



UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

**Faculty of Economic Sciences**

# Growth facts. Solow-Swan model

## Advanced Macroeconomics QF: Lecture 4

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Marcin Bielecki

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University of Warsaw

## Brief review on GDP

Gross domestic product (GDP) is the current dollar value of all final goods and services that are produced within a country within a given period of time

Real GDP: Nominal GDP adjusted for inflation

(and differences in relative prices across countries via PPP adjustment)

(Real) GDP measurement:

(1) Expenditure approach:  $Y_t = C_t + I_t + G_t + NX_t$

(2) Income approach:  $Y_t = w_t L_t + (r_t + \delta) K_t + D_t + T_t$

(3) Value added approach:  $Y_t = Y_{1t} + Y_{2t} + \dots + Y_{Mt} = F(K_t, L_t, A_t)$

Real GDP per person:  $Y_t/N_t$

If you need more of a review: [Macroeconomics Principles](#), Chapters 1-3

GDP per person is not designed to measure welfare, but it's a useful summary statistic

GDP per person ignores distribution of income within a country

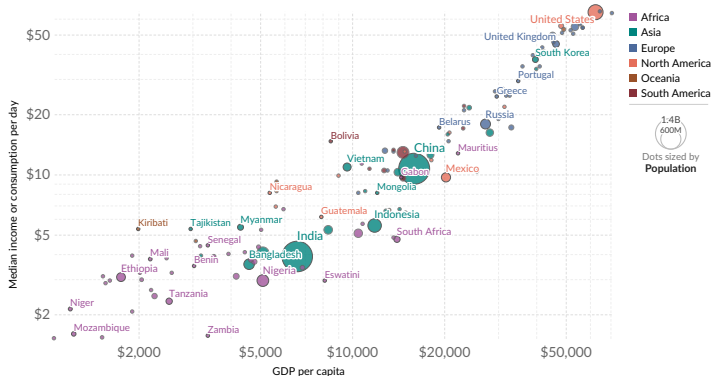
Comparing GDP per person across countries is not trivial in practice:

- You have to convert between currencies
- Countries have different relative prices for goods
- Large uncertainty in comparing real GDP across countries and over time:  
*Johnson et al. (2013) Is newer better? Penn World Table Revisions and their impact on growth estimates*

# GDP per person and welfare: consumption

## Median income or consumption per day vs. GDP per capita, 2019

This data is adjusted for inflation and differences in the cost of living between countries.



Source: World Bank Poverty and Inequality Platform (2022), Data compiled from multiple sources by World Bank

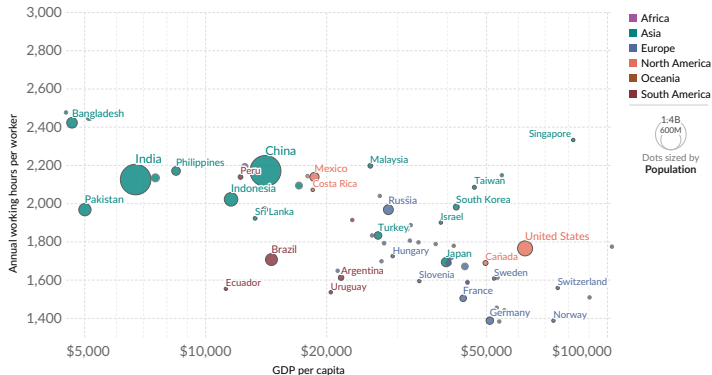
Note: This data is expressed in international-\$ at 2017 prices. Depending on the country and year, median data relates to income measured after taxes and benefits, or to consumption, per capita.

# GDP per person and welfare: hours worked

## Annual working hours vs. GDP per capita

Working hours are the annual average per worker. GDP per capita is adjusted for inflation and differences in the cost of living between countries.

Our World  
in Data



Source: Feenstra et al. (2015), Penn World Table (2021)

Note: This data is expressed in international-\$ at 2017 prices, using multiple benchmark years to adjust for differences in the cost of living between countries over time.

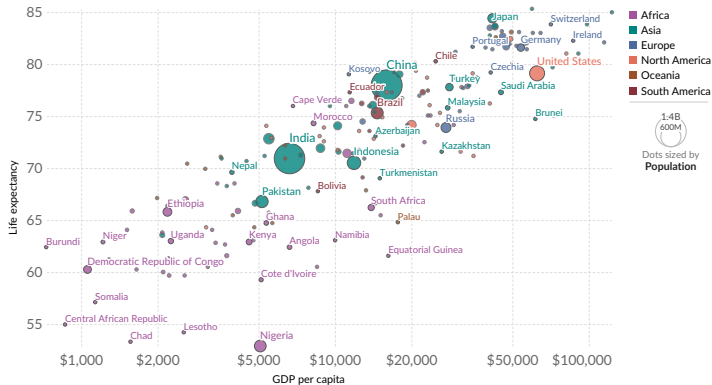
Our World in Data

# GDP per person and welfare: life expectancy

## Life expectancy vs. GDP per capita, 2019

GDP per capita is measured in 2017 international dollars, which adjusts for inflation and cross-country price differences.

Our World  
in Data

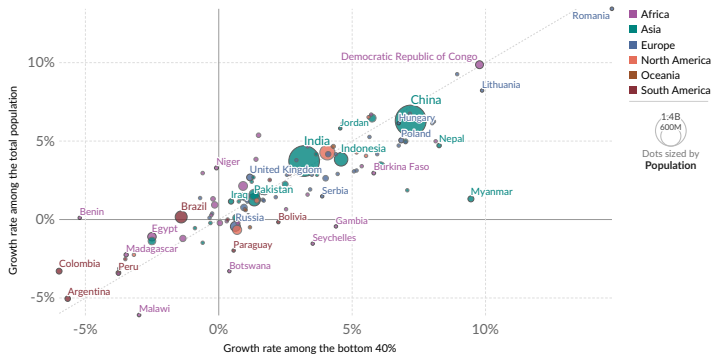


Source: UN, World Population Prospects (2022); Data compiled from multiple sources by World Bank

## Growth in average income vs income of bottom 40%

Annual growth of the income or consumption of the poorest 40% vs. the total population

The growth rate is calculated between two household surveys – the most recent survey available in 2022 and a survey falling approximately five years earlier. In countries below the dotted line, income or consumption growth is higher for the poorest 40% of the population than the national average.



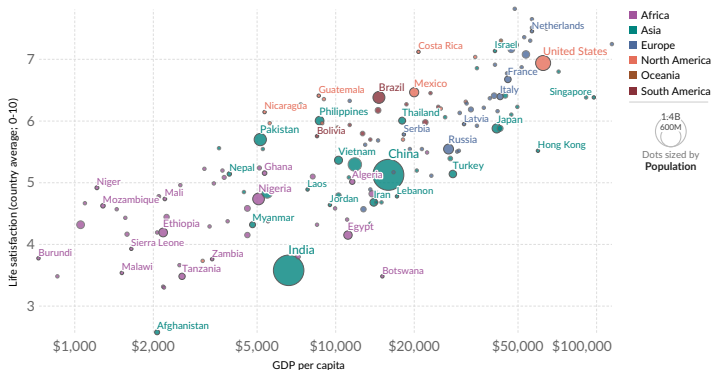
Source: World Bank.

Note: Depending on the country and year, the data relates to income measured after taxes and benefits, or to consumption, per capita.

