discuss the distribution of resources, welfare economics and policy making.

3.5 Cause and effect

Economists seek to unscramble cause and effect. They are particularly interested in positive statements concerning causal relationships. For example, are computers becoming cheaper because people are purchasing them in greater quantities, or are consumers buying more computers because prices are falling? Alternatively, could a third factor be influencing both the price of computers and the quantity sold? To address these questions, economists develop and test economic and econometric models.

My lecture on quantitative methods covers these concepts in detail; see [Huber \[2025\]](#) for more information.

Unfortunately, conducting experiments can be challenging for economists, and most economic behaviors are influenced by multiple simultaneous factors. To isolate the effect of interest, they employ various logical and econometric tools, including the *ceteris paribus* assumption, which means other things being equal. This approach enables economists to delineate cause-and-effect relationships by varying only one variable at a time while keeping all other relevant factors constant.

3.6 Common causal and predictive fallacies

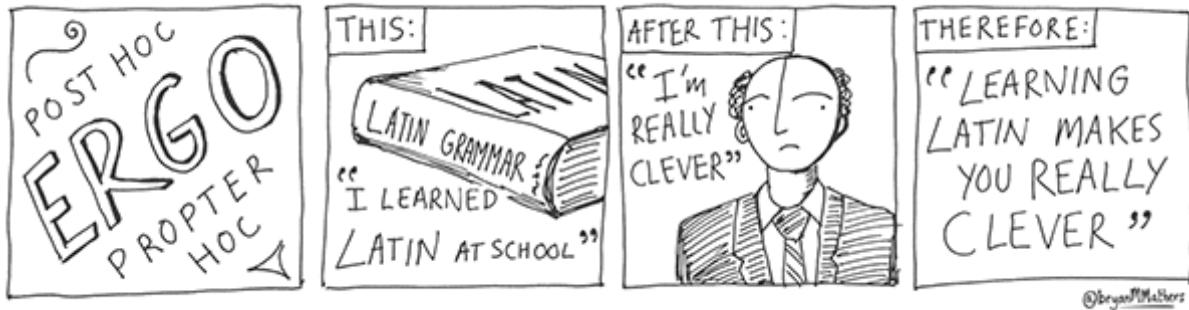
1. The **fallacy of composition** asserts that what is true for the parts is true for the whole, or vice versa.

Figure 3.3: Fallacy of composition



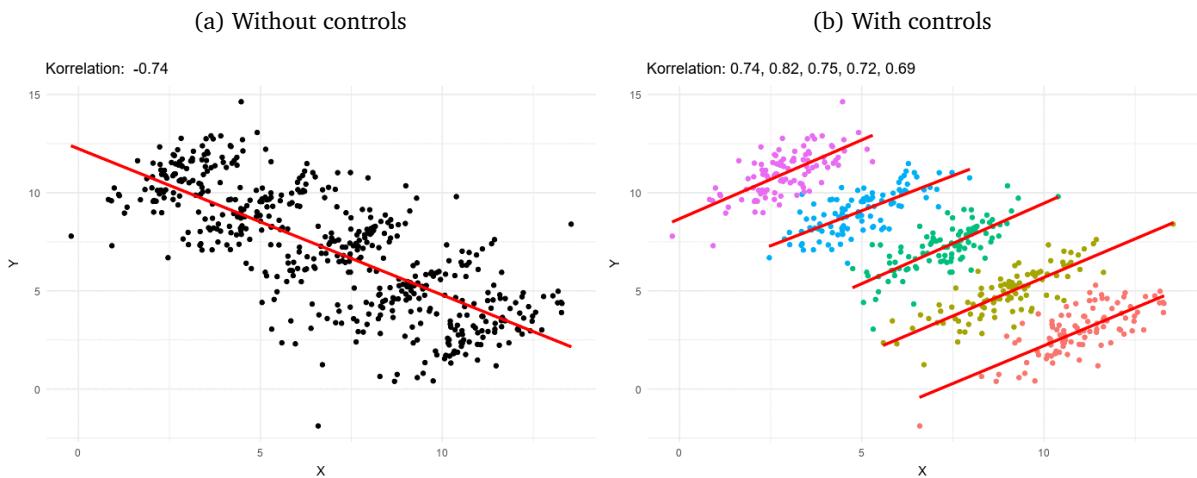
2. The **post hoc fallacy** is the error of reasoning that a first event causes a second event merely because the first occurs before the second.

Figure 3.4: Post hoc fallacy



3. **Simpson's Paradox** is a phenomenon in probability and statistics where a trend appears in several groups of data but disappears or reverses when the groups are combined.

Figure 3.5: Simpson's paradox



4. Correlation does not imply causation.

Thus, we need to control for other effects that may impact both variables of interest. These so-called control variables are usually those not specifically under consideration but are related to the dependent variable. The goal is to remove their effects from the equation, which can be done through regression analysis.

3.7 Why economists disagree

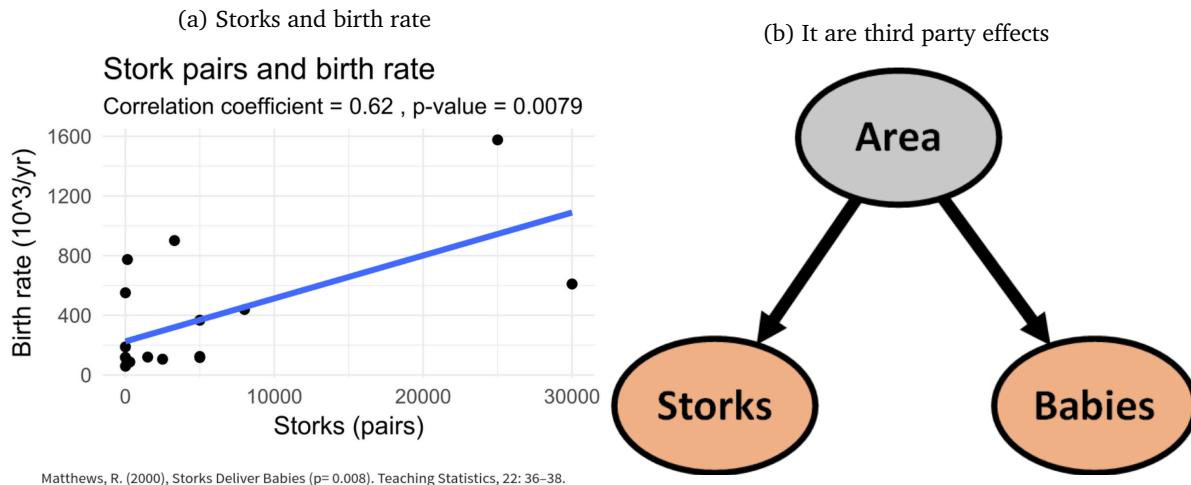
Economists are often accused of contradicting each other. Contrary to popular belief, they find much common ground on a wide range of issues. However, let's discuss why economists disagree:

Economists may:

1. Disagree about the validity of alternative positive theories regarding how the world works.
2. Have different values and, therefore, differing normative views about which policies should be implemented.

"As a new graduate student, you are at the beginning of a new stage of your life. In a few months, you will be overloaded with definitions, concepts, and models. Your teachers

Figure 3.6: Storks and babies



will guide you into the wonders of economics and will rarely have time to pause and raise fundamental questions about what these models are supposed to mean. It is not unlikely that you will be brainwashed by the professional-sounding language and hidden assumptions. I am afraid I am about to initiate you into this inevitable process. Still, I want to take this opportunity to pause for a moment and alert you to the fact that many economists have strong and conflicting views about what economic theory is. Some see it as a set of theories that can (or should) be tested. Others view it as a set of tools for economic agents, while yet others perceive it as a framework through which professional and academic economists interpret the world.” [Rubinstein, 2006, p. ix]

Part II

CORE

Chapter 4

GDP

Required readings:

- [Shapiro et al. \[2022, ch. 19\]](#)
- [Mankiw \[2024, ch. 24\]](#)

Recommended readings:

- [Shapiro et al. \[2022, ch. 22, 23\]](#)
- [Mankiw \[2024, pt. VIII, ch. 32\]](#)

Learning objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Understand the importance of gross domestic product (GDP) and how it is measured.
- Analyze the composition of GDP and how it has changed over time.
- Recognize that GDP is the sum of consumption, investment, government spending, inventory investment, and exports minus imports.
- Utilize GDP to assess the evolution of living standards over time.
- Employ GDP to compare differences in living standards across countries.
- Measure a consumer price index.
- Explain why the balance of trade is balanced.

4.1 Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

William D. Nordhaus [2002] and Paul A. Samuelson:

“While the GDP and the rest of the National Income and Product Accounts (NIPA) may seem to be arcane concepts, they are truly among the great inventions of the twentieth century. Much like a satellite in space can survey the weather across an entire continent, GDP provides an overall picture of the state of the economy. Since its initial construction by Simon Kuznets, who won the Nobel Prize in Economics for his contributions to national income accounting, significant strides have been made in developing and improving indexes of economic welfare.”

The **Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** “is the market value of all final goods and services produced within a country in a given period of time” [[Mankiw, 2024, ch. 24](#)].

This definition consists of four parts:

- **Market value:** The items in GDP are valued at their market prices.
- **Final goods and services:** A final good is an item purchased by its final user. It contrasts with an intermediate good, which is produced by one firm, bought by another firm, and used as a component of a final good or service. To avoid double counting, GDP includes only final goods and services.
- **Produced within a country:** Only goods and services produced within a country are counted.
- **In a given period of time:** GDP is measured over a specified time frame, typically a quarter or a year.

4.2 Three equivalent ways to measure the GDP

GDP can be quantified through three methods, each expected to yield equivalent outcomes. The circular flow diagrams of Figure 4.2 visualize the concept.

1. Total spending on domestic products and services (expenditure approach)
2. Total domestic income (income approach)
3. Total domestic production (production approach)

All three approaches theoretically should arrive at the same result, that is, measuring the value that was added within an economy over the course of time.

Figure 4.1: Two circular flow diagrams

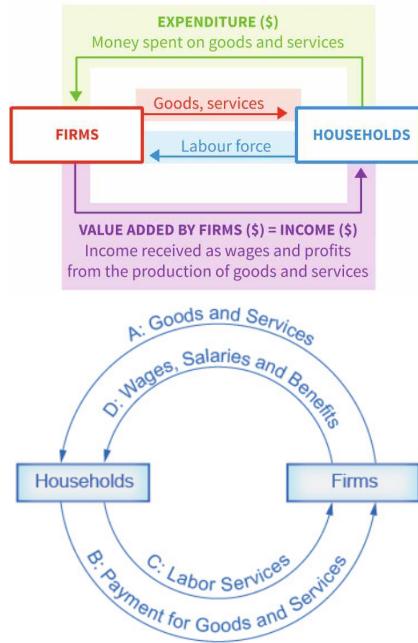
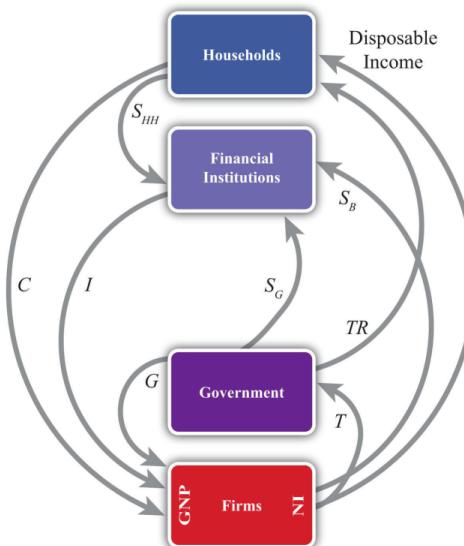


Figure 4.2: The circular flow in a closed economy

Note: The diagram was taken from Suranovic [2016], p. 54.



Watch the videos of Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: What is Gross Domestic Product (GDP)?

Source: [Youtube](#)

4.2.1 The expenditure approach

The expenditure approach measures GDP as the sum of consumption expenditure, C , investment, I , government expenditure on goods and services, G , and net exports of goods and services, $(X - M)$. Therefore, the equation - which is often called the *GDP decomposition* - is:

$$GDP = C + I + G + (X - M),$$

where

- C denote the expenditure on all consumer goods,
- I denotes the expenditure on newly produced capital goods,
- G denotes government expenditure on goods and services (excluding transfers),
- X denotes the exports, and M the imports. The difference $X - M$ stands for the net exports, also known as the trade balance. For example, for the USA in 2020, this amounts to:

$$\$14,145 + \$3,605 + \$3,831 + (-\$645) = \$20,936.$$

Aggregate expenditure equals GDP because all goods and services produced are sold to households, firms, governments, or foreigners. Please note, goods and services that are not sold are included in investment as inventories and thus are “sold” to the producing firm.

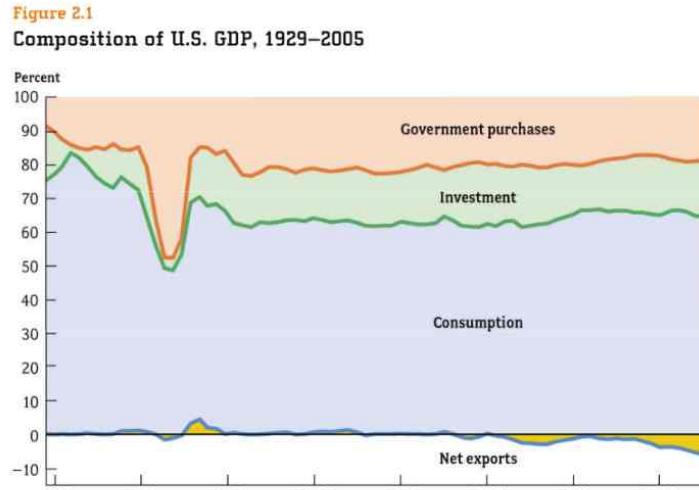
Please consider Figures Figure 4.4, Figure 4.5, and Figure 4.6. They illustrate various aspects of GDP composition.

Figure 4.4: Decomposition of GDP in 2013 for the US, the Eurozone, and China.

	US	Eurozone (19 countries)	China
Consumption (C)	68.4%	55.9%	37.3%
Government spending (G)	15.1%	21.1%	14.1%
Investment (I)	19.1%	19.5%	47.3%
Change in inventories	0.4%	0.0%	2.0%
Exports (X)	13.6%	43.9%	26.2%
Imports (M)	16.6%	40.5%	23.8%

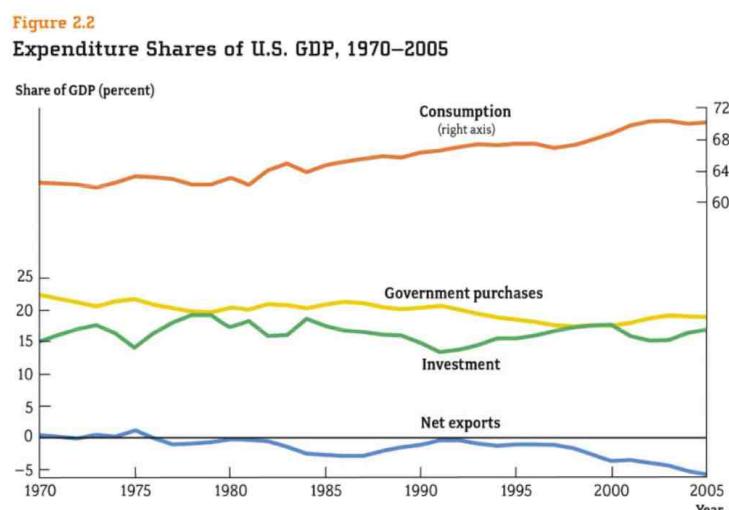
Source: [World Bank \[2015\]](#). Adapted from [Core Economics](#)

Figure 4.5: Composition of US GDP, 1929-2005



Source: Jones [2008]

Figure 4.6: Expenditure Shares of U.S. GDP, 1970-2005



Source: Jones [2008]

4.2.2 The income approach

The income approach measures GDP as the sum of compensation of employees, net interest, rental income, corporate profits, and proprietors' income. This sum equals net domestic income at factor costs. To obtain GDP, indirect taxes (taxes paid by consumers when they buy goods and services) minus subsidies are included along with depreciation. Finally, any discrepancy between the expenditure approach and the income approach is included in the income approach as a statistical discrepancy.

4.2.3 The production approach

The production approach calculates how much value is contributed at each stage of production. (Gross value added = gross value of output - value of intermediate consumption.)

FAQ

- **Are government transfer payments part of the GDP?**

Government transfer payments, such as Social Security payments, are **not** included in government expenditures because they do not involve the government buying goods or services.

- **How do we account for international transactions?**

For example, foreign production is domestic consumption (imports), while domestic production is foreign consumption (exports).

We include exports and exclude imports, so that GDP reflects value added, income from, or consumption of, domestic production.

- **How do we incorporate government?**

Treat it as another producer where public services are *bought* via taxes.

- **Why "domestic" and why "gross"?**

- Depreciation refers to the decrease in the stock of capital due to wear and tear and obsolescence. The total spent on new capital purchases and replacing depreciated capital is termed **gross investment**. The increase in capital stock is termed **net investment**.

- Net investment = gross investment - depreciation.

- The term "gross" in gross domestic product signifies that the investment in GDP is gross investment, part of which replaces depreciating capital. Net domestic product subtracts depreciation from GDP.

Exercise 4.1. How to measure GDP Explain in one sentence the three equivalent ways to measure GDP.

Solution

1. In the *expenditure approach*, GDP is calculated as the sum of all expenditure on final products.
2. In the *income approach*, GDP is calculated as the sum of all income.
3. In the *value-added approach*, GDP is calculated as the sum of all value added in all production units.

Exercise 4.2. Part of GDP?

State which of the following are a part of the GDP and which are not:

1. Social security payments received by a retired factory worker.
2. Unpaid services of a family member in painting the family home.
3. The income of a butcher.
4. The monthly allowance a college student receives from home.
5. Rent received on an apartment.
6. A €2 million increase in business inventories.
7. Interest on a BMW bond.
8. The purchase of an insurance policy.

Solution

1. Social security payments received by a retired factory worker.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
2. Unpaid services of a family member in painting the family home.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
3. The income of a butcher.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
4. The monthly allowance a college student receives from home.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
5. Rent received on an apartment.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
6. A €2 million increase in business inventories.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
7. Interest on a BMW bond.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP
8. The purchase of an insurance policy.

Part of GDP
 Not Part of GDP

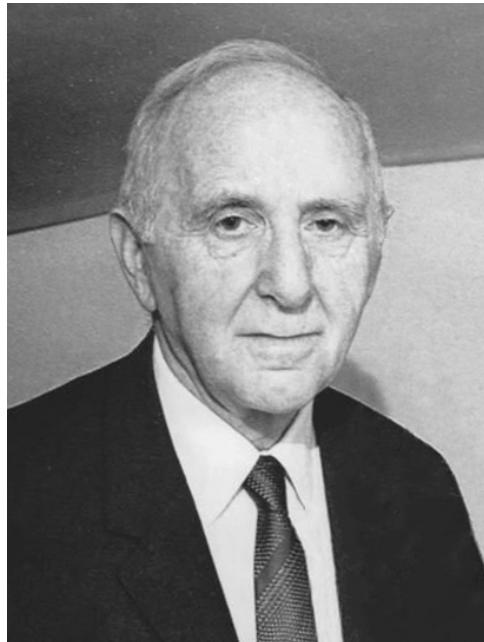
4.3 Limitations of the nominal GDP

The GDP as a single measure for economic activity and production, respectively, was pioneered and developed by a Russian-born American economist, Simon Kuznets (1901-1985), see Figure 4.7. He received the Nobel Prize in economics in 1971 for his contributions. While he was convinced about the valuable uses of national income measurements, he was very much aware of the limitations and the risks of the measures to be abused. In a report to the U.S. Senate where he explains the possibilities of a national income measure, he warns in the section “Uses and Abuses of National Income Measurements” [Kuznets, 1934, 5-8] that the GDP needs to be “interpreted with a full realization of the definition of national income assumed” [Kuznets [1934, 6]. Otherwise it is abused. Please read here his carefull warning:

“The valuable capacity of the human mind to simplify a complex situation in a compact characterization becomes dangerous when not controlled in terms of definitely stated criteria. With quantitative measurements especially, the definiteness of the result suggests, often misleadingly, a precision and simplicity in the outlines of the object measured. Measurements of national income are subject to this type of illusion and resulting abuse, especially since they deal with matters that are the center of conflict of opposing social groups where the effectiveness of an argument is often contingent upon oversimplification.

From the definition of national income presented and discussed above it is obvious that a measure of income produced sheds a good deal of light on the productivity of the nation; that

Figure 4.7: Simon Kuznets (1901-1985)



Source: Public domain taken from Wikipedia [2025]

income received measures the same productivity as reflected in the flow of means of purchase to the nation's members; and that when total income paid out is adjusted for changes in the value of money and apportioned per capita, the result is illuminating of movements in the nation's economic welfare. Comparison of such income measurements for different nations, or for the same nation for different years, yields valuable indications of spatial and temporal differences in national productivity and economic welfare. Moreover, various single groups of services or drafts may be compared with the country's total to indicate their relative weight in or draft upon the latter.

These constitute highly valuable uses of national income measurements, but only if the results are interpreted with a full realization of the definition of national income assumed, either explicitly or implicitly, by the measurement. Thus, the estimates submitted in the present study define income in such a way as to cover primarily only efforts whose results appear on the market place of our economy. A student of social affairs who is interested in the total productivity of the nation, including those efforts which, like housewives' services, do not appear on the market, can therefore use our measures only with some qualifications. Secondly, the present study's measures of national income, like all such studies, estimates the value of commodities and direct services at their market price. But market valuation of commodities and especially of direct services depends upon the personal distribution of income within the nation. Thus in a nation with a rich upper class, the personal services to the rich are likely to be valued at a much higher level than the very same services in another nation, characterized by a more equitable personal distribution of income. A student of social affairs who conceives of a nation's end-product as undistorted by the existing distribution of income, would again have to qualify and change our estimates, possibly in a marked fashion. Thirdly, the present study's estimate of national income produced is based in part, like most existing estimates, upon the prevalent legal and accounting distinction between gross and net income of business enterprises. To a student of social affairs whose concept of net productivity does not agree with the prevailing practices of separating net from gross income, especially by corporations, our estimates will obviously present a somewhat distorted picture of the nation's net product.

All these qualifications upon estimates of national income as an index of productivity are just as important when income measurements are interpreted from the point of view of economic welfare. But in the latter case additional difficulties will be suggested to anyone who wants to penetrate below the surface of total figures and market values. Economic welfare cannot be

adequately measured unless the personal distribution of income is known. And no income measurement undertakes to estimate the reverse side of income, that is, the intensity and unpleasantness of effort going into the earning of income. The welfare of a nation can, therefore, scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income as defined above.

The abuses of national income estimates arise largely from a failure to take into account the precise definition of income and the methods of its evaluation which the estimator assumes in arriving at his final figures. Notions of productivity or welfare as understood by the user of the estimates are often read by him into the income measurement, regardless of the assumptions made by the income estimator in arriving at the figures. As a result we find all too commonly such inferences that a decline of 30 percent in the national income (in terms of "constant" dollars) means a 30 percent decline in the total productivity of the nation, and a corresponding decline in its welfare. Or that a nation whose total income is twice the size of the national income of another country is twice "as well off", can sustain payments abroad twice as large or can carry a debt burden double in size. Such statements can obviously be true only when qualified by a host of "ifs."

A similar failure to take into account the investigator's basic assumptions underlies another widely prevalent abuse of national income measures, involved in estimating the draft or "burden" which this or that particular type of expenses (e.g., government expenses, payments on bonded debt, etc.) constitutes of the country's total end-product. Every payment included in the national income is ipso facto a draft or a "burden" upon national income. For example, net receipts by physicians from medical practice, are both an addition to national income and a draft upon individual incomes from which such receipts originate. Since we estimate the value of personal services or commodities at their market value it follows that any payment for productive services contributes just as much to the national income total as it takes away from it. No items included in national income can, therefore, be conceived as "pure" draft.

The full meaning of a statement that such payments as interest on bonds or taxes for government services are a "burden" or draft upon national income is that actually no services are being rendered in return for these payments. That an increasing weight in the national income of payments on fixed debt or of salaries of government officials is not hailed as an increased contribution to national income lies in the implicit assumption, not always true, that the services contributed by creditors or government officials have not increased proportionately, and that, therefore, a heavier burden was added upon other income recipients without an increased benefit.

Such assumptions are accepted all too easily because they are based upon a natural but erroneous identification of national income with business or personal income. From the standpoint of a business firm or person, the income of employees, private or public, is likely to appear as a draft. But from the vantage point of national economy as a whole, which is used by a national income investigator, no payment that is included in national income can be considered as a pure draft upon the country's end-product. This can be true only of payments not included, such as charity, earnings from illegal pursuits, and the like. All that the national income estimator can say is that this or the other part of the national total has increased or declined more than the others. That this rise or decline implies a larger or smaller burden upon the national economy can be established only on the basis of such additional assumptions as have been formulated above, assumptions which are not a proper part of the national income estimate and which are far from being self-evident."

In a nutshell, GDP is an imperfect measure of production as it overlooks significant parts of economic activity. For example, it does not account for black market activity, private production, and production that occurs outside formal markets. While GDP is often used to gauge a country's welfare or the well-being and happiness of its citizens, it neglects factors considered essential to these concepts, which are inherently difficult to define.

Exercise 4.3. GDP as an imperfect measure

Watch the video [Robert F. Kennedy challenges Gross Domestic Product](#) or read the speech of Robert Kennedy below and discuss what factors influencing the standard of living are not included in GDP

and how that may impact GDP:

“Gross National Product counts air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage. It counts special locks for our doors and the jails for the people who break them. It counts the destruction of the redwood and the loss of our natural wonder in chaotic sprawl. It counts napalm and counts nuclear warheads and armored cars for the police to fight the riots in our cities. It counts Whitman’s rifle and Speck’s knife, and the television programs which glorify violence in order to sell toys to our children. Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. [...] it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile.”

– Senator Robert F. Kennedy (1925-1968) [see [Kennedy, 1968](#)]

Solution: Factors omitted from GDP

Some aspects that influence the standard of living are not part of GDP. These include:

- **Non-market transactions:** Household production, such as childcare services, is excluded from GDP. As more services, including childcare, are provided in the marketplace, the measured growth rate might overstate the development of overall economic activity.
- **Black-market activities:** Although the level of GDP may be underestimated if the underground economy is a stable proportion of total economic activity, the growth rate itself should remain accurate.
- **Leisure Time:** An increase in leisure time may lower the economic growth rate, but individuals may value their leisure and feel better off as a result.
- **Environmental Quality:** Pollution does not directly diminish the economic growth rate, even though it may lower living standards.
- **Inequality:** GDP fails to account for income inequality within society.
- **Sustainability:** GDP does not reflect the sustainability of economic growth.
- **Health and environment:** GDP overlooks the health of individuals and the environment in general.
- **Depreciation replacement:** GDP does not consider how much capital (tangible goods) has depreciated. For example, while GDP measures the construction of new bridges, it does not account for bridges that have been decommissioned. It is not a balance sheet of prosperity but a measure of the inflow of new production.

4.4 Nominal and real GDP

Please watch the videos of Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9.

Figure 4.8: Nominal vs. Real GDP

<https://youtu.be/rGqhTQyY6g4>



Source: [Youtube](#)

Nominal GDP reflects the value of final goods and services produced in a specific year, valued at the

Figure 4.9: [Real GDP per capita and the standard of living]



Source: [Youtube](#)

prices prevalent during that year. The overall market value of production and thus GDP can rise either through increased output of goods and services or through higher prices. In contrast, the **real GDP** enables the comparison of production quantities across different time periods, as it represents the value of final goods and services produced in a year, valued at the prices of a reference base year. This relationship is expressed as:

$$GDP^{\text{real}} = \frac{GDP^{\text{nominal}}}{P}$$

While nominal GDP is the commonly reported figure and does not account for price adjustments, real GDP provides somehow a more accurate reflection of the actual quantity of goods and services produced. The real GDP is an inflation-adjusted measure that captures the value of all goods and services produced by an economy in a given year, expressed in base-year prices. It is often referred to as constant-price GDP, inflation-corrected GDP, or constant dollar GDP. A clear definition can be found on [Wikipedia \[2020\]](#):

“Real gross domestic product (real gdp for short) is a macroeconomic measure of the value of economic output adjusted for price changes (i.e., inflation or deflation). This adjustment transforms the money-value measure, nominal GDP, into an index for quantity of total output.”

To clarify the concept of the real GDP, consider the two following examples where we suppose the economy produces only one product.

Example A: Prices change

Production and prices are as shown in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: No quantity changes

Year	Number	Price in Euro
2010	500	1
2011	500	1.1
2012	500	1.2

Nominal GDP:

Example B: Prices and quantity change

The production and prices are as shown in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Price and quantity changes

Year	Number	Price in Euro
2010	500	1
2011	600	1.1
2012	700	1.2

Nominal GDP:

$$GDP_{2010} = 500 \cdot 1\text{€} = 500\text{€} \quad (4.1)$$

$$GDP_{2011} = 600 \cdot 1.1\text{€} = 660\text{€} \quad (4.2)$$

$$GDP_{2012} = 700 \cdot 1.2\text{€} = 840\text{€} \quad (4.3)$$

Real GDP with a base year of 2010:

$$GDP_{2010}^{base=2010} = 500 \cdot 1\text{€} = 500\text{€} \quad (4.4)$$

$$GDP_{2011}^{base=2010} = 600 \cdot 1\text{€} = 600\text{€} \quad (4.5)$$

$$GDP_{2012}^{base=2010} = 700 \cdot 1\text{€} = 700\text{€} \quad (4.6)$$

The examples above simplify reality by assuming that only one item is being produced in the economy, while, in fact, many goods and services are produced. Despite this limitation, the examples illustrate two important points. First, it is crucial to identify a representative basket of goods produced in an economy. Second, it is essential to measure the prices of this basket accurately. Both of these aspects will be discussed in Chapter 5. Afterward, we will return to evaluating GDP as a measure of welfare in Chapter 6.

Exercise 4.4. Various GDP

- a) To estimate GDP, you add the value of all goods and services produced, both final and intermediate goods. Is this procedure correct? Why?
- b) What is the relationship between aggregate income and aggregate production? Why does this relationship exist?
- c) Does my purchase of a domestically produced Ford automobile that was manufactured in 2020 add to the current U.S. GDP? Why? How about my purchase of a domestically produced, newly produced Ford? Why?
- d) Does my purchase of 100 shares of stock in Meta add to the nation's GDP? Why?
- e) If a homeowner cuts their lawn, is the value of this work included in real GDP? Suppose the homeowner hires a neighborhood kid to cut the lawn. Is this activity included in real GDP? Comment on your answers.
- f) In 1900, the average work week was 65 hours; today it is approximately 35 hours. How did this change affect real GDP within the United States? How did it affect the standard of living within the United States? Comment on your answers.
- g) In the United States, many children receive daycare from commercial providers. In Africa, this is uncommon; children are almost all cared for by relatives. How would this difference affect comparisons of GDP per person?

Solution

- a) Adding the value of all goods and services produced is incorrect because it leads to significant double counting. Intermediate goods and services will be counted multiple times; for example, a CPU produced by Intel and then used in a Dell computer could be counted as both a CPU from Intel and as part of the computer from Dell.
- b) Aggregate income equals aggregate production. The circular flow shows this result: the flow of production out of business firms equals the flow of expenditure into business firms, which equals the flow of costs out of business firms, which is the same as the flow of aggregate income to households.
- c) The purchase of the used Ford does not add to current U.S. GDP as it was not produced in the current year; however, a new Ford automobile is counted in current U.S. GDP because it was produced during the current year.
- d) Purchasing shares of stock does not add to the nation's GDP, as GDP measures production. Shares of stock are not the production of a good or service and, therefore, are not included in GDP.
- e) The homeowner's work around their home is not included in GDP because home production is excluded. Hiring a neighborhood kid to cut the lawn is included in GDP because it is a service that has been sold in a market. This illustrates a flaw in GDP computation; the same lawn is mowed regardless of payment, yet GDP is unaffected in one case and increases in the other.
- f) The decrease in the average work week will likely decrease real GDP, as less time is spent producing goods and services. This could imply a lower standard of living. However, the increase in leisure time can lead to a higher standard of living for many individuals who value their leisure more than the goods and services they could produce. Thus, relying solely on changes in real GDP to measure standard of living is inadequate.
- g) This difference suggests that U.S. GDP per person is biased higher than GDP per person in African countries, as the same service—childcare—produced in both regions is included in GDP in the U.S. due to market transactions, while in Africa it is omitted due to being performed as household production.

Exercise 4.5. What counts as GDP?

By how much does GDP rise in each of the following scenarios? Explain.

1. You spend 8000 € on college tuition this semester.
2. You buy a used computer from a friend for 500€.
3. The government spends 300€ million to build a bridge.
4. Foreign graduate students work as teaching assistants at the local university and earn 2000€ each.

Solution

1. GDP rises by the \$4,000 amount of your tuition payment. This is a purchase of a service (education) produced this semester.
2. The purchase of used goods does not involve new production. This is simply a transfer of an existing good, so GDP is unchanged. If you bought the used car from a dealer, the service of selling the car would represent new production, so something like \$200 of the \$2,500 might be included in GDP.
3. The new dam represents new production, and the government spending of \$100 million is counted as GDP. If the spending were spread over several years, the flow of new production (and GDP) would also occur over time.
4. Foreign graduate students working in the United States contribute to production that occurs within the country, and this is included in GDP. So GDP increases by \$5,000 for each student.

Chapter 5

Inflation

Recommended readings: CORE Econ [2025b], ch. 4]

In this section, we will explore the concept of inflation. We will begin by defining inflation and explaining how it can be measured. Then, we'll address the challenges associated with measuring inflation and discuss why it is a potential threat to economic prosperity.

5.1 Measuring inflation

Prices can change over time. They can rise, fall or remain stable. Inflation refers specifically to a situation in which the price level is rising, while deflation describes a fall in prices. The inflation rate quantifies this change by indicating the percentage difference in the prices from one period to the next. But what is meant when we speak about the “prices” or the “price level”?

To accurately calculate the price level and the real GDP of a country that includes multiple goods, respectively, it is essential to determine the **Consumer Price Index (CPI)**. The CPI measures the average prices paid by consumers for a fixed basket of consumer goods and services, providing insight into the overall price level in the economy.

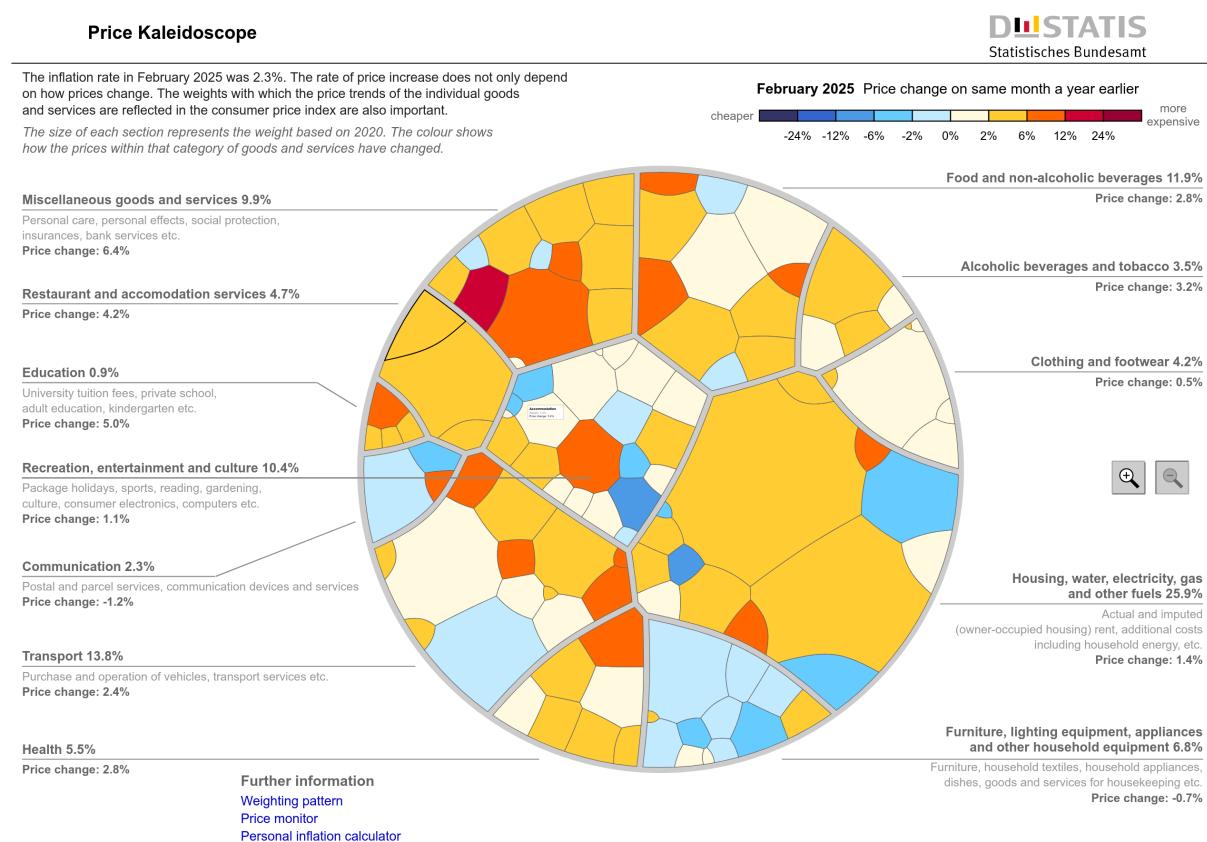
Typically, the CPI is normalized to equal 100 in a reference base period. For example, if the reference base period is set between 1982 and 1984, with an average CPI of 100, then an observed CPI of 269.2 in May 2021 indicates a substantial price increase of 169.2 percent since that period.

5.1.1 The Consumer Price Index (CPI) in 5 steps

1. **Fix basket:** Identify the prices that are most relevant to the typical consumer. National statistics agencies establish a market basket of goods and services commonly purchased by consumers and conduct regular surveys to determine the weights for these prices. For a visual representation of the various goods commonly purchased by typical consumers in Germany, you can refer to the informative [Price Kaleidoscope](#) as shown in Figure 5.1. For a discussion on the challenges to define a basket, see Section 5.1.2.
2. **Find prices:** Gather data on the prices of each good and service in the basket for each designated time period.
3. **Compute basket's cost:** Use the price data to calculate the total cost of the basket of goods and services at various times.
4. **Choose a base year and compute:**
 - Designate one year as the base year, serving as the benchmark for comparison.
 - Compute the index by dividing the basket's price in one year by the basket's price in the base year, then multiplying by 100.

$$CPI = \frac{\text{cost of basket in current year}}{\text{cost of basket in base year}} \cdot 100$$

Figure 5.1: Price kaleidoskop



Source: Destatis [2025]

5. Compute the inflation rate: The inflation rate is the percentage change in the price index from the previous period. It is determined by the percentage change of the CPI from one year to the next. The formula is given by

$$h_t = \left(\frac{CPI_t - CPI_{t-1}}{CPI_{t-1}} \cdot 100 \right),$$

where h_t denotes the inflation rate at time t (this year), while CPI_t and CPI_{t-1} represent the CPI for time t and $t-1$ (previous year), respectively.

For example, in May 2021, the CPI was 261.0, and in May 2020, it was 257.9. Using the formula, we find that the inflation rate between 2021 and 2020 was 1.2%.

Example: CPI calculation

Step 1: Consider a basket containing 4 salads and 2 hamburgers.

Step 2: Table 5.1 shows the prices of salads and hamburgers over several years:

Table 5.1: Prices and quantities over time

Year	Price of salads	Price of hamburgers
2016	1	2
2017	2	3
2018	3	4

Step 3: The total basket cost for each year are shown in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Basket costs over time

Year	Basket cost
2016	8
2017	14
2018	20

Steps 4 and 5: Using 2016 as the base year, we can calculate the CPI and inflation rate as shown in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3: Inflation over time

Year	CPI	Inflation Rate
2016	100	na
2017	175	75%
2018	250	43%

5.1.2 Challenges of the CPI

While the CPI accurately reflects the prices of selected goods that comprise the typical basket, it is not a flawless measure of the cost of living. Several key issues can lead the CPI to overstate the true cost of living when the basket is held fixed over time including the following:

Substitution bias: Substitution bias occurs when the basket used to calculate the CPI does not adjust to reflect consumer responses to changes in relative prices. Consumers tend to substitute goods that have become relatively less expensive, which can lead the index to overstate the increase in the cost of living by not accounting for these substitution patterns.

Introduction of new goods: The introduction of new goods further complicates the CPI measurement, as the basket does not incorporate the changes in purchasing power that result from new products entering the market. With the addition of new goods, consumers experience a greater variety of options, which

makes each euro more valuable. Consequently, consumers require less money to maintain a given standard of living as new products are introduced.

Unmeasured quality changes: Unmeasured quality changes also pose a challenge for accurately capturing the cost of living. If the quality of a good improves from one year to the next, the real value of a euro increases, even if the price of the good remains the same. Conversely, if the quality of a good declines, the value of a euro falls, regardless of whether its price remains constant. Although the Office for National Statistics (ONS) attempts to adjust prices for constant quality, accurately measuring these quality changes can be quite difficult.

Exercise 5.1. Relative weights

Examine the weighting schemes employed by the Federal Statistics Office of Germany (Destatis) and the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics to see how they prioritize housing and energy in their consumer price indices. For reference, here are the links to the relevant data:

- [U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics \[2025\]: Relative Importance and Weight Information for the Consumer Price Indexes](#)
- [Destatis \[2019\]: Weighting Scheme \(2015\)](#)

5.2 High inflation and deflation is bad

Unexpected fluctuations in inflation or deflation pose considerable challenges for society as they lead to a redistribution of income and wealth. For example, unexpected inflation usually benefits employees and borrowers, as their income can increase, reducing the real burden of their debt. Conversely, unexpected deflation usually favours employers and lenders as the value of money increases, making it more difficult for borrowers to meet their obligations.

These unexpected changes can force individuals and businesses to shift their focus from productive activities to predicting and protecting against economic volatility. In particular, unexpected deflation can cause indebted businesses and households to cut back on spending, which can ultimately lead to recession and higher unemployment rates.

In extreme cases, hyperinflation occurs, that is usually the how inflation rates of more than 50 per cent per month are called. This can seriously destabilise an economy. Thus, central banks and politicians seek to maintain low and stable inflation due to its various negative implications for the economy. Here is an summary of the most important implications:

Menu costs: High inflation forces businesses to frequently change their prices, resulting in lost time and increased costs.

Purchasing power loss: Inflation impacts individuals unevenly, with low-wage earners and those on fixed nominal incomes experiencing a loss of purchasing power.

Redistribution of wealth and income: As discussed in the section on real and nominal interest rates, rising inflation leads to decreasing real interest rates. Consequently, borrowers benefit from lower real interest payments, while lenders receive reduced real returns. This wealth redistribution occurs because debt is usually expressed in nominal terms, and inflation diminishes the actual value of fixed monetary sums.

Distorted price signals: Inflation disrupts the clarity of prices as indicators for resource allocation. Typically, prices provide critical information regarding supply and demand, aiding informed decision-making. Inflation blurs these signals, complicating the ability to differentiate between actual changes in value and overall price increases, thereby undermining the price mechanism that guides markets.

Uncertainties: High and volatile inflation creates uncertainty surrounding future prices. This uncertainty can prevent businesses and consumers from accurately assessing the real value of money, hampering long-term planning, saving, and investment, which can ultimately lead to economic instability.

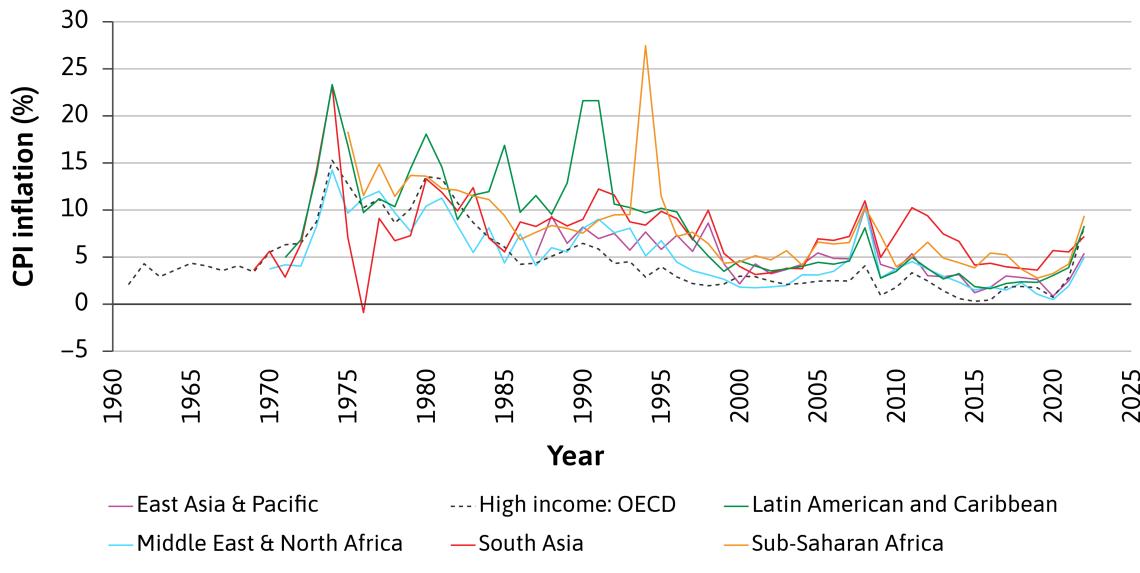
Exercise 5.2. Global inflation

- a) Investigate the inflation rates of selected countries online to grasp international differences

and global trends. Tip: [OECD Inflation Data](#)

b) Discuss Figure 5.3.

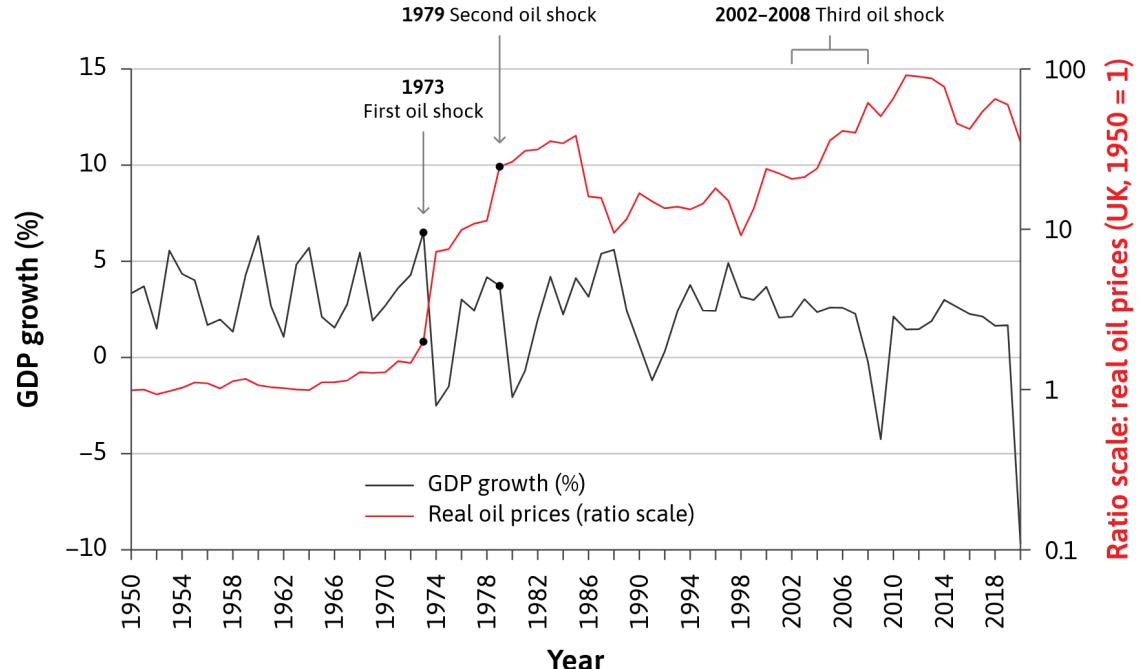
Figure 5.2: Inflation levels and volatility in high- and low-income economies



Source: [CORE Econ \[2025b, ch. 4.1\]](#)

c) Discuss the two time series shown in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: UK GDP growth and real oil prices (1950–2020)



Source: [CORE Econ \[2025a, ch. 15.7\]](#)

5.3 Real and nominal numbers in economics

In economics, understanding the distinction between real and nominal values is crucial for analyzing wage levels and currency measurements. Nominal wages refer to the monetary amount received by workers,

unadjusted for inflation. For example, if a worker is paid €50,000 per year, that figure represents their nominal wage. However, nominal wages do not account for changes in purchasing power over time due to inflation.

Real wages, on the other hand, provide a more accurate reflection of a worker's purchasing power by adjusting nominal wages for inflation. To compute real wages, economists typically use the CPI. For example, in case of inflation, the real wage controls for the worker can actually afford fewer goods and services than before.

Similarly, this distinction extends to other economic metrics, such as gross domestic product (GDP). Real GDP is adjusted for inflation, providing a clearer picture of an economy's growth by reflecting the true value of goods and services produced over time. In contrast, nominal GDP represents the raw monetary value without an inflation adjustment.

Exercise 5.3. Salary over time

In 1947, teachers earned €1,000. By 2015, their salary had increased to €74,000, which means that nominally, they earned 74 times as much in 2015 as they did in 1947. However, to determine whether teachers can buy more or less today compared to 1947, we need to consider the impact of rising prices over time. Given the CPI values of $CPI_{t=1947} = 28.9$ and $CPI_{t=2015} = 1018.6$ calculate the real difference in purchasing power from 1947 to 2015.

Solution

To convert teachers' salaries from 1947 to 2015 values, we can use the following formula:

$$\text{salary}_{2015}^{\text{real}} = \text{salary}_{1947} \cdot \frac{CPI_{2015}}{CPI_{1947}} = €1,000 \cdot \frac{1018.6}{28.9} = €35,246$$

This calculation shows that €1,000 in 1947 had the same purchasing power as €35,246 in 2015. Since teachers earned €74,000 in 2015, they can indeed buy more with their salary than they could in 1947.

