

Catching Up with the Economy[†]

By ROBERT W. FOGEL*

In his Presidential Address five years ago, Zvi Griliches (1994) called attention to the severe difficulties that beset current attempts to measure the growth of labor productivity in the American economy. Because of these difficulties, it is likely that the true rate of economic growth is substantially underestimated. The root of the problem is the difficulty in measuring output in the service sector which now represents two-thirds of the economy. In such sectors as health care and information services, the contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) is measured by inputs rather than outputs, a procedure that makes it impossible to gauge accurately improvements in the quality of output. Thus, in the case of computers, which are transforming American society, economists have been unable, so far, to find a measurable contribution of computers to the rise in labor productivity — an astonishing paradox.

I want to follow up on this problem of mismeasurements. My thesis is that the profession

[†] Presidential Address delivered at the one-hundred eleventh meeting of the American Economic Association, January 4, 1999, New York, NY.

* Center for Population Economics, Graduate School of Business, and Department of Economics, University of Chicago, 1101 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, and National Bureau of Economic Research. This address is based on research made possible by grants from the National Institutes of Health (AG10120), the National Science Foundation (SES-9114981), the Walgreen Foundation, and the University of Chicago. I am grateful to the University of Chicago Press for permission to make use of material contained in my forthcoming book, The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism, which will be published in January 2000. I have also drawn on a forthcoming paper by Chulhee Lee (2000) and on concepts developed jointly with Dora L. Costa, Irwin H. Rosenberg, Nevin Scrimshaw, and James M. Tanner. I have benefited from comments and criticisms by Karen L, Brobst, Katherine A. Chavigny, Dora L. Costa, Roderick Floud, Daniel M. Fogel, Enid M. Fogel, Allison M. Garrett, Mark Guglielmo, James A. Heckman, Max Henderson, D. Gale Johnson, Susan E. Jones, Chulhee Lee, Brigitte Madrian, Robert Mittendorf, Douglass C. North, Nevin Scrimshaw, and Richard Suzman.

is lagging behind the economy more than it has to. We are, to some extent, entangled in concepts of the economy and in analytical techniques that were developed during the first third or so of the century, when economics emerged as a modern discipline. The range of the discipline did not expand greatly during the middle decades of the century, due partly to a concentration on the reformulation of the previous analytical concepts and techniques in more sophisticated and more general mathematical models. Although the dividends from these efforts were high and have contributed to the flexibility and capacity of economics, they did not encourage a reconsideration of some of the received assumptions about the scope and focus of economic analysis. There has been a significant broadening of the scope of economics during recent decades, with the emergence of such fields as the new household economics, the new institutional economics, the economics of aging, and medical economics, but much remains to be done.

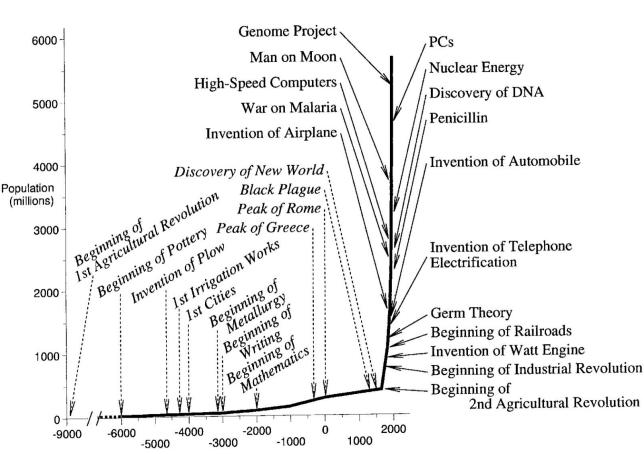
The balance of this address is divided into four sections. I begin with the inadequate attention to the accelerating rate of technological change, the implications of this acceleration for the restructuring of the economy, and its transforming effect on human beings. I then consider the neglect of the nonmarket sector of the economy, the implication of that neglect for the measurement of consumption, and for the analysis of economic growth. The third section deals with the need to shift the focus of economic analysis from crosssectional to life-cycle and intergenerational data sets, especially in connection with forecasting. The final section points to the impact of cultural lag in the treatment of material inequality, and the neglect of the more severe problem of spiritual inequality. I use the word spiritual not in its religious sense but as a reference to commodities that lack material form. Spiritual or immaterial commodities make up most of consumption in the United States and other rich countries today.