# GDP per person and welfare: life satisfaction

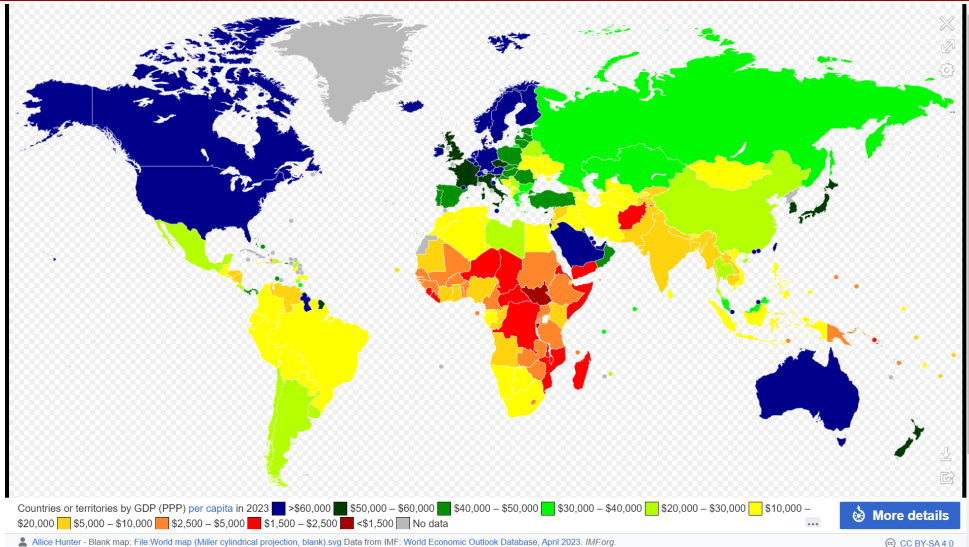
## Self-reported life satisfaction vs. GDP per capita, 2019

Self-reported life satisfaction is measured on a scale ranging from 0-10, where 10 is the highest possible life satisfaction. GDP per capita is adjusted for inflation and differences in the cost of living between countries.



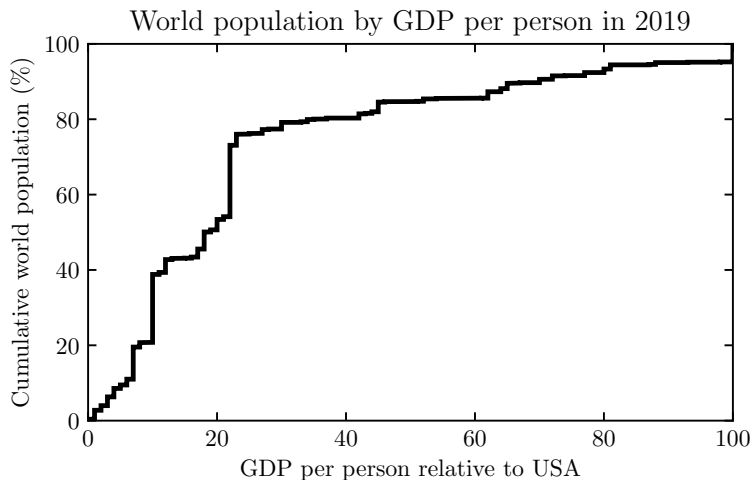


# There is enormous variation in GDP per person across economies

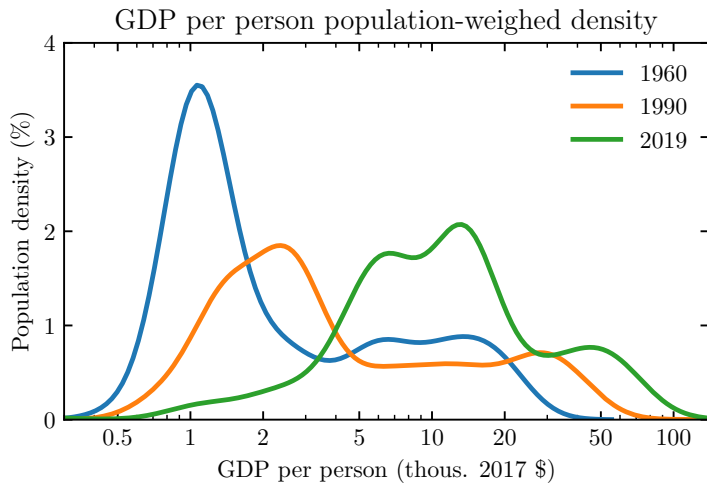


Wikipedia, IMF

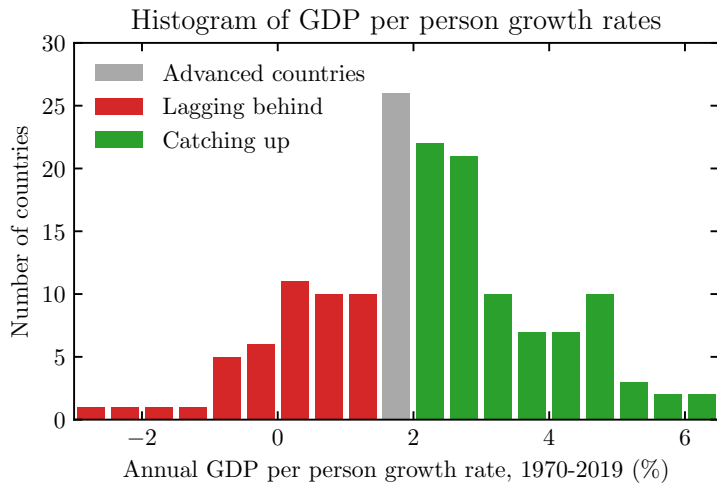
## There is enormous variation in GDP per person across economies



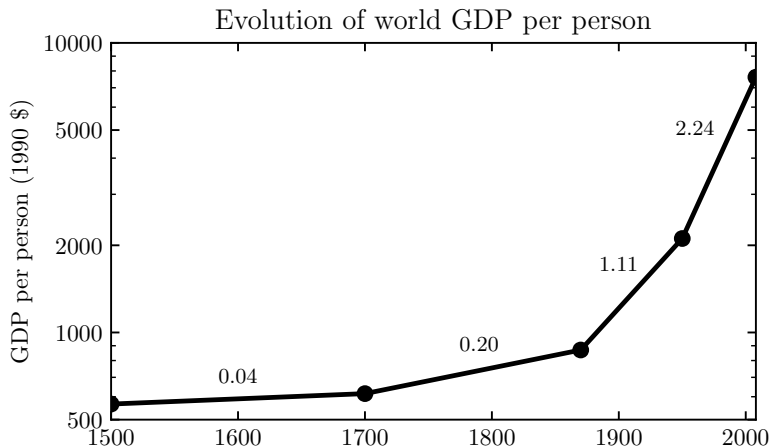
## Less variation now than in the previous decades



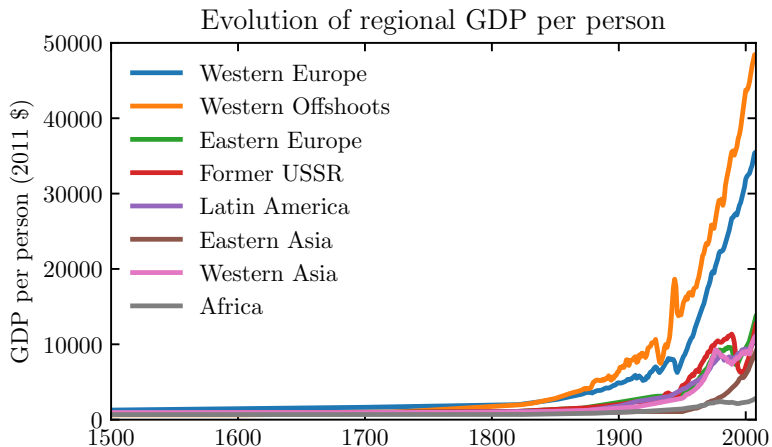
## Rates of economic growth vary substantially across countries