Exercise 5.4. Nominal vs. real GDP and CPI In this exercise, you calculate nominal and real GDP for a simple economy. You then calculate real GDP growth using two base years and discuss the differences. Suppose an economy consists of only two types of products: computers and automobiles. Sales and price data for these two products for two different years are shown Table 5.4:

Table 5.4: Prices and quantities of cars and PC over time

Year	No. of PCs	Price per PC (in €)	No. of cars sold	Price per car (in €)
1990	500,000	6,000	1,000,000	12,000
2000	5,000,000	2,000	1,500,000	20,000

- a) Nominal GDP in any year is calculated by multiplying the quantity of each final product sold by its price and summing over all final goods and services. Assuming that all computers and automobiles are final goods, calculate nominal GDP in 1990 and 2000.
- b) Real GDP in any year is calculated by multiplying that year's quantities of goods and services by their prices in some base year. Calculate real GDP in 1990 and 2000, using 1990 as the base year.
- c) Calculate the percentage change in real GDP between 1990 and 2000 using 1990 as the base year.
- d) Calculate real GDP in 1990 and 2000, using 2000 as the base year.
- e) Calculate the percentage change in real GDP between 1990 and 2000 using 2000 as the base year.
- f) Explain why your answers to parts 3 and 5 are different. Do you feel there is one that more accurately measures the true growth in GDP? Which one, and why?
- g) Calculate the Consumer Price Index (CPI) and inflation for the economy using 1990 as the base year.
- h) Calculate the Consumer Price Index (CPI) and inflation for the economy using 2000 as the base year.
- i) Compare the CPI results from above. Can you explain the results?

Solution

- a) 1990: €15,000,000,000
2000: €40,000,000,000
- b) 1990: €15,000,000,000
2000: €48,000,000,000
- c) 220% increase
- d) 1990: €21,000,000,000
2000: €40,000,000,000
- e) 90% increase
- f) Answers differ because base-year prices are different. Neither measure is clearly superior, but real GDP growth is significantly different. There are ten times as many computers in 2000 compared to 1990 and 50% more cars. Thus, something between 50% and 1000% is appropriate, but how to weight each increase is where prices come in.
- g)

$$500,000 \cdot 6,000 + 1000,000 \cdot 12,000 = 15,000,000,000$$

$$500,000 \cdot 2,000 + 1000,000 \cdot 20,000 = 21,000,000,000$$

$$CPI_{base=1990} = 1.4$$

Prices increased from 1990 to 2000 by 40% using 1990 as the base year.

h)

$$5000,000 \cdot 6,000 + 1500,000 \cdot 12,000 = 48,000,000,000$$

$$5000,000 \cdot 2,000 + 1500,000 \cdot 20,000 = 40,000,000,000$$

$$CPI_{base=2000} \approx 0.83$$

Prices decreased from 1990 to 2000 by approximately $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ using 2000 as the base year.

- i) The contradictory CPI results arise from the use of distinct baskets of goods. With 2000 as the base year, considerable weight is given to PCs, which have declined in price. Conversely, when using 1990 as the base year, greater emphasis is placed on cars, which have risen in price.

Chapter 6

Welfare

6.1 Welfare comparisons

To compare living standards across countries using real GDP, we face several challenges as discussed in greater detail in [Shapiro et al. \[2022, ch. 19\]](#). Let me emphasize two things:

First, the real GDP of one country must be converted into the **same currency** unit as the real GDP of another country. This process is straightforward once we have the exchange rates; however, these rates often fluctuate significantly, which can lead to misleading interpretations of GDP when assessed during periods of exchange rate peaks. Additionally, if the prices of goods and services vary considerably between countries, differences in GDP may not solely reflect disparities in living standards.

Second, it is essential that the goods and services in both countries are valued at the **same prices**. Relative prices can differ across countries, so goods and services should be weighted appropriately. For instance, if prices are generally lower in China than in the United States, this would undervalue China's production when using its domestic prices. Therefore, if we value all goods and services produced in China using U.S. prices, we can achieve a more accurate comparison of real GDP between the two countries. This comparison, made using consistent pricing, is referred to as purchasing power parity (PPP) prices. The PPP principle is based on the idea that, in the absence of transportation costs and other barriers, identical goods should have the same price when expressed in a common currency.

To calculate PPP-adjusted GDP for a more accurate cross-country comparison, the following steps are typically taken:

1. Select a representative basket of goods and services for each country.
2. Determine the respective prices that apply to **all** countries.
3. Calculate the exchange rate based on the selected baskets and prices. This rate is known as the *PPP exchange rate* and reflects the relative price levels between the two countries.
4. Convert the real GDP of each country into a common currency using the PPP exchange rate.

The resulting adjusted GDP values allow for a more accurate comparison of living standards and play a significant role in international economic analysis and policy formulation.

It is important to note that while the concept of PPP is useful, it is a simplification that does not fully capture the complexities of international trade, market imperfections, and non-tradable goods.

Example: Germany and Indonesia

Let us compare the GDP in PPP for two countries, Germany and Indonesia, using a simplified scenario that assumes a basket of only two goods: bread and milk. Prices are given in local currencies, i.e., Euros for Germany and Rupiah for Indonesia. For this example, let's say one bread in Germany costs €2 and a liter of milk costs €1.5. In Indonesia, one bread costs 12,000 Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) and a liter of milk costs 10,000 IDR.

Step 1: Basket of goods and services

- Bread price in Germany: €2

- Milk price in Germany: €1.5
- Bread price in Indonesia: 12,000 IDR
- Milk price in Indonesia: 10,000 IDR

Step 2: Price comparison

- Bread price ratio: $\text{€}2 / 12,000 \text{ IDR} = 0.00016667$

- Milk price ratio: $\text{€}1.5 / 10,000 \text{ IDR} = 0.00015$

Step 3: Exchange rate calculation

- Average price ratio: $(0.00016667 + 0.00015) / 2 = 0.000158335$

- PPP exchange rate: 1 Euro = 0.000158335 IDR

Now, using the PPP exchange rate, we can convert GDP figures between the two countries to facilitate a more accurate comparison of their economies.

Please note that this is a simplified example for illustrative purposes. Actual PPP calculations involve more comprehensive baskets of goods, data collection, adjustments for non-traded goods, and more sophisticated methods. Real-world PPP calculations are conducted by organizations such as the International Comparison Program (ICP) to provide accurate comparisons of living standards across countries.

6.2 Alternative measures of welfare

Disposable income:

Disposable income is defined as total income minus taxes plus government transfers. It represents the income that households and non-corporate businesses have available after fulfilling their obligations to the government. While GDP includes the value of goods and services produced by the government, such as education, national defense, and law enforcement—factors that contribute to well-being—these are not reflected in disposable income. Thus, GDP per capita can serve as a better measure of living standards than disposable income itself.

Gross National Product (GNP):

The GNP refers to the total income earned by a nation's citizens, whether generated domestically or abroad. This measure captures the economic contributions of citizens, regardless of location.

Net National Product (NNP)

The NNP is calculated as the total income of a nation's residents (GNP) minus losses due to depreciation. Depreciation accounts for the decline in value of the economy's stock of equipment and structures, such as aging vehicles and obsolete computers.

World Happiness Report:

The World Happiness Report primarily utilizes data from the Gallup World Poll, which surveys individuals in over 150 countries (see: [World Happiness Report](#)). Each variable measured reflects a population-weighted average score on a scale from 0 to 10 that is tracked over time and compared against other countries. Current variables in the report include:

- Real GDP per capita
- Social support
- Healthy life expectancy
- Freedom to make life choices
- Generosity
- Perceptions of corruption

Human Development Index (HDI)

The HDI is a composite index that incorporates life expectancy, education (mean years of schooling completed and expected years of schooling), and per capita income indicators. Countries are ranked into four tiers of human development based on these metrics. A country attains a higher HDI when it achieves greater longevity, higher education levels, and a higher gross national income (GNI) per capita

at purchasing power parity (PPP) (see: [Human Development Index](#)).

Exercise 6.1. OECD Better Life Index

Visit the [OECD Better Life Index](#) to create your own index by weighting the factors that are important to you. Then, explore what aspects of life matter most, on average, for people in your home country.

Chapter 7

Production and utility

Required readings:

Shapiro et al. [2022, ch. 2, appendix A and B]

In this section, I cover some basic concepts that are crucial for understanding the upcoming sections. That includes:

- Production functions: I discuss different several important features of production.
- Production Possibility Frontier (PPF): I explain how the PPF curve graphically visualizes the production and growth of firms and countries.
- Indifference curves: I discuss how indifference curves represent different bundles of goods at which consumers are indifferent.
- Isoquants: I introduce how isoquants represent different levels of production that can be achieved with different combinations of input factors.
- Budget constraints: I show you how to graphically sketch budget constraints, which play a significant role in consumer decision-making.

7.1 Production functions

A firm or a company is a productive unit. In particular, it is an organization that produces goods and services. In short, it can be called *output*. To do so, it uses inputs called *factors of production*, that is, labor, capital, land, skills, etc. The relationship between the inputs and the output is the production function. The goal of the firm is to achieve whatever goal its owner(s) decide to achieve through the firm. Usually, it is (and in Germany for example it has to be the case by law) to generate profits, that is, total revenue minus total cost for the level of production.

A production function (PF) is a mathematical representation of the process that transforms inputs into output.

- When factors of production are **perfect substitutes** the PF can be written like this:

$$q = f(K, L) = L + K$$

- When factors of production are **perfect complements** the PF can be written like this:

$$q = f(K, L) = \min(L, K)$$

- A special and often used function is the Cobb-Douglas PF:

$$q = f(K, L) = K^\alpha L^{1-\alpha} \quad \text{with } 0 < \alpha < 1$$

The **returns to scale** describes the increase in output when a firm multiples all of its inputs by some factor. Let $\lambda > 1$, then, with two factors K and L , we can define that for

$$f(cK, cL) = c^\lambda f(K, L),$$

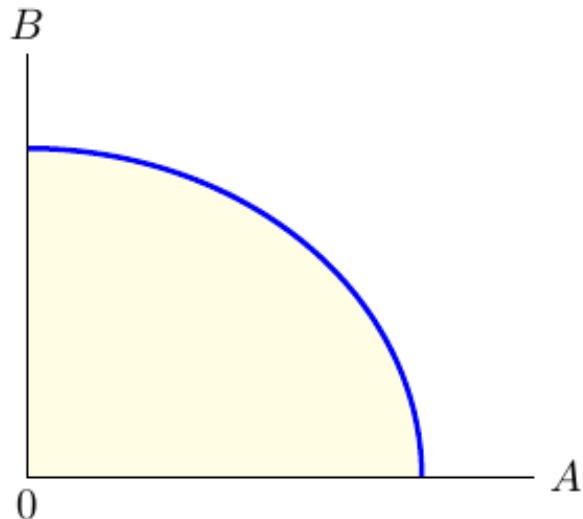
- $\lambda > 1$ the PF has increasing returns to scale,
- $\lambda = 1$ the PF has constant returns to scale,
- $\lambda < 1$ the PF has decreasing returns to scale.

The marginal product is the change in the total output when the input varies of one infinitesimal small unit. Graphically, the marginal product is the slope of the total product function at any point. The slope of the total product function, that is, the marginal product, is generally not constant. The marginal product to an input is assumed to decrease beyond some level of input. This is called the *law of diminishing marginal returns*. In particular, we can distinguish:

- positive marginal returns when $f' > 0$ and
- diminishing marginal returns when $f'' < 0$ and
- increasing marginal returns when $f''' > 0$.

7.2 Production possibility frontier curve

Figure 7.1: The production possibility frontier curve



The production possibilities frontier (PPF) curve shown in Figure 7.1 provides a graphical representation of all possible production options for two products when all available resources and factors of production are fully and efficiently utilized within a given time period. The PPF serves as a boundary between combinations of goods and services that can be produced and those that cannot.

The PPF is an invaluable tool for illustrating the effects of scarcity as it provides insights into production efficiency, opportunity costs and the trade-offs between different choices. In general, the PPF exhibits concavity, as not all factors of production can be used equally productively in all activities.

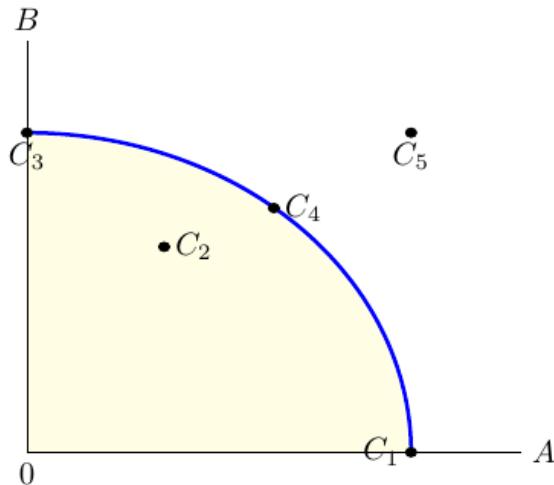
Economic growth refers to the continuous expansion of production possibilities. An economy experiences growth through technological advances, improvements in the quality of labor or an increase in the factors of production (labor, capital). When the resources of an economy increase, the production possibilities also expand, shifting the PPF outwards. It is worth noting that PPF can be used to explain production in an economy or company.

Production efficiency occurs when it is impossible to produce more of one good or service without producing less of another. If production takes place directly on the PPF, this means efficiency. If, on the other hand, production takes place within the PPF (yellow shaded area of Figure 7.1), it is possible to produce more goods without sacrificing existing goods, which indicates inefficiency. If production is on the PPF, there is a trade-off, as obtaining more of one good requires sacrificing a certain amount of another good. This trade-off is associated with costs called *opportunity costs*.

Exercise 7.1. Understanding production (Solution 7.1)

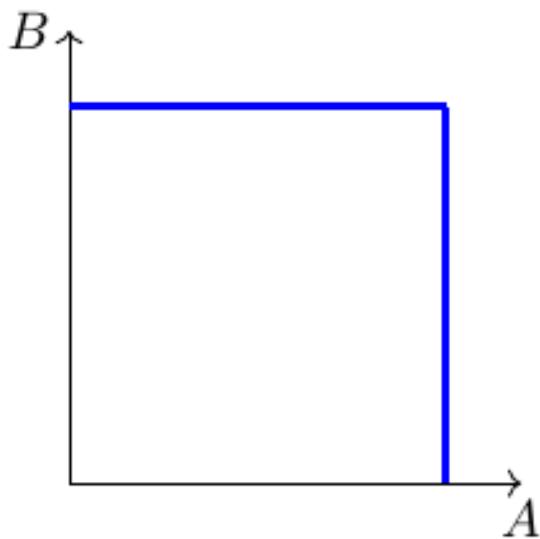
- a) Figure 7.2 shows a PPF and five conceivable production points, C_i , where $i \in \{1, \dots, 5\}$. Explain the figure using the following terms: _attainable point; available resources, unattainable, inefficient, efficient point.

Figure 7.2: Production and different consumption points



- b) What would happen to the PPF if the technology available in a country and needed for the production process became better?
- c) What would happen to the PPF if the resources available in a country and needed in the production process of both goods shrank?
- d) What would happen to the PPF if the resources (technology) available in a country that are needed in the production process...
 i) ...for both goods increased (improved)?
 ii) ...for good A shrank (got worse)?
 iii) ...for good B increased (improved)?
- e) Does the shape of the PPF tell us anything about economies of scale in the production process?
- f) Figure 7.3 shows an extreme PPF. How can such a PPF be explained?

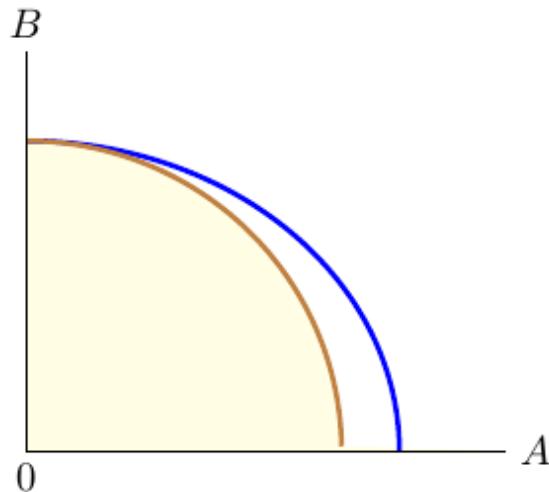
Figure 7.3: Extreme production possibility frontier curve



Solution 7.1. Understanding production (Exercise 7.1)

- a) Any point that lies either on the production possibilities curve or to the left of it is said to be an attainable point: it can be produced with currently available resources. Production points that lie in the yellow shaded area are said to be unattainable because they cannot be produced using currently available resources. These points represent an inefficient production, because existing resources would allow for production of more of at least one good without sacrificing the production of any other good. An efficient point is one that lies on the production possibilities curve. At any such point, more of one good can be produced only by producing less of the other.
- b) The PPF would shift outwards.
- c) The PPF would shift inwards.
- d) The PPF would shift...
 - i) ...outwards for both goods.
 - ii) ...inwards for good A, see Figure 7.4.
 - iii) ...outwards for good B.
- e) With economies of scale, the PPF would curve inward, with the opportunity cost of one good falling as more of it is produced. A straight-line (linear) PPF reflects a situation where resources are not specialized and can be substituted for each other with no added cost. With constant returns to scale, there are two opportunities for a linear PPF: if there was only one factor of production to consider or if the factor intensity ratios in the two sectors were constant at all points on the production-possibilities curve.
- f) Here is one example: Suppose a country that is endowed with two factors of production and that one factor can only be used for producing good A and the other factor can only be used to produce good B.

Figure 7.4: Shrinking production possibilities in good A

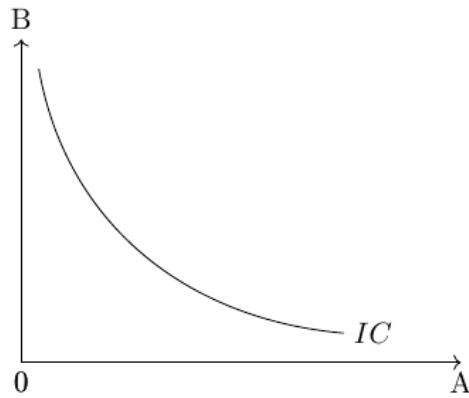


7.3 Indifference curves and isoquants

Combinations of two goods that yield the same level of utility for consumers are represented by indifference curves, see figure Figure 7.5. These curves illustrate the various bundles of goods where consumers are equally satisfied. That means all points on an indifference curve represent the same level of utility. The shape of the indifference curve is determined by the underlying utility function, which captures the preferences of consumers for consuming different combinations of the two goods.

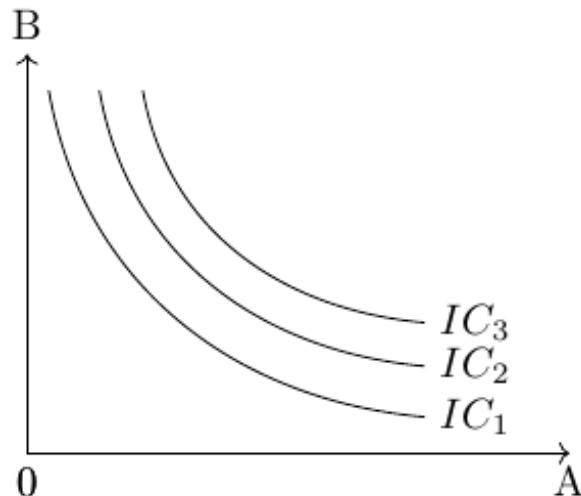
The slope of an indifference curve indicates the rate at which the two goods can be substituted while maintaining the same level of utility for the consumer. Technically, the slope represents the marginal rate of substitution, which is equal to the absolute value of the slope. It measures the maximum quantity of one good that a consumer is willing to give up in order to obtain an additional unit of the other good.

Figure 7.5: Indifference curve



It is assumed that consumers aim to attain the highest possible indifference curve because a higher curve, located further to the right on a coordinate system, represents a higher level of utility. In Figure 7.6, for example, (IC_1) represents a lower level of utility than (IC_2).

Figure 7.6: Indifference curve



Similar to the concept of indifference curves, an isoquant shows the combinations of factors of production that result in the same quantity of output.

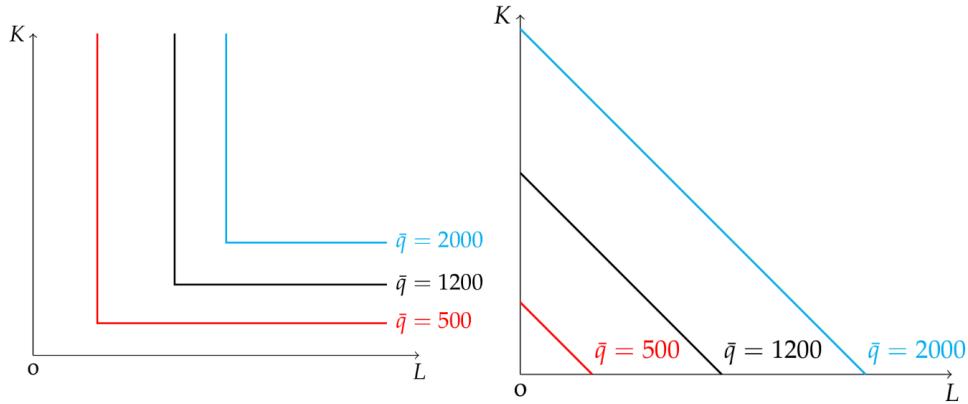
Exercise 7.2. Isoquants

- Which of the two plots of Figure 7.7 show isoquants when factors of production are **perfect complements** and **perfect substitutes**, respectively?
- Discuss the features of a Cobb-Douglas PF with respect to returns to scale and marginal product of production for both inputs. Sketch the total output curve in an output-(K) and an output-(L) quadrant. Sketch the isoquants for different levels of production.

7.4 Budget constraint

In microeconomics, the concept of a budget constraint plays a vital role in understanding consumer decision-making and helps to analyze consumer choices and trade-offs. The budget constraint represents the limitations faced by consumers in allocating their limited income across different goods and services. The budget constraint indicates that the total expenditure on goods and services, calculated by multiplying the prices of each item by its corresponding quantity, must be less than or equal to the consumer's income.

Figure 7.7: Perfect complements or substitutes



Mathematically, the budget constraint can be expressed as:

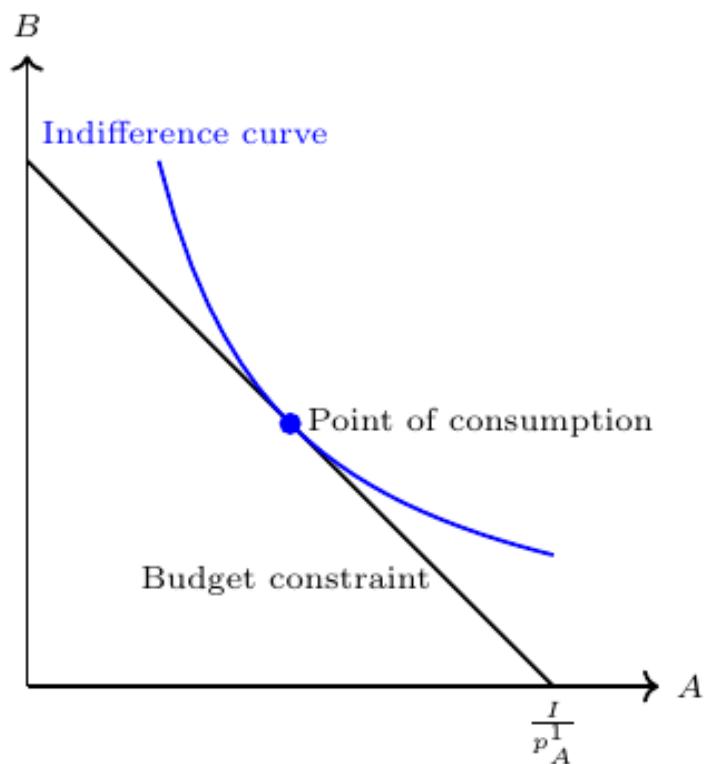
$$P_1 \cdot Q_1 + P_2 \cdot Q_2 + \dots + P_n \cdot Q_n \leq I$$

where (P_n) represent the prices of goods, (Q_n) denote the quantities of goods (n) consumed. (I) denotes the consumer's income or their budget.

Consumers strive to maximize their utility by selecting the optimal combination of goods and services within the constraints imposed by their limited income. This involves making decisions about how much of each good to consume while staying within the budgetary limits. The graphical representation of the ideal consumption point is depicted in Figure Figure 7.8.

By studying the budget constraint, economists can gain insights into consumer behavior, price changes, and the impact of income fluctuations on consumption patterns.

Figure 7.8: Optimal consumption choice



Chapter 8

Supply and demand

Recommended readings:

Shapiro et al. [2022, ch. 3]

Learning objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Distinguish between quantity demanded and demand, and explain what determines demand.
- Distinguish between quantity supplied and supply, and explain what determines supply.
- Explain how demand and supply determine price and quantity in a market, and discuss the effects of changes in demand and supply.

8.1 What is a market?

A market is any arrangement that brings buyers and sellers together. A market might be a physical place or a group of buyers and sellers spread around the world who never meet. In this chapter, we study a competitive market that has so many buyers and sellers that no individual buyer or seller can influence the price. Quantity demanded is the amount of a good, service, or resource that people are willing and able to buy during a specified period at a specified price. The quantity demanded is expressed as an amount per unit of time, for example, the amount per day or per month. Supply and demand are the forces that make market economies work because they determine prices in a market economy. Prices, in turn, allocate the economy's scarce resources. The model of the market based on supply and demand, like any other model, is based on a series of assumptions.

Exercise 8.1. The problem of value: The Water-Diamond Paradox

"Water is clearly important. We literally can't live without it. Yet you can get water in your apartment in New York without paying for it. On modern Roman streets you can wash your hands or bathe your dog at any old fire hydrant. In the office and in the dorm you can drink water from the fountain down the hall.

Diamonds are different. You can live without diamonds. Yet they are very expensive, valued extremely highly per ounce in the marketplace.

Notice how strange this is - how a good such as a diamond, which is beautiful but inessential, could be so much more expensive per ounce than an essential and not necessarily beautiful good, such as water. The case is called 'the water/diamond paradox.' It is the first and the deepest question of value. What, after all, determines the value of things?" [Klamer et al., 2015, ch. 5.1]

Discuss the water-diamond paradox. Can you think of similar examples of goods that have a high price but no *real value*? Also discuss what the *value of a good* is when it is not based on price.

8.2 Demand

8.2.1 The law of demand

Other things remaining the same, if the price of the good rises, the quantity demanded of that good decreases. Conversely, if the price of the good falls, the quantity demanded of that good increases.

Exercise 8.2. Greed

Watch Gordon Gekko's "Greed is good" speech from the movie *Wall Street* (see Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1: Source: [IMDb.com](#)



Figure 8.2: Wall Street: Greed is good (1987)



Source: [Youtube](#)

Discuss the relationship between *greed*, the *law of demand*, and perfect markets.

8.2.2 Demand schedule and demand curve

Demand is the relationship between the quantity demanded and the price of a good when all other influences on buying plans remain the same. Demand is illustrated by a demand schedule and a demand curve. The demand curve shows the relationship between price and quantity demanded. In Table 8.1 you see an example of a demand schedule for two individuals, A and B. This schedule is visualized in Figure 8.3.

Market demand refers to the sum of all individual demands for a particular good or service. Graphically, individual demand curves are summed horizontally to obtain the market demand curve. The aggregated demand is visualized in Figure 8.4.

Table 8.1: Demand schedule of persons A and B

Price of a per Unit (€)	Quantity Demanded by Person 1 (litres per month)	Quantity Demanded by Person 2 (units per period)	Total Quantity Demanded (units per period)
0.00	20	10	30
0.10	18	9	27
0.20	16	8	24
0.30	14	7	21
0.40	12	6	18
0.50	10	5	15
0.60	8	4	12
0.70	6	3	9
0.80	4	2	6
0.90	2	1	3
1.00	0	0	0

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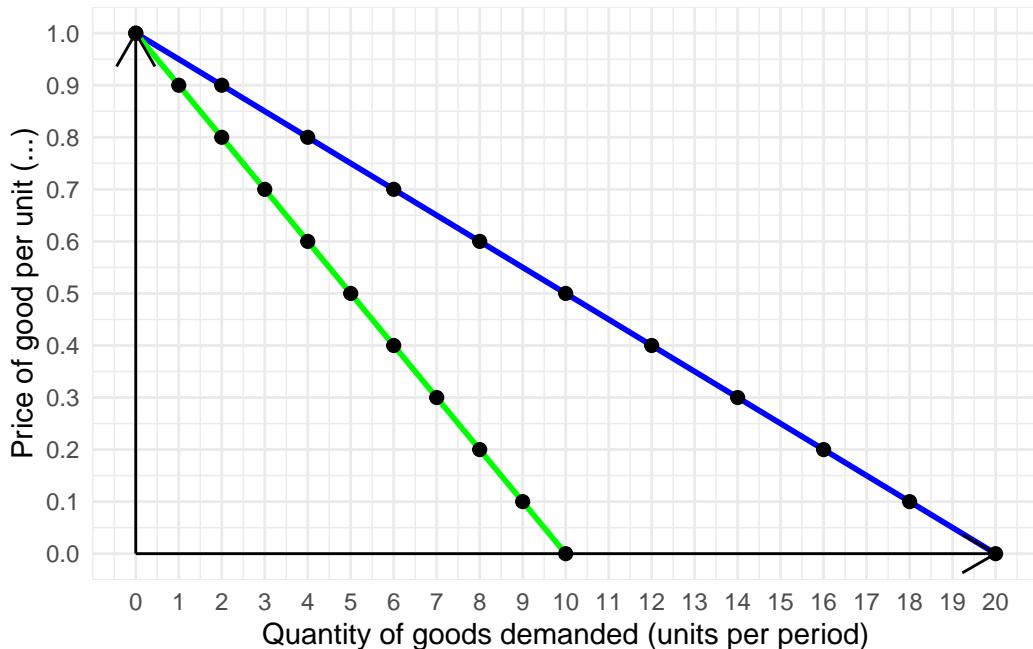
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Figure 8.3: Demand curve



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8.2.3 Changes and shifts of demand

Movements along the demand curve are caused by a change in the price of the product. For example, if the price of a specific good changes, the quantity demanded will typically be altered by two effects: the income effect and the substitution effect:

- **The income effect:** Assuming that consumers' incomes remain constant, a decrease in the price of a good allows them to purchase more of it with their available income.
- **The substitution effect:** If the price of one good is lower compared to other similar products, some consumers will choose to substitute the more expensive options with the now cheaper alternative, such as milk.

In section ?@sec-consumption, I will discuss both the income and substitution effects in greater detail.

In contrast, changes in other factors that influence demand can result in a shift of the demand curve in a price-quantity diagram. A shift in the demand curve—either to the left or right—occurs when there is a change that affects the quantity demanded at every price level. Below is an incomplete list of factors that can cause demand curves to shift:

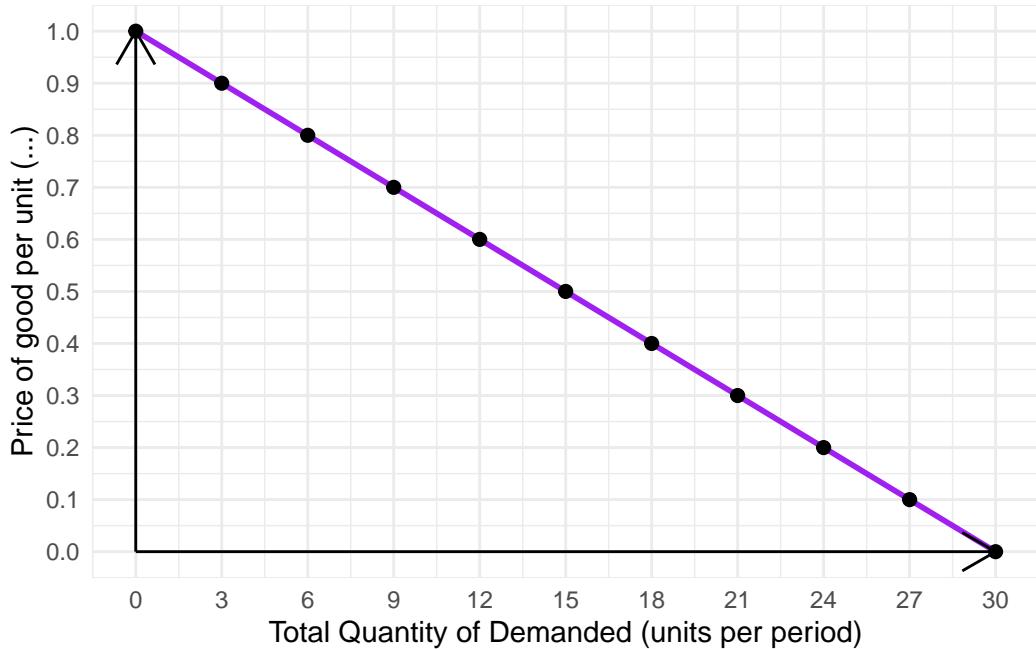
Income: The overall income of consumers greatly impacts their purchasing power. For normal goods, as income rises, the demand increases. Conversely, for inferior goods, demand decreases as income increases. For example, when consumers have higher incomes, they are less likely to purchase instant noodles (an inferior good) and may instead buy higher-quality meals.

Tastes and preferences: Changes in consumer preferences can shift demand. If health trends favor plant-based foods, demand for these products may rise, while demand for red meat may decline.

Consumer expectations: Expectations about future prices can influence current demand. If consumers expect that prices will rise in the future, they are more likely to purchase now, increasing current demand. Conversely, if they expect prices to drop, they may delay purchases, decreasing current demand.

Population and demographics: Changes in the number of consumers or their demographics can impact demand. For example, an aging population might increase the demand for healthcare products and services, while a growing youth demographic might boost demand for technology and entertainment products.

Figure 8.4: Aggregate demand



Price of related goods: When the price of a good rises, consumers may switch to other goods that offer similar benefits, known as substitutes. A substitute is a product that can be consumed in place of another. For example, apples and oranges are substitutes. If the price of butter increases, consumers may opt for margarine instead. In this scenario, the demand for margarine increases, while the demand for butter decreases. Conversely, demand can also be affected by changes in the prices of complementary goods—products that are often consumed together. A **complement** is a good that pairs well with another. For instance, sausages and mustard, or fish and chips are common complements. If the price of printers drops, the demand for ink cartridges might increase as more people purchase printers. Or, if the price of hot dogs rises, the demand for hot dog buns may decrease.

8.3 Types of goods

Goods can be classified based on how their demand reacts to changes in prices and consumer income. Here are some relevant types of goods:

8.3.1 Normal goods

A normal good is defined as a good for which the demand increases as income increases. Conversely, demand decreases when income decreases.

Examples of normal goods include luxury items, branded clothing, and high-quality food products. As consumers' incomes rise, they are more likely to purchase these goods, reflecting their preference for higher-quality or more luxurious items.

8.3.2 Inferior goods

An inferior good is one for which the demand decreases as incomes rise and increases when incomes fall.

Examples of inferior goods include budget brands, instant noodles, and second-hand clothing. When consumers have lower incomes, they may opt for these less expensive options, but as their income increases, they tend to switch to more expensive alternatives.

8.3.3 Giffen goods:

A giffen good is a special type of good that increase in demand when its price rises, violating the basic law of demand. This phenomenon typically occurs because the good is so essential that the consumer constitutes a significant portion of its budget and they buy even more if it when the price increases as their inability to afford more expensive alternatives.

8.3.4 Veblen goods:

A Veblen good is a type of luxury good for which demand increases as the price increases, contrary to the law of demand. These goods serve as a status symbol. The higher price makes them more desirable to certain consumers who view these goods as markers of wealth or prestige. Examples include designer handbags and high-end cars.

 Tip

Read the two Wikipedia entries for giffen and veblen goods: [Wikipedia \[2025b\]](#) and [Wikipedia \[2025d\]](#).

Understanding these classifications is important in microeconomics as they help economists analyze consumer behavior, market trends, and the overall economy's response to changes in income levels.

Exercise 8.3.

a) Fill in the blanks:

The demand for a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its substitutes rises.

The demand for a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its substitutes falls.

The demand for a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its complements rises.

The demand for a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its complements falls.

A rise in the expected future price of a good _____ (increases/decreases) the current demand for that good.

A fall in the expected future price of a good _____ (increases/decreases) the current demand for that good.

b) Can you give examples of normal and inferior goods?

c) Fill in the blanks:

When income is expected to increase in the future, or when credit is easy to get and the cost of borrowing is low, the demand for some goods _____ (increases/decreases).

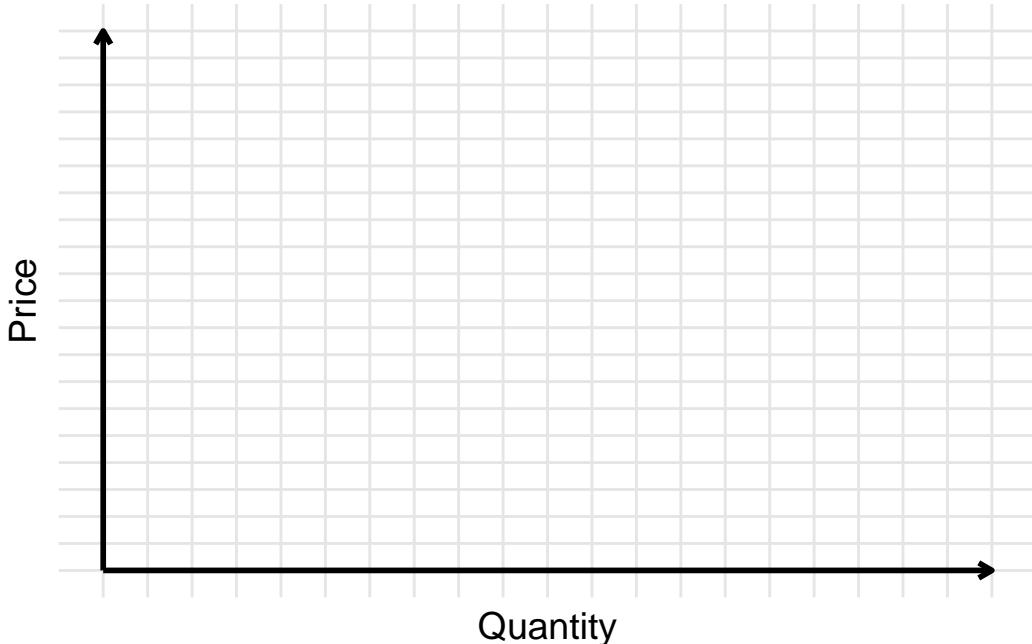
When income is expected to decrease in the future, or when credit is hard to get and the cost of borrowing is high, the demand for some goods _____ (increases/decreases).

d) Is the following statement true or false: Changes in expected future income and the availability and cost of credit have the greatest effect on the demand for big-ticket items such as homes and cars?

Exercise 8.4. Three demand curves

Use Figure 8.5 to draw a plot with three demand curves. Explain everything you show. One curve should represent an economy in an economic boom, one in an economic downturn, and one in between.

Figure 8.5: Sketch of demand in three different economic states



8.4 Supply

The **law of supply** states that, all else being equal: When the price of a good rises, the quantity supplied of that good increases and vice versa.

The quantity supplied is the amount of a good that sellers are willing and able to sell at a given price. In Table 8.2 an example of a supply schedule is shown that illustrates the relationship between the price of a good and the corresponding quantity supplied. The graphical representation of the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity supplied is visualized in Figure 8.6.

Table 8.2: Example: supply schedule

Price of good per unit (€)	producer A	+	producer B	=	Market
0.00	0	+	0	=	0
0.10	0	+	1	=	1
0.20	2	+	2	=	4
0.30	4	+	3	=	7
0.40	6	+	4	=	10
0.50	8	+	5	=	13
0.60	10	+	6	=	16
0.70	12	+	7	=	19

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substituted for <e2>
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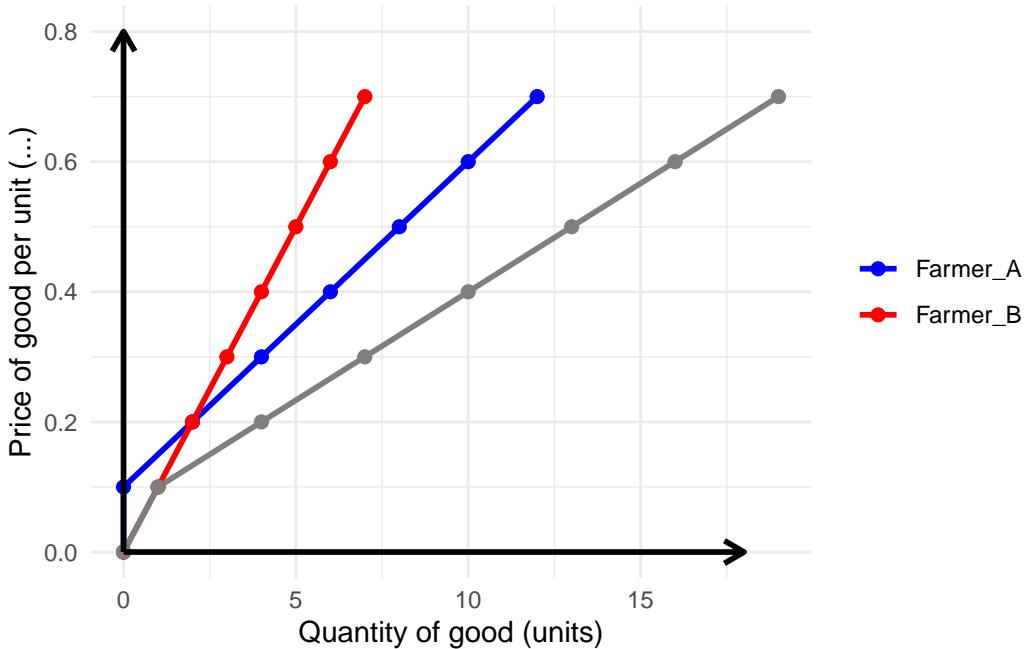
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Figure 8.6: Supply curves



8.4.1 Changes and shifts of supply

The supply curve illustrates the quantities that producers are willing to offer for sale at various prices, while assuming that all other factors affecting their selling decisions remain constant. Any alteration in these additional factors—excluding price changes—results in a shift of the supply curve either to the left or the right.

Several key factors can cause shifts in the supply curve. These include the profitability of alternative goods in production and the prices of goods produced jointly. Advancements in technology can also influence supply, as can changes in the number of sellers in the market. Natural and social factors, such as weather conditions and evolving public attitudes, play a significant role as well. Furthermore, input prices—the costs associated with the factors of production—affect the supply. As production costs rise, the quantity supplied typically decreases. Expectations regarding future market conditions can also impact supply decisions, as can changes in resource prices. Higher resource and input prices generally elevate production costs, resulting in a reduced quantity supplied. Additionally, improvements in productivity—defined as output per unit of input—can lower costs and lead to an increase in supply.

A change in the price of one good can impact the supply of another good. This relationship occurs particularly in the context of goods that can be produced in place of one another, known as **substitutes in production**. These are goods that can be manufactured using similar resources, allowing producers to switch between them based on price fluctuations and market demands.

Overall, these dynamics illustrate the complex interplay of various factors that can influence how supply responds to changes in the market environment.

Exercise 8.5. Prices of related goods in production

Fill in the blanks:

- The quantity supplied of a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its substitutes in production falls.
- The quantity supplied of a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its substitutes in production rises.
- The quantity supplied of a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its complements in production rises.
- The quantity supplied of a good _____ (increases/decreases) if the price of one of its complements in production falls.

Solution

- decreases
- increases
- decreases
- increases

8.4.2 Market equilibrium

In economics, equilibrium refers to a situation where economic forces such as supply and demand are balanced. In the absence of external influences, the equilibrium values of economic variables remain unchanged.

The price that balances quantity supplied and quantity demanded is called the **equilibrium price**. Graphically, this is the price at which the supply and demand curves intersect. The quantity that comes along the equilibrium price is called the **equilibrium quantity**. That is visualized in Figure 8.7.

Exercise 8.6. After the visual determination of the equilibrium market price and quantity, calculate the equilibrium market price and quantity assuming the demand function:

$$x(p) = -\frac{3}{4}p + 300$$

and the supply function

$$x_S(p) = \frac{5}{4}p - 100.$$

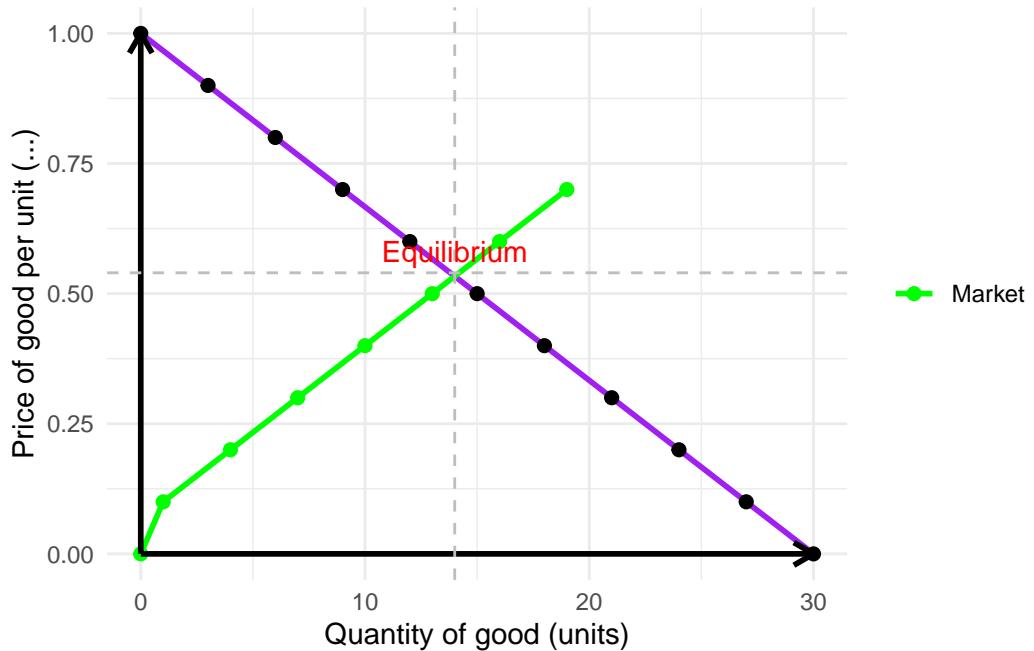
Additionally, draw the two functions and mark the equilibrium.

Figure 8.7: Market equilibrium of supply and demand

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Solution

To formally calculate the equilibrium market price and quantity using the given demand and supply functions, you can set the two equations equal to each other and solve for the price (p). Here's how it can be represented mathematically:

At equilibrium, the quantity demanded equals the quantity supplied:

$$x(p) = x_S(p)$$

Solving both functions for x and setting the two functions equal gives:

$$-\frac{3}{4}p + 300 = \frac{5}{4}p - 100$$

Now, solve for (p):

$$p = 200.$$

Substituting $p = 200$ back into either the demand or supply equation yields

$$x(200) = -\frac{3}{4}(200) + 300,$$

or

$$x(200) = -150 + 300.$$

Thus, the equilibrium quantity is

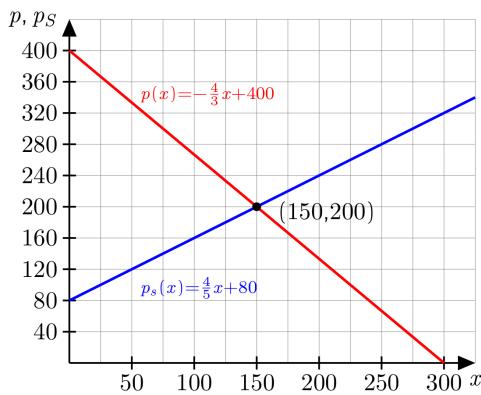
$$x^* = 150$$

and the equilibrium market price is

$$p^* = 200$$

The graphical solution is shown in Figure 8.8.

Figure 8.8: The equilibrium with supply and demand



Supply > demand (surplus / excess)

If price > equilibrium price, then quantity supplied > quantity demanded. There is excess supply or a surplus. Suppliers will lower the price to increase sales, thereby moving towards equilibrium.

Supply < demand (shortage)

If price < equilibrium price, then quantity demanded > quantity supplied. There is excess demand or a shortage. Suppliers will raise the price due to too many buyers chasing too few goods, thereby moving toward equilibrium.

Three steps to analyzing changes in equilibrium

- Decide whether the event shifts the supply or demand curve (or both).

2. Determine whether the curve(s) shift to the left or to the right.
3. Use the supply and demand diagram to see how the shift affects equilibrium price and quantity.

Exercise 8.7. Supply and demand for coffee

Suppose you are observing the market for coffee. Assume the initial equilibrium price of coffee is €3 per cup, and the equilibrium quantity is 100 cups.

1. Increase in demand:
 - a) Describe a scenario that could cause an increase in demand for coffee.
 - b) Draw a demand and supply graph showing the initial demand and supply curves, with the equilibrium price and quantity marked.
 - c) Illustrate the new demand curve after the increase in demand.
 - d) Discuss how the increase in demand affects the equilibrium price and quantity. What happens to the original equilibrium price and quantity? Why?
2. Increase in supply:
 - a) Describe a scenario that could cause an increase in supply for coffee.
 - b) Draw a demand and supply graph showing the initial demand and supply curves, with the equilibrium price and quantity marked.
 - c) Illustrate the new demand curve after the increase in supply.
 - d) Discuss how the increase in supply affects the equilibrium price and quantity. What happens to the original equilibrium price and quantity? Why?

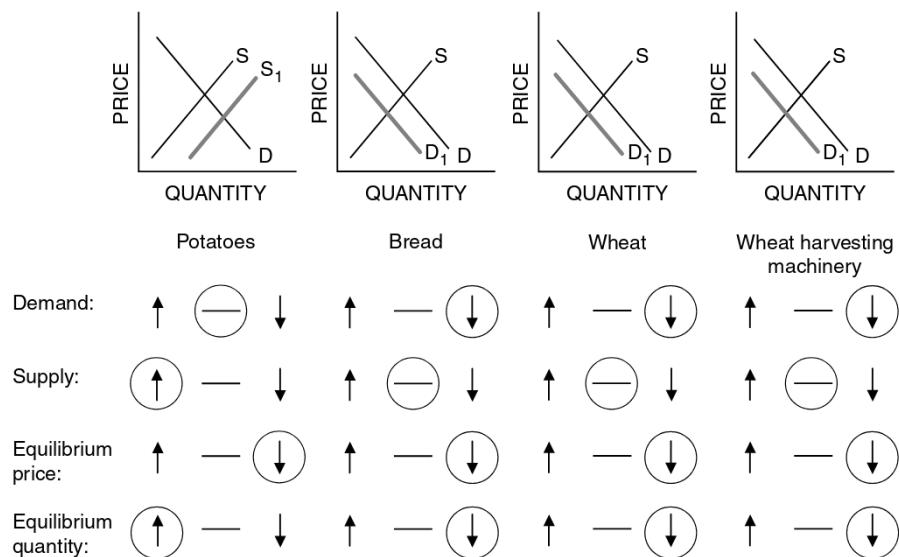
Exercise 8.8. Effects of a new fertilizer

Assume that a new fertilizer dramatically increases the number of potatoes that can be harvested with no additional labor or machinery. Also assume that this fertilizer does not affect wheat farming and that people are satisfied to eat either potatoes or bread made from wheat flour.

