



Course Companion

For A Level Year 2 AQA Economics:
4.2: The National and International
Economy

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Teacher's Introduction

Overview

This resource is designed to supplement and enhance your teaching of the 2015 linear Economics A Level. It has been written to include every aspect of the AQA Year 2 Macroeconomics course as well as options for further research and study for keen and interested students. As up to 20% of the exam will be assessed on quantitative skills, this resource has ensured all the relevant maths is covered (however, it is assumed the students have a basic GCSE-level understanding).

Remember!

Always check the exam board website for new information, including changes to the specification and sample assessment material.

These notes can be given to students before a lesson, to allow them to read ahead in preparation, or after a lesson, as a revision tool to strengthen and build on current knowledge, or students and teachers can work through the resource in class to complement lessons. The Course Companion largely follows the syllabus but some parts have been reordered to follow a logical route that allows students to build on their understanding. However, because the resource has been written and structured to each specification topic, the notes can easily be reordered and distributed as and when the teacher wishes.

At the beginning of every section is a list of content that the students will cover. This is designed to prepare them for the lessons that follow, and it can also be used as a checklist, either after learning the section or during revision, to remind students of the content they have studied and ensure they have learnt the points on the specification. Review questions and exam-style questions are provided at the end of each section; these consolidate and develop students' learning. Answers can be found at the end of the resource. Also, towards the end of the resource there is an 'Exam Tips' section, which explains how each of the AQA Economics papers works and gives some general exam advice.

Each specification point has complete notes with all the relevant diagrams clearly explained and examples given where possible to help students relate their theoretical knowledge to real-life situations. Any key terms are defined either at the beginning of a topic or in key-term boxes throughout.

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4.2.1: The Measurement of Macroeconomic Performance

By the end of this topic, you should understand:

- ✓ The main uses of national income / GDP data
 - The limitations of these measures when comparing between countries



Uses of national income data

In Year 1, macroeconomics, one of the first economic indicators you will have learnt is the total value of goods and services produced in an economy in a given time period, known as **national income**.

GDP is a useful way of comparing the growth of an economy over time as well as between different economies. Using real GDP rather than nominal GDP facilitates comparisons of GDP by removing the distortionary effect of inflation on GDP figures such that real GDP captures only the change in the volume of growth. It is also useful in comparing GDP between countries. Imagine that one country's prices rise by 79.8 billion % in one year (like Zimbabwe in 2008), while another country's prices remain stable. It is a mistake comparing *nominal* GDP for these countries because nominal GDP would be inflated by the value brought about by inflation.

Another way that national income can be useful is in making comparisons between countries. GDP per capita (GDP divided by population) offers a rough measure of the standard of living of the population in a certain country. If we compare China to Luxembourg on this basis, we might conclude that China is more prosperous. However, when we correct for population, the average person in Luxembourg is far better off than the average Chinese person.

The table below shows the ten richest economies in the world (using 2015 data) based on GDP per capita (in nominal terms):

Economy	GDP (\$ trillion)	Economy
1. USA	17.4	1. Luxembourg
2. China	10.4	2. Norway
3. Japan	4.6	3. Qatar
4. Germany	3.9	4. Macao (part of China)
5. UK	3.0	5. Switzerland
6. France	2.8	6. Australia
7. Brazil	2.4	7. Denmark
8. Italy	2.1	8. Sweden
9. India	2.0	9. Singapore
10. Russia	1.2	10. USA

Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>

How well do these measures accurately capture living standards? Critics would argue that GDP per capita is only a crude comparison of living standards between countries, and that many more factors need to be taken into account before we can draw any concrete insights from the data.

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Adjusting for costs of living

One important adjustment that can be made is to account for the cost of living in different countries. If you moved from the UK to, say, India, you would find that your money (once converted from pounds to rupees) would go a lot more in India than it could in the UK – your purchasing power is greater. On the other hand, in Norway where the cost of living is very high, your pounds wouldn't go as far.

So, when GDP figures are adjusted for this, the gap in living standards between most countries is not so large. The next table shows the adjusted rankings for countries by living standards:



Economy	GDP, PPP (\$ trillion)
1. China	18.0
2. USA	17.4
3. India	7.4
4. Japan	4.7
5. Germany	3.8
6. Russia	3.4
7. Brazil	3.3
8. Indonesia	2.7
9. France	2.6
10. UK	2.6

Note that China shoots to the top of the list, since the cost of living there is relatively low.

This method of adjusting for living standards is based on the concept of **purchasing power parity** (PPP). 'parity' means being equal, so once GDP is PPP adjusted, the purchasing power of money is equal across countries.

For example: suppose Country A's GDP is \$100 billion, and Country B's GDP is \$80 billion. Based on this information alone, we would assume that Country A was richer. However, suppose that the cost of living in Country A is much higher than in Country B. If all the goods and services that a family in Country A costs \$100 in Country A, but only \$50 in Country B. If all the costs in Country A are halved, then Country A's PPP GDP would be \$50 billion. Note: when statisticians adjust for living standards, they use information on the costs of all kinds of different goods and weight them by their relative importance for different exchange rates – a tricky calculation!

This method isn't perfect; for example it has trouble accounting for differences in the quality of goods and services in different countries.

Other considerations

Even if we perfectly capture the differences in the cost of living between two countries, GDP per capita is still a limited measure of living standards. Here are some further limitations of GDP:

- **Does not account for inequality.** GDP per capita gives no indication of how income is distributed. Two countries could have the same GDP per capita, but be very different. For example, the USA and Mexico have very similar GDP per capita levels, but Mexico is far more unequal than the USA. Even if a society experiences rapid economic growth, there is no guarantee that the benefits will be shared: the population: the benefits could accrue to a small minority.
- **Does not account for happiness.** Just having more stuff doesn't necessarily make us happier. People might invest in, say, a new motorway to create new, faster smartphones. It might also lead to more pollution, or preserve areas of natural beauty or fund community centres, yet some people might still feel that life is better. Economists tend to shy away from studying happiness because it is so difficult to measure. Nevertheless, in the UK the ONS (Office for National Statistics) has started using 'well-being' indicators, which account for factors such as our activities, health, and relationships: factors that are all missed when looking at GDP alone.

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Review questions: The measurement of macroeconomic growth

1. According to the World Bank, in 2014 Indonesia's GDP was \$890bn and the Netherlands' was \$520bn. Does this mean that Indonesians are richer than people from the Netherlands?
2. Suppose that the market exchange rate between the US dollar and the Indian Rupee is 100:1. An economist knows that living costs are lower in India and adjusts the exchange rate to reflect purchasing power parity. Therefore:
 - A The PPP exchange rate will be the same as before
 - B The PPP exchange rate will be higher than the market exchange rate (i.e. more than 100:1)
 - C The PPP exchange rate will be lower than the market exchange rate (i.e. less than 100:1)
 - D The PPP exchange rate cannot be calculated
3. Read the following article from the Economist, and write a short paragraph explaining the main message:
<http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21697845-gross-domestic-product-not-a-reliable-measure-of-prosperity-it-not-even>



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4.2.2: How the Macroeconomy

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ The relationship between the marginal propensity to consume and the multiplier
- ✓ The Keynesian long-run aggregate supply curve

Aggregate demand and the level of economic activity

In Year 1 economics, we introduced the idea of the multiplier. This is the idea that injections into the circular flow of income have a greater than proportional effect on aggregate demand. For example, if the government invests £100m in a new infrastructure project, AD increases by an initial £100m, but then the workers who are employed spend their wages, increasing AD further. Those who receive the workers' spending increase their expenditure, and so on until withdrawals remove the effect of the initial injection. If the eventual increase in AD is, say, £500m, then the multiplier is 5.

The marginal propensity to consume

An important factor that determines the size of the multiplier is the marginal propensity to consume (MPC), the proportion of any new income received that is spent by consumers. For example, if £1000, of which £800 is spent, then the marginal propensity to consume is 0.8 (and the multiplier is 5).

The higher the marginal propensity to consume, the higher the multiplier effect. A lower MPC is considered a withdrawal from the circular flow, and a higher MPC means lower withdrawals. The formula for calculating the multiplier from the MPC is:

$$\text{Multiplier} = \frac{1}{1 - \text{MPC}}$$

So if the MPC was 0.8, then the multiplier would be $1 / (1 - 0.8) = 1 / 0.2 = 5$.

Different consumers will have different MPC values. Lower-income consumers tend to spend more of their income, so their MPC will be high, whereas higher income consumers tend to save more of their income. Different countries have different MPC values as well. China has spectacularly high MPC values, while the average MPC is relatively low.

Determinants of long-run aggregate supply

In Year 1, the long-run aggregate supply (LRAS) curve was introduced as being vertical. Here we introduce another interpretation, the Keynesian LRAS:

The Keynesian LRAS is shaped such that the vertical portion of the LRAS only occurs at high levels of output, i.e. when the economy is operating at full capacity. Before this, aggregate supply increases gradually with the price level. Increases in output are possible on this part of the curve because some resources are not being used (e.g. some people are unemployed).

Price
Level
(£)

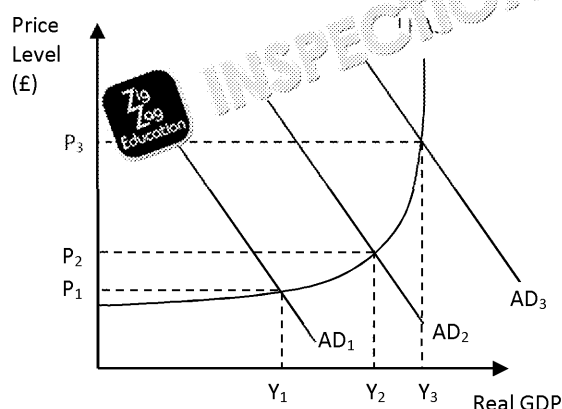
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The Keynesian LRAS curve might shift for the same reasons as the vertical (classical) LRAS. A shift to the right might be caused, for example, by an improvement in productivity (perhaps through a better educated or a healthier workforce), immigration, or a technological breakthrough.

The diagram shows an example below of how the Keynesian LRAS interacts with aggregate demand:



An increase in demand from AD_1 to AD_2 leads to a large increase in output and on level, since there is still plenty of spare capacity in the economy. However, when is significant inflation (this is a case of **demand-pull** inflation: **cost-push** inflation left in LRAS). Note that inflation could be avoided if LRAS also to shift to the

The importance of institutions

Another important determinant of LRAS is the strength of 'institutions' in an economy. Economies with strong and trustworthy financial/banking sectors that individuals and businesses are likely to have a higher productive capacity (LRAS for

The importance of institutions is an important theme in development economics. As economies become more developed. Many development economists argue that the economic growth potential of economies (and economic growth tends to be linked to an effective banking sector, another example of a strong institution would be a good of society, rather than 'extracting' resources from society.

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Review questions: How the macroeconomy works

1. Suppose that £5m is injected into the economy by the government. For every £1 households spend 40p and save 60p. Calculate:
 - (a) The value of the multiplier
 - (b) The total increase in income in the economy.
2. Show the effect of an increase in aggregate demand using:
 - (a) a classical LRAS curve
 - (b) a Keynesian LRAS curve
3. Decide whether each of the following scenarios in the UK would lead to a shift in the aggregate demand curve (also state the direction of the shift):
 - (a) A rise in immigration.
 - (b) A rise in education spending.
 - (c) A rise in the world price of oil. (Note: the UK is a net importer of oil)
 - (d) A cut in VAT.

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4.2.3: Economic Performance

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By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **The causes and consequences of the economic cycle**
- ✓ **Different types of unemployment**
 - Voluntary/involuntary unemployment, seasonal unemployment, the natural rate of unemployment
- ✓ **Fisher's equation of exchange and the Quantity Theory of Money**
 - More detailed aspects of inflation
- ✓ **Conflicts between different economic policy objectives**
 - The Phillips curve in the short-run and long-run



Economic growth and the economic cycle

Economic growth, as measured by the rate of change in GDP, is one of the key indicators of economic performance. In this section we evaluate the importance of economic growth and discuss the economic cycle (introduced in Year 1 macro) in more depth.

Costs and benefits of economic growth

Economic growth has some clear benefits, including:

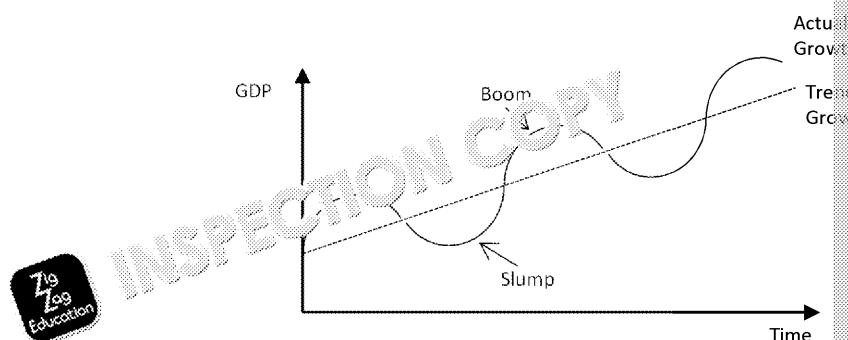
- **Higher living standards** (at least on average)
- **More job opportunities** (economic growth usually opens up new possibilities for employment)
- **More room for investment or research and development** (this should improve the long-term potential of the economy)

However, there are some drawbacks to economic growth in certain situations

- **Inflation** – inflation can be a problem for an economy in many ways (see 4.2.4)
- **Inequality** – the benefits of economic growth could be unevenly distributed. In many countries, the majority of the population benefit very little from economic growth
- **Environmental damage** – this depends on how economic growth is achieved. In many cases, economic growth and development often comes at the expense of the environment
- **Economic growth can be unsustainable** – before the 2008 Financial Crisis, many economies were performing very strongly. Many people seemed to expect economic growth to continue indefinitely. So when the crash came it hit the economy very hard. Some commentators argue that the explosive economic growth over the last few decades is unsustainable as it is based on unsustainable levels of debt.

The economic cycle

This topic should be familiar from Year 1 macro – the standard economic cycle diagram shows the observed pattern of economic growth in most economies.

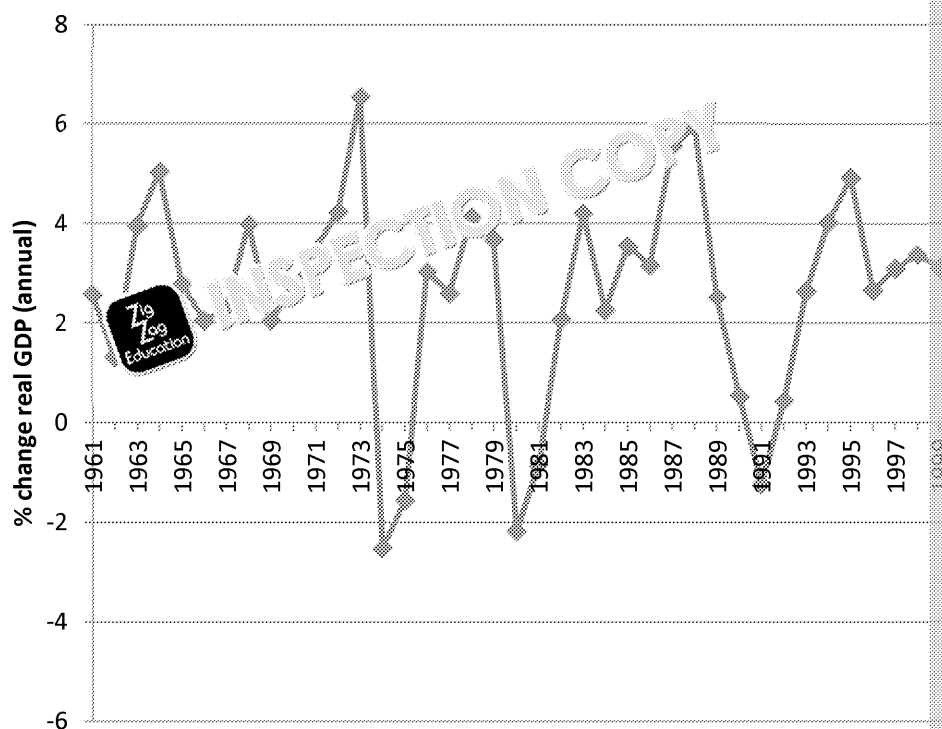


The diagram shows the observed pattern of economic growth in most economies. The cycle starts with a period of rapid economic growth, followed by a slowdown and then a slump, where economic growth is negative. The economy then picks up again, and the cycle continues.

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In reality, the pattern often isn't as neat as the diagram above. Here's the UK's real GDP growth rate from 1961 to 1999.



Source: World Bank

The average rate of growth over this period is around 2.5% a year, but this varies over the cycle.

Causes of the economic cycle

Economists have struggled to pinpoint the exact causes of economic cycles, but there are several factors that are suspected to have a role in creating the 'booms and busts':

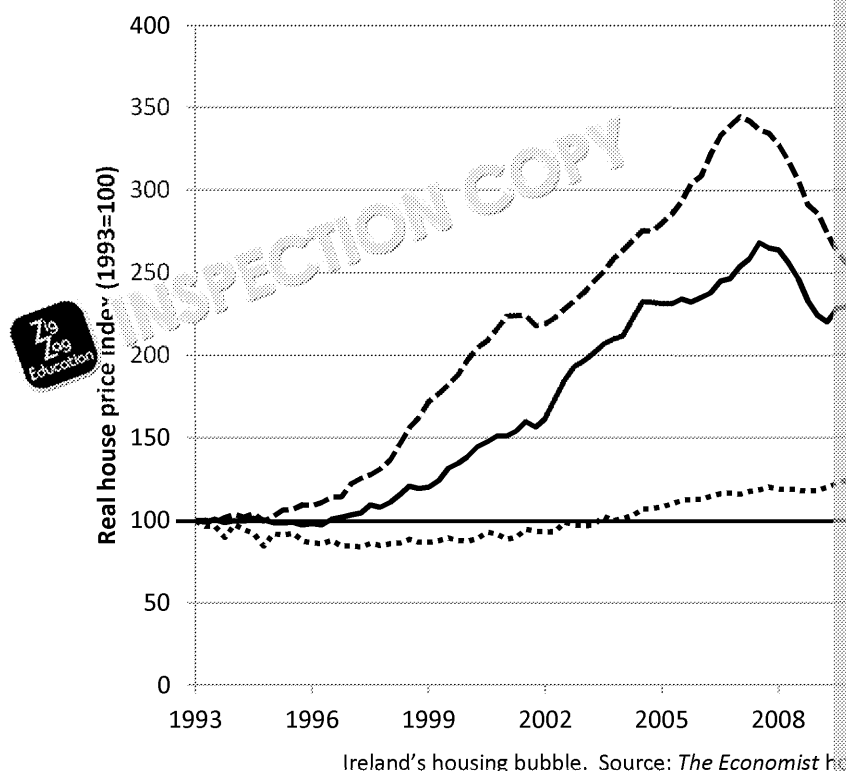
- **Government policy** – in terms of monetary policy, if the economy is performing strongly and inflation is going up, then the central bank might choose to raise interest rates, dampening economic growth and contributing to a slowdown. In terms of fiscal policy, a government could engineer a boom by increasing government spending, which could cause a boom via the multiplier effect. Note that government policy can also counteract the economic cycle, particularly through *automatic stabilisers*.
- **Consumers/business confidence** – if confidence is low in the economy, a slump can happen, e.g. if people believe a pessimistic forecast for economic growth, spending/investment, causing the slump (a self-fulfilling prophecy). On the other hand, if they are optimistic, they might increase their borrowing, spending/investment, causing a boom. Banks are likely to extend credit in booms and restrict credit in slumps).
- **External factors** – as well as domestic changes to demand and supply, international events and other economies has an important effect on the domestic economy. For example, if other economies were to enter a recession, for example, then UK exports would fall, leading to a slump in the UK and potentially triggering a slump.
- **Bubbles in different markets, e.g. housing** – markets for assets such as housing. When the market feels confident then the price of these assets rises, contributing to a boom. However, eventually market confidence collapses and prices plummet, contributing to a slump.

Automatic stabilisers are features of the tax and benefit system that automatically increase or decrease government spending or taxation in response to changes in the economy. For example, if the economy is in a slump, unemployment benefits increase, which helps to support aggregate demand.

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example of this is the housing market in Ireland, which collapsed spectacularly (see graph below).



Employment and unemployment

Having a strong employment rate is a top priority for most economies – unemployment affects both society and affected individuals.

Voluntary and involuntary unemployment

Voluntary unemployment is when someone could be in work, but chooses not to, usually in the hope of finding a better job, or perhaps if the wage rate were temporarily low.

Involuntary unemployment is when someone is actively seeking a job but cannot find one, perhaps because the labour market is particularly competitive or because the individual lacks job skills.

The distinction between these two types of unemployment is important historically in economics. Classical economists believed that only voluntary unemployment was possible: involuntary unemployment would be eliminated by market forces.

When the Great Depression started, the classical solution to unemployment was to lower wages, since they viewed it as a case of wages being above equilibrium (so there was an excess of supply over demand for labour). This was **real-wage unemployment**. However, Keynes argued that the real problem was a lack of aggregate demand in the economy (that cutting wage rates would reduce aggregate demand further (less disposable income)). The real cause of unemployment was probably 'demand' (known as cyclical unemployment).

