

经济增长理论

第十五讲：经济发展的根源

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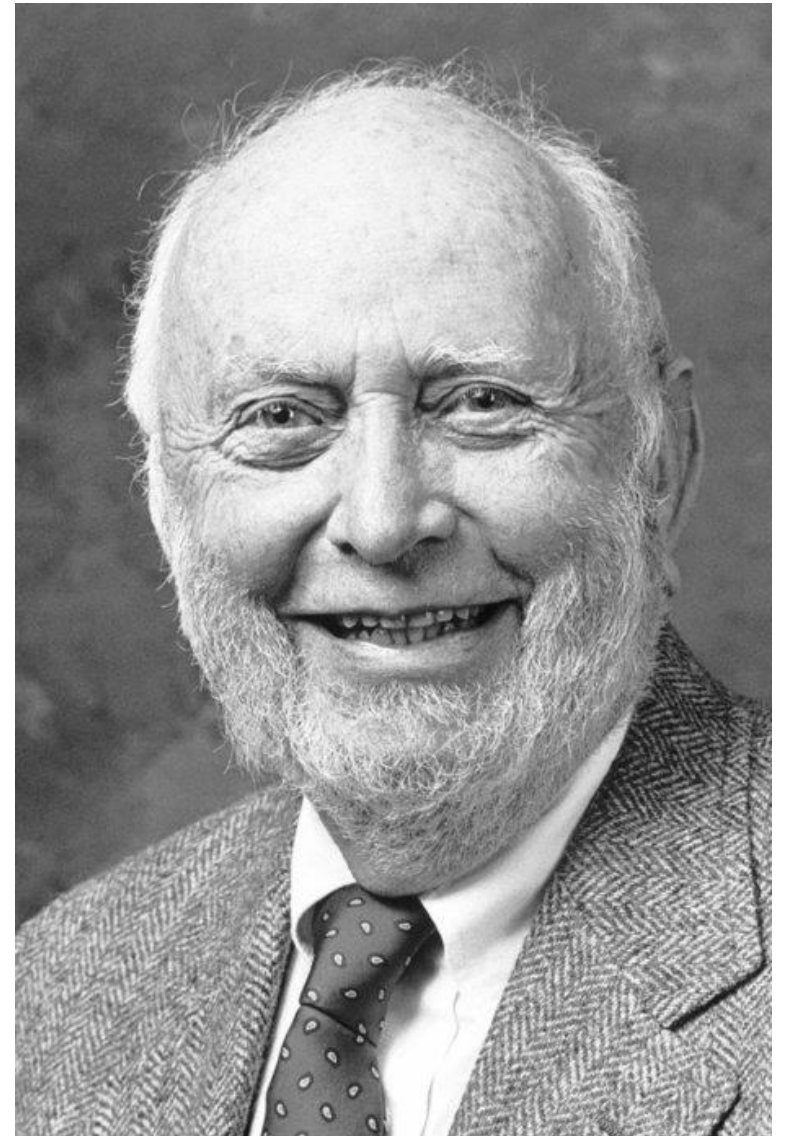
什么的经济发展与增长的源泉？

[T]he factors we have listed (innovation, economies of scale, education, capital accumulation, etc.) are not causes of growth; they *are* growth.

North and Thomas (1973, p.2)

The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History

❖ Douglas North (1920 – 2015), 1993 Nobel Prize



经济增长实证

- ❖ Penn World Table数据库的建立让跨国经济增长比较实证研究成为可能
- ❖ 增长回归： $Growth_i = \beta X_i + Controls + \epsilon_i$
 - 40年来各种X都被研究过
 - ✓ Solow模型：人均产出水平值，储蓄率，资本折旧
 - ✓ RCK模型：时间偏好（影响储蓄决策）
 - ✓ 内生增长模型：研发投入，创新，中间品数量，专利保护，企业进入退出
 - ✓ 人力资本，贸易开放度，……
- ❖ Durlauf, Johnson, and Temple (2005): 总结了145个影响经济增长的Xs
 - Durlauf, S. N., P. A. Johnson, and J. R. W. Temple. 2005. Growth Econometrics. Aghion, P. and S. N. Durlauf (eds.), Handbook of Growth Economics. Oxford: Elsevier.
 - 145个变量分属于43个经济增长理论
- ❖ 但全球可供研究的国家/地区仅200左右，X超过样本量

