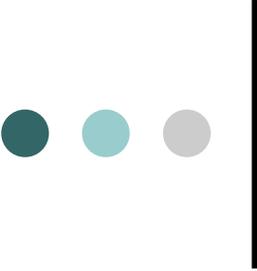




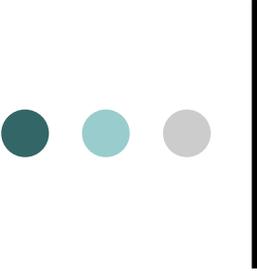
# Rethinking Growth Policy Two Years Into the Crisis

Philippe Aghion



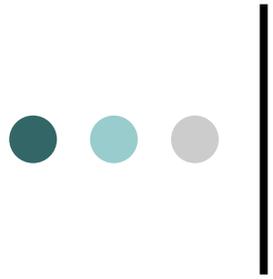
# Introduction

- In previous work and reports, I emphasized the need for structural reforms in Europe and for investing in higher education
- In this lecture I want to discuss the extent to which the recent crisis should affect our previous conclusions

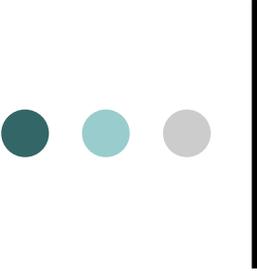


# Outline

- Schumpeterian growth paradigm
- My pre-crisis growth recommendations
- New constraints brought about by the recession
- Dominant policy views and their weaknesses
- Updating the recommendations
- Wrapping-up

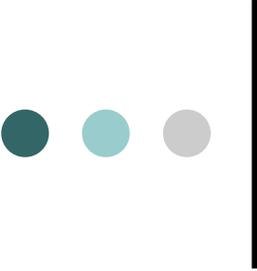


# A paradigm for analyzing growth policy



# Schumpeterian Paradigm

- Innovation is driven by entrepreneurial investments (R&D...) which are themselves motivated by the prospect of monopoly rents



# Schumpeterian Paradigm

- Frontier innovation and imitation requires different sets of policies and institutions



# Schumpeterian Paradigm

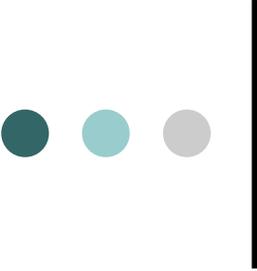
→ Schumpeterian paradigm is flexible in modeling contribution of past innovations:

$$A_{t+1} - A_t = \mu_n (\gamma - 1) A_t + \mu_m (\bar{A}_t - A_t)$$

⇒

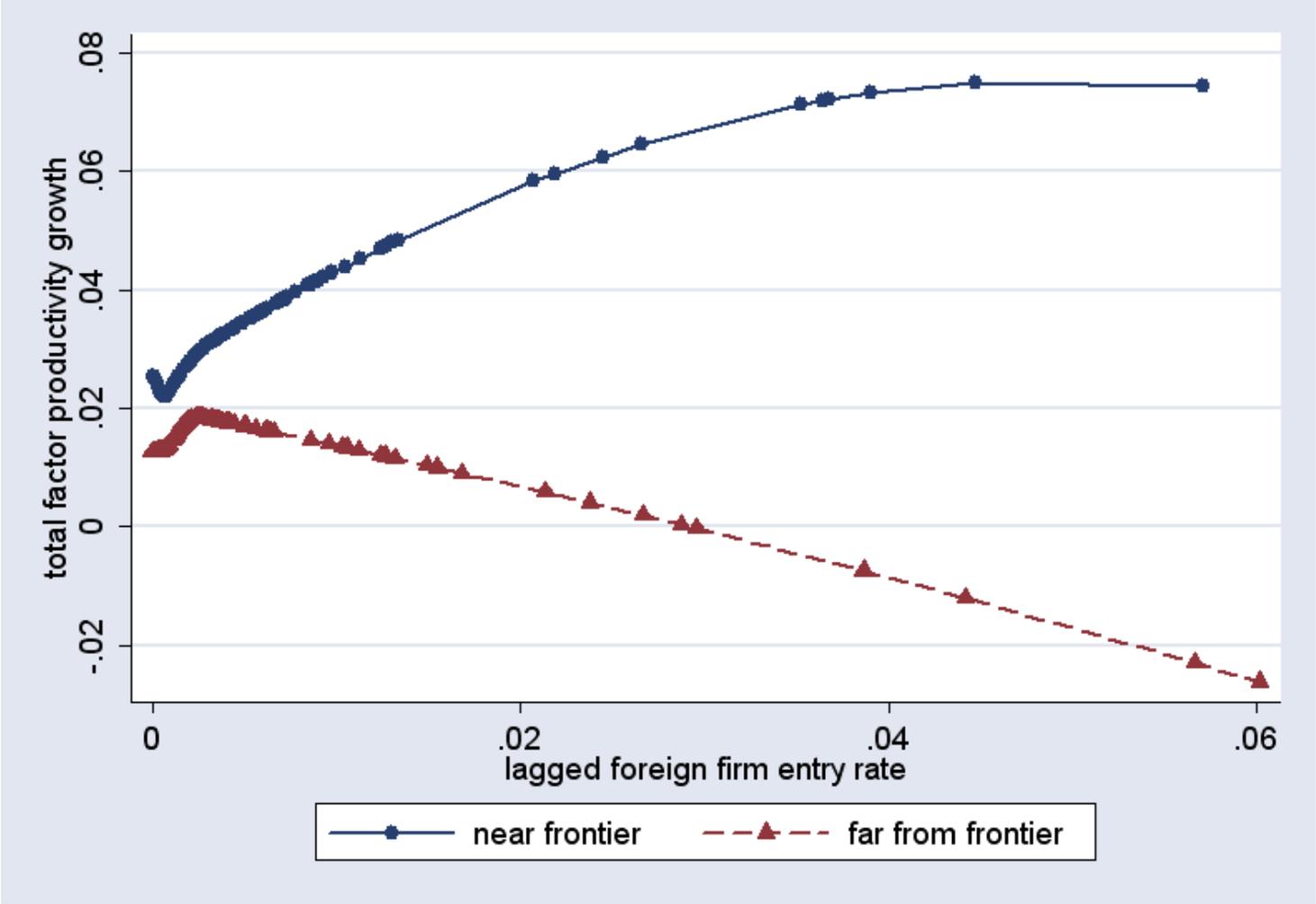
$$g_t = \frac{A_{t+1} - A_t}{A_t} = \mu_n (\gamma - 1) + \mu_m (a_t^{-1} - 1)$$

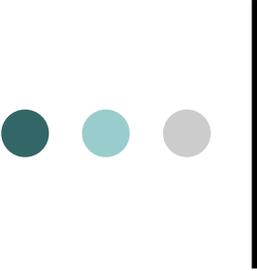
→ *policies aimed at influencing  $\mu_n$  and  $\mu_m$  will affect a country's growth performance differently depending upon its proximity to frontier as measured by a (Acemoglu-Aghion-Zilibotti (2003))*



## Example 1: Competition & Growth

- Competition/entry is more growth-enhancing for countries or sectors that are closer to technological frontier