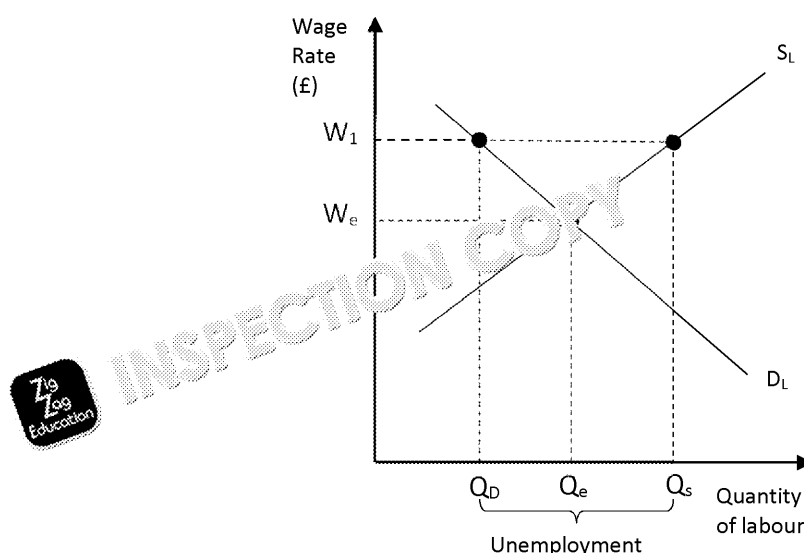
Real-wage unemployment
Seasonal unemployment
Frictional unemployment
Structural unemployment
Demand-deficient unemployment

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The classical view of unemployment ('real wage unemployment') is shown below:



If the wage rate is above the market equilibrium at W_1 , then there is an excess of labour causing unemployment of Q_D to Q_S . According to classical economists, free markets will reduce the wage rate back to W_e . Then the only type of unemployment left would be people who could work for the wage of W_e but prefer not to. Classical economists blamed unemployment in the Great Depression by arguing that wages were stuck at a high level deliberately by the government.

The natural rate of unemployment

The natural rate of unemployment is the level of unemployment that would exist if the labor market is in equilibrium. Any attempts to decrease unemployment below this level in the long run will gravitate towards this level. The difference between the wage level and those who are willing and able to work is the natural rate of unemployment. It includes frictional and structural unemployment – those who want a job at the current wage but are waiting for another job to start or do not have matching skills.

Inflation will increase if unemployment is less than its natural rate. Equally, inflation will decrease if unemployment is greater than its natural rate. For this reason the natural rate of unemployment is called the non-accelerating inflation rate of unemployment.

The consequences of unemployment

Unemployment is almost universally negative for individuals and the economy. Some of the consequences of unemployment on different parts of the economy are listed below:

Workers

- Unemployed workers are not receiving an income and will find they are less able to afford services.
- Workers out of work will find their human capital falling as their skills become obsolete.
- Those who are unemployed for a long period of time will find it harder to find a job.
- Claiming unemployment benefits has a stigma attached to it. Unemployment can lead to a loss of self-esteem and a sense of depression.

Firms

- Falling incomes and falling spending by consumers will mean firms will suffer from falling demand for their goods.
- However, if firms did want to increase supply there would be a pool of unemployed workers with the necessary skills.

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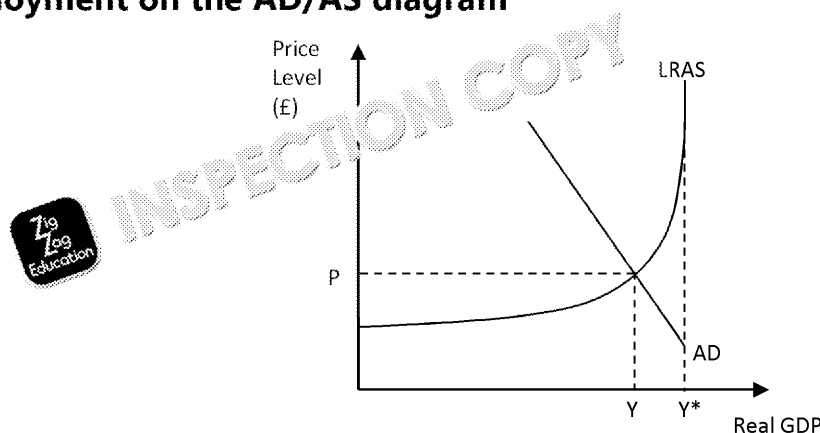
The government

- Higher levels of unemployment mean there are more people claiming Jobseeker's Allowance, so government spending will increase.
- Lower employment means fewer people are receiving an income and the revenue from incomes and national insurance, for example.
- Falling incomes and falling consumption mean the government will receive less revenue from taxes on goods and services.
- Falling tax revenue and increased government spending will mean the government has a budget deficit, which may lead to higher levels of national debt.

The economy and society

- High unemployment can cause people to lose confidence in the economy.
- Falling incomes mean living standards will fall.
- Because government spending is made possible by the collection of taxes, spending on benefits is likely to be followed by higher taxes in the future.
- Higher levels of national debt are likely to cause higher taxes.
- Research has found that higher levels of unemployment can lead to increased crime.
- Communities can become run down if there are high levels of unemployment.
- Falling incomes can cause both the closure of local shops and a fall in living standards.
- Higher levels of unemployment can increase inequality and strengthen anti-social behaviour, as those without jobs lose their incomes and potentially fall into poverty.
- On the other hand, it does mean the cost of production for firms is relatively lower, which can lead to lower prices for lower wages.

Unemployment on the AD/AS diagram



If the economy were operating at full employment, output would be at Y^* . However, due to cyclical unemployment, AD is weak so output is only at Y . The gap between Y and Y^* is the output gap.

The effects of unemployment can also be shown on the LRAS curve: if a spell of high unemployment reduces the skills and motivation of the workforce then LRAS is likely to shift inwards, reducing the potential output of the economy. Spain and Italy are both experiencing chronic youth unemployment, which could well fit into this category. Indeed, the high unemployment of young Italian and Spanish workers is a sign of a long-term loss of better job prospects.

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Inflation and deflation

Inflation is an important economic phenomenon with several implications for society. It is a general increase in the price level and can be caused by demand-pull or cost-push factors. Deflation describes a fall in the rate of inflation (not to be confused with deflation! , e.g. deflation of -2%, disinflation would be a fall in the rate from, say, 5% to 3%).

Most economists agree that a low and stable rate of inflation is desirable. The Bank of England targets 2% inflation per year, allowing 1% either way for short periods (in 2020 it has missed this target almost negative). A low rate of inflation encourages people to spend money, since the value of their savings will slowly diminish in value over time. When people spend money, AD is high and the economy grows. However, inflation can be a problem if it is too high or negative for a sustained period.

Equally deflation creates winners and losers. Deflation increases the value of money, so the real value of their savings rise while borrowers will lose out. More importantly, the real value of wages in the country rises.

Consequences of inflation

Redistribution of income – inflation creates winners and losers. If you've just borrowed money, inflation is good for you. For example, suppose you borrowed £100, and had to pay it back in a year's time. If inflation was high (say, 10%) then £120 would be worth less than £100, so the value of your borrowing has fallen in real terms.

On the other hand, inflation is bad for lenders, since the value of their repayments falls. For savers: if you store £1000 in a bank with a 2% annual interest rate, then if inflation is 5%, the real value of your deposit will fall!

Uncertainty – inflation makes it difficult to predict the costs of future transactions. If you are unsure in case your money loses value, or should you save more money in case the economy slows down, then the economy is generally bad for an economy since it discourages economic activity, potentially leading to a recession.

Menu and shoe-leather costs – menu costs refer to the hassle firms face when experiencing high inflation – they have to update their prices more regularly, which takes time and effort. Menu costs increase with the level of inflation – in countries experiencing hyperinflation (e.g. Zimbabwe in 2015), it becomes almost impossible for firms to keep up with changing prices.

Shoe-leather costs refer to the difficulty that consumers face in comparing prices when inflation is high. The 'shoe-leather' name comes from all the walking consumers would have to do between different shops to work out the prices of goods!

People on fixed incomes lose out – most workers' wages rise in line with inflation, but some people are on fixed incomes. These people will lose out if inflation hits, since the real value of their incomes will fall. The same applies to those with fixed-rate investments, e.g. a savings account offering a fixed interest rate that does not change with inflation.

Fall in international competitiveness – this is linked to, but not caused by, inflation. It is caused by rising costs of production (e.g. raw materials, wages). Higher costs of production make a country less competitive.

In the short run, high inflation might reduce exports since goods appear relatively expensive. A country experiencing inflation is likely to experience a fall in its exchange rate, often leading to a depreciation. The exchange rate may be because inflation is seen as a sign of economic weakness, leading to a fall.

*Inflation in Zimbabwe
Zimbabwe experienced
hyperinflation in the
late 2000s, with prices
rising so fast that people
were using wheelbarrows
to transport money.
This led to a loss of
confidence in the
government and the
country's currency.*

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Consequences of deflation

High inflation can be ruinous for an economy, but some economists fear deflation struggled on and off with deflation since the 1990s. The problem with deflation is to stop spending. If the value of money will be higher in the future, why spend now? wait until prices fall. If everyone in the economy thinks this way, then consumers are reducing AD (since consumption is the biggest component of AD) and potentially causing a recession. Economists sometimes refer to this as a 'deflationary spiral'. Deflation can also be harmful as it increases the *real* value of an economy's national debt. However, there is a benefit. If a country's prices are falling relative to other countries, that country's exports become more competitive in international markets, and so there could be an increase in exports.

The role of expectations of inflation

In the section on the economic cycle, we noted that booms and recessions can be influenced by people's expectations of the future. The same can happen with inflation.

For example, one of the important factors that contributes to the overall inflation rate is wages. If wages increase a lot, inflation will rise. So if workers suspect that inflation will rise, they will demand that their employers increase their wages (to stop them losing spending power). If wages go up (assuming that employers agree!) and so does inflation, as a result of the demand for higher wages.

This analysis is clearly a simplification: not everyone in society pays close attention to inflation. The central bank, which is responsible for controlling inflation, considers it an important part of its role. If people have confidence that the central bank will be able to keep inflation under control, it is more likely that inflation will be under control, since businesses won't raise their prices and workers won't demand higher wages (both of which create inflation).

The quantity theory of money

During the financial crisis, many large economies including the UK increased the size of their money supply via 'quantitative easing' (QE). QE is where the central bank creates electronic assets in order to increase the money supply in the economy (this is discussed in more detail in the financial markets and monetary policy section). The theory is that an increase in the money supply could cause inflation – this view is based on the quantity theory of money.

The theory is that an increase in the money supply directly increases the price level. This is closely associated with the economic school of *monetarism*. Monetarists emphasise the role of the money supply in influencing the economy. They argue that increasing the money supply can increase output in the long run, but can increase inflation in the short run.

Fisher's equation of exchange

We can help describe the quantity theory of money by looking at Fisher's equation of exchange.

$$MV = PQ$$

Where M = money supply

V = 'velocity of circulation' (the number of times money changes hands over time)

P = the price level

Q = quantity of goods and services traded

PQ is nominal national income (since it is price times quantity of output).

Note that the equation is true by definition: it is an 'accounting identity'.

For the quantity theory of money to hold, any increase in M must increase P by the same amount. If the theory is true, V and Q must be constant. Supporters of the theory would argue that Q is constant (or at least assumed to be in equilibrium), and V is likely to be constant in the short term as well.

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Critics of the theory argue the V in particular is unlikely to be constant, as it depends on velocity and business confidence. If market confidence is low, the velocity of transactions may be increased without causing a rise in P . In light of the financial crisis, where vast amounts of money did not lead to an obvious rise in inflation (and there was a fall in lending), this view is supported.

In the 1970s, however, when inflation was very high in the US and the UK, it turned out that increasing money supply was a successful way of curbing inflation.



Further Year 1 Economic Knowledge...

Monetarism

Monetarism is an important school of thought in economic history. It was developed by monetarism from the IMF:

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2014/03/basics.htm>

(Note: the content here is much more detailed than is required for year 1)

Possible conflicts between macroeconomic policies

In Year 1 macro you should have looked at output gaps. Negative output gaps occur when the economy is below full capacity – there is likely to be unemployment, but on the plus side inflation is low. Inflation occurs when the economy is operating temporarily above its maximum capacity (e.g. overtime). So unemployment is low, but inflation is likely to be high.

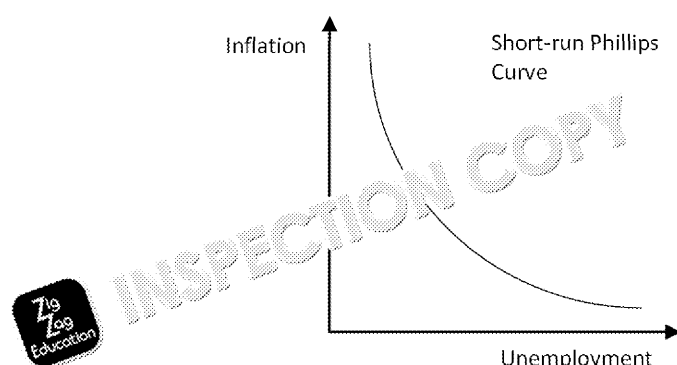
This suggests that there is a trade-off between inflation and unemployment – ideal is low inflation and low unemployment, but the scenario is that we can't have both.

The short-run Phillips Curve

The New Zealand economist William Phillips suggested that the relationship between unemployment and inflation could be plotted as a curve. The diagram below shows this 'Phillips Curve'.

How can we explain the shape of this curve? When the economy is performing well, demand is high, firms can afford to lower wages, which reduces inflation. Conversely, when demand is weak and unemployment is high, firms need to raise wages to attract more workers, which increases inflation.

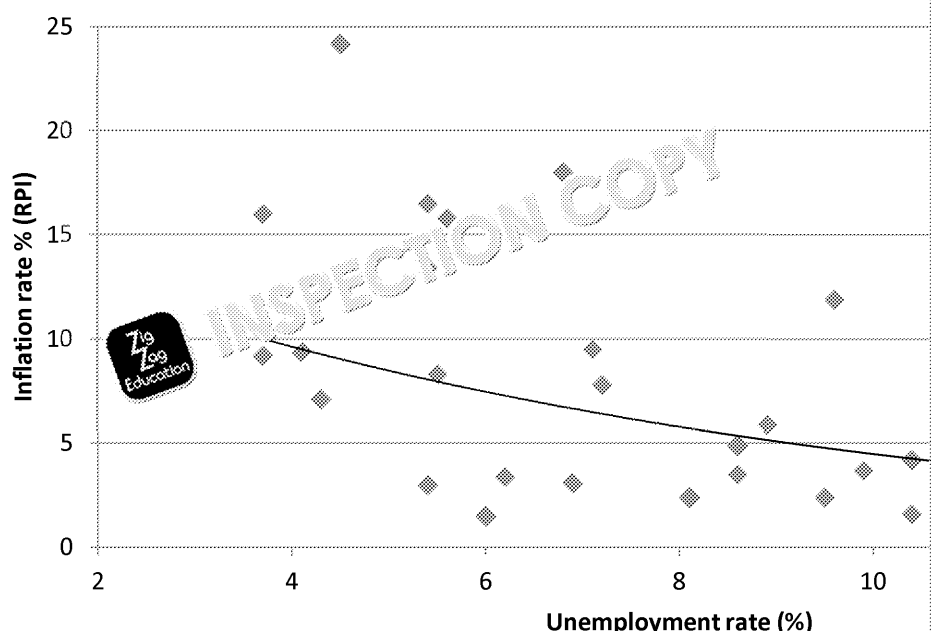
Empirical data on this isn't hugely supportive of this relationship; here's an example of inflation and unemployment from the UK:



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UK Inflation and Unemployment



Source: ONS. Note: each dot represents one year.

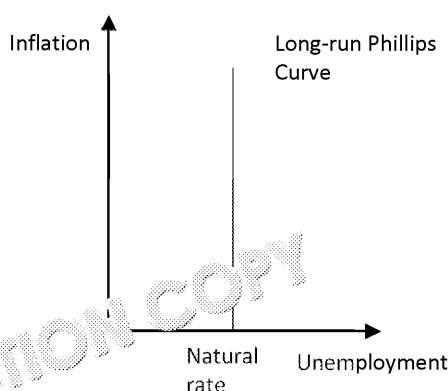
The relationship certainly isn't as neat as the short-run Phillips curve suggests. A relationship pretty much disappears for the UK: one possible reason is that the Bank of England introduced inflation targeting when it became independent in the late 1990s.

The relationship also broke down in the 1970s when the US and UK economies were in 'stagflation' – high inflation and high unemployment (due to a combination of high taxes, a large public sector, and poor economic policies such as inflationary increases in the money supply).

The weak empirical evidence for the short-run Phillips curve has led most economists to doubt its long-run validity. Over time, these doubts led to the development of the long-run Phillips curve.

The long-run Phillips curve

In the long run, economists reckon that inflation and unemployment are unrelated. The long-run Phillips curve is a vertical line at the 'natural' rate of unemployment.



Here's another explanation for the shape of the long-run Phillips curve: suppose the government decides to reduce unemployment and they undertake expansionary fiscal policy. Then unemployment falls and inflation would rise (since aggregate demand has increased). The shift in AD means that workers are earning higher wages. However, once inflation kicks in they realise that their real wages haven't increased in real terms, so they reduce their efforts and unemployment returns to its 'natural' level. This is the result of government policy 'surprises' workers into working harder, but only in the short run, and returns the economy to the natural rate of unemployment.

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Policy implications

The Phillips curves do provide some important lessons for governments and policy-makers. They should be aware that trying to push unemployment down too far can cause inflation. Similarly, high inflation can cause undesirably high unemployment. Essentially, policy-makers have to find the equilibrium, as it could make matters worse.

Another important implication is that if fiscal and monetary policy cannot reduce inflation, then a better strategy might be to try to reduce the natural rate of unemployment. This can be achieved by reducing frictions in the market, such as geographical immobility, or by improving the workforce via better education.

Note: The Phillips curves topic is one of the most technical topics you have to deal with in your exam questions. However, the questions on this topic are likely to be quite basic. Make sure you have a good understanding of how they are shaped, but don't spend too long trying to work out all the nuances.

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Review questions: Economic performance

1. Explain the difference between a slump and a recession in the economic cycle.
2. Explain two potential causes of the economic cycle.
3. (a) If unemployment benefits are very high, is this likely to lead to voluntary unemployment?
(b) How about if there is a lack of aggregate demand in the economy?
4. (a) State Fisher's equation of exchange.
(b) Which term in this equation is related to the inflation rate?
(c) Suppose that the velocity of exchange is constant, and that the money stock is increasing. What are the implications of this?
5. Explain why there might be an inverse relationship between inflation and unemployment.

Exam-style questions: economic performance

1. Automatic stabilisers are:
A increases in infrastructure spending during booms and falls in infrastructure spending during slumps
B the tendency for the interest rate to rise in booms and fall in slumps
C changes in the (X-M) component of AD in booms and slumps
D mechanical changes in government spending and tax revenue through the economic cycle
2. Real-wage unemployment occurs when:
A there is no voluntary unemployment
B the wage rate is above the market equilibrium
C inflation reduces the value of real wages
D the wage rate is below the market equilibrium
3. Expectations of high future inflation are likely to lead to inflation because:
A Workers might ask for higher wages
B Businesses might increase their prices
C Consumers might increase their spending
D All of the above
4. The long-run Phillips curve shows:
A no relationship between inflation and unemployment
B an inverse relationship between inflation and unemployment
C a negative relationship between the interest rate and investment
D a positive relationship between the interest rate and unemployment
5. Explain how a government might try to tackle the trade-off between inflation and unemployment.

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4.2.4: Financial Markets and Money

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **The nature of money**
- ✓ **The role of financial markets**
 - Prices and yields of government bonds
- ✓ **The difference between commercial and investment banks**
 - The role and objectives of each
- ✓ **The functions of central banks**
 - The monetary policy transmission mechanism
- ✓ **How the financial system is regulated**

The structure of financial markets and financial institutions

Introduction

This chapter should provide you with a good working knowledge of financial markets. The world of finance can be difficult to understand, with all sorts of bizarre jargon. Nevertheless, given how important it is in the modern world (particularly in the UK), you need to get your head round it. Most other A Level Economics exam boards do not cover this topic.

The characteristics and function of money

What is money? Economists typically describe the functions of money as:

- A medium of exchange (enabling people to trade goods and services)
- A store of value (enabling people to save up for future purchases, e.g. in the form of bank deposits)
- A unit of account (providing an easy way to compare the costs of different goods and services)

The history of money is very interesting; the earliest civilisations probably operated on a barter system, where one person traded their goods for another person's goods. This is much less efficient since it requires a 'double coincidence of wants' (i.e. you both need to want what the other has). This problem is avoided with money. More modern examples of barter economies exist in some war camps, where soldiers might use cigarettes as a currency.

As early as the Ancient Egyptians, precious metals have been used as a form of money because they are difficult to forge, and unless a new supply is suddenly discovered, their value is stable. In fact, until the 1930s many economies including the US and the UK linked their currencies to gold reserves: a note could always be exchanged for a given amount of gold, to give it value.

Nowadays we have abandoned the gold standard and our money is a so-called 'fiat currency', i.e. it has no intrinsic value (you can't do much that's practical with a £5 note!), but it took a long time before there was enough trust in the system to allow this to happen. Even today, governments hoard large stockpiles of gold. The UK central bank holds 5,500 tonnes of gold, worth around \$235 billion (although most of it is owned by foreign governments). 10,000 tonnes are held in a vault at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. China has been accumulating gold for decades, as well in recent years.

Nevertheless, despite the dominance of gold throughout history, now paper money (and bank deposits!) is the main form of money. In our modern economy, banks are the main suppliers of money. The central bank is effectively the 'bank' to other banks. The central bank is often considered to be the 'lender of last resort'.

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The money supply

We introduced the idea of the money supply in the section on the quantity theory that the supply of money is changed by printing more notes or minting more coins. The Bank of England is responsible for making sure that the supply of paper money/coins is sufficient for transactions in the economy. This type of money is known as **narrow money**, and it can be used immediately for transactions. However, this only constitutes a part of the money supply.

Broad money includes both narrow money and bank deposits. Bank deposits are not always used for immediate transactions.

In simple terms, the money supply is supplied in three main ways. These are:

- Printing more notes / minting more coins
- Banks loaning money to individuals/businesses
- The central bank conducts **open market operations**

Following the financial crisis, quantitative easing has also become a way of increasing the money supply, covered in the section on central banks and monetary policy.



Further Your Economic Knowledge...

Open market operations

(Note: you don't need to know this for your exam!)

Conducting open market operations is a central bank's bread-and-butter way of changing the money supply. Open market operations occur when a central bank buys or sells government securities (government debt, or bonds). This is explained in more detail later in this section.