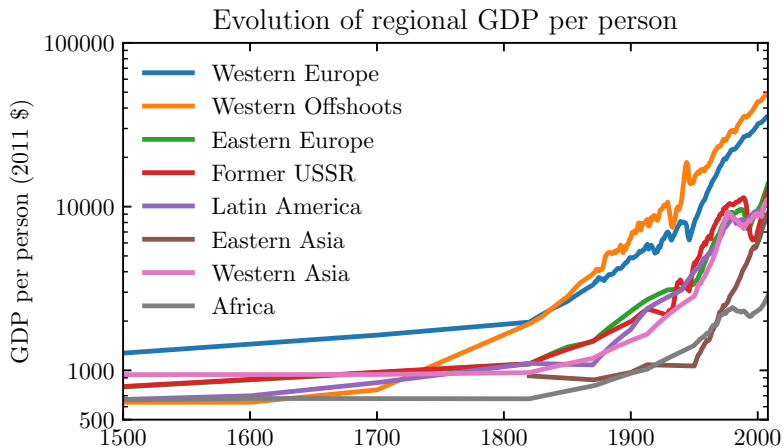
## Economic growth is a “recent” phenomenon



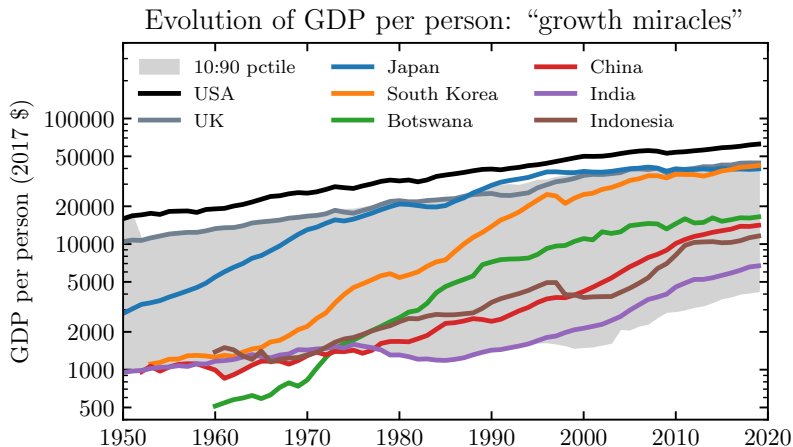
## Until the 19th century everyone was similarly poor



## Growth took off with different timing across world regions



## Countries can go from being “poor” to being “rich”



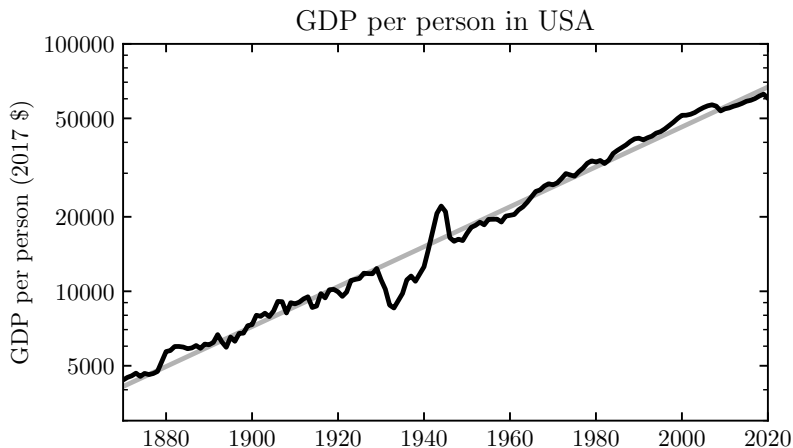


# Kaldor's stylized facts

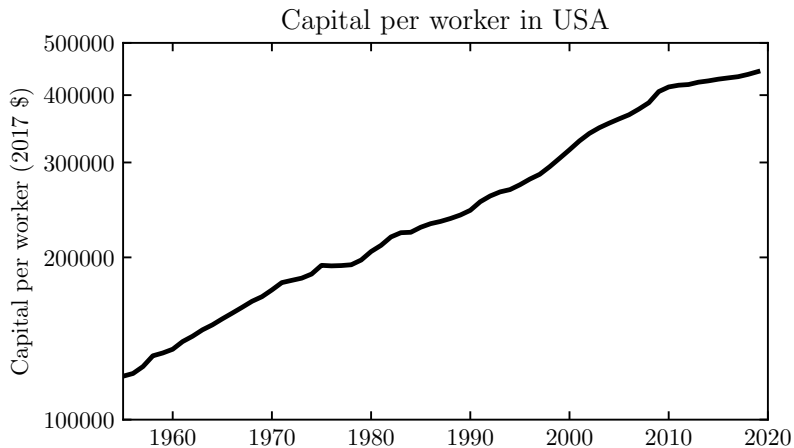
Kaldor (1957, 1961): **In the USA (and other developed countries):**

1. GDP per person sustainably grows at positive rate
2. Physical capital per worker grows over time
3. The rate of return to capital is not trending
4. The ratio of physical capital to output is nearly constant
5. The shares of labor and physical capital in national income are nearly constant
6. Real wages grow over time

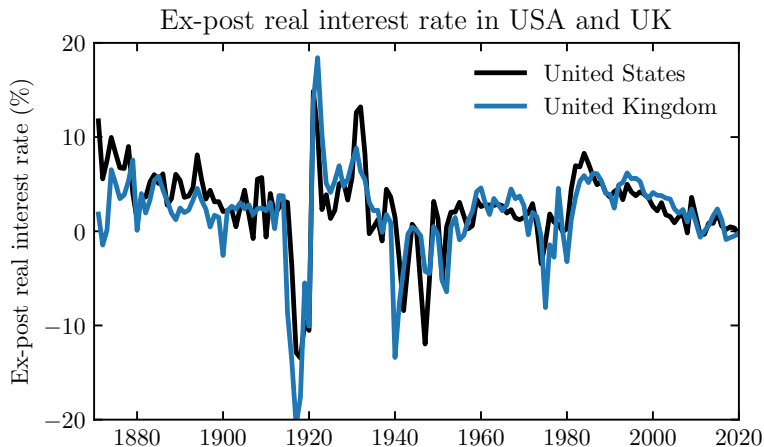
## K1: GDP per person sustainably grows at positive rate



## K2: Physical capital per worker grows over time



### K3: The rate of return to capital is not trending



### K3: The rate of return to capital is not trending

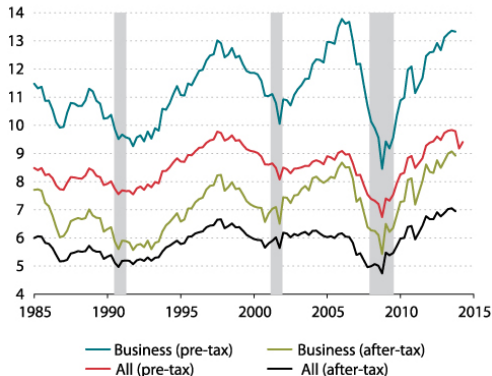


DeLong (2015)

## K3: The rate of return to capital is not trending

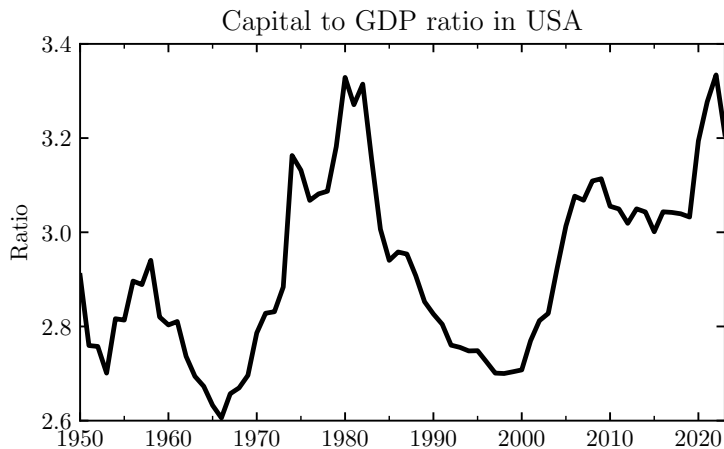
**Figure 2**

**Real Returns on Capital (percent)**

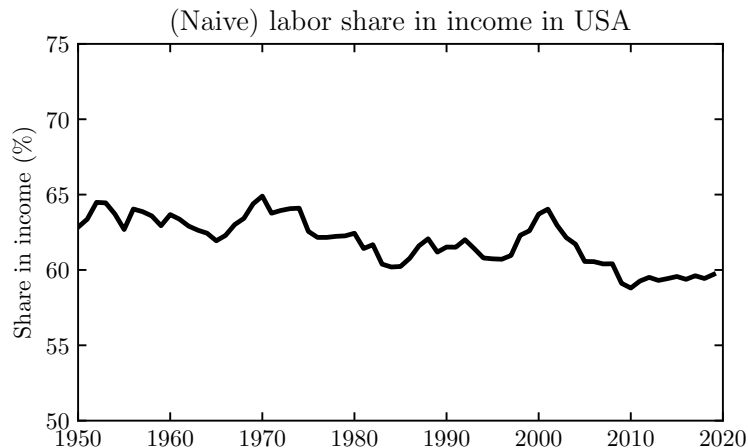


SOURCE: Authors' calculations; for details, see Gomme, Ravikumar, and Rupert (2011).