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FIGURE 1. THE GROWTH OF THE WORLD POPULATION AND SOME MAJOR EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY

Time (years)

Notes: There is usually a lag between the invention of a process or a machine and its general application to production. "Beginning" means the earliest stage of this diffusion process.

Sources: Carl W. Bishop, 1936; T. K. Derry and T. I. William, 1960; Graham Clark, 1961; B. H. Slicher von Bath, 1963; Stuart Piggott, 1965; Glenn T. Trewartha, 1969; William McNeill, 1971; Jacob Bronowski, 1973; Carlo M. Cipolla, 1974; B. M. Fagan, 1977. See also E. A. Wrigley, 1987; Robert C. Allen, 1992, 1994.

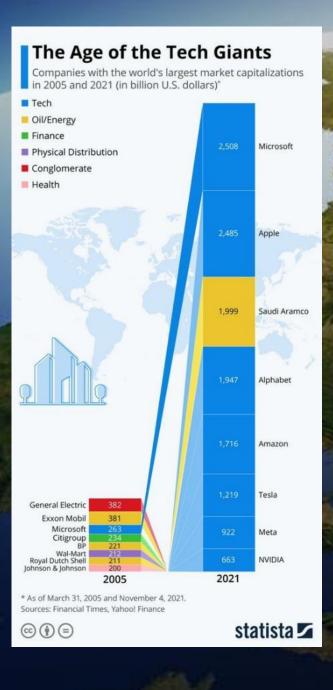
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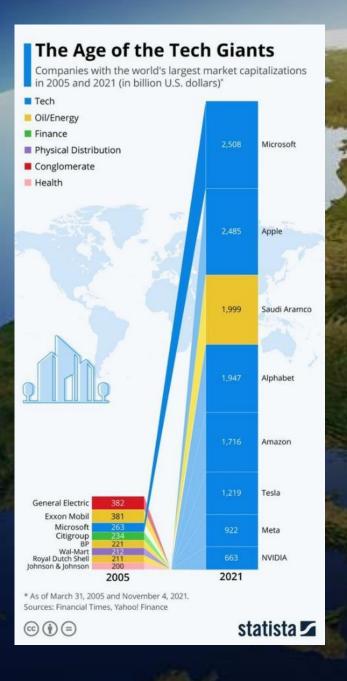
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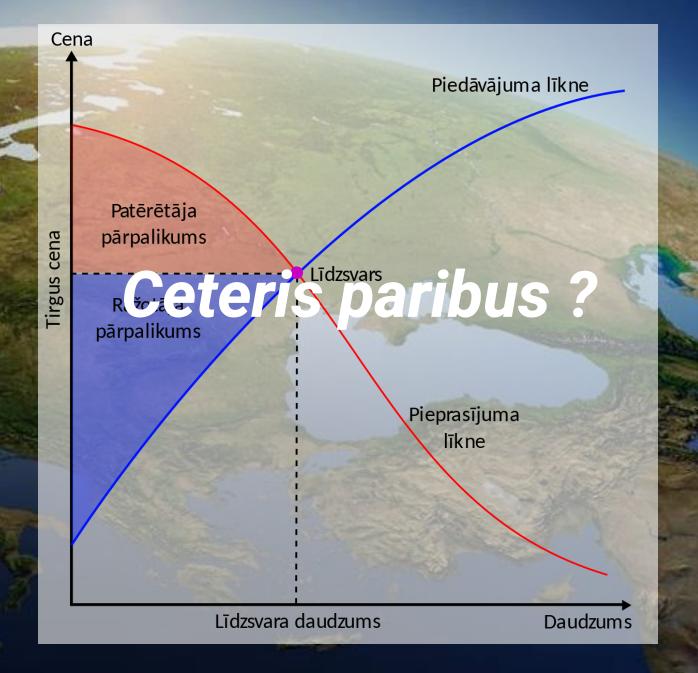
Industriālās revolūcijas





Vertība vai novērtējums? Novērtējums šodien par vērtību ... kad? Kas ir novērtētā vērtība?







