

# **Economics 172**

## **Issues in African Economic Development**

Professor Ted Miguel  
Department of Economics  
University of California, Berkeley

# **Economics 172**

## **Issues in African Economic Development**

Lecture 5 – January 30, 2007



## 2. Health factors

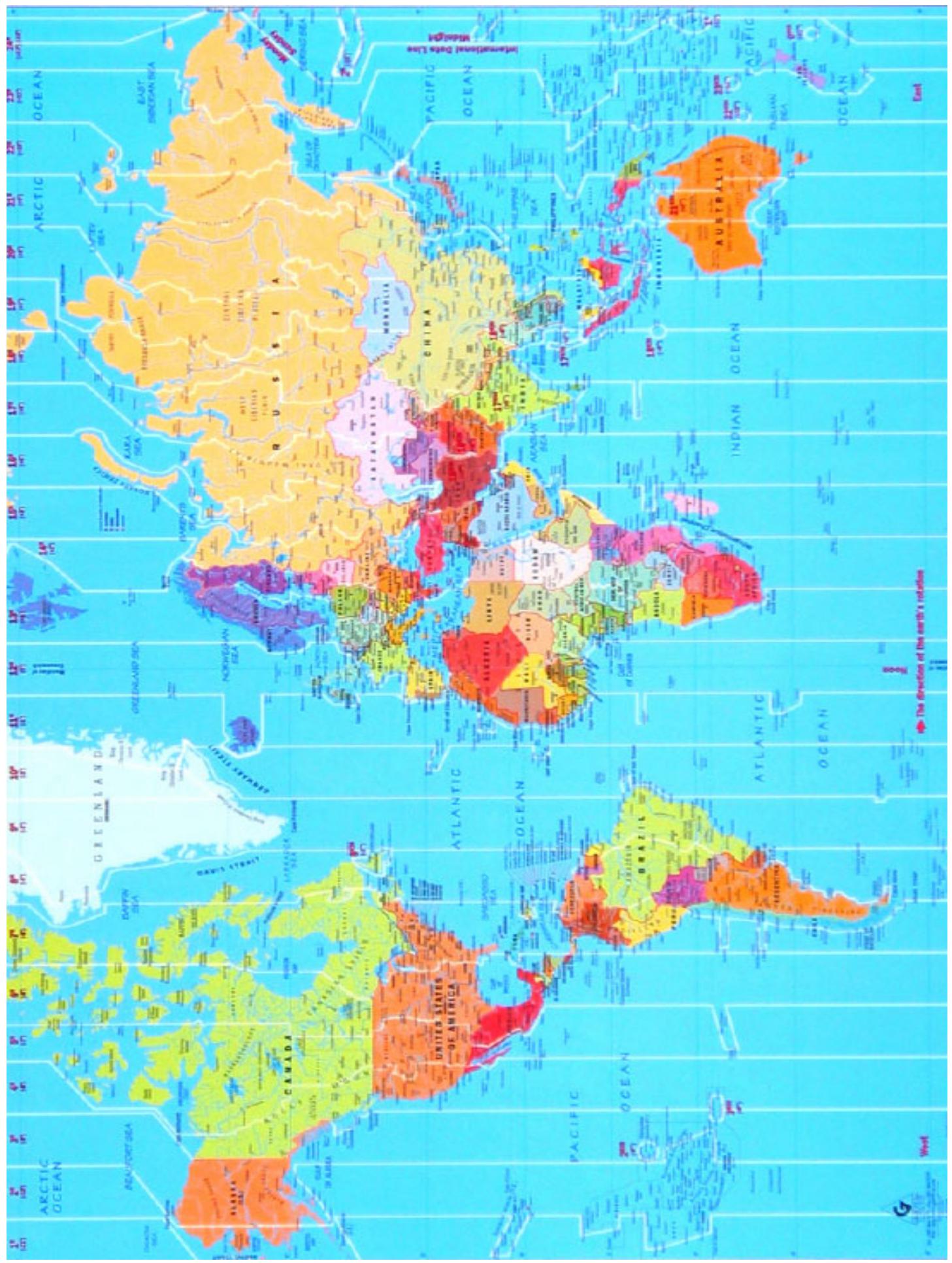
- Widespread tropical disease
  - Yellow fever (vector: mosquito), sleeping sickness / trypanosomiasis (vector: tse-tse fly), schistosomiasis / bilharzia (vector: snail), intestinal helminths ...
- The most important disease: malaria (vector: mosquito)
  - Kills 1-2 millions Africans every year
  - The Global Fund: over US\$4 billion committed to projects in 128 countries. One quarter to fight malaria (over 60% of total targeted to African countries)