Suppose that the central bank decided to buy up a large amount of government bonds from people who originally held this debt get cash in exchange – so the money supply increases.

On the other hand if the central bank decides to sell government debt for it with money. Therefore, the money supply in the economy falls.

The central bank wishes to keep the money supply at an appropriate level to ensure that transactions to take place (and to encourage bank lending, within reason) and to create inflation.

Money markets, capital markets and foreign exchange (FOREIGN EXCHANGE)

Financial markets can be divided into many different sub-markets. Three of the most important are introduced here.

The money markets

The money market refers to the market for short-term finance. This could be lending of money (e.g. via a bank or a money lender), short-term borrowing by the government, or a variety of 'money market' instruments. For example, you could buy a government bond that pays back several years later. The money market is also where firms and banks borrow money.

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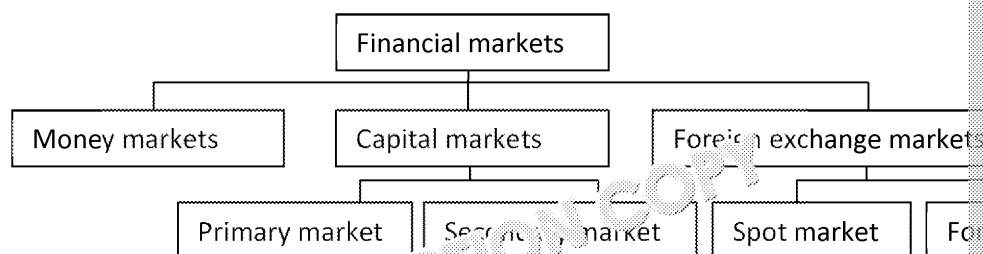
The capital markets

The capital market has the same purpose as the money market, but it applies to medium and long-term finance. Government bonds with long maturity dates would fit into this market, as would the stock market. It would also apply to wealthy individuals looking for profitable, long-term investment opportunities.

The foreign exchange market

This is the market for different currencies, like pounds, euros and US dollars. The exchange rate between currencies fluctuates on a regular basis, so there's an opportunity for canny traders to make money by exploiting changes in exchange rates. For example, if the exchange rate started at £1 = \$1.50, then changed to £1 = \$1.25, then an investor who successfully predicted this would have sold pounds at the original exchange rate, then bought them at the lower rate – turning a profit.

The FOREX market is also important to firms that import and export goods. There is a risk to firms that trade in this way that the exchange rate will change unfavourably, so they often agree to trade at a particular exchange rate in advance of the actual transaction (this is known as a forward market, as opposed to the spot market, which is instantaneous).



These markets are all important features of the modern economy. Without financial markets, individuals wouldn't be able to borrow to buy large assets such as houses, or be able to borrow to fund current expenditure. So in principle, allowing these markets to exist is a good thing, but the financial crisis of 2008 showed that too much lending can be destructive. We often refer to this problem as banks being too highly 'leveraged', meaning that the value of their assets is much greater than that of their reserve funds (which is obviously very risky!).

Debt vs equity

Debt and equity are two different types of finance. A common dilemma for firms is whether to finance via debt or via equity.

A firm could get a loan to finance their spending today: this would be an example of debt. The borrower receives a loan on which interest must be paid. For example, when the firm issues a bond, it is a type of debt, since the bond buyer receives interest. Consumers may also take out a loan, for example a mortgage, which is also a form of debt. In fact, when we deposit our savings in a bank, we are effectively incurring a (usually small) rate of interest on our deposits.

On the other hand, equity involves the firm receiving a stake in the business. This is financed through an equity market rather than a debt market: people who buy shares aren't paid interest, but their stake changes over time as they receive a share of the firms' profits (dividends).

Equity is sometimes used as a catch-all term in finance, for example people might refer to the value of a house as equity, meaning how much ownership they have in the house (market value minus the outstanding mortgage). Remember that in finance, the term equity implies ownership, or having a stake in the business.

Going back to firms, their main source of debt finance would be borrowing from banks (similar to government bonds), while their main source of equity finance would be issuing shares.

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Government bonds

We all know that the government is concerned about its budget deficit and the UK where does the UK borrow all this money from? The main answer is the government

A government bond works just like any other kind of loan, when you buy a UK government bond you loan the government a certain amount of money (say £1,000), and every six months you receive an interest payment to you. The 'principal' (or initial sum of money you gave them) is repaid when the bond 'matures' (i.e. when the loan expires, this could be after a few months or several years).

If you were shopping for a new government bond, you would look at the 'coupon rate'. The coupon rate is the annual rate of interest the bond generates, for example 5%. So if you bought a £1,000 bond with a 5% coupon rate, you would receive £50 a year in interest (or £25 every six months in instalments). Bonds with a shorter maturity date tend to offer higher coupon rates, so investors who are willing to wait for a longer return on their investment.

Like most other financial products, there is a secondary market for government bonds. You can buy a government bond that is halfway through its lifespan, for example. Here's where the secondary market for government bonds comes in.

Suppose you bought a £1,000, 10-year bond with a 5% coupon rate. Then suppose that the coupon rate depends on) suddenly fell, so that any new government bonds of the same type (same maturity date) bond becomes relatively valuable: someone might offer to pay more than £1,000 for your bond. If you sold it for £1,100, then we would say that the **yield** on the bond is now less than 5%.

QUANTITATIVE SKILLS

Calculating bond yields

The bond yield is calculated by the annual amount of interest paid (as given by the coupon rate) divided by the price of the bond.

The yield of a bond is what most investors consider before buying a bond on the secondary market. It is more informative than the coupon rate.

The original yield when the bond was issued was simply 5% – the coupon rate. But if market interest rates have gone up, the yield (its value to an investor) has gone down to $£50 / £1100 = 4.55\%$.

If, on the other hand, market interest rates went up, then your 5% bond would be less attractive. If you had to sell it for £900. In that case, its yield would be $£50 / £900 = 5.56\%$.

Therefore **there is an inverse relationship between market interest rates and bond yields**.

Some bonds are automatically adjusted for inflation and some are not, investors want to risk inflation eroding the value of their interest payments or not (high inflation is a risk in this case the government).

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Commercial banks and investment banks

A **commercial bank** is the type of high street bank where you deposit your savings. Commercial banks are responsible for accepting deposits (usually paying low interest rates) (usually for slightly higher interest rates). However, it would be wrong to think that commercial banks simply take deposits to extend loans (although this would seem like common sense). In reality, when banks lend money they create a deposit for the person they lend to. If someone borrows £10,000 from a commercial bank, they aren't given £10,000 in cash; instead they are credited with £10,000 in a bank account. So the bank doesn't need to have that money from an existing deposit, effectively they create new money.

Commercial banks also offer other financial services such as providing foreign currencies and processing payments.

Investment banks are very different from commercial banks, although often the same firm will have both commercial and investment divisions (e.g. Barclays and Barclays Capital). Investment banks offer a much wider range of financial services to all sorts of clients. The City of London is a major global financial activity.

For example, an investment bank might advise two firms considering a merger or considering whether or not to issue shares. Investment banks also trade in the financial market (money, capital and FOREX), either in their own interest or on the behalf of their clients using their expertise. Some aspects of this type of activity are very complex.

A film about economics and finance?!

If you haven't seen it yet, watch *The Big Short*, a film about the financial crisis of 2008 based on Michael Lewis' book.

After the financial crisis, regulators have been 'tough' on investment and commercial banks. On the investment side from hurting the commercial side, already been made towards ensuring that (the Vickers Report led the way on this), but

The objectives of commercial banks

Commercial banks are ultimately out to make profit, just like most other firms. Commercial banks make profit by loaning money out and earning the interest. The higher the interest rate, the more profit. However, there's always a risk that borrowers will be unable to make their payments. If too much of a bank's loans end up being defaulted on, it could go bankrupt. As such, one of the main objectives of commercial banks is to look after their **liquidity**.

A liquid asset is an asset that can be used for payment immediately. It is important to have liquid assets (or reserves) in case of an emergency. Loans to individuals and firms are illiquid as they cannot be retrieved immediately. Since liquid assets tend to generate less interest than illiquid assets, there is a balance between liquid and illiquid assets.

One of the key causes of the financial crisis was that commercial banks were making riskier and riskier loans, often without any idea how risky they actually were, and without adequate liquid reserves. Clever financial innovations such as 'collateralised debt obligations' made it seem like risk was being eliminated from the system, but in reality many of the loans were never going to be paid back ('toxic' assets).

When the crisis finally hit, it was difficult to tell who was going to incur the losses as the trading arrangements were so complex and interlinked. Also, since most of the banks held the same kind of assets, they were all exposed to the eventual losses, and ended up in a similar position.

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The balance sheet of a commercial bank

The balance sheet of a business is used by accountants to keep track of its financial sections, assets (things that the business own) and liabilities (things that the business owes). The balance sheet is designed means that total assets are always equal to total liabilities. This is because, with, since it seems to suggest that there are never any profits made. However, this is not the case, as profits (or an equity the owners have in the business) is counted as a liability.

Here's a fictional example of how a bank's balance sheet might be structured:

Assets	Value (£bn)	Liabilities
Cash	15	Capital
Current assets	20	Current liabilities
Non-current assets	65	Non-current liabilities
Total	100	Total

On the assets side, cash is completely liquid – representing the bank's reserves (in cash). Current assets are assets that are currently illiquid (e.g. loans) but should be repaid within one year. Non-current assets are longer term, e.g. any bank loans that last more than one year. Although this counts as an asset on the balance sheet, it will be a while before the profits materialise.

On the liabilities side, capital is the owner stake in the business. If more than £20bn of loans defaulted, then the bank's capital would be depleted and it would be unable to pay its liabilities. Current liabilities are any short-term borrowing undertaken by the bank, while non-current liabilities are any long-term borrowing (e.g. deposits by customers).

The more loans a bank extends, the larger its balance sheet grows, e.g. if they increase their loans by an additional £1bn would be added to both the assets and liabilities sections. In the short term, there is a finite demand for loans, but the central bank requires commercial banks to hold a certain amount in reserves. However, during the financial crisis it seemed that banks and the central bank were complacent: banks' balance sheets were bloated – too much consisted of illiquid assets and too few of reserves. This led to a crash (the term for this is that banks were 'highly leveraged').

This is just one example of a (very simplified) balance sheet, in reality each section has many further components. For the purposes of the exam, you just need a rough understanding of how a balance sheet works.



Further Your Economic Knowledge...

Alchemy

Mervyn King, governor of the Bank of England from 2003 to 2013, drew a parallel between the creation of money by banks and the medieval practice of alchemists turning common metals into gold.

King's new book *The End of Alchemy* discusses the financial system (if you're interested you can find a summary of the book (see links below) (warning – it's a bit heavy going!))

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/books/what-to-read/the-end-of-alchemy-king-banks-are-the-achilles/>

<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/mar/14/mervyn-king-end-of-alchemy-book-review>

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Central banks and monetary policy

The functions of central banks

The central bank is a highly important institution in the financial system. Some countries include the Bank of England, the European Central Bank and the Federal Reserve. The Bank of England has been independent from government since 1997 to prevent the government from using the economic system for short-term political gain.

The role of the central bank is to:

- (1) Help the government to maintain macroeconomic stability (particularly by controlling the money supply at an appropriate level)
- (2) Help to maintain confidence and stability in the financial system. The central bank encourages commercial banks to help achieve this objective.

The central banks' tool for achieving its goals is **monetary policy**. Traditionally, monetary policy uses the following tools:

- **Changing the base interest rate** – the interest rate set by the central bank affects other interest rates in the economy, e.g. the rate of interest that banks pay to depositors. The central bank can use the interest rate to control economic growth. High interest rates slow the economy down and low interest rates heat it up (see monetary policy later in this section).
- **Adjusting the money supply** – this was discussed in detail earlier in the course in relation to financial markets and financial assets.

More recently, central banks have been using **quantitative easing (QE)** as an additional way of stimulating the economy. QE involves the purchasing of various assets, which expands the money supply. Those who sold the assets now have money in the form of government bonds. The intention is to encourage more lending and spending in the economy (a common misconception is that QE is 'printing money' – but this is not the case). Since the financial crisis, the Bank of England has used several rounds of QE to try to stimulate the economy, totalling around £375bn.

In order to maintain stability in the financial system, the central bank is also responsible for providing liquidity to banks in the event of a crisis. If there is a bank run, instead of letting people lose their deposits, the central bank can temporarily support commercial banks via loans. This is why the central bank is often referred to as 'the lender of last resort'.

On a separate note, the central bank can also influence the exchange rate of a country's currencies on the foreign exchange market. China has been accused of keeping the renminbi undervalued in this manner.

Funding for Lending and forward guidance

The Funding for Lending Scheme (FLS), introduced in the UK in 2012, is designed to encourage lending to the economy, following the damaging effects of the 'credit crunch'. FLS encourages banks to provide long-term funding which is linked to their lending performance. As of Quarter 4 2013, the total outstanding loans is around £1.5tn.

'Forward guidance' is, very simply, when the central bank tells the market what it expects to do in the future to influence expectations: if the central bank can convince the market that the economy is stable, then the market is more likely to be confident and thrive. This policy was used by the Bank of England's current governor, Mark Carney. Of course, the success of this policy depends on whether the market believes the central bank's statements – if they turn out to be completely wrong, the reputation of the bank will be tarnished.

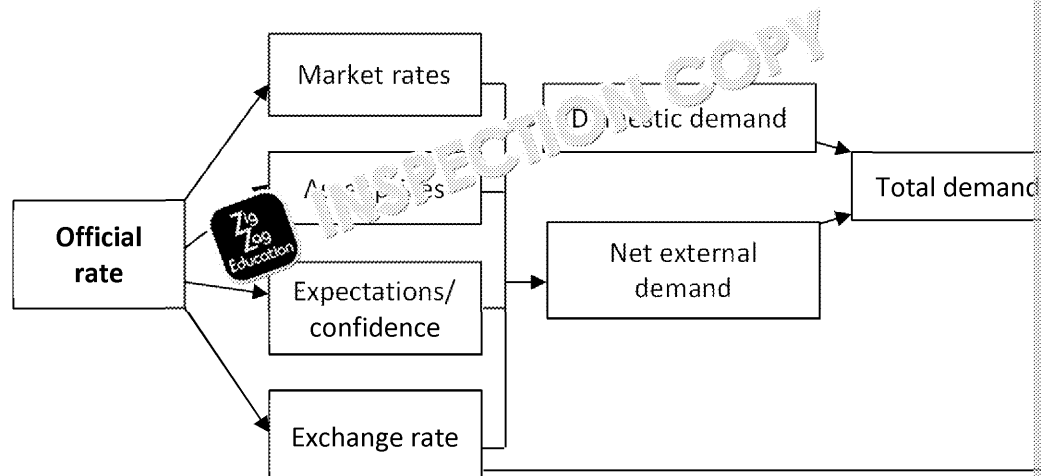
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Changing the bank rate (interest rate)

The main tool that the central bank has at its disposal is changing the bank rate. The Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of England (consisting of nine senior members) meets once a month to decide whether to change the bank rate. The bank rate affects the economy through various 'channels'. The following diagram shows a simple version of **transmission mechanism of monetary policy**.



The financial crisis, and historically low interest rates, have changed this model so that it is no longer a good explanation of how it should work normally.

Suppose that the bank rate starts at 5%. The central bank notices that economic growth is very low (nearing deflation). So it decides to reduce the rate to 3%. What happens to the economy?

- Market interest rates also fall – since banks and other financial institutions are influenced by the central bank, they can offer more competitive rates on their loans.
- When the interest rate falls, the price of assets (such as government bonds and stocks) rises. Assets were priced higher on the higher interest rate of 5%, so they are likely to be sold at a lower price.
- A fall in the interest rate is likely to lead to a fall in the exchange rate. A low exchange rate makes exports relatively cheap and imports relatively expensive. This leads to a fall in demand for pounds, so the demand for pounds falls.

These factors all act to boost aggregate demand in the economy. Low market interest rates encourage households to take out loans, increasing consumption and investment (AD). High asset prices leads to a fall in demand for these assets, which leaves more money in the economy. Finally, a low exchange rate makes exports relatively cheap and imports relatively expensive, increasing the net export component of AD. This could also help to reduce a current account deficit, if the deficit is large.

As you know from Year 1 macro, a shift to the right in AD should increase economic growth (using a Keynesian LRAS). Of course, the eventual change in the economy depends on the shape of the LRAS – this is something that is beyond the control of the central bank, but they can make decisions before taking important decisions like whether or not to change the bank rate.

Note that the monetary policy transmission mechanism diagram also points out that changes in the bank rate can have an effect on expectations and confidence. However, whether a fall in the bank rate will reduce confidence is hard to say. On the one hand, it might indicate to markets that the central bank is reducing confidence. Alternatively, it could indicate to markets that the central bank is confident, well, boosting confidence. The net effect is ambiguous.

This analysis is repeated for an increase in the interest rate, although at the time of writing, the bank rate has been at an all-time low of 0.5% since March 2009, and there doesn't seem to be a chance of a rate rise for a while to come! Some countries (including Japan and Sweden) have used negative interest rates to try to boost aggregate demand in their economies. Negative interest rates mean that savings are guaranteed to be losing value, encouraging them to spend rather than save.

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The regulation of the financial system

The financial crisis highlighted the importance of effective regulation of the bank. Economists prefer to let the market to operate freely, in order to maximise efficiency. In the UK, however, more effective regulation might have prevented (or at least mitigated) the run up to the financial crisis, regulators were 'asleep at the wheel'.

Financial regulation in the UK

In the UK, various bodies are responsible for regulating finance. This section discusses the main regulators in turn:

The Bank of England

We have already mentioned the role of the Bank of England as a 'lender of last resort'. The Bank, including the FPC and the PRA, have specific roles in regulating the financial system.

The Prudential Regulation Authority (PRA)

The PRA works to ensure that banks operate sensibly and do not take excessive risks. Individual firms must adhere to, such as how much capital they must set aside in case where a firm is likely to fail, the PRA is responsible for making sure that this takes minimal disruption to the wider financial system. The PRA was set up in 2012, following the regulatory regime. It was hoped that the new system, where individual authorities would be more effective than the old system where the FCA had a very broad remit.

Financial Policy Committee (FPC)

The FPC was also set up fairly recently, in 2013, as a response to the financial crisis. The FPC's role is to look at systemic risks in the banking system as a whole, rather than risks in individual firms (which is the PRA's role). An important feature of the financial crisis was the interconnectedness of banks, and the fact that if one failed, others would likely fail as well. The FPC is charged with monitoring system-wide risks such as these, and making the system safer.

Financial Conduct Authority (FCA)

The FCA works to protect consumers and promote competition with the financial system. It provides information to consumers, handles complaints, and sets of rules for financial firms.

Bank failure

As discussed earlier in this course companion, banks might fail if a large proportion of their loans end up never being paid back. There is always a risk of this happening, since banks have an incentive to earn more profits on riskier investments. It wasn't until the financial crisis that banks realised how risky many of their loans actually were.

Regulators require banks to hold reserves in case of sudden losses – they might require a bank to achieve a minimum **liquidity ratio** or **capital ratio**.

The liquidity/capital ratio that regulators require banks to meet often depends on how banks' activities to be funded. For example, a bank might need to have a liquidity ratio of at least 100% (more). However, this is quite difficult to analyse in practice. A good predictor of whether a bank will fail or not is simply the total amount of leverage (the ratio of lending compared to its reserves), as opposed to trying to weight loans by their risk.

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Moral hazard

Moral hazard is the idea that someone's behaviour might change if they know that they will be bailed out. For example, a homeowner with insurance against a fire might take fewer precautions because the cost of any damage will be refunded.

In the context of the financial sector, it is argued that there is a moral hazard problem because banks 'know' that they will be bailed out by the government. This encourages excessive risk-taking. The cost of a banking crisis falls disproportionately on the economy at large, rather than the banks themselves.

Some argue that this isn't a completely accurate explanation of the financial crisis. Banks were aware that they were part of the whole system at risk, and there was still a shortage of capital in the banks during the crisis (so they did bear some of the cost).

However, going forward, the problem of moral hazard should be taken seriously. Banks should be encouraged to think that they are guaranteed to be bailed out in the event of another crisis, which could lead to more irresponsible behaviour today.

Financial crashes and the wider economy

We know from the section on the economic cycle that the economy tends to go through periods of growth and recession for many reasons that might be unrelated to the financial sector. However, when there is a financial crisis (often after a long period of prosperity), the following slump or recession tends to be more prolonged: a collapse in finance has ripple effects across the broader economy.

One of the key consequences of a financial crisis is a fall in lending (a credit crunch) to ordinary households and businesses, reducing aggregate demand in the economy. Another key role here too: less confident consumers are likely to save more money in the form of pay-as-you-go pension schemes, which causes an economic slowdown.

Naturally, this suggests that the government should try to prevent these types of crisis in the first place. Most economists agree that more effective regulation of the financial sector is needed, although there is some disagreement as to the extent to which they should be regulated.

On the one hand, tighter regulation reduces the risk of another future crash. However, overbearing regulation could restrict the socially useful aspects of the financial sector, which is definitely something we want to avoid. Regulatory capture – when regulators are influenced by the interests of the industry they're supposed to be regulating – is another potential problem.



Further Your Economic Knowledge...

There's plenty of additional reading you could do on the financial sector. This section recommends two books by Phillip Coggan:

Paper Promises – Money, Debt and the New World
The Money Machine – How the City Works

An excellent (and not too long) book on the financial crisis (written in a humorous style) is *Whoops! Why the City Owes Everyone and No One Can Pay* by John Giddens.

If you're considering studying economics at university, it's definitely a good idea to have a book on the subject to show that you're interested!

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Review questions: financial markets and monetary policy

1. State the three main functions of money.
2. What is the difference between broad money and narrow money?
3. Why might there be a trade-off between liquidity and profitability for companies?
4. Name one function of the central bank other than to control monetary policy.
5. State two ways in which banks are regulated.