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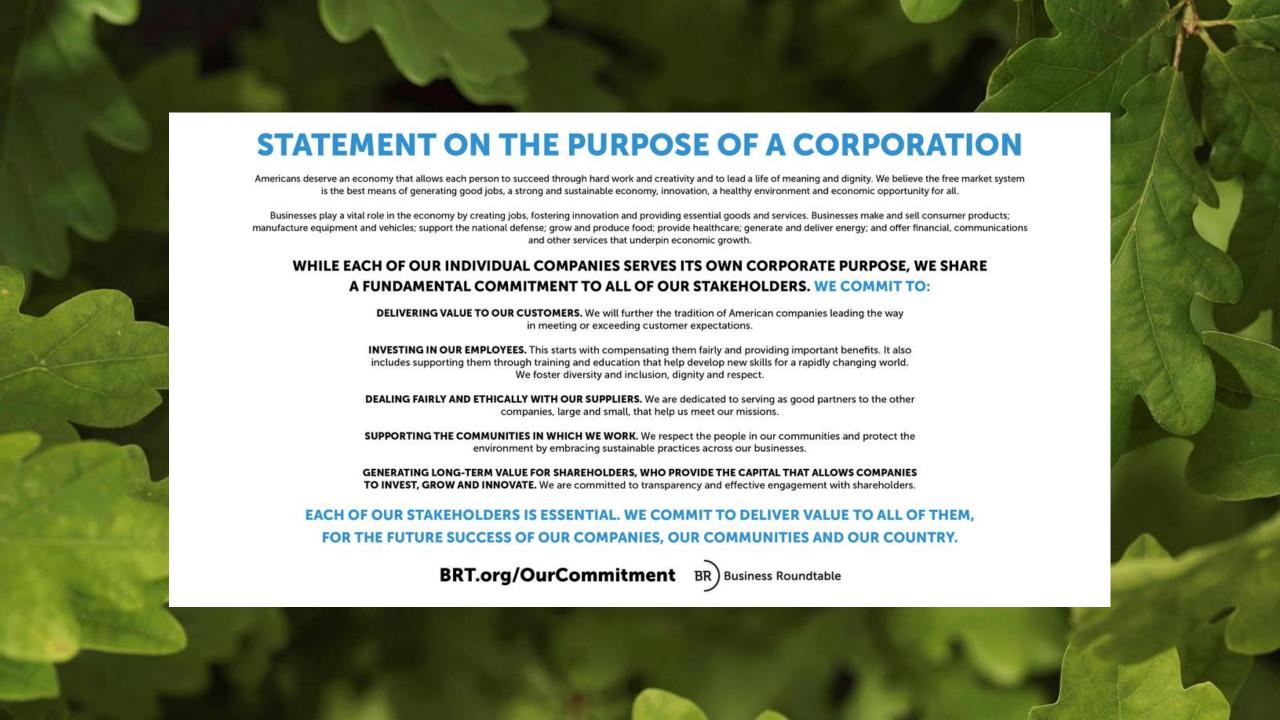
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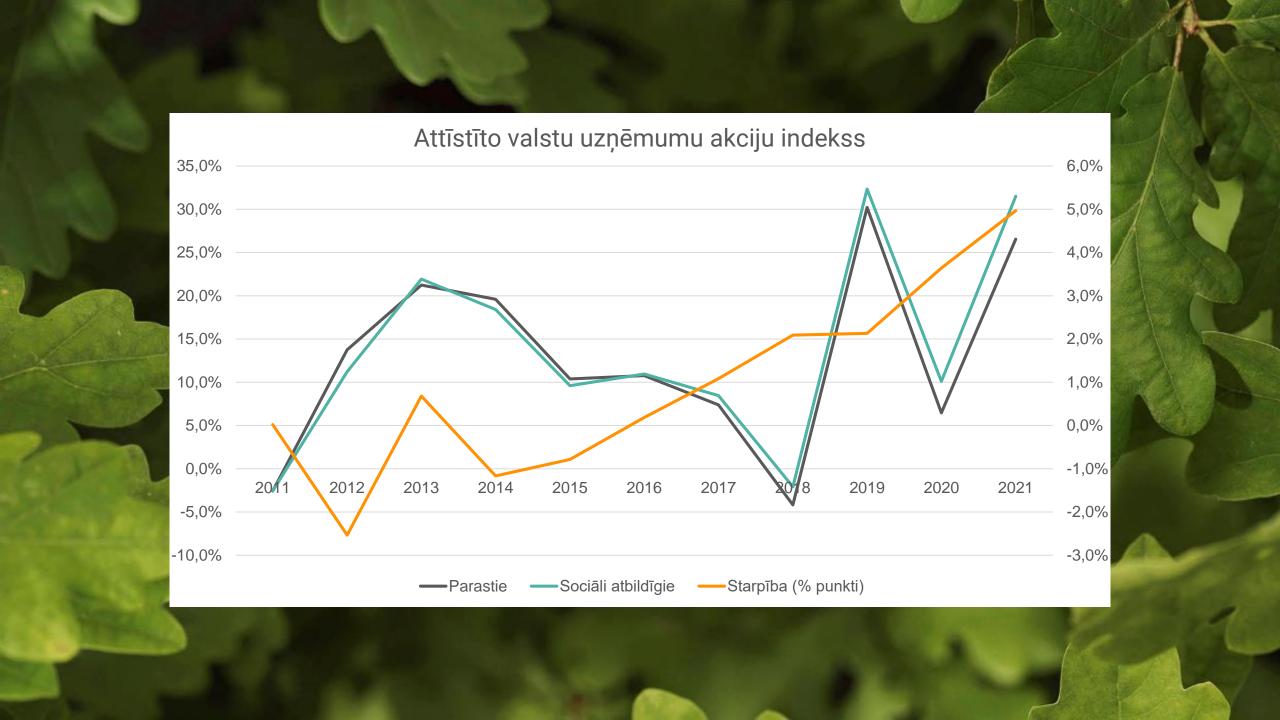