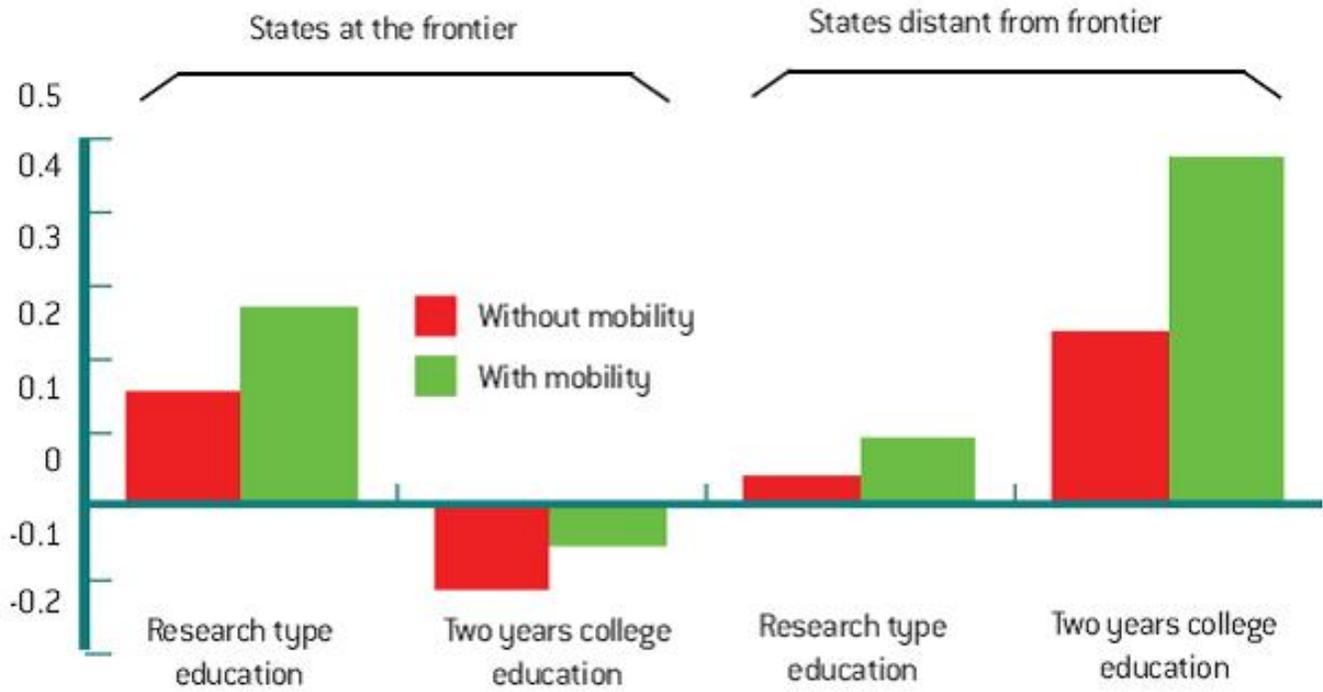




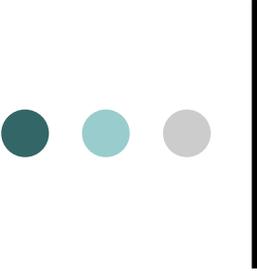
## Example 2: Education

- Higher education is more growth-enhancing closer to technological frontier

**Fig. 3**  
**Long-term growth effects of \$1000 per person spending on education, US States**

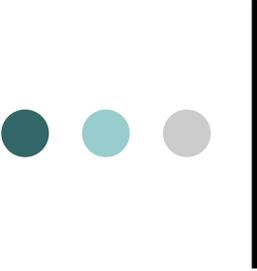


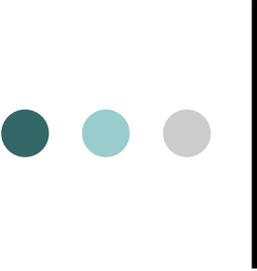
Source: Aghion, Boustan, Hoxby and Vandebussche (2005)



## Similarly

- Labor market flexibility is more growth enhancing the closer a country is to the technological frontier
- Stock markets and equity finance are more growth-enhancing closer to technological frontier

- 
- Thus in previous reports on how to enhance growth in developed and emerging market economies we would all typically recommend:
    - Liberalization of trade, and of product and labor markets
    - Investment in higher education



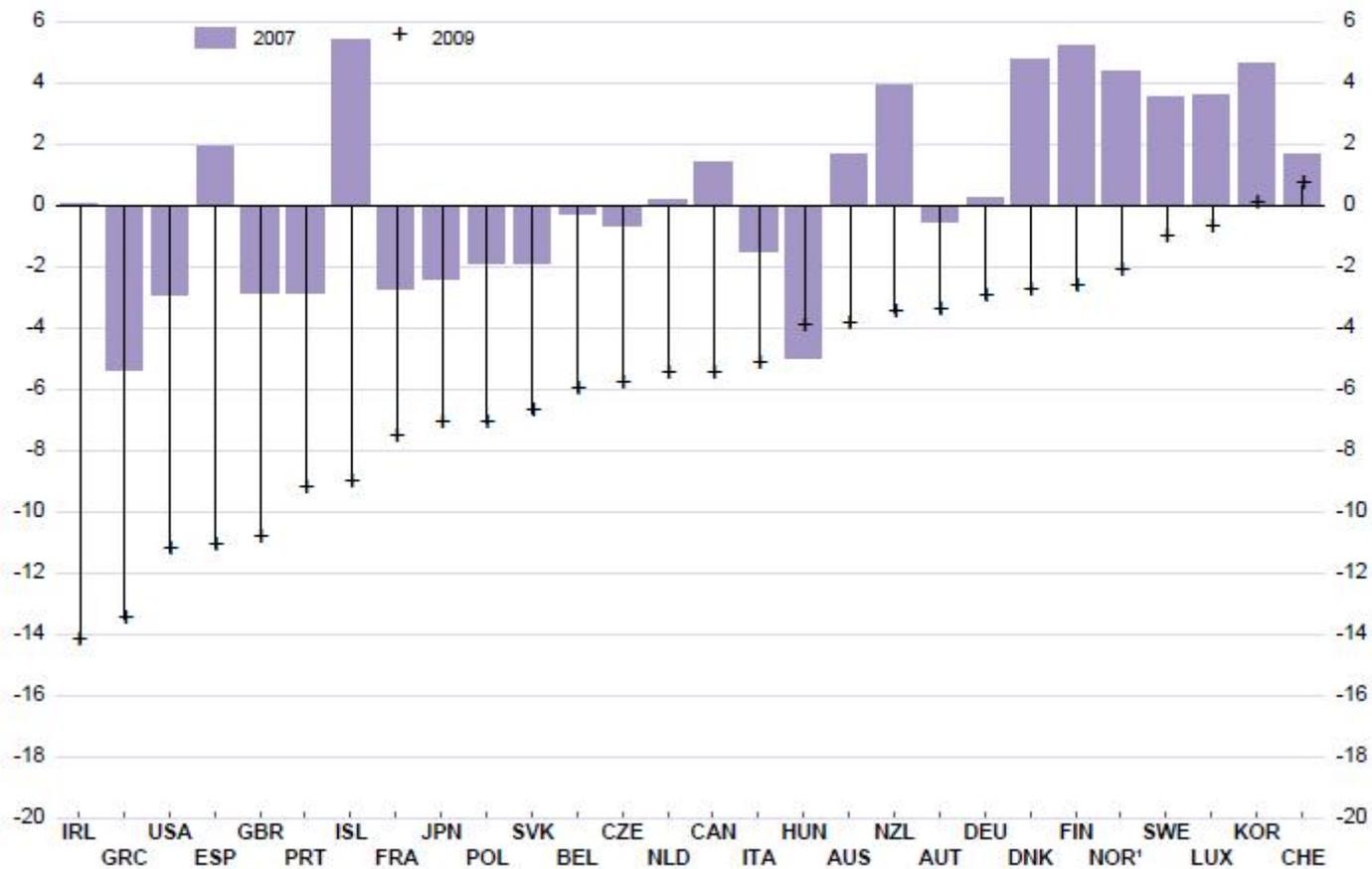
# New Constraints Brought About by the Recession