Exam-style questions: financial markets and monetary policy

1. A ten-year government bond has a coupon rate of 4%. The bond holder receives interest payments of £20 per year and later sells it for £600. After the sale, the yield on this bond is:
A 7.5%
B 3%
C 5.33%
D 4%
2. Which of the following is **not** a function of an investment bank?
A advising on mergers and acquisitions between companies
B receiving deposits from the general public
C trading on the foreign exchange market
D buying and selling mortgage-backed securities
3. Which of the following statements about the monetary policy transmission mechanism is correct?
A the official bank rate affects confidence and expectations
B aggregate demand affects inflation
C market interest rates affect the official bank rate
D the official bank rate affects the exchange rate
4. Moral hazard is most likely to affect:
A agricultural markets
B the energy markets
C the housing market
D insurance markets
5. In light of the financial crisis, explain how the financial sector could be more regulated.

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4.2.5: Fiscal Policy and Supply-Side Policies

By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ The principles of tax and spending
- ✓ The importance of the budget balance and the national debt
- ✓ Different types of supply-side policies
 - Free-market and interventionist policies

Fiscal Policy

Fiscal policy is the use of taxes and spending by the government to influence the economy. You should be familiar with the basics of fiscal policy from Year 1 macro. Some ideas you should know include:

- how fiscal policy influences AD and/or AS,
- the difference between direct and indirect taxes,
- proportional, regressive and progressive tax systems
- the budget balance and national debt

We explore these concepts (plus some new ones) in more detail in this section.

Government spending

The government spends tax revenues in different ways and for different purposes.

Current expenditure is the government's regular, everyday expenditure. This is for the money has been spent, the good has been used. Examples of current expenditure include wages for service employees, electricity bills for the government, paying for the maintenance of roads, and drugs for the NHS.

Capital expenditure is long-term investment by the government that will improve the economy's PPF (Production Possibility Frontier). This expenditure is good for promoting growth. For example, spending money on building or expanding schools and hospitals will improve the workforce by increasing the human capital and health of workers, and, as such, will increase the country's productive potential. Alternatively, building a new motorway or spending on a port will improve the transport of goods and factors of production, thus increasing the country's ability to produce goods and services.

Transfer payments are payments that are given by the state to individuals but without any services in return. Transfer payments would include Jobseeker's Allowance, or unemployment benefits, for those who are unable to work due to illness. They are often used as a way of supporting social welfare.

Taxation

Taxation is generally used to finance government expenditure. In the UK, we have income tax (the largest tax), which means that higher earners pay a larger proportion of their income in tax. Most people agree that a progressive tax system is the fairest, since richer people pay a heavier tax burden. There are other characteristics of a 'good' tax system which we should consider.

- **Simplicity** – the importance of having a tax system where taxes are easy to understand and cannot be overstated. Having an unnecessarily complex system creates confusion, and can end up being far more costly than expected.
- **Broad-basing** – the tax system should include as much of the population as possible. In the UK, the first £11,000 per year earned in income is not taxed. That excludes some low earners from income tax, but they are taxed through consumption taxes (e.g. VAT) and/or national insurance contributions.

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- **Tax rates should be at an appropriate level** – obviously if tax rates are very high, the government won't be able to generate enough revenue to finance its spending. However, if the tax rate is not too high. An excessively high tax rate can discourage people from working, which would hinder economic growth.

The main taxes in the UK

- **Income tax** – annual income tax begins at £11,000 (where any additional income is taxed at 10%, known as the basic rate). Any income above £43,000 is taxed at 40% (known as the additional rate). Income above £150,000 is taxed at 45% (this is known as the additional rate, the largest component of total tax revenue).
- **National Insurance** – another tax on workers, used to fund pension and healthcare. Any person earning over £155 a week pays national insurance. National Insurance is a very large tax, so many people are surprised at how large it actually is: 12% of any income over £827 a week).
- **VAT** – 'value added tax' is a tax on the consumption of most goods and services. It is currently 20%, up from 17.5% in 2011. This tax increase was an important factor in the government's reduction plan. Unlike NI and income tax, VAT is an indirect tax.
- **Other indirect taxes** – certain goods and services are taxed more heavily, such as alcohol and tobacco, known as *negative externalities*. The largest of these taxes are fuel duty (4% of total tax revenue), alcohol duty (1.5%) and alcohol duty (1.5%). If the government's plan to tax sugary drinks is added to the list as well in the next few years.
- **Capital taxes** – these include inheritance taxes, capital gains tax (which is a tax on profits from investments) and stamp duty (a tax on houses above a certain value).
- **Taxes on firms** – this is mostly corporation tax. Corporation tax rates have been reduced from 28% to a planned 18% in 2020.

Tax type	Contribution of total tax revenue
Income tax	
National Insurance	
VAT	
Other indirect taxes	
Capital taxes	
Taxes on firms	
Council tax	

Note: the remaining tax revenue comes from royalties, interest and dividends, and other taxes.

The budget balance

The coalition government of 2010 and the Conservative government elected in 2015 both focused on 'balancing the budget' (also referred to as eliminating the deficit). In simple terms, a balanced budget means that the government's expenditure is equal to its revenue received from taxation – that is, it is the absence of a budget surplus or deficit.

What is the budget?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announces the government's budget for each year in March – just before the start of the financial year (which starts in April). The budget contains forecasts for economic performance and any planned changes in financial policy, e.g. government spending projects or tax changes.

If the government spends more than it earns in tax revenues (funded by borrowing), then the result is a **budget deficit**. In the UK, the budget has been in deficit for 52 of the last 60 years. If the government runs a **budget surplus**, this means that the government's revenue exceeds its spending.

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Cyclical deficit vs structural deficit

The simple measure of the budget balance above can be split into two parts, the **cyclical budget deficit**. The cyclical budget deficit reflects automatic changes in government spending and tax revenues during a recession: spending on unemployment benefits goes up while tax revenues from income tax falls (because, during a recession, more people are unemployed). The part of the total budget deficit that remains after removing the cyclical deficit is the structural deficit. The structural deficit is the rest of the deficit that cannot be explained by the cyclical deficit.

Most of the time when you hear 'the deficit' being discussed in the news they are referring to the structural deficit.

How big is the UK's budget deficit?

There are two ways to measure the budget deficit: as a percentage of GDP (the most common measure) and just as a number. Here are some of the statistics on the UK budget deficit in recent years.

Year	Budget deficit (% GDP)
2009–2010	10.3
2010–2011	8.1
2011–2012	7.1
2012–2013	7.2
2013–2014	5.8
2014–2015	5.0
2015–2016 (estimate)	3.9

Source: ONS Public Sector Finances March 2016

When the deficit is measured as a percentage of GDP, then this percentage will fall as GDP grows at a faster rate (e.g. if GDP growth is 3% and the deficit grows by 2% then the percentage of GDP will fall).

By both measures, the deficit has been falling since peaking in 2009–2010, but not as initially hoped. Now they are predicting that the UK will reach a surplus in 2020, but this is highly sceptical. Forecasting the economy is notoriously difficult.

The consequences of budget deficits and surpluses

The main consequence of running a persistent budget deficit is that it adds to the stock of national debt. The debt has to be paid back, so a larger national debt means that an economy has to spend more on interest payments (the cost of the debt). This has an opportunity cost, since the government can't then use that money for other purposes.

The cost of running a large budget deficit also depends on the interest rates at which the government borrows. Economies with good credit ratings (like the UK) can generally afford to borrow at lower interest rates. Countries with poor credit ratings potentially run a larger deficit than a country with a poor credit rating. However, a large deficit in the private sector can lead to crowding out. This means that funds that could have been used by the private sector are no longer available because they are being used by the government to increase spending.

If a country is running a budget deficit, this suggests that the government has increased its spending. And since government spending is a component of aggregate demand (AD), AD increases, which creates jobs and increases GDP. However, it also leads to higher inflation – which hurts the poor. Budget surpluses are good for a nation's finances and means that the total stock of national debt falls. Therefore, future interest payments will be lower, allowing the government more money to spend on other areas. However, in the short term maintaining a budget surplus prevents the government from spending on infrastructure and other areas. The current government has been criticised for cutting public spending too far, affecting the economy. This is the main cost of trying to achieve a budget surplus.

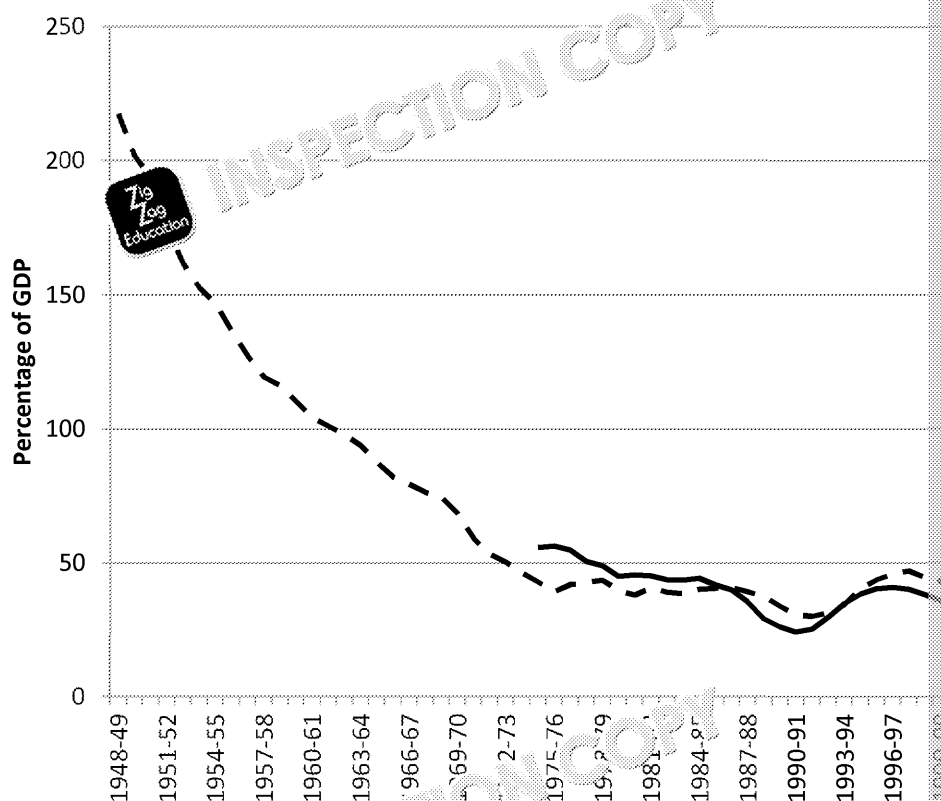
In general, most economists agree that it is sensible to try to run budget surpluses during periods of prosperity (to reduce the national debt) and to run budget deficits during slumps or recessions (to stimulate growth). Not all governments have heeded this rule, however. A good example is the UK in the 1970s, where the government ran a large deficit during a boom. This made it much harder to recover during the recession, since the government had less scope to increase spending.

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The national debt

The national debt is the total stock of debt a country has. In one sense, the national debt is the sum of all previous budget deficits (minus any debt that has been paid back already). Like the budget deficit, national debt is usually calculated as either a percentage of GDP or as a percentage of the population. The following graph shows the UK's national debt as a percentage of GDP over time:



Source: IFS. The two different lines represent different data sources.

The national debt in 2014–2015 was calculated to be 82% of GDP (around £1.5 trillion). This is the highest it's been since the 1960s, it still doesn't come close to the levels seen after the war.

The UK's national debt is quite high by international standards, although not nearly as high as the US (around 176% of GDP) and Japan (over 220%). The size of the national debt should be put in context, as it can conceal important differences between economies. For example Japan has a much larger economy than Greece, so it can afford to borrow more cheaply, despite having a larger national debt. The size of the economy (GDP) is important: a high GDP growth rate can help to overcome the burden of a high national debt (as a percentage of GDP).

The Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR)

The OBR, set up in 2010, is an independent body that oversees the UK's public finances. It checks whether the government is meeting its fiscal targets, and checks the government's numbers for its budget. It also provides official economic forecasts, such as future GDP growth. Ultimately, the OBR's role is to ensure that the government's finances are sustainable.

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Supply-side policies

Supply-side policies were introduced in Year 1 macroeconomics. Successful supply-side policies shift the aggregate supply curve to the right, increasing an economy's productive capacity. Typical examples include policies that improve productivity (e.g. improving education and healthcare), policies that increase the labour force (e.g. migration, encouraging participation of women in the labour force) and technological advances (e.g. more funding for research and development).

Free market vs interventionist supply-side policies

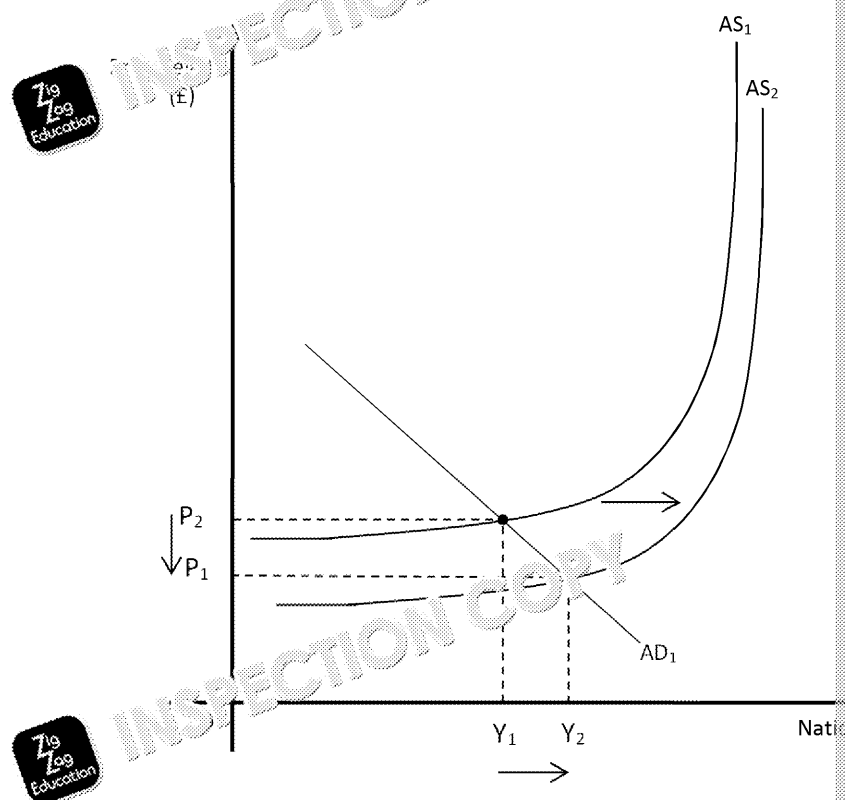
Supply-side policies can be divided into two main groups.

Market-based policies: There is very little government intervention with market-based policies. The role of the government is to support and use the forces of the free market to increase efficiency, productivity and growth. Market-based policies try to boost aggregate supply by improving the ability of the free market to overcome any barriers.

Interventionist policies: Interventionist policies are the opposite of market-based policies. The government takes quite an active role within the economy. Its role is to intervene in order to correct any failures in the market and to guide an economy to a better equilibrium.

There is a wide range of things that affect the aggregate supply, none of which the government has as much control over as it does with demand-side policy instruments. The main way to increase aggregate supply is through spending on supply-affecting investments or by changing the institutional framework.

Let's remind ourselves of AS/AD analysis. If aggregate supply shifts outwards, the equilibrium moves from P_1 to P_2 and Y_1 to Y_2 , being equal:



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Below are some conditions that affect aggregate supply, and explanations of how policies to affect those conditions.

- **Promote competition**

If there are lots of producers in a market, then there is more competition. This will give producers an incentive to find ways of cutting production costs by producing goods at a lower price, thereby gaining more customers. To do this, the government can give loans to start-up companies, reduce barriers to entry (removing obstacles that may prevent firms from entering a market), or enforce laws that prevent monopolies (large firms that others cannot compete with). By reducing taxes on imports or subsidising foreign firms, there will be an increase in competition within the market. By both reducing taxes on imports and subsidising domestic firms, an economy can encourage foreign firms to remain. This will boost LRAS because domestic production will increase, but the competition drives the firms to be more efficient, thereby pushing out the LRAS curve. Privatisation can also boost competition. Firms are worried about increasing revenues or cutting costs to boost profits; therefore, they are more competitive. By giving the business to the private sector, it will increase competition and will compete against other market players.

- **Reform labour market**

Reforming the labour market refers to the quantity and quality of labour, and the market forces from acting freely within this market. Structural unemployment is a lack of mobility of labour. Trade unions are another barrier to the free-market system. They give strength to an individual worker by uniting them together as one large body, giving them more bargaining power when it comes to negotiations on wages and working conditions. If there is immigration, an economy can gain workers and thereby increase its ability to produce. Policies that affect aggregate supply, laws around migration are supply-side policies. Increasing the minimum wage makes more workers willing to work. Equally, reducing unemployment benefits makes workers more willing to accept the benefits and encourage them to work. However, unemployment benefits protect those without incomes and there is a trade-off between protection and efficiency.

- **Quality of workforce (skills and education)**

If there is more investment in schools by, for example, buying new learning resources, it will create a better education system, creating a more productive workforce. The government may provide financial assistance for pupils to continue into further education. The Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) was granted to students from 16 to 19 years old, but has now been scrapped in England. Investing in training courses for workers increases the human capital of an economy. This is particularly useful if there are structural changes in the economy because it will help the mobility of workers between markets.

- **Infrastructure**

Spending on infrastructure means investing to improve the physical conditions or organisation of the economy – for example, investing in transport systems such as railways and roads, or investing in buildings for factories, offices or houses. By improving these factors, society will be happier and the economy will function more smoothly. If there is inadequate housing, then the workforce would be less productive. If the roads were smoother and straighter, then the lorries could move more efficiently between factories and homes.

- **Quality of capital and production processes**

Investment into research and development will create a technological advance. If new machines are invented and more efficient methods of production are created, the LRAS curve will shift out because a more productive and efficient economy can produce more. A positive net investment will indicate increased capital stock. Greater quality of capital means there is the possibility for more production.

Learn more about the impact of spending on the economy at <https://www.zigzag.org.uk>



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Strengths

- Shifting the aggregate supply curve outwards will not cause inflation – in fact it will put downward pressure on the price level through competition and improvements to production costs and, hence, prices.
- Increasing aggregate supply is an increase in production, as long as it is matched by an increase in demand (movement along the AD curve). This indicates a rate of economic growth as resources are generally improved or increased in the long term.
- Increasing production and economic growth will mean there is job creation and a lower level of unemployment.
- By improving the productive capacity of an economy and reducing the cost of production, the country will become more competitive in the global market. This will mean export growth and a trade surplus.

Weaknesses

- Supply-side policies have long time lags. Improving the quality of the workforce through education can take 13 years, as children start aged 4–5 and finish aged 17–18.
- These policies can be very costly, which would have a negative impact on the current account.
- Although the government can manipulate the economy, the global market is not controlled by the government. The government policy is weak to external shocks.
- Data collection is slow and long-winded. The information provided to government is often inaccurate but also out of date, causing the government to react slowly and inappropriately.

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Review questions: fiscal policy and supply-side policy

1. Explain the difference between the cyclical and structural budget balance.
2. Why might it be more useful to measure the national debt as a percentage number?
3. Explain the role of fuel tax.
4. Name one method a government might use to reduce a budget deficit. A policy?
5. Give an example of a free-market supply-side policy and one interventionist supply-side policy.



Exam-style questions: fiscal policy and supply-side policy

1. If a government runs a budget deficit for five years in a row...
 A Total national debt must rise
 B National debt as a percentage of GDP must rise
 C Borrowing costs must go up
 D The exchange rate must fall
2. Which of the following policies is *guaranteed* to reduce a budget deficit?
 A Cutting government spending
 B Increasing income tax
 C Devaluing the exchange rate
 D None of the above
3. Which of the following is a free-market supply-side policy?
 A Increased spending on education
 B Building a third runway at Heathrow airport
 C Subsidising research into new technology
 D Cutting income tax
4. If the government increases spending on education, then:
 A AD won't shift but LRAS will increase after a time lag
 B AD will increase after a short time lag but LRAS won't shift
 C AD will increase after a short time lag and LRAS will increase after a long time lag
 D AD won't shift but LRAS will decrease after a time lag
5. Evaluate the case for increasing government spending on infrastructure to promote economic growth.



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4.2.6: The International Ec

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By the end of this topic, you should understand...

- ✓ **The characteristics of globalisation**
 - Implications for developed and developing countries
- ✓ **The role of trade**
 - The theory of comparative advantage
 - The nature of protectionism
- ✓ **The characteristics of trading blocs**
 - Linking the ECU and the single market
- ✓ **The elements of the balance of payments**
 - Importance of imbalances
 - Policies to correct imbalances
- ✓ **Floating vs. fixed exchange rate systems**
 - Currency unions
- ✓ **Economic growth and development**
 - Developed and developing countries
 - Policies to promote growth and development

Globalisation

Globalisation has no set definition and can be described differently across various sources. One source would tend to say it is the ability to move production to anywhere in the world and for production can be sourced from any country. It is a process of integrating separate economies into a single global entity. Borders and barriers between people and nations become more interdependent. As the world becomes more globalised, there is greater integration of economic agents and factors of production can be sourced from anywhere across the world.

It is a phenomenon that has been happening for years and years. Here is a quote about the world in 1914:

'The inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea, of the whole earth, in such quantity as he might see fit, and reasonably expect it at his doorstep; he could at the same moment and by the same means advertise his wares and resources and new enterprises of any quarter of the world... He could send his goods by cheap and comfortable means of transit to any country or climate without

Factors that have contributed to globalisation over the last

- **Transport infrastructure and operations**

The improvements in transportation and infrastructure around the globe have led to more cost-effective movement of resources. As a result, this has increased trade services across countries, and the use of factors of production from various countries has become less costly to do so. Because producers will want to use the resources that are most available, if transportation costs are low, they are likely to spread their production more globalised.

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- **Communication technology and IT**

The improvements in the ability to communicate across the world mean information is more free-flowing and imperfect information as a barrier to trade is reduced. The increased use of the Internet allows the world to share cultural and social experiences.