## K4: The ratio of physical capital to output is nearly constant

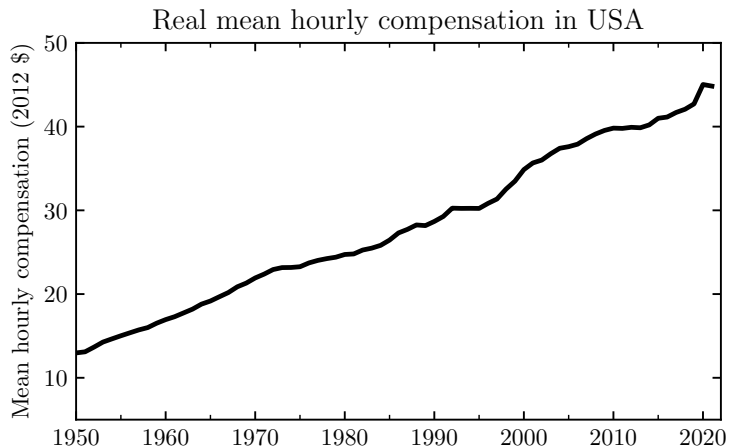


## K5: The labor share of national income is nearly constant





## K6: Real wages grow over time



# Explaining growth

We want to explain:

- Why some countries are “poor” and other “rich”?
- Why some countries that were previously “poor” became “rich”?
- Why not all “poor” countries catch up to “rich” countries?
- Why do “rich” countries still grow?

# Solow-Swan model

Developed by Robert Solow (1956) and Trevor Swan (1956)

Growth in income per capita comes from two sources:

- Capital accumulation (endogenous)
- Improvements in technology (exogenous)

But capital accumulation alone cannot sustain growth in the absence of technology improvements

Does not explain “deep” sources of economic growth:

Proximate vs fundamental causes

Departure point for growth theory

# Simplifications and assumptions

Closed economy ( $NX = 0$ )

No government ( $G = T = 0$ )

Single, homogenous final good with its price normalized to 1 in each period

↪ all variables and prices are expressed in real terms

Two types of representative agents:

- Firms
- Households

Real GDP is produced according to a neoclassical production function:

$$Y_t = F(K_t, A_t L_t)$$

where  $Y$  is real GDP,  $F$  is a neoclassical production function,  $K$  is capital stock,  $A$  is the technology level and  $L$  is the number of workers

Technology grows at a rate  $g > 0$ :  $A_{t+1} = (1 + g) A_t$

Very often we use a Cobb-Douglas production function:

$$Y_t = K_t^\alpha (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha}$$

Like other neoclassical production functions, it exhibits constant returns to scale  
 $\hookrightarrow$  doubling inputs  $K$  and  $L$  doubles the amount produced:

$$(zK_t)^\alpha (A_t \cdot zL_t)^{1-\alpha} = z^\alpha z^{1-\alpha} K_t^\alpha (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha} = zY_t$$

Perfectly competitive firms maximize their profit:

$$\max_{K_t, L_t} D_t = K_t^\alpha (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha} - (r_t + \delta) K_t - w_t L_t$$

First order conditions:

$$K_t \quad : \quad \alpha K_t^{\alpha-1} (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha} - (r_t + \delta) = 0 \quad \rightarrow \quad r_t = \alpha \frac{Y_t}{K_t} - \delta$$

$$L_t \quad : \quad (1 - \alpha) K_t^\alpha A_t^{1-\alpha} L_t^{-\alpha} - w_t = 0 \quad \rightarrow \quad w_t = (1 - \alpha) \frac{Y_t}{L_t}$$

Total factor payments are equal to GDP:

$$(r_t + \delta) K_t + w_t L_t = \alpha \frac{Y_t}{K_t} K_t + (1 - \alpha) \frac{Y_t}{L_t} L_t = \alpha Y_t + (1 - \alpha) Y_t = Y_t$$

Calculate the fraction of GDP that is paid to each factor:

$$\frac{w_t L_t}{Y_t} = \frac{(1 - \alpha) \frac{Y_t}{L_t} \cdot L_t}{Y_t} = (1 - \alpha) \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{(r_t + \delta) K_t}{Y_t} = \frac{\alpha \frac{Y_t}{K_t} \cdot K_t}{Y_t} = \alpha$$

Cobb-Douglas function implies constant shares of labor and physical capital in income

Confronting with the US data, we can obtain  $\alpha \approx \frac{1}{3}$  and  $(1 - \alpha) \approx \frac{2}{3}$

# Households

Own factors of production directly and earn income from renting them to firms

Number of workers is proportional to total population:  $L_t \propto N_t$

Both population and number of workers change at rate  $n$ :

$$\frac{L_{t+1}}{L_t} = \frac{N_{t+1}}{N_t} = 1 + n$$

Capital accumulates from investment  $I_t$  and depreciates at rate  $\delta$ :

$$K_{t+1} = I_t + (1 - \delta) K_t$$

Income of households is consumed or saved / invested:

$$Y_t = w_t L_t + (r_t + \delta) K_t = C_t + S_t = C_t + I_t$$

Households **don't optimize**, invest / save a constant fraction  $s$  of income:

$$I_t = sY_t \quad \text{and} \quad C_t = (1 - s)Y_t$$



## GDP per worker and per effective units of labor

Usually we are most interested in GDP per worker (or per person),  $y$ :

$$y_t \equiv \frac{Y_t}{L_t} = \frac{K_t^\alpha (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha}}{L_t^\alpha L_t^{1-\alpha}} = A_t \left( \frac{K_t}{A_t L_t} \right)^\alpha \equiv A_t \hat{k}_t^\alpha$$

where  $\hat{k}$  is capital  $K$  divided per effective unit of labor ( $AL$ )

GDP per worker increases due to capital accumulation and improvements in technology

Production function exhibits diminishing marginal returns to capital

$\hookrightarrow$  GDP per worker increases with  $\hat{k}$ , but the size of the increase falls with  $\hat{k}$

It is also useful to define GDP per effective units of labor  $\hat{y}$ :

$$\hat{y}_t = \frac{y_t}{A_t} = \hat{k}_t^\alpha$$

# Capital accumulation

Capital accumulates according to:

$$K_{t+1} = sY_t + (1 - \delta) K_t$$

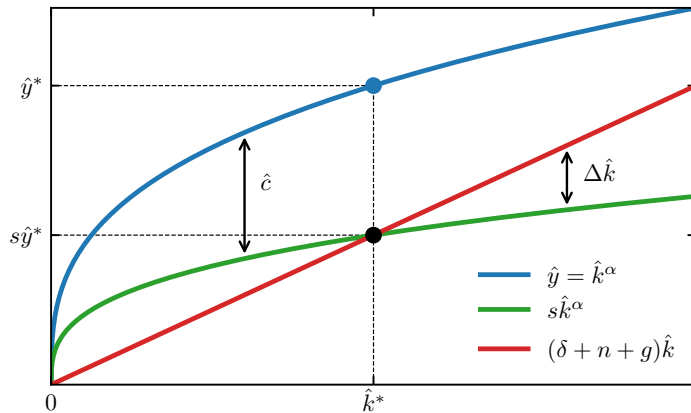
And capital per effective labor according to:

$$\begin{aligned} K_{t+1} &= sY_t + (1 - \delta) K_t \quad | \quad : A_t L_t \\ \frac{K_{t+1}}{A_{t+1} L_{t+1}} \frac{A_{t+1}}{A_t} \frac{L_{t+1}}{L_t} &= s \frac{Y_t}{A_t L_t} + (1 - \delta) \frac{K_t}{A_t L_t} \\ \hat{k}_{t+1} (1 + g) (1 + n) &= s \hat{y}_t + (1 - \delta) \hat{k}_t \end{aligned}$$