### 3. Transport factors

- Transport costs are critical determinants of trade and technology transfer, especially historically

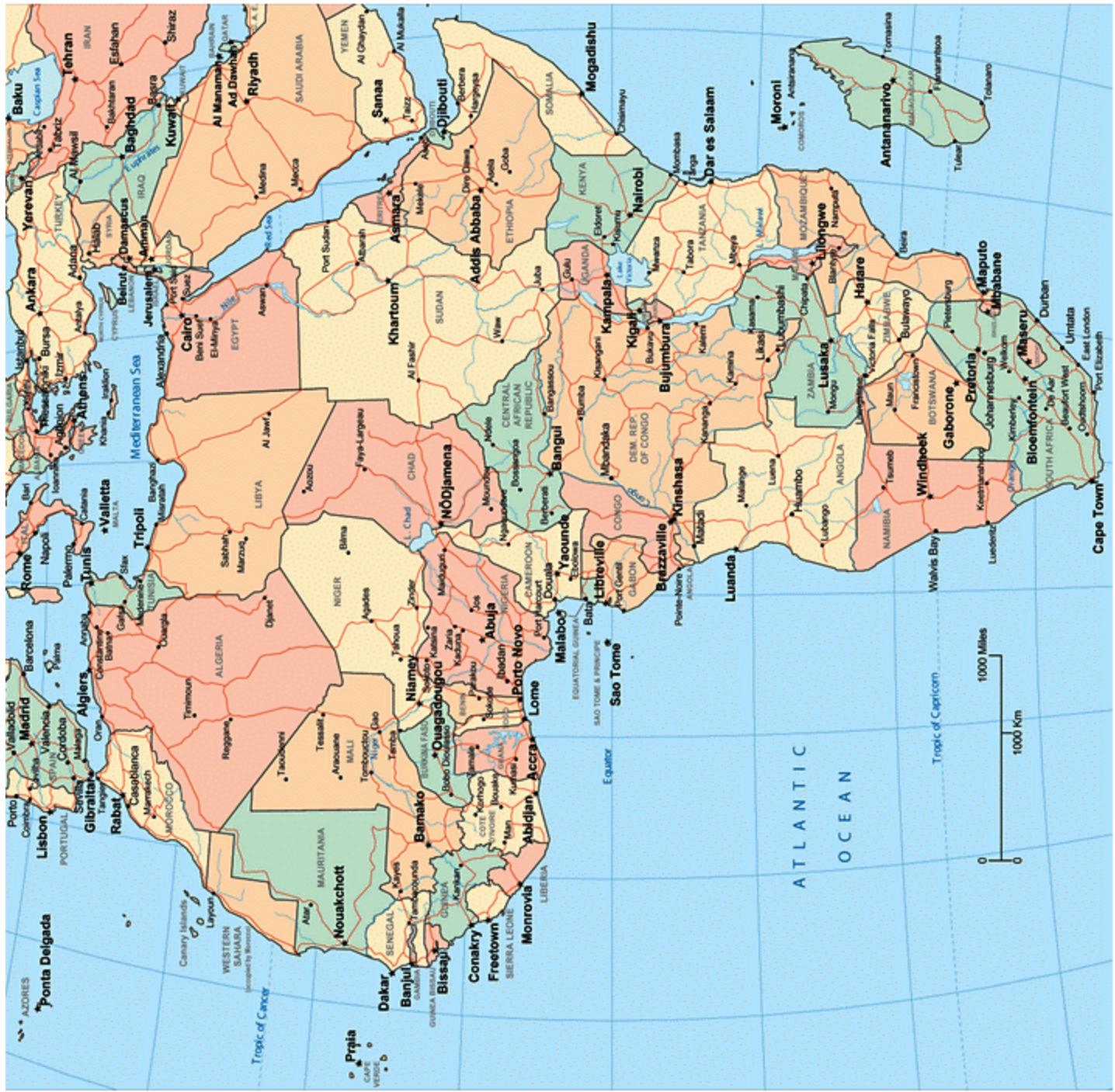
### 3. Transport factors

- Ratio of coastline to land area is very low in Africa:
  - 1.15 in SSA, 2.54 in South Asia, 15.7 Western Europe



### 3. Transport factors

- Ratio of coastline to land area is very low in Africa:
  - 1.15 in SSA, 2.54 in South Asia, 15.7 Western Europe
- Major rivers to the interior (e.g., the Nile, Niger, Congo, and Zambezi rivers) have large cataracts and are only navigable locally



### 3. Transport factors

- Ratio of coastline to land area is very low in Africa:
  - 1.15 in SSA, 2.54 in South Asia, 15.7 Western Europe
- Major rivers to the interior (e.g., the Nile, Niger, Congo, and Zambezi rivers) have large cataracts and are only navigable locally
- 28% of SSA population lives in land-locked countries

### 3. Transport factors

- Ratio of coastline to land area is very low in Africa:
  - 1.15 in SSA, 2.54 in South Asia, 15.7 Western Europe
- Major rivers to the interior (e.g., the Nile, Niger, Congo, and Zambezi rivers) have large cataracts and are only navigable locally
- 28% of SSA population lives in land-locked countries
- Large distance from the major industrialized economies in Europe, Asia, North America (contrast: Mexico)

# The Curse of the Tropics?

- “At the root of Africa’s poverty lies its extraordinarily disadvantageous geography, which has helped to shape its societies and its interactions with the rest of the world.” Bloom and Sachs (1998), p. 211
- Agricultural factors
- Health factors
- Transport costs

# The Curse of the Tropics?

- “At the root of Africa’s poverty lies its extraordinarily disadvantageous geography, which has helped to shape its societies and its interactions with the rest of the world.” Bloom and Sachs (1998), p. 211
- Agricultural factors
- **Health factors**
- Transport costs

## Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem

## Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
  - This is a difficult problem
- 
- Health → Labor productivity → Wages / income

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
  - This is a difficult problem
- 
- Health → Labor productivity → Wages / income

OR