- **Trade liberalisation**

Agreements entered into by the World Trade Organization (WTO) have prevented countries from enforcing trade barriers. As barriers to trade are removed, economic agents are more freely allowed to trade their goods, services and resources across nations, thereby becoming more globalised.

Containerisation

Containerisation, the practice of using containers that are easily transported by other forms of transportation, is credited to McLean's invention in 1956. Before McLean's invention, cargoes, such as goods and crates, were placed together like a jigsaw puzzle, and difficult to remove these containers from trucks, taking prolonged periods of time. In the 1960s and 1970s of international trade, the standardisation and size of metal containers revolutionised shipping practices and marked a turning point in globalisation, allowing businesses to distribute goods across the globe far more effortlessly and cheaply. Consequently, containerisation has accelerated the process of globalisation.

- **Increasing transnational corporations**

Transnational corporations (TNCs) and those that are spread across countries and produce their goods in various nations. The increasing number of TNCs have led to greater activity in the global market and thereby increased globalisation.

- **The dissolution of the Soviet Union**

When the Soviet Union dissolved at the end of 1991, economies that were previously closed off from the world began to open up to the global market. This then led to an increase in globalisation.

- **International financial markets**

As financial markets have opened up across countries, mainly due to the increase in specialisation, traders were able to operate in various countries, causing financial markets to become more globalised.

Impacts of globalisation

There are many effects that have resulted from globalisation; some are good, some others is debatable. See below for the impacts of globalisation.

- **Increased interdependence of economies**

As producers begin to move their production process to different nations and different markets, they rely on the countries in which they are operating. As economies become more globalised and integrated, they also become more interdependent.

- **Increased living standards**

It is generally believed that living standards increase as the world becomes more specialised in producing the goods in which they have a comparative advantage. As economies naturally grow, and there will be more jobs available for people, thereby increasing living standards.

- **Decrease in current global superpowers**

It has been theorised that as developing countries deindustrialise, and emerging economies like China, begin to grow, power that was typically held by countries in North America and Europe will move to alternative economies.

- **Greater consumer choice**

As economies open up to the global market, there will be an increase in goods and services available for consumer purchase. Consumers will have the ability to consume goods and services produced in their domestic economy.

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- **Lower prices**

Some believe consumers will be presented with cheaper goods as they have access to more products from a greater (global) range of producers. As countries specialise in their comparative advantage means they can produce the goods more cheaply and prices will be lower than if they were produced by comparatively disadvantaged countries. Equally, as production moves to wherever is cheapest, they are able to lower prices.

- **Worker exploitation**

TNCs are able to move production where labour is cheapest. However, they will be treated fairly, and not all countries have cheap labour because of the procedures to protect workers. TNCs are able to set up production in countries where they can. Due to their large influence and market power, they are able to exploit workers.

- **Environmental damage**

Globalisation is associated with economic growth, which has many negative impacts. The transportation of goods and production increases as economies grow, this leads to more greenhouse gases, which contribute to global warming and the deterioration of the environment.

Globalisation creates winners and losers: those who benefit from the advantages of globalisation and those who suffer the disadvantages of exploitation and interdependency. Look at the disadvantages below and try to identify who are the winners and losers; economic categories depending on the circumstances:

Advantages of globalisation

- **Increased competition**

By opening up to the global market, economies are opening up to more competition. This means there is a greater choice of products for consumers and a greater range of products they buy their products from. This means there is greater competition. Greater competition is believed to create a downward pressure on prices and demand.

- **Reduces domestic monopoly and monopsony power**

Greater competition will reduce the market power of domestic monopolies and monopsonies. Firms will have to compete with foreign firms and foreign employers.

- **Big market means greater economies of scale**

More-globalised firms will have access to a bigger market. This means there is a greater demand for their product. This gives firms the ability to grow and achieve economies of scale.

- **Increased capital flows and inward investment**

As barriers are removed and there is greater freedom in the movement of capital, economies can find they have an inward flow of investment. This injected capital is used to stimulate its growth, increase jobs and improve standards of living. It also helps spread new technology and knowledge to the country. International trade also helps reduce costs as they can avoid areas of high taxes and expensive regulation.

- **Free movement of resources**

Barriers to free movement of resources are removed, allowing factors of production to move to where they are most needed. Firms can be more competitive as they can use the cheapest factors of production anywhere in the world. This is called globalisation.

- **Greater resource allocation**

When barriers are removed, resources and factors of production are able to move to where they are most needed and are allocated where they are most needed.

- **Increased trade and specialisation**

Economies that are globalised have the ability to specialise in producing goods in their comparative advantage, and trade with other countries to obtain the goods in their comparative advantage. This means a more globalised world can gain from specialisation.

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and trade, which are: reduced costs and prices, increased efficiency and greater choice for consumers.

Disadvantages of globalisation

- **Increased numbers and power of MNCs**
Multinational corporations (MNCs) have the ability to abuse their high market power as a threat to consumers, workers and developing nations. The removal of barriers to multinationals to exist and to grow.
- **Free movement of resources leads to a brain drain**
Because resources are free to move between countries, countries can find themselves unable to attract resources. If skilled workers leave a country, then the country can find themselves in a brain drain (see Topic 10).
- **Global monopolies and monopsonies**
Monopolies and monopsonies, just like in the domestic market, can emerge in the global market. These firms and employers tend to be more powerful than domestic firms. They will have a greater market (the global market). They will have a great ability to raise prices. Equally, as they are internationally spread, there are very few regulations that can control them.
- **Use of scarce resources, and greenhouse gases**
As trade increases, production increases. Further to this, production and transportation increases as resources and goods are shipped across the world. This uses non-renewable resources more quickly than if the world was less globalised. This is a growing concern for the global society and the environment as a whole, leading to bottlenecks and global warming.
- **Loss of cultural independence and rise of Americanisation (standardisation)**
As the world becomes more globalised, cultures begin to bleed into one another. Critics of globalisation call this 'Americanisation', referring to the loss of local culture and background as the distinction fades away and societies tend toward a global standard.
- **Regulation and tax avoidance**
From an environmental and social point of view, globalisation is bad because it leads to a lack of necessary regulations which are designed to protect citizens, workers, etc. This represents a large missed opportunity for an inflow of tax revenue. As a result, governments may raise taxes elsewhere. It is equally anti-competitive for firms which have no choice but to abide by these regulations and taxes which hinder entry.
- **Interdependency**
As countries become more dependent on each other, they become more vulnerable. If one country may evolve in other countries. Equally, if countries become more specialised, they may lose their own market, 'putting all their eggs in one basket'. This means that if the market for one country fails, then the whole economy can suffer greatly. Countries can support market failure in one country; this is the advantage of diversification.

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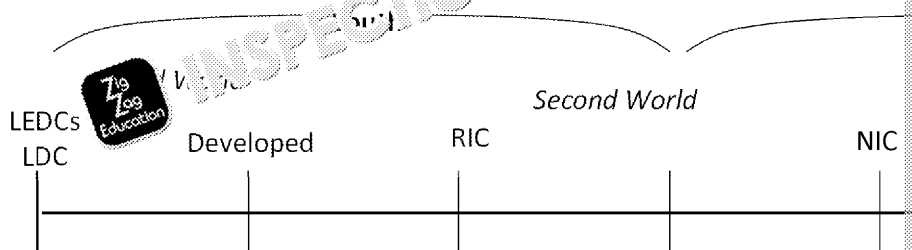




Further Your Economic Knowledge...

Talking about development: categorisation

Countries are often grouped into categories to refer to their development and industrialised status, and there is a wide variety of categories used. The root and meanings of these categories. You may have heard of some of them; this box will explain why and how some of them may be outdated or out of date. It is merely for additional information for those of you who are interested in expanding your cultural horizons.



The most common categories are those that split countries into one of two: developed, and less economically developed countries (LEDs, or LDCs). These refer to countries based on development measures, such as GDP or HDI. What is good about the distinction between developed and less economically developed is that it identifies the distinction in economy and living standards, whereas 'developing' may imply the country has a backward and deficient culture.

There are other categories such as the North-South divide. This categorises countries in the North as more developed than those in the South. At the two extremes, although this does not correspond to the equator; this group's development level is static and unchangeable.

West and East is another locational classification; however, this refers to culture. Western culture is generally 'American' culture, and Eastern culture is generally 'Asian' culture. This is criticised because it groups all Asian cultures into one, such as 'Asian', when in reality these cultures are vastly different, and some may find it offensive.

Another one you may have heard of is First World, Second World and Third World. These categories specify that countries either 'are' or 'are not' part of a group that countries can fit into. Originally, this looked at grouping countries by economic stance, First World being capitalist, Second World being communist, and Third World being 'non-aligned countries'. This concept is now outdated, and is now referred to as First and Third World in terms of income and wealth. However, this is still used.

The classification of recently industrialising countries (RIC) and newly industrialised countries (NIC) looks less at the two extremes and instead looks at the currently changing manufacturing status. NICs are countries such as China which are fully industrialised in recent years, unlike countries such as the UK which started industrialising in the 19th century. RICs are countries such as Brazil and Mexico which are starting to industrialise.

What may be identified here is that it is hard to categorise countries into one of the many categories. Society, economic and political stances all vary by so much that it is difficult to identify set similarities and differences. Mexico, for example, is a developed, wealthier or industrialised country, does, however, have a less established sustainable transport system than countries in other groups. It may be better off talking about a spectrum of development, as this highlights the differences between certain categories. It is important to think critically about the way we differentiate countries on? What do they imply? Are they accurate? Do they belong at this point on the spectrum? Can countries be grouped, or are they too different?

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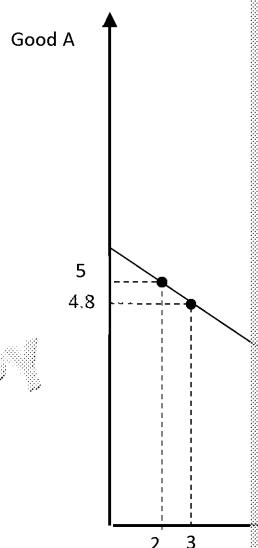
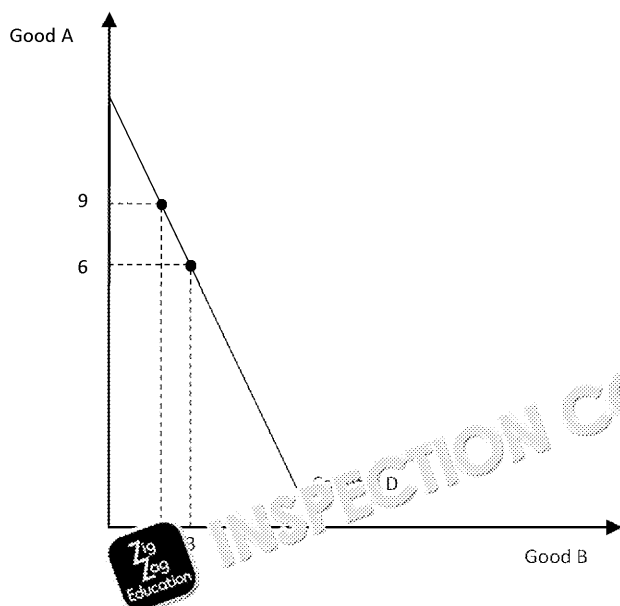
Trade

Trade between countries is a very important part of the modern world. Economies of two countries enriches them both, and that much of the improvement in global living standards in the 20th century is a result of the expansion of trade.

The **comparative advantage** model, formulated by the famous English economist David Ricardo in the 19th century, is a useful way of explaining how trade can be beneficial.

Comparative advantage: assumptions

- No economies of scale (constant costs of production)
- No transport costs
- Perfect knowledge
- Free mobility of resources between industries
- Environmental degradation is ignored



Here are PPFs of two countries, Country D and Country C, producing two goods, Good A and Good B. Country D has a comparative advantage in producing Good B because its opportunity cost of producing Good B is 3 units of Good A, which is lower than Country C's opportunity cost of 5 units of Good A. This means Country D has a comparative advantage in producing Good B.

This, pointed out economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo, means that if both countries produce both goods and have high opportunity costs, Country D should specialise in producing Good B and Country C should specialise in producing Good A. The countries should then trade with each other and then have access to both goods but at a cheaper price.

Note that, given these opportunity costs, Country D could produce a maximum of 3 Good Bs (if they dedicated their production to one of the goods). Likewise, Country C could produce a maximum of 5 Good As and 3 Good Bs. Hence, if they dedicated their production to their comparative advantage, total output would increase.

Note that countries can still have a comparative advantage even if another country has an absolute advantage in the production of a good. For example, if Country C could produce 20 units of Good A, it would have an absolute advantage over Country D (which can only produce 9 units of Good A). However, Country D would still have a comparative advantage in producing Good B because its opportunity cost of producing another unit of Good A is lower than Country C's opportunity cost of producing another unit of Good A.

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Advantages of specialisation and trade

- **Lower prices**
By producing the goods in which a country has a comparative advantage cheaply than another country could. Therefore, goods will have lower prices by the country that has the comparative advantage.
- **More consumer choice**
By trading, consumers have access to more goods from other countries.
- **Larger markets**
Firms can benefit from specialisation and global trade because their audience (global market) is larger.
- **Economies of scale**
Because firms have a greater audience, there is greater demand for their goods. This gives them the opportunity to expand and gain from economies of scale.
- **Increased living standards**
If countries follow the suggestions of David Ricardo and Adam Smith, there will be an increase in living standards. If they produce the goods in which they have a comparative advantage, and trade for the rest, their consumers will benefit from lower prices and more consumer choice from international goods. The economy will see an increase in output and production increases.

ACTIVITY

Does Scotland have a comparative advantage in producing wine? Think about the following quote from Adam Smith:

By means of glasses, hotbeds, and hotwalls, a great quantity of good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and can be made of them at about the same expence for which at least equally good grapes can be made in France.

Adam Smith, The Wealth Of Nations, Book I

Disadvantages of specialisation and trade

- **Trade deficit**
If a country is uncompetitive, then it could end up with a trade deficit.
- **Dumping**
Countries with excess goods can sell them in foreign markets at a price below short-run marginal cost in order to get rid of them. The economy of the country that the goods are sold to is damaged as the increase in supply and fallen price can put some domestic producers out of business. It shocks the market.
- **Contagion (increased exposure to external shock)**
As has been seen by the recent global financial crisis, economic shocks can be spread across economies. This is due to the interdependence of economies. If one economy begins to crash, the countries that are dependent on its trade will find they are also hit by the downturn, and so economic shocks will be spread across economies.
- **Global monopolies**
International trade can allow the rise of global monopolies with global influence and power for market manipulation.

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- **Problems for emerging and developing economies**

Emerging economies and developing countries are generally susceptible to monopsonies and from more developed countries that have access to the knowledge.

Patterns of trade

Patterns of trade are influenced by comparative advantage. It is clear that countries specialise in (e.g. Saudi Arabia produces oil, the US specialises in services).

Since the creation of the EU, there has been a great deal of trade creation among the reduction of trade barriers between them (indeed, the EU is the UK's largest market). There has been a diversion of trade from non-member countries (trade diversion) since the EU countries is easier due to the EU trade bloc. Commonwealth countries and their relationship has deteriorated since the creation of the EU, as the EU countries have an external tariff against imports from non-members. Thus, no country can benefit from the EU. Trade with emerging economies has increased over recent years as they expand their export markets.

Trade flows are also affected by relative exchange rates. Countries with highly valued currencies benefit from greater imports, but they may find it harder to sell their exports (since they are expensive). An example of the opposite case is China: rapid Chinese growth depends on exports and China has been attempting to depreciate its currency to help promote exports.

Types of trade restriction

Tariffs

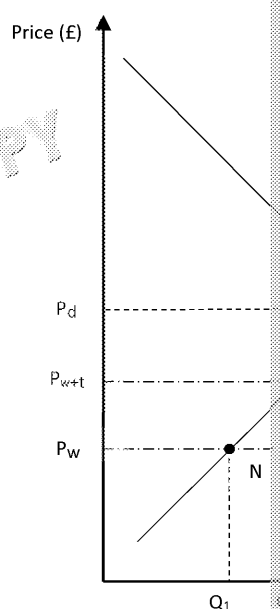
Tariffs can also be known as import duties or customs duties. Tariffs are simply taxes that foreign firms need to pay in order to sell in the country. These are political decisions. Tariffs increase the costs for foreign firms, and therefore, prices on imports.

Closed to international trade: The diagram to the right shows the market for a good. The demand and supply curves are the domestic demand and supply. P_d is the market equilibrium price if the economy was closed to the international market.

Open to international trade: However, the price of the good on the world market is lower, at P_w . If the country opened up to international trade, then domestic supply would fall to Q_1 because most domestic firms could not compete with international firms. However, at this price, domestic demand would be at Q_4 and so the country would need to import to meet the demand.

Imposition of a tariff: The price would be increased to P_{w+t} . This means more domestic supply, and the quantity of domestic goods produced will rise to Q_2 . At this higher price, domestic demand will fall to Q_3 . Because Q_3 is less than Q_2 , the country will still need to import.

The shaded area is the amount the government will receive in tax revenue from the tariff.



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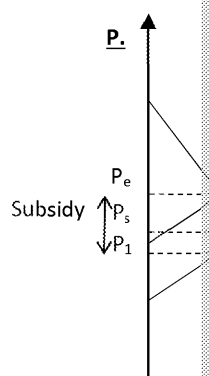
Quotas

Quotas are similar to tariffs, but instead of imposing a tax on imported goods, quota limit on how many goods and services an economy can import. The diagram is similar except no tax revenue is raised for the government because there is no tax. The point where the government has set the cap. The quota is aimed at reducing the

Subsidies

Remembering your Year 1 microeconomics, a subsidy is a grant the government gives to domestic producers in order to lower costs and become more price-competitive in comparison to international goods (see the diagram above).

Subsidies work in a similar but opposing manner to taxes. Unlike a tariff, a subsidy actually incurs a cost as governments need to give money to producers.



Non-tariff barriers

There are other ways in which a government can manipulate imports that are more hidden than an obvious, upfront tariff or quota. For one, a government can implement expensive and long procedures in order to deter foreign trade. Environmental or health and safety regulations are examples of non-tariff barriers.

Why might a country want to restrict trade?

- **Infant and sunset industry argument**

A sunset industry is an old and declining industry. Income flows tend to become stagnant as investors exit these industries due to the decline in profits and demand for their goods. However, these industries are important to economies and need to be supported. Infant industries are the opposite: they are new and inexperienced, and need support until they have gained the finance, demand and knowledge to remain in the market. Countries may wish to put trade barriers in place to protect these industries from global competition and facilitate them to grow.

Protect infant industries from global competition and facilitate them to grow.

- **Protect employment**

The general idea is that trade barriers will increase the price of foreign goods and threaten domestic ones because they are more competitive. Demand will shift from imported goods to domestic goods. If a trade barrier is put in place, the domestic industry will go into decline and demand will shift from domestic goods to imports, the domestic industry will go into decline and demand will shift from domestic goods to imports. A trade barrier is believed to shift domestic demand from imported goods to domestic goods, the domestic industry will go into decline and demand will shift from domestic goods to imports. This can be done in a particular industry, by applying a trade barrier to that industry, or to protect the employment levels in the whole economy by setting a trade barrier on all imports.

- **Retain self-sufficiency**

Some countries may be uncomfortable with global trade because it means they have to provide certain goods and services. Instead, countries may want to allow their economy to focus on producing certain goods, so that other countries fall into recession or a war interrupts trade patterns.

- **Balance of payments**

The idea here is that a trade barrier will increase the price of imports and reduce demand for them. As imports fall, it is hoped a trade balance deficit will fall and the balance of payments will improve.

- **Retaliation**

If a country imposes trade barriers on another country's goods, the other country may retaliate with its own trade barriers.

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- **Prevent dumping**

Dumping occurs when a foreign country sells its excess goods in the domestic market at a price below the domestic price. This is bad because it can put domestic suppliers out of business. Trade barriers restrict the volume of goods a country can sell in the domestic market, thus preventing the country from dumping its goods.

- **Reduce competition**

Foreign countries may have a comparative advantage and be able to produce goods more cheaply than the domestic economy. Therefore, a country may impose a trade barrier to reduce the level of competition threatening its domestic markets.

- **Protect strategically important industries**

During times of conflict or global instability, normal trade patterns are disrupted. Governments may want to protect certain industries that produce goods that are invaluable. These goods are comparatively disadvantaged because, during times of disrupted trade, the country needs a steady supply of these goods.



Further Your Economic Knowledge...

The paradox of free trade

It is believed that free trade benefits all economic agents in all countries. However, protectionism (protectionism) only harm it, and prevent the benefits that come with free trade.

Industries in one country may be harmed by opening up to the global market. Industries may become more competitive. Policymakers may wish to add protectionist measures to protect domestic industries from foreign competition and thus ensure job security for the workers of the domestic industry. However, the common consumer will suffer from higher prices because cheaper goods are not entering the market. By protecting domestic industries from structural unemployment, higher living costs and lower purchasing power. Free trade supports economic growth and protectionism may harm economic efficiency worldwide as resources are not allocated most efficiently and provide a greater benefit for all.

However, developing countries are not always able to compete with firms in developed countries who have access to knowledge and capital, even if they have a comparative advantage. Protectionist measures are often unfairly used to dampen competition from countries with a comparative advantage. The paradox is that free trade can harm some countries and protect others. Free trade can harm global economic welfare if used in the right circumstances. Developing countries may use protectionism because it allows them the fighting chance they need to grow and establish themselves to compete in the global market. Once they have grown, they can use the generated funds to reduce poverty and raise living standards.

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Impacts of protectionist policies

Consumers

Consumers often suffer from protectionist policies as cheaper and more competitive goods are prevented from entering the market. Instead consumers' demands are directed towards domestic goods, which may be at a comparative disadvantage. The hope is that the domestic firms will gain a competitive advantage and become self-sustaining to produce the goods competitively.