Illustrate for both markets, potato and bread, how demand, supply, the equilibrium prices, and quantities change due to the new fertilizer.

Solution

Figure 8.9: Effects of a new fertilizer



Source: Morton & Goodman [2003, p. 83]

Exercise 8.9. Effects of a study on coffee

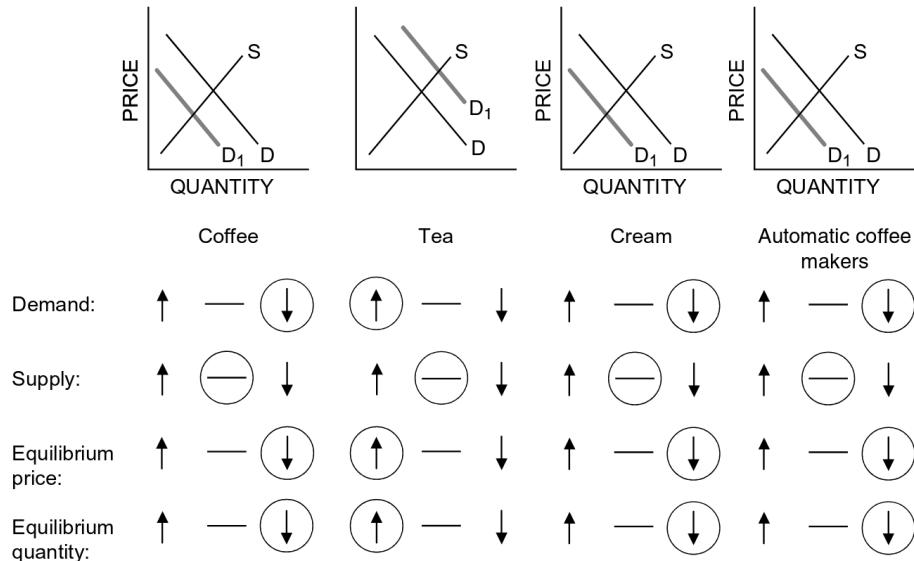
Assume new studies show that coffee is worse for people's health than tea and that more people use

cream in coffee than in tea.

Illustrate the changes in the markets of coffee, tea, and cream.

Solution

Figure 8.10: Effects of a reputation loss of coffee



Source: Morton & Goodman [2003, p. 85]

Exercise 8.10. Housing market

1. Which of the following factors cause an increase in the demand for houses in Berlin:
 - a) An increase in the annual income of many citizens of Berlin.
 - b) A reduced rate of immigration into Berlin.
 - c) Lower interest rates on loans to buy houses.
2. The demand for cement in Berlin would (increase / decrease), which would result in (higher / lower) prices for cement in Berlin.
3. Employment of workers who build houses would (increase / decrease) and their wages would (increase / decrease).

Solution

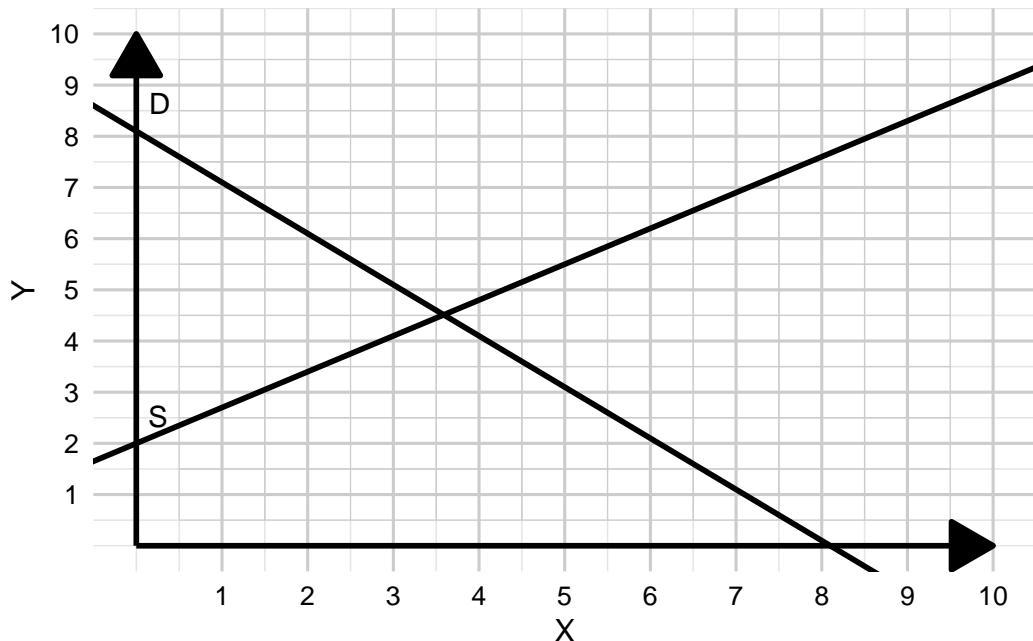
1. a, c
2. increase; higher
3. increase; increase

Exercise 8.11. Supply and demand analysis

The diagram of Figure 8.11 shows the supply and demand schedule for a given good in a closed economy. The supply function is labeled with S and the demand function is labeled with D.

1. What will be the equilibrium market price?
2. How many items are traded?

Figure 8.11: Supply and demand curve



Chapter 9

Allocation and surplus

Learning outcomes:

Students will be able to:

- Explain what is meant by an efficient allocation of resources in an economy and describe the market conditions that must exist to achieve this goal.
- Define consumer and producer surplus.

9.1 How markets allocate resources

Markets use prices as signals to allocate resources to their highest valued uses. Consumers will pay higher prices for goods and services that they value more highly. Producers will devote more resources to the production of goods and services that have higher prices, all else being equal. Similarly, workers will provide more hours of labor to jobs that pay higher salaries.

This allocation principle applies both to product markets for items such as cars, houses, and haircuts, as well as to resource markets for items such as labor, land, and equipment. Households play two important roles in an economy—they demand goods and services and supply resources. Businesses also have dual roles—they supply goods and services and demand resources. The interaction of demand and supply in product and resource markets generates prices that serve to allocate items to their highest valued alternatives. Factors that interfere with the workings of a competitive market result in an inefficient allocation of resources, leading to a reduction in society's overall well-being.

9.2 Efficient allocation of resources

Remember Milton Friedman's words:

There was no commissar sending out orders from some central office. It was the magic of the price system: the impersonal operation of prices that brought them together and got them to cooperate, to make this pencil, so you could have it for a trifling sum.

Literally thousands of people cooperated to make this pencil. [...] It was the **magic of the price system**—the impersonal operation of prices that brought them together and got them to cooperate to make this pencil so that you could have it for a trifling sum.

Also, recall Adam Smith, who wrote in perhaps the most influential book in economics, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* [Smith, 1776], that the pursuit of self-interest in a marketplace would promote the general interest. He stated that resources would be guided, as if by an **invisible hand**, to their best uses. That invisible hand was the **marketplace**.

1. When the net benefits of all economic activities are maximized, economists say the allocation of resources is **efficient**.
2. The concept of an efficient allocation of resources incorporates production, but it also includes efficiency in the consumption of goods and services.

The ‘magic’ (usually) only happens if the assumptions of the classical model and perfect markets, respectively, hold.

In the upcoming sections, we will discuss some examples where markets are not efficient and welfare is suboptimal. Before that, however, we need to introduce a way to measure welfare.

9.3 Consumer and producer surplus

In our discussions, we’ve gained an understanding of market dynamics, exploring how the interplay of supply and demand shapes prices. Now, we explore whether the equilibrium achieved in the market is truly optimal for both consumers and suppliers. Consumer surplus and producer surplus are helpful concepts in economics for welfare analysis. They help us understand the benefits that consumers and producers gain from participating in a market exchange.

Consumer surplus refers to the additional value that consumers receive beyond what they actually pay for a product or service in the market. It is essentially the difference between what consumers are willing to pay for a good or service (their willingness to pay) and the actual price they pay.

On the other side, producer surplus pertains to the benefit that producers receive from market transactions. It’s the difference between the price at which producers are willing to supply a good or service and the actual price they receive. This surplus highlights the additional revenue that producers gain beyond what they need to cover their production costs.

Both consumer surplus and producer surplus contribute to the overall economic welfare in a market. Maximizing both surpluses ensures that resources are allocated efficiently, benefiting both sides of the exchange and contributing to societal well-being. The equilibrium point where these surpluses are maximized is the point where the demand and supply curves intersect. Figure 9.1 visualizes the explained concepts.

Exercise 9.1. Welfare and taxes

1. The following diagram shows the supply and demand schedule for a given good in a closed economy, where $P^* = 6$, $Q^* = 5000$. Calculate producer surplus, consumer surplus, and total welfare, and sketch them in the diagram below.

Figure 9.2: Where is the consumer and producer surplus?

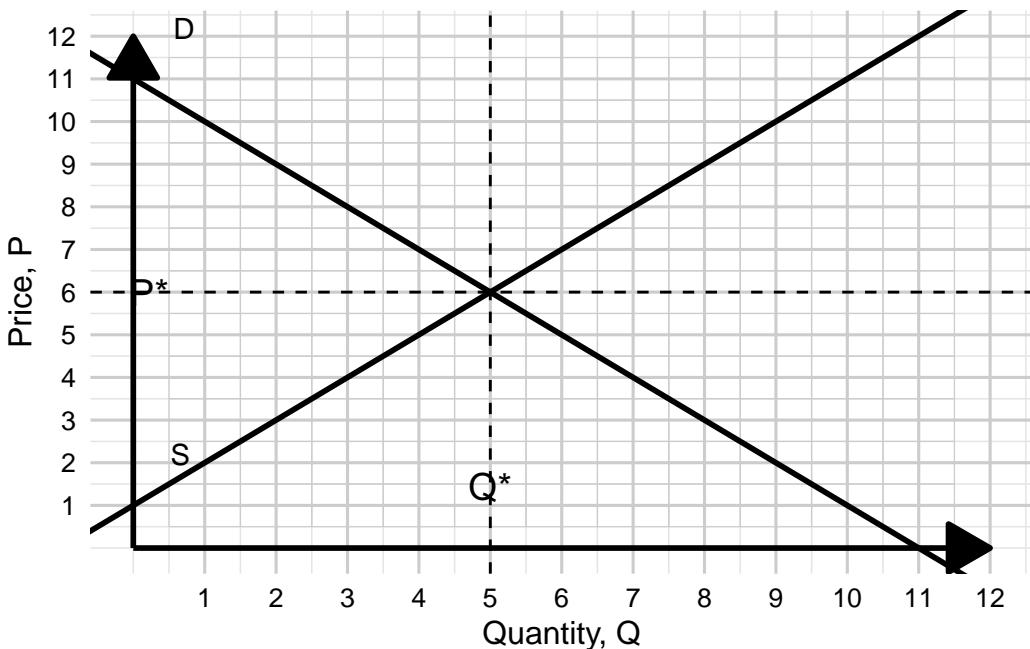
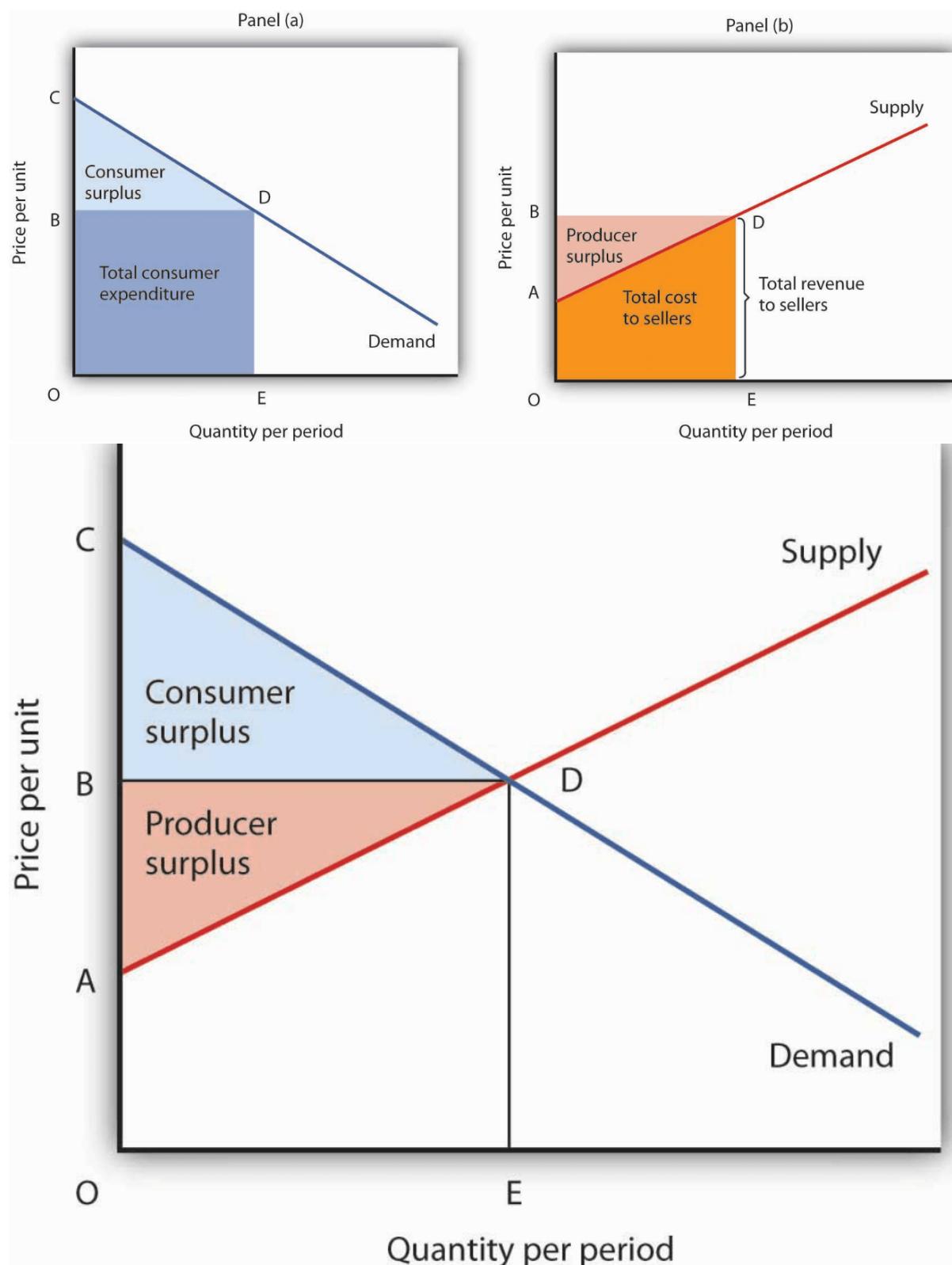


Figure 9.1: Consumer and producer surplus

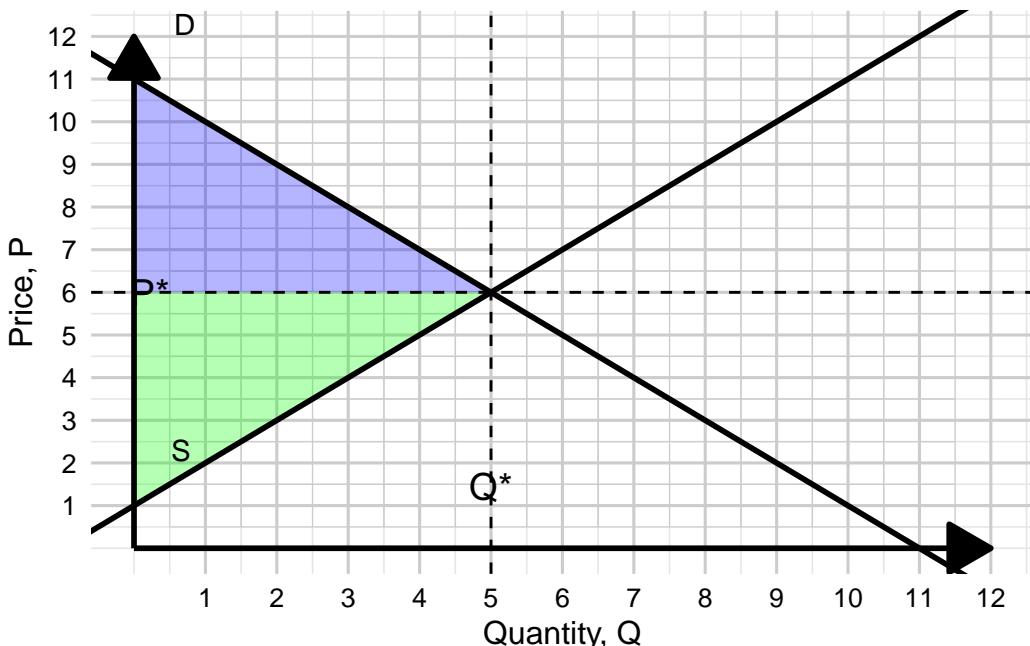


2. Using the diagram above, discuss the impact of a 16.6% value-added tax per unit sold (the price consumers now have to pay is 7 €) on the quantity traded. Calculate producer surplus, consumer surplus, and total welfare.

Solution

- As shown in Figure 9.3, the blue triangle represents consumer surplus, while the green triangle represents producer surplus. Both surpluses summed together give total welfare.
 - Consumer Surplus (CS) = 12,500
 - Producer Surplus (PS) = 12,500
 - Total Welfare (TW) = 25,000

Figure 9.3: Consumer and producer surplus



- After the introduction of a 16.6% value-added tax:
 - Consumer Surplus (CS) = 8,000
 - Producer Surplus (PS) = 8,000
 - Tax Revenue = 8,000
 - Total Welfare (TW) = 24,000

9.4 Summary

- Economists use the model of supply and demand to analyze competitive markets.
- In a competitive market, there are many buyers and sellers, each of whom has little or no influence on the market price.
- The demand curve shows how the quantity of a good depends on the price.
 - According to the law of demand, as the price of a good falls, the quantity demanded rises. Therefore, the demand curve slopes downward.
 - In addition to price, other determinants of how much consumers want to buy include income, the prices of complements and substitutes, tastes, expectations, and the number of buyers.
 - If one of these factors changes, the demand curve shifts.
- The supply curve shows how the quantity of a good supplied depends on the price.

- According to the law of supply, as the price of a good rises, the quantity supplied rises. Therefore, the supply curve slopes upward.
 - In addition to price, other determinants of how much producers want to sell include input prices, technology, expectations, and the number of sellers.
 - If one of these factors changes, the supply curve shifts.
- To analyze how any event influences a market, we use the supply and demand diagram to examine how the event affects the equilibrium price and quantity.
 - In market economies, prices are the signals that guide economic decisions and thereby allocate resources.
 - The equilibrium price is the price at which the quantity demanded equals the quantity supplied. It is determined by the intersection of the demand and supply curves.
 - A surplus exists if the quantity of a good or service supplied exceeds the quantity demanded at the current price; it causes downward pressure on price. A shortage exists if the quantity of a good or service demanded exceeds the quantity supplied at the current price; it causes upward pressure on price.
 - An increase in demand, all other things unchanged, will cause the equilibrium price to rise; quantity supplied will increase. A decrease in demand will cause the equilibrium price to fall; quantity supplied will decrease.
 - An increase in supply, all other things unchanged, will cause the equilibrium price to fall; quantity demanded will increase. A decrease in supply will cause the equilibrium price to rise; quantity demanded will decrease.
 - To determine what happens to equilibrium price and equilibrium quantity when both the supply and demand curves shift, you must know the direction each of the curves shifts and the extent to which each curve shifts.

Chapter 10

Monopoly

Recommended reading:

Emerson [2019], ch. 15, Anon [2020], ch. 10]

Learning objectives:

Students will be able to:

- Describe the characteristics and implications of a monopolistic market structure.
- Identify the relationship between price, marginal revenue, and marginal cost in a monopoly.
- Judge the market power of firms using concepts such as the Lerner index and price elasticity of demand.
- Investigate the effects of monopolistic pricing on consumer welfare and total welfare in a market.
- Discuss real-world examples of monopolies and the challenges they face in terms of competition and regulation.

A monopolist is a firm that is the only provider of a good or service. There is no close substitute to it. The ability of a monopolist to raise its price above the competitive level by reducing output is known as *market power*. This implies a loss of total welfare. In contrast with a perfectly competitive firm which faces a perfectly elastic demand (taking price as given), a monopolist faces the market demand. As a consequence, a monopolist has the power to set the market price. While we can consider a competitive firm as a *price taker*, a monopolist is price decision-maker or *price setter*. Firms that have to face fierce competition are more like price takers as they cannot set the price above the market price. If firms in perfect competition would set the price higher, all consumers would simply stop buying from that particular firm. That is not the case for a firm with market power, that is, a firm that has a product with unique features no other competitor has to offer.

10.1 Revenue and price relationship

There are two types of constraints that restrict the behavior of a monopolist (and any other firm):

- Technological constraints summarized in the cost function $C(x)$.
- Demand constraints: $x(p)$.

Thus, we can write the revenue (or profit) function of the monopolist in two alternative ways:

1. Either by using the demand function:

$$\pi(p) = px(p) - C(x(p))$$

2. Or by using the inverse demand function:

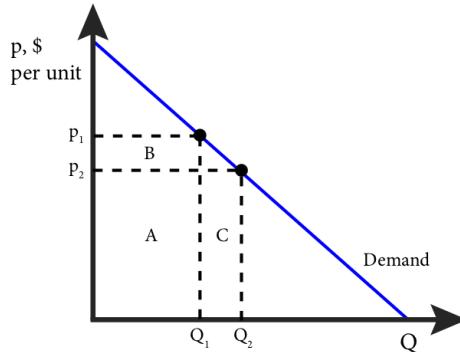
$$\pi(x) = p(x)x - C(x)$$

The demand, $x(p)$, and the inverse demand, $p(x)$, represent the same relationship between price and demanded quantity from different points of view. The demand function is a complete description of the demanded quantity at each price, whereas the inverse demand gives us the maximum price at which a given output x may be sold in the market.

Thus, an increase in production by a monopolist has two opposing effects on revenue:

- A **quantity effect**: one more unit is sold, increasing total revenue by the price at which the unit is sold.
- A **price effect**: in order to sell the last unit, the monopolist must cut the market price on all units sold. This decreases total revenue.

Figure 10.1: Price effects and revenue



Source: Graph is taken from [Emerson \[2019\]](#).

The two effects are shown in figure Figure 10.1: At price p_1 , the total revenue is $p_1 \cdot Q_1$, which is represented by the areas A+B. At price p_2 , the total revenue is $p_2 \cdot Q_2$, which is represented by the areas A+C. Area A is the same for both, so the marginal revenue is the difference between B and C or C-B. Note that area C is the price, p_2 , times the change in quantity, $Q_2 - Q_1$, or $p\Delta Q$; and area B is the quantity, Q_1 , times the change in price, $p_2 - p_1$, or $\Delta p \cdot Q$. Since $p_2 - p_1$ is negative, the change in total revenue is C-B or: $\Delta TR = p\Delta Q + \Delta p \cdot Q$. Dividing both sides by ΔQ gives us an expression for marginal revenue:

$$MR = \frac{\Delta TR}{\Delta Q} = \underbrace{p}_{\text{quantity effect}} + \underbrace{Q \frac{\Delta p}{\Delta Q}}_{\text{price effect}}$$

10.2 Profit maximization

To find the profit-maximizing price and quantity, respectively, we should look at the first-order conditions:

$$\begin{aligned} \max_p \pi(p) &\equiv \max_p px(p) - C(x(p)) \\ \frac{\partial \pi(p)}{\partial p} &= \pi'(p) = x(p) + px'(p) - C'(x(p))x'(p) \stackrel{!}{=} 0 \end{aligned}$$

or

$$\begin{aligned}
 \max_p \pi(x) &\equiv \max_x p(x)x - C(x) \\
 \frac{\partial \pi(x)}{\partial x} = \pi'(p) &= \underbrace{p(x)}_{\text{quantity effect}} + \underbrace{xp'(x)}_{\text{price effect}} - C'(x) \stackrel{!}{=} 0 \\
 \Rightarrow \underbrace{p(x) + xp'(x)}_{\text{marginal revenue}} &= \underbrace{C'(x)}_{\text{marginal costs}} \\
 \Rightarrow MR &= MC
 \end{aligned}$$

At the profit-maximizing level of output, **marginal revenue equals marginal cost**, that is, an infinitesimal change in the level of output changes revenue and cost equally. In other words, an infinitesimal increase in the level of output increases revenue and cost by the same amount, and an infinitesimal decrease in the level of output reduces revenue and cost by the same amount.

Thus, we can determine a monopoly firm's profit-maximizing price and output by following three steps:

1. Determine the demand, marginal revenue, and marginal cost curves.
2. Select the output level at which the marginal revenue and marginal cost curves intersect.
3. Determine from the demand curve the price at which that output can be sold.

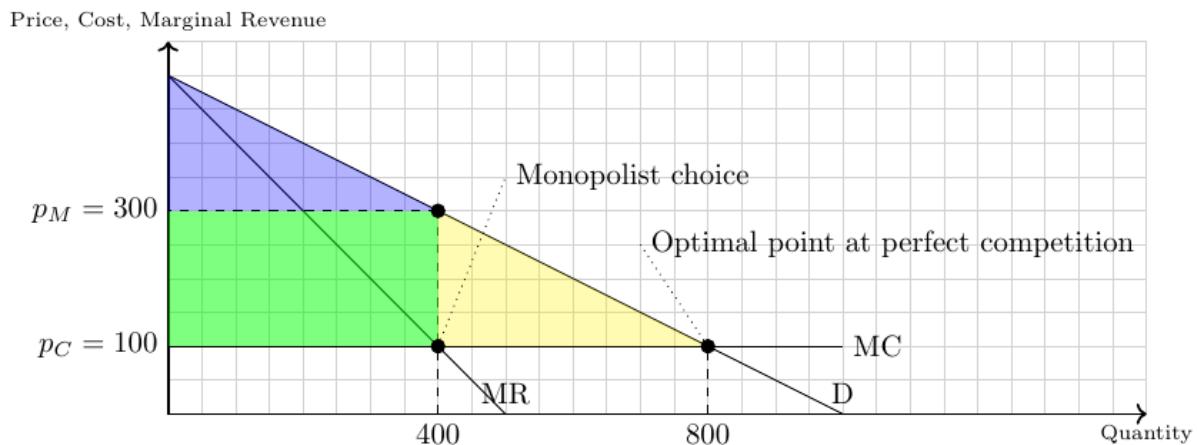
10.3 Price effect

Due to the price effect of an increase in output, the marginal revenue curve of a firm with market power always lies below its demand curve. So, a profit-maximizing monopolist chooses the output level at which marginal cost is equal to marginal revenue—not equal to price. As a result, the monopolist **produces less and sells its output at a higher price than a perfectly competitive industry would**. It earns a profit in the short run and the long run.

10.4 Welfare loss

As illustrated in Figure Figure 10.2, the price-setting behavior of a monopolist typically leads to a reduction in overall welfare: The shaded green area represents the *monopoly profit*, and the blue area denotes the *consumer surplus*, the sum of both constitute the total welfare. The yellow triangle represents the deadweight loss, indicating the welfare that is lost due to the monopolist producing fewer goods at a higher price than in a competitive market. The horizontal line at $p = 100$ represents the marginal costs (MC).

Figure 10.2: Price setting of a monopolist



10.5 Market power

We know that the demand elasticity of price can be measured with:

$$\frac{\Delta p/\bar{p}}{\Delta x/\bar{x}}.$$

Using differential calculus, the point-price elasticity of demand (PPD) can be written as:

$$PPD = \frac{\partial p(x)}{\partial x} \cdot \frac{x}{p(x)}$$

This can also be expressed as:

$$PPD = p'(x) \frac{x}{p(x)} = x \frac{p'(x)}{p(x)}$$

Thus, if $PPD = 0$, the price does not change if a single firm increases its quantity sold on the market. That means the firms are price takers, and their quantity sold has no impact on the price. If firms, however, have market power, $PPD < 0$, which means that if a firm increases the quantity on the market, the price must fall. **The PPD can hence be interpreted as an indicator of the market power of firms.**

10.6 Marginal revenue

Now, plugging the PPD into the MR function, we can show that MR is equal to zero when we have a unit demand elasticity, PPD, of -1 :

$$MR = p(x) + xp'(x) = p(x) \left(1 + x \frac{p'(x)}{p(x)} \right) = p(x) (1 + PPD)$$

Also see figure Figure 10.3. In the monopoly output, marginal revenue and marginal cost are equal:

$$MC = p(x) \cdot (1 + PPD)$$

10.7 Lerner index

The Lerner index is a measure of monopoly power, which equals the markup over marginal cost as a percentage of price. To obtain the Lerner index of monopoly power (or market power), let us rearrange $MC = p(x) \cdot (1 + PPD)$ as follows:

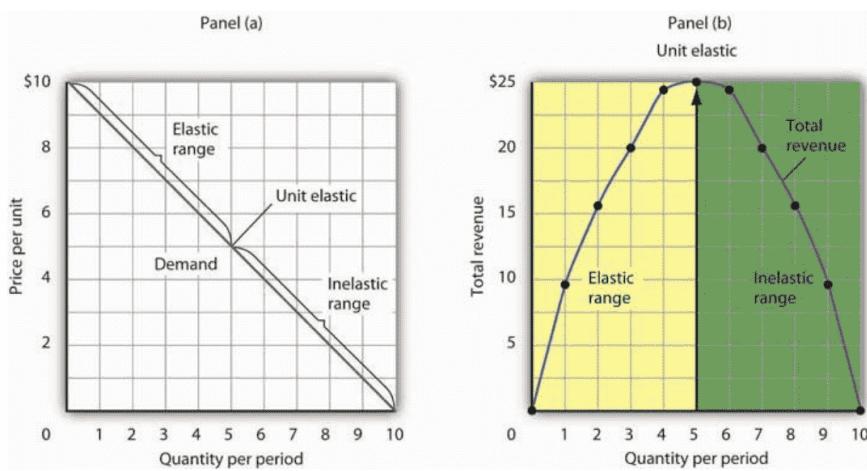
$$\frac{MC - p(x)}{p(x)} = PPD = \text{Lerner Index}$$

If a firm does not have market power ($PPD = 0$), its price equals the marginal cost. When a firm's market power is high (up to $|PPD| = \infty$), the higher the markup that a firm sets. In perfect competition, since p and MC are equal, the Lerner Index is 0. A pure monopolist, on the other hand, can theoretically charge an infinite markup, which leads us to a Lerner index of 1.

Exercise 10.1. Marginal revenue and total revenue

Show the relationship between a linear demand curve and the marginal revenue curve in one panel and the relationship of the quantity sold and the total revenue in another panel. What characterizes the price of a profit maximizing monopolist?

Figure 10.3: Price setting of a monopolist



Suppose a monopolist faces the downward-sloping demand curve shown in Panel (a). In order to increase the quantity sold, it must cut the price. Total revenue is found by multiplying the price and quantity sold at each price. Total revenue, plotted in Panel (b), is maximized at \$25, when the quantity sold is 5 units and the price is \$5. At that point on the demand curve, the price elasticity of demand equals -1 .

Source: Anon [2020], p. 344]

Solution

See: Emerson [2019, ch. 15.2]: 15.2 Profit Maximization for Monopolists, which is available [here](#).

Exercise 10.2. How to maximize profits

A company sold a quantity of 750 goods ($Q_{t=1} = 750$) in January ($t = 1$), at a price of 45 Euro ($P_{t=1} = 45$). In February ($t = 2$), they reduced the price to 40 Euro ($P_{t=2} = 40$) and sold 800 goods ($Q_{t=2} = 800$). Now answer the following questions knowing that the total costs had been 26,500 € in January and 28,000 € in February.

1. Derive the (linear) demand function.
2. Derive the cost function.
3. Derive the revenue function.
4. Derive the marginal revenue function.
5. Derive the marginal cost function.
6. Calculate the profit-maximizing price and output.
7. Calculate the amount of profit in January, February, and what the company can expect by setting the prices profit-maximizing.

Solution

1. The demand function can be derived using the point-slope formula¹ and one sales point:

$$P - 40 = -\frac{1}{10}(Q - 800) \quad (10.1)$$

$$\Leftrightarrow P = 120 - \frac{1}{10}Q \quad (10.2)$$

$$\Leftrightarrow Q = 1200 - 10P \quad (10.3)$$

2. Total costs (TC) are given by fixed costs (FC) and variable costs (VC):

$$TC = FC + \underbrace{VC}_{MC \cdot Q} = FC + MC \cdot Q.$$

MC denotes marginal costs. Solving the system of equations:

$$26500 = FC + 750 \cdot MC$$

$$28000 = FC + 800 \cdot MC$$

we find that ($MC = 30$) and ($FC = 4000$). The cost function is:

$$TC = 4000 + 30 \cdot Q.$$

3. The revenue function is given by:

$$TR = P \cdot Q(P).$$

Plugging the demand function in gives:

$$TR(Q) = 120Q - \frac{1}{10}Q^2.$$

4. The marginal revenue function is:

$$\frac{\partial TR(Q)}{\partial Q} = 120 - \frac{2}{10}Q.$$

5. The marginal cost function is:

$$MC = 30$$

(as found in step 3).

6. Setting ($MC = MR$), we find the optimal quantity:

$$30 = 120 - \frac{2}{10}Q \Rightarrow Q^* = 450.$$

Plugging (Q^*) into the demand function, we find the optimal price:

$$P = 120 - \frac{1}{10} \cdot 450 = 75.$$

7. Profit (π) is given by $\pi = TR - TC$:

$$\pi_{t=1} = 1200 \cdot 75 - 10 \cdot 75^2 - 4000 - 30 \cdot 750 = 7250$$

$$\pi_{t=2} = 1200 \cdot 75 - 10 \cdot 75^2 - 4000 + 30 \cdot 800 = 4000$$

$$\pi_{t=3} = 12$$

10.8 Price discrimination

Discrimination is the practice of treating people differently based on some (irrelevant) characteristic, such as race or gender. It is important to actively fight discrimination whenever it is observed. However, the concept of discrimination takes a different form when it comes to *price discrimination*, which is a business practice involving the sale of the same goods at different prices to different buyers. This practice can be commonly seen in special offers tailored for students or retired individuals.

One of the key factors utilized in price discrimination is the willingness to pay (WTP) of individuals. By charging a higher price to buyers with a higher WTP, a firm can maximize its profit. Moreover, and that is kind of surprising, it also comes with an increase in social welfare as is shown in figure Figure 10.5 and figure Figure 10.5. In Figure 10.5, the monopolist charges the same price (PM) to all buyers. A deadweight loss results. In Figure 10.5, however, the monopolist produces the competitive quantity but charges each buyer his or her WTP. This is called perfect price discrimination. The monopolist captures all consumer surplus as profit. But there is no deadweight loss.

¹ $y_2 - y_1 = m(x_2 - x_1)$

Figure 10.4: Monopoly without price discrimination and welfare

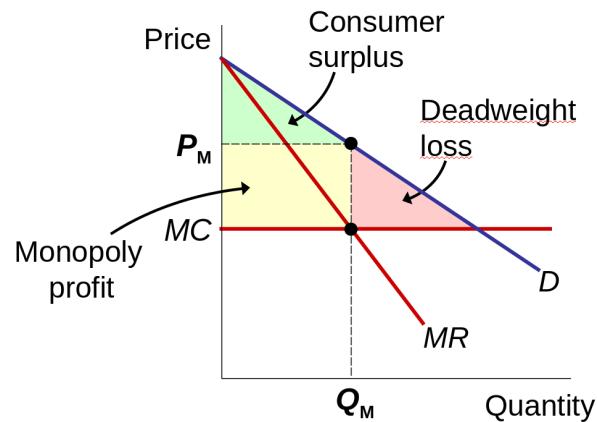
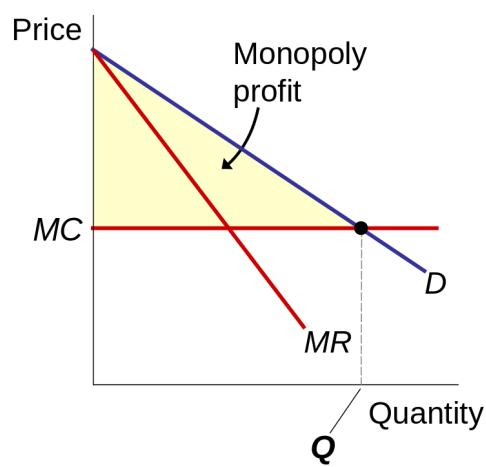


Figure 10.5: Monopoly with price discrimination and welfare



In the real world, price discrimination is a common phenomenon, but achieving perfect price discrimination is highly challenging. This is primarily because no firm possesses complete knowledge of every buyer's willingness to pay (WTP), and buyers typically do not disclose this information to sellers. Consequently, firms often divide customers into groups based on observables that are likely correlated with their WTP.

Part III

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

Chapter 11

Monetary international economics

Students learn to...

- ... interpret exchange rates and relate their changes to the relative prices of countries' goods.
- ... predict the impact of exchange rate changes on business decisions and national economies.
- ... understand the linkage between interest rates and inflation in open economies.
- ... explain the interest rate parity condition and the purchasing power parity assumption.
- ... interpret and evaluate the balances of trade and

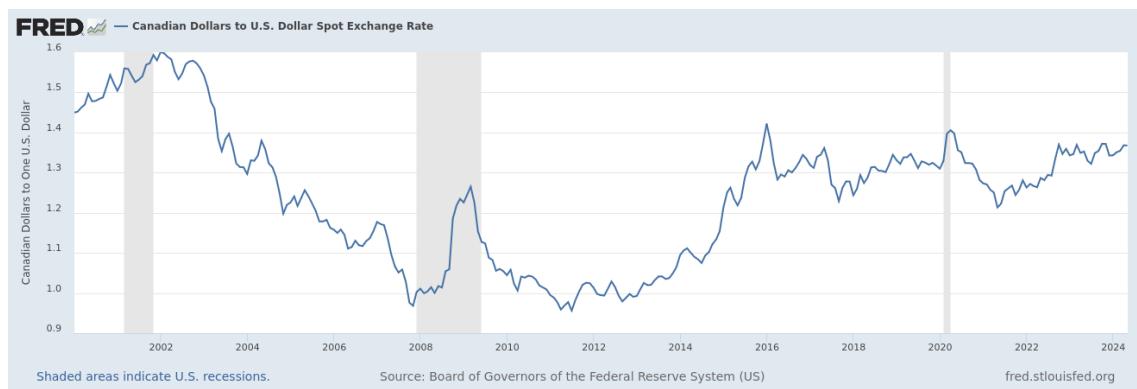
11.1 Currencies

An exchange rate indicates the value of one currency in relation to another. Exchange rate fluctuations have a significant impact on the revenues, costs, and profits of businesses; they affect how much you can afford to spend and can even influence job security.

Please work on the questions posed in Exercise 11.1 and Exercise 11.2. They are designed to motivate an introduction the topic.

Exercise 11.1. Exchange rates over time

Figure 11.1: Canadian Dollars to U.S. Dollar Exchange Rate



- a) As can be seen in Figure 11.1, 1 United States Dollar (USD) equals about 1.38 Canadian Dollar (CAD) today. Since January 2002, has the USD depreciated (lost value) or appreciated (gained value) against the CAD? Explain your decision.

Solution

- a) To determine whether the USD has depreciated or appreciated against the CAD since January 2002, we need to compare the current exchange rate to the rate from January 2002. The exchange rate in January 2002 was about

$$1\text{USD} = 1.6\text{CAD}.$$

The exchange rate in January 2024 is about

$$1\text{USD} = 1.38\text{CAD}.$$

That means, if you convert 1 USD in 2024, you get less CAD as compared to converting 1 USD in January 2002. In other words, it takes less CAD in 2024 to get 1 USD compared to the year 2002. Thus, the USD has *depreciated* against the CAD. In turn, the CAD has *appreciated*.

- b) Assume that in January 2002, you exchanged a total of 2000 USD to Canadian Dollars (CAD) at a rate of 1.6 CAD per USD. Calculate how much that amount is worth today in USD.

Solution

- b) Having exchanged 2000 CAD into USD in 2002 at an exchange rate of \$ 1 USD = 1.6 CAD\$ leaves you with

$$2000 \text{ USD} \cdot 1.6 \frac{\text{CAD}}{\text{USD}} = 3200 \text{ CAD}.$$

If you convert these 3200 CAD to USD in 2024 at an exchange rate of USD = 1.38CAD you end up with

$$3200\text{CAD} \cdot \frac{1}{1.38} \frac{\text{USD}}{\text{CAD}} \approx 2318.84 \text{ USD}.$$

This means that you end up with USD 318.84 more, which corresponds to an increase of around 15.9%. The reason for this gain is that you have invested in a currency that has appreciated. Therefore, holding a currency can be considered a form of investment.

- c) Suppose you have 1000 USD today, that is January 2024, and you plan to invest it in a Canadian fund that assures you a 2% annual interest rate.
- Calculate how much USD you'll have after one year if the exchange rate remains on its current level of 1.38 CAD per USD.
 - Calculate how much USD you'll have after one year if the exchange rate slightly changes to 1.42 CAD per USD.

Solution

c) First, you convert your USD to CAD in January 2024:

$$1000 \text{ USD} \cdot 1.38 \frac{\text{CAD}}{\text{USD}} = 1380 \text{ CAD}.$$

Then, you invest the CAD receiving 2% of interest after 1 year:

$$1380 \text{ CAD} \cdot 1.02 = 1407.6 \text{ CAD}.$$

Finally, you convert the CAD back to USD

i) at the rate 1.38 CAD per USD:

$$1407.6 \text{ CAD} \cdot \frac{1 \text{ USD}}{1.38 \text{ CAD}} = 1020 \text{ USD}.$$

ii) at the rate 1.42 CAD per USD:

$$1407.6 \text{ CAD} \cdot \frac{1 \text{ USD}}{1.42 \text{ CAD}} \approx 991.27 \text{ USD}.$$

This means that if you expect the exchange rate to remain unchanged, the Canadian fund could be a reasonable investment, offering a 2% return. However, if you anticipate that the CAD will depreciate by more than 2%, it would not be a profitable investment.

Exercise 11.2. Our relations are not good

Figure 11.2: Trump doubles metal tariffs on Turkey by 20%

Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump

Folge ich 

I have just authorized a doubling of Tariffs on Steel and Aluminum with respect to Turkey as their currency, the Turkish Lira, slides rapidly downward against our very strong Dollar! Aluminum will now be 20% and Steel 50%. Our relations with Turkey are not good at this time!

 Tweet übersetzen

05:47 - 10. Aug. 2018

36.145 Retweets 119.672 „Gefällt mir“-Angaben



 48 Tsd.  36 Tsd.  120 Tsd. 

Source: Twitter

Why is Trump implicitly expressing concerns about the weak Lira and the strong Dollar? Would he prefer a “strong” Turkish Lira and a “weak” Dollar? What factors actually contribute to his satisfaction? Can you understand the logic behind President Trump’s decision to double metal tariffs in response to the decline of the Turkish Lira (see Figure 11.2)? Discuss.

11.1.1 Exchange rates

The most important economic indicators frequently discussed in the media and politics are Gross Domestic Product (GDP)¹, the policy rate², and the inflation rate³. These measures are designed to explain the functioning of economic markets and guide policymakers. However, the exchange rate is used less frequently in political and public debates, which I believe is a significant oversight for several reasons.

Firstly, similar to the aforementioned measures, exchange rate movements have a substantial impact on both markets and individuals. Moreover, the exchange rate serves as an accurate measure that reflects real market movements more quickly than most other indicators. Overall, a solid understanding of exchange rates is crucial for making informed decisions, managing financial risks, optimizing operations, and strategically positioning companies in the global marketplace.

Before I explain this in greater detail, let me share my explanations for why the exchange rate is relatively unnoticed in public debates:

- **Complexity of interpretation:** It is comparatively difficult to interpret. GDP should be rising, while the inflation and policy rates should ideally be low. In contrast, the exchange rate is not so straightforward because there isn't a universally optimal exchange rate that everyone hopes for. The ideal rate depends on many factors, such as whether you want to buy goods from abroad or sell them to the rest of the world. Different stakeholders and investors will have varying preferences about the exchange rate. Many people, especially politicians, avoid the complexities of "it depends" arguments because it is challenging to make convincing cases based on intricate relationships.
- **Volatility:** The exchange rate is comparatively volatile, and its changes are difficult to predict.
- **Multiple exchange rates:** There isn't just one exchange rate; there are many, as any currency can be exchanged for any other currency. This means that a country's exchange rate may rise against currency A but fall against currency B.
- **Limited political influence:** The power of politics to directly and measurably influence a country's exchange rate is limited.
- **Understanding requirements:** The impact of exchange rate movements on our lives requires a solid understanding of economic markets, which many people lack.

While I cannot change the factors that contribute to the limited discussion of exchange rates, I can work to help you make sense of this topic. Before discussing the importance of the exchange rate in Section 11.1.3, let's first define the rate:

Exchange Rate

The price of one currency in terms of another is called an exchange rate. Exchange rates allow us to compare the prices of goods and services across countries, determining a country's relative prices for exports and imports.

To define the rate more formally, suppose the Euro (€) is the home currency and Turkish Lira (₺) the foreign currency, then the exchange rate in direct quotation (Preisnotierung) is

$$E^{\frac{\epsilon}{\text{₺}}} = \frac{X\epsilon}{Y\text{₺}}$$

and the exchange rate in indirect quotation (Mengennotierung) is

$$E^{\frac{\text{₺}}{\epsilon}} = \frac{Y\text{₺}}{X\epsilon}.$$

Both rates contain the same information, but have different interpretations:

- $E^{\frac{\epsilon}{\text{₺}}}$ tells that we have to give X € to receive Y ₺, whereas
- $E^{\frac{\text{₺}}{\epsilon}}$ tells that we have to give Y ₺ to receive X €.

¹The total value added of a country in a given period

²The interest rate set by a central bank that influences the lending and borrowing rates of commercial banks to control inflation, manage employment levels, and stabilize the currency

³The percentage increase in the general price level of goods and services in an economy over a given period

Alternative interpretations:

- $E^{\frac{€}{\$}}$ tells that we have to give $\frac{X}{Y} €$ to receive 1 \$, whereas
- $E^{\frac{\$}{€}}$ tells that we have to give $\frac{Y}{X} \$$ to receive 1 €.

Appreciation / Depreciation

A currency can appreciate or depreciate relative to other currencies.

- If the € appreciates, $E^{\frac{€}{\$}}$ decreases and $E^{\frac{\$}{€}}$ increases.
- If the € depreciates, $E^{\frac{€}{\$}}$ increases and $E^{\frac{\$}{€}}$ decreases.

Conventions to talk about exchange rates:

- *Euro to Dollar* means $\frac{€}{\$}$ (This is especially confusing and it can also be understood the other way round but the first currency mentioned is *usually* interpreted as the numerator)
- *Euro per Dollar* means $\frac{€}{\$}$
- *Euro in Dollar* means $\frac{\$}{€}$
- *1 Euro costs X Dollars* means $X \frac{\$}{€}$

Exercise 11.3. Interpret the exchange rate representations shown in Figure 11.3. Consider the Euro as the home currency and write the most recent currency rates of the four figures in direct quotation.

Figure 11.3: Euro to Dollar



Solution

The exchange rate in direct quotation is:

a)

$$E^{\frac{\epsilon}{\$}} = \frac{X\epsilon}{Y\$} = \frac{1\epsilon}{1,0212\$} = 0.97924011 \frac{\epsilon}{\$}$$

Figure 11.3a is denoted in indirect quotation. From April 2014 to July 2022 the Euro depreciated as one Euro was equivalent to 1.3823 Dollar in April 2014 and only 1.0212 Dollar in July 2022.

b)

$$E^{\frac{\epsilon}{\$}} = \frac{X\epsilon}{Y\$} = 1$$

Figure 11.3b is denoted in direct quotation. From early 2018 to mid 2022 the Euro depreciated as one Dollar was equivalent to 0.80 Euro in early 2018 and 1.00 Euro in mid 2022.

c)

$$E^{\frac{\epsilon}{\$}} = \frac{X\epsilon}{Y\$} = \frac{1\epsilon}{1,1050\$} = 0.904977376 \frac{\epsilon}{\$}$$

Figure 11.3c is denoted in indirect quotation. From the beginning of the graph somewhaten 2019 till 9th of September 2024 the Euro depreciated as one Euro was equivalent to 1.1680 Dollar in 2019 and is now worth 1.1050 Dollar in July 2022.

d)

$$E^{\frac{\epsilon}{\$}} = \frac{X\epsilon}{Y\$} = \frac{1\epsilon}{1,0212\$} = 0.904731747 \frac{\epsilon}{\$}$$

Figure 11.3d is denoted in indirect quotation. For example, from the 2nd of January 2021 to the 9th of September 2024 the Euro depreciated as one Euro was equivalent to 1.2011 Dollar in January 2021 and 1.1053 Dollar in July 2022.

Please note that Googles “EUR / USD” notation is misleading as it does not mean that the exchange rate is denoted in direct quotation, that is, $\frac{X\epsilon}{Y\$}$.

Exercise 11.4. Exchange currencies

Suppose 1 US Dollar (USD) is equivalent to 1.20 Euros (EUR).

- a) Calculate the equivalent amount in Euros if a person exchanges 500 US Dollars.
- b) If the exchange rate changes to $1.15 \frac{USD}{EUR}$, recalculate the equivalent amount in Euros for the same 500 US Dollars.
- c) If the exchange rate changes to $1.15 \frac{USD}{EUR}$, has the Euro appreciated or depreciated?
- d) A European tourist plans to spend 1,000 Euros during a trip to the United States. Calculate the equivalent amount in US Dollars at the exchange rate of $1.15 \frac{EUR}{USD}$.

Solution

- a) The equivalent amount in Euros for exchanging 500 US Dollars at the initial exchange rate of (1.20 , USD/EUR) is given by:

$$\text{Equivalent Euros} = \frac{500 \text{ USD}}{1.20 \text{ USD/EUR}}$$

- b) If the exchange rate changes to (1.15 , USD/EUR), the new equivalent amount in Euros is:

$$\text{New Equivalent Euros} = \frac{500 \text{ USD}}{1.15 \text{ USD/EUR}}$$

- c) The equivalent amount in US Dollars for spending 1,000 Euros at the initial exchange rate is:

$$\text{Equivalent USD} = 1,000 \text{ EUR} \times 1.20 \text{ USD/EUR}$$

- d) If the European tourist exchanges their money at the changed rate of (1.15 , USD/EUR), the new equivalent amount in US Dollars is:

$$\text{New Equivalent USD} = 1,000 \text{ EUR} \times 1.15 \text{ USD/EUR}$$

11.1.2 Relative prices and exchange rates

After understanding the concept of exchange rates, let us consider how trade in goods between two countries operates when each country uses a different currency as its legal tender.

