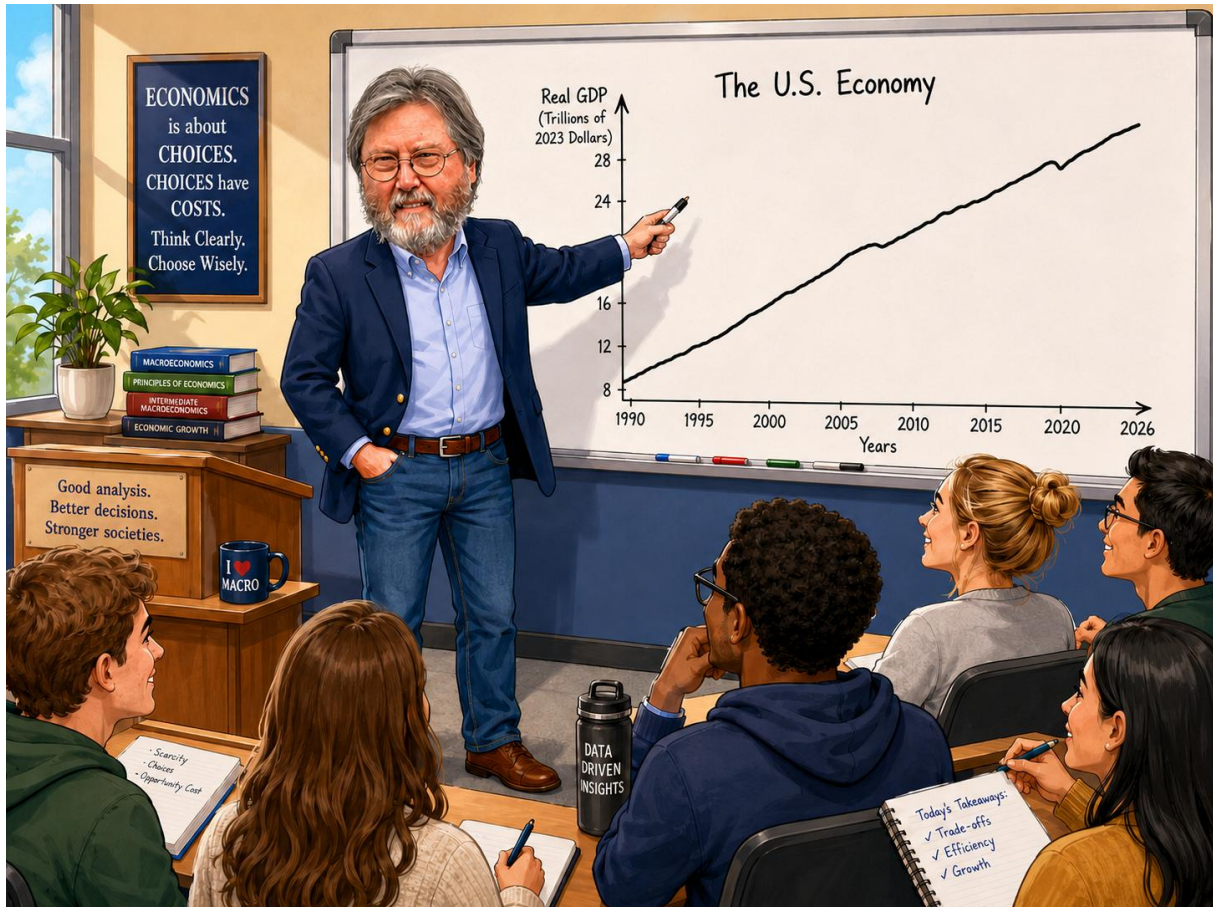


# Chapter 7

## Economic Growth and Real GDP per Capita

### Economics Study Review and Worksheet Series (DKent)



## Introduction

To understand economic growth, you need to move beyond the simple question of whether GDP is rising this quarter and ask a deeper question: why is real GDP able to rise year after year for decades? In this chapter, you will study the long-run side of macroeconomics—where growth comes from, why some economies grow more steadily than others, and why real GDP per capita is one of the most useful indicators of a country's material standard of living.

This chapter builds on your earlier study of gross domestic product by shifting the focus from measurement to causes. In Chapter 6, you saw how economists calculate GDP. In this chapter, you will see why sustained growth in real GDP depends on productivity, investment, institutions, and the broad environment in which households and firms make decisions. The lecture slides you uploaded emphasize free markets, rule of law, labor productivity, capital deepening, and the

importance of a healthy business climate.<sup>1</sup> Building from that structure, this chapter explains these ideas in a fuller and more connected way.