Producers

The impact of protectionist policies on producers will have different effects depending on whether the producer is domestic or foreign and whether it imports materials, exports goods or sells domestically. Domestic producers should find that demand for their products increases as protectionist policies divert demand away from imported goods to domestically produced goods. Domestic exporting producers may find themselves exposed to protectionist policies from tit-for-tat retaliation from other countries, which will decrease demand for their goods. Producers may import parts for production, such as a table-making company importing wood. These producers may find their costs increase as protectionist policies are aimed at reducing imports. Foreign producers who sell goods in the country will find demand for their goods decreases and they may increase their prices.

Governments

Governments may add protectionist policies due to a political agenda, or to protect domestic industries for voter support. However, protectionist policies, such as subsidies, can be very costly. Subsidies often lead to a budget deficit, leading to debt increase. Alternatively, the government may impose a tariff to protect domestic industries, although the bureaucratic procedures can be just as costly as the money earned from the tariff. Governments may find they are met with tit-for-tat retaliation policies from trading partners, which can be economically damaging.

Living standards and equality

Protectionist policies are designed to protect the domestic economy and the people living in the country, such as domestic producers and the welfare of the workers. Without protectionist policies, domestic producers may lose their incomes, pushing them into poverty and reducing living standards. By protecting domestic industries, jobs can be created, thereby reducing income inequality. However, countries which face the protectionist policies may find it harder to export their goods. This can cause economies to decline, businesses to close, and living standards and equality to rise. It is often developing countries which bear the brunt of protectionist policies, as they are the countries that need trade the most. Protecting developed countries from competition from developing countries' chances to trade and grow will increase inequality.

Trading blocs and the WTO

Trading bloc = A set of countries which have an agreement on the level of trade between them and with each other.

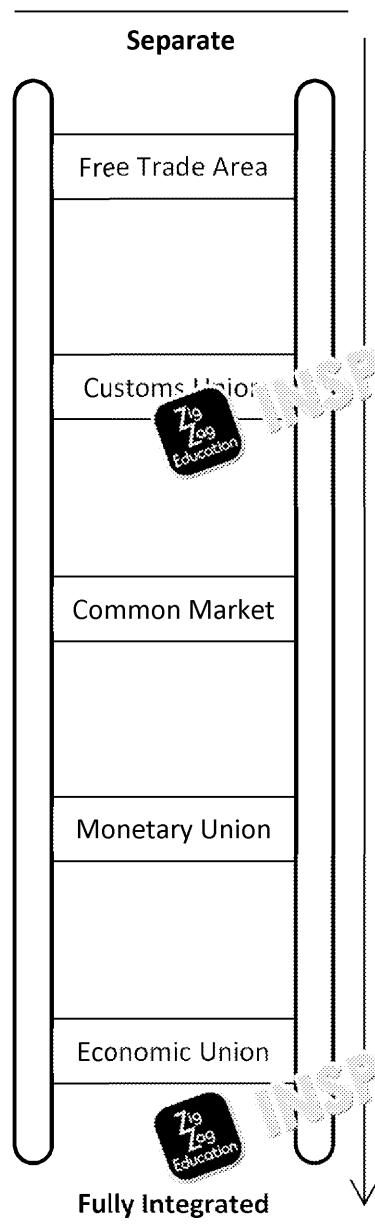
WTO = The World Trade Organization is the international governing body on the trade of goods and services.

Examples of trading blocs:

- NAFTA = North American Free Trade Agreement
- EU = European Union
- LAPA = Latin American Pacific Alliance
- SADC = Southern Africa Development Community

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Free trade areas

Free trade areas are groups of countries who have free trade between them. By this, it is meant that there are no restrictions or barriers between the countries. This leads to increased trade among these countries.

This agreement only determines the way in which trade is conducted between the other countries within the agreement. Member countries are allowed to set their own, individual trade policies with countries outside the agreement (non-member countries). Non-member countries can bypass potential high trade barriers between member countries by entering through the lowest/cheapest trade barriers. Once they enter the area through the low-barriered countries, they can trade with other member countries without the high-barriered countries. 'Rules of origin' laws are often put in place to prevent circumvention.

Customs unions

Just like a free trade area, a customs union has member countries that have low to no trade barriers between them. However, member countries avoid barriers, a customs union has a common protectionist measures. By this, it means that all member countries will set the same barriers and restrictions with other countries. The EU is a customs union with member countries.

Common markets

A common market, like a free trade area, has member countries that have low to no trade barriers between them. However, a common market allows free movement of goods, services, and people. Unlike a customs union, a common market allows free movement of people.

among its member countries. The EU has the Single Market. It promotes internal market where people who live within the EU member countries to move freely, without restriction, i.e. they can travel between EU countries without a visa or a passport (although travelling via air still requires a passport, so this rule is somewhat redundant for UK nationals).

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Monetary unions

A monetary union, also known as a currency union, is the last step towards full integration. The euro single currency used in various EU member states. A monetary union, like a customs union, has no trade barriers to free trade; like a customs union, it has a set of common external trade barriers. Like a common market, it has perfect mobility of factors of resources. However, unlike a common market, the member countries adopt a single currency (e.g. the euro!). There is another step: member countries attempt to align their economic policies (monetary and fiscal).

Costs of monetary unions

- **Transition costs of a single currency**
There are costs associated with changing prices on menus, price labels, etc. There will be a period of adjustment while people realign their price expectations.
- **Loss of sovereignty**
As countries join together and agree to a change to a trade policy, they lose control and change its policy. A monetary union will mean the individual countries lose their independence to change monetary policy and lose exchange rate flexibility.

Benefits of monetary unions

- **Eliminating transaction costs**
Once all the countries are on the same currency, there is no cost in attending to different currencies to make transactions.
- **Price transparency**
It is much easier to make price comparisons if all goods and services are priced in the same currency.
- **Reduction in exchange rate uncertainty**
Exchange rates are constantly changing. Some countries may adopt fixed exchange rates, where the government makes small adjustments on the financial markets in order to keep the currency at the same value. This is costly and still not certain. With a single currency, transactions between France and Germany, for example, can occur without the worry of the exchange rate changing.

Learn More
To understand the benefits of the Eurozone, visit <https://www.zigzageducation.com/eurozone> and the video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAIcFv8YgYk>

For more information, visit <https://www.zigzageducation.com>

The UK and the EU

In June 2016, the UK held a referendum on its membership of the EU. Prior to the referendum, there was a debate between supporters of either side of the argument. Here is a brief summary of the arguments for and against staying in the EU both economic and non-economic. (Disclaimer: the arguments were written before the referendum, but I've tried to keep it unbiased!)

Arguments for remaining in the EU

- **The importance of EU-trade for jobs and economic growth.** The EU is the world's largest trading bloc. Leaving the EU would risk losing access to the single market. If we were to leave the EU, we may have to pay a fee or accept free movement of labour as a condition of access. A counter-argument to this is that we are larger than Norway so have more bargaining power. However, this is quite uncertain. It is generally agreed we would have to pay to access the single market, since if we got access for free it would encourage other countries to leave the EU.
- **If we leave the EU we lose our representation in the EU parliament.** We would lose our say on how our continent is governed.
- **Our voice on the international stage would be diminished if we leave.** Since the UK is no longer a major global power, it would deteriorate if we left the EU. The UK would be a smaller unit. In important international matters, such as the conflict in Syria, the UK would have less influence. Eurosceptics might argue that our membership of the EU does not make a difference and that we would still be a member of international organisations such as the G7.

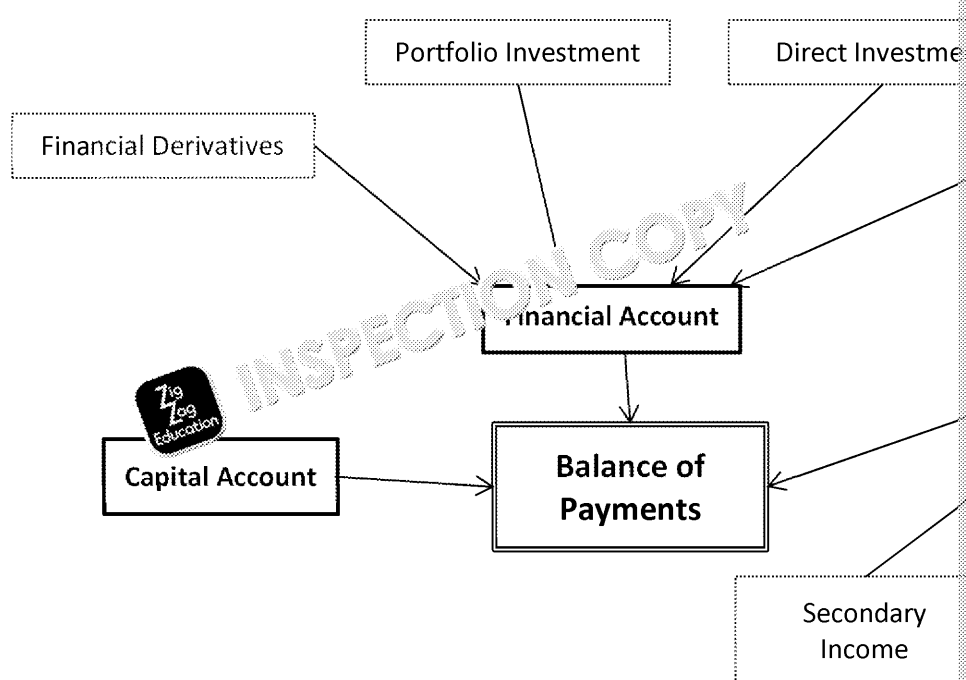
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Arguments for leaving the EU

- **Allows greater control over EU migration.** Some people are concerned about the number of migrants coming to the UK from Europe. As part of our membership deal, we have agreed to free movement of migrants, so leaving the EU would enable us to tighten our borders if we wished.
- **Increase our national sovereignty.** Opponents of the EU argue that the EU's regulations diminishes our ability to set our own laws. A counter-argument is that often than not we vote in agreement with the rest of the EU for our laws, and EU regulations increases trade (particularly in product markets and with respect to services).
- **Eliminate membership costs.** According to some figures, we are a net contributor to the EU budget. We would get this back if we left. A counter-argument to this is that it helps the EU as a whole contributor, since we are helping our future trading partners to develop. It does not mean that the EU is not beneficial for the economy (e.g. infrastructure spending in Northern Ireland and Wales), and there's no guarantee that a UK government would be able to do this.
- **We would be able to forge stronger trade relationships outside the EU.** Opponents of this argument say that being part of the EU does not stop us from making trade arrangements outside the EU.

The balance of payments



Components of the balance of payments

The balance of payments is made up of three parts: the capital account, the current account and the financial account. Your exam expects you to know these three components. However, you only need to know the current account in detail.

The balance of payments must always equal zero. If we spend more on imports than we sell in exports, then we will need to fund these purchases from another component of the account, such as selling a government bond, which is in the financial account. So, deficits in one component must be counterbalanced by a surplus in another.

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The current account

- **Balance of trade**

There are two parts to the balance of trade: the trade in goods balance, and the trade in services balance. The balance of trade looks at the value of goods that have been exported and imported, and the overall balance of these. An import appears as a negative because money leaves the economy in return for the imported good, and an export appears as a positive because money enters the economy in return for the exported good.

Current account deficit can occur when the value of imports exceeds the value of exports, meaning the overall value is negative, meaning more income is flowing out of the economy.

Current account surplus can occur when the value of exports exceeds the value of imports, meaning the overall value is positive, meaning more income is flowing into the economy.

- **Primary income**

The income part of the current account looks at the income earned by foreign citizens and domestic citizens. Income earned by domestic citizens on overseas assets is counted as a positive on the current account because it is coming into the economy, whereas the income earned by foreign citizens on domestic assets is counted as a negative because money is leaving the economy. Therefore, the current account can be in a deficit or surplus.

Current account deficit can occur when the value of domestic assets owned by foreign citizens exceeds the value of foreign assets owned by domestic citizens and the overall value is negative, meaning more income is flowing out of the economy.

Current account surplus can occur when the value of foreign assets owned by domestic citizens exceeds the value of domestic assets owned by foreign citizens and the overall value is positive, meaning more income is flowing into the economy.

- **Secondary income (previously current transfers)**

This looks at the transfers between governments. A transfer is something that is not in exchange for something else (i.e. it is not a result of trade because this would be an export or import). For example, if a government lends money to another, this is recorded as a negative on the current account. If a government borrows money, it is recorded as a positive. A specific example would be when the UK receives money from the EU's Common Agricultural Policy to support the UK's agricultural sector. This would appear as a positive on the current account. Therefore...

Current account deficit can occur when a country lends or gives more money than it receives and the overall value is negative, meaning more income is flowing out of the economy.

Current account surplus can occur when a country receives or borrows more money than it lends and the overall value is positive, meaning more income is flowing into the economy.

In summary...

A current account deficit occurs when the current account is negative because the total value of money leaving the country (-) exceeds the total value of money entering the country (+), meaning more income is flowing out of the economy.

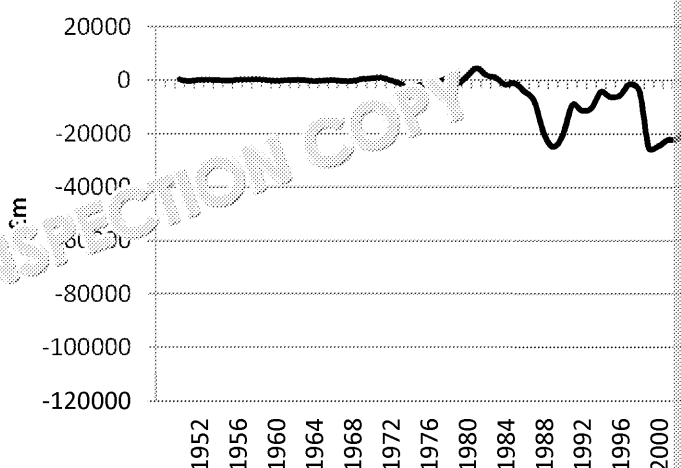
A current account surplus occurs when the current account is positive because the total value of money leaving the country (-) is less than the total value of money entering the country (+), meaning more income is flowing into the economy.

The chart below shows the history of the UK's balance of payments between 1940 and 2010. It shows that the UK has generally run a deficit on the current account since the 1970s.

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UK Balance of Payments
current account balance, current prices, seasonally adjusted



Source: ONS

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Real and nominal prices

The graph above shows the balance of payments in **current** prices rather than **constant** prices. The figures are **nominal** rather than **real**. The effect of inflation hasn't been taken into account.

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Seasonally adjusted figures

The figures in the graph above are **seasonally adjusted**. This means that any variation in the figures due to regular patterns (such as the summer holiday season) has been smoothed out.

The capital account

The capital account is a relatively small part of the balance of payments. It looks at the ownership of domestic firms and domestic ownership of foreign firms.

The financial account

- **Direct investment**

This accounts for the transfer of capital between an enterprise and an investor. It could be capital that is provided to an investor by an enterprise, or received by an investor. Direct investment tends to have a beneficial impact on an economy.

- **Portfolio investment**

This component looks at the investment in stocks and debt securities. The difference between direct investment (also known as FDI) and portfolio investment involves direct control over the business entity that receives the investment.

- **Financial derivatives**

A financial instrument is accounted for in the financial derivatives part of the balance of payments. These instruments are priced on the value of the underlying asset.

- **Reserves assets**

This part looks at the foreign financial assets that the Bank of England and other central banks use in order to regulate payment imbalances and for financing.

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Note: a positive addition (credit) on the current account will always be a negative addition (debit) on the capital account, and vice versa.

Causes of current account deficits and surpluses

- **Value of the country's currency**

If a country's currency is overvalued, then its goods and services will appear more expensive than other countries' goods and services. Simultaneously, an overvalued currency will make imports cheap. This will mean demand for the country's exports will fall, while demand for imports rises, and this could cause a current account deficit. If a country has an undervalued currency, demand for its exports will increase because its goods and services will appear cheaper. This could potentially lead to a current account surplus.

- **Relative inflation**

Inflation represents the price of a good or service. If a country has relatively higher inflation, the country's goods and services will appear at lower prices compared to other countries. This will find it easy to sell exports, potentially leading to a current account surplus. If a country has lower inflation than another, their prices will appear relatively higher than other countries. Demand for their exports will fall, potentially creating a current account deficit.

- **Economic growth from imports**

Economic growth tends to bring about higher average incomes. This means that people can afford more of their consumption and, if domestic supply cannot meet the increased demand, they will have to import. Rapid economic growth often results in a current account deficit because of the gap between increasing demand and increasing supply. Equally, in the UK we often import wine rather than UK wine. So when people's incomes go up, they will spend more on imports. Imports increase and the UK potentially has a current account deficit.

- **Non-price factors (quality and design)**

People don't base their decisions on a good or not solely on the price. The design or quality of a product can come into play. If a country produces goods that are of higher quality, it will have a greater demand for its exports and, thus, is likely to have a current account surplus. If a country has less appealing packaging, this may reduce demand for its exports, leading to a current account deficit.

Measures to reduce current account deficits

- **Expenditure reduction**

This is a deflationary policy aimed at reducing aggregate demand. A fall in aggregate demand leads to a fall in consumption (as this is a component of aggregate demand). A fall in consumption leads to a fall in the purchasing of imports, thus alleviating the deficits. If aggregate demand falls, it is hoped that firms will try to sell their goods to foreign consumers, which will provide further help to reduce a deficit.

Problems: A fall in aggregate demand can mean an economy has negative growth. Equally, unemployment may rise as firms cut back production to meet the fall in demand.

- **Expenditure switching**

By adding tariffs, quotas or other trade barriers, domestic consumers can be encouraged to switch expenditure from imported goods to domestically produced goods. By changing consumer habits, a current account deficit can be reduced.

Problems: Tariffs can lead to tit-for-tat retaliation from other trading partners. If domestic supply is failing, the deficit problem may not be corrected.

- **Supply-side policies**

Spending on policies that improve productivity and human capital can be used to increase the demand for exports through increased quality of goods, boosting international trade.

Problems: Supply-side policies tend to have long time lags, so their effects are not immediate.

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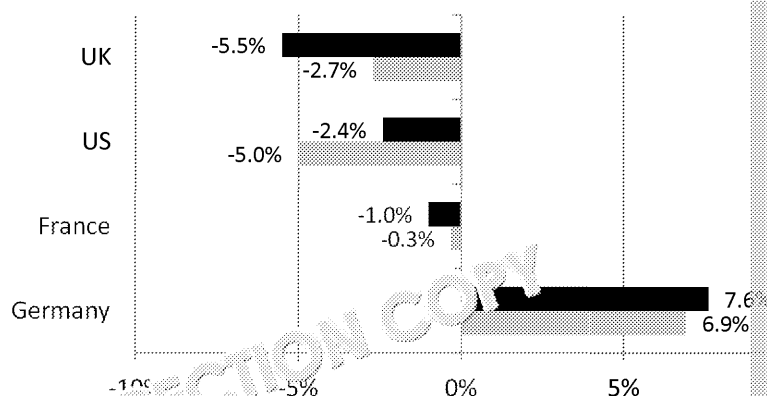
Global imbalances

It is not sustainable for a country to have a reoccurring current account deficit because it has to be financed via another component, most commonly through a surplus on the capital or financial account. Borrowing large sums of money can only alleviate the problem in the present time but will increase the interest or a return on their investment.

Scaled up to a global level, this can have significant problems. The recent collapse in 2008 suggested that large current account deficits are not sustainable. Equally, large current account surpluses are problematic if they last for a long time. High standards and consumer choice may lead to a current account surplus suggests resources are being used for export purposes rather than being used for domestic consumption.

The graph on the following page shows the change in current account balances in the UK, US, France and Germany in 2007 (before the financial crisis) and in 2014. Note how the UK's current account balance has worsened in this time period, while the US's improved. Germany ran a current account *surplus* in 2007 and 2014.

Current account balance in the UK and select countries
(% of nominal GDP)



Source: ONS, Financial Statistics; Bureau of Economic Analysis, INSEE

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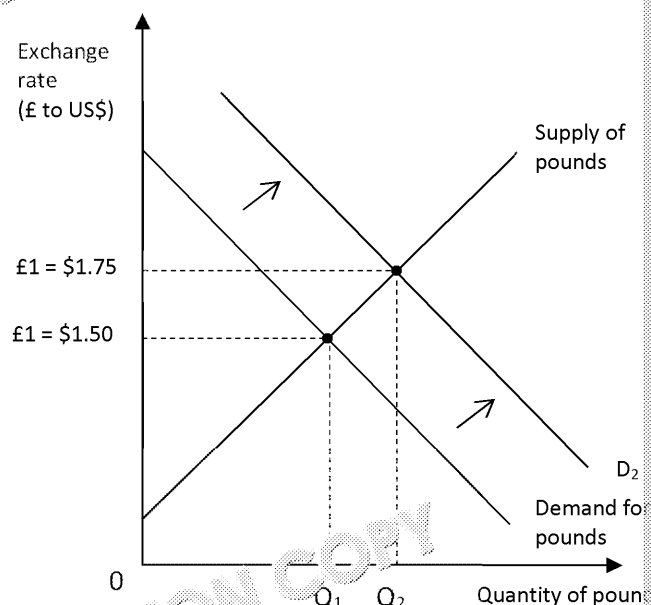
Exchange rate systems

The exchange rate is the price of one currency expressed in terms of another currency. For example, the exchange rate between the pound and the US dollar could be $\text{£}1 = \$1.50$.

There are two main ways in which exchange rates work: a free floating exchange rate and a fixed exchange rate. Most large, modern economies today use a free floating exchange rate (including the UK).

Free floating exchange rates

Under a free floating exchange rate, the supply and demand for a currency determine its value.



In this diagram, the initial equilibrium is where $\text{£}1 = \$1.50$. If demand shifts to the right, the exchange rate (or 'price' of pounds in terms of dollars) goes up. Now $\text{£}1$ can buy more dollars.