- Weakening of public finances
- Tightening of credit constraints
- Need to correct global imbalances

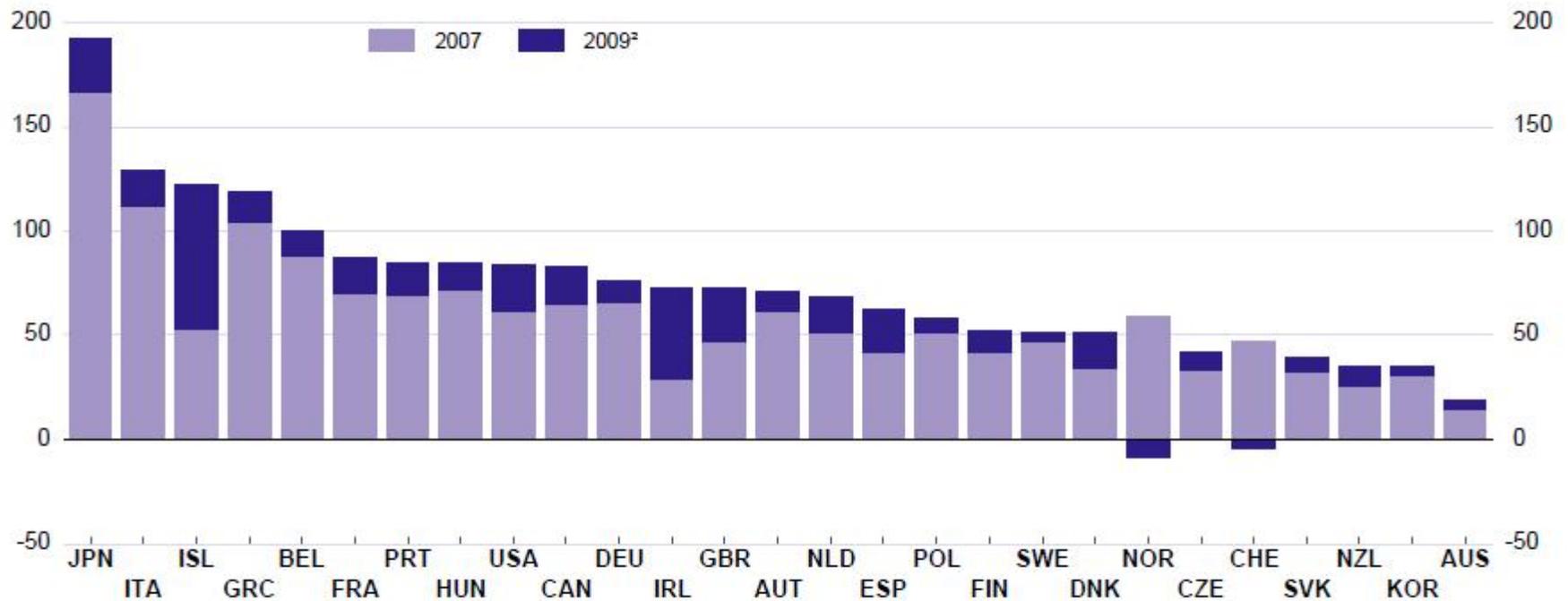


## Public finances weakened significantly during the recession

General government balance, in per cent of GDP



## Gross government debt, in per cent of GDP



[Click here for underlying data](#)

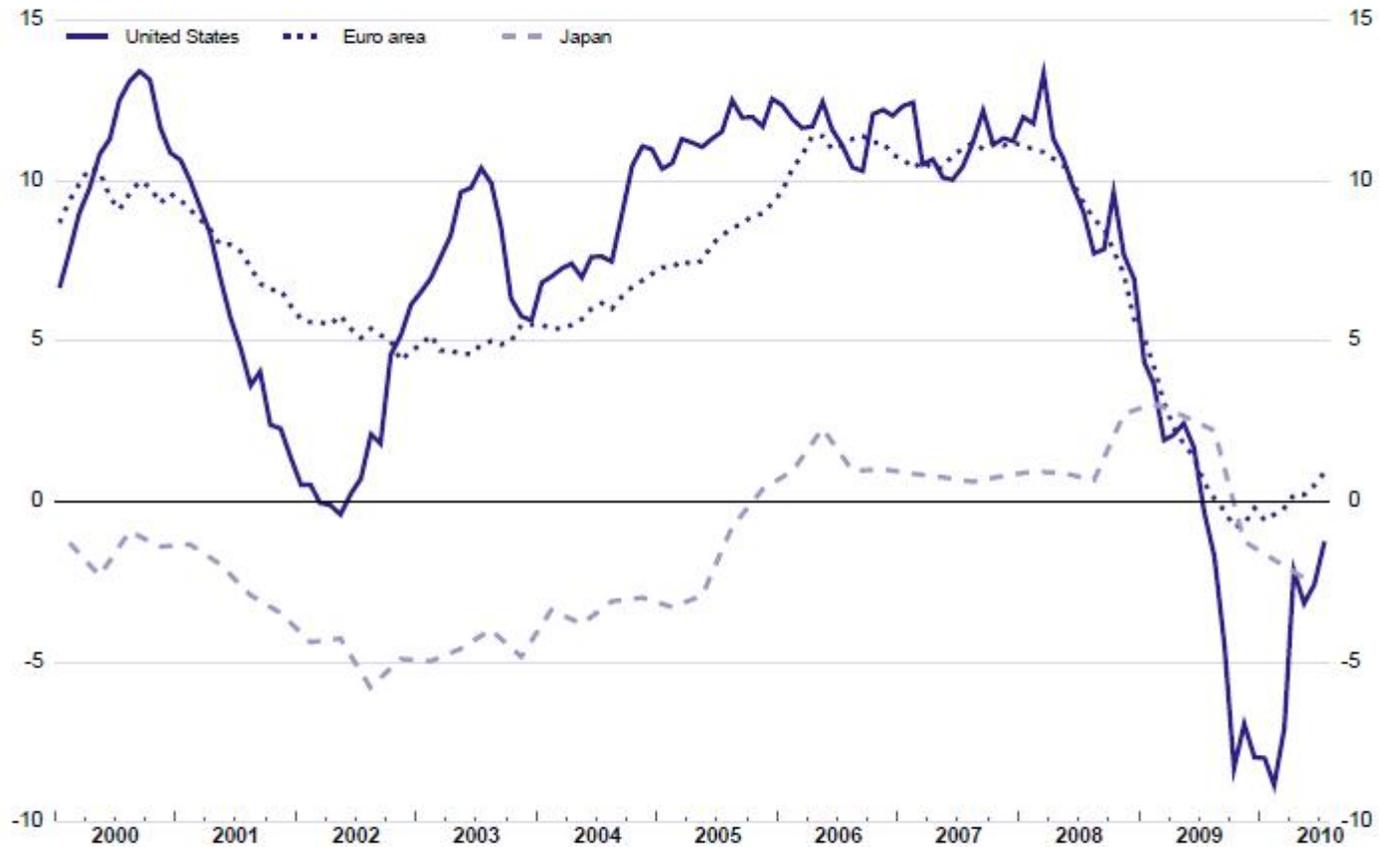
*Note:* Data for 2009 are estimates for some countries.