You will also see why economists pay close attention to real GDP per capita rather than total GDP alone. A large economy is not always a rich economy in per-person terms. If output grows, but population grows just as quickly, the average standard of living may not improve very much. For that reason, long-run macroeconomics asks not only whether total output rises, but whether output per person rises in a sustained way.

Because this chapter is written for you as a student reader, the goal is not only to define terms, but also to help you think practically about them. When you hear that a country is becoming more prosperous, you should ask: Are workers producing more per hour? Are businesses investing in better tools and technology? Do laws protect contracts and property? Is government creating an environment that rewards production, saving, innovation, and trade rather than discouraging them? Those are the kinds of questions that turn economic growth from a slogan into a real macroeconomic analysis.

## 1. What Economic Growth Means

Economic growth usually refers to a sustained increase in an economy's real output over time. In short-run discussions, economists often look at quarter-to-quarter changes in real GDP to determine whether the economy is expanding or slipping into recession. In long-run analysis, however, growth means something broader: an economy's productive capacity is increasing, so that it can generate more goods and services over time without relying simply on inflation or temporary stimulus.

The distinction between nominal GDP and real GDP matters here. If the total dollar value of output rises only because prices rose, that is not the kind of growth that improves living standards. What matters in the long run is real GDP—the inflation-adjusted measure of output—because real GDP tells you whether the economy is actually producing more.<sup>2</sup>

Still, even real GDP by itself is not enough. Suppose one country has a total real GDP of \$5 trillion and another has a real GDP of \$2 trillion. The first country sounds much richer, but what if its population is four times as large? In that case, average output per person may be lower. This is why economists use real GDP per capita as a rough measure of the average material output available per person. It is not a perfect measure of well-being, but it is one of the best broad indicators of economic prosperity that can be compared across countries and over time.<sup>3</sup>

When you hear that growth has compounded over decades, the key idea is simple: even modest annual growth rates create large long-run changes. A 2 percent annual increase does not sound dramatic, but when sustained over many years it can transform wages, consumption possibilities, housing quality, transportation, medical care, and education. That is why long-run growth is one of the central goals of macroeconomics.

## 2. Why Sustained Growth Is Historically Unusual

One of the most important ideas in growth economics is that modern sustained growth is historically recent. For most of human history, standards of living changed very slowly. Output rose in some periods and fell in others, but long-run increases in output per person were limited. The

modern era of sustained growth began only after institutional and technological changes combined to make continuing productivity gains possible.<sup>4</sup>

The slides point to the nineteenth century and the Industrial Revolution as the turning point, and that is broadly consistent with the economic history literature. Steam power, mechanization, improved transportation, urbanization, and rising specialization helped lift productivity to levels that earlier societies had not achieved.<sup>5</sup> Over time, this process broadened into what economists now call modern economic growth: long-run increases in productivity and output per person made possible by innovation, capital accumulation, improved institutions, and widening markets.

This historical perspective is useful for you because it prevents growth from seeming automatic. Growth is not the normal condition of every society in every era. It depends on economic and legal arrangements that reward production, exchange, and innovation. When those arrangements are weak, growth can slow or stop. When they are strong, growth can continue for long periods.

### **3. Real GDP per Capita and the Wealth of an Economy**

Real GDP per capita is simply real GDP divided by population. The measure does not tell you everything about an economy—income distribution, leisure, environmental quality, and household production all matter too—but it is extremely useful because it shows how much real output exists on average for each person.<sup>3</sup>

In practical terms, real GDP per capita matters because it connects macroeconomic growth to everyday life. If output per person rises over time, the economy usually has more room for higher wages, better housing, improved infrastructure, greater access to health care, and more goods and services generally. You should not think of GDP per capita as a direct measure of happiness, but it is strongly related to the material possibilities available in an economy.

The chapter notes emphasize that increases in real GDP per capita represent the wealth of an economy.<sup>1</sup> That wording is useful if you interpret it carefully. Real GDP per capita does not measure household balance sheets or financial wealth directly. Instead, it measures average current output per person, which is one of the best broad indicators of a nation's productive prosperity. Countries with high and sustained real GDP per capita growth are usually countries in which productivity, capital accumulation, and institutional quality have supported rising living standards over time.

This is also why economists are interested in productivity rather than output alone. If a country wants higher real GDP per capita, it must either increase how much it produces with its labor and capital or improve the efficiency with which those inputs are used. Long-run prosperity is therefore tied closely to productivity growth.