Demand and supply for a particular currency can change for a number of reasons, including:

- **Economic prospects.** A country that is performing strongly is likely to have a higher demand for its currency.
- **Interest rates.** A country with a high interest rate makes it attractive to save in that country, boosting demand for the currency.
- **Inflation.** Inflation reduces the value of money. A country experiencing a high rate of inflation would see a fall in demand for its currency.
- **Speculation.** Some investors buy or sell currencies on the foreign exchange markets to try to earn a profit. For example, if they expect that value of the pound to rise, they might buy pounds at a low exchange rate, then sell them once the exchange rate goes up.



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Fixed exchange rates

The opposite of a free floating exchange rate is a fixed exchange rate: in this case the value of the currency rather than leaving it to the free market. Often an economy's currency is fixed to that of a leading currency, such as the US dollar or Euro. For example, Switzerland pegged the Swiss franc to the Euro at €1 = 1.2 Swiss francs.

The main advantage of a fixed exchange rate is that it provides a stable environment for businesses who import and/or export goods. They are no longer at risk of sudden fluctuations in the price of their goods.

However, the problem with a fixed exchange rate system is that the government has to take steps to maintain the fixed exchange rate. In the Swiss case, many investors were seen as 'hot money', which in a free market would have pushed up the exchange rate. To maintain the peg, the government had to print new francs and exchange them for Euros (increasing the money supply). To fears that it would cause inflation. In the end, downward pressure on the value of the franc (due to quantitative easing by the European Central Bank) made it impossible for the Swiss to maintain it, so they abandoned it.

Most countries that experiment with fixed exchange rates tend to abandon them due to the too much pressure on the central bank to artificially maintain the peg, which prevents them from making other areas. For example, the central bank is constrained when it comes to changing the interest rate. They would like to change the interest rate to manage economic growth. However, under a fixed exchange rate, they are likely to need to change it in order to maintain the peg instead (e.g. increasing the interest rate to increase the market value of the currency: this could cause a slowdown in the economy).

Currency unions: advantages and disadvantages

Lots of the arguments around fixed and floating exchange rates also apply to currency unions. The Eurozone. These pros and cons were covered in the section on trade, but here's a summary.

Advantages of currency unions

- Eliminating the need for converting between currencies, this saves time and effort.
- Reduces exchange rate uncertainty – economies within the currency union no longer have to worry about exchange rate fluctuations.
- Easy for consumers to compare costs and prices in different countries (trade integration).

Disadvantages of currency unions

- Loss of monetary policy for individual countries. This is an important one. During the 2008 financial crisis, the German economy would have benefited from high interest rates, while Greece would have benefited from low interest rates. The European Central Bank had to choose between the two. This is why economists say that currency unions only work if participating economies go through similar economic cycles, i.e. they go through booms and slumps at roughly the same time.
- Initial set-up cost – costs of printing new money, for example.

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Economic growth and development

Economic growth is the monetary value of a country in terms of the size of its economy.

Economic development is the quality of a country in terms of how established and how its welfare are.

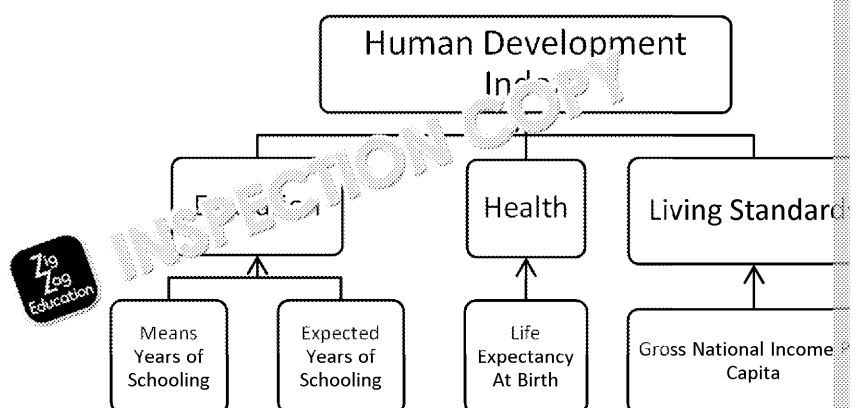
How do they differ...?

Development and growth differ in terms of what they are concerned with, and so variables. Production is better at showing the size and value of an economy, whereas development is better at showing the quality of the workforce. There is often a relationship between the two, but it does not always hold true, it is believed that increasing economic growth leads to increasing economic development. This is because an economy that is growing has more income and this income can be used to improve other aspects of society, such as funding for goods and services; it can be taxed, meaning there is more money going to the government which can be redirected towards improving schools and hospitals, for example.

Human Development Index (HDI)

1. **Education:** Mean years of schooling for an adult aged 25 and expected years of schooling
2. **Health:** Life expectancy at birth
3. **Real GNI per capita:** Adjusted using purchasing power parity

The measures come together to create an index value between 0 and 1. Countries are ranked according to how developed they are, 0 being less developed and 1 being more developed.



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Advantages and limitations of HDI

- + It is multidimensional as it combines economic growth measures with measures for showing development.
- + It allows for easy comparison and ranking between countries.
- It does not take into account inequality, and only looks at the mean average.
- It does not take into account ecological or environmental considerations.

QUANTITATIVE SKILLS

Understanding composite indicators

A requirement of the quantitative skills element of the course is the understanding of the most common composite indicators. The most important of these are:

A key idea is that HDI is unitless: it is an index, composed of various factors as shown in the table below. It can only be interpreted, therefore, as a means of comparison with other countries.

The HDI is a geometric mean of the three components (education, health, and living standards). **need to calculate composite indicators in your exam.** However, the formula for calculating it is not required, so you understand it:

$$HDI = \sqrt[3]{Education\ Index \times Life\ Expectancy\ Index \times Income\ Index}$$

Top 10 Countries in 2014

Ranked by HDI	Ranked by GDP per capita
1. Norway	1. Luxembourg
2. Australia	2. Norway
3. Switzerland	3. Qatar
4. Denmark	4. Macau
5. Netherlands	5. Switzerland
6. Germany	6. Singapore
7. Ireland	7. Denmark
8. United States	8. Sweden
9. Canada	9. Singapore
10. New Zealand	10. USA

The table to the left shows the top 10 countries in the world ranked by HDI and the top 10 countries ranked by GDP per capita. The lists are quite different.

Source: United Nations/World Bank, 2016

Other development indicators

Economic indicators (GDP, GNI, GNP)

Economic indicators can show development because there is often a correlation between economic growth and development. By measuring the national income in an economy, it can indicate whether the economy is expanding and improving. However, economic measures are not accurate at showing development because there is no guarantee a large economy has a progressed society with high living standards.

Inequality (Lorenz curve and Gini coefficient)

The problem with economic measures and development measures alike is that they are averages. Averages may appear at good but they can be unrepresentative of the actual situation. These values if there is a small group that measures extremely highly. Because these people and not the rest of the population, these masked groups are significant but, unfortunately, the Gini coefficient attempt to account for the ranges and focus on the distribution of income in actually is and isn't represented by the development average.

Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI)

IHDI attempts to take into account the damaging effects of inequality. It is calculated as a percentage of the average that were calculated according to the inequality levels within the country. If there is high inequality then the averages will be lowered in order to account for this.

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- **Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)**

MPI looks at poverty from a versatile point of view. It goes beyond a simple income measure and looks at a wide variety of measures, such as sanitation, and considers whether they are deprived of one-third or more of the items measured.

- **Mobile phones**

By looking at the number of mobile phones there are per 1,000 people, a country's level of development can be determined. This can indicate the level of development a country is at, whether the incomes are high enough to afford mobile phones, and also whether there is access to technology which can improve production.

- **Access to clean water**

Clean water is a basic human right, and the accessibility can show the ability of a country. This is indicating a country's level of development.

Factors influencing growth and development

- **Primary product dependency**

Primary product dependency refers to countries whose main bulk of exports are primary products (raw materials) such as wood or coal. This can limit growth for a variety of reasons. Firstly, primary products generally have little return, hence why they are sometimes called 'commodities'. This means the value of exports is very low and there will be only a small inflow of foreign currency. Secondly, commodity prices fluctuate, which causes swings in a country's exchange rate, and can create economic instability and limit the ability to attract investment. As income elasticities are income elastic, so as world incomes rise, there will be little change to demand for primary products.

- **Volatility of commodity prices**

Commodity price volatility can create economic instability from inflation and deflation, leading to producers varying revenue. This will deter potential investors in the country, as they may need to grow and develop.

- **Harrod-Domar model (savings gap)**

The Harrod-Domar model explains that there are two factors that affect a country's growth: the savings ratio and the capital-output ratio. The savings ratio is the ratio of savings to GDP; the more savings, the more capital a country can produce and so the quicker it will grow. The capital-output ratio is the ratio of capital to output; the higher the ratio, the easier it is for banks to lend money to invest and grow.

- **Foreign currency gap**

Developing countries may suffer from a foreign currency gap. This is when the value of payments deficit (on the current account) is higher than capital inflows. This is because payments are heavily dependent on exports (perhaps coffee beans or bananas).

- **Capital flight**

This is when investors move their capital from investing in one country to another. This can happen for a variety of reasons. For example, if there is a high return on investment in the original country, so the return on investment will fall and as a response, investors shift their capital to another country. Political and economic instability can also lead to investors moving their money to another country. The consequence of capital flight is that a country's currency will fall dramatically and its economy will fluctuate; even if the money leaves an economy it may begin to deflate and its growth and development will be affected.

- **Demographic factors**

The demography of a country refers to the distribution of age of a population. A young population are likely to be restricted in growth rates because a lot of the population are outside working age.

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- **Debt**

If countries are spending money to repay old debts, then they are unable to invest in infrastructure or development policies. Debt repayments represent an outflow of money from the country. The nominal value of the debt is less relevant; the sustainability of the debt depends on the country's economy and its ability to afford it. This is why debt is often measured as a percentage of GDP.

- **Access to credit and banking**

If the people within a country do not have access to capital or the ability to borrow money, then they will not be able to protect and grow their wealth, or take out loans. Lack of accessibility can prevent a country from growing and developing.

- **Infrastructure**

Infrastructure determines the ease with which resources can be moved. Poor infrastructure will prevent businesses from transporting their goods, therefore preventing businesses from acquiring the resources they need for production. Poor infrastructure prevents businesses from manufacturing. These barriers will prevent a country from growing its businesses and economy.

- **Education and skills**

Education and skill can improve human capital. Countries which invest in education will find their growth and development rates will increase as they have a better educated workforce.

- **Absence of property rights**

Property is often used as collateral when somebody takes out a loan. If people do not have property rights, then this may prevent them from obtaining a loan, and hence their growth and development rates may suffer.

Non-economic factors

Non-economic factors affect the country's ability to manage and regulate society, the efficiency of the economy and reduces growth levels. These factors can also reduce the quality of life, which adversely affects a country's development levels. Some examples are:

- corruption
- poor governance
- weak institutions
- political instability
- geography
- distribution of resources (resource curse)
- landlocked countries

Market-orientated strategies are strategies where the government attempts to encourage growth and development, rather than the government directly changing the conditions.

Interventionist strategies are strategies where the government takes a more direct role in the market, the government will simply change the market conditions.

Market-orientated strategies

- **Trade liberalisation**

By reducing trade barriers and liberalising trade, it is hoped a country will benefit from an increased market. More competition means a country can increase its inflows of income into the economy. This should also increase job creation, which, in turn, will boost the economy from greater demand (due to the increase in income and living standards).

- **Promotion of FDI**

Foreign multinational companies can bring an inflow of money into an economy, which can boost economic growth and development. If a foreign MNC sets up a factory in a country because the tax rates are low, then the theory is that it will offer jobs for the local population that will boost the economy.

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- **Removal of government subsidies**

By removing a subsidy, industries that were once protected by state intervention enter international competition. Inefficient industries will collapse as they are unable to compete. In the long run, it is hoped that removing subsidies will improve resource allocation. Resources were tied up in these industries, or the resources spent on protecting them can now be reallocated to more efficient industries that will provide more revenue. However, while one industry collapses and another begins, there will be a period of transition which will reduce growth and development. Imports will rise if domestic industries are unable to go with domestically produced goods any more, and this could cause a trade deficit. However, the money that the government isn't spending on subsidies can be spent elsewhere, such as on supporting those who lost their jobs from the declining industries and on development policies.

- **Floating exchange rate systems**

Countries that have spent money on artificially keeping their currency high are moving to a floating exchange rate. This is when they allow their currency to appreciate or depreciate with change in demand and supply. The currency will depreciate from its previous level, there will be a boost in exports and a fall in imports. This inflow of money can be used for development.

- **Microfinance schemes**

Microfinance is a way for people to loan a small amount of money to fund other people's investment projects. It is often aimed at people who have little access to banks and funding, to help promote their innovation and entrepreneurship. By providing finance to those who lack the ability and opportunity, a country can find a positive impact on its growth and development levels.

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- **Privatisation**

Privatisation can make an organisation more efficient. Equally, any resources spent on the organisation can be spent on development and growth policies. The company will now generate profits which will be taxed, adding to the government's revenue.

Interventionist strategies

- **Human capital**

By improving human capital, a country can increase the productivity and thus increasing GDP and economic growth. Equally, the more skilled and educated the workforce, the more likely it is that industries that produce complex and high value goods will develop; this in turn will bring in higher revenues and greater incomes for the population.

- **Protectionism**

Protecting industries will protect the jobs of those within the industry. It ensures critical goods will still be produced and provided for the domestic population. However, living standards may fall. Protecting infant industries can allow a market to develop, and the economy will expand into a global market and economic growth.

- **Managed exchange rates**

A government can manage the exchange rate by changing the demand and supply of the currency. By doing this, a government can depreciate the value of its currency. The inflow of income from greater exports can increase the government's revenue.

- **Infrastructure development**

The economy works as your body might: every little component has a function. If these components can have significant effects on the whole system. The nervous system and arteries: it allows the economy to function and transport resources. Inefficiencies and time lags which will only add barriers to economic growth.

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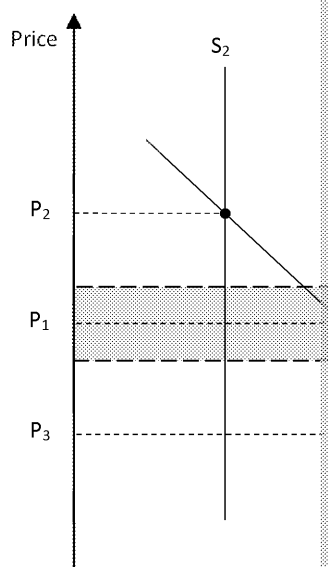
buildings and roads can have negative effects on living standards and quality of life. Investing in infrastructure can improve the economy and surroundings.

- **Promoting joint ventures with global companies**

By promoting the engagement of global companies, a country can benefit from direct investment which can inject money into the economy for growth, create jobs and provide employment and incomes to the people within the country. Growth rates through increased aggregate demand, but will improve development as people will be able to afford the goods and services they require.

- **Buffer stock schemes**

Agricultural goods and commodities are susceptible to price volatility. This is detrimental for farmers as some years they will have very little income and they cannot always plan ahead for investment as they do not know what returns they will have in the future. This can be detrimental to an economy, especially one that has a large agricultural sector, as this not only will affect the balance of payments and output of an economy, but also the farmers are other businesses' consumers and if their incomes are low, it can have knock-on effects for other markets. Buffer stocks are designed to mitigate these



fluctuations and allow farmers the ability to plan, invest and grow. To show how this works, we will use the example of corn (see graph). One year there is a bumper harvest and the supply curve will be S_3 and the price would be at P_3 . This is below the minimum income for farmers to meet their basic needs and the government will buy corn in order to reduce supply to S_2 and bring the price back to the target range of corn; perhaps there was particularly bad weather for growing corn the following year. The government's chance to sell its stored stock of corn from the previous bumper harvest. Selling the stored corn will push the supply curve back down again to be within the set limits. This also ensures there is enough corn for consumers to buy, and at a price they are able to pay.

Other strategies

- **Industrialisation**

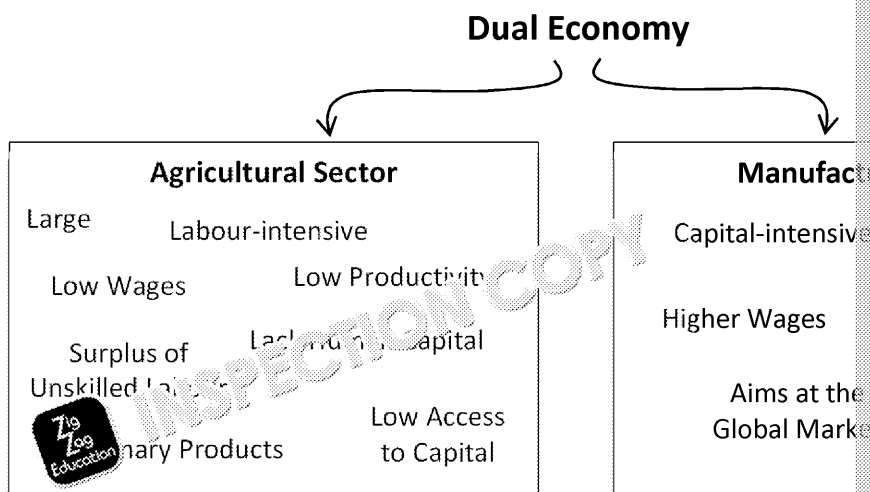
Industrialisation is the idea that a country develops its sectors from a low-return agricultural sector to a higher-return industrialised sector. Industrialised markets tend to be more developed and produce goods that bring in higher revenues, which results in higher wages. They also tend to have higher prices. This increase in the value of goods should boost an economy and improve living standards through more advanced technology and higher wages.

- **The Lewis model**

William Arthur Lewis came up with a development model to explain how a country could move from an agricultural to an industrialised economy. He believed countries would have a surplus of labour in the agricultural sector and a smaller surplus in the manufacturing sector. The Lewis model assumes the agricultural sector would have a surplus of labour and the manufacturing sector would have higher wages, but that these would be attracted from the agricultural sector. The firms in the manufacturing sector would invest their profits in expanding the sector. The people who joined this sector, leaving the agricultural sector, and as firms grew the manufacturing sector would expand, and as the agriculture sector diminished the economy would develop.

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- **Tourism**

The tourist industries tend to require more labour-intensive work than capital-intensive work. This means countries with low levels of capital, but that are 'labour abundant', can access these markets. Holidaymakers present an inflow of money into an economy as they consume the goods; they also tend to have slightly more inelastic demand curves.

Evaluation Point

Tourism can present environmental problems. For example, tourists can damage the environment through travel. Airports not only contribute to CO₂ emissions, but also to air pollution. Resources are sometimes provided for tourists at the expense of local nationals.

- **Fair trade schemes**

Often, developing countries are unable to compete on the global market due to the market power of developed countries and their protective policies. The WTO aims to reduce protective policies in order to provide developing countries with the chance to fairly trade their goods and services.

Evaluation

Fair trade can help 'misaligned' industries to use resources more effectively than other methods.

- **Aid**

Supporters of aid believe money given to countries can be spent on development policies which improve growth and development rates. However, critics of aid believe money will be spent on policies that appeal to the public but are actually inefficient for development. There are different types of aid:

Humanitarian aid = things given in times of emergency, such as temporary shelter.

Grants = money given ('free of charge') to fund projects.

Soft loans = money given with the intent of being paid back, usually at a lower interest rate.

- **Debt relief**

Countries that have borrowed money may find they are unable to pay it back. In the 1980s and 1990s 'debt crisis' occurred. Countries with high repayment costs will stop spending money on development and growth policies because they are instead repaying the debt. If the government can put the money into the economy, it can stimulate growth.

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Review questions: the international economy

- (a) Name one advantage and one disadvantage of globalisation.
(b) How do the effects of globalisation differ for developed and less-developed countries?
- Explain how a country can have a comparative advantage in the production of a good when the country has an absolute advantage.
- What is the difference between a tariff and a quota?
- Describe the characteristics of the Single European Market.
- Explain the difference between export-led growth and expenditure-switching and expenditure-led growth.
- (a) Describe the components of the current account of the balance of payments.
(b) Describe the UK's current account position.
- The benefits of the Eurozone are quite clear: it lowers transaction costs and reduces uncertainty for businesses and consumers. What is the main disadvantage of the Eurozone?
- Why might a country want to fix their exchange rate?
- What are the three components of the Human Development Index (HDI)?
- Name three factors that might prevent a country from developing.

Exam-style questions: the international economy

- 'Globalisation and the rise of free trade have allowed the Chinese economy to develop over the last few decades. More people have been lifted out of poverty in China than any other single factor.'*
Discuss the costs and benefits of globalisation, considering both developed and developing countries in your answer.
- Evaluate the policies that the UK government might use to reduce the current account balance of payments.

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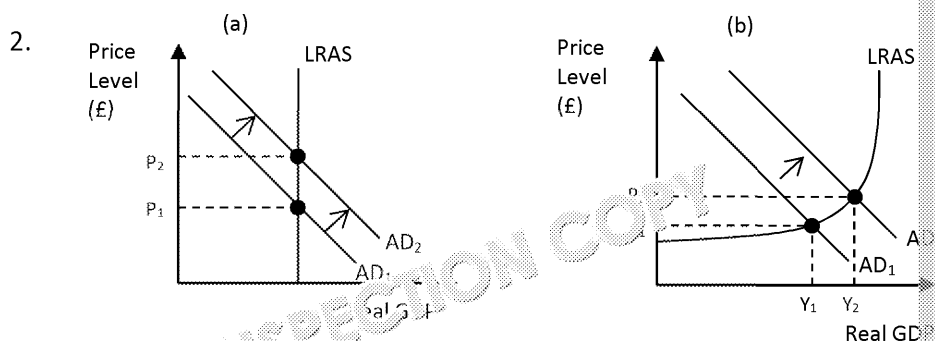
Answers to Review Questions

The measurement of economic performance

1. The main problem with this is it does not account for population size (GDP per capita). India is the fourth most populous country in the world (approx. 256m people), while the Netherlands has a population of around 17m. So comparing the GDP of each country without adjusting for population is misleading: on average, people in the Netherlands are much better off than people in India.
2. The correct answer is that it buys fewer rupees at the PPP exchange rate. Think of this in terms of: if India's original GDP were, say, 100 billion rupees, and the PPP exchange rate (\$1 = 60 rupees) its GDP in US\$ would be \$1.66bn. But since the PPP measure of GDP would be higher: so if the PPP exchange rate were \$1 = 40 rupees, its GDP would be \$2.5bn, higher than the original number. (Note: these numbers are purely illustrative)

How the macroeconomy works

1. (a) If households spend 40p from every extra £1, then the marginal propensity to consume (MPC) is 0.4, so the multiplier is equal to $1 / (1 - MPC)$, so in this case the multiplier is 1.67.
(b) If the initial injection is £5m, then the eventual increase in income is £8.35m.