GUY: Guyana; HKG: Hong Kong; HND: Honduras; IDN: Indonesia; IND: India; IRL: Ireland; ISN: Iran; ISR: Israel; ITA: Italy; JAM: Jamaica; JOR: Jordan; JPN: Japan; KEN: Kenya; KOR: Rep. of Korea; LKA: Sri Lanka; LSO: Lesotho; MRT: Mauritania; MDO: Madagascar; MEX: Mexico; MLI: Mali; MOZ: Mozambique; MRU: Mauritania; NIG: Mauritania; MWI: Malawi; MYA: Malaysia; NAM: Namibia; NER: Niger; NGA: Nigeria; NLD: Netherlands; NOR: Norway; NZL: New Zealand; NZL: New Zealand; PAK: Pakistan; PAN: Panama; PER: Peru; PHI: Philippines; PNG: Papua New Guinea; PRT: Portugal; PRY: Paraguay; ROM: Romania; RWA: Rwanda; SEN: Senegal; SGP: Singapore; SLV: El Salvador; SWE: Sweden; SVK: Slovakia; TCD: Chad; TGO: Togo; THA: Thailand; TZA: Tanzania; TUR: Turkey; TWN: Taiwan; TZA: Tanzania; UGA: Uganda; URY: Uruguay; USA: USA; VEN: Venezuela; ZAF: South Africa; ZAR: Dem. Rep. Congo; ZMB: Zambia; ZWE: Zimbabwe.

Extrapolation: Where data on GDP per worker for the year 2000 are missing from PWT 6.1, but are available for 1996 or after, we extrapolate using the growth rate between 1990 and the latest available year. This procedure helps to alleviate the biases that can occur when countries are missing from the sample for systematic reasons, such as political or economic collapse.

The countries involved are Angola (extrapolated from 1990–1996), Botswana (1999), Central African Republic (1998), Democratic Republic of Congo (1997), Cyprus (1996), Fiji (1999), Guyana (1999), Mauritania (1999), Namibia (1999), Papua New Guinea (1999), Singapore (1996), and Taiwan (1998).

Appendix B: Variables in cross-country growth regressions

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Capitalism, Corruption, Democracy, Overall, and Sophistication.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Education, Female (growth), Male (growth), Overall (level), Primary level, Secondary level, Tertiary level, Language diversity, Finance, Stock markets, Banks, Debt/GDP, Depth, Overall, Competition + development, Sophistication.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Growth rate, Fertility, Disease ecology, Fertility, Government, Consumption (level), Deficits, Investment, and Various expenditures.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Military expenditures, Growth rate, Health, Life expectancy, Change in malaria infection rate, Industrial structure, Firms, Land locked, Coastline (length), Trade, Inflation, Growth, Level, Variability, Infrastructure projects, Initial income, and Investment ratio.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Democracy, Capitalism, Corruption, Depth, Overall, Competition + development, Sophistication.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Population, Density, Growth, Price distortions, Consumption price, Investment price, Price levels, Consumption price, Investment price, Real exchange rate, Black market premium, Debt/GDP, Overall, Political rights, Sub-Saharan Africa dummy, Religion, and Stock markets.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Democracy, Capitalism, Corruption, Depth, Overall, Competition + development, Sophistication.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Confucian, Modern, Religion, Protestant belief, Attendance, Role of law indices, Scale effects, Total labor force, Social capital and related, Citizen satisfaction with government, Civic participation, Growth as defined by Olson (1982), Institutional performance, Civic community (index of participation, newspaper readership, political behavior), Trust, Social development index, Economic class communication, Kinship, Middle class, Outlook, Social capital (DVS), Social capital (DVS), and Social achievement norms.

Table with 2 columns: R.H.S. variables and Studies. Rows include Capabilities, Trade policy indices, Import penetration, Leverage's intervention index, Years open 1950–1990, Openness indices (growth), Openness indices (level), Human capital, Outward orientation, Trade, Liberalization, Trade statistics, Fraction of export/import total in GDP, Social capital and related, Citizen satisfaction with government, Civic participation, Growth as defined by Olson (1982), Institutional performance, Civic community (index of participation, newspaper readership, political behavior), Trust, Social development index, Economic class communication, Kinship, Middle class, Outlook, Social capital (DVS), Social capital (DVS), and Social achievement norms.