Let us consider a stylized example: Assume the home country produces beer and the foreign country produces wine. If you want to exchange a beer for wine, the relative price indicates the amount of beer you need to provide in order to receive a unit of wine (in direct quotation) or the quantity of wine you will receive for a unit of beer (in indirect quotation).

For example, a relative price of 1 means you can exchange 1 liter of beer for 1 liter of wine. However, if we assume that beer is measured in 500 ml cans and wine in 1-liter bottles, the relative price denoted with $P_{\text{wine}}^{\text{beer}}$ would be represented as:

$$P_{\text{wine}}^{\text{beer}} = \frac{2 \text{ cans of beer}}{1 \text{ bottle of wine}}.$$

This means you can exchange 2 cans of beer for one bottle of wine.

If the relative price increases, you will need to provide more beer to receive a bottle of wine. Conversely, if the relative price decreases, you will need to provide less beer to obtain a bottle of wine.

i Relative prices

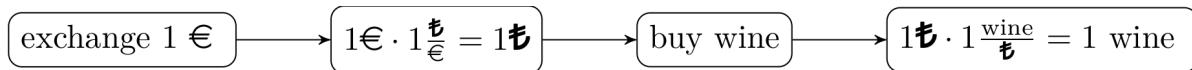
Relative prices determine the relative price of commodities across countries. For example, an increase in the price of foreign commodities makes imported commodities relatively more expensive and home commodities relatively cheaper for buyers at home.

Relative prices are (directly) determined by exchange rates. To logically prove this statement, let us assume for simplicity an exchange rate of 1,

$$E^{\text{t}} = E^{\text{e}} = 1$$

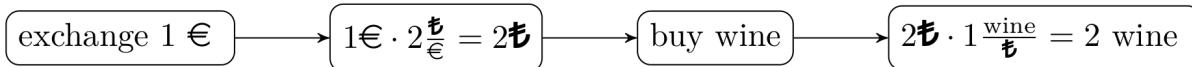
and that a liter of beer costs 1 € at home and a wine costs 1 ₣ abroad. Thus, we can buy both a wine or a beer for 1 €. Due to the fact that we must pay the wine producer with ₣, we must convert the € beforehand. The process goes like visualized in Figure 11.4:

Figure 11.4: One wine per Euro



Now, assume that the € appreciates and the exchange rate becomes $E^{\frac{\text{₺}}{\text{€}}} = 0.5$ and $E^{\frac{\text{€}}{\text{₺}}} = 2$, respectively. Then, you receive more than one wine if we assume that the price of wine in ₺ remains unchanged. The process is visualized in Figure 11.5:

Figure 11.5: Two wine per Euro



That means, exchange rates determine the relative prices. If the home currency appreciates (depreciates), buying goods and services abroad becomes relatively cheaper (more expensive).

Of course, if many people now buy wine and aim to convert € to ₺, this may impact the exchange rate and the price of wine. We come back to that later.

Exchange rates and relative prices

The exchange rate determines the relative price of commodities across countries. For example, an appreciation of a currency makes commodities more expensive for foreign buyers and in turn makes foreign commodities cheaper for buyers at home.

11.1.3 The importance of exchange rates

Here is an incomplete list of arguments to emphasize the importance of exchange rates for economies, businesses, and individuals:

- **Import/export costs:** Exchange rate fluctuations determine the relative prices and hence affect the cost of importing goods and materials and the global demand for domestic products. An appreciation of the home currency makes imports relatively cheaper but exports more expensive for the rest of the world, while depreciation has the opposite effect.
- **Revenue conversion:** Multinational companies earn revenues in multiple currencies. Exchange rate changes can significantly impact the value of these revenues when converted back to the home currency, affecting overall profitability.
- **Foreign investments:** Companies investing in foreign assets or operations need to understand exchange rates to forecast returns accurately and manage exchange rate risk.
- **Risk management:** Knowledge of exchange rates enables businesses to hedge against currency risk using financial instruments like forwards, futures, options, and swaps. This is crucial for stabilizing cash flows and protecting profit margins.
- **Market competitiveness:** Exchange rates affect the relative cost competitiveness of goods and services in international markets. Companies need to understand these implications to price their products competitively and make strategic decisions about entering or exiting markets.
- **Macroeconomic insights:** Exchange rates are influenced by and also affect economic indicators such as inflation, interest rates, and economic growth. Understanding these relationships helps in making informed predictions about market conditions.
- **Contractual agreements:** Businesses engaged in international trade must understand exchange rates to negotiate and structure contracts effectively, determining terms such as the currency of payment and exchange rate clauses.
- **Government and Policy Understanding:** Exchange rates are often influenced by governmental and central bank policies. Understanding the dynamics between exchange rates and policy decisions is vital for anticipating regulatory changes and their potential impact on business operations.

11.1.4 Trump, relative prices, and trade policy

Let's return to Trump's Twitter message . Steel producers in the U.S. (and Donald Trump himself) are unhappy about a strong dollar (and a weak Turkish Lira) because it makes their products relatively expensive for Turkish buyers while making Turkish steel relatively cheap for U.S. consumers.

Trump had two options to address this issue: altering the exchange rates or adjusting the relative prices of goods between countries. Changing the exchange rate directly is a challenging task. Although buying or selling currencies on the foreign exchange market can influence exchange rates, the market is so large that the actions Trump could take as President would have minimal impact (see Section 11.1.5). Adjusting policy rates could influence exchange rates more effectively, as we will discuss in Section 11.2. However, the Federal Reserve, which sets policy rates and thus has an impact on interest rates, operates independently from political orders. Consequently, Trump's influence over their decisions is limited.

As a result, Trump chose to increase the price of foreign steel in the U.S. by introducing or raising tariffs. The approach works, American steel producing companies get protected from foreign competition and might sell more domestically. However, there many negative consequences that deteriorate the overall welfare. Foremost, everybody in the U.S. must pay more for steel (and for products made with steel and aluminum). David Boaz, Executive Vice President of the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank, highlights this issue in his response on Twitter (see Figure 11.6).

Figure 11.6: Who wins in the end?



Source: Twitter

To quantify the costs of Mr. Trump's tariffs, let me quote the well-written article by Amiti et al. [2019] (p. 188-189):

"We find that by December 2018, import tariffs were costing US consumers and the firms that import foreign goods an additional \$3.2 billion per month in added tax costs and another \$1.4 billion per month in deadweight welfare (efficiency) losses. Tariffs have also changed the pricing behavior of US producers by protecting them from foreign competition and enabling them to raise prices and markups, and we estimate that the combined effects of input and output tariffs have raised the average price of US manufacturing by 1 percentage point, which compares with an annual average rate of producer price inflation from 1990 to 2018 of just over 2 percentage points. US tariffs and the foreign retaliatory tariffs also affect international supply chains, and we estimate that if the tariffs that were in place by the end of 2018 were to continue, approximately \$165 billion of trade per year will continue to be redirected in order to avoid the tariffs. We also show that the rise in tariffs has reduced the variety of products available to consumers."

In addition, it can be argued that increased tariffs might actually make the dollar stronger. If buyers stop purchasing steel from Turkey due to higher tariffs, they will need fewer Turkish lira and therefore will exchange fewer U.S. dollars for Turkish lira. This reduced demand for Turkish lira could lead to a stronger dollar.

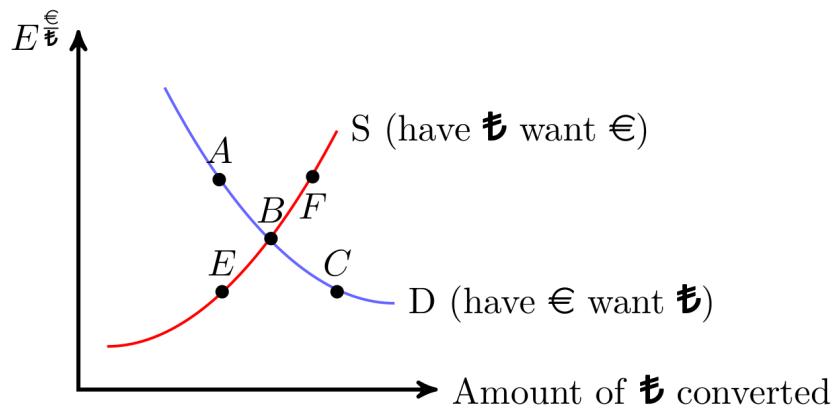
While raising tariffs and initiating trade disputes could be a strategy to gain political support and possibly get re-elected, there is a general consensus among economists that raising tariffs usually leads to economic losses and detrimental outcomes for all countries involved.

11.1.5 The FOREX

11.1.5.1 The market

In a market, individuals exchange goods and services, offering something to receive something else in return. In the FOREX (foreign exchange market), participants exchange currencies. Like all markets, the price here is influenced by the supply and demand dynamics of currencies.

Figure 11.7: Example of a foreign exchange market



- When the Euro (€) is considered strong, the exchange rate $E^{\frac{\text{€}}{\text{₺}}}$ is low:
 - At this lower exchange rate, there's a high demand for Turkish Lira (₺) (point C), but the supply of ₺ is scarce (point E).
 - Consequently, the Euro faces depreciation pressure, leading to an increase in the exchange rate $E^{\frac{\text{€}}{\text{₺}}} \uparrow$.
- Conversely, when the Euro (€) is weak, the exchange rate $E^{\frac{\text{€}}{\text{₺}}}$ is high:
 - With the exchange rate high, the demand for ₺ drops (point A), while its supply burgeons (point F).
 - As a result, the Euro is under appreciation pressure, causing the exchange rate to decrease $E^{\frac{\text{€}}{\text{₺}}} \downarrow$.
- Point B represents the equilibrium exchange rate, where the demand for ₺ meets its supply. At this juncture, holders of ₺ are unwilling to part with more, and similarly, Euro holders are not inclined to exchange more.

In 2022, the daily (!) traded volume of currencies averaged approximately \$ 7,506 billion, as highlighted in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1: Daily turnover of global foreign exchange market from 2001 to 2022 (in billion U.S. dollars)

name	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Total	1.239	1.934	3.324	3.973	5.357	5.066	6.581	7.506
USD	1.114	1.702	2.845	3.371	4.662	4.437	5.811	6.639
EUR	470	724	1.231	1.551	1.790	1.590	2.126	2.292
JPY	292	403	573	754	1.235	1.096	1.108	1.253
GBP	162	319	494	512	633	649	843	968
CNY	0	2	15	34	120	202	285	526
AUD	54	116	220	301	463	349	446	479
CAD	56	81	143	210	244	260	332	466
CHF	74	117	227	250	276	243	326	390
All others combined	170	251	568	786	1124	1223	1921	2093

Note: All others combined are: HKD, SGD, SEK, KRW, NOK, NZD, INR, MXN, TWD, ZAR, BRL, DKK, PLN, THB, ILS, IDR, CZK, AED, TRY, HUF, CLP, SAR, PHP, MYR.

Source: <https://github.com/TheEconomist/big-mac-data> (July 18, 2018).

11.1.5.2 Actors on the FOREX

As indicated in Figure 11.8, there are several major players involved in trading on the foreign exchange market. In particular, commercial banks, multinational corporations and non-bank financial institutions, such as investment funds, play an important role in trading and speculation. Central banks also play a

crucial role as they intervene to stabilize their national currency and thus influence the direction of the market.

Figure 11.8: Players on the foreign exchange market



11.1.5.3 The vehicle currency

Instead of converting directly between two less common currencies, it's more efficient to use a broadly accepted and stable currency as a vehicle. That means, if you want to exchange currency A to B. You do not exchange currency A directly to B but you convert currency A first to the vehicle currency C and then from C to B.

As depicted in Figure 11.9, around 32% of all currency transactions included the Euro while a notable 88% involved the U.S. Dollar which makes the Dollar the standard vehicle currency. The Dollar acts as a medium in transactions between currencies that do not directly trade with high volume. This can reduce transaction costs and streamline the process.

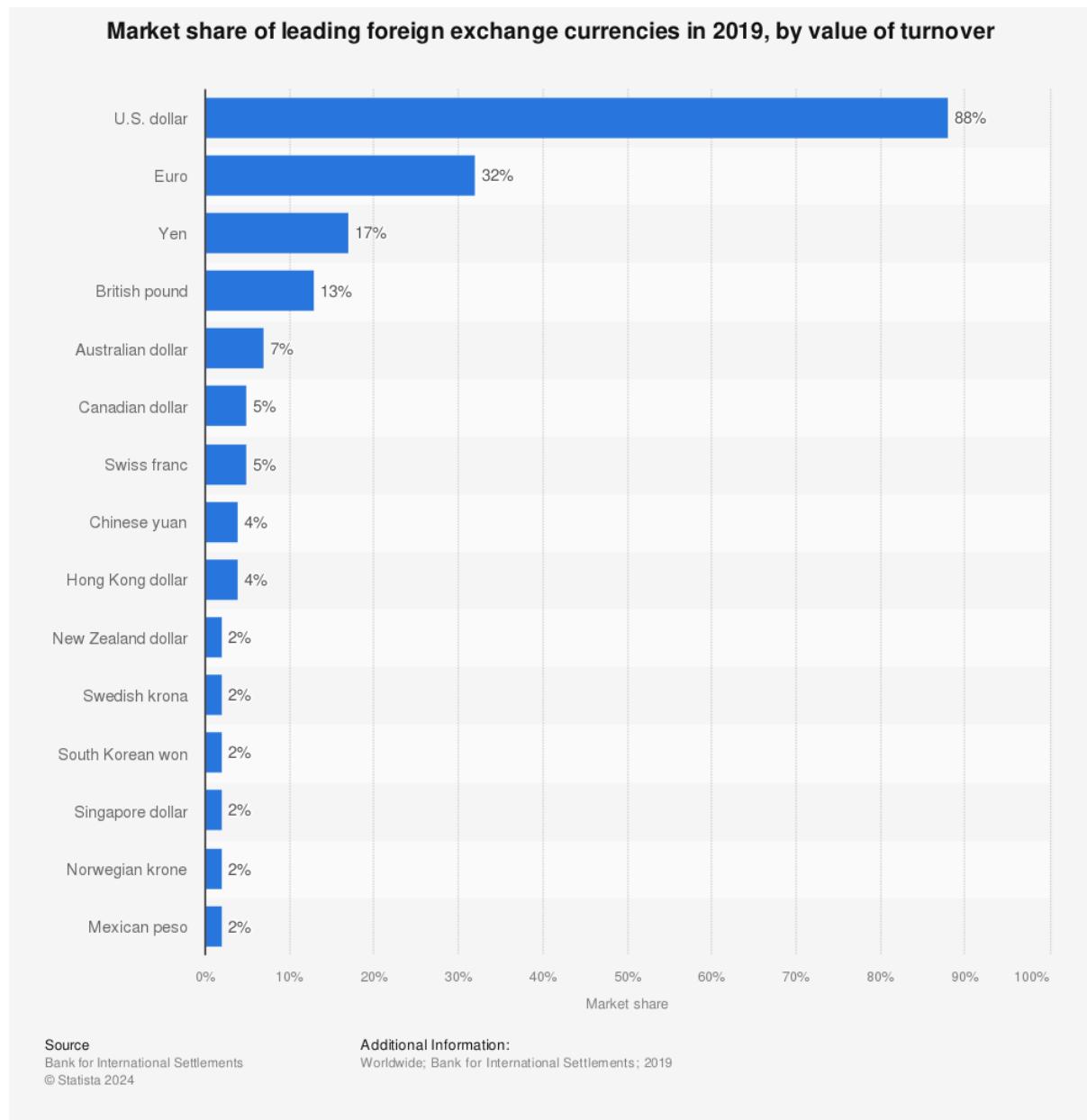
11.1.6 Purchasing power parity assumption

The Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) assumption is also known as the **law of one price**. It says that in competitive markets with zero transportation costs and no trade barriers, identical goods have the same price all over the world when expressed in terms of the same currency. The idea behind this is that if differences in prices exist, profits can be made through **international arbitrage**, that is, the process of buying a good cheap in one country and selling the good with a profit in another country. This process can quickly equalize real price differences across countries.

However, in the real world, prices differ substantially across countries (see the Big Mac Index in Table 11.2 and Exercise 11.5). The assumptions of the PPP do mostly not hold perfectly in reality: some goods and services are not tradeable, firms might have different degrees of market power across countries, and the transaction costs are not zero. Here are more reasons, why the PPP does not always apply, especially in the short run:

- Transportation costs are not zero. Shipping goods can be time consuming and expensive.
- Many goods and services, such as real estate or personal services, cannot be traded.
- International markets may be segmented due to regulatory barriers, tariffs and other trade restrictions.
- Countries have different consumption preferences. That means, the same basket of goods is not necessarily equally demanded. The willingness to pay for goods vary across countries often significantly.
- Countries impose different taxes and provide different subsidies on goods and services, which affects their prices and leads to deviations from PPPs.
- Short-term fluctuations in exchange rates may deviate from the values predicted by PPPs due to speculation, interest rate differentials and other factors.
- Differences in inflation rates between countries may lead to deviations from PPP, especially in the short run.
- The same product may be perceived differently in different countries due to brand names, quality differences or local customization, resulting in different prices.
- Regulations like warranty and product classifications are different and have an impact on the product and the willingness to pay for it.

Figure 11.9: Market share of leading foreign exchange currencies in 2019



- Political instability, war or economic sanctions can affect currency values and prices and lead to deviations from PPP.
- Prices of goods and services do not always adjust immediately to changes in the exchange rate, leading to short-term deviations from PPP.

Exercise 11.5. Big Mac Index

The differences of prices across countries can be illustrated with the Economist's *Big Mac Index*. It indicates the price of a Big Mac in different countries in terms of the US Dollar. Table 11.2 shows some countries with on average expensive and cheap Big Macs.

Table 11.2: The price of a Big Mac across countries

Country	Price
Switzerland	\$6.57 (6.50 CHF)
Sweden	\$5.83 (51.00 SEK)
United States	\$5.51 (5.51 USD)
Norway	\$5.22 (42 NOK)
Canada	\$5.08 (6.65 CAD)
Euro area	\$4.75 (4.56 EUR)
...	...
Egypt	\$1.75 (31.37 EGP)
Ukraine	\$1.91 (50 UAH)
Russia	\$2.09 (130 RUB)
Malaysia	\$2.10 (8.45 MYR)
Indonesia	\$2.19 (31,500 IDR)
Taiwan	\$2.27 (69 TWD)

Source: <https://github.com/TheEconomist/big-mac-data> (July 18, 2018).

- Read [Wikipedia's page on the Big Mac Index](#) and discuss the *Big-Mac-Index* critically. Is it really a reasonable real-world measurement of purchasing power parity?
- Compare the *Big-Mac-Index* to the *Mac-Index* (see: themacindex.com) looking for price differences of the *Mac mini M1 256GB*. Why are the price differences for Apple products so much smaller compared to McDonald's *Big Mac*? In case the website offline, [here](#) is a snapshot of it.)
- Using the data of Table 11.2, calculate the exchange rate of Euros (EUR) to Swiss Francs (CHF) in both the direct and the indirect quotation. Interpret your result.
- Calculate how many Dollars you can buy with 100€. Then, use that dollars to buy Swiss Francs. How many Swiss Francs do you get?
- Multiple choice:* Which of the following statements is true?
 - The table indicates that the *Purchasing Power Parity Assumption* is fulfilled.
 - The exchange rate of US Dollar to Swiss Franc (CHF) is close to one.
 - The exchange rate of US Dollar to the Russian Ruble (RUB) is about $62.2 \frac{\$}{RUB}$.
 - The exchange rate of Canadian Dollar (CAD) to the Euro (EUR) is about 0.73.
 - With one Canadian Dollar (CAD) you can buy 0.73 US Dollars.

Solution: Big Mac Index

- Please take part in the discussion in class.
- Please take part in the discussion in class.
- The exchange rate of Euros to Swiss Francs in direct quotation is:

$$E^{\frac{\text{EUR}}{\text{CHF}}} = \frac{4.56 \text{ EUR}}{4.75 \text{ USD}} \cdot \frac{6.57 \text{ USD}}{6.50 \text{ CHF}} = \frac{29.9592 \text{ EUR}}{30.875 \text{ CHF}} \approx 0.9703 \frac{\text{EUR}}{\text{CHF}}$$

and in indirect quotation:

$$E^{\frac{\text{CHF}}{\text{EUR}}} \approx 1.0305 \frac{\text{CHF}}{\text{EUR}}.$$

That means, we have to pay about 0.97 Euro for one Swiss Franc or one Euro costs about 1.03 Swiss Franc.

- d) For 100 Euro we get

$$100 \text{ EUR} \cdot \frac{4.75 \text{ USD}}{4.56 \text{ EUR}} \approx 104.16 \text{ USD}$$

and these can be converted to

$$104.16 \text{ USD} \cdot \frac{6.50 \text{ CHF}}{6.57 \text{ USD}} \approx 103.05 \text{ CHF}$$

- e) Here are the answers:

- i) is false: The price of a Big Mac in \$ is different across countries.
- ii) is correct.

- iii) is false: 1 Ruble costs 0.0160 Dollar:

$$\frac{2.09 \text{ USD}}{130 \text{ RUB}} = 0.016 \frac{\text{USD}}{\text{RUB}}.$$

- iv) is incorrect:

$$\underbrace{\frac{6.65 \text{ CAD}}{5.08 \text{ USD}}}_{\approx 1.309} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{4.75 \text{ USD}}{4.56 \text{ EUR}}}_{\approx 1.0416} \approx 1.36 \frac{\text{CAD}}{\text{EUR}}.$$

- v) is incorrect:

$$\frac{6.05 \text{ CAD}}{5.08 \text{ USD}} \approx 0.76 \frac{\text{CAD}}{\text{USD}}.$$

Thus, with one Canadian Dollar you can buy 0.76 U.S. Dollar.

Exercise 11.6. International arbitrage

Table 11.3: Table of price variations across countries

Country	Price of Good 08/15
Germany	\$2
Switzerland	\$6
United States of America	\$6

- a) Consider a scenario where the good *08/15* is freely tradeable across countries without any cost (akin to digital software). You have \$100, and upon examining the prices of *08/15* in three different countries, you notice discrepancies as depicted in Table 11.3. Discuss how you could profit from *international arbitrage*, the practice of exploiting price differences of a good across countries. Describe the potential impact on the prices of the good once arbitrage begins.
- b) Assuming *08/15* can be traded freely across borders like software, imagine your arbitrage efforts have harmonized the prices of the good worldwide, as illustrated in the Table 11.4:

Table 11.4: Table of prices and currencies across countries post-arbitrage

Country	Price in USD	Price in Local Currency
Germany	\$4	EUR 2
Switzerland	\$4	CHF 6
United States of America	\$4	-

Now, calculate and elucidate the following exchange rates:

- $\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{EUR}}$
- $\frac{\text{EUR}}{\text{USD}}$
- $\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{USD}}$
- $\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{CHF}}$
- $\frac{\text{CHF}}{\text{USD}}$
- $\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{CHF}}$
- $\frac{\text{CHF}}{\text{EUR}}$
- $\frac{\text{EUR}}{\text{CHF}}$

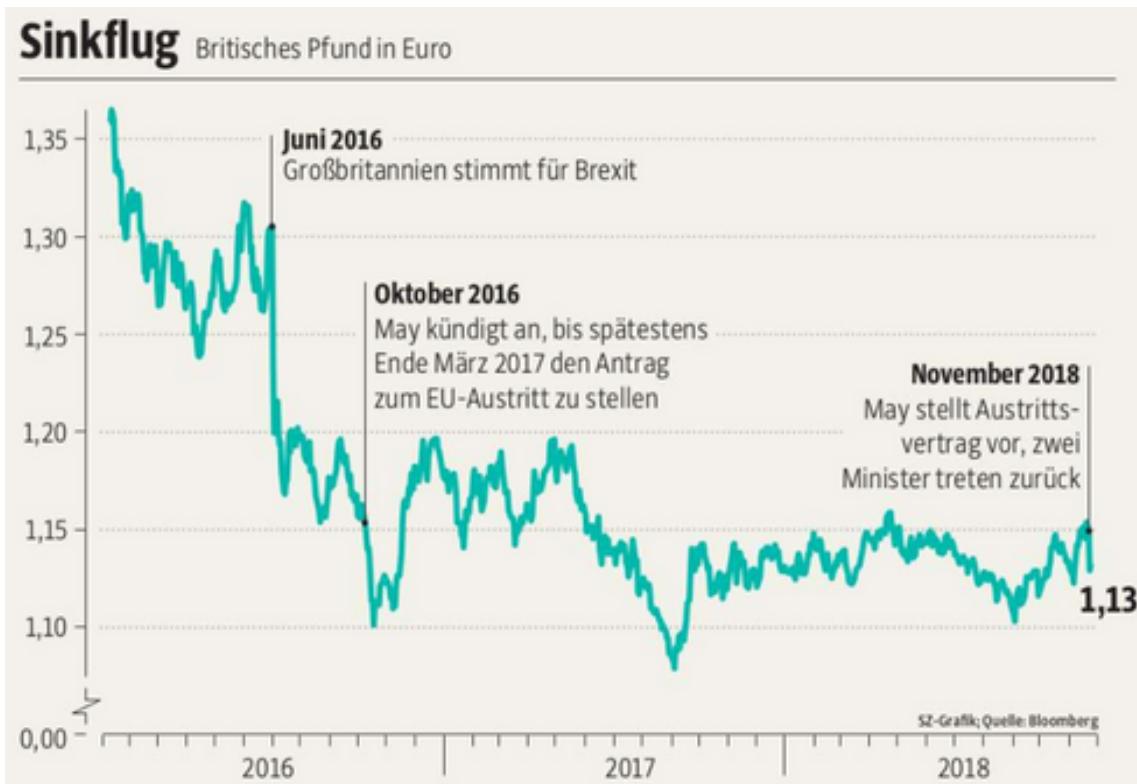
Solution

- a) International arbitrage strategy
- **Strategy:** Buy 50 units of good *08/15* in Germany for \$2 each with your \$100. Then, sell these units in Switzerland or the USA for \$6 each, making a total of \$300. This is a classic arbitrage strategy.
 - **Impact on Prices:** Consider that you repeat that winning strategy to buy in Germany and sell in some other country, prices will change: The increased demand in Germany will cause the price there to rise, while the increased supply in Switzerland and the USA will cause the price to drop. Eventually, the price differences will equalize, eliminating the arbitrage opportunity.
- b) Calculating exchange rates
- **USD to EUR:** $\frac{4\text{USD}}{2\text{EUR}} = 2\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{EUR}}$
 - **EUR to USD:** $0.5\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{EUR}}$
 - **USD to CHF:** $\frac{2}{3}\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{CHF}}$
 - **CHF to USD:** $1.5\frac{\text{USD}}{\text{CHF}}$
 - **CHF to EUR:** $\frac{3}{1}\frac{\text{CHF}}{\text{EUR}}$
 - **EUR to CHF:** $\frac{1}{3}\frac{\text{EUR}}{\text{CHF}}$

Exercise 11.7. Brexit and the exchange rate

Examine Figure 11.10 and discuss the reasons behind the depreciation of the British pound since June 2016.

Figure 11.10: The Price of the British Pound (€/£)



Source: Süddeutsche Zeitung am Wochenende, 17./18. November 2018, year 74, week 46, No. 265, p. 1 (front page).

11.2 International investments

Investing, whether through holding a currency or storing purchasing power, is inherently speculative, regardless of whether the investment is domestic or international. When you hold a foreign currency, it's crucial to acknowledge that its value can both appreciate and depreciate. Currency values can fluctuate significantly over time due to factors such as economic policy, market sentiment, and global events. In the following sections, I will present a framework to help understand the key determinants of the rate of return on your investment. As illustrated in Figure 11.11, we will explore how a country's interest rates, trade balances, price levels, and exchange rates are interconnected and must be analyzed together, rather than in isolation.

11.2.1 Foreign exchange reserves

Currencies serve as a store of value, an important function in the financial world. Foreign exchange reserves are assets held on reserve by a central bank in foreign currencies, which can include bonds, treasury bills, and other government securities. The primary purpose of holding foreign exchange reserves is to manage the exchange rate of the national currency and ensure the stability of the country's financial system.

Accordingly to the [Currency Composition of Official Foreign Exchange Reserves \(COFER\)](#) database of the *International Monetary Fund (IMF)*, the total foreign exchange reserves in Q3 2023 had been 11,901,53 billion U.S. Dollar. That is, \$ 11,901,530,000,000!

The size of a country's foreign exchange reserves can be influenced by various factors, including its balance of trade, exchange rate policies, capital flows, and the overall health of its economy. While having substantial reserves is generally seen as a sign of economic strength and stability, excessively accumulating reserves can also indicate underlying economic imbalances or protectionist policies.

Figure 11.11: Illustration of Interest Rate, Exchange Rate, and Trade Balance



Source: Generated using OpenAI [2025].

11.2.2 Three components of the rate of return

An investment usually has different characteristics such as the default risk, opportunities, and liquidity. These characteristics and individual preferences are important to decide which investment is superior. In this course, however, we mostly refrain from discussing sophisticated features of investments here. We focus on the most important feature of an investment, that is, the rate of return. In particular, three components are important to calculate the rate of return:

11.2.2.1 Interest rate

The interest rate of an investment is a crucial factor that determines the return earned on invested capital over a specific period. It represents the percentage of the initial investment that is paid back to the investor as interest or profit. Formally, we can write:

$$\underbrace{I_{t-1}}_{\text{investment in } t-1} \cdot \underbrace{(1+i)}_{1+\text{interest rate}} = \underbrace{I_t}_{\text{payout amount in } t} \quad (11.1)$$

where I denotes the value of an asset measured in € in the respective time period t .

11.2.2.2 Exchange rate

When investing in assets denominated in foreign currencies, investors need to convert their domestic currency into the foreign currency at the prevailing exchange rate. After the investment has been paid out in the foreign country, the investor must convert the foreign currency back to his home currency. Thus, the initial cost of the investment and the subsequent returns are influenced by the exchange rate at the beginning and the end of the investment.

Formally, we can write if the an investment takes in foreign country, that is, Turkey between $t - 1$ and t :

$$I_{t-1}^{\text{€}} \cdot E_{t-1}^{\frac{t}{\text{€}}} \cdot E_t^{\frac{\text{€}}{t}} = I_t^{\text{€}} \quad (11.2)$$

11.2.2.3 Inflation

Inflation refers to the quantitative measure of the rate at which prices, represented by a basket of goods and services, increase within an economy over a specific period. Conversely, negative inflation is termed deflation. Mathematically, inflation can be defined as follows:

$$\pi = \frac{P_t - P_{t-1}}{P_{t-1}} = \frac{P_t}{P_{t-1}} - 1$$

Where π represents the inflation rate and P_t denotes the price at time t . When inflation affects all prices, it also impacts the value of assets in which investors are invested. This relationship can be expressed as:

$$I_t = I_{t-1} \cdot (1 + \pi) \quad (11.3)$$

11.2.3 Rate of return of an investment abroad

The rate of return, r , is the growth rate of an investment over time and can be described as follows:

$$r = \frac{I_t^{\epsilon} - I_{t-1}^{\epsilon}}{I_{t-1}^{\epsilon}} = \frac{I_t^{\epsilon}}{I_{t-1}^{\epsilon}} - 1,$$

Combining Equation 11.1, Equation 11.2, and Equation 11.3, we can describe the value of our investment in period t as follows:

$$I_t^{\epsilon} = I_{t-1}^{\epsilon} \cdot (1 + i^*) \cdot E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon}} \cdot E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon}} \cdot (1 + \pi^*), \quad (11.4)$$

where I_{t-1}^{ϵ} denotes the initial investment, i^* denotes the interest rate abroad and π^* the inflation abroad. Dividing by I_{t-1}^{ϵ} and subtracting 1 from both sides of Equation 11.4, we see that the rate of return for an investment abroad, r^* , has three determining factors, that are: interest rate $(1 + i^*)$, inflation $(1 + \pi)$, and the change of exchange rates over time $(E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon}} \cdot E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon}})$:

$$\underbrace{\frac{I_t^{\epsilon}}{I_{t-1}^{\epsilon}} - 1}_{r} = (1 + i^*) \cdot (1 + \pi^*) \cdot \underbrace{E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon}} \cdot E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon}}}_{\alpha} - 1$$

$$r^* = (1 + i^*) \cdot (1 + \pi^*) \cdot \alpha - 1 \quad (11.5)$$

with

- $\alpha = 1$ if the exchange rate does not change over time and
- $\alpha > 1$ if the home currency ϵ depreciates or
- $\alpha < 1$ if the home currency ϵ appreciates.

So the exchange rate changes over time work as a third factor of your rate of return.

By assuming no inflation ($\pi^* = 0$), we can write

$$\begin{aligned} r^* &= (1 + i^*) \cdot \alpha - 1 \\ \Leftrightarrow r^* &= \alpha + \alpha i^* - 1. \end{aligned} \quad (11.6)$$

Reorganizing Equation 11.6 helps to interpret it. Firstly, let us expand the right hand side of this equation adding and subtracting i^* which obviously does not change the sum of the right hand side of the equation. Secondly, re-write the equation and thirdly, set $(\alpha - 1) = w$:

$$\begin{aligned} \Leftrightarrow r^* &= \alpha + \alpha i^* - 1 + i^* - i^* \\ \Leftrightarrow r^* &= \alpha - 1 + i^* + \alpha i^* - i^* \\ \Leftrightarrow r^* &= \underbrace{(\alpha - 1)}_w + i^* + i^* \underbrace{(\alpha - 1)}_w \\ \Leftrightarrow r^* &= w + i^* + i^* w \end{aligned} \quad (11.7)$$

This equation outlines the rate of return on an investment in a foreign country, influenced by two primary factors: i^* and w .

Assuming that the product iw is very small, we can say that the rate of return equals approximately the interest rate plus the rate of depreciation:

$$r^* = w + i^*.$$

This approximation is often called the *simple rule for r*.

Exercise 11.8. Exchange rates and where to invest

Suppose you want to buy a new car in Germany in one year, i.e., $t=2023$. Today, i.e., $t=2022$, you have €10,000 to invest for one year.

Given the following conditions:

- The annual interest rate in Europe is 1%.
 - The annual interest rate in the U.S.A. is 2%.
 - One US-Dollar can be converted to €0.93 this year.
 - You expect that €1 can be converted to \$1.09 next year.
 - Moreover, you expect no inflation in Germany and the U.S.
 - No banking fees or alike.
- a) Calculate the return on an investment in the U.S. and Germany, respectively.
 b) Do you expect the euro to appreciate or depreciate from 2022 to 2023?

Solution

Exchange rates and where to invest (Exercise 11.8)

- a) Rate of return in the EU is 1 percent and hence you will have € 10,100 in 2023. Rate of return in the US is about 0.62 percent:

$$10000\text{€} \cdot \frac{1\$}{0.93\text{€}} \cdot 1.02 \cdot \frac{1\text{€}}{1.09\$} = 10062.1485\text{€}$$

Thus, it is better to invest in Europe.

- b) In 2022 you have to pay 93 Cent for a dollar and in 2023 you expect to pay about 91 Cent for a dollar. Thus, you expect the Euro to appreciate.

Exercise 11.9. Turkey vs. Germany

You have 100€ this year, $t - 1$, which you like to invest till next year, t .

- a) Where should you invest, given the following informations:
- The interest rate in Germany is 1%.
 - The interest rate in Turkey is 10%.
 - 1€ can be converted to 7₺ this year in the FOREX
 - You expect that 1 € can be converted to 7.1₺ next year in the FOREX.
 - You expect no inflation in Germany and Turkey.
- b) Calculate the exchange rate in period t that makes investing in Germany and Turkey equal profitable.
- c) Explain why the Turkish Lira is under appreciation pressure in $t-1$.

Solution

Turkey vs. Germany (Exercise 11.9)

- a) When focusing solely on the interest rate, investing in Turkey appears more advantageous. However, if we consider only the development of the exchange rate, investing in Germany becomes more appealing due to the Euro appreciating relative to the Lira from period $t - 1$ to t . Therefore, it's essential to calculate the return on investment to determine which of the two effects predominates. This can be done in three different ways:
- b) **(Exact) calculation method in four steps:**

1. exchange € to ₺ in $t-1$:

$$100\text{€} \cdot E_{t-1}^{\text{₺}/\text{€}} = 100\text{€} \cdot 7\frac{\text{₺}}{\text{€}} = 700\text{₺}$$

2. invest in either Germany or Turkey:

$$GER \rightarrow 100\text{€} \cdot (1 + 0.01) = 101\text{€}$$

$$TUR \rightarrow 700\text{₺} \cdot (1 + 0.1) = 770\text{₺}$$

3. re-exchange ₺ to €:

$$770\text{₺} \cdot E_t^{\text{€}/\text{₺}} = 770\text{₺} \cdot \frac{1\text{€}}{7\frac{1}{10}\text{₺}} = \frac{7700}{71} \approx 108.4507$$

4. calculate the return on investment, r :

$$r_{GER} = 0.01$$

$$r_{TUR} = \frac{108.4507 - 100}{100} = 0.084507$$

Answer: The return on investment is lower in Germany. Thus, it is superior to invest the 100€ in Turkey.

- ii) **(Exact) Calculation method in one step:**

$$\begin{aligned} \underbrace{r}_{\text{rate of return}} &= \frac{I_t^{\text{€}} - I_{t-1}^{\text{€}}}{I_{t-1}^{\text{€}}} \\ \text{with } I_t^{\text{€}} &= \underbrace{I_{t-1}^{\text{€}}}_{\text{investment in } t-1} \cdot \underbrace{E_{t-1}^{\text{₺}/\text{€}}}_{\text{exchange rate in } t-1} \cdot \underbrace{(1+i)}_{1+\text{interest rate}} \cdot \underbrace{E_t^{\text{€}/\text{₺}}}_{\text{exchange rate in } t} \\ TUR \rightarrow I_t^{\text{€}} &= 100\text{€} \cdot 7\frac{\text{₺}}{\text{€}} \cdot (1 + 0.1) \cdot \frac{1\text{€}}{7\frac{1}{10}\text{₺}} = 108.4507 \rightarrow r_{TUR} = 0.084507 \\ GER \rightarrow I_t^{\text{€}} &= 100\text{€} \cdot 1 \cdot (1 + 0.01) \cdot 1 = 101\text{€} \rightarrow r_{GER} = 0.01 \end{aligned}$$

- iii) **(Approximative) calculation method:** Steps a) to c) can be summarized as two rates of changes:

$$\begin{aligned} \underbrace{r'}_{\text{approximative rate of return}} &= \underbrace{i}_{\text{interest rate}} + \underbrace{w}_{\text{rate of depreciation}} \\ \text{with } w &= \frac{E_t^{\text{€}/\text{₺}}}{E_{t-1}^{\text{€}/\text{₺}}} - 1 \end{aligned}$$

$$r'_{GER} = 0.01$$

$$r'_{TUR} = 0.1 + \frac{\frac{10}{71}}{\frac{10}{70}} - 1 = 0.1 + \frac{700}{710} - 1 = 0.1 - \frac{10}{710} = \frac{61}{710} \approx 0.08591$$

- b) Both investments are equal profitable if

$$r_{GER} = r_{TUR}.$$

Given the information in period $t - 1$, the exact exchange rate in period t that makes investments are equal profitable, $E_t^{\text{€}/\text{₺}*}$, is calculated as follows:

Exercise 11.10. Suppose you have 50,000 Indian Rupees (INR) this year that you want to invest for one year from t to $t + 1$ and then buy something with the Indian Rupees in India. Calculate the return on an investment in India and Germany, given the following conditions:

- The annual interest rate in India is 5% and 2% in Germany.
- 1 INR can be converted to 0.01 Euro (EUR) this year, t .
- You expect the Indian Rupee to depreciate, that is, you expect 1 EUR to cost 1 INR more next year, that is $t + 1$.
- Moreover, you expect no inflation in India and Germany.

Solution

The return on investment for the investment in India is 5%.

The return on investment for the investment in Germany can be calculated as follows:

$$50,000 \text{ INR} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{0.01\text{EUR}}{1 \text{ INR}}}_{= \frac{100 \text{ INR}}{1 \text{ EUR}}} \cdot 1.02 \cdot \frac{101 \text{ INR}}{1 \text{ EUR}} = 51,510 \text{ INR}$$

To calculate the rate of return calculate

$$\frac{51,510 - 50,000}{50,000} \cdot 100 = 3.02.$$

Thus, the return on investment for the investment in Germany is 3.02%. One challenge of this exercise is to consider “1 EUR to cost 1 INR more” properly. This does not mean 1 INR is equal to 1 €!

11.2.4 The interest parity condition

Assume the rate of return is lower domestically than it is for investments abroad. Representing the foreign country with an asterisk (*), this situation, where investing money abroad is more profitable, can be expressed as:

$$r < r^*.$$

Given that domestically the rate of return, r , equals the interest rate, i , assuming zero inflation, and that the simple rule for an investment abroad is described by $r^* = w + i^*$, we can rewrite the equation as:

$$i < w + i^*.$$

What would happen if financial market actors became aware of this?

Market participants would likely convert their domestic currency into the foreign currency to invest abroad, increasing demand for the foreign currency. Consequently, the foreign currency would appreciate, becoming relatively more expensive. This implies that w is negative. This appreciation process halts when investing abroad no longer offers a higher return. If the attractiveness of investments is equalized, the FOREX is in equilibrium. The deposits of all currencies offer the same expected rate of return. In other words, in equilibrium the exchange rate, w , assures that the rate of return from the home country, r , is equal to the rate of return in any foreign country, denoted with an asterisk (*):

$$r = r^* \tag{11.8}$$

$$i = w + i^* \tag{11.9}$$

$$(11.10)$$

$$\Leftrightarrow w = i - i^* \tag{11.11}$$

The interest parity condition (Equation 11.11) enables us to analyze how variations in interest rates and expected exchange rates affect current exchange rates through comparative static analysis of the equation:

$$\frac{\partial w}{\partial i} > 0; \quad \frac{\partial w}{\partial i^*} < 0.$$

This means:

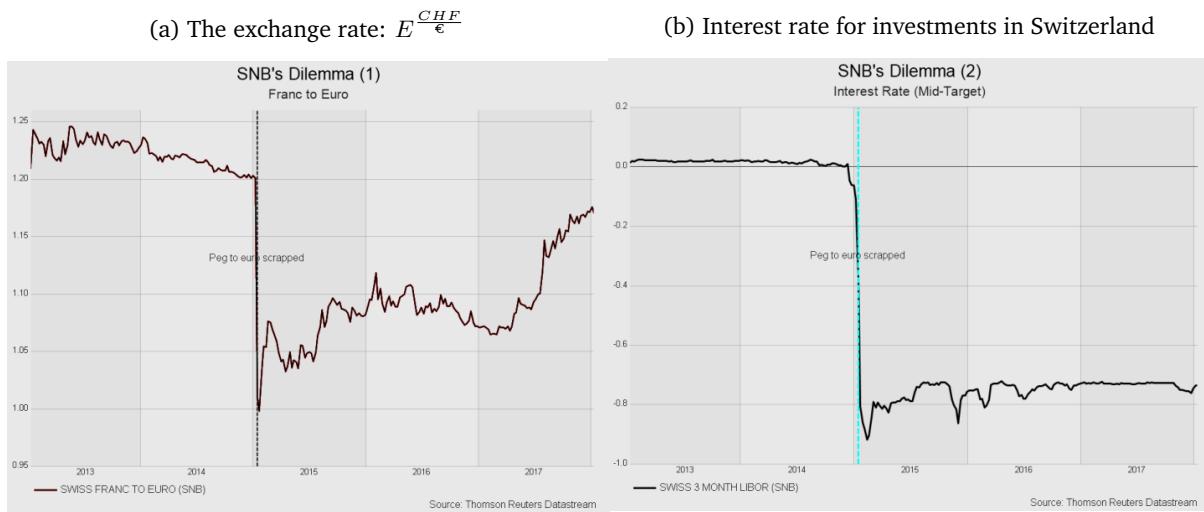
- An increase in the domestic interest rate results in a positive change in the depreciation rate, leading to the depreciation of the domestic currency.
- An increase in the foreign interest rate causes a negative change in the depreciation rate, resulting in the appreciation of the domestic currency.

11.2.5 The theory in real markets: Unpegging the Swiss Franc

You might now question whether this theory of the interest parity condition truly holds in real-world markets. Analyzing international markets and the FOREX empirically is challenging due to the frequent occurrence of both large and small exogenous shocks on a global scale, each impacting market outcomes in various ways. Furthermore, market dynamics are often influenced by emotions and speculation rather than solely measurable facts. However, there are instances where the shocks are so significant that the fundamental forces driving the market become visible, even without a sophisticated empirical identification strategy that controls for confounding effects. The case study of the unexpected unpegging of the Swiss Franc serves as a poignant example. It vividly demonstrates that the principles underpinning the interest parity condition are not merely theoretical constructs but actively influence real market behaviors.

Until early 2015, the Swiss National Bank (SNB) had a policy goal to maintain the franc above the cap of 1.20 Francs per Euro, aiming to protect exporters and combat deflationary pressures. However, in a surprising move, the SNB unpegged the Franc in 2015. This decision was influenced by the appreciation pressure on the Franc, as many investors wanted to store their assets in the Swiss Franc. Following the SNB's announcement, the exchange rate plunged from 1.20 to 1.00 Franc per Euro ($E_{t-1}^{CHF}/E_t^{\epsilon}$), as illustrated in Figure 11.12a. Almost simultaneously, the interest rate experienced a decline, as depicted in Figure 11.12b. These developments align precisely with what the interest parity condition would predict, demonstrating its applicability in real-world financial market dynamics.

Figure 11.12: The impact of unpegging the Franc on capital markets



To analyze the relationship between changes in exchange rates and interest rates, we need to consider the interest parity assumption of Equation 11.11:

$$w = i - i^*$$

where

$$w = \frac{E_t^{\epsilon}}{E_{t-1}^{CHF}} - 1.$$

In January 2015, the exchange rate $E^{\frac{CHF}{\epsilon}}$ decreased from 1.20 to 1.00. Alternatively, we can express this change in direct quotation, noting that the exchange rate $E^{\frac{\epsilon}{CHF}}$ increased from $E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{CHF}} \approx \frac{1}{1.20} \approx 0.83$ to $E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{CHF}} \approx 1.00$, resulting in

$$w = \frac{E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{CHF}}}{E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{CHF}}} - 1 = \frac{1}{0.83} - 1 = 0.20.$$

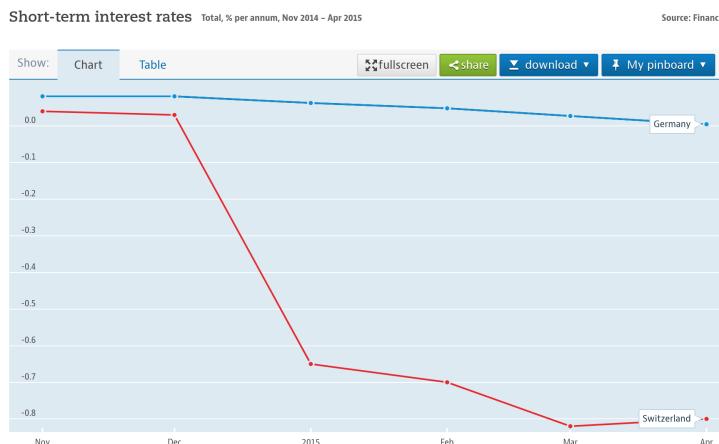
Since $w > 0$, the fraction on the left-hand side of the interest rate parity equation must also be positive, as already mentioned. This implies that

$$i - i^* > 0,$$

which means that an interest rate spread must occur. This condition can occur if the foreign interest rate i^* decreases or the domestic interest rate i increases. In our observations, we can indeed see a pattern that is consistent with our theoretical expectations.

It is important to acknowledge that our theoretical framework simplifies the complex interplay of factors that influence both exchange rates and interest rates. Despite this simplification, the model highlights the key forces driving market dynamics. However, it is important to point out that the actual numbers may not perfectly match our theoretical predictions in quantitative terms, as shown in Figure Figure 11.13.

Figure 11.13: Short-term interest rates across Germany and Switzerland over time



Source: Data are taken from the OECD and show the total, % per annum.

11.2.6 The Fisher Effect

The *Fisher Effect* is an economic theory proposed by economist Irving Fisher (1867-1947), which describes the relationship between (expected) inflation and both nominal and real interest rates.

According to the *Fisher Effect*, the nominal interest rate is equal to the sum of the real interest rate and the (expected) inflation rate. In formula terms, it is often expressed as:

$$r = i + \pi. \quad (11.12)$$

We can derive Equation 11.12 assuming that the exchange rate is stable over time

$$\left(E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{\tilde{\epsilon}}} = E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{\tilde{\epsilon}}} \Leftrightarrow \frac{E_{t-1}^{\frac{\epsilon}{\tilde{\epsilon}}}}{E_t^{\frac{\epsilon}{\tilde{\epsilon}}}} = 1 \Leftrightarrow \alpha = 1 \right)$$

and using this in Equation 11.5, we get:

$$r^* = (1 + i^*) \cdot (1 + \pi^*) \cdot \underbrace{\alpha}_{=1} - 1 \quad (11.13)$$

$$\Leftrightarrow r = i + \pi + \pi i \quad (11.14)$$

Assuming that the product πi is very small, we can say that the rate of return equals approximately the interest rate plus the inflation rate. This approximation shown in Equation 11.12 is often called the *Fisher Effect*.