1. Mainland Norway only.
2. Change between 2007 and 2009.

*Source:* OECD, System of National Accounts database; and OECD Economic Outlook 87 database.

## Bank lending continues to be weak

Bank loans to the non-financial private sector, year-on-year percentage changes



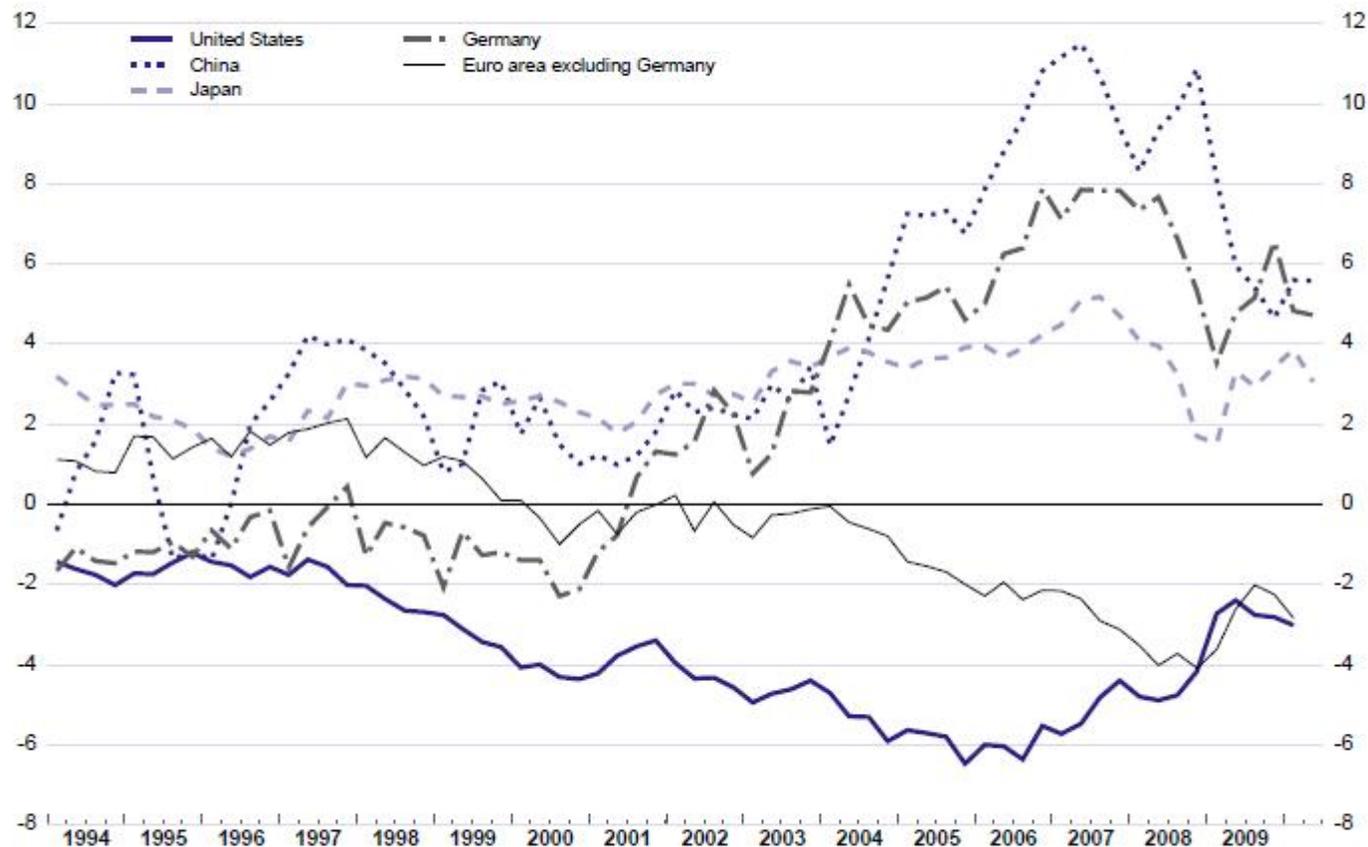
[Click here for underlying data](#)

Note: Data refer to all commercial banks for the United States, to monetary financial institutions (MFIs) for the euro area and to all banks for Japan. Year-on-year growth rates are calculated from end-of-period stocks. For the euro area, these are adjusted for reclassifications, exchange-rate variations and any other changes which do not arise from transactions.

Source: Datastream.

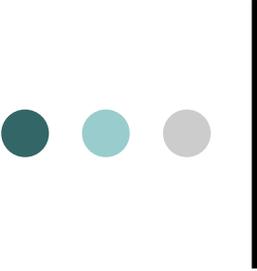
## Global imbalances are widening but remain well below pre-crisis levels

Current account balance, in per cent of GDP



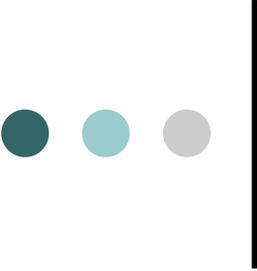
[Click here for underlying data](#)

Source: OECD, Quarterly National Accounts database; and OECD, Main Economic Indicators database.



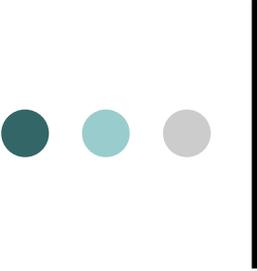
# Two Contrasted Views of How to React to the Crisis

- Keynesian view (non-discriminatory increase in public spending)
- Monetarist view (tax and spending cuts)



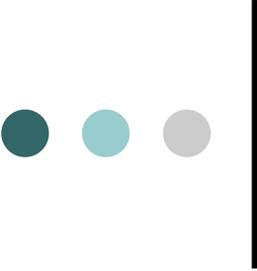
## However

- Keynesian multiplier might be small
- Fiscal policy matters over the cycle when firms are credit-constrained



# Keynesian Multiplier Might Be Small

- Perotti (2005): government spending multipliers larger than 1 can only be seen in the US pre-1980 period
- Cogan, Cwik, Taylor and Wieland (2009) find that permanent increase by 1% of GDP of government expenditures, increases GDP by only .44% (whereas Romer and Bernstein (2009) find a 1.57% increase).



# Fiscal Policy Over the Cycle

- 17 OECD countries, 45 manufacturing industries
- Period 1980-2005
- Countercyclical fiscal policy enhances growth more in sectors that are more dependent on external finance or in sectors with lower asset tangibility

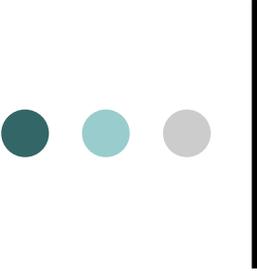


**Dependent variable: Real Value Added Growth**

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
Log of Initial Share in Manufacturing Value Added	<b>-0.797**</b> (0.280)	<b>-0.808**</b> (0.278)	<b>-0.809***</b> (0.246)	<b>-0.811***</b> (0.247)	<b>-0.528</b> (0.350)	<b>-0.530</b> (0.350)	<b>-0.508</b> (0.351)	<b>-0.510</b> (0.352)
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Total Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)	<b>6.687***</b> (1.510)							
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Total Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)		<b>6.701***</b> (1.419)						
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Primary Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)			<b>4.661***</b> (0.878)					
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Primary Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)				<b>4.680***</b> (0.860)				
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Total Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)					<b>-13.30***</b> (4.406)			
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Total Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)						<b>-13.24***</b> (4.251)		
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Primary Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)							<b>-8.942***</b> (2.895)	
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Primary Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalilty)								<b>-9.039***</b> (2.830)
Observations	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	528
R-squared	0.579	0.581	0.579	0.579	0.560	0.561	0.560	0.560