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催生了一大批“标题党”，比如这篇1997年AER

I Just Ran Two Million Regressions

By XAVIER X. SALA-I-MARTIN*

Following the seminal work of Robert Barro (1991), the recent empirical literature on economic growth has identified a substantial number of variables that are partially correlated with the rate of economic growth. The basic methodology consists of running cross-sectional regressions of the form

$$(1) \quad \gamma = \alpha + \beta_1 \mathbf{x}_1 + \beta_2 \mathbf{x}_2 \\ + \cdots + \beta_n \mathbf{x}_n + \varepsilon$$

An initial answer to this question was given by Ross Levine and David Renelt (1992).¹ They applied Edward Leamer's (1985) *extreme-bounds test* to identify “robust” empirical relations in the economic growth literature. In short, the extreme-bounds test works as follows. Imagine that there is a pool of N variables that previously have been identified to be related to growth and one is interested in knowing whether variable z is “robust.” One would estimate regressions of the form

2000年后，经济增长实证研究转向Deep Roots，根源

Journal of Economic Literature 2013, 51(2), 325–369
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/jel.51.2.325>

How Deep Are the Roots of Economic Development?[†]

ENRICO SPOLAORE AND ROMAIN WACZIARG*

ABSTRACT: The empirical literature on economic growth and development has moved from the study of proximate determinants to the analysis of ever deeper, more fundamental factors, rooted in long-term history.

三条主线：地理、制度与文化

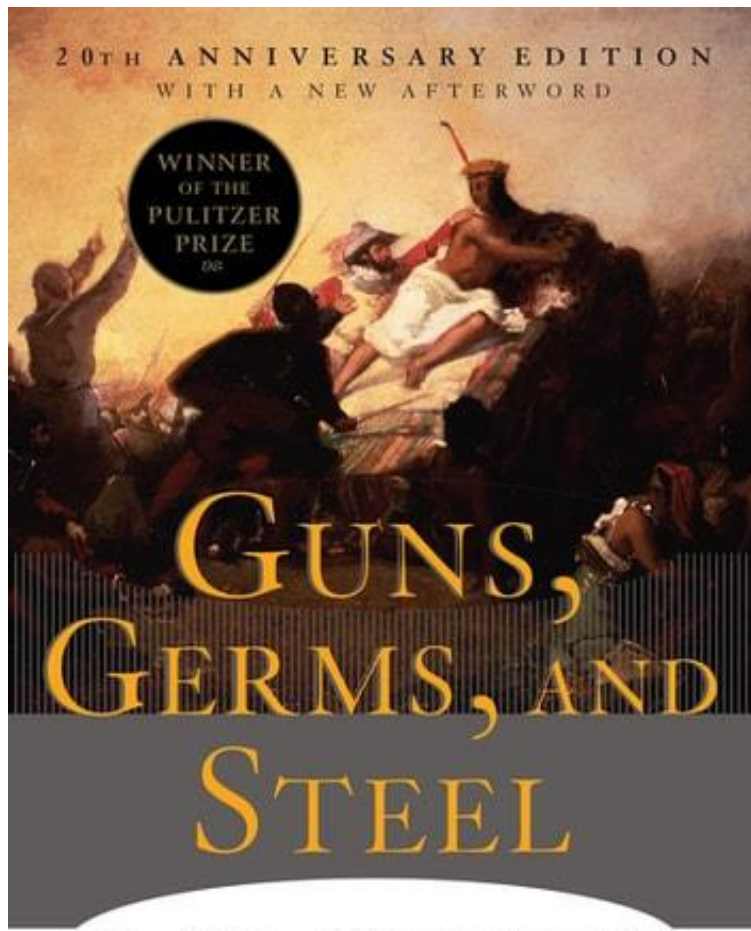
- ❖ 地理论的代表：Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, 1997
 - UCLA地理学家、生物学家，1937 –
- ❖ 制度论的代表：Douglas North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, 1990
 - 与Thomas 1973年的著作同样重要
- ❖ 文化论的代表：Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 1905
 - 德国社会学家，1864 – 1920