### **4. Productivity: The Main Engine of Long-Run Growth**

The single most important idea in this chapter is that sustained long-run growth comes mainly from increases in labor productivity. Labor productivity is commonly measured as output per worker or output per hour worked. When each worker can produce more in the same amount of time, total output can rise even without an equal increase in labor hours.<sup>6</sup>

This point is powerful because it explains why small productivity improvements matter so much. If each worker in an economy becomes only a little more productive each year, the effect compounds

over time. After several decades, the difference in output per worker can be enormous. That is one reason the slides stress that even small changes in growth rates, when sustained over long periods, make an enormous difference in living standards.<sup>1</sup>

You can think of productivity growth as the economy's way of escaping the limits of simple population growth. If the number of workers rises but output per worker does not, total GDP may grow while living standards stagnate. If output per worker rises, then real GDP per capita can rise as well. That is the growth that matters most for prosperity.

Growth accounting research supports this emphasis. Differences in capital and education matter, but they do not explain everything. A large share of cross-country differences in output per worker reflects broader differences in efficiency, technology, institutions, and the way economies organize production.<sup>7</sup>

## 5. Human Capital, Physical Capital, and Technology

The chapter notes identify the main determinants of worker productivity as human capital, physical capital, technological change, infrastructure, and economies of scale.<sup>1</sup> This is a strong introductory framework because it connects the abstract idea of productivity to concrete sources of improvement.

Human capital refers to the education, skills, knowledge, training, health, and experience that make workers more productive. When workers gain useful knowledge and skills, they can use equipment more effectively, adapt to changing industries, solve problems more quickly, and contribute to innovation. A large body of research finds that schooling quality and cognitive skills are strongly linked to long-run growth.<sup>8</sup>

Physical capital includes factories, machines, equipment, software, logistics systems, and other produced tools used to make goods and services. When workers have better machines and better supporting capital, they can produce more per hour. This is why investment matters so much for growth. Businesses that add productive capital do more than expand current operations; they also raise the economy's future productive capacity.

Technology matters because it changes what is possible. Invention expands knowledge, while innovation applies that knowledge in commercially useful ways. The distinction matters. A scientific breakthrough does not automatically raise GDP; it raises GDP when firms and workers put it to productive use. Growth therefore depends not just on discovering new ideas, but on diffusing them through the economy.<sup>9</sup>

Infrastructure is also essential. Roads, ports, power systems, digital networks, and water systems do not always attract the same attention as private factories, but they are forms of capital that make private production easier and cheaper. Poor infrastructure raises costs, wastes time, and slows the movement of goods, workers, and information.

Finally, economies of scale matter because larger, well-connected markets often allow firms to spread fixed costs, specialize more, and use more efficient production methods. When firms can serve larger markets—through domestic integration, open trade, or better transportation—productivity often rises.

## 6. Capital Deepening and the Aggregate Production Function

The slides introduce two terms that are especially important for long-run macroeconomics: the production function and capital deepening.<sup>1</sup> A production function describes how a firm combines inputs such as labor, capital, and raw materials to produce output. An aggregate production function applies the same general logic to the economy as a whole by describing how labor, human capital, physical capital, and technology combine to generate output.

Capital deepening means increasing the amount of capital available per worker. That can involve more physical capital per worker, such as machinery and equipment, or more human capital per worker, such as education and training. When capital per worker rises, labor productivity usually rises as well, because each worker has more productive resources with which to work.

This idea is especially useful for students because it explains why growth policy should not be understood only as a matter of stimulating spending. In the long run, higher living standards require an expansion in the economy's productive side. An economy does not become richer simply because people spend more dollars. It becomes richer because workers, firms, and institutions together produce more real output per person.

## 7. Institutions, Rule of Law, and Contract Rights

Your chapter notes correctly emphasize rule of law and protection of contract rights as essential contributors to growth.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the strongest parts of the chapter because it reminds you that productivity is not produced only by machines or schools; it is also produced by institutions.

Rule of law means that laws are clear, public, predictable, fairly applied, and enforced. Contract rights mean that people and firms can make agreements and rely on the legal system for recourse if those agreements are violated. Without those conditions, investment becomes riskier, planning becomes more difficult, and long-run growth suffers.<sup>10</sup>

Why does this matter so much? Imagine a business deciding whether to build a factory, develop software, lend funds, or train workers. The business is much more likely to invest if property is protected, contracts are enforceable, and the regulatory system is stable enough to allow long-term planning. If arbitrary seizure, corruption, unstable rules, or weak courts are common, the incentive to invest falls sharply.

