Introduction

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16.2.2022

Object of economic growth theory

- ▶ Object of economic growth: dynamics of aggregate per capita income across (long) time, and across locations.
- ► Main questions
 - ▶ what is the meaning of "long time" (millenia, centuries, decennies) ?
 - why rates of growth change along historical times ?
 - ▶ why the rates of growth differ across countries ?
 - ▶ why countries hold inequalities in the GDP per capita while having similar rates of growth?
 - ▶ what are the main drivers of economic growth?

Main takeaways from the course

- ► The **current measure**, rate of growth of real GDP per capita, is usually **badly interpreted**
 - ► The observed increase in the GDP per capita has two main components:

$$\frac{\Delta y}{y}\Big|_{\text{observed}} = \gamma_{\text{growth}} + \gamma_{\text{transition}}$$

where γ_{growth} is a true measure of economic growth

- ▶ We need some **theory** to separate the two
- ► There is economic growth only if there is an **exponential** reproduction mechanism

$$y(t) \approx y_{\text{level}} e^{\gamma_{\text{growth}} t}, \text{ with } \gamma > 0$$

▶ We should not confuse the **level of GDP** with the **rate of growth of GDP**.



Main takeaways from the course

- ► Growth is a usually a **hidden phenomenon**
- ▶ This poses both theoretical and empirical difficulties:
 - every theory (and empirical strategy) tries to find (exogenous) factors which explain the rate of growth

$$\gamma_{\text{growth}} = F_g(\text{factors})$$

▶ and/or differences in levels

$$y_{\text{level}} = F_l(\text{factors})$$

- ► However, in the very long run (history) everything is endogenous.
- ➤ Solution: choose a **time scale** such that some factors seem to be exogenous (constant or not)



Beyond economic growth

Human impact on Earth's geological phases

The **Anthropocene** as a new geological era (a decision was scheduled for 2021 but was not taken):

- consensus: there is a geological impact of human activity
- ▶ no consensus: periodization (when did it started ?)
 - ▶ around 8000 BCE ? (deforestation, increase in carbon concentration preventing a "natural" reduction in Earth's temperature)
 - ▶ around 1600 CE ? (exchange of animal and plant species between continents)
 - ▶ around 1800 CE ? (industrial revolution, increase in earth's temperature)
 - ▶ around 1944 CE ? (clear increase in temperature, start of the atomic era)
- see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthropocene

Main growth factors

By increasing degree of variability

- Physical and biological environments: geography, size, resources, biology;
- ▶ Population: demography, human capital, social capital;
- ► Technology: capital accumulation, productivity growth (learning by doing, R&D);
- ► Aggregation: externalities, public goods;
- ► Economic institutions: inclusive/exclusive (free entry vs barriers to entry), financial institutions, trade openness, patent protection;
- ▶ Political institutions: in a broad sense (inclusive/exclusive, rule of law, enforcement, accountability) or in a narrow sense (government intervention, governance)
- Luck (good or bad)

Phases of economic growth

Secular long run perspective:

- 1. Malthusian trap and first globalization (goods): (almost) constant rates of growth (6000 BCE to 1700 CE)
- 2. Industrial Revolution: transition with modest increases in the rate of growth
- 3. Modern economic growth and second globalization (goods): rapid economic growth and Great Divergence: post 1820 and until 1990 (according to some authors)
- 4. Great convergence and third globalization (ideas): post 1990 until?
- 5. Recent trends (are humans redundant?): nature strikes back and automation/robotization

See https://ourworldindata.org/economic-growth

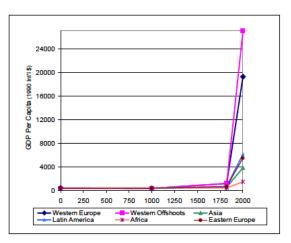


Figure 1: The Evolution of Regional Income Per Capita, 1-2000 CE (Source: Maddison, 2003)

Figure: Maddison on the evolution of income per capita

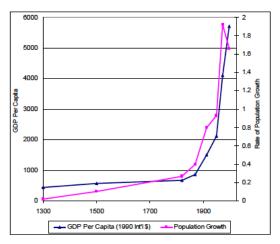


Figure 4: World Population Growth and Income Per Capita (Source: Maddison, 2001)

Figure: Maddison on the evolution of population

Ancient growth experience Malthusian trap

- ▶ Low rates of growth: between 0% and 0.5%
- ➤ Rises in income implied rises in population (not income p.c.)
- Negative correlation between population growth and real wages
- ▶ But wide fluctuations (civilizations appear and disappear)
- ▶ Big impact of demographic changes and (ex Black-Death (1347-1350)) and institutions (ex. different responses to it in E. and W.Europe);

Ancient growth experience Malthusian trap

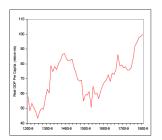


Figure 2: Fluctuations in Real GDP Per Capita in England, 1260-1870 CE (Source: Clark, 2005)



Figure 5: Population and Real Wages in England, 1250-1750 CE (Source: Clark, 2005)

Figure: Clark on the UK's population and real wages

Ancient growth experience Limits to growth

- ▶ labor (unskilled ?) and land were the main factor of production
- ▶ land is not reproducible: no growth because of decreasing returns;
- ▶ there were some gains in productivity, although not related to a purposeful activity as R&D;