J. Diamond

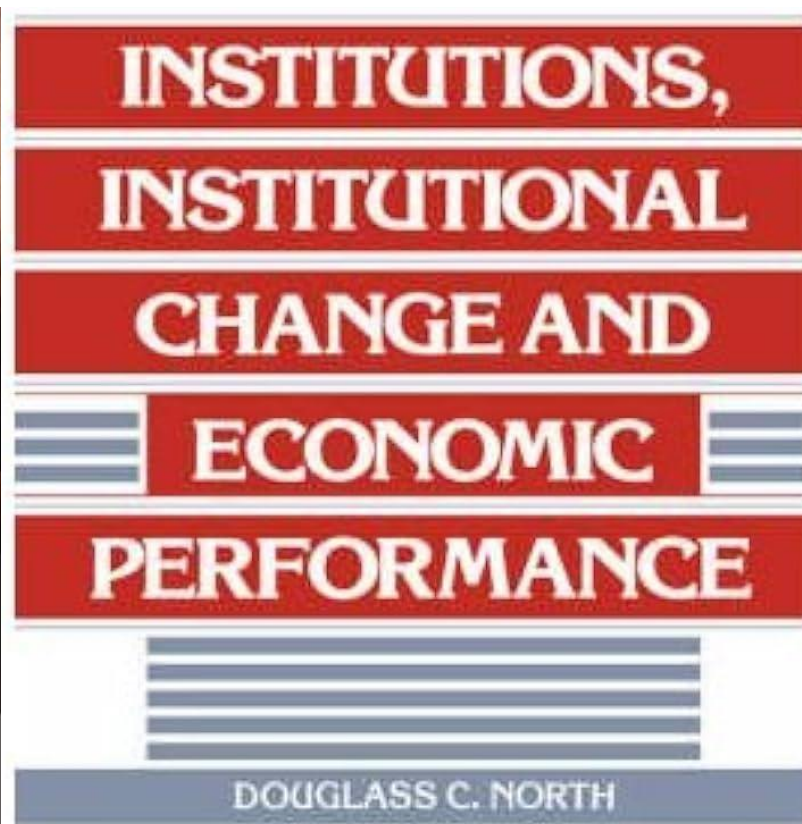


Max Weber



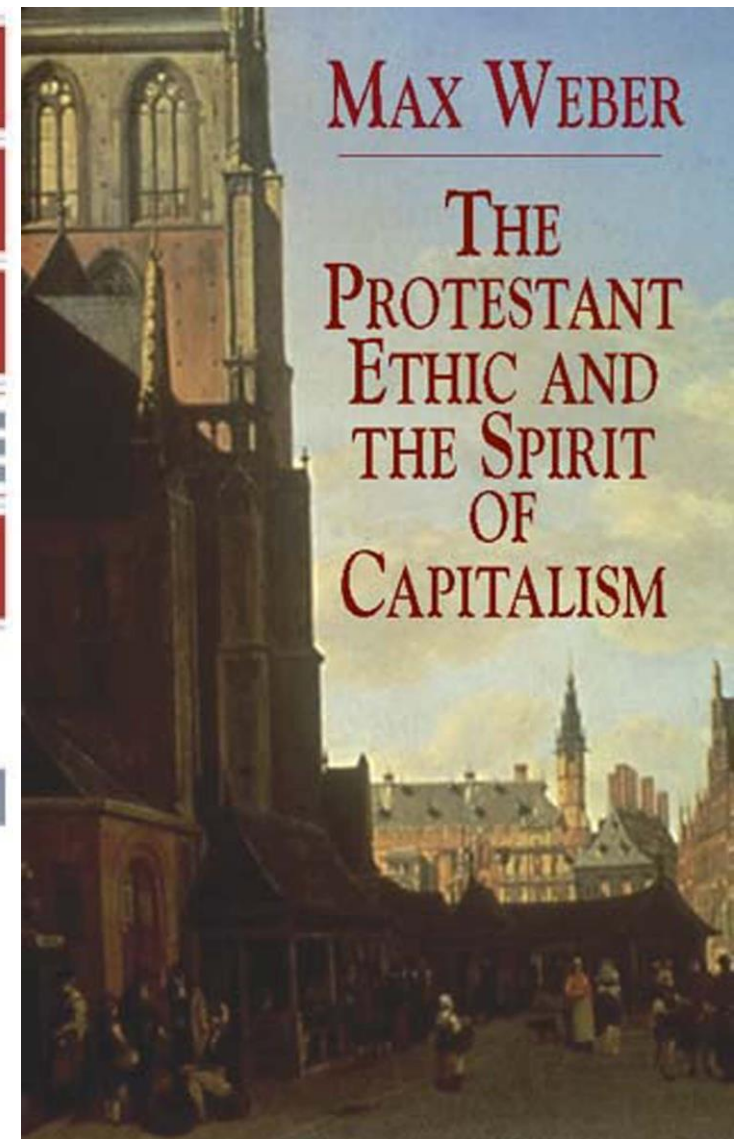
JARED DIAMOND

《枪炮、细菌与钢铁》



Political Economy
of Institutions and Decisions

《制度、制度变迁与经济表现》

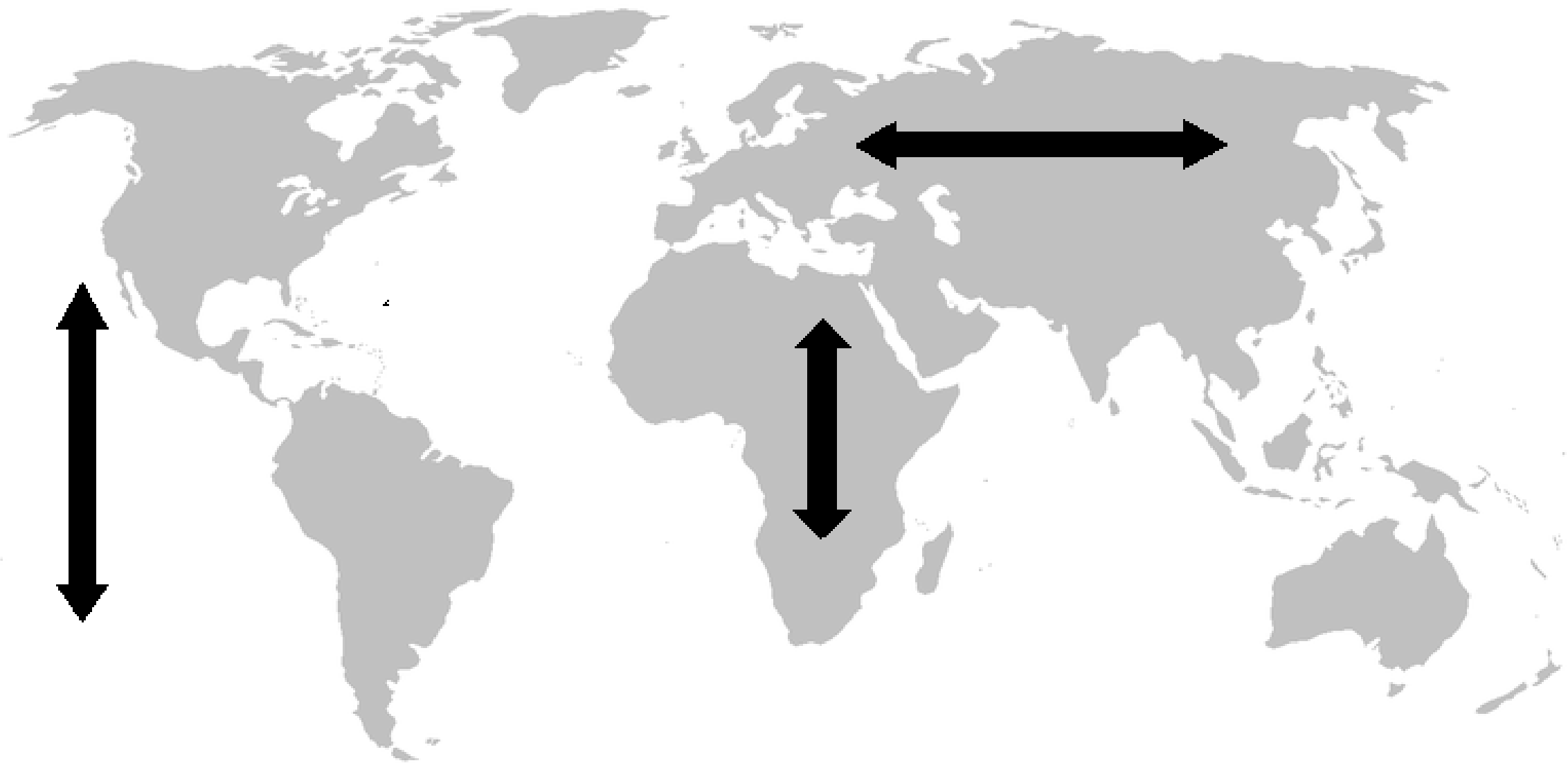


《新教伦理与资本主义精神》

地理论

- ❖ 地理因素对经济发展显然具有重要影响
 - 温度、降水、海拔、地形、土地，以及自然资源
 - 进一步影响经济形态（农业、畜牧业、制造业等），人口聚集（城市化），交通运输，市场一体化
- ❖ Diamond的地理理论还强调更基础的地理因素：大陆的基本地理形态，决定了适合农业发展的地理区域的范围大小，进一步决定区域内动植物种群基因特征的交流与演变，从而奠定文明的基础
- ❖ 在这方面，欧亚大陆具有天然的优势
 - 北纬30-40度线附近，东西向连贯的温带气候区，带来大范围东西向动植物种群交流的良好条件，有利于培养出适合农牧业生产的优良品种

Diamond强调的欧亚大陆农业区地理条件



制度论

- ❖ 经济学的偏爱：20世纪后半期，新制度(neo-institutional)经济学的蓬勃发展，让制度成为主流经济学的核心研究对象
 - 企业理论：Ronald Coase (1910 – 2013)，提出交易成本概念，以分析经济组织与制度环境的决定及影响