This is one reason why economists often connect long-run prosperity with market-supporting institutions. Markets do not function well in an institutional vacuum. They depend on legal and political conditions that allow people to own property, exchange freely, rely on contracts, and expect reasonably consistent rules. In this sense, a free-market economy works best when it is supported by a lawful and credible public framework, not when government is absent altogether.<sup>11</sup>

## 8. Free Markets and Supply-Side-Friendly Government

The chapter slides stress a free-market economy and a healthy, business-friendly relationship between government and firms.<sup>1</sup> Framed carefully, this is a strong supply-side insight. Long-run growth is usually strongest when businesses have incentives to save, invest, innovate, hire, and expand productive capacity. That means the policy environment matters.

A supply-side-friendly environment does not mean government must do everything for business, nor does it mean that every regulation or tax is harmful. It means that policy should be evaluated according to whether it encourages or discourages productive activity. Taxes that severely punish investment, regulations that create large compliance burdens with little benefit, unstable policy rules, barriers to entrepreneurship, and restrictions that weaken competition can all reduce long-run growth.

By contrast, governments can support growth by protecting property rights, keeping legal rules transparent, maintaining macroeconomic stability, supporting infrastructure, encouraging open markets, and investing where social returns are high, such as education and basic research.<sup>12</sup> In that kind of environment, private firms are more likely to invest in workers, equipment, new products, and better processes because they expect those investments to pay off.

This is why it is useful to describe long-run growth as a partnership of roles. The market system supplies incentives, information, competition, and discovery. Government supplies lawful order, contract enforcement, infrastructure, and institutional stability. When those roles are balanced well, long-run growth is more likely to be broad, persistent, and productive.

The slides specifically mention lower taxes, minimum regulations, and business loans or mentoring.<sup>1</sup> These ideas fit within a wider supply-side theme: if you want more entrepreneurship and investment, the environment must reward rather than obstruct them. The main question is not whether government should be involved at all, but whether its involvement strengthens the conditions under which productive private activity can flourish.

## 9. Why Modern Growth Sometimes Slows

Growth does not move upward in a perfectly smooth line. Productivity growth can slow for long periods and later accelerate again. The slides illustrate this with the U.S. productivity slowdown of the 1970s and 1980s and the rebound in the later 1990s.<sup>1</sup> That pattern is well known in macroeconomic history.

William Nordhaus and other researchers have shown that sector-specific shocks, energy disruptions, technological transitions, and measurement issues all affected the productivity slowdown of the 1970s.<sup>13</sup> The important lesson for you is that long-run growth depends on conditions that can strengthen or weaken over time. Innovation waves are uneven. Energy shocks raise costs. Regulations can sometimes lag behind technological change. Labor-force skills may or may not keep up with new industries.

At the same time, productivity can rebound when new technologies diffuse more widely, when firms reorganize production effectively, and when infrastructure, human capital, and institutions support adaptation. The move from an oil-intensive industrial era toward electronics, computing, and digital productivity is one example of how technological transitions reshape growth patterns.

So when you study growth, do not treat it as automatic. Growth is persistent only when the underlying drivers of productivity remain strong. If those drivers weaken, growth slows. If they strengthen, growth can accelerate again.

## 10. What This Means for Developing and Advanced Economies

For developing economies, the challenge is often to build the institutional and productive foundations that make sustained growth possible. Low real GDP per capita may persist when education is weak, infrastructure is poor, property rights are insecure, savings and investment are low, or governments create environments that discourage enterprise.<sup>10</sup>

For advanced economies, the challenge is often different. They already have large capital stocks and high output per person, so growth depends more heavily on innovation, skill formation, efficient regulation, competitive markets, and the continued ability to turn invention into widespread productivity gains.<sup>9</sup>

In both settings, however, the principle is the same: long-run prosperity comes from raising the productive capacity of the economy. That is why the chapter's free-market and supply-side emphasis fits naturally into long-run growth theory. Growth is strongest when people have the freedom and incentive to create, invest, trade, and improve productivity within a lawful and reasonably stable institutional framework.