- Income → Purchases of all goods, including healthcare

## Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
  - This is a difficult problem
- 
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
    1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
  - This is a difficult problem
- 
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
    1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$  [“Health causes wealth”]

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$  [**“Wealth causes health”**]

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$  *Endogeneity / Reverse causality*

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$
  3.  $A \rightarrow B$  and  $B \rightarrow A$  simultaneously

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$
  3.  $A \rightarrow B$  and  $B \rightarrow A$  simultaneously *Simultaneity*

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$
  3.  $A \rightarrow B$  and  $B \rightarrow A$  simultaneously
  4. Some other factor C causes both:  $C \rightarrow A$  and  $C \rightarrow B$

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$
  3.  $A \rightarrow B$  and  $B \rightarrow A$  simultaneously
  4. Some other factor C causes both:  $C \rightarrow A$  and  $C \rightarrow B$

*Omitted variables / Confounding*

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$
  3.  $A \rightarrow B$  and  $B \rightarrow A$  simultaneously
  4. Some other factor C causes both:  $C \rightarrow A$  and  $C \rightarrow B$
  5. The association is purely coincidental (but regression confidence intervals help address this)

# Health and wealth: cause or effect?

- How can we determine whether poor health is the cause of poverty (as Bloom and Sachs assert) or vice versa?
- This is a difficult problem
- More generally how to interpret  $\text{Corr}(A, B) > 0$  ?
  1. “**A causes B**”:  $A \rightarrow B$
  2. “B causes A”:  $B \rightarrow A$
  3.  $A \rightarrow B$  and  $B \rightarrow A$  simultaneously
  4. Some other factor C causes both:  $C \rightarrow A$  and  $C \rightarrow B$
  5. The association is purely coincidental (but regression confidence intervals help address this)

# Health and wealth: interpretation

- Even if we know that “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$ , why?
- What is the theoretical channel / mechanism?