Ancient growth experience

First globalization

▶ there was a small difference in GDP per capita across the world (Eurasian continent)

Table: Ratio richest to poorest region: before the great divergence

1000	1500	1820
1.1:1	2:1	3:1

- ▶ E. and SW. Asia were richer (see Frankopan (2016))
- ▶ first globalization: a first sustained decoupling between production and consumption took place with trade in a small number of (luxury) goods (Silk road)
- physical distance was a major factor (spatial friction)

Modern economic growth

- modern economic growth: permanent positive rates of growth;
- ▶ it may have started in the UK around 1800;
- ▶ it was contemporaneous with a demographic revolution, but growth became independent from the growth population;
- non-Malthusian features: rise in wages and almost stationary rate of return of capital
- start of a process of the build-up of state-capacity

Modern economic growth Main factors

➤ Two driving forces: increases in productivity and capital accumulation (physical, human, social)

Table: Growth accounting

	1900	1929	1950	1973	1990	2008
factor	59	59	37	39	28	30
TFP	41	41	63	61	72	70

Source: Crafts and Woltjer (2020)

▶ but intensive has become more important than extensive growth

Modern economic growth

Main factors

- physical capital accumulation: massive, helped by the development of financial system and of the increase in state capacity
- better allocation: specialization across activities and geography;
- ▶ technologic progress: rise in productivity as a purposeful activity (R&D, fundamental research), huge reduction in transport costs;
- ▶ unprecedented accumulation of human capital: schooling and knowledge (but quality is becoming more important than quantity see Hanushek and Woessmann (2015))
- ▶ social capital: institutions (reduction in uncertainty at all levels, protection of property rights, contract enforcement, etc)
- ► non-renewable natural resources: decreasing returns avoided by technology?

Modern economic growth

Great divergence

► The Great divergence:

Table: Ratio richest to poorest region: after the great divergence

1820	1870	1913	1950	2001
3:1	5:1	9:1	15:1	18:1

- ▶ increase in disparities and change of the economic center
- second globalization (inter-industrial trade): huge reduction in transport costs lead to an increase in the trade in inter-industrial and the Ricardo comparative advantage mechanism start working massively;
- ► relative free capital movement re-inforced this movement and lead to an international alignment of interest rates;
- ▶ increasing agglomeration of economic activity in a few centers (at national and international levels)

A new phase after the 1990's?

Global convergence and local divergence

- ► Extensive factors are becoming less important and intensive (distributional factors) are becoming dominant
- ► Technical progress: drivers
 - ► IT lead to a reduction of costs in the movement of ideas;
 - **robotization** leads to a substitution of routine tasks by machines
 - new energy sources ?
- ▶ third globalization (intra-industrial trade): a large part of international trade is related to the supply chains of some multinational corporations (see Baldwin (2017))
- ▶ allowed high increases in wages in a few (7) countries (technology from the "North" and wages from the "South") and competition between countries for parts of the supply chains.

A new phase after the 1990's?

But reduction of growth may be a good thing

growth rate	explanation
2.25	average growth 1950-2000
	Successes
-0.8	smaller families and aging
-0.2	shift from goods to services
	Possible failures
-0.15	decline in reallocation of workers and firms
-0.1	decline in geographical mobility
+0.0	taxation and regulation
+0.0	increase in inequality
+0.0	trade with China
= 1.00	average growth 2000-2016

Table: Accounting for the growth slowdown US: (Vollrath, 2020, p.

207)

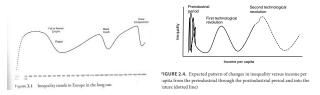
A new phase?

Empirics and consequences

- ► Empirical observations:
 - ▶ the elephant curve (see Milanovic (2016), Baldwin (2017)): reduction of inequality at a global level;
 - polarization curve (v.g https://voxeu.org/article/ job-polarisation-and-decline-middle-class-workers-wages increase in inequality within countries;
 - ▶ global warming
- ▶ Potential consequences:
 - ▶ institutional consequences: rebalances of the inclusive/exclusive attitudes around the world?
 - over-extension of state's capacity?
 - ▶ limits to growth as a result of the environmental impact of human activity ?

However: history seems to move in cycles

► Inequality in the very long run: Scheidel (2017) and Milanovic (2016)



▶ the labor share in the long run: with hindsight it seems that big technological changes start with substitution of labor with machines https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/pdf/scpwps/ecb.wp2251~e73a1e85d1.en.pdf

This course

- ▶ We will address just some of those issues;
- ▶ Using as stepping stones the benchmark models which tried to address them;
- ▶ We will refer to the stylized facts those models tried to address when they were proposed;
- ➤ Today with the huge amount of information and the computational capabilities, the research in the field requires a fairly large amount of skills (conceptual, statistical, theoretical and computational). But the central issues remain the same.

References

- ► Anthropocene: Lewis and Maslin (2018)
- ► Long-run growth facts: Maddison (2007)
- ➤ Stylized facts on economic growth: (Acemoglu, 2009, ch. 1, 2), (Barro and Sala-i-Martin, 2004, ch. 10,11,12)
- ▶ Pre-modern and modern economic growth: (Galor, 2011, ch 2)
- ▶ Inequality: Milanovic (2016), Scheidel (2017)

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