 - North从交易成本经济学的角度，全面审视了经济发展史，突出了制度对经济发展的核心作用

- ❖ 制度总体而言强调正式制度：政治制度，法律制度
 - 政治制度：民主、包容vs专制、剥削
 - ✓ Acemoglu, D., S. Johnson, and J. A. Robinson. 2001. The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation. *American Economic Review* 91:1369–1401.
 - ✓ Acemoglu & Robinson. 2013. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Crown Currency.
 - 法律制度：公权的界限，私有产权的维护，法律程序，法律执行
 - ✓ 引申出法与金融(Law and Finance)学派，Shleifer, Vishny等
 - ✓ La Porta, R., F. Lopez-de-Silanes, A. Shleifer, and R. W. Vishny. 1998. Law and Finance. *Journal of Political Economy* 106:1113–55.

文化论

- ❖ 马克斯·韦伯最早强调宗教信仰对经济发展的影响，特别是基督教新教思想对资本主义发展的关键作用
 - 新教强调个人使命(mission)，通过个人努力而非以来教会达成造物主的指引，进而衍生出勤俭节约、专注分工、提升文化水平（人力资本）、控制生育的传统
- ❖ 20世纪末以来，对欧洲中心论的抵制，催生出更多元的文化论
 - 典型例子：二战后日本、亚洲四小龙、中国的高速发展，突出了东亚儒家文化在经济发展中的优势
 - ✓ 与韦伯最初的讨论相反，韦伯认为儒教倾向于保守，缺乏创新精神
 - 另一个常见的例子是稻作文化与麦作文化的差异
 - ✓ 前者强调集体密集劳动，需要很多协作，大幅增提高了社会信任水平
 - ✓ 后者以家庭为单位生产，不需要村庄层面的协同，不利于社会信任文化的培养

总结

❖ 世界代有奇迹出，各领风骚百十年

- 全球各地区经济发展路径轨迹有很强的异质性，并没有适用于所有发展与增长经验的普世“根源”
- 地理、制度、文化都在不同地区、不同历史阶段发挥过不同的作用，并没有单一的优势理论
 - ✓ 一部分经济文献试图论述制度论的压倒性优势，但争论一直存在
 - ✓ Rodrik, D., A. Subramanian, and F. Trebbi. 2004. Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development. *Journal of Economic Growth* 9:131–65.

❖ 两个思考维度

- 民族国家(nation state)并不一定是最恰当的经济发展与增长分析单位
 - ✓ 很多民族国家不是自然形成，而且国家边界划分本身也是阻碍经济发展的因素
- 政治共同体(polity)可能是更合适分析单位，经济发展需要社会集体决策并形成稳定的发展意愿/意志，但集体意志总有可能和个人自由产生冲突，两者协调是关键