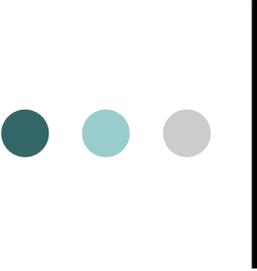
Dependent variable: Labor Productivity Growth

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
Log of Initial Relative Labor Productivity	<b>-2.549<sup>***</sup></b> (0.512)	<b>-2.541<sup>***</sup></b> (0.513)	<b>-2.539<sup>***</sup></b> (0.557)	<b>-2.537<sup>***</sup></b> (0.556)	<b>-2.512<sup>***</sup></b> (0.503)	<b>-2.510<sup>***</sup></b> (0.503)	<b>-2.505<sup>***</sup></b> (0.533)	<b>-2.502<sup>***</sup></b> (0.533)
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Total Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalit	<b>5.005<sup>***</sup></b> (0.773)							
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Total Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalit		<b>4.957<sup>***</sup></b> (0.718)						
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Primary Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalit			<b>3.403<sup>***</sup></b> (0.498)					
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Primary Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalit				<b>3.408<sup>***</sup></b> (0.496)				
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Total Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalit					<b>-13.03<sup>***</sup></b> (4.011)			
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Total Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalit						<b>-12.81<sup>***</sup></b> (3.971)		
Interaction (Asset Tangibility and Primary Fiscal Balance to GDP Counter-Cyclicalit							<b>-8.118<sup>***</sup></b> (2.656)	
Interaction (Financial Dependence and Primary Fiscal Balance to potential GDP Counter-Cyclicalit								<b>-8.220<sup>***</sup></b> (2.642)
Observations	523	523	523	523	523	523	523	523
R-squared	0.548	0.548	0.546	0.547	0.538	0.538	0.535	0.535



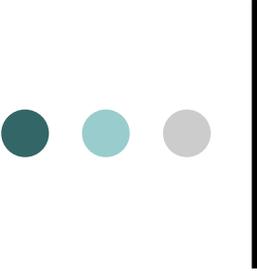
# Fiscal Policy Over the Cycle

- Similar conclusions for monetary policy
- Yet the latter does not substitute for the former



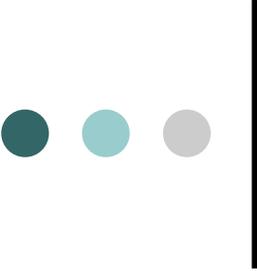
# A Pledge for Targeted Intervention

- Labor market policies (subsidize training, provide job search assistance, subsidize part-time employment,...)
  - Example of Germany
- A renewed case for sectoral subsidies?



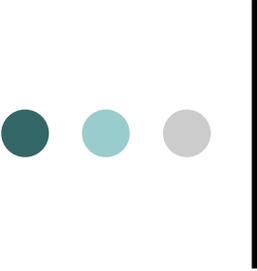
# Sectoral Policy (1)

- In aftermath of WWII, many developing countries have opted for trade protection and import substitution policies aimed at promoting new infant industries
- Over time, and particularly since the 1980s, economists have come to dislike sectoral (“industrial”) policy on two grounds:
  - (i) it focuses on big incumbents (‘national champions’);
  - (ii) governments are not great in ‘picking winners’.
- Current dominant view is that sectoral policy should be avoided especially when it undermines competition



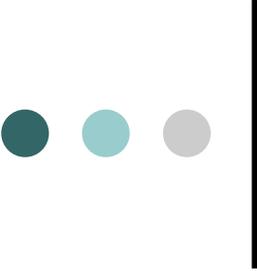
## Sectoral Policy (2)

- A first argument for sectoral policy
  - Redirect technical change when there is **path-dependence** in the direction of innovation under laissez-faire (AABH)



## Sectoral Policy (3)

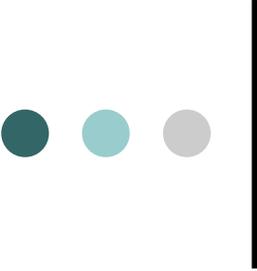
- Basic idea: firms' propensity to innovate “clean” versus dirty:
  - Is positively correlated with stock of past clean innovation
  - Is negatively correlated with stock of past dirty innovation
- Hence a role for government intervention in redirecting technical change (carbon tax, research subsidies)



## Sectoral Policy (4)

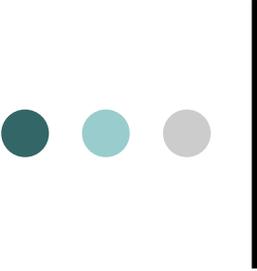
- 12,000 patents in “clean” technologies
  - Electric vehicles, hybrid vehicles, fuel cells
- 36,000 patents in “dirty” technologies
  - Regular combustion engines
- Filed by 7,000 patent holders
- Between 1978 and 2007





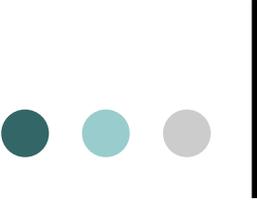
## Sectoral Policy (6)

- Current work with Ann Harrison
- Panel data of Chinese firms, 1988-2007
- Industrial firms from NBS: annual survey of all firms with more than 5 million RMB sales
- Regress TFP on:
  - Subsidies received by firm as a share of sales
  - $COMP=1 - LERNER\ INDEX$
  - Sector-level controls, firm and time fixed effects



## Sectoral Policy (7)

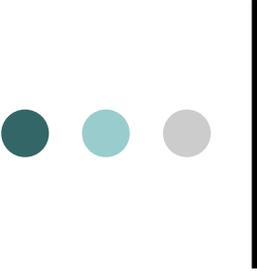
- Findings are that:
  - The higher competition, the more positive (or less negative) the effect of subsidies on average TFP
  - The overall effect of subsidies on TFP is positive if competition is sufficiently high and/or subsidies are not too concentrated among firms in the sector



# Sectoral Policy (8)

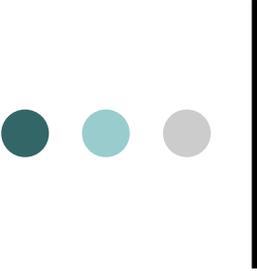
Table 2 Competition Effects (domestic firms)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	logY	logY	logY	logY
logL	0.0810*** (0.00363)	0.0809*** (0.00362)	0.0810*** (0.00363)	0.0809*** (0.00362)
logK	0.0255*** (0.00157)	0.0254*** (0.00158)	0.0255*** (0.00157)	0.0254*** (0.00158)
logM	0.781*** (0.00813)	0.781*** (0.00815)	0.781*** (0.00813)	0.781*** (0.00815)
stateshare	0.000974 (0.00336)	0.00105 (0.00331)	0.000883 (0.00335)	0.000968 (0.00330)
horizontal	0.321*** (0.0757)	0.334*** (0.0791)	0.322*** (0.0758)	0.334*** (0.0791)
ratio_subsidy	-0.185*** (0.0293)	-0.187*** (0.0290)	-8.494*** (1.738)	-7.034*** (1.429)
competition_lerner		0.516 (0.529)		0.485 (0.531)
interaction_lerner			8.512*** (1.785)	7.013*** (1.465)
Observations	1,072,034	1,072,034	1,072,034	1,072,034
R-squared	0.844	0.844	0.844	0.844