### Summary

In this chapter, you studied economic growth from the long-run side of macroeconomics. Real GDP growth matters because it tells you whether an economy is producing more after adjusting for inflation. Real GDP per capita matters even more for living standards because it shows how much output is available, on average, for each person.<sup>2</sup>

You also saw that sustained growth is historically unusual and depends on more than short-run spending. It depends mainly on productivity: workers producing more per hour, firms using better tools and technology, and institutions making investment and exchange more reliable. Human capital, physical capital, innovation, infrastructure, economies of scale, and capital deepening all raise productive capacity.<sup>8 9</sup>

Most importantly, you saw why a free-market economy supported by rule of law, contract enforcement, and a business-friendly policy climate can be so important for long-run growth. Markets create incentives to save, invest, innovate, and compete. Governments contribute by maintaining the legal and institutional framework that allows those incentives to operate.<sup>11</sup> When those forces work together well, real GDP per capita can rise over time, and the economy becomes more prosperous in practical, measurable ways.

### Student Questions and Problems

Answer in complete sentences where appropriate. Show your work for any numerical or applied problem.

#### A. Conceptual Questions

1. Explain the difference between real GDP growth and real GDP per capita growth. Why is the second measure often more useful for judging living standards?
2. Why do economists say that sustained economic growth is a relatively recent phenomenon in human history?

3. Define labor productivity in your own words. Why is it so important for long-run economic growth?
4. Explain the difference between invention and innovation. Why does the difference matter for economic growth?
5. What is capital deepening? How can it apply to both human capital and physical capital?
6. Why do rule of law and contract rights matter for long-run growth?

### B. Applied Analysis

7. A country's real GDP grows by 3 percent in a year, but its population grows by 2.5 percent. What likely happened to real GDP per capita? Explain why this matters.
8. Suppose a government sharply increases regulations that make it harder to open new businesses, expand factories, or hire workers. Explain how this could affect long-run growth from a supply-side perspective.
9. Suppose a country improves roads, ports, and digital communications but keeps tax rates and regulations unchanged. Explain at least three ways this could raise labor productivity.
10. A developing country has weak schools, unreliable electricity, and poor contract enforcement. Which growth determinants discussed in this chapter are weakest, and how might that hold back real GDP per capita?

### C. Short Problems

11. Real GDP is \$4.2 trillion and population is 140 million. Calculate real GDP per capita.
12. In Year 1, real GDP per capita is \$42,000. In Year 2, it rises to \$43,260. Calculate the percentage growth rate of real GDP per capita.
13. Output per worker rises from \$88 to \$94 per hour. Calculate the percentage increase in labor productivity.
14. A nation increases its capital stock per worker by investing heavily in machinery, software, and worker training. Identify which part of this change is physical capital deepening and which part is human capital deepening.

### D. Critical-Thinking Prompts

15. In your judgment, what is the best argument for saying that a free-market economy supports long-run growth? What is one limitation or caution you would add to that argument?
16. Why might two countries with similar levels of total GDP still have very different standards of living?
17. If you were advising a low-income country on long-run growth, which three policy priorities would you recommend first, and why?
18. Explain why a healthy business climate should not be confused with the absence of all government. What kind of government involvement is growth-supporting?

## Endnotes

1. David Kent, Chapter 7 Power Point lecture notes on economic growth and labor productivity, uploaded course material, cited here for topical emphasis and organization.
2. U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, 'Gross Domestic Product,' BEA Learning Center; and OECD, *Understanding National Accounts*, 2nd ed. (Paris: OECD, 2014).
3. OECD, *OECD Compendium of Productivity Indicators 2024* (Paris: OECD, 2024); and World Bank, *World Development Indicators methodology for GDP per capita*.
4. Charles I. Jones, 'The Facts of Economic Growth,' National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 21142, 2015.
5. Gregory Clark, *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), chapters 1–5.
6. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, labor productivity concepts and output-per-hour measures.
7. Robert E. Hall and Charles I. Jones, 'Why Do Some Countries Produce So Much More Output per Worker than Others?,' *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114, no. 1 (1999): 83–116.
8. Eric A. Hanushek and Ludger Woessmann, *The Knowledge Capital of Nations: Education and the Economics of Growth* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015).
9. OECD, *The Sources of Economic Growth in OECD Countries* (Paris: OECD, 2003); and Paul M. Romer, 'Endogenous Technological Change,' *Journal of Political Economy* 98, no. 5, part 2 (1990): S71–S102.
10. Dani Rodrik, Arvind Subramanian, and Francesco Trebbi, 'Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development,' *Journal of Economic Growth* 9, no. 2 (2004): 131–165.
11. Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
12. Philippe Aghion, Ufuk Akcigit, and Peter Howitt, 'The Schumpeterian Growth Paradigm,' *Annual Review of Economics* 7 (2015): 557–575.
13. William D. Nordhaus, 'The Sources of the Productivity Rebound and the Manufacturing Employment Puzzle,' NBER Working Paper 11354, 2005.

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