Fundamental equation of the Solow-Swan model:

$$\hat{k}_{t+1} = \frac{s \hat{k}_t^\alpha + (1 - \delta) \hat{k}_t}{(1 + g) (1 + n)}$$

# Capital accumulation



The change in capital per effective labor equals:

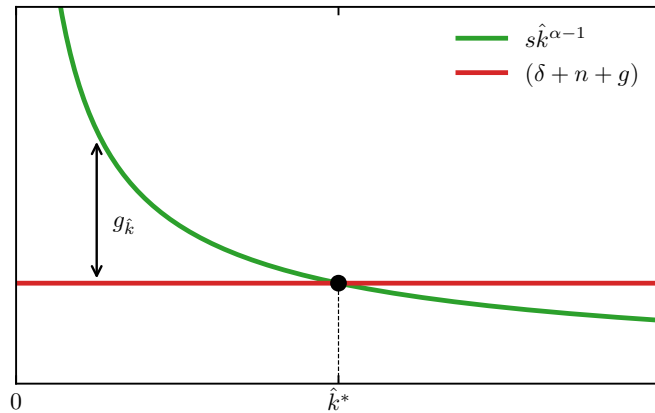
$$\begin{aligned}\Delta \hat{k}_{t+1} &\equiv \hat{k}_{t+1} - \hat{k}_t = \frac{s \hat{k}_t^\alpha + (1 - \delta) \hat{k}_t}{(1 + g)(1 + n)} - \frac{(1 + n + g + ng) \hat{k}_t}{(1 + g)(1 + n)} \\ &= \frac{s \hat{k}_t^\alpha - (\delta + n + g + ng) \hat{k}_t}{(1 + g)(1 + n)} \simeq s \hat{k}_t^\alpha - (\delta + n + g) \hat{k}_t\end{aligned}$$

where the symbol  $\simeq$  means an accurate representation in continuous time

The growth rate of capital per effective labor equals:

$$g_{\hat{k}} \equiv \frac{\Delta \hat{k}_{t+1}}{\hat{k}_t} = \frac{s \hat{k}_t^{\alpha-1} - (\delta + n + g + ng)}{(1 + g)(1 + n)} \simeq s \hat{k}_t^{\alpha-1} - (\delta + n + g)$$

# Capital accumulation



## Balanced growth path (steady state)

Variables per effective labor converge to their steady state values

If  $\hat{k}_{t+1} = \hat{k}_t = \hat{k}^*$  then:

$$\hat{k}^* (1 + n + g + ng) = s(\hat{k}^*)^\alpha + (1 - \delta) \hat{k}^*$$

$$\hat{k}^* (\delta + n + g + ng) = s(\hat{k}^*)^\alpha$$

$$(\hat{k}^*)^{1-\alpha} = \frac{s}{\delta + n + g + ng}$$

$$\hat{k}^* = \left( \frac{s}{\delta + n + g + ng} \right)^{1/(1-\alpha)} \simeq \left( \frac{s}{\delta + n + g} \right)^{1/(1-\alpha)}$$

$$\hat{y}^* = \left( \frac{s}{\delta + n + g + ng} \right)^{\alpha/(1-\alpha)} \simeq \left( \frac{s}{\delta + n + g} \right)^{\alpha/(1-\alpha)}$$

$$\hat{c}^* = (1 - s) \hat{y}^*$$

## Balanced growth path (steady state)

Along the balanced growth path (BGP) variables per worker grow together with increases in technology:

$$y_t^* = A_t \hat{y}^* \quad \rightarrow \quad g_y^* \simeq g_A + g_{\hat{y}}^* = g + 0 = g$$

And aggregate variables like aggregate capital and GDP grow at the sum of rates of increase in population and technology:

$$Y_t^* = A_t L_t \hat{y}^* \quad \rightarrow \quad g_Y^* \simeq g_A + g_L + g_{\hat{y}}^* = g + n$$

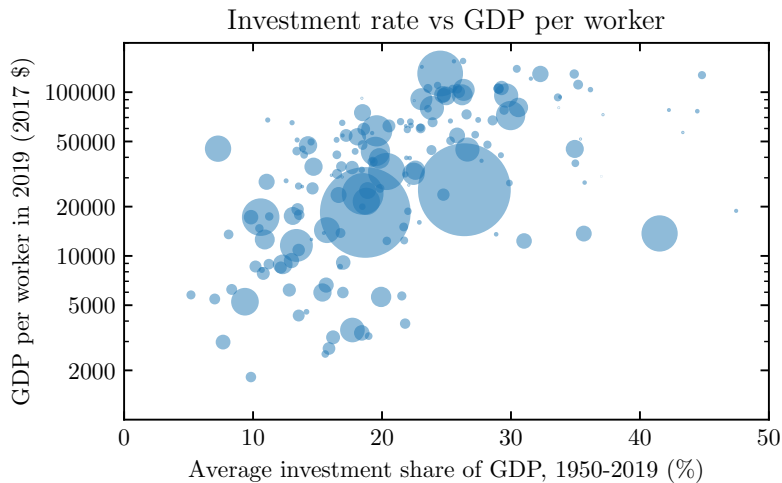
Solow-Swan model predicts that the BGP level of GDP per worker:

$$y_t^* \simeq A_t \left( \frac{s}{\delta + n + g} \right)^{\alpha/(1-\alpha)}$$

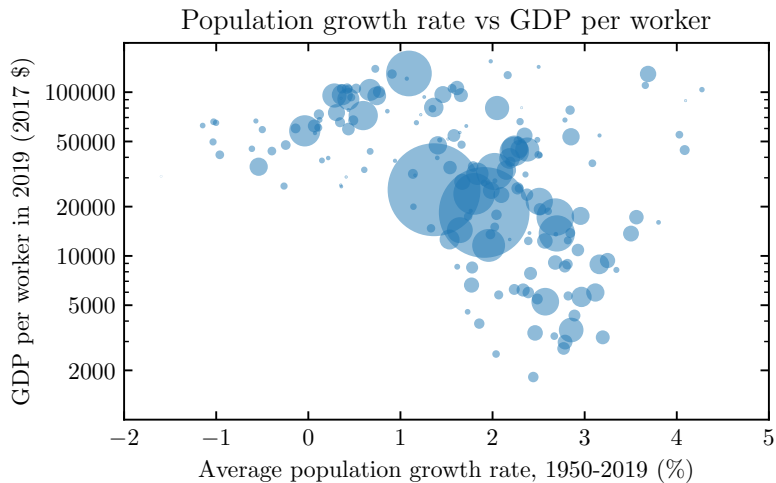
is higher in countries with higher technology level  $A$ ,  
is higher in countries with higher investment share of GDP  $s$   
and lower in countries with higher population growth rate  $n$



## Investment share of GDP $s$ vs GDP per worker $y$



## Population growth rate $n$ vs GDP per worker $y$



## Transitional dynamics

We are also interested in the growth rates of GDP per worker outside the BGP

Start with growth rates of GDP per effective labor:

$$\begin{aligned}g_{\hat{y}} &\simeq \ln(\hat{y}_{t+1}/\hat{y}_t) = \ln(\hat{k}_{t+1}^\alpha/\hat{k}_t^\alpha) = \alpha \ln(\hat{k}_{t+1}/\hat{k}_t) \simeq \alpha g_{\hat{k}} \\g_{\hat{y}} &\simeq \alpha \left[ s\hat{k}_t^{\alpha-1} - (\delta + n + g) \right]\end{aligned}$$