Considering now cross-country differences in their rate of return, we can explain the rate of return spread by the inflation rate and the nominal interest rate spread as follows:

$$r_{GER} - r_{TUR} = \pi_{GER} - \pi_{TUR} + i_{GER} - i_{TUR}. \quad (11.15)$$

We have learned in Section 11.2.4 (the interest parity condition) that the rate of return can differ only in the short run and will be equal across countries in the long run ($r_{GER} - r_{TUR} = 0$). Utilizing this concept in Equation 11.12, we can demonstrate that the nominal interest rates of countries will adjust to accommodate any changes in (expected) inflation, and vice versa:

$$i_{GER} - i_{TUR} = \pi_{GER} - \pi_{TUR}.$$

Recommended reading

[Wikipedia \[2025a\]: Wikipedia entry to the Fisher Effect.](#)

11.3 Balance of payments

Required reading

[Council of Economic Advisers \[2004, ch. 14\]](#)

11.3.1 Introduction

The *Balance of Payments* is a record of a country's financial transactions with the rest of the world. It tracks the money flowing in and out through various economic activities. If we account for all transactions, the inflow and outflow should theoretically balance. Before I elaborate on this concept, let's clarify some key terms:

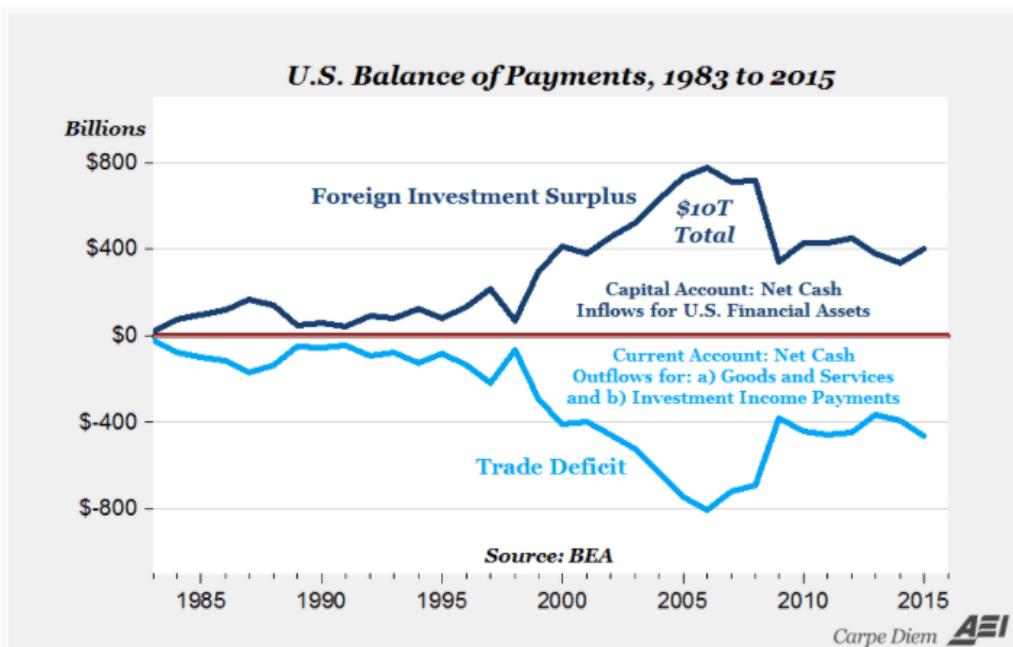
- *Exports*: Goods and services sold to other countries.
- *Imports*: Goods and services bought from other countries.
- *Trade balance*: The difference between the value of goods and services a country sells abroad and those it buys from abroad, also known as *net exports*.
- *Trade surplus*: When a country sells more than it buys, resulting in a positive trade balance.
- *Trade deficit*: When a country buys more than it sells, leading to a negative trade balance.
- *Balanced trade*: When the value of exports equals imports.
- *Net capital outflow*: The difference between the purchase of foreign assets by domestic residents and the purchase of domestic assets by foreigners. This equals net exports, indicating that a country's savings can fund investments domestically or abroad. We will elaborate on that later on in greater detail.

Exercise 11.11. Some facts about foreign trade

Make yourself familiar with the descriptive statistics at [destatis.de](#), the World Trade Organization [here](#) and [here](#), the [OECD](#), and [World Trade Historical Database](#) by the CEPR.

Exercise 11.12. Figure 11.14 represents the foreign investment surplus and the trade deficit. Discuss why the two lines mirror each other. Could this be a coincidence?

Figure 11.14: U.S. Balance of Payments



11.3.2 The payments must be balanced!

Every international financial transaction is essentially an exchange. When a country sells goods or services, the buying country compensates by transferring assets. Consequently, the total value of goods and services a country sells (its net exports) must be equal to the value of assets it acquires (its net capital outflow).

The *Balance of Payments* account consists of two primary components:

1. The **Current account** (Leistungsbilanz) measures a country's trade balance (goods and services exports minus imports) plus the effects of net income and direct payments. It is positive, if a country is a net lender to the rest of the world and negative, if it is a net borrower from the rest of the world. In other words, an account surplus increases a country's net foreign assets.
2. The **Capital account** (Kapitalbilanz) reflects the net change in ownership of national assets. Capital can flow in the form of following:
 1. **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI):** It involves investing in foreign companies with the intention of controlling or significantly influencing their operations.
 2. **Foreign Portfolio Investment (FPI):** This type of investment is in foreign financial assets, such as stocks and bonds, where the investor does not seek control over the companies.
 3. **Other investments:** This includes capital flows into bank accounts or funds provided as loans. It also encompasses the reserve account, which is managed by the central bank responsible for buying and selling foreign currencies.

Ignoring statistical effects, these two subaccounts must sum to zero.

Example

Imagine Boeing, an American company, sells airplanes to a Japanese airline:

1. Boeing transfers airplanes to the Japanese firm, and in return, the Japanese firm pays Boeing in Yen. This transaction increases exports (boosting net exports) and results in the United States acquiring foreign assets in the form of Yen (increasing net capital outflow).
2. Boeing might then convert its Yen to U.S. Dollars through a financial exchange. For example, if an American mutual fund wants to invest in a Japanese company, Boeing's sale of planes (a net export) is mirrored by the mutual fund's investment in Japan (a net capital outflow).

3. Alternatively, Boeing could exchange its Yen with an American company looking to purchase goods or services from Japan. In this scenario, the value of imports matches the value of exports, leaving net exports unchanged.

While it's true that the overall totals of payments and receipts must inherently balance, certain transaction types can create imbalances, leading to either deficits or surpluses. These imbalances may manifest in various sectors such as trade in goods (commodities), services trade, foreign investment income, unilateral transfers (including foreign aid), private investment, and the flow of gold and currency between central banks and treasuries, among other international dealings. It's crucial to note, though, that the accounting framework ensures these surpluses and deficits ultimately zero out, adhering to the principles of double-entry bookkeeping.

Example

Take, for example, a scenario where Americans purchase cars from Germany without engaging in any other transactions with it. The outcome is that Germans accumulate dollars, which can be maintained as bank deposits in the United States or within other U.S.-based assets. The American payment for German automobiles is counterbalanced by German acquisitions of dollar assets, including investments in U.S. entities and institutions. This exchange means Germany sells cars to the U.S., while the U.S. sells dollars or dollar-backed assets to Germany. Consequently, Germany experiences a trade surplus, indicated by a positive trade balance and a corresponding surplus in its current account, which encompasses the trade balance. Nonetheless, this also implies Germany faces a deficit in its capital account, characterized by a net outflow of money.

Table 11.5

Table 11.5: A hypothetical account

Receipt (credit)	Payments (debits)		
Current Account			
1. Export of goods and services	800	3. Import of goods and services	600
2. Unilateral receipts	300	4. Unilateral payments	390
Total	1100	Total	990
Capital Account			
5. Borrowings	700	7. Lendings	750
6. Sale of gold/assets	100	8. Purchase of gold/assets	150
Total	800	Total	900
		Errors and omissions	10
Total	1900	Total	1900

11.3.3 A normative discussion of imbalances in the capital and current account

Normatively discussing imbalances in the capital and current accounts of countries involves evaluating these phenomena from a perspective of what ought to be, considering ethical, practical, and policy implications. These imbalances are not merely numerical figures; they reflect underlying economic activities and policy decisions with significant implications for national and global economic health.

11.3.3.1 Current account imbalances

The current account includes trade in goods and services. A surplus in the current account indicates that a country is exporting more goods than it imports.

Surpluses: Normatively, persistent current account surpluses might be viewed as a sign of a country's competitive strength in the global market. However, they can also indicate underconsumption or insufficient domestic investment, suggesting that a country is not fully utilizing its economic resources to

improve the living standards of its population. Furthermore, large surpluses can lead to tensions with trading partners and might prompt accusations of unfair trade practices or currency manipulation.

Deficits: On the other hand, persistent deficits could signal domestic economic vitality and an attractive environment for investment, reflecting high consumer demand and robust growth. Yet, they can also indicate structural problems, such as a lack of competitiveness, reliance on foreign borrowing to sustain consumption, or inadequate savings rates. Over time, large deficits may lead to unsustainable debt levels, making the country vulnerable to financial crises.

11.3.3.2 Capital account imbalances

The capital account records the net change in ownership of national assets. It includes the flow of capital into and out of a country, such as investments in real estate, stocks, bonds, and government debt.

Inflows: Capital account inflows can signify strong investor confidence in a country's economic prospects, potentially leading to increased investment and growth. However, excessive short-term speculative inflows can destabilize the economy, leading to asset bubbles and subsequent financial crises when the capital is suddenly withdrawn.

Outflows: Capital outflows might indicate a lack of confidence in the domestic economy or better opportunities abroad. While some level of outflow is normal for diversified investment portfolios, large and rapid outflows can precipitate a financial crisis by depleting foreign reserves and putting downward pressure on the currency.

11.3.4 A formal representation

In the following, I present a streamlined perspective on the global trading system. This overview does not engage with the benefits or drawbacks of maintaining trade surpluses or deficits, a subject that warrants its own discussion. However, it aims to identify the factors influencing current account deficits and surpluses.

11.3.4.1 Closed economy

Within a closed economy, we identify three principal actors: households, firms, and the government. Let's define C as the consumption of goods and services by households, encompassing necessities and luxuries like food, housing, and entertainment. Let G represent government expenditures, which cover infrastructure, social services, military outlays, education, and more. Lastly, I symbolizes the investment by firms in assets such as machinery, buildings, and research and development. Given these components, the total economic output, Y , can be expressed by the *fundamental equation of economics* as:

$$Y = C + I + G.$$

This equation encapsulates the aggregate spending within a closed economy, highlighting the interplay between consumption, investment, and government expenditure in determining overall economic activity.

If we define national savings, S , as the share of output not spent on household consumption or government purchases, then the investments, I , must be equal to the savings in a closed economy:

$$\begin{aligned} Y &= C + I + G \\ \Leftrightarrow \underbrace{Y - C - G}_{S} &= I \\ \Leftrightarrow S &= I, \end{aligned}$$

This implies that within a closed economy, any portion of the output that is not consumed—either privately by households (C) or by the government (G)—necessarily must be allocated towards investment (I). Thus, the equation underscores a foundational economic principle: the total output of an economy (Y) is either consumed or invested, leaving no surplus output.

11.3.4.2 Open economy

In an open economy, the dynamics of household consumption, government expenditures, and firm investments extend beyond domestic production to include imports from and exports to foreign markets. Thus, an economy can import and export goods. Denoting imports by IM and exports by EX , we can re-write the fundamental equation of economics by adding the concept of net exports (NEX), the difference between a country's exports and imports. A positive net export value ($EX > IM$) indicates a trade surplus, reflecting that the economy exports more than it imports. Conversely, a negative net export value ($EX < IM$) signifies a trade deficit, where imports exceed exports:

$$\begin{aligned} Y &= C + I + G + \underbrace{EX - IM}_{NEX} \\ \Leftrightarrow \underbrace{Y - C - G}_{S} &= I + NEX \\ \Leftrightarrow \underbrace{S - I}_{NCO} &= NEX \end{aligned}$$

In scenarios where investment equals savings ($I = S$), the economy's net exports are zero, reflecting a balance between domestic production not allocated towards household or government consumption and investments. However, when an economy experiences a trade surplus ($NEX > 0$), such as Germany in recent decades, it implies that domestic savings exceed investments. This surplus indicates that the country produces more than it spends on domestic goods and services, channeling excess savings into investments abroad. Thus, savings not utilized domestically ($S - I$) are equivalent to the net capital outflow (NCO), establishing a direct link between a country's trade surplus and its role as a global lender or investor:

$$NCO = NEX$$

i Net exports must be equal to net capital outflow

The accounting identities above simply state that there is a *balance of payments*. The Balance of Payment accounts are based on double-entry bookkeeping and hence the annual account has to be balanced. If an economy has a current account trade deficit (surplus), it is offset one-to-one by a capital account surplus (deficit) to assure a balance of payments. In other words, if an economy wants to import more goods than it produces, it must attract foreign capital to be invested at home.

11.3.5 Case study: U.S. trade deficit

Consider a scenario where the United States is unable to attract sufficient capital flows from abroad to finance its trade deficit. In such a case, American consumers continue purchasing foreign goods with US Dollars, leading to an outflow of US Dollars that surpasses inflow. This imbalance results in an increased supply of US Dollars relative to its demand, causing the value of the US Dollar to depreciate. A depreciated US Dollar would, in theory, make US exports more competitive (cheaper for foreign buyers) and imports more costly, thereby potentially reducing the current account deficit. However, the trade deficit of the United States has remained relatively stable, and the US Dollar has not experienced significant depreciation. This stability is partly why former President Trump criticized other countries for allegedly *manipulating* their currencies, see Figure 11.15.

Trump's stance on the trade deficit was clear: he perceived it as detrimental to the United States. He advocated for a weaker dollar and lower interest rates to address this issue. A weaker dollar would render American products more affordable internationally, stimulating exports and discouraging imports. Concurrently, lower interest rates in the United States would diminish the country's appeal for foreign capital investments (I would decrease), leading to reduced net capital inflows. This adjustment would, in turn, decrease the **Capital Account** surplus and, by extension, shrink the **Current Account** deficit. Specifically, Trump accused the Chinese government and the European Central Bank of implementing

policies that undervalue their currencies (the Renminbi and the Euro), thereby gaining an unfair advantage in trade.

Figure 11.15: Trump worries about the U.S. trade deficit



As Trump thinks a trade deficit is bad for the United States, he would like to have a weak dollar and low interest rates. A weak dollar makes American products cheap for the rest of the world and has positive effects on exports and negative on imports. A low interest rate in the United States would make the country less attractive for foreign capital investments (I would become smaller), meaning the net capital inflows would decrease and so would the **Capital Account**'s surplus (and with it, the **Current Account** deficit would become smaller). In concrete terms, he claims that in particular the Chinese government and the European Central Bank run policies that keep their currencies (Renminbi and Euro) cheap.

Despite significant efforts by President Trump to reduce the U.S. trade deficit, the endeavor did not achieve its intended outcome, as illustrated in Figure 11.16. One likely reason for this shortfall was the reduction of taxes for large corporations, which enhanced the rate of return on investments. This policy made investing in the U.S. more appealing to foreign investors, potentially counteracting efforts to diminish the trade deficit.

Figure 11.16: The trade deficit of the United States over time



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Exercise 11.13. Discuss the pros and cons of Germany's net export surplus. Please watch this [video](#), see Figure 11.17.

Figure 11.17: Marcel Fratzscher and Clemens Fuest about Germany's trade surplus

Source: YouTube

Chapter 12

International trade

Learning objectives

- Understand the basic concepts underpinning international trade, including the principle of mutual benefits.
- Evaluate reasons for trade, including technology differences, resource endowments, and government policies.
- Explain the difference of absolute comparative advantage and their role in driving trade patterns.
- Understand how differences in labor and capital endowments influence trade patterns.
- Discuss the impact of international trade on factor prices.

Recommended reading: [Suranovic \[2012, Chapters 2, 3, 5\]](#)

Trade is usually a voluntary decision by buyers and sellers, which means that transactions would not take place if one party were to lose from the exchange. While this reasoning is persuasive, it alone does not fully justify unrestricted international trade. In the following chapters, we will look at the concept that trade should be mutually beneficial to the parties directly involved. We will also discuss the ways in which trade can be beneficial to all parties, even though it is not necessarily beneficial to all. The remainder is structured as follows:

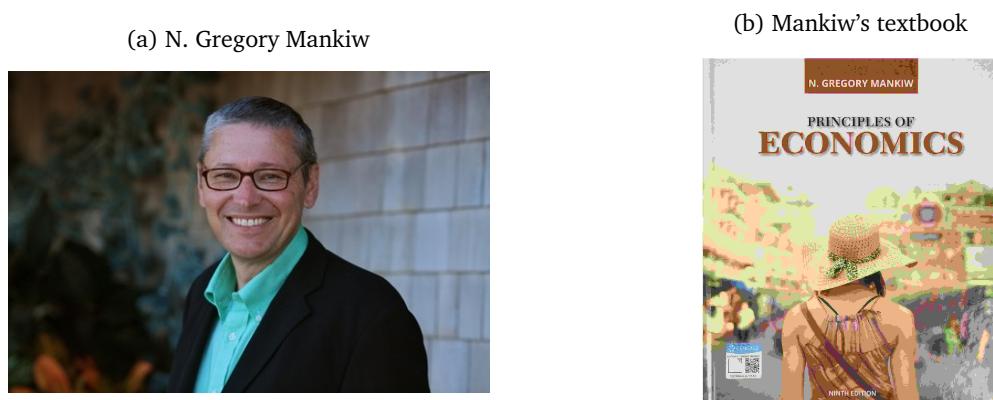
- Section 12.1 explains Mankiw's principle that trade can make everyone better off.
- Section 12.2 paraphrases the sources of international trade.
- Section 12.3 provides a theoretical framework of trade and shows that under certain circumstances international trade can yield a miserable growth path for a country.
- Section 12.4 explains that more trade does not have to be good for a country's wealth.
- Section 12.5 introduces the concept of comparative advantage. It claims that trade is due to autarky price differences that stem from country-specific differences such as technology, factor endowments, or taste.
- Section 12.6 shows that opening up to free trade generates winners and losers and that countries' endowments with labor and capital determine patterns of trade.

12.1 Trade can make everyone better off

N. Gregory Mankiw (*1958) is one of the most influential economists. In his best-selling textbook *Principles of Economics* [Mankiw, 2024, p. 8-9] he claims ten principles of economics of which one is entitled *Trade can make everyone better off* which he explains as follows:

You have probably heard on the news that the Japanese are our competitors in the world economy. In some ways, this is true, for American and Japanese firms do produce many of the same goods. Ford and Toyota compete for the same customers in the market for automobiles. Compaq and Toshiba compete for the same customers in the market for personal computers.

Figure 12.1: Mankiw and his textbook



Source: Harvard.edu and [Mankiw \[2024\].](https://Mankiw[2024].)

Yet it is easy to be misled when thinking about competition among countries. Trade between the United States and Japan is not like a sports contest, where one side wins and the other side loses. In fact, the opposite is true: Trade between two countries can make each country better off.

To see why, consider how trade affects your family. When a member of your family looks for a job, he or she competes against members of other families who are looking for jobs. Families also compete against one another when they go shopping, because each family wants to buy the best goods at the lowest prices. So, in a sense, each family in the economy is competing with all other families.

Despite this competition, your family would not be better off isolating itself from all other families. If it did, your family would need to grow its own food, make its own clothes, and build its own home. Clearly, your family gains much from its ability to trade with others. Trade allows each person to specialize in the activities he or she does best, whether it is farming, sewing, or home building. By trading with others, people can buy a greater variety of goods and services at lower cost.

Countries as well as families benefit from the ability to trade with one another. Trade allows countries to specialize in what they do best and to enjoy a greater variety of goods and services. The Japanese, as well as the French and the Egyptians and the Brazilians, are as much our partners in the world economy as they are our competitors.

12.2 Reasons for Trade

Trade involves willingly giving up something to receive something else in return, which should benefit both parties involved, although not necessarily everyone affected by the trade. We will discuss the negative effects of international trade on bystanders later. In this section, we briefly outline basic reasons for individuals and hence countries to engage in trade. Of course, the list is incomplete.

Differences in Technology: Advantageous trade can occur between countries if they have different technological abilities to produce goods and services. Technology refers to the techniques used to convert resources (labor, capital, land) into outputs. Differences in technology form the basis for trade in the Ricardian Model of comparative advantage. We will revisit this in more detail in Section 12.5.

Differences in Endowments: Trade also occurs because countries differ in their resource endowments, which include the skills and abilities of the workforce, available natural resources, and the sophistication of capital stock such as machinery, infrastructure, and communication systems. Differences in resource endowments are the basis for trade in the pure exchange models (see Section 12.3) and the Heckscher-Ohlin Model (see Section 12.6).

Differences in Demand: Trade between countries occurs because demands or preferences differ. Individuals in different countries may prefer different products even if prices are the same. For example, Asian

populations might demand more rice, Czech and German people more beer, the Dutch more wooden shoes, and the Japanese more fish compared to Americans.

Economies of Scale in Production: Economies of scale, where production costs fall as production volume increases, can make trade between two countries advantageous. This concept, known as *increasing returns to scale*, plays a significant role in Paul Krugman's *New Trade Theory*, which we will discuss later.

Existence of Government Policies: Government tax and subsidy programs can create production advantages for certain products, leading to advantageous trade arising solely from differences in government policies across countries. We will explore the impact of tariffs and regulations in Chapter 13.

12.3 Exchange economy

Recommended reading

[Suranovic \[2012\], Chapters 3\]](#)

12.3.1 A simple barter model

The simplest example to show that trade can be beneficial to people is the barter model. In trade, barter is a system of exchange in which participants in a transaction directly exchange goods or services for other goods or services without using a medium of exchange, such as money.

Figure 12.2: Stylized example of weißwürst and pretzels



Source: [Wikipedia](#)

Suppose there are two people, Anton (A) and Barbara (B). Anton has 10 Weißwürste (white sausages) and Barbara has 10 pretzels. Together, they are isolated from the rest of the world for a few days due to a natural disaster. Fortunately, they both have additional access to an endless supply of sweet mustard and beer and they now wonder how to share pretzels and sausages the upcoming days. Let's assume that both of them accept only a white sausage eaten together with a pretzel. That is, eating two pretzels with a sausage is no better than eating a pretzel and a sausage. After some discussion, Barbara gives 5 pretzels and Anton gives Barbara 5 sausages in return. They strongly believe that there is no better way to share food.

This example shows that trade can be beneficial for two individuals. Here we basically assume two things. Firstly, two individuals can trade and secondly, they are endowed with different goods.

Exercise 12.1. How Barbara and Anton trade (Solution 12.1)

- Visualize the starting point of Anton and Barbara as described above in a two-way plot where the Anton's initial endowment with sausages is drawn on the y-axis and Barbara's endowment

- with pretzels is drawn on the x-axis.
- Given their preferences, mark the consumption point after goods were traded. Also, draw in the plot how much Anton and Barbara exports and imports, respectively.
 - Sketch the indifference curve of both individuals in the consumption point after trade has happened.
 - Draw a new two-way plot and assume that Barbara now gives away 2 pretzels in order to receive one sausage. Mark the resulting consumption points of Anton and Barbara. Given their unchanged preference for having one sausage with one slice of bread at best, visualize with the help of sketched indifference curves that both individuals are worse off as compared to consuming 5 units of pretzels and sausages each.

Solution 12.1. How Barbara and Anton trade (Exercise 12.1)

In Figure 12.3 you find a sketch of a solution to tasks a. to c. Figure 12.4 provides a solution to task d.

Figure 12.3: The deal of Anton and Barbara

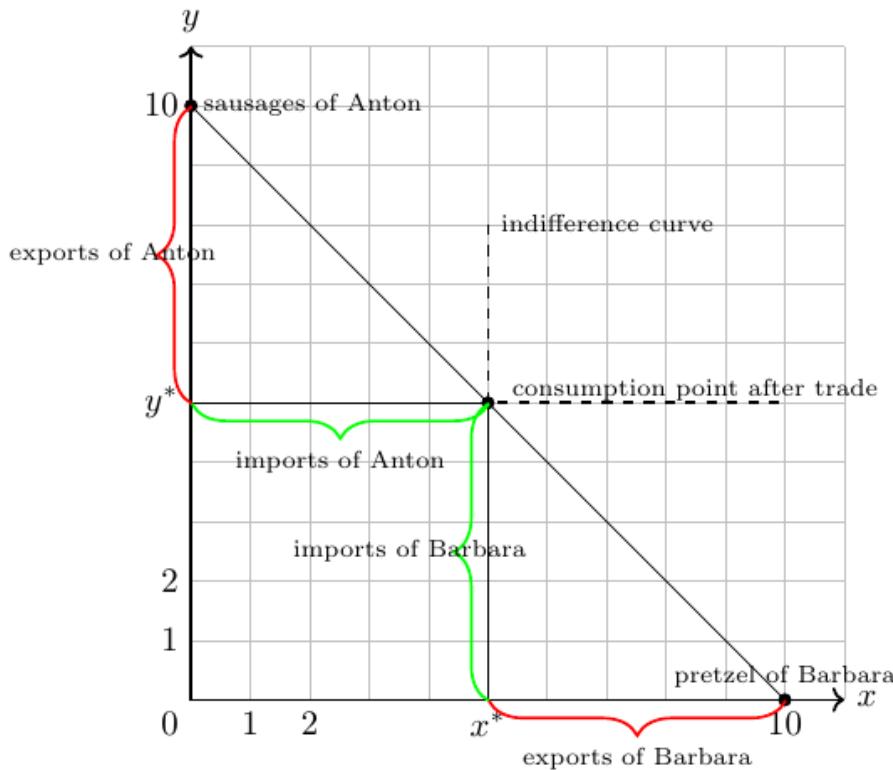
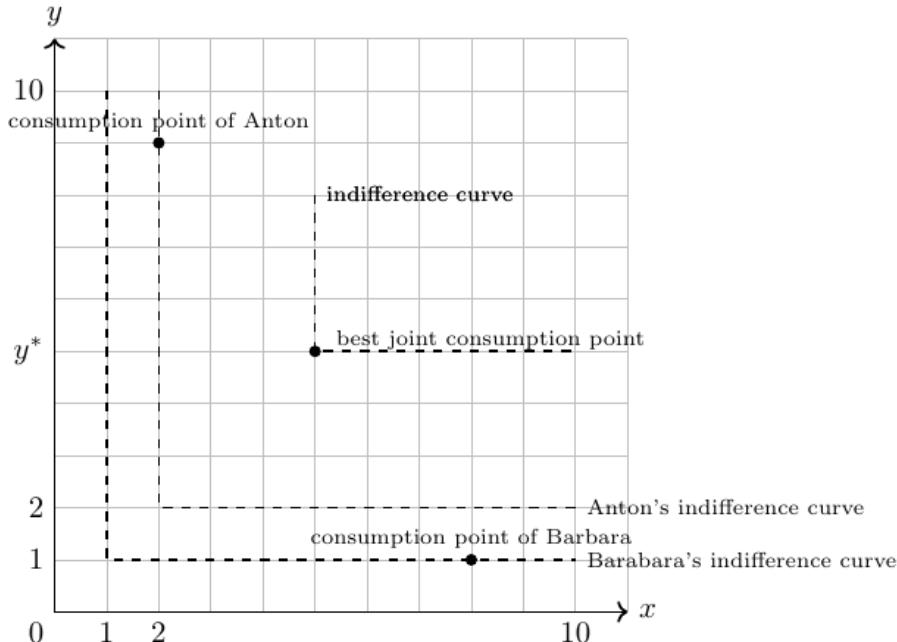


Figure 12.4: Indifference curves of Anton and Barbara



12.3.2 Terms of trade

i Definition

The terms of trade is defined as the quantity of one good that exchanges for a quantity of another. It is typical to express the terms of trade as a ratio.

In the example of Barbara and Anton, the exchange of goods occurs at a 1:1 ratio. In economics, this is referred to as the terms of trade being 1. The terms of trade are defined as the relative price of exports in relation to imports, or in other words, how much of one good can be exchanged for another. For instance, determining how many sausages can be exchanged for how many pretzels. The terms of trade, determined by the two trading partners, depend on a variety of distinct factors, including:

Preferences: For trade to occur, each trader must desire something the other has and be willing to give up something of their own to obtain it. Formally, the expected utility of consuming some of Anton's bread must exceed the disutility of foregoing a few of his sausages, and vice versa for Barbara. Typically, the goods are substitutable rather than perfectly complementary, as is assumed in our specific example.

Uncertainty: Both individuals have clear preferences. If Barbara has never tried Anton's sausages, and Anton typically prefers bread over pretzels, offering free samples before an exchange could reduce uncertainty. Without a sample, their trade would be based on expectations about the taste of the other's product.

Scarcity: The availability of the two goods influences the terms of trade. If, for instance, Barbara has 1000 pretzels, the terms of trade with the sausages would likely change.

Size: The physical size of the goods can impact the terms of trade.

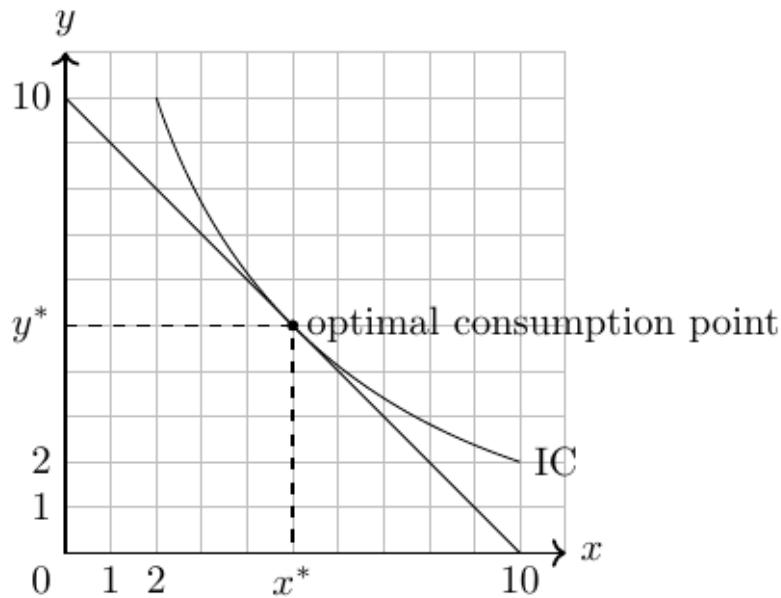
Quality: The quality of goods affects the terms of trade. If the pretzels are stale and hard, both might prefer fewer pretzels per sausage.

Persuasion: If Barbara is a more persuasive salesperson than Anton, she might be able to negotiate more favorable terms of trade.

Government Policy: Taxes imposed by an official based on the traded quantities could affect the terms of trade. Additionally, if laws prevent Barbara and Anton from meeting, no trade would occur.

Exercise 12.2. Terms of trade ([?@sol-Termsoftrade](#))

Figure 12.5: Optimal consumption point



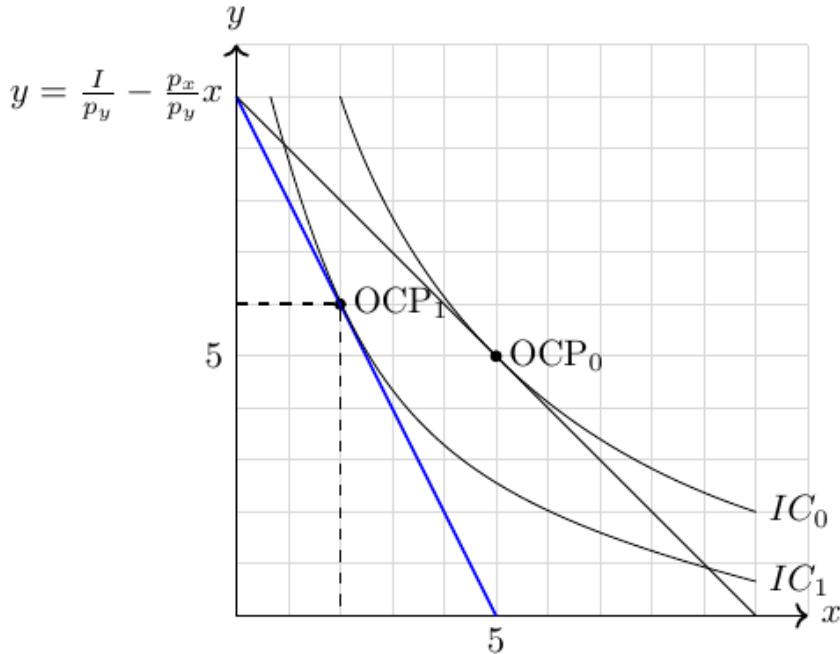
Suppose you have a fixed income $I = 10$ that you can spend on consuming two substitutable goods x, y at certain prices $p_x = 1, p_y = 1$. The current consumption decision is sketched in the figure above. Suppose the price of good x increases, that is, $p_x = 2$. Draw the new budget line. How will consumption change? What are the new terms of trade?

Solution

The new point of optimal consumption OCP_1 at $(x = 2, y = 6)$ illustrates that an increase in the price of good x leads consumers to substitute good x and consume more of good y but less of good x .

The terms of trade are now $\frac{p_x}{p_y} = 2$. That is, consumers are willing to give up 1 unit of good x to receive 2 units of good y . The budget line is drawn in blue.

Figure 12.6: Optimal consumption point after price increase



Note: The indifference curve IC_1 in the graph is just a guess of mine because we don't have preferences in form of a utility function given. For example, you can also draw an indifference curve that gives you the optimal consumption point at $(x = 1; y = 8)$ or $(x = 4; y = 2)$.

12.3.3 Endowments in an Exchange Economy

In this section, we examine a basic scenario where productive units within an economy are unable to adjust their output to recent changes in world market prices, which stem from global demand and supply fluctuations. Economists refer to the resulting availability of goods as endowments. Essentially, a country is endowed with a certain quantity of goods and seeks to trade these goods on global markets to maximize its welfare. In Section 12.6 we will assume that countries are endowed with a certain amount of factors of production that they can use to produce various goods.

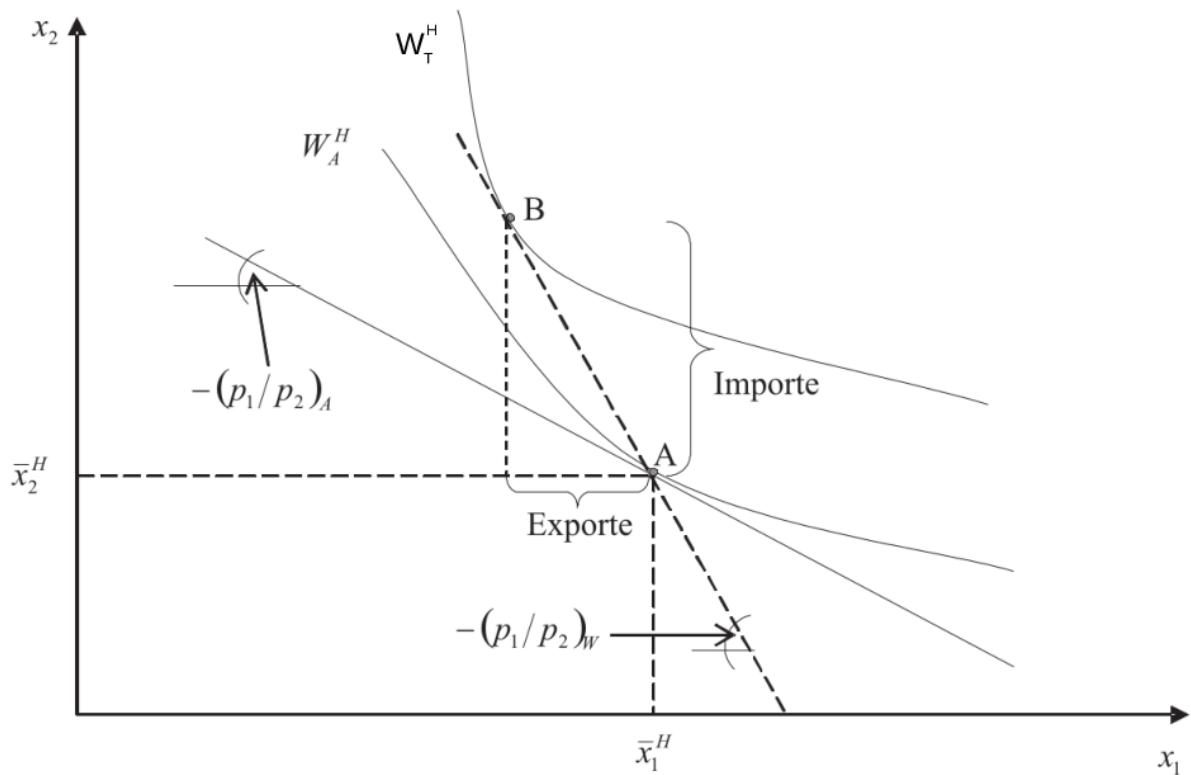
12.3.3.1 Fixed production

Imagine that country H produces \bar{x}_1^H units of good 1 and \bar{x}_2^H units of good 2. In autarky (a state of where there is no trade), it consumes all the goods it produces. This scenario is shown in Figure 12.7, where point A represents the optimal welfare outcome with utility W_A^H for country H in autarky.

Now, let's assume country H can trade with the rest of the world at global market prices, where the price ratio of good 1 to good 2 in the world market, $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_W$, is greater than in autarky, $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_A$:

$$\left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)_W > \left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)_A, \quad (12.1)$$

Figure 12.7: Optimizing consumption through trade



With trade, country H can achieve a higher utility, $W_T^H > W_A^H$, by exporting good x_1 and importing good x_2 , thus moving to a more advantageous consumption point.

12.3.3.2 Flexible production

- Trade is even more beneficial to a country if it can adjust its production to export more goods that are relatively high priced in the world market. This statement is shown in Figure 12.8.
- In autarky, optimal consumption would be at point A and optimal consumption would be at point C under free trade. Now suppose that producers in country H know that they can sell their goods at price p_1^W and p_2^W before deciding what to produce. Then they would choose production point B on the production frontier curve to export good x_1 and import good x_2 at price $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_A$ to be consumed at point D. Welfare at point D is higher than at point C or A because we end up at the highest indifference curve.

Exercise 12.3. Production and consumption

Figure 12.8: Optimizing consumption by adjusting production and trade

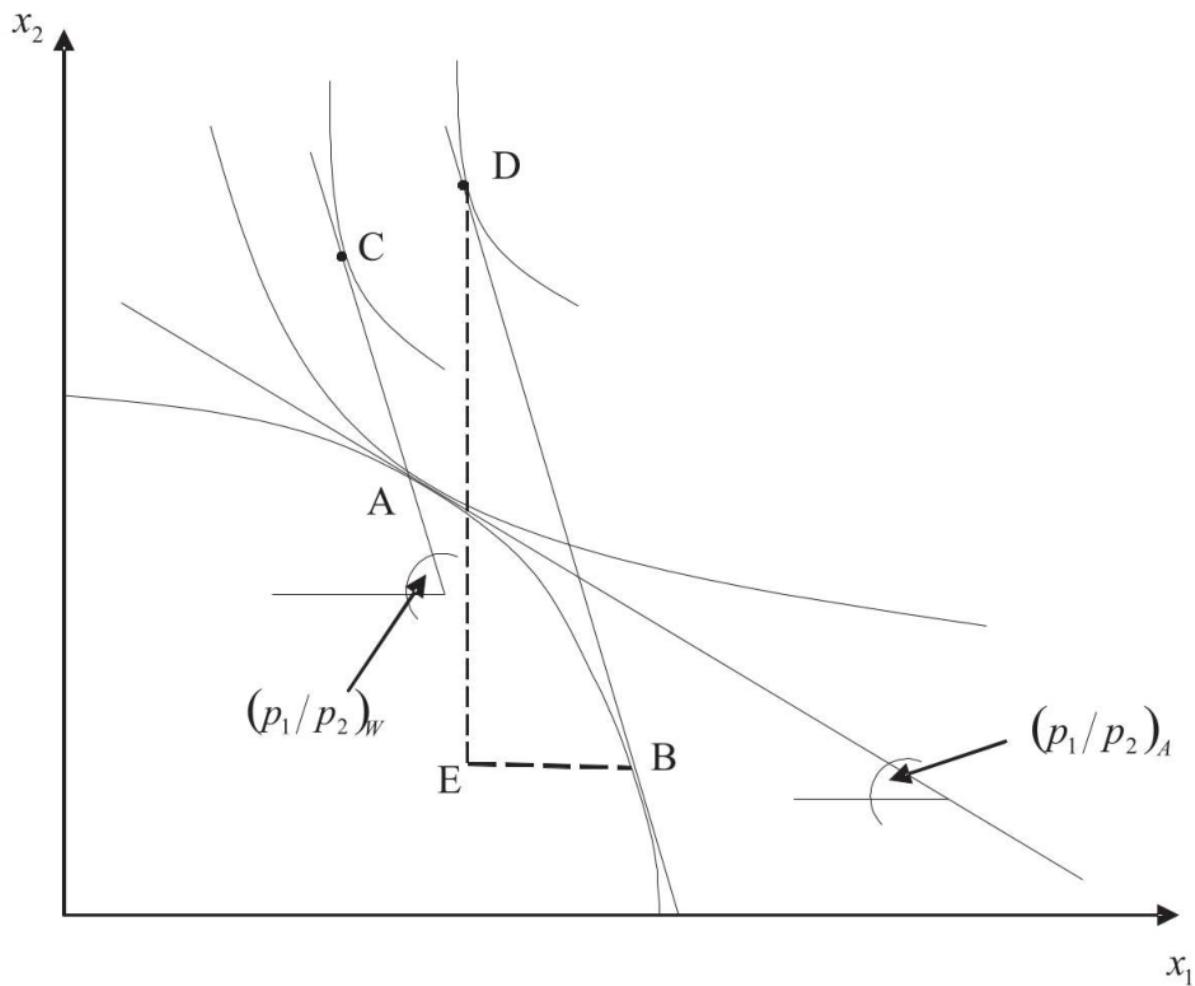
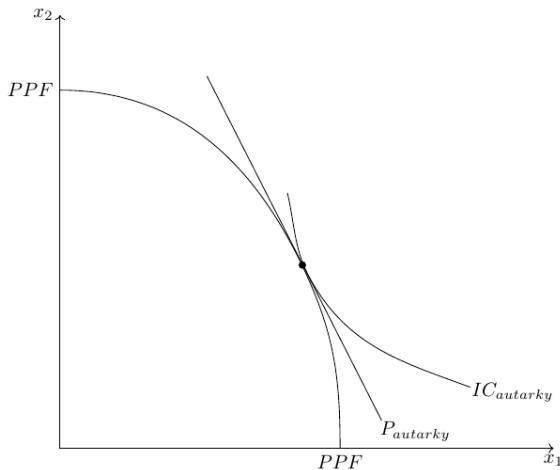


Figure 12.9: Optimizing consumption by adjusting production and trade



In Figure 12.9 the production possibility frontier curve, PPF , of a country, H , in autarky in which only two products, x_1 and x_2 , can be produced and consumed, respectively.

- Given the country is in autarky (that is, no trade), the price relation of both goods within the country is represented by the line denoted with $P_{autarky}$. The indifference curve that represents the utility maximizing level of utility is denoted with $IC_{autarky}$. Mark in the figure how much of both goods are produced and consumed, respectively.
- Suppose country H opens up to trade with foreign countries. Further assume that the country can trade with other countries at fixed world market prices

$$\left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)_W > \left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)_A, \quad (12.2)$$

where $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_A$ denotes the price relation of country H in autarky, $P_{autarky}$. Sketch the world market price relation in the figure and mark the new production point on the production possibility frontier curve. Moreover, mark below those statements that are true:

- Country H will produce more of good x_1 than in autarky
- Country H will produce more of good x_2 than in autarky
- Country H will consume more of good x_1 than in autarky
- Country H will export good x_1 and import good x_2 .
- Country H will export good x_2 and import good x_1 .
- Country H will suffer a loss of welfare due to opening up to trade.

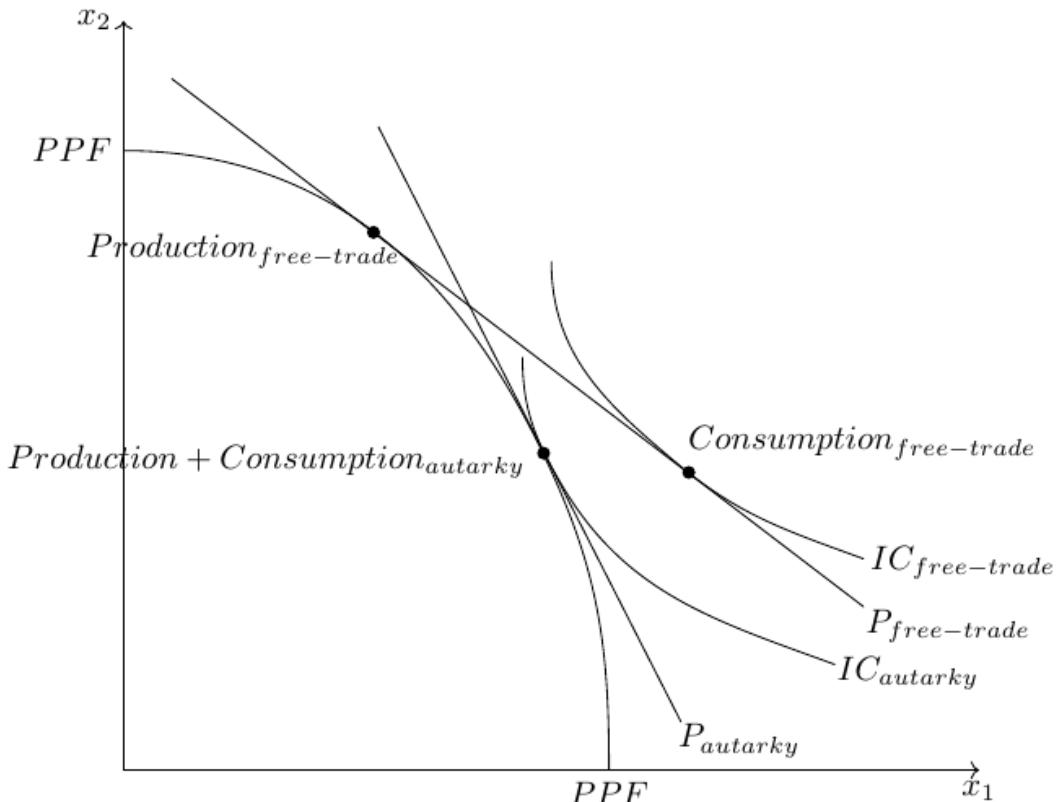
Exercise 12.4. Production and consumption (@sol-gains)

Show that opening markets to foreign trade can be beneficial for a small economy where only two goods can be produced and consumed. Use a two-way diagram to do this. In particular, show the consumption and production point of the economy in autarky with the corresponding price relation. Then assume that the economy opens up to the foreign market, allowing it to buy goods at world prices that are different from prices in autarky. Show the consumption and production point of the autarkic economy with the corresponding price relation under free trade. Can you outline the higher level of welfare in free trade?

Solution

As visualized in Figure 12.10, the indifference curve under free trade lies above the IC under autarky. This reflects the higher utility level under free trade.

Figure 12.10: Gains from trade



12.4 More trade is not necessarily good (immiserizing growth)

So far, I have implicitly assumed that the world market price is fixed and not changed by the entry of country H into the free trade market. When the latter is the case, economists speak of a small open economy (SOE). In general, a SOE is an economy that is so small that its policies do not change world prices.

Suppose that country H is not an SOE. What would happen to world prices if country H offered a lot of good x_1 to receive good x_2 ? Obviously, $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_W$ would fall. In the worst case, country H is so large that

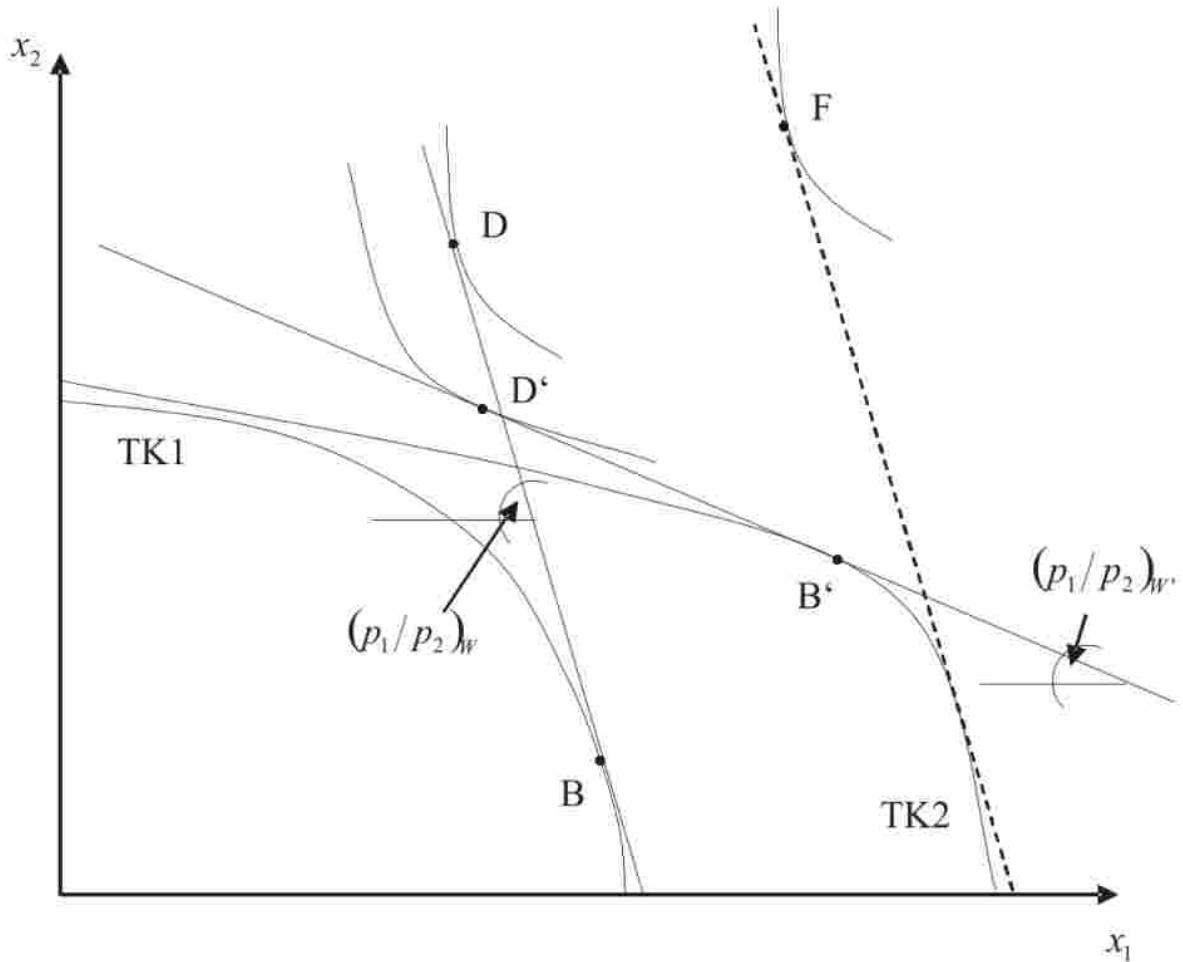
$$\left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)_W = \left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)_A.$$

This means that country H has no benefits from free trade.

Assuming that a (large) country cannot opt out from free trade and that the exporting sector grows, there is a theoretical scenario called *immiserizing growth* that shows that free trade countries are worse off in the long run. This scenario is illustrated in Figure 12.11. The figure summarizes two periods. In the first period, country H produces at point B and consumes at point D, trading goods at world prices $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_W$. Then country H grows in sector 1. This is shown in the new production possibility curve TK2. If country H were able to trade at the old world price, it would be able to consume at point F. Unfortunately, country H is not a SOE, and therefore world prices (from country H's perspective) deteriorate to $(\frac{p_1}{p_2})_W'$. This has bad implications for country H, since its optimal consumption is now at point D', which has lower welfare

relative to point D. However, this is not an argument against trade, since the welfare at point D' is still above the production possibility curve in autarky, TK1.