# Investing in Growth While Reducing Public Deficits

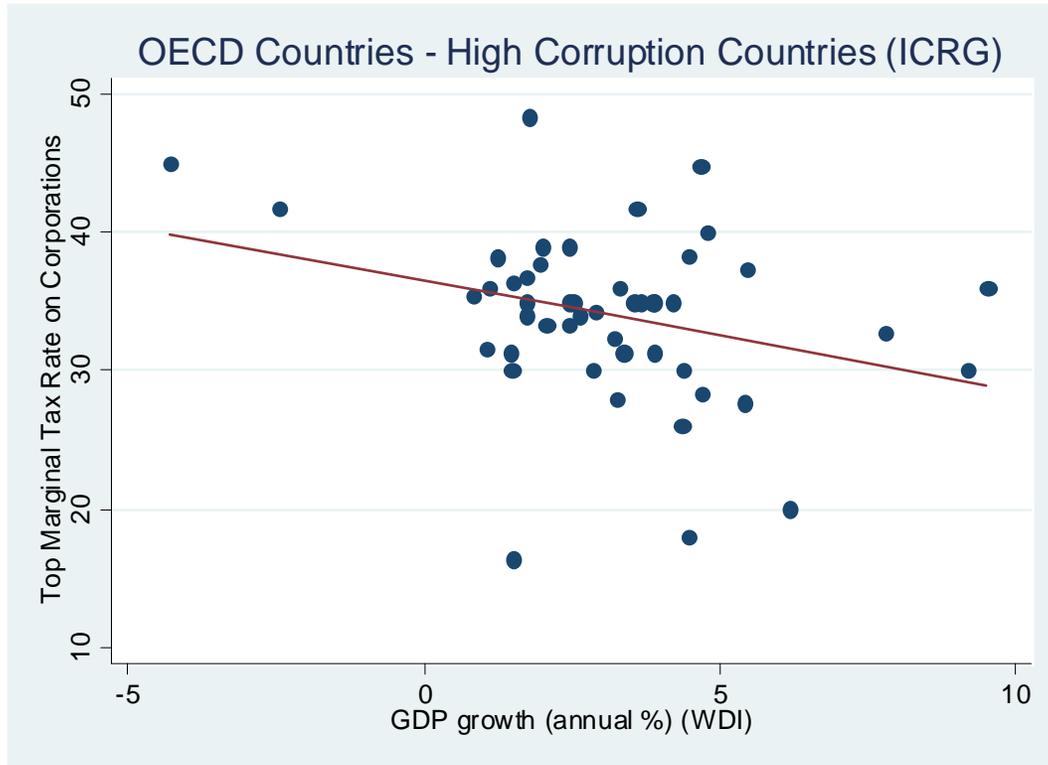
- How to Square the Circle?
  - Cut spending intelligently
  - Fiscal Reform



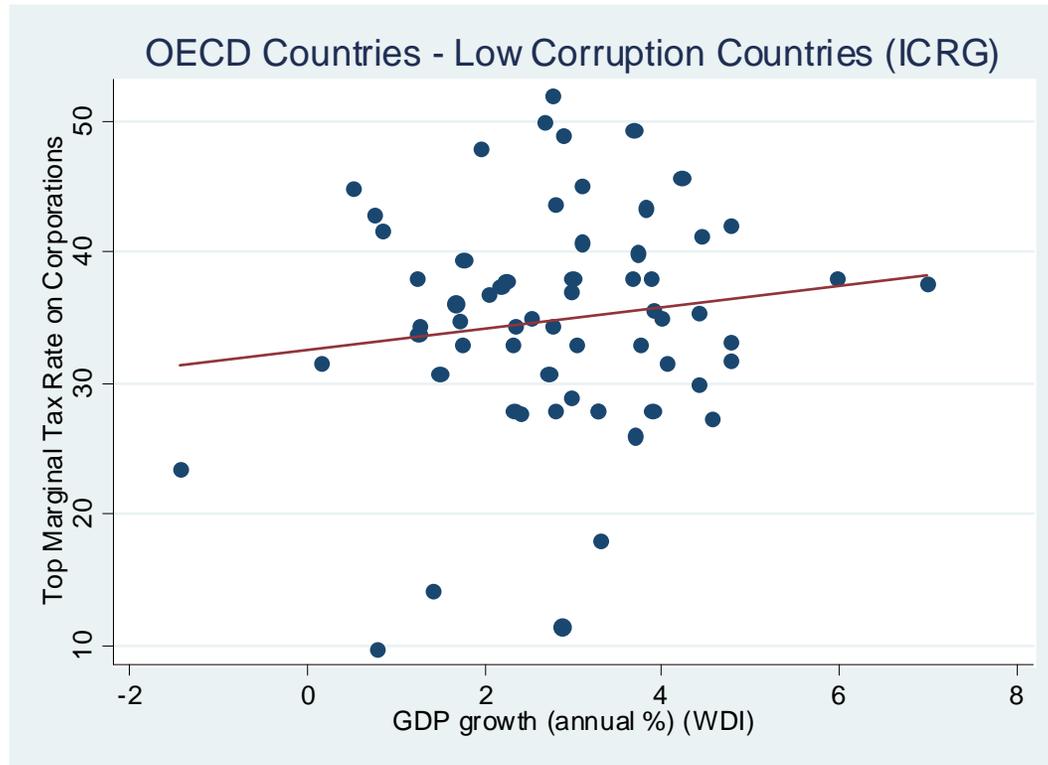
## Side Remark on Tax and Growth

- Effect of taxation on growth depends a lot on how government uses tax revenues

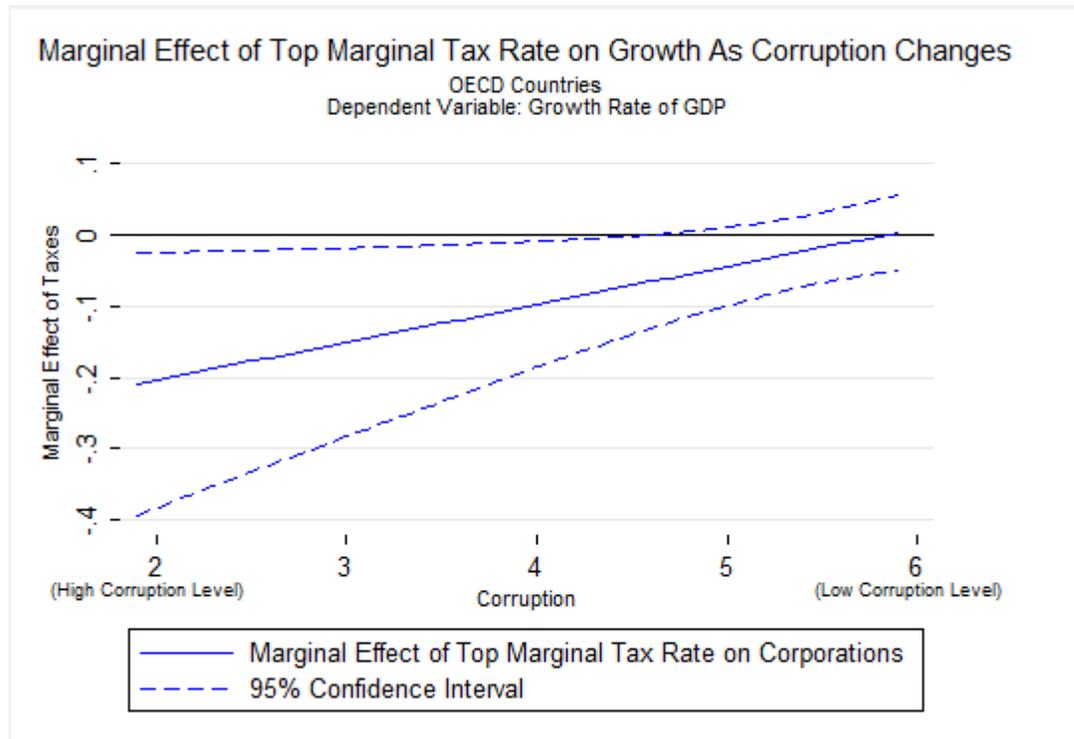
# Growth Rate and Tax Burden High Corruption Countries