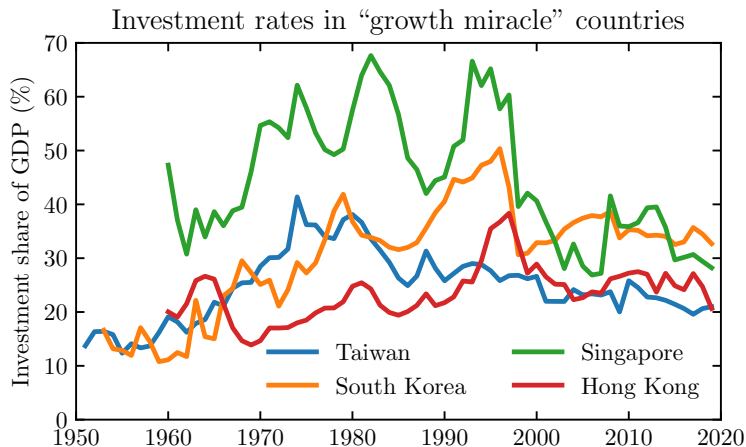
To obtain growth rate of GDP per worker, add the growth rate of technology  $g$ :

$$\begin{aligned}g_y &\simeq \alpha \left[ s\hat{k}_t^{\alpha-1} - (\delta + n + g) \right] + g \\&\simeq \alpha \left[ s\hat{k}_t^{\alpha-1} - (\delta + n) \right] + (1 - \alpha) g\end{aligned}$$

An increase in  $s$  or a decrease in  $n$  **temporarily** increases the growth rate of  $y$

Note that even if higher  $g$  decreases  $\hat{k}^*$ , it increases the rate of growth of  $y$

## Investment share of GDP $s$ in “growth miracle” countries



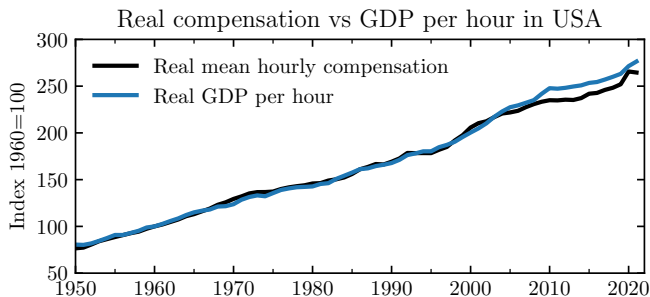
## Factor payments once again

Using  $\hat{k}^*$  as capital per effective labor along the BGP, let us revisit factor prices:

$$r_t^* = \alpha K_t^{\alpha-1} (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha} - \delta = \alpha (\hat{k}^*)^{\alpha-1} - \delta$$

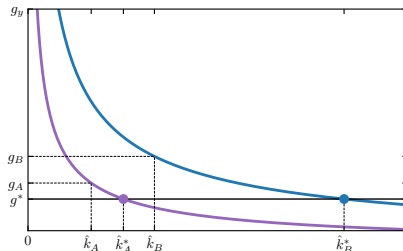
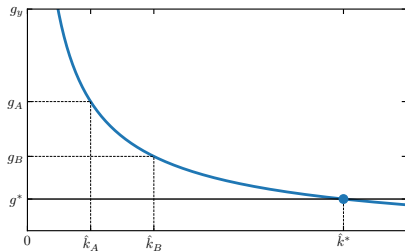
$$w_t^* = (1 - \alpha) K_t^\alpha A_t^{1-\alpha} L_t^{-\alpha} = (1 - \alpha) A_t (\hat{k}^*)^\alpha$$

The model predicts that along the BGP the interest rates are constant while hourly wages grow at the same rate as GDP per hour:



# Convergence

Solow-Swan model predicts that if countries have access to the same technology and share the same steady state, then ones that are poorer should grow faster:

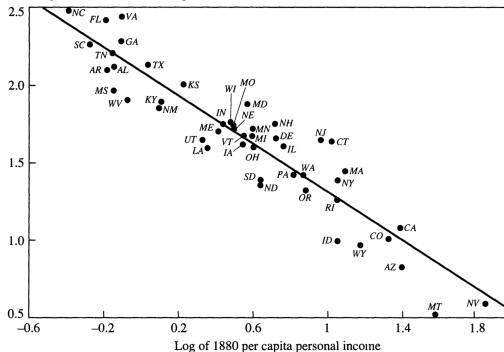


# Convergence: USA

We can observe convergence across individual states in USA:

**Figure 1. Convergence of Personal Income across U.S. States: 1880 Income and Income Growth from 1880 to 1988**

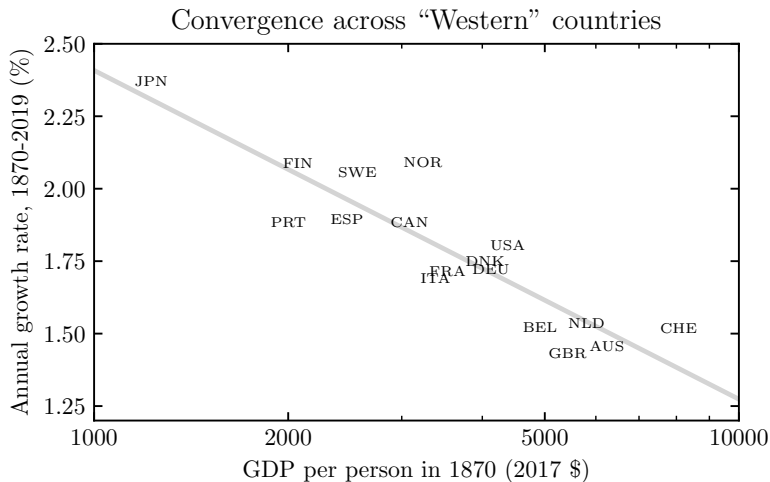
Annual growth rate, 1880–1988 (percent)



Sources: Bureau of Economic Analysis (1984), Easterlin (1960a, 1960b), and *Survey of Current Business*, various issues. The postal abbreviation for each state is used to plot the figure. Oklahoma, Alaska, and Hawaii are excluded from the analysis.

## Convergence: “West”

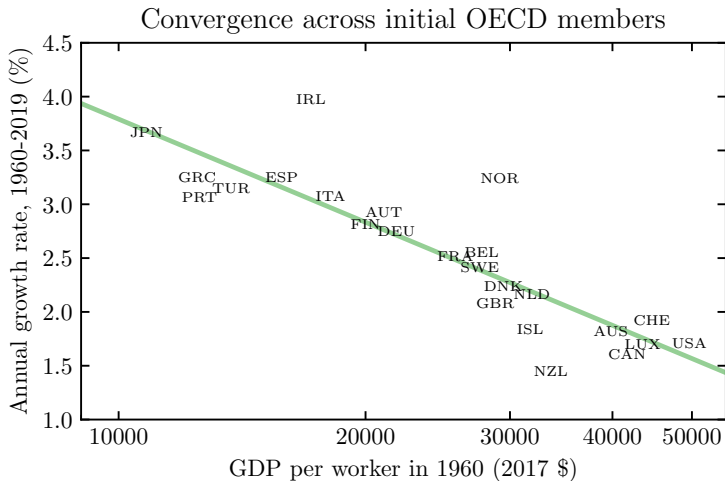
We can observe convergence across “Western” countries (+ Japan):