Figure 12.11: Immiserizing growth



12.5 The theory of comparative advantage (Ricardian Model)

Learning objectives

- Less-developed countries can compete in international markets even if they are less productive in producing everything. In other words, opening to trade is beneficial for countries that have an absolute disadvantage in the production of all goods.
- Both, developed and less-developed countries can gain from international trade.
- Specialization in production increases the price of exported goods for that country. As a result, prices converge.
- A discussion of national competitiveness is not useful through the lens of the Ricardo theorem.

Recommended reading: Suranovic [2012, Chapter 2]

David Ricardo (1772-1823), one of the most influential economists of his time, had a simple idea that had a major impact on how we think about trade. In [Ricardo \[1817\]](#), he argued that bilateral trade can be a positive-sum game for both countries, even if one country is less productive in all sectors, if each country specializes in what it can produce relatively best.

He introduced the theory of comparative advantage that is still an important corner stone of the modern

Figure 12.12: This painting shows Ricardo, aged 49 in 1821.



Source: National Portrait Gallery

theory of international trade¹ It refers to the ability of one party (an individual, a firm, or a country) to produce a particular good or service at a lower opportunity cost than another party. In other words, it is the ability to produce a product with the highest relative efficiency, given all other products that could be produced. In contrast, an absolute advantage is defined as the ability of one party to produce a particular good at a lower absolute cost than another party.

Figure 12.13: Comparative advantage: Specialize and exchange



As shown in Figure 12.13, the concept of comparative advantage is quite simple. Two parties can increase their overall productivity by sharing the workload based on their respective comparative advantages. Once they have achieved this increase in productivity, they must agree on how to divide the resulting output. Of course, both parties must benefit compared to a scenario in which they work independently.

12.5.1 Defining absolute and comparative advantages

A subject (country, household, individual, company) has an **absolute advantage** in the production of a good relative to another subject if it can produce the good at lower total costs or with higher productivity. Thus, absolute advantage compares productivity across subjects but within an item.

A subject has a **comparative advantage** in the production of a good relative to another subject if it can produce that good at a lower opportunity cost relative to another subject.

Let me explain the idea of the concept of comparative advantage with some examples:

Old and young

Two women live alone on a deserted island. In order to survive, they have to do some basic activities like fetching water, fishing and cooking. The first woman is young, strong and educated. The second is older, less agile and rather uneducated. Thus, the first woman is faster, better and more productive in all productive activities. So she has an absolute advantage in all areas. The second woman, in turn, has an absolute disadvantage in all areas. In some activities, the difference between the two is large; in others, it is small. The law of comparative advantage states that it is not in the interest of either of them to work in isolation: They can both benefit from specialization and exchange. If the two women divide the work, the younger woman should specialize in tasks where she is most productive (for example, fishing), while the

¹Actually, strictly speaking, this is not correct, since the original description of the idea can already be found in [Torrens \[1815\]](#). However, David Ricardo formalized the idea in his 1817 book using a convincing and simple numerical example. For more information on this, as well as a great introduction to the Ricardian model and more, I recommend [Suranovic \[2012\]](#).

older woman should focus on tasks where her productivity is only slightly lower (for example, cooking). Such an arrangement will increase overall production and benefit both.

The lawyer's typist

The famous economist and Nobel laureate Paul Samuelson (1915-2009) provided another example in his well-received textbook of economics, as follows: Suppose that in a given city the best lawyer also happens to be the best secretary. However, if the lawyer focuses on the task of being a lawyer, and instead of practicing both professions at the same time, hires a secretary, both the lawyer's and the secretary's performance would increase because it is more difficult to be a lawyer than a secretary.²

12.5.2 Autarky: An example of two different persons

Assume that A and B want to produce and consume y and x respectively. Because of the complementarity of the two goods, each must be consumed in combination with the other. The utility function of both persons is $U_{\{A;B\}} = \min(x, y)$. Both persons work for 4 time units, that is, their units of labor are $L_A = L_B = 4$. A needs 1 unit of labor to produce one unit of good y and 2 units of labor to produce one unit of good x . B needs $\frac{4}{10} = 0.4$ units of labor to produce one unit of good y or good x . Thus, their **labor input coefficients**, which measure the units of labor required by a subject to produce one unit of good, are $a_y^A = 1$, $a_x^A = 2$, $a_y^B = 0.4$, $a_x^B = 0.4$:

input coefficient (a)	A	B
Good y	1	0.4
Good x	2	0.4

Spending all her time in the production of y , A can produce $\frac{L_A}{a_y^A} = \frac{4}{1} = 4$ units of y and B can produce $\frac{L_B}{a_y^B} = \frac{4}{0.4} = 10$ units of y . Spending all her time in the production of y , A can produce $\frac{L_A}{a_x^A} = \frac{4}{2} = 2$ units of x and B can produce $\frac{L_B}{a_x^B} = \frac{4}{0.4} = 10$ units of x . Knowing this, we can easily draw the production possibility frontier curves (PPF) of person A and B as shown in Figure 12.14.

In autarky, both person maximize their utility: Individual A can consume $\frac{4}{3}$ units of each good and individual B can consume 5 units of each good. The respective indifference curves are drawn in dashed blue lines in Figure 12.14.

Exercise 12.5. Indifference curves for perfect complementary goods

- Name some real world examples of goods that are perfectly complementary.
- The blue dashed lines in Figure 12.14 represent the indifference curves of individual A and B. The upward sloping dashed black line is denoted with “possible consumption path”. Explain, why is it not correct—in strict sense—to name it like that?

12.5.2.1 Can person A and B improve their maximum consumption with cooperation?

Let us assume the two persons come together and try to understand how they can improve by jointly deciding which goods they should produce. If we assume that both persons redistribute their joint production so that both have an incentive to share and trade, we can concentrate on the total production output. Their joint PPF curve can then be drawn in two ways:

- Person A specializes in good x , then the joint production possibilities are presented in Figure 12.15.

If A produces only good x , as shown in Figure 12.15, we see that A and B can consume a total of 6 units of goods x and y . This is less in total than in autarky, where A can consume $\frac{4}{3}$ units of each good and person B can consume 5 units of each good, giving a combined consumption of $\frac{19}{3} = 6, \bar{6}$.

- Person A specializes in good y , then the joint production possibilities are presented in Figure 12.16.

²In the first eight editions the example comprised a male lawyer who was better at typing than his female secretary, but who had a comparative advantage in practising law. In the ninth edition published 1973, both lawyer and secretary were assumed to be female [see Backhouse & Cherrier, 2019]. Unfortunately, women are still discriminated against in introductory economics textbooks [see Stevenson & Zlotnik, 2018].

Figure 12.14: The production possibility frontier in autarky

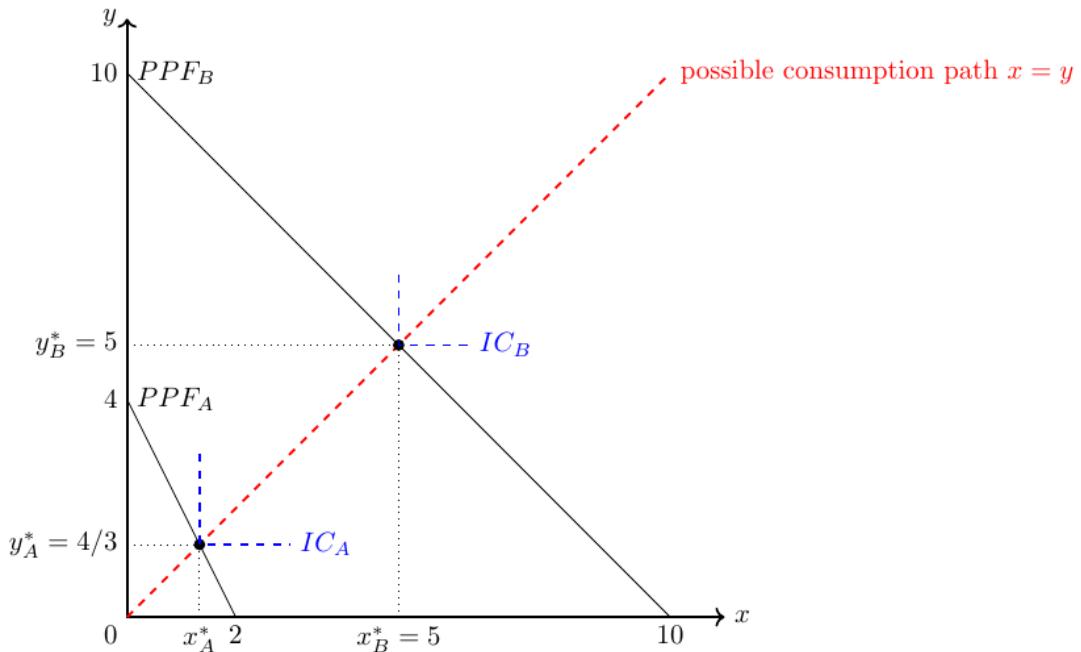
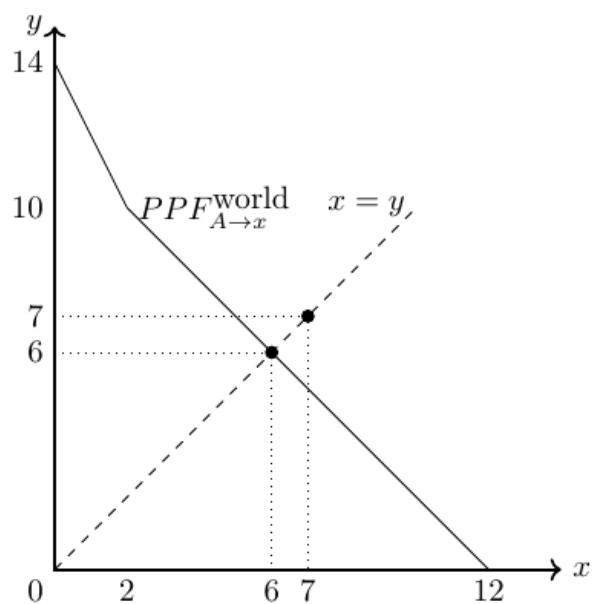
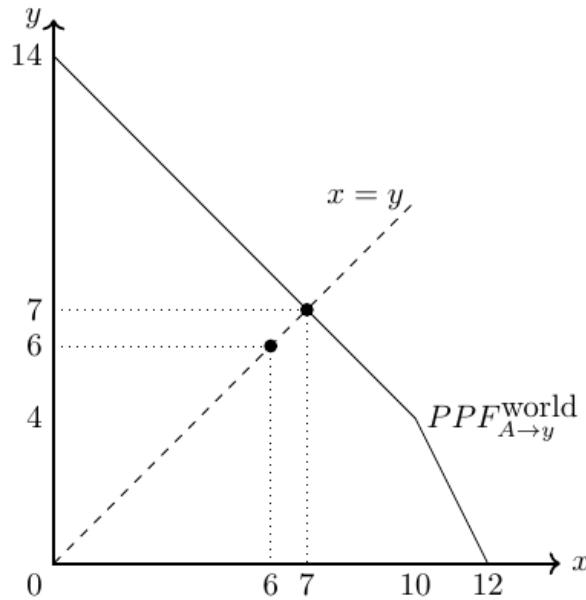
Figure 12.15: World PFF, A specializes in x 

Figure 12.16: World PFF, A specializes y 

If A produces only good y , as shown in Figure 12.16, we see that A and B can consume a total of 7 units of goods x and y . Thus, both can be better off compared to autarky, since the total quantity distributed is larger. Thus, we have an **Pareto improvement** here because at least one person can be better off compared to autarky.

In Figure 12.17, the three possible consumption scenarios are marked with a dot and the PPFs of person A specializing in the production of good x ($PPF_{A \rightarrow x}$) or good y ($PPF_{A \rightarrow y}$) are also drawn. The scenario with person A specializing in the production of good y is the output maximizing solution.³

12.5.2.2 Optimal production in cooperation

In order to produce the most bundles of both goods, the optimal cooperative production is

production in cooperation	A	B
Good y	4	3
Good x	0	7

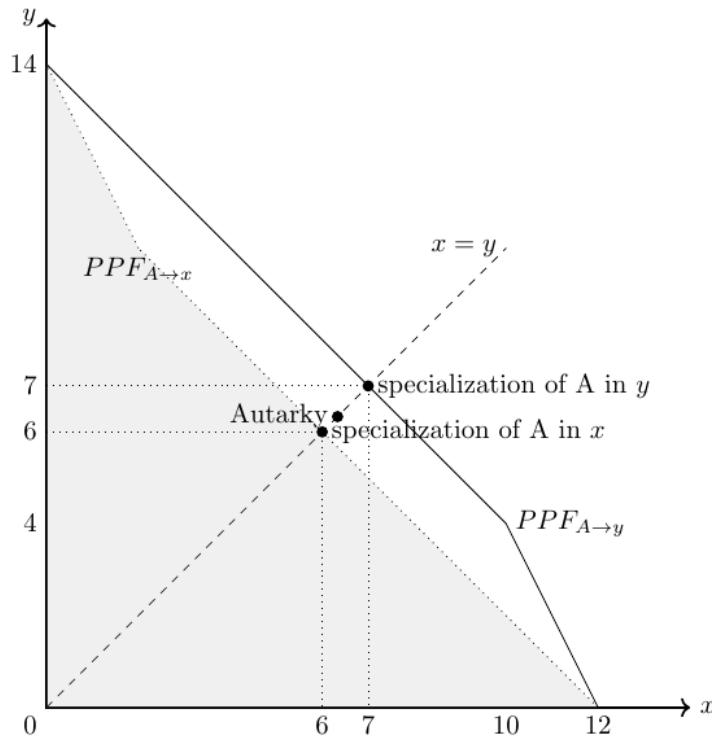
12.5.2.3 Check for absolute advantage

Employing 10 units of labor B can produce more of both goods and hence has an absolute advantage in producing x and y . Formally, we can proof this by comparing the input coefficients of both countries in each good:

absolute advantage	A	B	
Good y	$a_y^A = 1$	$>$	$0.4 = a_y^B$
Good x	$a_x^A = 2$	$>$	$0.4 = a_x^B$

\Rightarrow B has an absolute advantage in good y
 \Rightarrow B has an absolute advantage in good x

³Note that this is also true for any other utility function, since $PPF_{A \rightarrow y}$ is always above $PPF_{A \rightarrow x}$.

Figure 12.17: World PFF in autarky when A specialize in producing good y 

12.5.2.4 Check for comparative advantage

The slope of the PPFs represent the *marginal rate of transformation*, the terms of trade in autarky and the opportunity costs of a country. The opportunity costs are defined by how much of a good x (or y) a person (or country) has to give up to get one more of good y (or x). For example, A must give up $\frac{a_x^A}{a_y^A} = \frac{1}{2} = 0.5$ of good x to produce one more of good y . Thus, A's opportunity costs of producing one unit of y is the production foregone, that is, a half good x . All opportunity costs of our example are:

opportunity costs of producing ...	A	B
... 1 unit of good y :	$\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} = \frac{1}{2} = 0.5$ (good x)	$\frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} = \frac{0.4}{0.4} = 1$ (good x)
... 1 unit of good x :	$\frac{a_x^A}{a_y^A} = \frac{2}{1} = 2$ (good y)	$\frac{a_x^B}{a_y^B} = \frac{0.4}{0.4} = 1$ (good y)

Person A has a comparative advantage in producing good y since A must give up less of good x to produce one unit more of good y than person B must. In turn, Person B has a comparative advantage in producing good x since B must give up less of good y to produce one unit more of good x than person B must give up of good y to produce one unit more of good x . Thus, every person has a comparative advantage and if both would specialize in producing the good in which they have a comparative advantage and share their output they can improve their overall output as was shown in Figure 12.17.

An alternative and more direct way to see the comparative advantages of A and B, respectively, is by comparing the two input coefficients of A with the two input coefficients of B:

$$\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} \leq \frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \frac{1}{2} < \frac{0.4}{0.4}.$$

Thus, A has a comparative advantage in y and B in x .

Table 12.5: Consumption and trade when all gains from cooperation goes to A

(a) Consumption			(b) Exports and imports of goods		
	A	B		A	B
Good y	2	5	Good y	-2	2
Good x	2	5	Good x	2	-2

Table 12.6: Consumption and trade when all gains from cooperation goes to B

(a) Consumption			(b) Exports and imports of goods		
	A	B	Trade	A	B
Good y	$\frac{4}{3}$	$5\frac{2}{3}$	Good y	$-\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$
Good x	$\frac{4}{3}$	$5\frac{2}{3}$	Good x	$\frac{4}{3}$	$-\frac{4}{3}$

Comparative advantage: Definition

Economic subjects (e.g., individuals, households, firms, countries) should specialize in the production of that good in which they have a comparative advantage, that is, the ability of an economic subject to carry out a particular economic activity (e.g., producing goods) at a lower opportunity cost than a trade partner.

- $\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} > \frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} \Rightarrow$ country A (B) has a comparative advantage in good x (y)
- $\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} < \frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} \Rightarrow$ country A (B) has a comparative advantage in good y (x)
- $\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} = \frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} \Rightarrow$ no country has a comparative advantage

12.5.2.5 Trade structure and consumption in cooperation

If A specializes in the production of y , she must import some of good y , otherwise she cannot consume a bundle of both goods as desired. In turn, B wants to import some of the good y . B will not accept to consume less than 5 bundles of y and x as this was his autarky consumption. Thus, B wants a minimum of 2 units of good y from A. A will not accept to give more than $4 - \frac{4}{3} = 2\frac{2}{3}$ items of good y away and he wants at least $\frac{4}{3}$ items of good x . Overall, we can define three trade scenarios:

1. All gains from cooperation goes to A (see Figure 12.18 and Table 12.5);
2. All gains from cooperation goes to B (see Table 12.6); or
3. The gains from specialization and trade are shared by A and B with a trade structure between the two extreme scenarios.

Each of the three cases yield a *Pareto-improvement*, that is, none gets worst but at least one gets better by mutually decide on production and redistribute the joint output. In the real world, however, it is often difficult for countries to cooperate and decide mutually on production and consumption. In particular, it is practically difficult to enforce redistribution of the joint outcome so that everyone is better off. So let's examine whether there is a mechanism that yields trade gains for both trading partners.

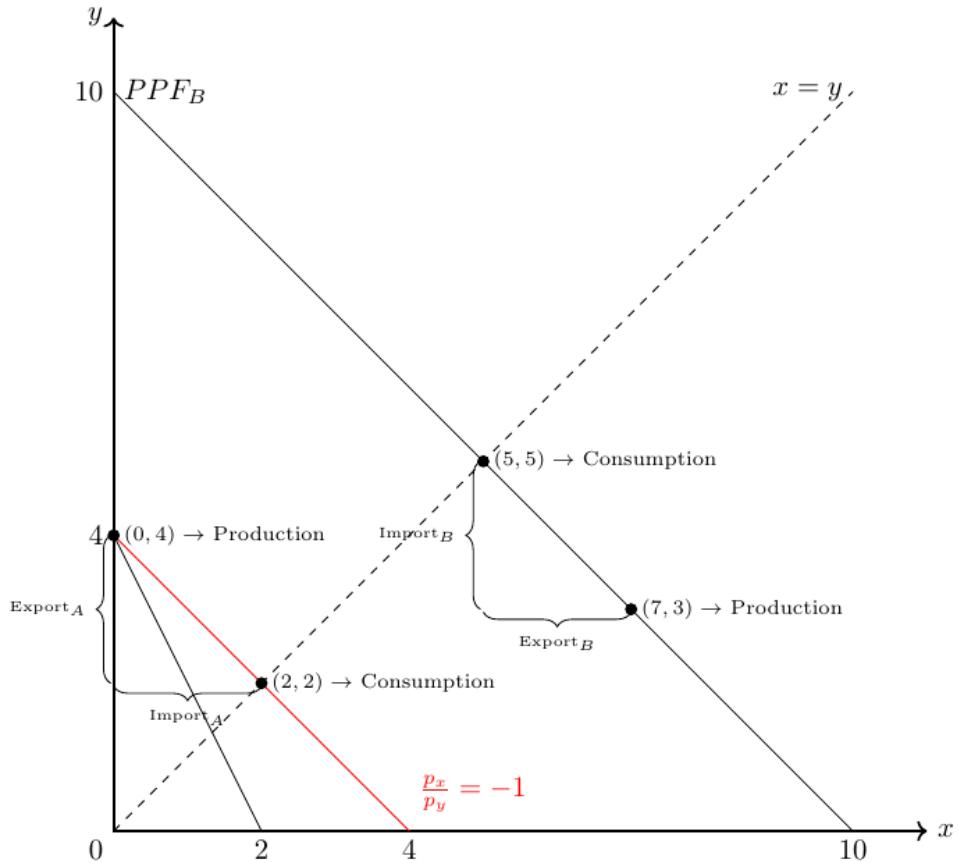
12.5.3 The Ricardian model

To understand the underlying logic of the argument, let us formalize and generalize the situation of two subjects and their choices for production and consumption.

In particular, the Ricardian Model build on the following assumptions:

- 2 subjects (A,B) can produce 2 goods (x,y) with
- technologies with constant returns to scale. Moreover,
- production limits are defined by $y^i Q_y^i + a_x^i Q_x^i = L^i \$$, where a_j^i denotes the unit of labor requirement for person $i \in \{A, B\}$ in the production of good $j \in \{x, y\}$ and Q_j^i denotes the quantity of good j

Figure 12.18: Bilateral trade with one winner



produced by person i , and Q_j^i the quantity of good j produced by person i and Q_j^i the quantity of good j produced by person i . (Imagine they both work 4 hours).

- Let a_j^i denote the so-called labor input coefficients, that is, the units of labor required by a person $i \in \{A, B\}$ to produce one unit of good $j \in \{x, y\}$.
- Suppose further that person B requires fewer units of labor to produce both goods, that is, $a_y^B > a_y^A$ and $a_x^B > a_x^A$, and that
- a comparative advantage exists, that is, $\frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} \neq \frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A}$.

Ricardian theorem

If each country specialize in the production in the good for which it has a comparative advantage and exports this good, both countries gain from trade when the new world market price relation, $\frac{p_y^*}{p_x^*}$, lies between the price relations of both countries⁴

$$\frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} = \frac{p_y^B}{p_x^B} > \frac{a_y^*}{a_x^*} = \frac{p_y^*}{p_x^*} > \frac{p_y^A}{p_x^A} = \frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A}$$

because the consumption possibilities enlarge for both countries compared to a situation with no trade.

12.5.4 Distribution of welfare gains

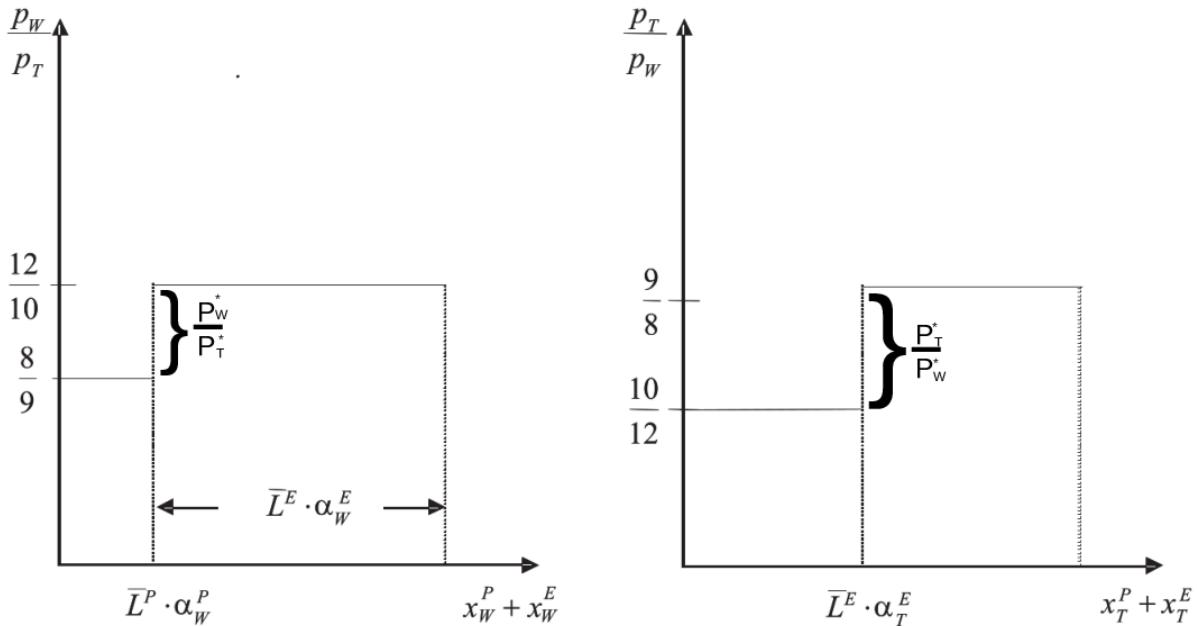
The Ricardo theorem tells us nothing about the precise distribution of welfare gains. In this section, I will show that the distribution of welfare gains is the result of relative supply and demand in the world.

To illustrate this, consider Ricardo's famous example⁵ of two countries (England and Portugal) that can produce cloth T and wine W with different input requirements, namely:

$$\frac{p_W^P}{p_T^P} = \frac{a_W^P}{a_T^P} = \frac{8}{9} < \frac{12}{10} = \frac{a_W^E}{a_T^E} = \frac{p_W^E}{p_T^E}$$

Thus, England has an absolute disadvantage in the production of both goods, but England has a *comparative advantage in the production of cloth* and Portugal has a *comparative advantage in the production of wine*. Let us further assume that both countries are similarly endowed with labor, \bar{L} . Then we can calculate the world supply of cloth and wine given relative world prices, $\frac{p_T}{p_W}$. Since we know that Portugal will only produce wine if the price of wine relative to cloth is above $\frac{p_W}{p_T} = \frac{8}{9}$ and England will only produce wine if the price of wine relative to cloth is above $\frac{p_W}{p_T} = \frac{12}{10}$, we can draw the relative world supply of goods as shown in the left panel of Figure 12.19. Note that α in the figure means $\frac{1}{\alpha}$. Similarly, we can draw in the world supply of clothes, shown in the right panel of Figure 12.19.

Figure 12.19: World's relative supply



Whether both countries specialize totally in the production of one good, or only one country does so depends on world demand for both goods at relative prices. Since we know from the Ricardo Theorem that the world market price relation, $\frac{p_T^*}{p_W^*}$, must be between the two autarky price relations:

$$\frac{p_T^P}{p_W^P} > \frac{p_T^*}{p_W^*} > \frac{p_T^E}{p_W^E}. \quad (12.3)$$

⁴In order to see that the relative prices within a country equals the relative productivity parameters, consider that nominal income of labor in producing good $j \in \{x, y\}$, $w_j L_j^i$, must equal the production value, that is, $p_j^i x_j^i$:

$$w_j L_j^i = p_j^i x_j^i.$$

Setting $w_j = 1$ as the numeraire and re-arranging the equation, we get

$$p_j^i = \frac{L_j^i}{x_j^i} = a_j^i.$$

⁵The example is explained by Suranovic [2012] in greater detail.

If world demand for cloth would be sufficiently high to have a world price of

$$\frac{p_T^P}{p_W^P} = \frac{9}{8}$$

Portugal would not gain from trade. On the contrary, if world demand for wine would be sufficiently high to have a world price of

$$\frac{p_T^P}{p_W^P} = \frac{10}{12}$$

England would not gain from trade. Thus, the price span between $\frac{10}{12}$ and $\frac{9}{8}$ says us which country gains from trade. For example, at a world price of

$$\frac{p_T^*}{p_W^*} = 1$$

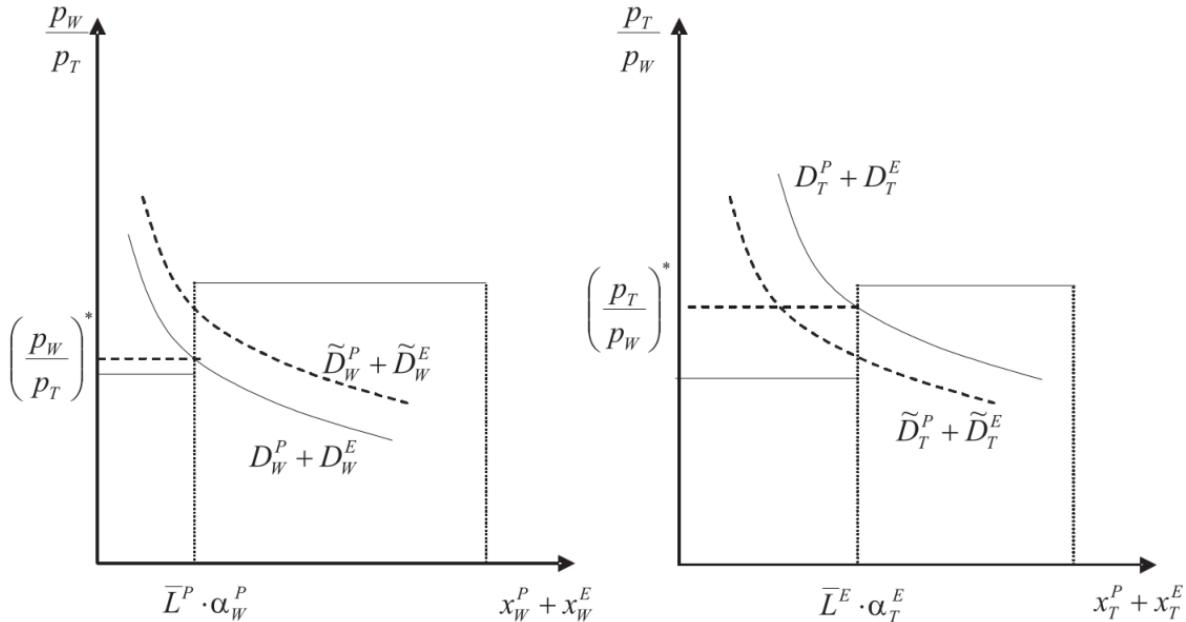
about 57%

$$\left[\frac{\left(1 - \frac{10}{12}\right)}{\left(\frac{9}{8} - \frac{10}{12}\right)} \approx 0.57 \right] \quad (12.4)$$

of the gains through trade will be distributed to Portugal and about 43% will be distributed to England.

In Figure 12.20, I show two demand curves of the World. The dashed demand curve represents a world with a relative strong preference on wine and the other demand curve represents a relative strong demand for cloth. Since Portugal has a comparative advantage in producing wine, they would happy to live in a world where demand for wine is relatively high, whereas the opposite holds true for England.

Figure 12.20: World's relative supply and demand



Exercise 12.6. Comparative advantage and opportunity costs

Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with labor which is the only production factor. Both countries can produce either good y or good x . The table below gives the input coefficients, a , for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively. Assume that both countries have 12 units of labor available.

	Country A	Country B
Good y	1	3
Good x	2	4

- a) Name the country with an absolute advantage.
- b) Draw the production possibility curves in a y-x-diagramm.
- c) What are *opportunity costs*?
- d) Calculate how many goods of *x* country A has to give up to produce one unit more of good *y*.
- e) Calculate how many goods of *y* country A has to give up to produce one unit more of good *x*.
- f) Calculate how many goods of *x* country B has to give up to produce one unit more of good *y*.
- g) Calculate how many goods of *y* country B has to give up to produce one unit more of good *x*.
- h) Name the country with a comparative advantage in good *y*.
- i) Name the country with a comparative advantage in good *x*.

Solution

- a) Country A has an absolute advantage in producing both goods as

$$a_y^A = 1 < 3 = a_y^B$$

and

$$a_x^A = 2 < 4 = a_x^B$$

- b) Solution is shown in the lecture.
- c) Opportunity cost is the value of what you lose when choosing between two or more options. Alternative definition: Opportunity cost is the loss you take to make a gain, or the loss of one gain for another gain.
- d) If A wants to produce one unit more of good *y* it has to give up $\frac{1}{2}$ units of good *x*.
- e) If A wants to produce one unit more of good *x* it has to give up 2 units of good *y*.
- f) If B wants to produce one unit more of good *y* it has to give up $\frac{3}{4}$ units of good *x*.
- g) If A wants to produce one unit more of good *x* it has to give up $\frac{2}{3}$ units of good *y*.

opportunity costs of
producing ...

	A	B
... 1 unit of good <i>y</i>	$\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} = \frac{1}{2} = 0.5$ (good <i>x</i>)	$\frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} = \frac{3}{4} = 0.75$ (good <i>x</i>)
... 1 unit of good <i>x</i>	$\frac{a_x^A}{a_y^A} = \frac{2}{1} = 2$ (good <i>y</i>)	$\frac{a_x^B}{a_y^B} = \frac{4}{3} = \frac{4}{3}$ (good <i>y</i>)

- h) Country A has a comparative advantage in producing good *y*.
- i) Country B has a comparative advantage in producing good *x*.

Exercise 12.7. The best industry is not competitive

Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with labor which is the only production factor. Both countries can produce either good *y* or good *x*. The table below gives the input coefficients, *a*, for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good *y* and good *x*, respectively.

Good	Country A	Country B
Good y	10	9
Good x	12	10

Discuss absolute and comparative advantages. How much faster does B needs to in producing good y to become an exporter of that good?

Solution

The logic of opportunity cost is straightforward. You must compare the opportunity costs across countries: If country A wants to produce one more unit of good y , it requires 10 units of labor. With these 10 units, it could produce $10/12 = 0.83$ units of good x because it requires 12 units of labor to produce 1 unit of good x . If country B wants to produce one more unit of good y , it requires 9 units of labor. With these 9 units, it could produce $9/10 = 0.9$ units of good x because it requires 10 units of labor to produce 1 unit of good x . Thus, the opportunity costs of country A are smaller compared to country B in producing good y . This is because country A has to give up less production of good x in order to produce 1 more unit of good y .

opportunity costs of
producing...

	Person A	Person B
... 1 unit of good y :	$\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} = \frac{10}{12} \approx 0.83$ (good x)	$\frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} = \frac{9}{10} = 0.9$ (good x)
... 1 unit of good x :	$\frac{a_x^A}{a_y^A} = \frac{12}{10} = 1.2$ (good y)	$\frac{a_x^B}{a_y^B} = \frac{10}{9} \approx 1.11$ (good y)

Thus, A has a comparative advantage in producing good y and B has a comparative advantage in producing good x . This seems to be counterintuitive as B can produce faster anything and everybody else.

When looking on input coefficients, we get

$$\frac{a_y^A}{a_x^A} = \frac{10}{12} < \frac{9}{10} = \frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B}$$

which gives us the same comparative advantages as described above.

To become an exporter of y , B needs to have lower opportunity costs in the production of y than A. This can happen by becoming more productive in producing y **and/or** by becoming 'slower' in producing good x so that $\frac{a_y^B}{a_x^B} < \frac{10}{12}$

Exercise 12.8. Comparative advantage and input coefficients

Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with labor which is the only production factor. Both countries can produce either good y or good x . The table below gives the input coefficients, a , for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively.

	Country A	Country B
Good y	400	2
Good x	300	1

- Name the country with an absolute advantage.
- Name the country with a comparative advantage in good y .
- Name the country with a comparative advantage in good x .

Solution

- Country B has an absolute advantage in producing both goods.
- Country A has a comparative advantage in producing good y .
- Country B has a comparative advantage in producing good x .

Exercise 12.9. Comparative advantage: Germany and Bangladesh

The table below gives the unit of labor needed to produce one machine, one ship, and one cloth in Germany and Bangladesh.

	Machine	Ship	Cloth
Bangladesh	100	10000	50
Germany	5	50	3

- Which country has an absolute advantage in the production of machines, ships, and clothes?
- What is Germany's and Bangladesh's comparative advantage if we look only at machines and ships?
- What is Germany's and Bangladesh's comparative advantage if we look only at machines and clothes?
- What is Germany's and Bangladesh's comparative advantage if we look only at ships and clothes?
- Can you infer from the previous calculations which good Germany will export for sure and which good it will surely not export?

Solution

- Germany has an absolute advantage in the production of the three goods because its labor input coefficients are smaller in all three goods.
- Since $p_B^{m/s} = \frac{100}{10000} < p_G^{m/s} = \frac{5}{50}$ Bangladesh has a comparative advantage in producing machines and Germany has a comparative advantage in producing ships.
- Since $p_B^{m/c} = \frac{100}{50} > p_G^{m/c} = \frac{5}{3}$ Bangladesh has a comparative advantage in producing clothes and Germany has a comparative advantage in producing machines.
- Since $p_B^{s/c} = \frac{10000}{50} > p_G^{s/c} = \frac{50}{3}$ Bangladesh has a comparative advantage in producing clothes and Germany has a comparative advantage in producing ships.
- Germany has a clear comparative advantage in producing ships and hence will export ships. Moreover, Germany has a clear comparative disadvantage in producing cloth and will definitely import clothes.

Exercise 12.10. Multiple choice: Ricardian model

Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with labor which is the only production factor. Both countries can produce either good y or good x . The table below gives the input coefficients, a , for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively.

	Country A	Country B
Good y	40	20
Good x	30	10

Which of the following statements is/are true?

- Country A has an absolute advantage in producing both goods.
- Country B has an absolute advantage in producing both goods.
- Country A has a comparative advantage in good y and a comparative disadvantage in good x .
- Country B has a comparative advantage in good y and a comparative disadvantage in good x .
- Trade will not occur between these two countries.

Solution

Choices b) and c) are correct.

Exercise 12.11. Ricardian Model again

Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with the only production factor labor which can be used to produce either good y or good x . The table below gives input coefficients, a , for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively.

	Country A	Country B
Good y	11	22
Good x	8	16

Which of the following statements is true?

- a) Country A will export good y and import good x .
- b) Country B will export good y and import good x .
- c) Country B has an absolute disadvantage in producing both goods.
- d) Trade will not occur between these two countries.

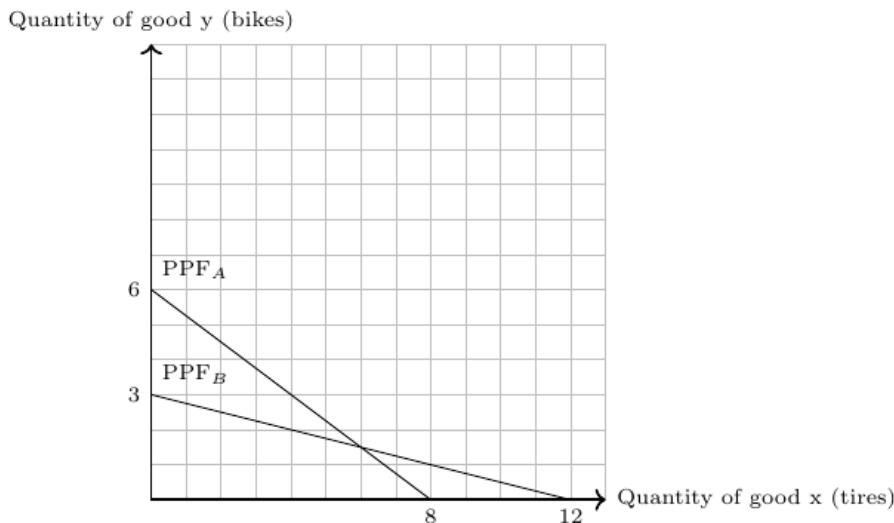
Solution

- c) and d) are true.

Exercise 12.12. Bike and tires

Consider two countries, A and B . Both have a labor endowment of 24, $L^A = L^B = 24$. In both countries two goods can be produced: bikes, which are denoted by y , and bike tires, which are denoted by x . Assume that the two goods can only be consumed in bundles of one bike and two bike tires. The following graph illustrates the production possibility (PPF) curve of both countries in autarky, i.e., country A and B do not trade with each other.

Figure 12.21: Production possibilities of bike and tires in A and B



- a) How many **complete bikes**, that is, one bike with two tires, can be consumed in autarky in country A and B, respectively. Draw the production points for country A and B into the figure. (A calculation is not necessary.)
- b) Calculate—for both countries—the input coefficients, a , that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively. Fill in the four input coefficients in the following table:

	Country A	Country B
Good y (bikes)	()	()
Good x (bike tires)	()	()

c) Fill in the ten gaps () in the following text:

If we assume that both countries specialize completely in the production of the good at which they have a comparative advantage and trade is allowed and free of costs, then

- country A produces () units of bikes and () units of tires and
- country B produces () units of bikes and () units of tires.

Moreover, since both countries aim to consume complete bikes, that is, one bike with two tires,

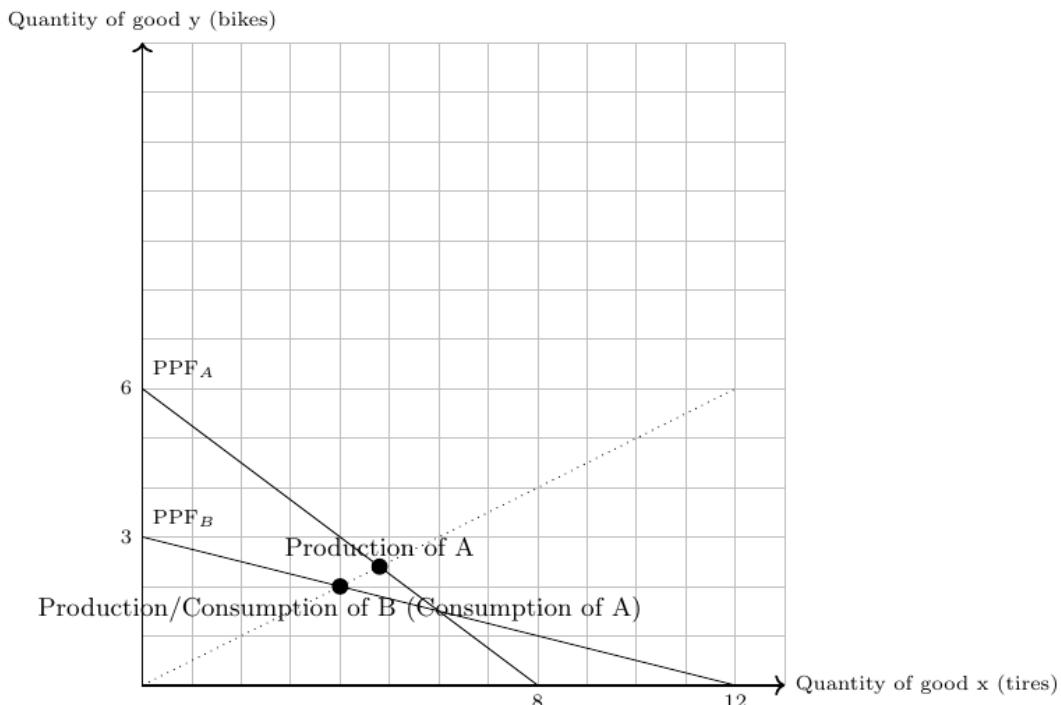
- country A exports () units of () and imports () units of () and
- country B exports () units of () and imports () units of ().

Under free trade - country A can consume () complete bikes and - country B can consume () complete bikes.

Solution

- a) Both countries can consume 2 complete bikes, see Figure 12.22.

Figure 12.22: Production and consumption in A and B



b)

	Country A	Country B
Good y (bikes)	$24:6=4$	$24:3=8$
Good x (bike tires)	$24:8=3$	$24:12=2$

- c) If we assume that both countries specialize completely in the production of the good at which they have a comparative advantage and trade is allowed and free of costs, then
- country A produces 6 units of bikes and 0 units of tires and
 - country B produces 0 units of bikes and 12 units of tires.

Moreover, since both countries aim to consume complete bikes, i.e., one bike with two tires,

- country A exports 3 units of bikes and imports 6 units of tires and
- country B exports 6 units of tires and imports 3 units of bikes.

Under free trade

- country A can consume 3 complete bikes and
- country B can consume 3 complete bikes.

Exercise 12.13. Ricardian model MC

Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with the only production factor labor which can be used to produce either good y or good x . The table below gives input coefficients, a , for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively.

	Country A	Country B
Good y	321	899
Good x	459	999

Which of the following statements is true?

- a) Country A has an absolute advantage in both goods.
- b) Country A has an absolute advantage in good y .
- c) Country A has a comparative advantage in both goods.
- d) Country B has a comparative advantage in both goods.
- e) Country A has a comparative advantage in good y .
- f) Country B has a comparative advantage in good y .

Solution

a), b), and e) are correct statements.

12.6 Trade because of different endowments (Heckscher-Ohlin model)

Learning objectives

- Understand the expansion of the Ricardian trade model through the introduction of multiple production factors.
- Learn that differences in countries' factor endowments drive international trade patterns according to the Heckscher-Ohlin framework.
- Understand that a country's comparative abundance in a particular factor gives it a comparative advantage in goods that use that factor intensively.
- Understand the tendency of international trade to equalize factor prices across countries.
- Reflect on how trade can serve as a substitute for the physical mobility of production factors between countries.

Recommended reading: Suranovic [2012, Chapters 5]

12.6.1 Nobel prize winning theory

The Model which we discuss in this section is named after two Swedish economist, Eli Heckscher (1879-1952) and Bertil Ohlin (1899-1979). Bertil Ohlin received the Nobel Prize in 1977 (together with James Meade). The HO-Model, as it is often abbreviated, was the main reason for the price. Here is an excerpt of the Award ceremony speech:

*Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,
The question why individuals, firms and nations exchange goods and services with each other, and how these processes are influenced by government policies, may be regarded as the basic issue in the science of economics. In the case of exchange between countries, the dominating theory was for a long time – from the beginning of the 19th century – David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage. Ricardo explained there the structure of foreign trade by differences in the production technology between nations. Over the years the theory was gradually improved upon in various ways, but a more basic overhaul did not take place until Bertil Ohlin in the early 1930's published his work *Interregional and International Trade*, which is now a classic, and James Meade in the 1950's came out with his important volumes on *The Theory of International Economic Policy*.*

Bertil Ohlin showed in this work, which to some extent was inspired by a remarkable article by Eli Heckscher, that foreign trade may arise even if the production technology were

identical in different nations. It is enough that the supplies of the factors of production of various kinds – such as labor of different types, capital, and land – differ among nations. The starting point of Ohlin's theory is that a country tends to be an exporter of commodities that use relatively large amounts of the factors of production which are in ample supply as compared to domestic demand – in the hypothetical case without foreign trade. For instance, to take a simple example, if land is abundant in Australia while labor is relatively plentiful in England, we would expect Australia to be an exporter of commodities which for their production require much land, such as wool, while England would be an exporter of commodities the production of which requires relatively much labor, such as textiles.

From this simple theoretical structure, the so-called Heckscher-Ohlin model, follow a number of interesting theorems. One of them, the factor price equalization theorem, tells us that foreign trade tends to equalize the prices of the factors of production in different countries. For instance, when Australia starts to export land-intensive goods, the demand for land goes up relative to labor, with a rise in land prices as a result, while the export of labor-intensive goods by England pulls up wages there relative to the price of land. Thus, trade in commodities tends to have the same effects on the prices of the factors of production as if the factors themselves could move freely between countries. In this sense, commodity trade is a substitute for international mobility of the factors of production. Another inference from Ohlin's theory is that a tariff on a labor-intensive good, such as textiles, affects the distribution of income in favor of labor in the importing country, while a tariff on a capital-intensive commodity, such as wool or steel, results in an income redistribution in favor of the owner of capital.

Source: www.nobelprize.org

The Ricardo model explains international trade as advantageous because of comparative advantages that are the result of technological differences. This means that comparative advantage in the Ricardian model is solely the result of **productivity differences**. The size of a country or the size of the countries' endowments does not matter for comparative advantage in the Ricardian model because there is only one factor of production in Ricardian models, namely labor. However, the assumption that there is only one factor of production is unrealistic, and we should ask what happens if **there is more than one factor of production but no productivity differences?** What happens if the two factors are available differently in different countries? What is the significance of endowment differences for international trade? And which owner of a factor of production will be a winner when a country opens up to world trade, and who will lose? The HO model can provide answers to these questions.

In Table 12.18, I show that countries do indeed differ substantially in their total factor productivity, capital stock, and labor endowments, which are likely correlated with total population.

Table 12.18: Endowment differences across countries in 2010

RegionCode	Capital stock at current PPPs (in mil. 2011USD)	Population (in millions)	Capital stock per capita
ITA	10421041	60	174885
ESP	7806612	47	167518
FRA	10405968	65	160395
GBR	9973122	63	159019
DEU	12687682	80	157738
USA	48876336	310	157729
AUS	3332890	22	150382
CAN	5065392	34	148431
JPN	17161376	127	134790
SAU	3716382	28	132300
KOR	6052155	49	123287
TWN	2835890	23	122549
ROU	1271652	20	62647
VEN	1765996	29	60905
BRA	9869311	199	49691
RUS	6746460	143	47126

RegionCode	Capital stock at current PPPs (in mil. 2011USD)	Population (in millions)	Capital stock per capita
POL	1769004	39	45859
THA	2977965	67	44652
IRN	3234132	74	43555
ARG	1773984	41	43034
MEX	5054693	119	42613
TUR	2938288	72	40634
UKR	1616826	46	35420
IDN	8146254	242	33716
COL	1446480	46	31501
CHN	42218080	1341	31483
PER	681036	29	23185
PHL	1560017	93	16767
IRQ	443733	31	14375
IND	15356803	1231	12475

Source: Penn World Tables 9.0

12.6.2 The Heckscher-Ohlin (factor proportions) model

Assumptions:

1. **Two countries:** Home country and foreign country. Variables referring to foreign countries are marked with an asterisk, *.
2. **Two goods:** x and y .
3. **Two factors of production:** K and L . This is new in relation to the Ricardian model! Let's name the factors K and L , which stands for capital and labor.
4. **Goods differ in terms of their need for factors of production:**

$$\frac{K_y}{L_y} \neq \frac{K_x}{L_x}.$$

This means that one good must be produced in a capital-intensive way and the other in a labor-intensive way. If we assume that good y is capital intensive and good x is labor intensive in production, we can write:

$$\frac{K_y}{L_y} > \frac{K_x}{L_x}.$$

In this inequality, the quantity of capital required to produce good y , K_y , is on the left-hand side relative to the quantity of labor required to produce good y , L_y , that is, the capital intensity of good y . The capital intensity of good x is on the right-hand side of the inequality. Rewriting this inequality, we can express it in terms of labor intensities: $\frac{L_y}{K_y} < \frac{L_x}{K_x}$. It should be clear that both inequalities say the same thing.