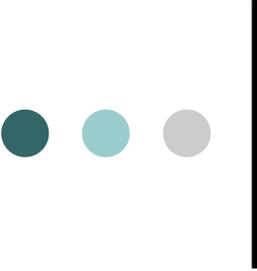


# Growth Rate and Tax Burden Low Corruption Countries



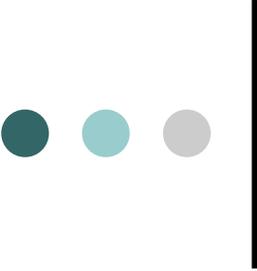
# Econometric Analysis





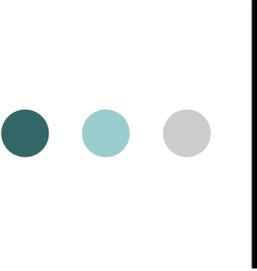
# Conclusions

- (How) should we amend or complete the Spence Report in light of the recession?



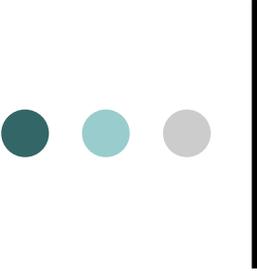
## Conclusion 1:

- A macroeconomic policy which is neither Keynesian nor monetarist
  - Government should pursue actively countercyclical fiscal and monetary policies, particularly to sustain investment and growth in credit-constrained sectors



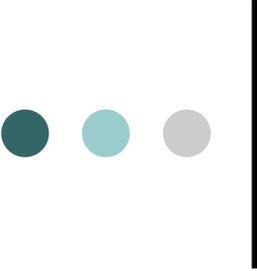
## Conclusion 2:

- Unlike what monetarists suggest, govt should not cut on all public spending...
- However, unlike what Keynesians would suggest...govt should target public spending
  - Labor market policies
  - Appropriate sectoral policies (e.g competition friendly)



## Conclusion 3:

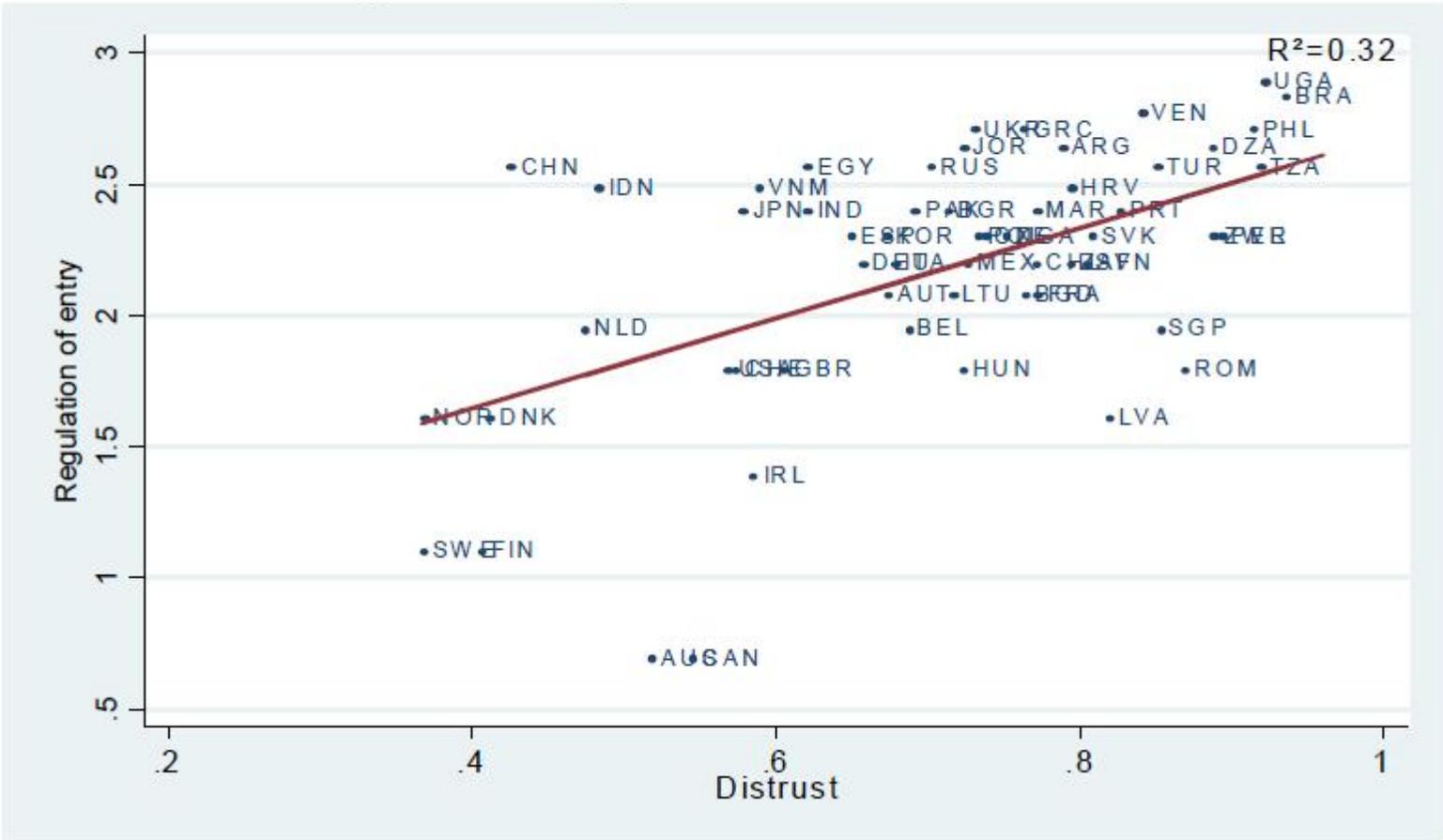
- Unlike what monetarists recommend, government should not give up on progressive taxation if it can commit to make good use of tax revenues