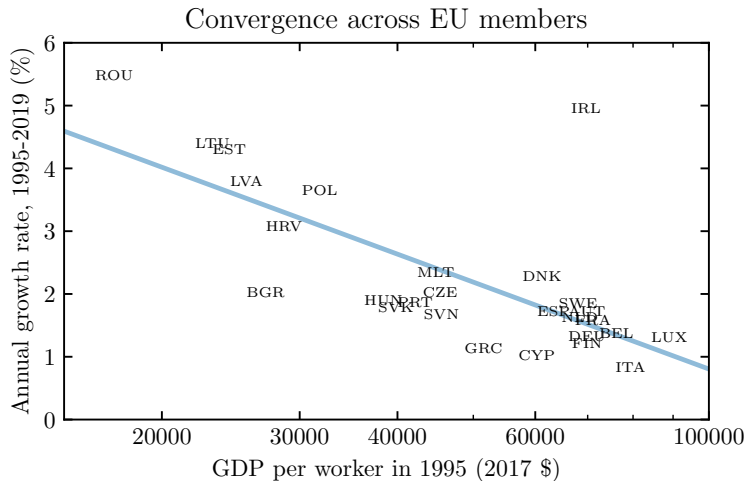
## Convergence: OECD

We can observe convergence across initial OECD members:



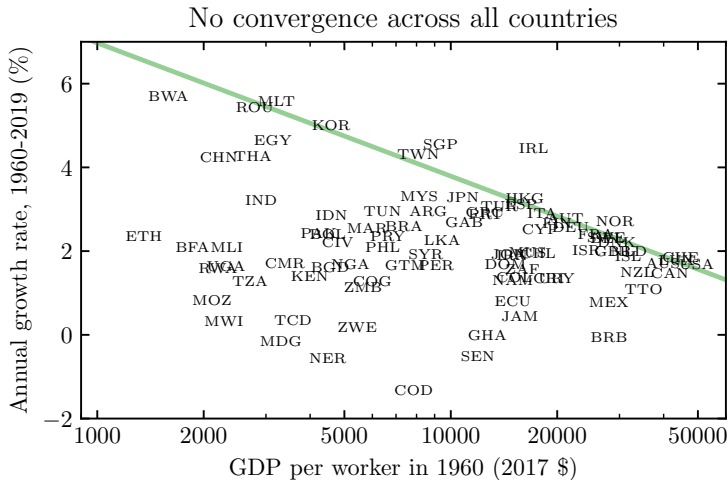
# Convergence: EU

We can observe convergence across EU members:



## Convergence: conditional/club, but not absolute

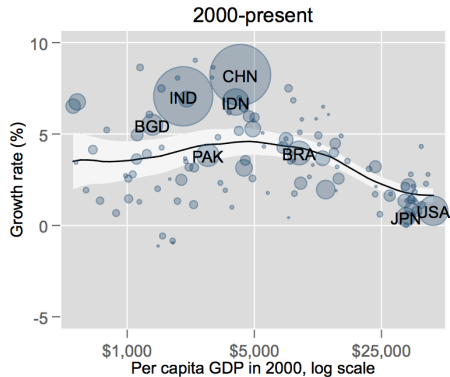
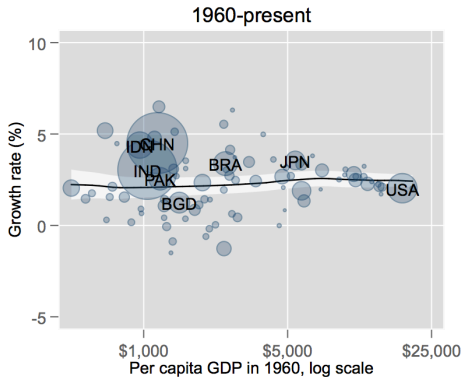
In general it is not true that poorer countries grow faster:



... although trends may have changed recently

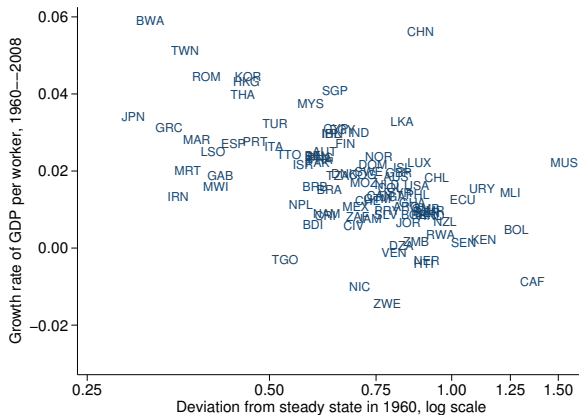
## Growth and Initial GDP

PWT 9.0, Chained PPP



# Conditional convergence

Countries grow faster the further away they are from their own BGP / steady state:



Jones and Vollrath (2013) *Introduction to Economic Growth*

## Speed of convergence

Relationship between the distance from BGP and the current rate of growth:

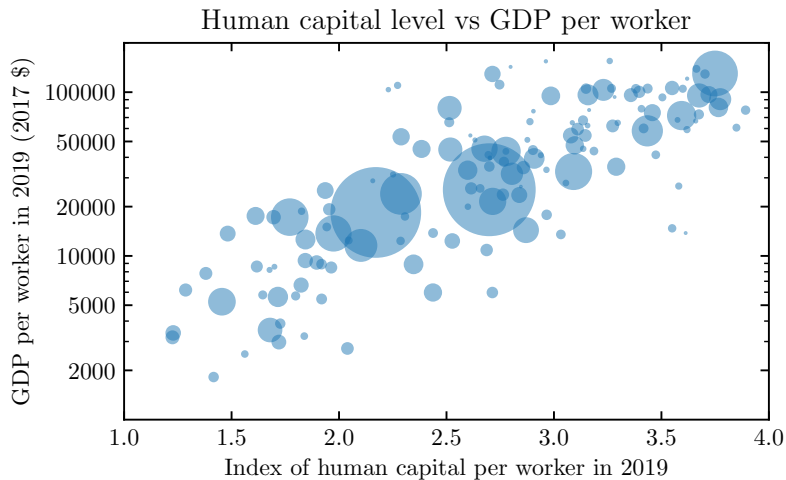
$$g_y \simeq \underbrace{(1 - \alpha)(\delta + n + g)}_{\lambda} (\ln y_t^* - \ln y_t)$$

Econometric studies find that  $\lambda \approx 0.02$ , meaning that it takes 35 years to close half of the gap between the current income and the BGP

Given sensible parameter values:  $\alpha = 0.33$ ,  $\delta = 0.05$ ,  $n = 0.01$ ,  $g = 0.02$ , the model generates  $\lambda \approx 0.053$ , implying that it would take about 13 years to close half of the gap

Adding human capital allows the model to assign lower weight to raw labor and be consistent with slow convergence

## Human capital per capita $h$ vs real GDP per worker $y$



# Human capital augmented Solow model

Mankiw, Romer and Weil (1992)

The production function that accounts for human capital  $H$ :

$$Y_t = K_t^\alpha H_t^\beta (A_t L_t)^{1-\alpha-\beta}$$

Physical and human capital accumulation:

$$K_{t+1} = s_k Y_t + (1 - \delta) K_t$$

$$H_{t+1} = s_h Y_t + (1 - \delta) H_t$$

GDP per worker along the BGP:

$$y_t^* = A_t \left( \frac{s_k^{\frac{\alpha}{\alpha+\beta}} s_h^{\frac{\beta}{\alpha+\beta}}}{\delta + n + g} \right)^{\frac{\alpha+\beta}{1-\alpha-\beta}}$$



# Human capital augmented Solow model

Econometric model:

$$\ln y_{it} = gt + \frac{\alpha}{1 - \alpha - \beta} \ln s_{k,i} + \frac{\beta}{1 - \alpha - \beta} \ln s_{h,i} \\ - \frac{\alpha + \beta}{1 - \alpha - \beta} \ln (\delta + n_i + g) + \epsilon_i$$

Restricted regression (to easily recover  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ ):

$$\ln y_{it} = gt + \frac{\alpha}{1 - \alpha - \beta} [\ln s_{k,i} - \ln (\delta + n_i + g)] \\ + \frac{\beta}{1 - \alpha - \beta} [\ln s_{h,i} - \ln (\delta + n_i + g)] + \epsilon_i$$