5. **No technology differences between countries:** Since we already know from Ricardian theory that productivity or technology differences are a source of international trade, we do not want to explain the same thing again with the HO model. So we assume that all input coefficients are the same in all countries.
6. **Different relative factor endowments:**

$$\frac{K}{L} \neq \frac{K^*}{L^*}.$$

Since countries are assumed to have different factor endowments, the model links a country's trade pattern to its endowment of factors of production. The capital-labor ratio in the home country, $\frac{K}{L}$,

must differ from the ratio abroad. Suppose the home country is capital-rich and the foreign country is labor-rich. Then we have the following ratios between capital and labor in the two countries:

$$\frac{K}{L} > \frac{K^*}{L^*}.$$

This means that the capital-labor ratio (a country's capital intensity) is higher in the home country than abroad. In terms of the ratio between labor and capital, that is, the labor intensity of a country, this can be expressed as follows: $\frac{L}{K} < \frac{L^*}{K^*}$. It should be clear that both inequalities say the same thing.

7. **Free factor movement between sectors** Both factors can be used in the production of both goods. Note that cross-country movement of factors (migration, foreign direct investment) is not allowed.
8. **No trade costs** Final products can be traded without any costs.
9. **Equal tastes in countries and homothetic preferences** Consumers in both countries have the same utility function. Homothetic preferences simply mean that for given relative prices, income does not affect the ratio of consumption.

12.6.3 Heckscher-Ohlin theorem

- Consider that the home country has relatively more capital and the foreign country relatively more labor and that the good y is capital intensive in production whereas the good x is labor intensive.
- Then it is relatively cheap for the home country to produce the capital-intensive good because it is endowed with a lot of capital, while it is relatively costly to produce the good with which the country is hardly endowed.
- Thus, the home country has a comparative advantage in producing the capital-intensive good.
- The opposite is true for the foreign country.

Heckscher-Ohlin Theorem

The capital abundant country exports the capital-intensive good. The labor abundant country exports the labor-intensive good.

In other words:

A country export goods that are intensive in its relatively abundant factor and will import goods that are intensive in its relatively scarce factor.

12.6.4 Factor-price equalization theorem

- As a result of the Heckscher-Ohlin theorem, output of the good in which the country has a comparative advantage would increase. The capital intensive country will produce more capital intensive goods and the labor intensive country will produce more labor intensive goods.
- As the production of the good that makes intensive use of the abundant resource increases, the demand for that resource will also increase. Demand for the scarce resource will also increase, but to a lesser extent.
- If production of the good that intensively uses the scarce resource decreases, both abundant and scarce resources will be released, but relatively more of the scarce resource than of the abundant resource.
- In autarky, the relatively scarce factor in the home country was labor and factor prices were as follows:

$$\frac{w}{r} > \frac{w^*}{r^*}$$

- After opening to trade, production shifts to the home country so that the wage falls ($w \downarrow$) and the rent rises ($r \uparrow$).
- After opening to trade, production shifts abroad so that the wage rises, $w^* \uparrow$, and the rent falls, $w^* \downarrow$.
- This reallocation process, and hence the change in factor prices, continues until factor prices are equal in all countries:

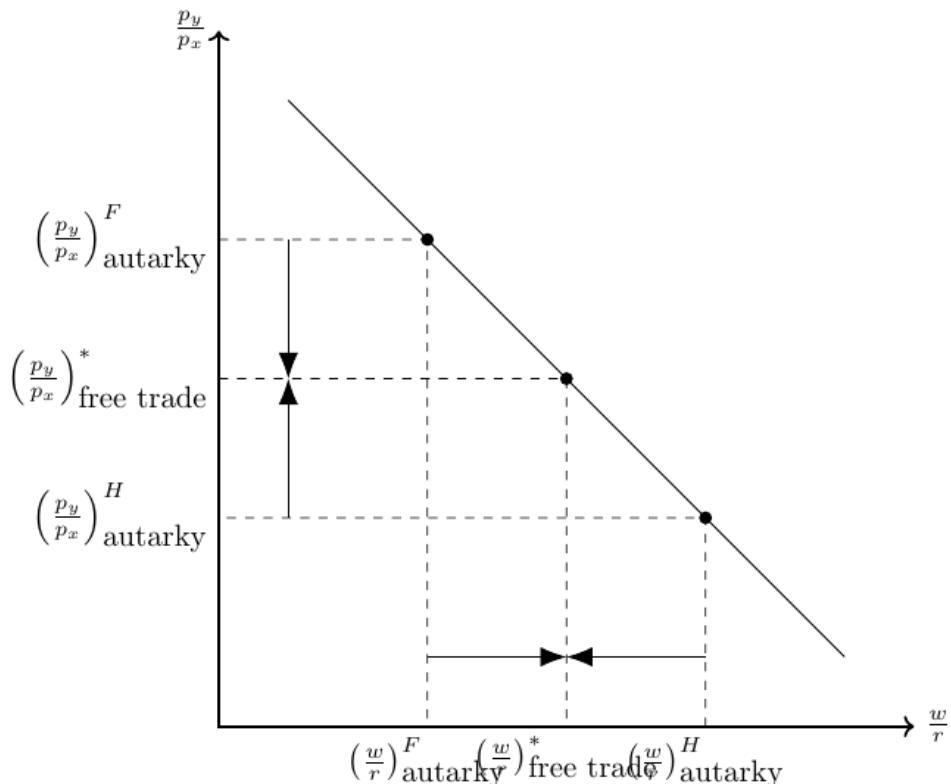
$$\frac{w}{r} = \frac{w^*}{r^*}$$

- Figure 12.23 visualizes the reasoning behind the factor-price equalization theorem.

Factor-price equalization theorem

The prices of the two factors of production (wage and rent) will be equalized across countries as a result of international trade in goods.

Figure 12.23: HO Model and factor prices



- I recommend a clip of Mike Moore explaining how trade based on factor endowments affects wages and returns to capital, see [this video](#):

Why does the Factor-Price Equalization Theorem not (fully) hold?

In the real world, factor prices do not equalize due to frictions such as transportation costs, trade barriers, and the presence of goods that are rarely or never traded.

Trade as an alternative to factor movements:

The factor price equalization theorem contains an interesting insight: if a country allows free trade in its products, it will automatically export the abundant factor indirectly in the form of goods that intensively use the abundant factor.

Exercise 12.14. Ricardo and Heckscher-Ohlin

- Discuss the main differences of the Ricardian Model and the Heckscher-Ohlin Model.
- Assume that only two countries, A and B, exist. Both countries are equally endowed with the only production factor labor which can be used to produce either good y or good x . The table below gives input coefficients, a , for both countries, that is, the units of labor needed to produce one unit of good y and good x , respectively. Name the country with a comparative advantage in good y .

	Countries	
	A	B
Good y	10	11
Good x	1	2

Exercise 12.15. HO-Model in one figure

Suppose consumers from country A and the foreign country B like to consume two goods that are neither perfect substitutes nor perfect complements. Moreover, assume for simplicity that both countries have the same size but have different endowments, as stated in the assumptions above. Moreover, assume the factor intensity of production as stated in the assumptions above.

- a) Sketch the production frontiers for both countries in autarky. Show graphically the relative price in autarky.
- b) You will see that the relative prices of goods differ across countries:

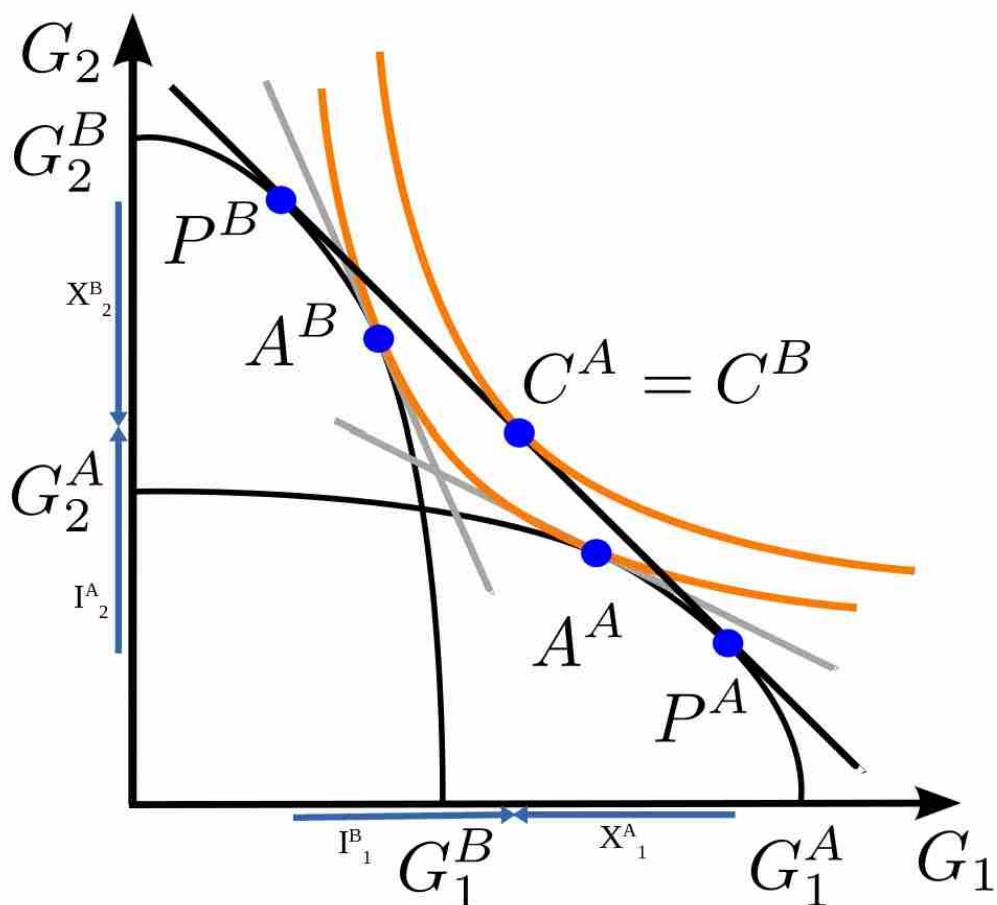
$$\left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right) \neq \left(\frac{p_1}{p_2}\right)^*.$$

That means, the Home country A has a comparative advantage in producing good 1.

- c) Now, sketch the world market price that will maximize the utility.
- d) Where are the new production and consumption points of both countries?
- e) Show in the graphic how much each country trades.
- f) I recommend a clip of Mike Moore who also explains the HO-Model with production possibility curves, see [this video](#).

Solution

Figure 12.24: HO-Model in one figure



Two identical countries (A and B) have different initial factor endowments. I assume that country A is abundantly endowed with the production factor that is intensively used in the production of good 1, the reverse holds for country B. Thus, the two solid black lines in Figure 12.24 represents the respective production frontier curves. The orange lines represents the respective indifference curves. Autarky equilibria are marked with A^A and A^B , respectively. The production points in trade equilibrium are marked with P^A and P^B , the consumption point of both countries is in $C^A = C^B$. Thus, production and consumption points are divergent. The indifference curve under free trade is clearly above the other indifference curve in autarky. The solid black line that is tangent to the consumption point under free trade represents the utility maximizing world market price under free trade. The exports, X , and imports; I , are denoted correspondingly to the goods and country names.

Exercise 12.16. Multiple choice: HO-Model

Given are the assumptions of the Heckscher-Ohlin Model. In particular, assume that only two countries, A and B, and two goods, y and x , exist. Consider the following data:

	Countries	
	A	B
Factor Endowments		
Labor Force	20	30
Capital Stock	30	40

If good y is capital intensive in production and good x is labor intensive in production then, following the Heckscher-Ohlin Theorem, ...

- a) ... country A will export good y .
- b) ... country B will export good y .
- c) ... both countries will export good y .
- d) ... trade will not occur between these two countries.

Solution

Multiple choice: HO-Model (Exercise 12.16)

Answer a) is correct.

12.7 The specific factor model

Figure 12.25: Not everybody wins with free trade



Source: otherwords.org

From the Ricardian model, we know that trade is a positive-sum game. If free trade is beneficial to a country, as Ricardo predicts, why isn't everyone happy with free trade? In democratic societies, policymakers sometimes adopt protectionist trade policies because of pressure from interest groups and public demand. The discrepancy between the promises and potential benefits of trade on the one hand and the negative consequences of free trade for many groups on the other is illustrated in Figure 12.25. The models so far do not give us a way to see which groups actually suffer from free trade, and thus we have no clue why there are incentives for interest groups to oppose free trade. Are anti-free trade policy preferences the result of ignorance, general worldviews, political ideology, environmental attitudes, social trust, or other factors? Well, these things may play a role, but there are also economic factors, that is, the self-interest of individuals and groups within an economy, that can account for anti-free trade attitudes. In the following sections, we will discuss a theory that shows that while free trade benefits countries as a whole, not everyone within a country benefits equally. Some benefit more than others, and some are actually made worse off by free trade.

In the next two subsections, we derive some key hypotheses that free trade favors those people in a country who have abundant factors of production and disadvantages those who have scarce factors. Moreover, free trade favors investors and workers in export-oriented industries with comparative advantages.

12.7.0.1 Assumptions

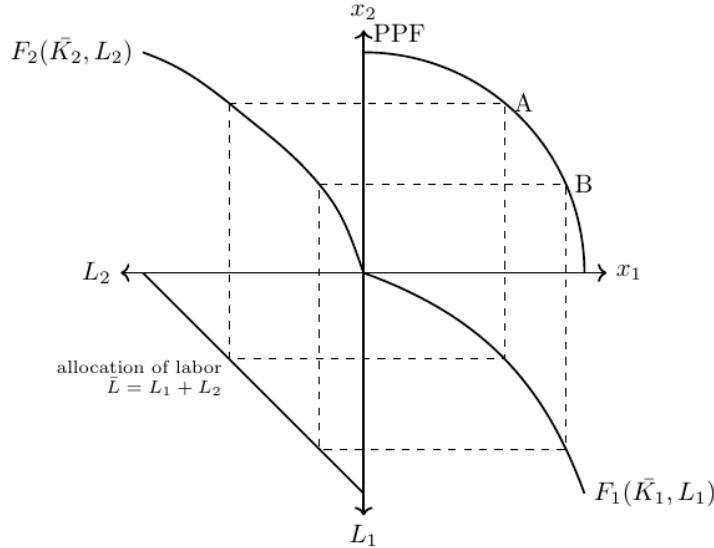
The sector-specific model, also known as the Ricard-Viner model, can show that there are winners and losers in international trade. The model is based on the following assumptions:

1. 2 countries $i \in \{A, B\}$
2. 2 goods (sectors) $g \in \{1, 2\}$
3. 3 factors of production: Labor L , capital specific to the production of good 1, K_1 , and capital specific to the production of good 2, K_2 ⁶. The technologies for the production of both goods are now represented by two production functions $Q_1 = F_1(\bar{K}_1, L_1)$ and $Q_2 = F_2(\bar{K}_2, L_2)$, where both factors of production have positive but decreasing marginal products
4. The capital allocated to each sector is fixed for both countries: $K_1 = \bar{K}_1, K_2 = \bar{K}_2$
5. The labor assigned to each sector (L_1 and L_2) can change in response to external shocks: $\bar{L} = L_1 + L_2$
6. perfect competition
7. perfect market clearing (no unemployment)
8. country A is a small open economy (we consider only country A and therefore do not use a subscript for countries in the following)

12.7.0.2 The production possibility frontier with two factor inputs:

The two production functions, the fixed endowments and the distribution of labor determine the aggregate PPF. The PPF, which is the product of two production functions (F_1 and F_2), is shown in Figure 12.26. The figure shows, for both production points A and B, how the mobile factor of production, labor, must be reallocated from sector 2 to sector 1 in order to produce more of good 1 in production point B. The second and fourth quadrants show the respective production functions of sectors 1 and 2.

Figure 12.26: PPF with two factors and positive but declining marginal products



12.7.0.3 Equilibrium in autarky:

- Depending on a country's demand for good 1 and 2 a production point on the PPF is chosen at which it must hold that the slope of the PPF curve and the price relation (that is, relation of marginal product of labor in sector 1 and sector 2) must be equal:

$$\frac{p_1}{p_2} = \frac{\frac{\partial F_2}{\partial L_2}}{\frac{\partial F_1}{\partial L_1}}$$

- What can we say about the rents of the production factors?

⁶You can think of capital specific to the production of manufacturing goods (good 1) and land specific to the production of food sector goods (good 2)

- From the assumption of perfect competition it follows that firms do not make a positive profit in equilibrium, $\pi \stackrel{!}{=} 0$. Thus, the equilibrium wage for sectors $g \in \{1, 2\}$ are given by the profit maximizing of firms

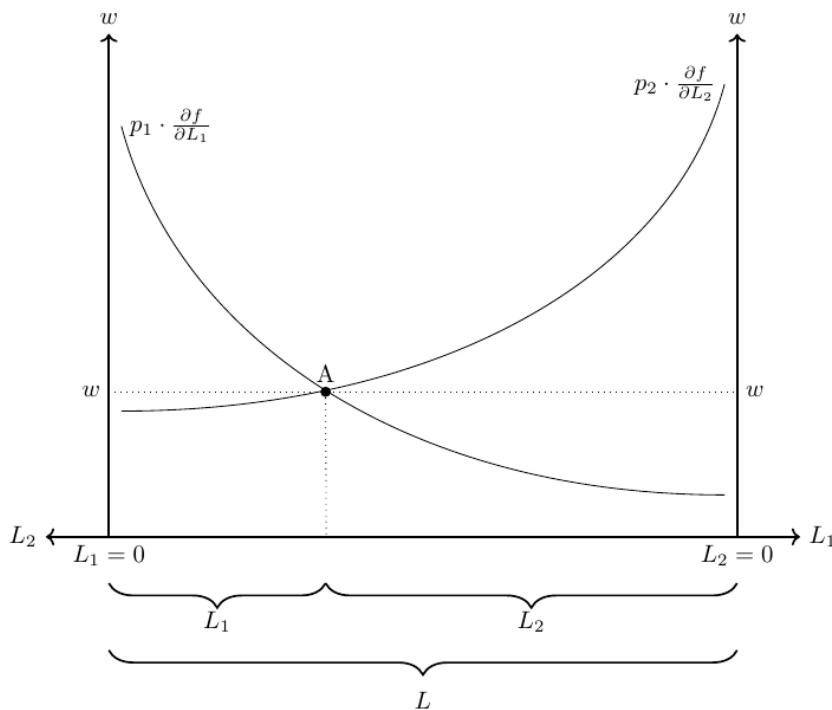
$$\begin{aligned}\pi_g &= p_g \cdot F_g(\bar{K}_g, L_g) - w_g L_g - r_g K_g \\ \frac{\partial \pi_g}{\partial L_g} &= p_g \cdot \frac{\partial F_g}{\partial L_g} - w_g \stackrel{!}{=} 0 \quad \Leftrightarrow w_g = p_g \frac{\partial F_g}{\partial L_g}\end{aligned}$$

- We know that labor can move freely between sectors and an equilibrium exists when there are no incentives to move any further. That is the case when wages in both sectors are equal, $w_1 = w_2$. Thus, we can express wages in terms of purchasing power in units of good 1 as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}w_1 &= p_1 \frac{\partial F_1}{\partial L_1} \quad \text{and} \quad w_2 = p_2 \frac{\partial F_2}{\partial L_2} \\ \Rightarrow w &= p_1 \frac{\partial F_1}{\partial L_1} = p_2 \frac{\partial F_2}{\partial L_2} \\ \Leftrightarrow \frac{w}{p_1} &= \frac{\partial F_1}{\partial L_1} \\ \Leftrightarrow \frac{w}{p_2} &= \frac{\partial F_2}{\partial L_2}\end{aligned}$$

- Figure 12.27 presents the equilibrium wage and the optimal allocation of labor into sector 1 and 2.

Figure 12.27: Equilibrium with two sectors



12.7.0.4 Equilibrium under free trade:

Assume the price of good 1 and good 2 increase due to a trade opening in the same proportion. What happens with the real wage and the real incomes of capital-1 and capital-2 owners? The answer is: no real changes occur.

- The wage rate, w , rises in the same proportion as the prices, so the real wages are unaffected. In Figure 12.27 this can be shown by shifting both curves upward.
- The real incomes of capital owners also remain the same because there will be no reallocation of labor across sectors.

Now, assume only the price of good 1 rises for 10% while p_2 remains fixed, $\frac{p'_1}{p_2} > \frac{p_1}{p_2}$. What happens with the real wage and the real incomes of capital-1 and capital-2 owners? The answer is: some win, some lose, and some maybe win.

12.7.0.5 Wages:

- $p_1 \frac{\partial F_1}{\partial L_1}$ rises and hence labor reallocates from sector 2 to sector 1 ($L_1 \uparrow$ and $L_2 \downarrow$). This is shown in Figure 12.28.
- This reallocation of labor has some implications for the real wages measured in purchasing power of good 1 and 2, respectively:
 - The price of good 1 has increased by 10%, the wage has however increased by less than 10% (compare the length of BC and BD in the figure), whereas the price for food stays constant.
 - Thus, the purchasing power in buying good 2 increased, whereas the purchasing power in buying good 1 decreased. Hence, workers gain when buying good 2 but lose when buying good 1
 - Overall, the welfare effect from real wages is unclear and depends on preferences.

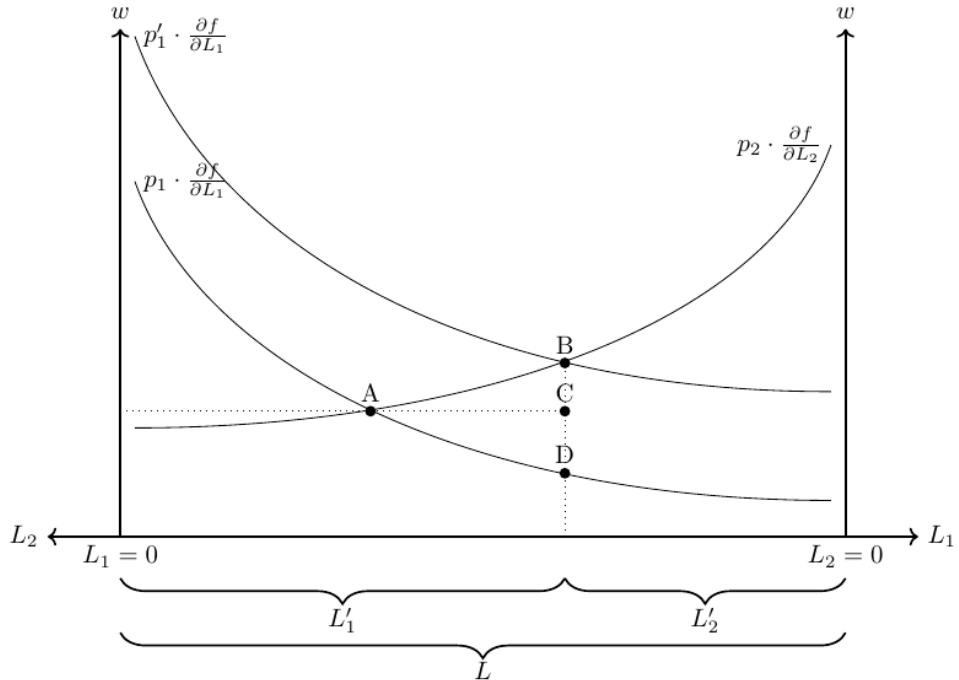
12.7.0.6 Owner of capital-1:

- Owners of capital-1 receive a 10% higher price on their products but have to pay a less than 10% higher wage.
- Overall, capital-1 owners gain from free trade because they can employ more workers (at a higher price) now.

12.7.0.7 Owner of capital-2:

- Owner of capital-2 receive the same price on their products but have to pay a higher wage.
- Overall, capital-2 owners lose from free trade because they can employ less workers at a higher price now.

Figure 12.28: Equilibrium when one price changes



Chapter 13

Trade policy

In this chapter, we discuss countries' incentives and opportunities to influence trade flows and the welfare implications of trade policy. In particular, we provide information on how the World Trade Organization organizes the world trading system.

13.1 Globalization

The term "globalization" is often used in different contexts and is usually implicitly associated with diverse and sometimes contradictory ideas about how the world works. There is no clear and generally accepted definition of the term. The use of the term carries a high risk of being misunderstood, as the conversation partner may have a different understanding of the term.

Nevertheless, it is important to understand the various meanings of the term to be able to understand the arguments that involve the term. Additionally, it allows you to phrase your own argument more precisely.

So, how can we get known to the various meanings of the term globalization. One way is to ask ChatGPT. Below you find my take on asking [OpenAI \[2024\]](#).

Discuss: What do people mean when they use the term "globalization"? NextGeneration:AI

Globalization is a multifaceted concept that refers to the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of countries and cultures around the world. When people use the term "globalization," they often mean several interrelated processes:

Economic Globalization: This aspect emphasizes the integration of national economies through trade, investment, and capital flows. It involves the reduction of trade barriers, the rise of multinational corporations, and the spread of global supply chains. Economic globalization has led to increased access to goods, services, and jobs across borders.

Cultural Globalization: This involves the sharing and blending of cultural elements such as language, traditions, music, and values. Through media, travel, and technology, cultural practices and ideas can spread more freely, leading to both cultural exchange and homogenization. It raises discussions around the preservation of local cultures versus the influence of dominant global cultures.

Political Globalization: This refers to the increasing influence of international institutions and agreements, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and trade treaties. It encompasses the idea of global governance and the shared responsibility of nations to address global challenges like climate change, human rights, and security.

Technological Globalization: This highlights the role of technology in fostering globalization. Advances in communication, transportation, and information technology have made it easier for people and businesses to connect globally. The internet, for example, enables instantaneous communication and the transfer of information across borders.

Social Globalization: This aspect focuses on the movements of people around the world, including migration, tourism, and the exchange of ideas and social practices. It emphasizes how global interactions affect societal structures and relationships.

Environmental Globalization: This addresses the global nature of environmental issues, such as climate change and biodiversity loss, which require international collaboration and efforts to manage resources sustainably.

Critically, globalization is also a subject of debate and contention. Advocates argue that it can lead to economic growth, cultural exchange, and improved living standards. Critics, however, point to issues such as economic inequality, cultural erosion, and exploitation as consequences of globalization. Additionally, events like the COVID-19 pandemic have sparked discussions about the vulnerabilities and risks associated with a highly interconnected world.

Overall, globalization encompasses a broad range of interactions and dependencies that shape contemporary society, economy, and culture on a global scale.

13.2 Political arguments for trade restrictions

Like most things in real life, trade is never all good or all evil. There are arguments in favor of opening up foreign markets and promoting international cooperation, but there are also plausible arguments that justify restricting international trade. Very often it is an empirical question as to which line of argumentation dominates.

When politicians and interest groups debate the pros and cons of trade, we must be aware of the unfortunate circumstance that not everything that is plausible is logically correct or empirically dominant. Below I will discuss some plausible arguments in favor of trade restrictions. The list is incomplete. Each argument is a topic in itself, and it needs to be further investigated whether these arguments are really valid arguments in favor of trade restrictions.

13.2.1 The desire to reduce domestic unemployment

As we learned in the previous sections, the domestic production is the result of the world market price in the long-run. However, in the short run this means that production factors need to reallocate from one sector to the other. So far, we assumed that this reallocation happens without any frictions. Thus, we just moved along the PPF curve. In reality the transformation process is costly because the people loose their jobs without finding a job in another sector instantaneously without any costs. In reality a transformation process comes along with costs such as social costs and search and matching costs. Thus, it can be a rational strategy to decrease the reallocation/transformation pressure in order to organize the reallocation of production factors properly holding the external negative effects of transformation low. Nevertheless, we should not forget that (in the long run) reallocation of production factors and the adaption of new technologies is basically one of the most important sources of welfare growth, if not the only source.

13.2.2 The key enabling technology argument

If domestic industries are fostered, there might be technological spillovers to other industries in the country. As the government internalizes these spillovers, they have an incentive to protect and support these key to growth industries and technologies, respectively.

13.2.3 The need to counteract dumping in international trade

Selling goods in a foreign market below the price charged domestically can be called dumping. This sort of price competition is harmful when foreign producers hamper competition and discourage innovation and upgrading. For example, predatory dumping can give arguments for anti-dumping policy interventions. Predatory dumping is a type of anti-competitive behavior in which a foreign company prices its products below market value in an attempt to drive out domestic competition. This may lead to conditions where the company has a monopoly in a certain product or industry in the targeted market with bad implications for social welfare.

13.2.4 The government revenue argument

Government can finance their budget by raising tariffs.

13.2.5 The national defense argument

National defense is an obviously legitimate goal for any sovereign government and hence, domestic industries that supply goods and services that are important for a potential military emergency should have a special protection.

13.2.6 The wish to decrease the national balance of payments deficit

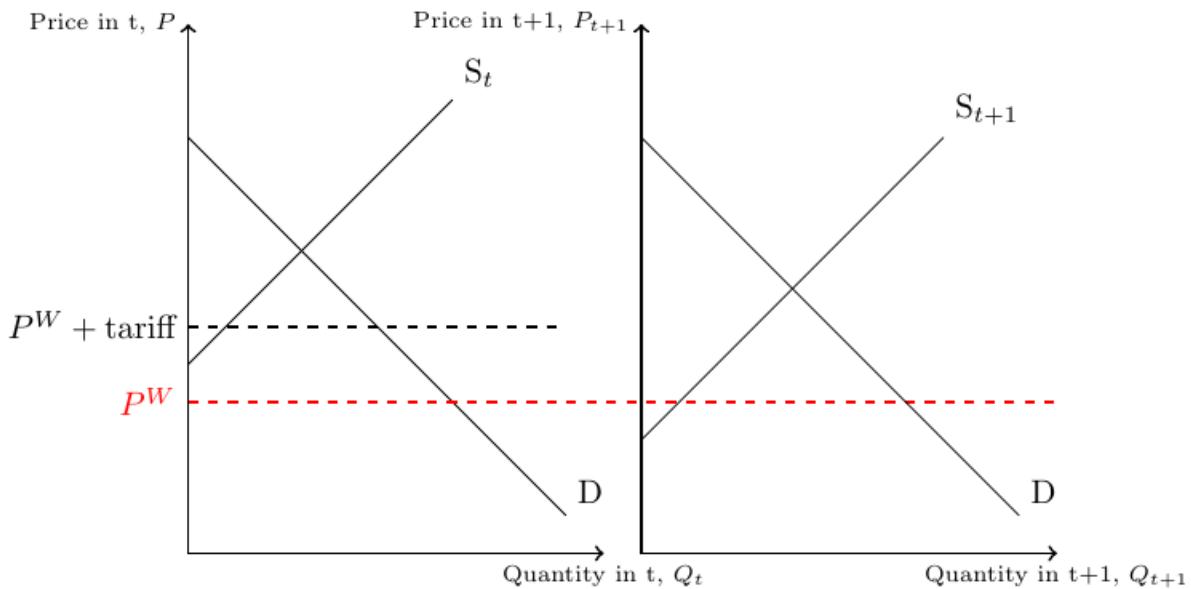
Countries that have a large trade deficit wish – for whatever reason (see Section 11.3}) – to increase import restrictions in order to decrease the export deficit.

13.2.7 The income redistribution argument

As we have learned, trade generates winners and losers and hence is a source for the distribution of wealth. Government can use this knowledge to redistribute income or decrease income inequality. However, it is almost certain that this politic is not the most efficient and best way to achieve the said goals because we have also learned that trade is beneficial for a country as a whole.

13.2.8 The infant industry argument

Figure 13.1: The infant industry argument



The basic idea is that no economic activities will happen in industries in which there are no possibilities to make positive profits because competition from abroad is currently too strong. A finite protection from international competition can make firms to grow and become more productive so that they can face foreign competition after the protection is abolished. The core of the argument is that infant industries do not have economies of scale like competitors from abroad and, hence, need to be protected until they can attain similar economies of scale.

Figure 13.1 provides a visualization that may help to understand the infant industry argument. In the left panel you see that the domestic supply curve lies above the world market price, P^W . Thus, the domestic industry is not competitive enough to produce at costs lower than the world market price. A tariff in time t would protect the domestic market so that some firms start to produce and sell their goods at home. The hope of the government now is that the firms become more productive over time and in turn their supply

curve shifts downwards. The downward shifted supply curve in time $t + 1$ is shown in the right panel. Here, the government can remove the tariff without crowding out the domestic production.

Exercise 13.1. Arguments for trade restrictions (Solution 13.1)

Explain briefly (2-3 sentences) the infant industry argument.

Solution 13.1. Arguments for trade restrictions (Exercise 13.1)

A finite protection from international competition can make firms to grow and become more productive so that they can face foreign competition after the protection is abolished. The core of the argument is that infant industries do not have economies of scale like competitors from abroad and, hence, need to be protected until they can attain similar economies of scale.

Exercise 13.2. Buy local be happy?

Figure 13.2: Biden and “BUY AMERICAN”



In many countries, including the U.S. (see Figure 13.2), people tend to believe that it is better to buy at home than abroad. A [Statement of The White House on July 28, 2021](#) says:

“The President believes that when we spend American taxpayers’ dollars, it should support American workers and businesses. In his first week in office, President Biden signed Executive Order 14005, Ensuring the Future is Made in All of America by All of America’s Workers, launching a whole-of-government initiative to strengthen the use of federal procurement to support American manufacturing.”

There are intuitive reasons to think that way. However, there are also some logical and persuasive arguments that confront that point of view. Please read the following quotes and discuss whether or not buying locally can be a welfare-enhancing strategy.

The first excerpt is entitled with *15 Reasons to Buy American Made Products* and stems from www.buydirectusa.com:

Next time you are in a store or shopping online look for the Made in USA label. The job you save by doing so could one day be your own!

1. When you buy American products you support American workers. Existing jobs are saved and more employment opportunities are created.
2. When you buy American Made products you support companies that are doing business in America.
3. Hundreds of major American corporations are continuing to ship thousands of jobs overseas. Displacing the American worker.
4. Since 2000. the United States has lost an incredible 32% of its manufacturing jobs.
5. To prevent more of our manufacturing cities all over America from being transformed from thriving communities into crime infested hellholes. What happened to Flint, MI and Camden, NJ can happen in any American city when corporations decide to move production overseas.
6. China is now the number one supplier of components that are critical to the operation of US defense systems. Does this bother anyone else?

7. According to the Economic Policy Institute The economy has been unable to create jobs due to America's massive trade deficit.
8. U.S. trade policies encourage businesses to relocate production of goods to other nations without penalizing them for selling those goods back to the United States. This has resulted in millions of lost jobs for the American people.
9. Since 1975, the US has imported more goods than it has exported. In 2010, the US had a deficit of \$478 billion in global trade.
10. Over 30 years of trade policies such as NAFTA and CAFTA have taken jobs from the American people.
11. For every \$1 billion in goods imported, the economy loses 9,000 jobs.
12. No regulation or safety standards in products made overseas. Chinese-made drywall used in US homes is creating health and safety hazards.
13. Moral implications of the exploitation of foreign workers and violations of child labor laws overseas.
14. Environmental standards are minimal or non-existent in how products are made overseas. This has an impact on everyone on the planet.
15. Chinese imports accounted for more than 60% of the recalls announced by the Consumer Product Safety Commission in 2007

UPDATE

16. COVID – Where did that get released from?
17. When you buy products from the CCP, you are helping to fund their military which are a growing threat around the globe.
18. You don't have to swim to get the products you need.

The second quote stems from [Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas \[2002\]](#), p. 16] who try to de-mystify the intuition of the buy local propagandists using a lot of data and some logical arguments of which you can read one here:

"A common myth is that it's better for Americans to spend their money at home than abroad. The best way to expose the fallacy in this argument is to take it to its logical extreme. If it's better for me to spend my money here than abroad, then it's even better to buy in Texas than in New York, better yet to buy in Dallas than in Houston... in my own neighborhood... within my own family... to consume only what I can produce. Alone and poor."

13.3 Stylized facts on trade openness

While often mentioned in the academic literature and heavily discussed in politics, the term *trade openness* lacks an accepted definition. Mostly it refers to the outward or inward orientation of a given country's economy and touches many things including some measurable indicators such as

- **Volume of trade:** the sum of exports and/or imports (see Figure 13.3)
- **Trade openness:** trade to GDP ratio (see Figure 13.4, and Figure 13.5)
- **Trade policy regime:** tariff profile, border efficiency, ...
- **Openness to FDI:** FDI inflow to GDP, ease of doing business
- **Infrastructure:** logistics performance, communications infrastructure, telephone lines, Internet
- **Political regime:** stability, democratic, open minded, reliable, ...

Figure 13.3: Global sum of exports

Figure 13.4: Export plus imports as a share of GDP

13.4 World Trade Organization

The World Trade Organization (WTO) (see Figure 13.9) is an intergovernmental organization that regulates international trade and replaced in 1995 the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Figure 13.5: Globalization is not a new phenomenon

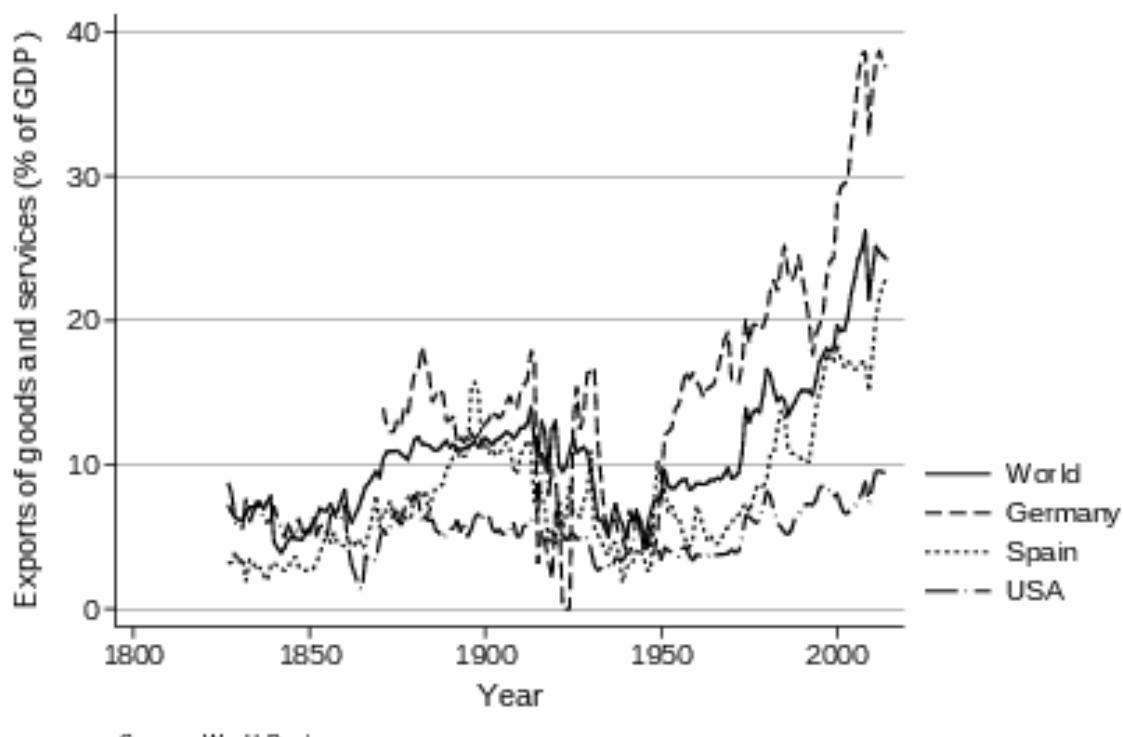


Figure 13.6: Transportation and communication costs

The decline of transport and communication costs relative to 1930
 Sea freight corresponds to average international freight charges per tonne. Passenger air transport corresponds to average airline revenue per passenger mile (until 2000) spliced to US import air passenger fares afterwards.
 International calls correspond to cost of a three-minute call from New York to London.

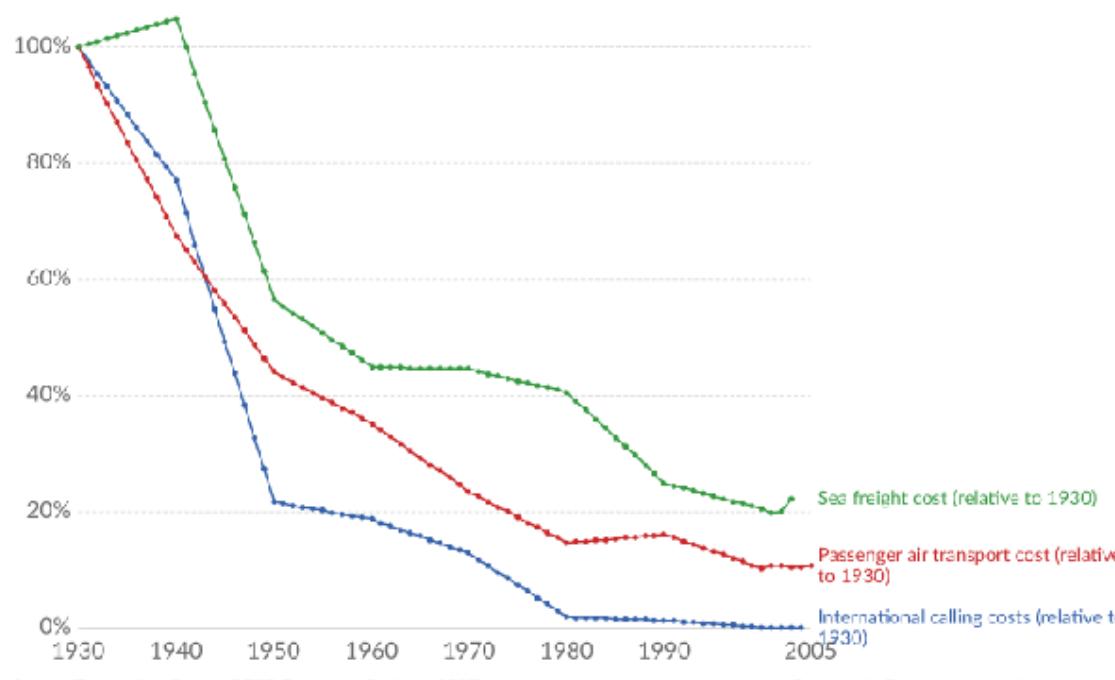
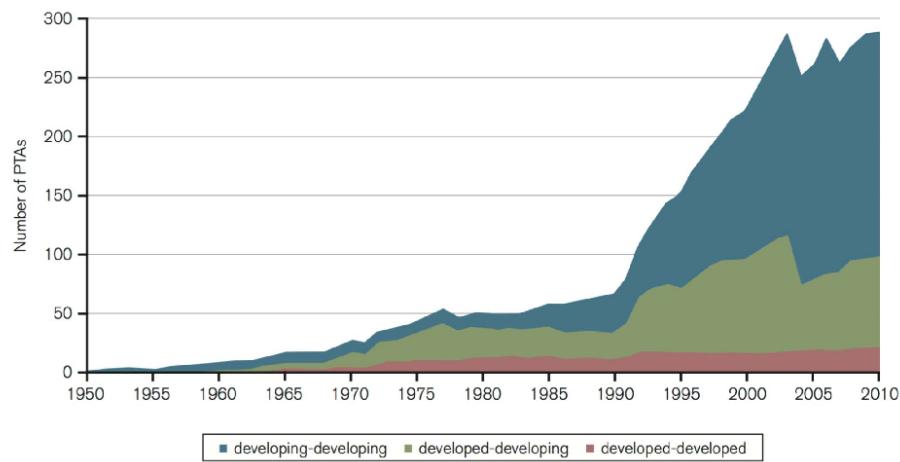
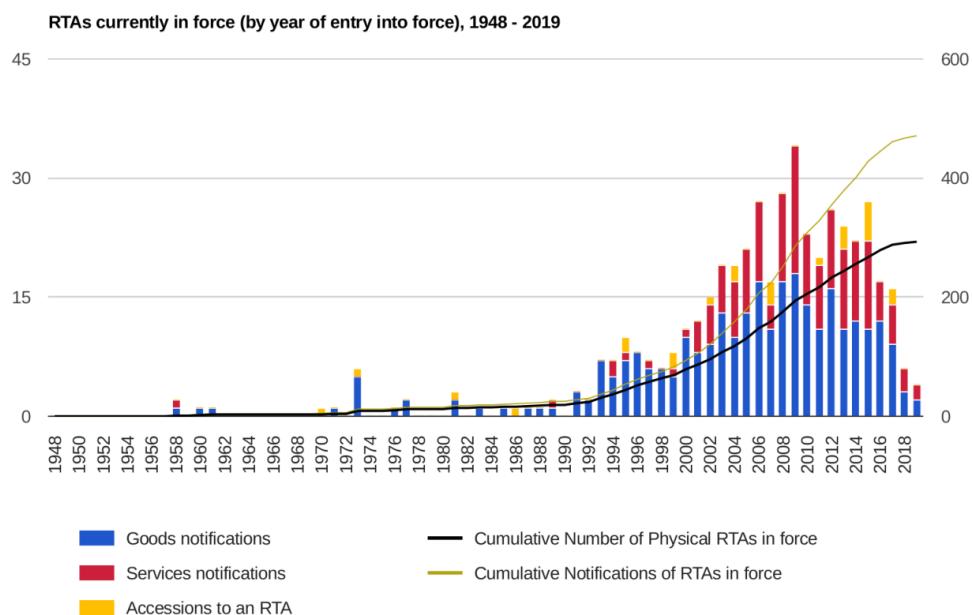


Figure 13.7: Number of Preferential Trade Agreements



Source: WTO Secretariat.

Figure 13.8: Number of Regional Trade Agreements



Source: WTO

Figure 13.9: The World Trade Organization (WTO)



164 (!) countries are currently member of the WTO. The WTO facilitates the smooth and free flow of global trade through the administration and monitoring of a rules-based system that should among others help to make international trade (policy) more predictable. This set of rules is embodied in the WTO Agreements which are based on basic principles, that are described in the following three sub-sections.

 Watch: The World Trade Organization (WTO) - Explained With Maps

13.4.1 Non-discrimination:

13.4.1.1 The Most Favoured Nation rule (MFN)

The MFN ensures non-discrimination between trading partners as it states that if a WTO member grants a country an advantage, it has to give such advantage to all WTO members. Thus, a WTO member has to grant the most favorable conditions under which it allows trade in a certain product type to all other WTO members. However, there is no rule without an exceptions.¹

 Watch: E-Learning short videos - Most-favoured nation (MFN)

13.4.1.2 The National Treatment Principle (NTP)

The NTP ensures non-discrimination between domestic and foreign products or services. It prohibits a member from favoring its domestic products over imported products. The NTP aims to provide equality of competitive conditions for imported products in relation to domestic products. Again, no rule without exceptions.²

 Watch:

E-Learning short videos - General Exceptions

E-Learning short videos - The National Treatment Principle

13.4.2 Transparency

All WTO members must publish their trade regulations and changes therein. Moreover, members should respond to requests for information by other members.

13.4.3 More open and predictable trade

While the use of tariffs and quotas is not prohibited, members have committed to carry out multilateral negotiations periodically with a view to reduce the general level of trade barriers.

13.5 Trade anecdotes

13.5.1 The Dispute Settlement Body

To make decisions on trade disputes between governments that are adjudicated by the organization, the WTO has established the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB). The Dispute Settlement Body is a meeting of the WTO General Council that brings together all representatives of WTO member governments, usually

¹For example, a member may provide preferential treatment only to some countries within a free trade area or customs union, without having to extend such better treatment to all members. Another exception enables developed members to give unilateral preferential treatment to goods imported from developing countries and least-developed countries (LDCs), without having to extend such better treatment to other members.

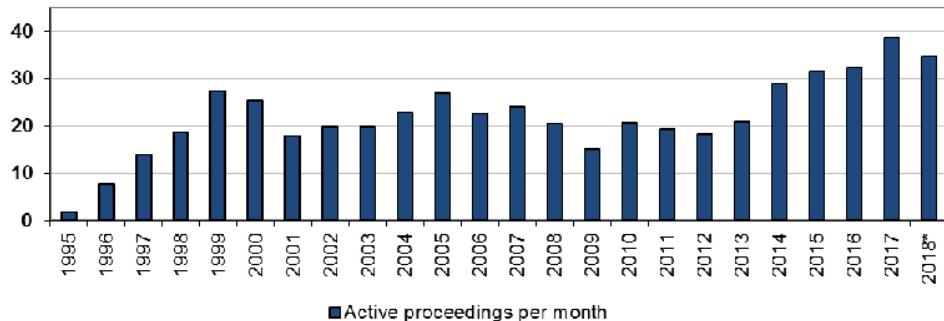
²For example, there may be a security need to develop and purchase products domestically, or government procurement may, as is often the case, be used as a policy tool to promote smaller business, local industry or advanced technologies, see GATT Article III:8(a).

at the ambassador level. Any WTO member that believes another member is in violation of an obligation or WTO rule can file a complaint. The goal of the Dispute Settlement Body is then to find a solution to the dispute, including any violation. The first step is consultations between governments. If the dispute cannot be resolved through discussions, the DSB makes a decision and the offending country is ordered to correct its policies. In most cases, countries find a mutually acceptable solution to the dispute. If the offending country does not correct its policy or provide other compensation, the WTO authorizes retaliatory action by the complaining country against the offending country. The adjudication process can take some time, as can the implementation of remedies to enforce or compensate for the violation of a WTO rule. Figure 13.10 provides an overview of the average number of active, that is, unresolved, complaints in recent years.

i Up-to-date sources of information

- Book about trade disputes from 1995 to 2020: [Organization \[2010\]: WTO Dispute Settlement: One-page Case Summaries 1995–2020](#).
- [WTO landing page about Dispute settlement](#)
- [Map of disputes between WTO Members](#)

Figure 13.10: Average annual number of active proceedings per month 1995-2018



Note: Annual averages are calculated on the basis of the number of active proceedings per month (January to December) over the yearly period concerned (e.g. in 2017, 39 proceedings were active per month, on average).

The 2018 average is based on the number of active proceedings in January, February and March. Source: www.wto.org

Referring to Reich [2017] the USA was a sinner. As Figure 13.12, Figure 13.14, and Figure 13.13 show, the US was the respondent in a relatively high proportion of all issued panel reports, namely in 38% of them (78 out 207). However, this high rate of US participation as respondent to complaints on trade violations is still much lower than its share in suspension requests. In the years I reviewed, there were 75 complainants that prevailed over the US. These are the cases where there is a potential for suspension requests in case of non-compliance. Indeed, 26 of these complainants ended up submitting suspension request against the US. That corresponds to 34.6% of the total. In other words, more than one third of the complainants who prevailed over the US in dispute settlement procedures, were forced to turn to trade sanctions in their effort to obtain compliance by the US.

Suspension requests are...

...the “last station” on the long winding road of the WTO dispute settlement procedures and they represent the targeted member state’s unwillingness to submit to the system and to respect its international obligations.