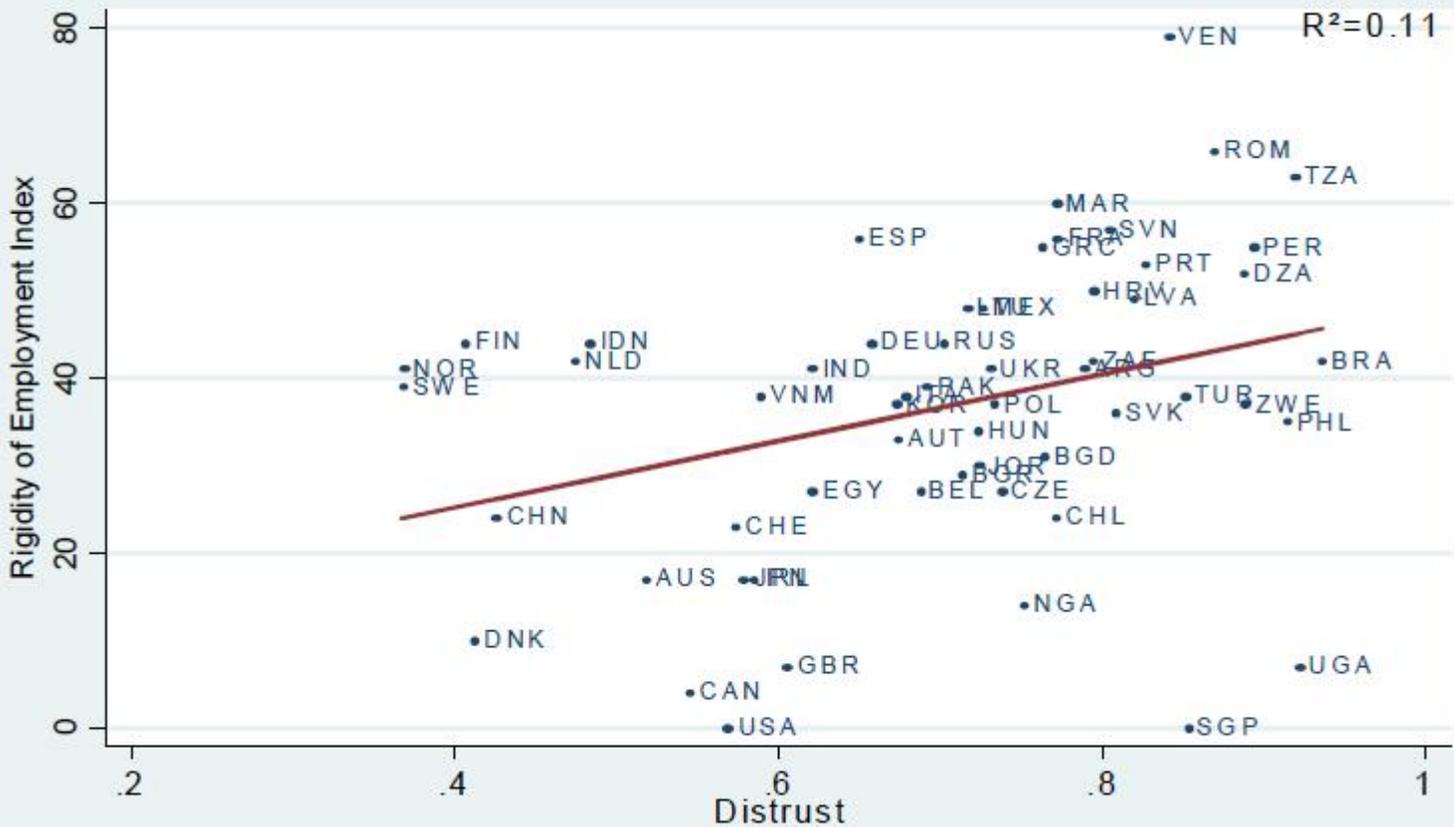
## Conclusion 4:

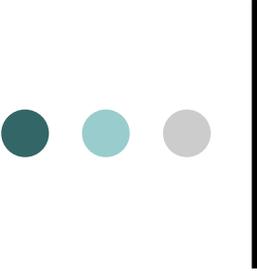
- Government should invest in trust to foster market liberalization and consolidate structural reforms
- Mario Monti's point on fiscal reform cum product market liberalization in Europe

# Distrust and regulation of product market



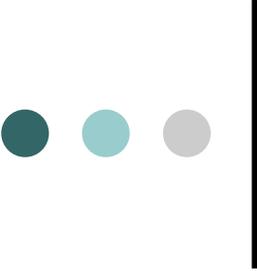
## Distrust and regulation of labor market





## Conclusion 4 (cont)

- Hence regulation of product and labor markets, appear to be negatively correlated with trust
- This does not mean that liberalizing markets will automatically bring about trust
- Also, negative correlation between regulation and trust does not carry over to:
  - Financial regulation
  - Fiscal policy
    - tax ethics appears to be positively correlated with tax monitoring



# Impact of Tax Staff on Tax Ethics

VARIABLES	(1) tax_ethic	(2) tax_ethic	(3) tax_ethic	(4) tax_ethic	(5) tax_ethic	(6) tax_ethic
staff_per_taxpayers	13.64*** (2.594)	14.90*** (2.924)	13.64*** (3.145)	13.69*** (3.178)	15.23*** (3.779)	13.27*** (4.179)
gdp_per_cap		1.22e-06 (1.21e-06)	1.59e-06 (1.26e-06)		1.64e-06 (1.42e-06)	1.81e-06 (1.42e-06)
tax_rate			-0.00362 (0.00216)			-0.00385* (0.00210)
Constant	0.432*** (0.0157)	0.395*** (0.0400)	0.523*** (0.0843)	0.426*** (0.0170)	0.377*** (0.0479)	0.522*** (0.0788)
Observations	57	57	55	32	32	30
R-squared	0.332	0.343	0.419	0.383	0.404	0.493

Robust standard errors in parentheses

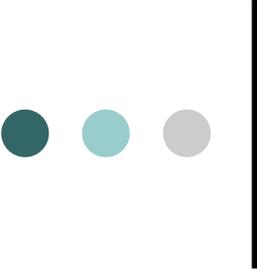
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

# Impact of the Number of Audits on Tax Ethics

VARIABLES	(1) tax_ethic	(2) tax_ethic	(3) tax_ethic
audits_per_taxpayers	0.165*** (0.0332)	0.228*** (0.0582)	0.166*** (0.0591)
gdp_per_cap		2.82e-06 (1.66e-06)	3.13e-06 (1.84e-06)
tax_rate			-0.00389 (0.00233)
Constant	0.474*** (0.0168)	0.390*** (0.0559)	0.527*** (0.0858)
Observations	27	27	26
R-squared	0.076	0.185	0.225

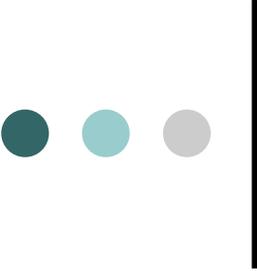
Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



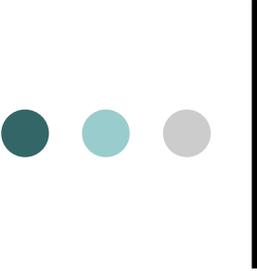
## Intuition

- With higher tax monitoring you expect fellow citizens to evade taxes less you are more likely to find it unethical not to pay taxes



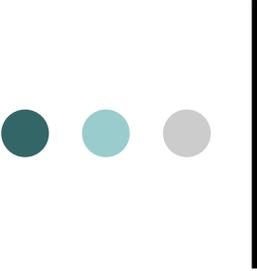
# Wrapping-Up: Three Layers in Growth Policy Design

- Already in Spence report:
  - Policy layer: support to R&D, human capital investment, ...
  - Institutional layer: IPRs, law enforcement, market liberalization,...



# Wrapping-Up: Three Layers in Growth Policy Design

- Need to add third “Trust” or “Norms” layer
  - Trust and ethics bolster market flexibility
  - However
    - Market liberalization without social capital investment may undermine trust
    - Financial regulation and progressive taxation enhance trust and ethics
    - Virtues of gradualism



# Wrapping-Up: Three Layers in Growth Policy Design

- Should we all become Scandinavians?
  - Priority investments in R&D, higher education, green innovation
  - Highly progressive taxation
  - Transparency and trust
  - Strong regulation of financial sector