# Health and wealth: interpretation

- Even if we know that “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$ , why?
  - What is the theoretical channel / mechanism?
- 
- Theory 1:  $A \rightarrow \underline{C} \rightarrow B$
  - Theory 2:  $A \rightarrow \underline{D} \rightarrow B$

# Health and wealth: interpretation

- Even if we know that “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$ , why?
  - What is the theoretical channel / mechanism?
- 
- Theory 1:  $A \rightarrow C \rightarrow B$   
Africa’s tropical geography leads to low labor productivity, and thus low per capita incomes today
  - Theory 2:  $A \rightarrow D \rightarrow B$   
Africa’s tropical geography led European imperialists to establish exploitative, extractive government institutions, and thus low per capita incomes today

# Health and wealth: interpretation

- Even if we know that “A causes B”:  $A \rightarrow B$ , why?
- What is the theoretical channel / mechanism?
  - Theory 1:  $A \rightarrow C \rightarrow B$   
Africa’s tropical geography leads to low labor productivity, and thus low per capita incomes today  
(Bloom and Sachs 1998)
  - Theory 2:  $A \rightarrow D \rightarrow B$   
Africa’s tropical geography led European imperialists to establish exploitative, extractive government institutions, and thus low per capita incomes today  
(Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson 2001)

# Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- Their main argument:

More tropical disease  
→ Less European residential settlement

# Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- Their main argument:

More tropical disease

- Less European residential settlement
- Worse government institutions
- (e.g., less rule of law, more resource “extraction”)

# Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- Their main argument:

More tropical disease

→ Less European residential settlement

→ Worse government institutions

(e.g., less rule of law, more resource “extraction”)

→ Slower long-run economic growth

# Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- Their main argument:

More tropical disease

- Less European residential settlement
- Worse government institutions  
(e.g., less rule of law, more resource “extraction”)
- Slower long-run economic growth

# Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- Their main argument:

More tropical disease

→ Lower labor productivity, less foreign investment

→ Slower long-run economic growth

# Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- Their main argument:

More tropical disease

→ Less European residential settlement

→ Worse government institutions

OR

→ Lower labor productivity, less foreign investment

→ Slower long-run economic growth

## Bloom and Sachs (1998) versus Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- The underlying mechanism linking tropical disease and economic growth is important for public policy

## Bloom and Sachs (1998) versus Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- The underlying mechanism linking tropical disease and economic growth is important for public policy
- If Bloom and Sachs are correct, then the key to dealing with African's geographic inheritance is addressing the tropical disease burden today

## Bloom and Sachs (1998) versus Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson (2001)

- The underlying mechanism linking tropical disease and economic growth is important for public policy
- If Bloom and Sachs are correct, then the key to dealing with African's geographic inheritance is addressing the tropical disease burden today
- If Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson are correct, then the key to dealing with African's geographic inheritance is addressing the quality of government institutions today

## Another approach: analysis with “micro-data”

- Both Bloom and Sachs (1998) and AJR (2001) focus on broad country-level historical trends
- But establishing causality and theoretical channels is exceedingly difficult in that setting

## Another approach: analysis with “micro-data”

- Both Bloom and Sachs (1998) and AJR (2001) focus on broad country-level historical trends
- But establishing causality and theoretical channels is exceedingly difficult in that setting
- Another approach uses data at the level of individuals, communities, or firms to test theories about the link between health and wealth
- Problem Set #1 will feature some analysis of this kind

- For next time: Read Miguel (2005)

# Whiteboard #1

# Whiteboard #2

# Whiteboard #3

# Whiteboard #4

# Whiteboard #5