When China acceded to the WTO, many scholars and policy makers were very skeptical about the willingness and ability of China to comply with international trading rules. However, the number of suspension requests that have been filed against China is zero (at the time when Reich [2017] published his study). China’s record on compliance, at least for now and at least as measured by the number of suspension requests filed against it, seems to be perfect.

Figure 13.11: Duration of each stage of proceedings

	Average length of process, months	Statutory deadline	Mean
Consultations	From the date of Request of consultations to the establishment of panel	2 months	6.6
Panel proceedings	From the establishment of panel to circulation of the panel report	6 months	15.1
Appeals	From the date of the Notice of Appeal until the date of the circulation of the Appellate Body	2–3 months	3.3
RPT, Bilateral agreement	Total length of agreed period between parties of RPT during which implementation must occur.		11.6
RPT, Arbitration Award	The average RPT awarded by the arbitrator in the awards circulated.		9.6
Compliance panel	From the date of the request to establish a first compliance panel until the date of circulation of the Compliance Panel Report.	3 months	8.7
AB compliance	From the date of the first Notice of Appeal until the date of circulation of the Appellate Body compliance report.		3.4

Source: *Johannesson & Mavroidis [2017]*

Figure 13.12: Most active countries at the trade dispute settlement body

Member State:	As Complainant	As Respondent	Complainant + Respondent	As Third Party
United States	114	130	244	140
European Union ²⁴	97	84	181	165
Canada	35	20	55	119
China ²⁵	15	39	54	139
India	23	24	47	128
Brazil	31	16	47	111
Argentina	20	22	44	60
Japan	23	15	38	170
Mexico	24	14	38	82
Korea	17	16	33	112

Source: *Reich [2017]*

Figure 13.13: Map of trade disputes of the European Union

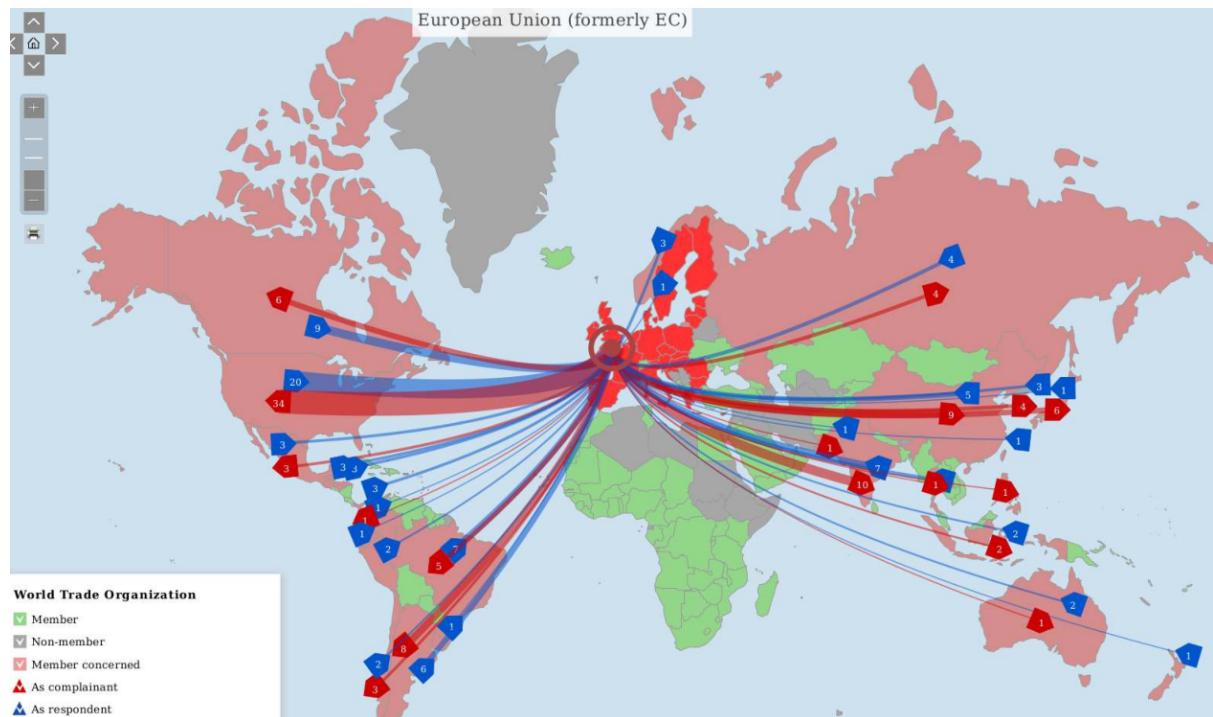
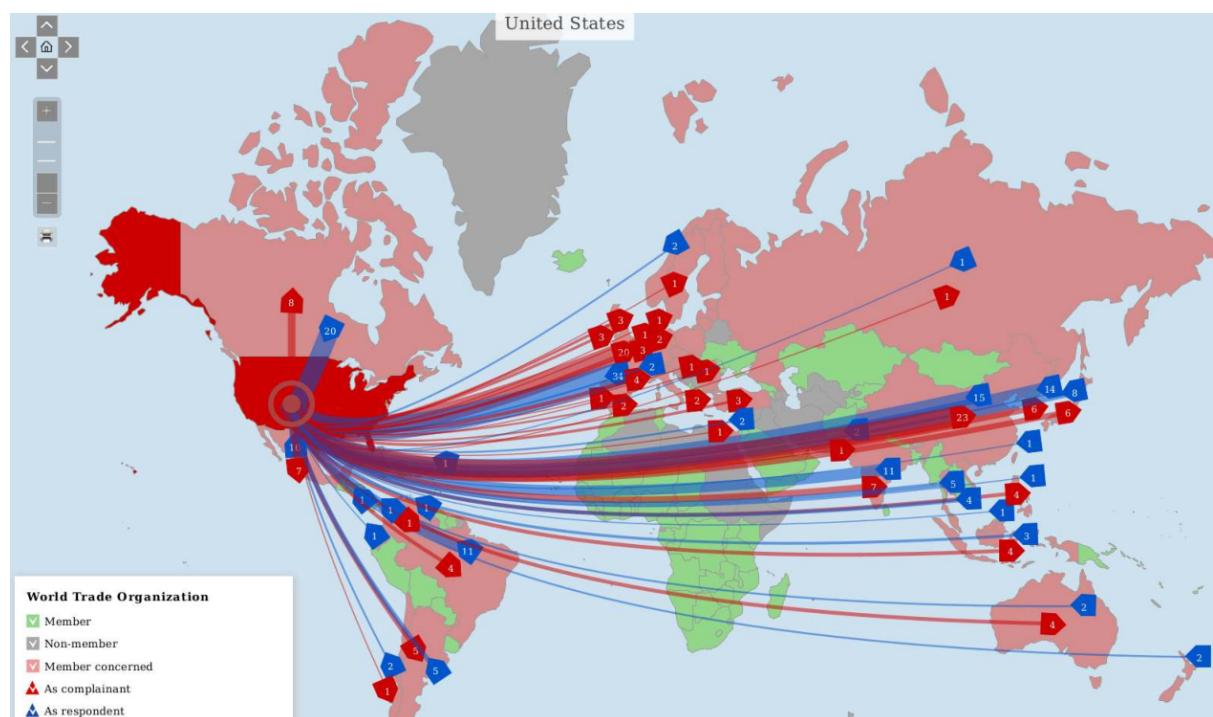
Source: www.wto.org

Figure 13.14: Map of trade disputes of the United States of America

Source: www.wto.org

Exercise 13.3. God's diplomacy

Watch the speech of Boris Johnson and discuss what is meant with **free trade is god's diplomacy**.

Figure 13.15: Boris Johnson



Source: x.com/mattwridley

13.5.2 The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)

Figure 13.16: The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)



Leaders and trade ministers of 15 Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) countries pose for a virtual group photo in Hanoi, Vietnam on Sunday, Nov. 15, 2020.

The leaders of China and another 14 countries in the Asia-Pacific region (see Figure 13.16) have signed one of the biggest free trade deals in history, covering 2.2 billion people and 30% of the world's economic output. The deal will cover nearly 28% of global trade.

The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) was signed over a video link on November 15th after eight years of negotiations.

The deal sets the terms of trade in goods and services, cross-border investment and new rules for

increasingly important areas such as electronic commerce and intellectual property. The effect on the trade of finished goods between Asian nations will be particularly marked, analysts have said.

Trade and investment flows within Asia have vastly expanded over the past decade, a trend that has accelerated amid feuding between the US and China, in which the two superpowers have imposed billions of dollars' worth of punitive tariffs on each other's exports.

Unlike the CPTPP – the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership – and the EU, it does not establish unified standards on labor and the environment or commit countries to open services and other vulnerable areas of their economies.

Donald Trump in 2017 pulled out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a deal previously envisaged as a way of curbing China's influence.

13.5.3 Trade dispute between the USA and the European Union

 Watch: Trade wars: How they work and who they impact

In June 2018, the U.S. government imposed tariffs on € 6.4 billion worth of European steel and aluminum exports, followed by additional tariffs in January 2020 affecting approximately € 40 million worth of EU exports of certain steel and aluminum derivatives. The EU imposed countervailing measures on € 2.8 billion worth of U.S. exports to the EU in June 2018 (a similar EU response followed the second set of U.S. tariffs in 2020). The remaining countervailing measures, affecting up to € 3.6 billion worth of exports, were scheduled to take effect on June 1, 2021. The EU suspended these measures until December 1, 2021, to allow the parties to work together on a longer-term solution. Following today's announcement by the U.S., these measures will not be imposed. [see [European Commission, 2021](#)]

Figure 13.17: Biden and von der Leyen on G20 leaders' summit in Rome, October 31



Source: [REUTERS/Kevin Lamarque](#)

In November 2021, President Biden has signed a deal to end tariffs on steel imports from the EU, which were imposed by his predecessor Donald Trump. But the agreement does not cover exports from the UK, putting British steelmakers at a disadvantage as is discussed in an article of the BBC, see [UK steel makers 'left behind' as US ends trade war](#).

13.5.4 Boeing vs. Airbus

Boeing has continually protested over launch aid in the form of credits to Airbus, while Airbus has argued that Boeing receives illegal subsidies through military and research contracts and tax breaks. All that yielded litigation at the WTO and a series of decisions that allowed (trade) penalties of both sides.

For example, on 2 October 2019, the WTO approved US tariffs on \$7.5 billion worth of European goods, and officially authorized them on 14 October, despite the European Union urging for a negotiated settlement. On 30 September 2020, however, the WTO approved the European Union's retaliatory tariffs on \$4.1 billion worth of US goods, this is in addition to the previous unimplemented sanction allowing the EU the right to impose tariffs of up to \$8.2 billion on US goods and services

This is a trade war where nobody will probably be better off in the end. For more details on this dispute, I recommend reading the [Wikipedia entry](#).

On June 15, 2021, the U.S. and the EU achieved a major breakthrough in the trade dispute between Boeing and Airbus, agreeing to end the 17-year dispute. All tariffs were suspended for five years.

13.5.5 Trump vs. the European Union (a.k.a. Jean-Claude Juncker)

Under president Trump, United States imposed tariffs on goods such as cars, olives, single malt whiskey, pecorino cheese, and wine. The EU, in turn, has raised tariffs on goods such as orange juice, bourbon, peanut butter, power boats, and Harley-Davidson motorcycles. This escalation was brought to a halt on July 25, 2020, Jean-Claude Juncker and Donald J. Trump met at the White House to discuss the ongoing trade dispute, see Figure 13.18. They announced that the United States and the European Union would work to reduce tensions created by Trump's confrontational trade policies in the past. Before that meeting they made their standpoints clear as paraphrased below.

Figure 13.18: Juncker and Trump made a deal



Donald J. Trump wrote via Twitter on March 3, 2018:

"The United States has an \$800 Billion Dollar Yearly Trade Deficit because of our very stupid trade deals and policies. Our jobs and wealth are being given to other countries that have taken advantage of us for years. They laugh at what fools our leaders have been. No more!"

Jean-Claude Juncker said on March 2 (see [euronews.com](#)):

"So now we will also impose import tariffs. This is basically a stupid process, the fact that we have to do this. But we have to do it. We will now impose tariffs on motorcycles, Harley Davidson, on blue jeans, Levis, on Bourbon. We can also do stupid. We also have to be this stupid."

Donald J. Trump wrote via Twitter on March 3, 2018:

"If the E.U. wants to further increase their already massive tariffs and barriers on U.S. companies doing business there, we will simply apply a Tax on their Cars which freely pour into the U.S. They make it impossible for our cars (and more) to sell there. Big trade imbalance!"

13.5.6 Trump and the WTO

Read the following excerpt of an article entitled with "*Trump Trade Fight Heads to Global Court as WTO Nears the Rubicon*" by Bryce Baschuk at [www.bloomberg.com](#) published on 21. of November 2018:

The Geneva-based WTO has long avoided this politically fraught confrontation, which could irreparably harm the organization tasked with deciding international trade disputes. But barring any unforeseen developments, the WTO on Nov. 21 will grant requests from members including China and the European Union to determine if U.S. steel and aluminum tariffs imposed in March – and based on national security concerns – are legal.

U.S. trade officials say that the WTO has no authority to mediate national security matters and should simply issue a decision that says the matter is outside of the WTO's remit. WTO Director-General Roberto Azevedo has gone so far as to warn countries against taking this

dispute to the WTO, arguing that it instead “requires conversation at the highest political level.” The fight could end up sidelining the WTO.

“If the WTO finds that Trump’s tariffs are permitted under the national security exception, it opens a gaping hole that would allow any other country the right to impose trade barriers on any product at any moment and for no particular reason other than protectionism” Chad Bown, a senior fellow at the Washington-based Peterson Institute for International Economics, said in an interview.

In applying the tariffs, Washington relied on a rarely-used WTO national security exemption, which permits governments to take “any action which it considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interests.” The Trump administration has already blocked the process once, and since the rules don’t allow further preventative actions, the WTO will likely create a dispute settlement panel, which would consist of three experts. Any decision would likely be rendered in 2019 or 2020.

13.5.7 Trump and his trade war with China

Donald J. Trump said in his 2016 presidential campaign, see time.com:

“We allowed foreign countries to subsidize their goods, devalue their currencies, violate their agreements and cheat in every way imaginable, and our politicians did nothing about it. Trillions of our dollars and millions of our jobs flowed overseas as a result. I have visited cities and towns across this country where one-third or even half of manufacturing jobs have been wiped out in the last 20 years. Today, we import nearly \$800 billion more in goods than we export. We can’t continue to do that. This is not some natural disaster, it’s a political and politician-made disaster. Very simple. And it can be corrected and we can correct it fast when we have people with the right thinking. Right up here. [...] To understand why trade reform creates jobs, and it creates a lot of them, we need to understand how all nations grow and prosper. Massive trade deficits subtract directly from our gross domestic product. From 1947 to 2001, a span of over five decades, our inflation-adjusted Gross Domestic Product grew at a rate of 3.5 percent. However, since 2002, the year after we fully opened our markets to Chinese imports, the GDP growth rate has been cut in half. [...] A Trump administration will change our failed trade policies, and I mean quickly.”

I don’t want to go into details about the trade disputes of China and USA. A concise and continually revised overview is offered by [Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org).

The following charts show the trade surplus/deficit (exports minus imports) for the USA, China, Russia, and Germany. The data were downloaded on 15th of June 2022 from tradingeconomics.com.

Figure 13.19: Balance of trade of the U.S. over time



Figure 13.19 indicates that Trump was not successful in reducing the trade deficit. Overall, it seems to be the case that trade wars are not that easy to win as he claimed. It is rather difficult to impact the trade deficit within some years. Moreover, it is almost impossible to create more jobs that are lost and boost the economy with starting trade disputes.

For those who are interested: Here is a well researched article about that topic by Ryan Hass and Abraham Denmark, entitled [More pain than gain: How the US-China trade war hurt America](#).

Exercise 13.4. Balance of payments across countries

Figure 13.20 shows the balance of trade over time for China, Russia, and Germany. Discuss the impact of COVID-19 on the balance of payments over time across the three countries.

Figure 13.20: Balance of trade of China, Russia, and Germany over time

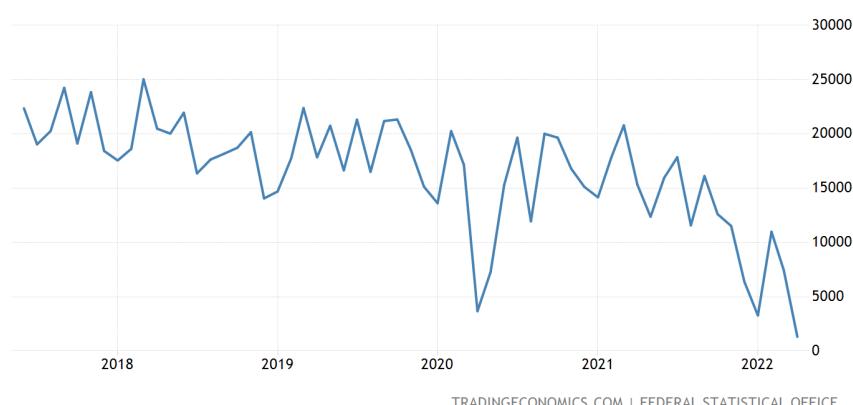
(a) China: Balance of trade



(b) Russia: Balance of trade



(c) Germany: Balance of trade



Exercise 13.5. Trump complains about the WTO

- In an [bloomberg interview](#) Donald Trump said:

"I called NAFTA the second-worst trade deal ever made. I would say the WTO was the single worst trade deal ever made."

And if they don't shape up, I would withdraw from the WTO. We rarely won a lawsuit except for the last year. You know, in the last year, we're starting to win a lot. You know why? Because they know if we don't, I'm out of there. I'll take them out."

Discuss the legal constitution of the WTO and whether Donald Trump is right when he claims that other countries treat the United States unfair. Thereto, I recommend the article [Why Trump's wrong about WTO treating US unfairly](#) from [Kucik \[2018\]](#).

- b) WTO members are not permitted to increase import tariffs without justification. An exception to this rule, however, is given when the *national security* of a nation is at risk. On this basis (which has been challenged within the WTO by several nations, including Canada), U.S. President Trump has issued executive orders imposing import tariffs on steel and aluminum imports for a set of different countries. Discuss whether this behavior can be considered as fair.

Solution

- a) Trump's claims are difficult to assess because it is unclear what he means by fairness or how to define fairness in trade relations in general.

When referencing WTO rules, U.S. policy is far from a model of fairness to others, as too many countries have sued the U.S. for its discriminatory policies. Although he is wrong in his claim that the U.S. has "rarely won a lawsuit, with the exception of last year" (the U.S. win rate is similar to the average win rate), the U.S. is the country that has sued other members more often than any other country.

- b) Imposing and increasing tariffs based on the exception rule could irreparably damage the WTO's authority to adjudicate trade disputes. This is because U.S. trade representatives contend that the WTO does not have the authority to mediate national security issues and should simply issue a ruling that the matter is not within the WTO's jurisdiction. This argument puts a gun to the WTO's head. If the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body follows this line of reasoning, any country could easily impose tariffs in the future, citing *national security*, without the WTO being able to judge whether or not the issue is truly one of national security. This reminds (me) of the Mexican standoff, that is, a confrontation between three or more parties in which there is no strategy that allows one party to win.

Exercise 13.6. Please read the following article "What's behind Trump's trade war?" by [Derviș & Conroy \[2018\]](#) and reflect on the arguments presented by the two authors. Do you comprehend their points in light of everything you've learned in the course so far? If anything is unclear, please specify what you find confusing.

What's behind Trump's trade war?

Derviș & Conroy [2018]:

"Donald Trump's justifications for his aggressive trade policy – that it will reduce the US current-account deficit and save vulnerable American industries – do not withstand scrutiny. At the heart of Trump's trade war is an impulse to free American power from the supposed shackles of multilateralism.

WASHINGTON, DC – Since World War II's end, trade has grown 50 percent faster than global GDP, owing largely to successive rounds of liberalization under the auspices of the World Trade Organization (previously the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT). But now, U.S. President Donald Trump's latest dose of import tariffs could push the world into a full-blown trade war, undoing much of that progress.

Proponents of free trade have always celebrated the growth of international commerce because they regard it as a sign that countries are capitalizing on their comparative advantages through specialization, which implies increased efficiency overall. By contrast,

critics of free trade worry that it might lock poor countries into producing goods that offer little room for productivity growth, and point out that even if there are aggregate gains from globalization, there are also clear losers.

In fact, few would disagree that a static comparative advantage theory is a poor guide for development policy. A more dynamic framework is needed to determine whether trade also brings knowledge and learning to new markets. If it does, then it can be an engine of future economic growth and social progress.

Overall, there is overwhelming evidence that trade has indeed enriched developing countries where supportive policies have been in place. Over time, developing countries have learned to complement trade policies with higher investment in infrastructure and education. But with the world trading system now under assault by the United States, the question for developing countries is how to respond.

To justify his tariffs, Trump points to America's bilateral (or multilateral) trade deficits with its trading partners. But while tariffs can change the composition of trade flows, they will have little bearing on the current-account balance, which is determined by national savings and investment. If savings fall short of investment—as they do in the U.S.—the current account will necessarily be in deficit.

To be sure, tariffs can have an incidental effect on the current-account balance. As a tax on domestic consumers and a subsidy for certain domestic producers, tariffs reduce consumers' disposable income and augment capital income. To the extent that more capital income is saved relative to labor income, tariffs will increase the economy's overall savings rate. Nevertheless, this effect on the savings-investment balance is both weak and indirect.

At the micro level, Trump might argue that tariffs are necessary to protect particular sectors. But many of the goods imported into the U.S. actually contain intermediate inputs that were originally produced domestically (this is even more the case for China). So, to determine whether tariffs are actually protecting the value added-wages and profits in a particular U.S. sector, one must also account for the U.S. value added within imports that are now facing levies. Assuming that Trump's advisers have explained these complications to him, one wonders what his real rationale is.

While Trump's desire to prop up politically important industries and reduce the U.S. current-account deficit has certainly played a role in his trade policy, it is clear that his main target is the WTO and the multilateralism that it represents. Trump seems to think that multilateralism dilutes American power, given that the U.S. can always use its economic and geopolitical clout to win a bilateral dispute. What he doesn't realize is that even the world's most powerful country still needs impartial global rules and disinterested institutions to oversee them.

Over the past 70-odd years, the GATT/WTO system has developed into a multilateral arrangement whereby the same rules apply to all countries alike. That is not to say that bigger and richer countries lack advantages over smaller and poorer countries. Countries like the U.S. can allocate more staff and specialists to support their own producers in complicated trade negotiations, while also pursuing parallel (back-channel) diplomacy. Legally, however, the WTO is a grouping of equals. The "most favored nation" provision means that an advantage extended to one country's producers must be extended to all.

Perhaps most important, the WTO has a dispute-settlement mechanism (DSM) that provides for the timely resolution of disagreements between member states. Though the U.S. has won most of the cases that it has brought before the WTO's arbitration panel, it has also lost some. With the ability to hand down binding judgments, the DSM is a unique feature of the WTO system. No other multilateral body has such a mechanism.

There are many ways that the multilateral system could be improved, of course. The WTO, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund should be devising new approaches to address the growing influence of Big Tech; and competition policy needs to be brought into the twenty-first century. It might also be appropriate for the WTO to adopt a form of weighted voting, similar to the procedure used by the IMF and World Bank.

As for the criticism that globalization produces both winners and losers, this is not an argument against trade; it is an argument for policies to compensate those who have been left behind. On that basis, those who have rightly criticized the WTO in the past should join forces with its supporters. Both sides have an interest in defending this key institution of

global governance from the xenophobic unilateralism embodied by Trump's policies."

13.6 Gains from trade

Figure 13.21 and Figure 13.22 contain domestic supply and demand curves. In autarky with no possibilities to trade, supply and demand must meet. Under free trade and a given world market price, P^W , countries can trade with each other. This has implications for the producer surplus (yellow area) and the consumer surplus (blue area), as shown in the figures. The area of the triangles a and b as denoted in Figure 13.22 represents the welfare gain from free trade that can be achieved given the world market price, P^W .

Figure 13.21: Two countries in autarky

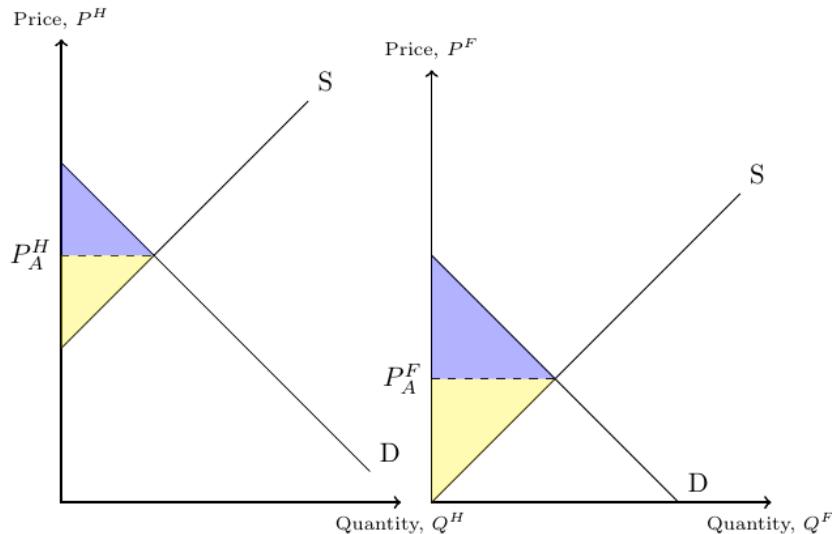
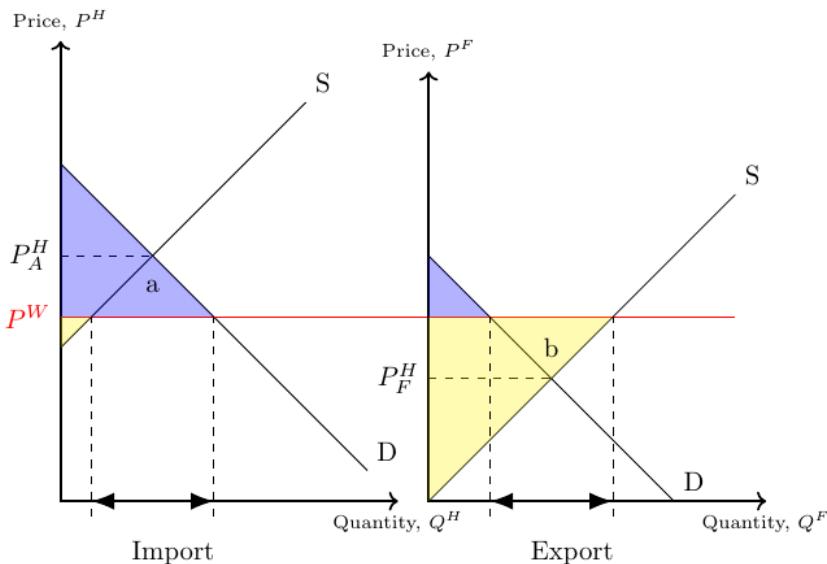


Figure 13.22: Two countries that trade with each other



13.7 Tariffs in small open economies

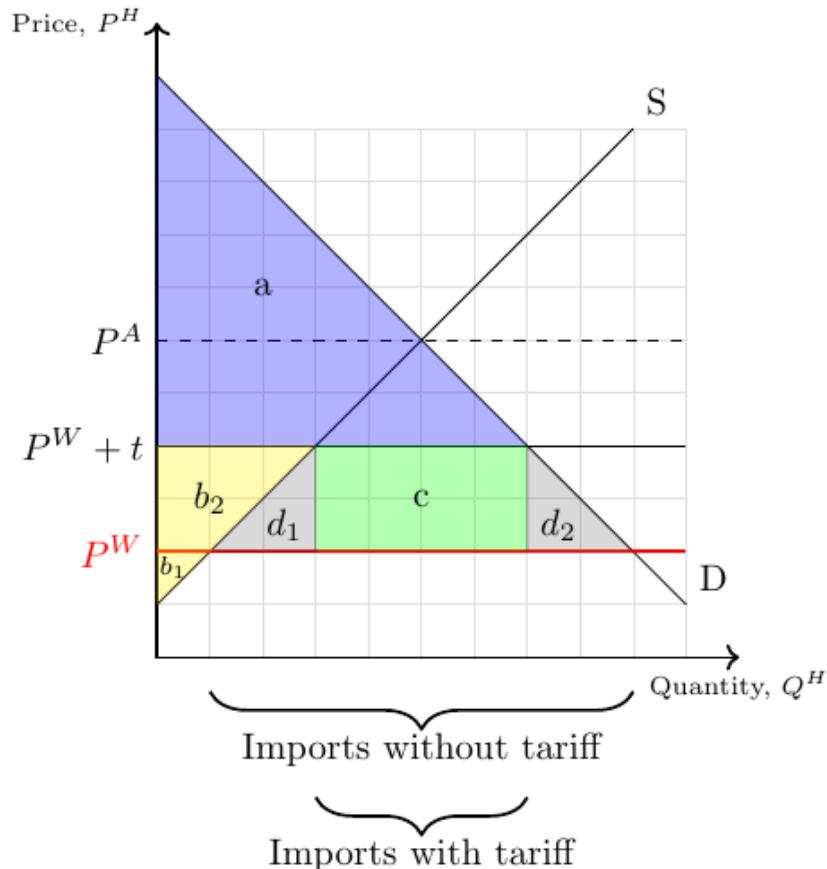
Figure 13.23 can teach us a lot about the impact of a tariff t on trade and welfare. A tariff raises the domestic price of imported goods. If we assume that the imposition or change of a country's tariff has no

effect on the world price, we consider what is called a small open economy, which is so small that the country's consumption and production decisions do not affect the world price. In other words, the country takes the world price for granted because its import demand does not change the world price.

In autarky, the economy represented in Figure 13.23 would consume 5 units at price P^A , and total welfare would be represented by areas $a + b_2 + b_1$. Under free trade without tariffs, the country imports 8 units and consumes 9 units at the price of P^W . The consumer surplus corresponds to areas $a + b_2 + d_1 + c + d_2$ and the producer surplus corresponds to area b_1 . After the introduction of tariff t , the consumer surplus is equal to area a and the producer surplus is equal to area $b_1 + b_2$. Thus, consumer surplus has decreased while producer surplus has increased. The area c is equal to the government's revenue. It represents the portion of the consumer welfare loss that is transferred to the government. Overall, welfare has decreased. The welfare loss is equal to the areas of the two triangles d_1 and d_2 . These triangles represent what is called the *deadweight loss* due to the tariff.

Specifically, triangle d_1 represents the reduction in imports that is replaced by domestic production, and triangle d_2 represents the loss in consumption due to a reduction in imports and a reduction in domestic consumption.

Figure 13.23: Tariff in a small open economy



i The implications of a tariff in a small economy

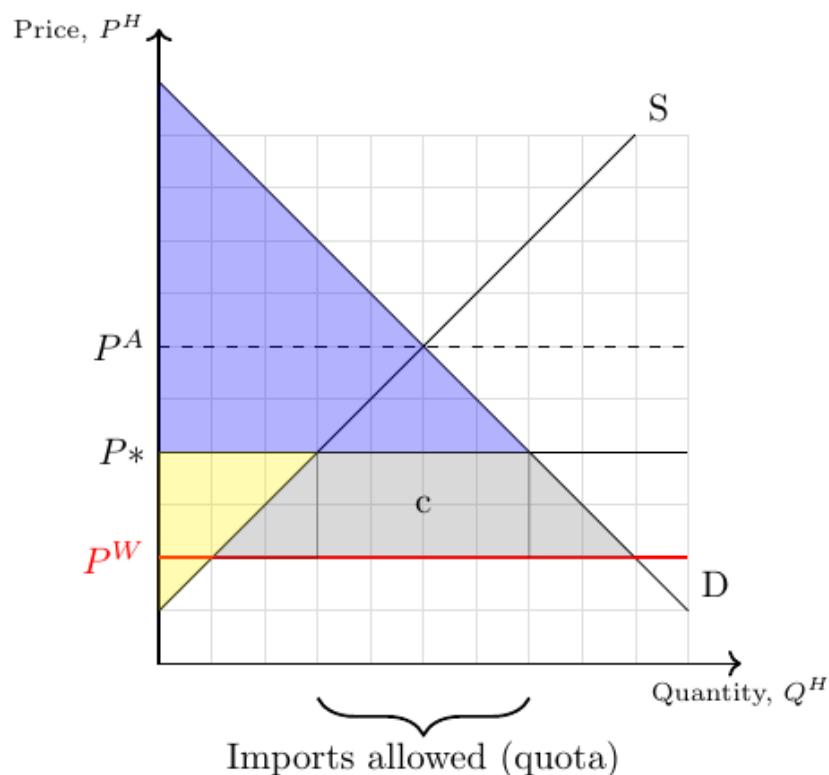
While a tariff protects domestic producers and increases their surplus, it reduces the surplus of consumers and leads to a deadweight loss of revenue. Overall, a tariff leads to a reduction in a country's welfare.

13.8 Quotas in small open economies

A trade restriction that sets a physical limit on the quantity of a good to be imported is called an import quota. It gives government officials more power and control than a tariff because they can strictly limit the quantity of goods traded and have the administrative authority to grant (or sell) import licenses to certain foreign exporters.

Figure 13.24 shows the impact of an import quota that allows an import quantity of 4 units. In this scenario, 7 units are consumed, four of which are imported. The price at which all seven units are consumed is P^* . This is somewhat surprising because the world price P^W is less than P^* . The reason is that all firms that are allowed to sell their products do so at the highest possible price, that is, P^* . As above, the blue area is the consumer surplus and the yellow area is the producer surplus. The gray area is the loss in value due to the import rate. The rectangle c is only part of this loss, since we assume that the government does not sell the licenses to the best bidding exporting firm

Figure 13.24: Tariff in a small open economy



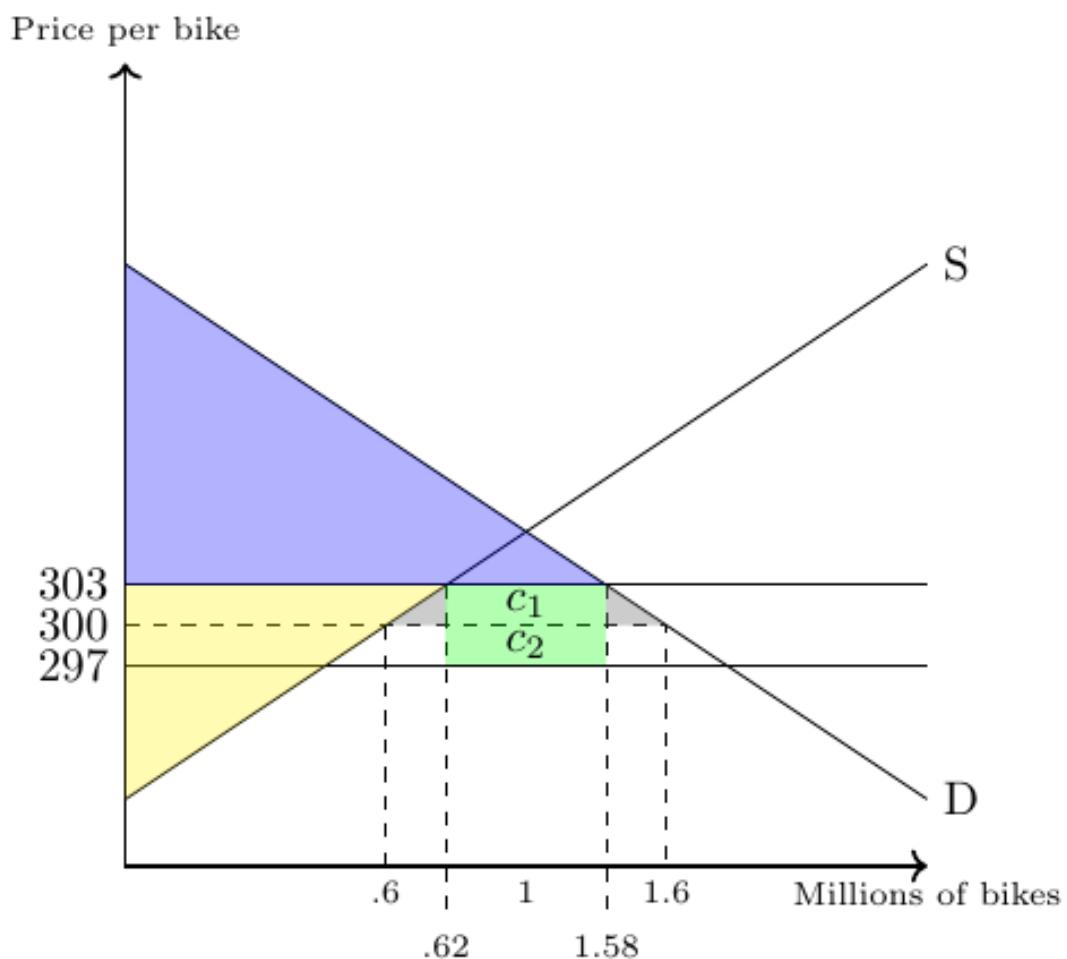
13.9 Tariffs in large open economies

So far, we have assumed that the country of interest is small and takes the world market price as given. However, large countries' demand for imported goods can have an impact on world prices. If this is the case, we can show that a tariff can actually improve a country's welfare. Figure 13.25 illustrates the effects of a tariff on welfare, prices, and trade. In particular, we show the impact of a small tariff of 6 euros per bicycle.

Under free trade, the market for bicycle imports is cleared at a price of €300 and the country imports one million bicycles.

Now, if a tariff of 6€ per bicycle is imposed, the tariff drives a wedge between the price foreign exporters receive and the price domestic buyers of imports pay. That is, it becomes more expensive for domestic buyers to purchase imported bicycles. This, in turn, leads to an immediate drop in domestic demand for bicycles and pushes the world market price for bicycles to €297. Given the new world market price for bicycles, the domestic price for imported bicycles is €303 (297+6).

Figure 13.25: The effect of a tariff in a large country



The consumer surplus is now represented by the blue area and the producer surplus by the yellow area. The green area represents the tariff revenue collected by the government. The two gray triangles, in turn, show the tariff-related deadweight losses. Compared to the free trade scenario, the country gains rectangle c_2 . If the revenue in this area is greater than the deadweight loss, the country has improved its overall welfare by imposing a tariff.

Let us calculate whether this is the case here:

- Area c_2 :

$$(1.58 \text{ million bikes} - 0.62 \text{ million bikes}) \cdot (\text{€}300 - \text{€}297) = \text{€}2.88 \text{ million}$$

- Deadweight loss:

$$\underbrace{\frac{(0.62 \text{ mio b.} - 0.6 \text{ mio b.}) \cdot (\text{€}303 - \text{€}300)}{2}}_{\text{left triangle}} + \quad (13.1)$$

$$\underbrace{\frac{(1.6 \text{ mio b.} - 1.58 \text{ mio b.}) \cdot (\text{€}303 - \text{€}300)}{2}}_{\text{right triangle}} \quad (13.2)$$

$$= \text{€}0.06 \text{ million} \quad (13.3)$$

- Indeed, the net gain is €2.82 million. Thus, a small tariff can increase the welfare of a country.

13.10 Other nontariff trade barriers

In addition to tariffs, there are a variety of other trade barriers. These so-called non-tariff barriers (NTBs) include quotas, export subsidies, domestic production subsidies, government buy-at-home policies, and product standards. Here is a more complete list:

- Import quotas
- Voluntary export restraints
- Antidumping laws
- Exchange-rate controls
- Countervailing duties
- Government subsidies
- Licensing, labeling and packaging restrictions
- Quality controls and technical standards
- Domestic-content laws
- Political rhetoric
- Embargoes and sanctions
- Most/least-favored nation status

For example, **product standards** are much more important than you might think. For example, no car from the United States can be sold in the European Union without modifications because our safety standards are different. Another example is the CE marking (see below). Harmonization of product standards is usually an important issue in trade agreements.

CE Marking

Figure 13.26: The CE marking



The CE marking shown in Figure 13.26 is one example for a non tariff trade barrier. It is not an

abbreviation for *China Export*, as many believe. While CE is sometimes indicated as an abbreviation of *Conformite Europeenne* (French for *European Conformity*), it is not defined as such in the relevant legislation. The mark indicates that the product may be sold freely in any part of the European Economic Area, irrespective of its country of origin. The CE marking is a declaration by the manufacturer (not by some authority!) that the product complies with EU standards for health, safety and environmental protection for products sold within the European Economic Area (EEA). Thus, it is not a quality indicator or a certification mark and may also be found on products sold outside the EEA. You may also know the {FCC Declaration of Conformity} which is used for selling certain electronic devices in the United States.

Exercise 13.7. Tariff (Solution 13.2)

Referring to Figure 13.27, the government of a large country needs your help to decide whether the introduction of a tariff of \$100 per metric ton of steel is a good idea, or not. At the current world market price of $p^W = 600\$$, the country imports 14 millions metric tons of steel. The government expects that a tariff of \$100 per ton of steel would decrease the world market price of steel for \$1.

- Calculate how much the overall welfare gain (or loss) of the country would be in case the government decides to introduce a tariff of \$100 per ton of steel. Assume thereby that the supply curve is given by

$$P^s = 400 + \frac{1}{2}Q^s$$

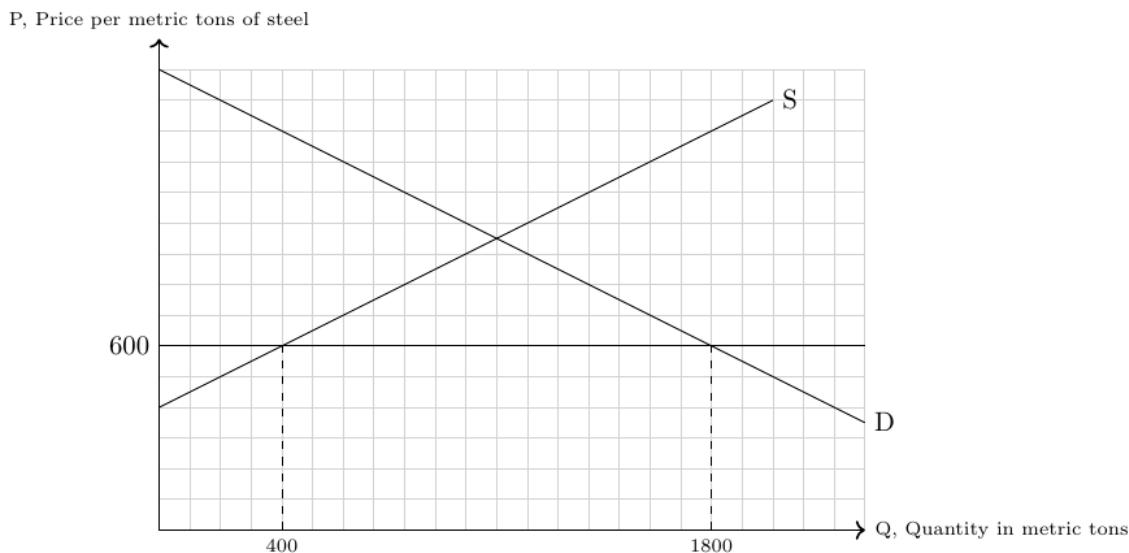
and the demand curve is given by

$$P^d = 1500 - \frac{1}{2}Q^d.$$

These curves are also shown in the figure below.

- What would be the tariff so high that it makes an import of steel prohibitively expensive.
- What would be the world market price so low that it makes any domestic production unprofitable.
- What would be the world market price so high that the country exports steel.

Figure 13.27: Exercise: Tariff



Solution 13.2. Tariff (Exercise 13.7)

- By analogy with Figure 13.25, here we should compare the two gray triangles with area c_2 . The price per metric ton of steel from foreign suppliers will be \$699 because government will charge \$100 on each ton of steel which is now worth \$599 on world markets. As \$699 is still below the

autarky price of \$950, domestic suppliers will set prices to be equal to \$699. Thus,

$$\begin{aligned} 699 &= 400 + \frac{1}{2}Q^s \Leftrightarrow Q^s = 598 \\ 699 &= 1500 - \frac{1}{2}Q^d \Leftrightarrow Q^d = 1602 \\ 1602 - 598 &= 1004 \end{aligned}$$

That means, at a price of \$699 domestic supply is 598 and domestic demand is 1602 tons of steel. 1004 tons will be imported.

To calculate the *welfare loss* (the two triangles), we can calculate the left triangle only and double it (please note that this is only possible if both triangles really have the same size which is only the case if both supply and demand curves have the same slope in absolute terms!):

$$\begin{aligned} &\overbrace{\left(\underbrace{(598 - 400)}_{\text{loss in quantity}} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{1}{2}}_{\text{to get the triangle}} \cdot \underbrace{(699 - 600)}_{\text{increase in price}} \right)}^{\text{left triangle}} \cdot \underbrace{\frac{1}{2}}_{\text{right triangle is of same size}} \\ &= 9801 \cdot 2 \\ &= 19602 \end{aligned}$$

The welfare gain (the new square that is due to the change in world market price, a.k.a. c_2) is

$$1004 \text{ tons} \cdot 1 \left[\frac{\$}{\text{tons}} \right] = 1004 \$.$$

Thus, overall welfare gain is

$$1004 - 19602 = -18598.$$

That means, the welfare loss exceeds the welfare gain by \$ 18598.

b)

$$\begin{aligned} 400 + \frac{1}{2}Q &= 1500 - \frac{1}{2}Q \\ \Leftrightarrow Q &= 1100 \\ P^s &= 400 + \frac{1}{2} \cdot 1100 \\ P^s &= 950 \end{aligned}$$

At a price above \$950, no steel would be imported. Thus, a tariff must be so high that the price of foreign steel within the country exceeds \$950, that is, $P^W + t > 950$. Assuming that the world market price would have a lower bound of \$599, that is, any tariff above \$100 would not decrease the world market price any further, a tariff of \$351 (950-599=351) would make imported steel prohibitively expensive.

- c) Below a price of \$400 any domestic production would be unprofitable because the supply curve tells us that no domestic producer would be able to supply anything at and below the price of \$400. To proof that just set $Q^s = 0$ in the function of the supply curve and you get $P^s = 400$.
- d) At a world market price above \$950, it would be profitable to export steel because domestic supply exceeds domestic demand and the world market price is higher than the production costs.

Part IV

TBA

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Appendix A

Glossary

Budget constraint line: Shows the possible combinations of two goods that are affordable given a consumer's limited income.

Complements: Goods that go together; a decrease in the price of one results in an increase in demand for the other, and vice versa.

Competitive market: A market in which there are many buyers and many sellers, so each has a negligible impact on the market price.

Consumer equilibrium: Occurs when the ratio of the prices of goods is equal to the ratio of the marginal utilities, representing the point at which the consumer achieves maximum satisfaction.

Deadweight loss: The loss in social surplus that occurs when a market produces an inefficient quantity.

Demand curve: A graph that illustrates how much of a given product a household would be willing to buy at different prices.

Demand schedule: A table showing the relationship between the price of a good and the quantity demanded.

Diminishing marginal utility: The common pattern whereby each marginal unit of a good consumed provides less additional utility than the previous unit.

Elasticity: A general concept used to quantify the response in one variable when another variable changes.

Equilibrium: The condition that exists when quantity supplied and quantity demanded are equal; at this point, there is no tendency for the price to change.

Excess demand or shortage: The condition that exists when quantity demanded exceeds quantity supplied at the current price.

Excess supply or surplus: The condition that occurs when quantity supplied exceeds quantity demanded at the current price.

Giffen good: A good for which, all else equal, an increase in price leads to an increase in demand, violating the basic law of demand.

Inferior good: A good for which, all else equal, an increase in income leads to a decrease in demand.

Labor supply: Usually refers to the amount of time workers are willing to work at a given wage.

Labor demand: Generally refers to the amount of time employers are willing to hire labor at a given wage.

Law of demand: The claim that, all else equal, the quantity demanded of a good falls when the price of the good rises.

Law of supply: The claim that, all else equal, the quantity supplied of a good rises when the price of the good rises.

Marginal utility: The additional utility provided by one additional unit of consumption.

Marginal utility per dollar: The additional satisfaction gained from purchasing a good, given the price of that product (MU/Price).

Market: A group of buyers and sellers of a particular good or service.

Normal good: A good for which, all else equal, an increase in income or a decrease in price leads to an increase in demand.

Perfectly competitive market: Defined by two main characteristics: (1) the goods offered for sale are identical, and (2) the number of buyers and sellers is large enough that no single buyer or seller can influence the market price.

Perfect substitutes: Identical goods that can replace each other.

Price ceiling: A maximum price that sellers may charge for a good, usually set by the government; a legal maximum price.

Price control: Government regulations to manage prices instead of allowing market forces to determine them.

Price floor: A legal minimum price.

Producer surplus: The extra benefit producers receive from selling a good or service, measured by the price received minus the price they would have been willing to accept.

Quantity demanded: The amount of a good that buyers are willing and able to purchase.

Quantity supplied: The amount of a good that sellers are willing and able to sell.

Substitutes: Goods that can replace one another; when the price of one increases, demand for the other goes up.

Supply: The willingness and ability of producers to create goods and services for market sale.

Supply curve: A graph illustrating how much of a given product a firm will supply at different prices.

Total utility: The satisfaction derived from consumer choices.

Demand: Refers to the willingness and ability of consumers to purchase a given quantity of a good or service at a specific point in time or over a period.

Exports: Goods and services sold to other countries.

Imports: Goods and services bought from other countries.

Trade balance: The difference between the value of goods and services a country sells abroad and those it buys from abroad, also known as net exports.

Trade surplus: When a country sells more than it buys, resulting in a positive trade balance.

Trade deficit: When a country buys more than it sells, leading to a negative trade balance.

Balanced trade: When the value of exports equals the value of imports.

Net capital outflow: The difference between the purchase of foreign assets by domestic residents and the purchase of domestic assets by foreigners. This equals net exports, indicating that a country's savings can fund investments domestically or abroad. We will elaborate on that later on in greater detail.

Appendix B

Mathematical preliminaries

Please feel free to download and study my introduction for mathematics for economics [here](#).

Appendix C

Past exams

Note

I have taught several courses, which are now summarised in the course *Economics*, including *International Economics*, *Economic Thinking in a Global Context*, *Macroeconomics*, *Microeconomics* and *Managerial Economics*. There are sub-areas from each of these courses that are also covered in the Economics course.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. However, I do not offer solutions to the exams.

C.1 Macroeconomics

Please feel free to download a collection of past *Macroeconomics* exams [here](#).

C.2 Economic Thinking in a Global Context

Please feel free to download a collection of past *Economic Thinking in a Global Context* exams [here](#).

C.3 International Economics

Please feel free to download a collection of past *International Economics* exams [here](#).

C.4 Managerial Economics

Please feel free to download a collection of past *Managerial Economics* exams [here](#).