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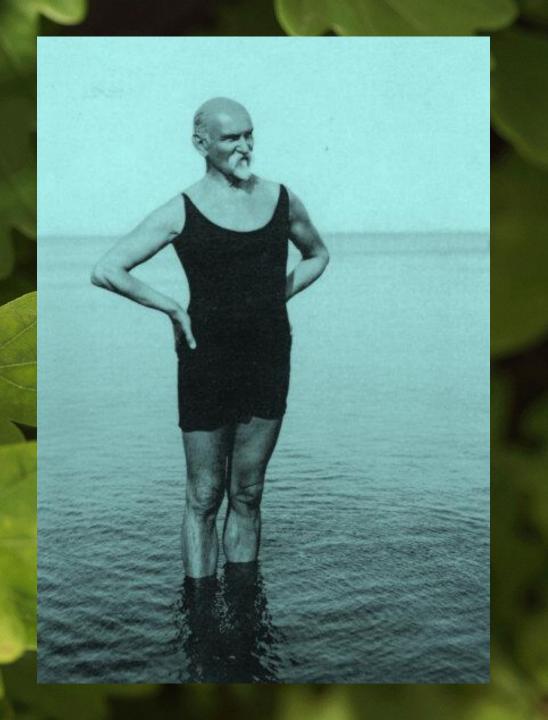












Tas jaunais laiks, kas šalkās trīs, Tas nenāks, ja ļaudis to nevedīs;

Ikvienam ir rokas jāpieliek, Lai lielais darbs uz priekšu tiek;

> Ikviens lai uguni kurina, Kas visu pasauli sasilda;

Lai palīdz katris to namu celt, Kur vien tik cilvēces laime var zelt,

> Kur katris ir iecelts saulītē, Ar visiem kopā gavilē.

Bet jaunais laiks, kas šalkās trīs, Tas nenāks, ja ļaudis to nevedīs.