# Human capital augmented Solow model: empirical fit

Dependent variable: log GDP per working-age person in 1985			
Sample:	Non-oil	Intermediate	OECD
Observations:	98	75	22
CONSTANT	6.89 (1.17)	7.81 (1.19)	8.63 (2.19)
$\ln(I/GDP)$	0.69 (0.13)	0.70 (0.15)	0.28 (0.39)
$\ln(n + g + \delta)$	-1.73 (0.41)	-1.50 (0.40)	-1.07 (0.75)
$\ln(SCHOOL)$	0.66 (0.07)	0.73 (0.10)	0.76 (0.29)
$\bar{R}^2$	0.78	0.77	0.24
<i>s.e.e.</i>	0.51	0.45	0.33
Restricted regression:			
CONSTANT	7.86 (0.14)	7.97 (0.15)	8.71 (0.47)
$\ln(I/GDP) - \ln(n + g + \delta)$	0.73 (0.12)	0.71 (0.14)	0.29 (0.33)
$\ln(SCHOOL) - \ln(n + g + \delta)$	0.67 (0.07)	0.74 (0.09)	0.76 (0.28)
$\bar{R}^2$	0.78	0.77	0.28
<i>s.e.e.</i>	0.51	0.45	0.32
Test of restriction:			
<i>p</i> -value	0.41	0.89	0.97
Implied $\alpha$	0.31 (0.04)	0.29 (0.05)	0.14 (0.15)
Implied $\beta$	0.28 (0.03)	0.30 (0.04)	0.37 (0.12)

*Note.* Standard errors are in parentheses. The investment and population growth rates are averages for the period 1960–1985.  $(g + \delta)$  is assumed to be 0.05. SCHOOL is the average percentage of the working-age population in secondary school for the period 1960–1985.

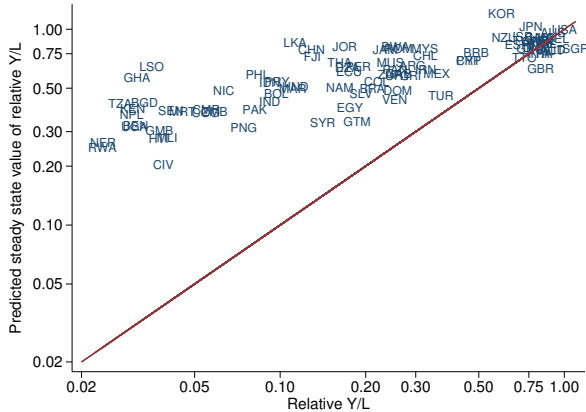
# Human capital augmented Solow model: convergence rate

Dependent variable: log difference GDP per working-age person 1960–1985			
Sample:	Non-oil	Intermediate	OECD
Observations:	98	75	22
CONSTANT	2.46 (0.48)	3.09 (0.53)	3.55 (0.63)
$\ln(Y60)$	-0.299 (0.061)	-0.372 (0.067)	-0.402 (0.069)
$\ln(I/GDP) - \ln(n + g + \delta)$	0.500 (0.082)	0.506 (0.095)	0.396 (0.152)
$\ln(SCHOOL) - \ln(n + g + \delta)$	0.238 (0.060)	0.266 (0.080)	0.236 (0.141)
$\bar{R}^2$	0.46	0.44	0.66
<i>s.e.e.</i>	0.33	0.30	0.15
Test of restriction:			
<i>p</i> -value	0.40	0.42	0.47
Implied $\lambda$	0.0142 (0.0019)	0.0186 (0.0019)	0.0206 (0.0020)
Implied $\alpha$	0.48 (0.07)	0.44 (0.07)	0.38 (0.13)
Implied $\beta$	0.23 (0.05)	0.23 (0.06)	0.23 (0.11)

*Note.* Standard errors are in parentheses. Y60 is GDP per working-age person in 1960. The investment and population growth rates are averages for the period 1960–1985.  $(g + \delta)$  is assumed to be 0.05. SCHOOL is the average percentage of the working-age population in secondary school for the period 1960–1985.

## Fit of human capital augmented Solow model

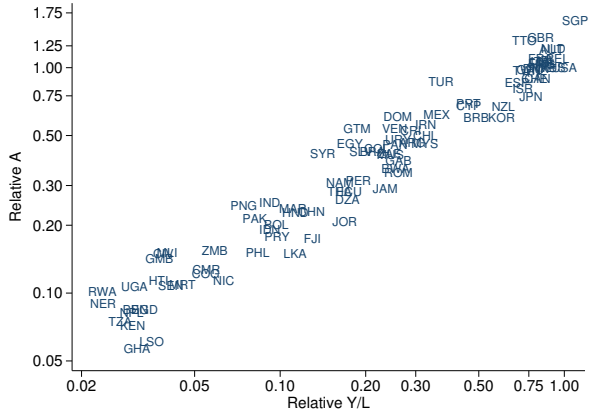
Suggests that poor countries “should” be richer:



Jones and Vollrath (2013) *Introduction to Economic Growth*

## Solow residual: accounting for technology differences

There are also significant differences in technology across countries:



Jones and Vollrath (2013) *Introduction to Economic Growth*

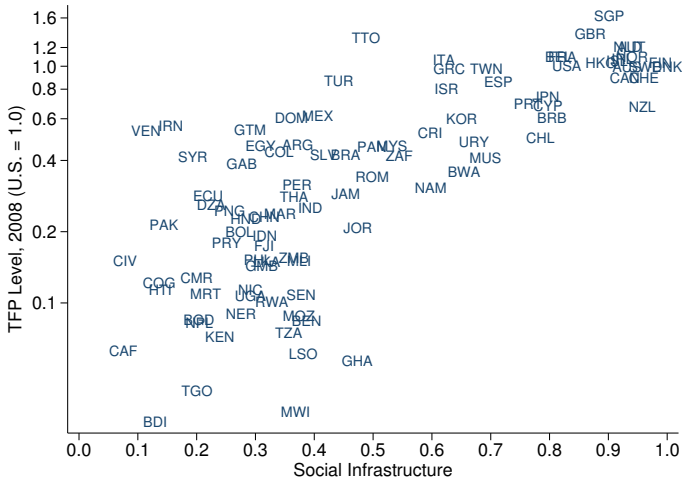
# GDP per worker differences decomposition

Country	Y/L	Contribution from		
		$(K/Y)^{\alpha/(1-\alpha)}$	H/L	A
United States	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Canada	0.941	1.002	0.908	1.034
Italy	0.834	1.063	0.650	1.207
West Germany	0.818	1.118	0.802	0.912
France	0.818	1.091	0.666	1.126
United Kingdom	0.727	0.891	0.808	1.011
Hong Kong	0.608	0.741	0.735	1.115
Singapore	0.606	1.031	0.545	1.078
Japan	0.587	1.119	0.797	0.658
Mexico	0.433	0.868	0.538	0.926
Argentina	0.418	0.953	0.676	0.648
U.S.S.R.	0.417	1.231	0.724	0.468
India	0.086	0.709	0.454	0.267
China	0.060	0.891	0.632	0.106
Kenya	0.056	0.747	0.457	0.165
Zaire	0.033	0.499	0.408	0.160
Average, 127 countries:	0.296	0.853	0.565	0.516
Standard deviation:	0.268	0.234	0.168	0.325
Correlation with Y/L (logs)	1.000	0.624	0.798	0.889
Correlation with A (logs)	0.889	0.248	0.522	1.000

Hall and Jones (1999)

*Why Do Some Countries Produce So Much More Output Per Worker Than Others?*

## “Productivity” vs social infrastructure index



Long run growth stems from improvements in technology

Countries can achieve higher balanced growth paths  
if they accumulate more physical and human capital per worker

But even more important than factor accumulation is technology adoption

Did not touch on “deep” causes of growth

– we treated many choice variables as exogenous parameters



## Takeaway