3. (a) This is likely to shift both AS and AD to the right. More immigrants mean more workers, which increases aggregate supply. Immigrants also demand goods and services, increasing aggregate demand.
(b) This is likely to lead to a shift to the left in AS, since it could lead to a decrease in productivity. There would probably be a long time lag for this effect to be felt.
(c) This should shift both AS and AD to the left. AD would fall since the demand for goods and services would worsen (since the UK imports more oil than it exports). AS would shift left since oil is a raw material used in production for many industries, making it more expensive for firms to produce goods.
(d) This should shift aggregate demand to the right, since it will encourage consumption (due to a tax on consumption). You could argue that it would reduce government spending, shifting AD to the left, but the effect of government spending is likely to be smaller than the effect of consumption, so it is likely that the net effect would be a shift to the right.

Economic performance

1. A slump is just a slowdown in economic activity, i.e. when the rate of economic growth falls below zero for two consecutive quarters of negative GDP growth rate. So a recession is just a particularly bad slump (look back at the graph for more detail). In most of the slumps GDP growth is low but still positive.
2. Possible answers include: government policy, confidence in the economy, factors such as booms and slumps in other economies.

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3. (a) Voluntary unemployment
(b) Involuntary unemployment
4. (a) $MV = PQ$
(b) P
(c) This suggests that either P or Q (or both) must fall. In other words, w
either the price level will fall (which is the same as deflation) or the a
being traded will fall (or both). Both of these are considered bad for
contractions in the money supply lead to a fall in economic growth (a
might not be true!).
5. When the economy is performing weakly and unemployment is high, firms
which reduces inflation. Conversely, when the economy is performing str
firms tend to raise wages to attract more workers, increasing inflation.

Financial markets and monetary policy

1. A store of value, a means of exchange and a unit of account.
2. Narrow money consists only of notes and coins, whereas broad money co
well as bank deposits.
3. Because illiquid assets tend to generate a higher return, it can be more pr
as much into illiquid assets as possible. While liquid assets are safer, they
return. Hence there is a trade-off.
4. Other functions include: lender of last resort, maintaining macroeconomic
confidence in the financial system
5. Regulatory measures include: reserve/liquidity/capital requirements, mea
from malpractice, monitoring the riskiness of individual bank activities, ma
financial system as a whole.


Fiscal policy and supply-side policies

1. The cyclical deficit (or surplus) is the part of the total budget balance that
economic cycle. It is the automatic fall in government spending and rise in
automatic rise in government spending and fall in tax revenues in a slump.
The structural budget balance is the rest of the difference between spend
cannot be explained by cyclical factors (e.g. the government is simply spe
2. Measuring national debt as a percentage of GDP is generally considered to
national debt could rise, but if the economy is growing at a faster rate the
is offset by the increase in GDP. The faster the economy grows, the more
have to pay back its debts.
3. Fuel tax serves a dual purpose: to raise tax revenues (it accounts for arou
for the negative externalities caused by fuel consumption (in terms of poll
4. Possible measures include:
Cutting government spending – but this runs the risk of lowering econom
Raising taxes – again this has a dampening effect on economic growth
Trying to boost economic growth – this is more of a long-term strategy: if
increased then future tax revenues should be higher. However, there is a
fail to boost growth, or that they will increase the budget deficit in the sh
government borrowing costs.
5. Free-market policies could include: tax cuts, deregulation (e.g. of the finan
Royal Mail), labour market reforms (e.g. reducing the power of trade union
Interventionist policies could include: spending on education/training, spe
development, nationalisation, regulation (e.g. of the financial sector), indu
infant industry).

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The international economy

1. (a) Possible advantages might include: more trade (which means higher choice, lower prices, better cultural integration/understanding, elimination of collaboration on research and technology, etc.
Possible disadvantages might include: temporary loss of domestic jobs, potential for greater inequality within countries, potential exploitation.
(b) Developed countries are likely to benefit from cheaper goods from all over the world of goods in general. However, it could be damaging for less-skilled workers who find that their jobs are under threat.
Developing countries should benefit from globalisation as they have a comparative advantage. They may be exploited by trans-national companies. They may encourage skilled workers migrate to developed countries.

Note: these are just very basic consequences of globalisation, in reality it is more complex to country and the arguments can be much more in-depth.
2. Comparative advantage refers to the opportunity cost of producing a good. It is the cost of a good that can be produced. As such, it is quite possible for a country to have a comparative advantage in a good (perhaps because it is particularly well suited for producing it) whereas another country could produce more in total if it chose to.
3. Both are protectionist policies that aim to restrict imports. The difference is that a tariff is a tax on imports coming in, which makes them more expensive, whereas a quota is a limit on the total number of a good that can be imported.
4. The Single European Market is mainly concerned with free trade in goods and services between members, i.e. all protectionist barriers to trade are abolished. It also specifies common regulations for businesses operating within the market, e.g. labour laws and standards. It is also associated with the liberalisation of financial markets, to allow smoother movement of money between countries. Free movement of people between member countries is another key feature. The Common Customs Tariff (a charge on imports from outside the EU) is also abolished.
5. Expenditure-switching refers to a policy of making imports more expensive to encourage consumers to switch to domestic products. Expenditure-reducing refers to a policy of reducing consumption in the economy, which should reduce the quantity of imports. Both policies aim to correct a current account deficit on the balance of payments.
6. (a) The current account can be broken down into the balance of trade (which is the balance of trade in goods and the balance of trade in services) and the balance of trade in incomes.
(b) Traditionally, the UK runs a surplus in trade in services but a large deficit in trade in goods, leading to an overall deficit in most years. The income part of the current account is usually in surplus (and most other countries).
7. The big disadvantage is that it results in a loss of monetary independence because the central bank can only set one interest rate (if each country set its own, the common currency would be undermined), so if the economic cycles in different countries are out of phase, the central bank will not be able to set a policy that benefits everyone. For example, if Greece is in a recession, then an interest rate rise to benefit Germany would be a rate fall for Greece.
8. The advantage of a fixed exchange rate is that it removes exchange rate risk. Firms know the value of the currency won't fluctuate over time, which would make future costs and revenues uncertain. This stability and certainty should benefit an economy.
9. Life expectancy, years of schooling (education) and GNI (gross national income) are indicators of development.
10. Possible barriers to development include: corruption, lack of basic infrastructure, poor education, absent property rights, the resource curse (where countries go to promoting one industry, at the expense of the rest of the economy).

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Answers to Exam-style Questions

Exam-style questions: economic performance

1. D
2. B
3. D
4. A
5. For this answer you should first introduce the short-run Phillips curve trade-off between inflation and unemployment in the short-run. You



in, this relationship doesn't seem to hold, since the economy is in a state of employment (as shown by the long-run Phillips curve). Technological change and unemployment should be defined in your answer (in this case it is the long-run Phillips curve that shows the labour market is in equilibrium).

Since the natural rate of unemployment is so important, the government might implement policies to try to reduce the natural rate of unemployment. This could include improving the geographical mobility of labour (e.g. by building new housing or transport systems), or other issues that prevent people finding work. You should mention these in your answer.

In your answer you should note that it is pretty much impossible for the government to escape the trade-off in the short-run: if it tries to reduce unemployment below the natural rate, the result will be higher inflation.

Note: this question is probably harder than anything you'll have to do in the real exam, essay questions will be based on case studies, so you should support your answer with evidence.

Exam-style questions: financial markets and monetary policy

1. C
2. B
3. C
4. D



5. Some of the main ways in which the financial sector can be regulated include:
Increasing the liquidity/capital reserve requirements for banks – part of the problem during the 2008 financial crisis was that banks were too highly leveraged – i.e. the value of their loans was too high relative to their reserves/capital. Also, the assets they held were illiquid, so they couldn't easily convert them into cash to pay off their debts. Requiring banks to hold larger reserves means they have to hold more cash, which means lower profits. There is a trade-off with this, however, if banks are required to hold more reserves then they won't be able to make as much profit.

Monitoring the activities of banks, making sure they aren't taking excessive risks – regulators were completely ignorant of the risk involved in some banks' activities. Making sure regulators have oversight of these kinds of activities is very important, since it can help to prevent a crisis. Making banks think more carefully about investing in certain products. However, some products are very complicated, and banks are often selling them, so it's no easy task to monitor them.

Better protection for consumers – some banks have been found guilty of mis-selling products. More effective regulation is needed to ensure that banks are particularly avoiding 'regulatory capture' and transparency in the industry.



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Exam-style questions: fiscal policy and supply-side policy

1. A (B is not necessarily true, because the economy could grow at a faster rate)
2. D (a government could cut spending, but the budget deficit might still rise if tax receipts fall. Income tax rates could go up but total tax revenue could fall if the tax system discourages people from working).
3. D (the other three are interventionist policies)
4. C (LRAS increases because of an improvement in human capital, AD will shift right and the price level will fall. AD increases. Note that this question assumes that the increase in spending is not financed by borrowing. If it is, the price level will rise and AD will shift left).
5. You could first explain how infrastructure spending boosts growth. The increase in government spending leads to higher income for the workers they employ. In terms of a diagram, the aggregate demand curve shifts to the right, leading to higher real output.

The increase in national income/GDP will depend on the size of the multiplier (which depends on the marginal propensity to consume). If the workers the government hire spend a large proportion of their income, the eventual economic growth will be much higher than the initial increase in government spending. You could also argue that improving the infrastructure of a country will have long-term benefits, e.g. in the case of better roads it reduces transport costs and could lead to higher productivity, potentially shifting LRAS to the right after a time lag.

However, there are some drawbacks to this policy. Firstly, there is an opportunity cost. A particularly expensive project could lead to a higher budget deficit and also impose a future cost on society in terms of debt repayments. Furthermore, the success of the policy will depend on how well it is implemented – there are many examples of infrastructure projects that have failed (particularly IT related projects).

There is also a risk that the increase in AD will lead to inflation: this depends on the state of the economy (this can be shown on a diagram). If the economy is in a recession, the increase in AD is less likely to be inflationary, whereas it is more likely to be inflationary in a boom.

Exam-style questions: the international economy

1. This is a very broad question, and there are many different points you could make. Some points you might want to bring up include:

Developing countries

- Globalisation increases opportunities for trade by developing countries, leading to higher incomes in the economy. China is a good example of this, as many people have moved out of poverty due to rising incomes. However, even if this leads to more growth, it could lead to inequality within individual developing countries.
- Globalisation gives less-developed countries access to better technology and infrastructure that they would have been able to create themselves. Many developing countries have access to mobile phones, infrastructure and modern agricultural techniques that were not available 40 years ago.
- However, there are some disadvantages of globalisation for developing countries. They might become dependent on a particular commodity, which is exposed to a collapse in the world market or a production crisis. Furthermore, they might be exploited in various ways by multinational companies (or indeed foreign governments).

Developed countries

- Developed countries benefit from globalisation as they have access to a wider range of goods and services. This improves living standards and could boost economic growth, although there is a risk of running a persistent current account deficit.
- One disadvantage of globalisation is that it makes certain professions redundant. Jobs that were produced considerably cheaper abroad, either the industry has to close down (leading to losses) or the country has to resort to protectionism (which can be costly).

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contraction in total trade). A counter argument to this is that globalisation creates more jobs than it destroys, but the main problem is that it seems to be unskilled workers who are disproportionately affected by globalisation. Unskilled workers who are replaced by foreign workers (or machines) may struggle to find decent employment and may not get support from the government.

- Make sure your answer is a balanced discussion of the costs and benefits of globalisation for less-developed and more-developed countries.
- Note: this question is very topical with the rise of Donald Trump, who was a presidential candidate in the US in 2016. Trump is unusual in that he is strongly protectionist. He has revived old debates in the US and elsewhere, but the general view is that globalisation is a force for good.

2. The current account component of the balance of payments is made up of exports minus imports plus net income from investments. Given that investment income is a credit in the current account (and that the government has little control over it) it makes sense to focus on the net trade in goods and services.

There are two ways in which a trade deficit could be corrected: either by reducing imports or by increasing exports.

Policies to increase exports

- Most policies to increase exports involve some interventionist policy. For example, subsidising a particular industry, or funding research and development in new technologies. Improving the quality and quantity of exports in the long run might help to reduce the current account deficit, but it does have an opportunity cost in terms of higher government spending and it might be viewed as anticompetitive. If other countries respond with similar policies, the policy might not be effective.
- Any measure to improve international competitiveness would help to increase exports.
- Another way to increase exports would be to devalue the currency, but this has a high opportunity cost as it conflicts with other macroeconomic objectives (and most countries are not on a flexible exchange rate system). However, China does periodically devalue its currency, partly with the goal of increasing its exports. This has caused a great deal of controversy, though (particularly from the US), who feel that they are at a competitive disadvantage.
- An alternative method of increasing exports could be to sign a free trade agreement with a trading bloc – although this is likely to end up increasing imports as well as exports.

Policies to reduce imports

- Policies to reduce imports are actually quite similar to those aimed at increasing exports. Improving the quality of domestic production might mean that people choose to buy domestic products (expenditure-switching).
- The government could also use deflationary fiscal/monetary policy to reduce demand in the economy. If consumers are spending less, they will reduce their demand for imports. However, exports will not be affected (since this depends on demand from abroad). Deflationary policies, if used at a bad time, could lead to a recession.
- The other main method of reducing imports is via protectionism: imposing trade barriers (e.g. product standards). In theory, this both reduces imports and increases domestic production for the government. In reality, however, it might lead to retaliatory measures and a reduction in total trade overall.
- In your evaluation, you could also consider the view that a current account deficit is not a problem. It can be argued that we benefit so much from globalisation that it is worth running a deficit to pay for them, so long as the deficit does not become too large.

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Glossary

Absolute advantage	When an economy can produce more of a good than another economy.
Accelerator process	The idea that a small rise in national income can provoke a large increase in investment levels.
Aggregate demand	Total spending on all goods and services in an economy.
Aggregate supply	Total output in an economy.
Automatic stabilisers	Changes in government spending on benefits and tax revenue that occur automatically during the economic cycle, partly because of the way the tax and benefit systems are set up.
Balance of payments on the current account	A measure of the inflows and outflows on the current account.
Balance sheet	An accounting document used to track the assets, liabilities and equity of a company.
Bond yield	The return an investor gets from buying a bond, based on its price.
Broad money	Money in the form of bank deposits, plus notes and coins in circulation.
Budget balance	The difference between the government's revenue and expenditure.
Central bank	An institution responsible for monetary policy, issuing currency and regulating the financial system.
Circular flow model	A basic model that describes how goods, services and money flow in an economy.
Claimant count	A measure of unemployment: the number of people claiming unemployment benefits.
Commercial bank	A bank whose core function is to provide accepting customer deposits and making loans.
Comparative advantage	When an economy can produce a good at a lower opportunity cost than another economy.
Coupon rate	The annual amount of interest a government bond pays annually.
CPI	The official measure of inflation used by the Office for National Statistics. It includes the cost of housing.
Currency/monetary union	When a group of countries adopts a single currency (e.g. the Eurozone).
Current account	An account that comprises trade in goods, trade in services and income transfers.
Customs union	A group of countries with low or zero trade barriers between them, but with protectionist measures on trade from outside the union.
Cyclical budget deficit	The part of the budget deficit due to changes in the economic cycle.
Cyclical unemployment	Unemployment that is due to the economic cycle. Jobless during downturns or recessions.
Debt (vs equity)	A method of financing a business via borrowing.
Deflation	This occurs if the price level is falling.
Demand-side shocks	Unexpected events that change the level of demand – a shift in the aggregate demand curve.
Direct tax	A tax that is paid directly by the individual or organisation that cannot be avoided or shifted to another person or organisation.
Disinflation	This occurs if the rate of inflation is falling.
Economic cycle	A cycle of peaks and troughs in growth experienced by an economy.
Economic growth	This is represented by a rightward shift in the long run aggregate supply curve.
Equity (vs debt)	A method of financing a business via issuing shares.

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Exchange rate	The price of one country's currency in terms of another.
Exports	Goods and services that are produced in a country and a determinant of aggregate demand.
Factor mobility	The ability to move factors of production (land, labour, capital) from one productive process to another. A determinant of long-run growth.
Fiscal policy	The use of taxation and public spending by a government to influence aggregate demand.
Fixed exchange rate	When the value of a currency is fixed by the government.
Floating exchange rate	When the value of a currency is determined by market forces.
Forward guidance	When the central bank explains to the general public what it expects to do in the future.
Frictional unemployment	Unemployment due to people being 'between jobs'.
Globalisation	The economic and cultural integration of different countries.
Imports	Goods or services brought into an economy from other countries. A determinant of aggregate demand.
Index numbers	A method used to compare economic figures with an index, such as the CPI measure of inflation.
Indirect taxation	Tax that is collected by an intermediary between the consumer and the producer. These sorts of taxes can be avoided through consumption.
Inflation	An increase in the price level of goods and services over time.
Injectors	Sources of demand for firms' output that do not arise from household expenditure in the circular flow model. For example, government investment and export expenditure.
Interest rate	The amount paid by borrowers for money to the lenders. The amount that commercial banks pay the central bank.
Interventionist	A political approach that favours governments stepping in to influence markets. In contrast to the laissez-faire approach.
Investment	An injection into the circular flow of income model. It can be government and also LRAS.
Investment bank	A bank engaged in a variety of financial activities. Does not take deposits.
Labour Force Survey	A statistical survey used by the government to capture data on unemployment rates.
Laissez-faire	A French term used to describe an economic system with minimal government involvement (such as tariffs or subsidies) in which the market operates.
Liquidity	The ease with which assets can be converted into money. Cash is the most liquid asset, whereas some assets are illiquid.
Long run Phillips curve	A vertical curve showing no relationship between inflation and unemployment in the long run.
Macroeconomics	The branch of economics that looks at economies as a whole. It studies aggregate supply and demand, price levels, real growth, etc.
Marginal propensity to consume	The proportion of additional income that is spent.
Merger	When two firms combine into one.
Monetarism	A school of thought in economics that emphasises the role of money on the economy.
Monetary policy	Policy that is used by governments or central banks to influence the cost or supply of money. Measures used include setting interest rates and quantitative easing.

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Monetary Policy Committee (MPC)	A committee of the Bank of England that has responsibility for monetary policy in the UK.
Moral hazard	When someone's behaviour changes after becoming insured, e.g. banks might engage in riskier activity if they know they are insured against the event of a crash.
Multiplier	The extent by which a rise in national income exceeds a rise in government spending.
Narrow money	Money in the form of notes and coins.
National debt	The total stock of debt held by a government (accumulated over time).
National income	A measure of the total goods and services produced within a country.
Natural rate of unemployment	The rate of unemployment that occurs when the labour market is in long-run equilibrium, i.e. it does not change over time due to supply-side factors.
Nominal income	A measure of income that is not adjusted for changes in the price level.
Output gap	The difference between the <i>actual</i> output of an economy and its <i>potential</i> output. It can be either positive or negative.
Price stability	A possible objective of government macroeconomic policy to avoid volatile periods of high inflation or deflation.
Productivity of labour	A measure of output per worker: how much each worker produces in a unit of time.
Progressive taxation	Tax rates that increase as income increases. Those earning higher incomes pay a <i>proportion</i> of their income in taxes than lower earners.
Proportional taxation	Taxes that are set at a constant rate regardless of total income. For example, £10,000 will pay the same proportion of their salary in tax as £100,000.
Protectionism	The restriction of trade through tariffs, quotas or other measures.
Purchasing power parity	The theory that exchange rates will adjust over time to equalise the purchasing power of different countries.
Quantitative easing	The purchase of large-scale asset purchases (usually government bonds) to increase the money supply and lending in the economy.
Quantity theory of money	The theory that changes in the money supply directly affect the price level in the economy.
Quota	A limit on the quantity of a particular good that can be imported or exported.
Real GDP	GDP that has been adjusted for inflation.
Real GDP per capita	GDP that has been adjusted for inflation <i>and</i> population.
Real income	Income that has been adjusted for inflation.
Real-wage unemployment	Unemployment caused by wages being above the market-clearing level.
Regressive taxation	Tax rates that decrease as income increases. Those earning higher incomes pay a <i>proportion</i> of their income in taxes than lower earners.
RPI	A measure of inflation that includes housing costs.
Saving	A withdrawal from the circular flow of income model. It is income minus consumption.
Seasonal unemployment	Unemployment that is caused by variations in demand for labour throughout the year.
Short-run Phillips curve	A theoretical inverse relationship between the inflation rate and the unemployment rate in the short run.
Structural budget deficit	The part of the budget deficit due to factors apart from the business cycle.
Structural unemployment	Unemployment that is caused by a mismatch between the skills of the unemployed and the skills demanded in the economy.

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Supply-side policies	Policies that have the aim of shifting the LRAS to the right.
Supply-side shocks	Something that brings about a sudden change in aggregate supply, either positively or negatively.
Target rate of inflation	2.0%
Tariff	A tax on imports
Trade-off	The idea that something must be sacrificed in order to gain something else.
Transmission mechanism of monetary policy	The various channels through which changes to monetary policy affect aggregate demand and economic activity.
Unemployment	The percentage of people in an economy who are economically inactive.
Voluntary unemployment	When someone could be in work but chooses to wait for a better job, which is different from being economically inactive, which is when someone is not in work and not looking for a job.
Withdrawals	'Leakages' from the circular flow of income model: money that leaves the circular flow and is not spent on domestic goods and services. For example, saving and import expenditure.

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Exam Tips!


AQA has designed this specification to create critical and broad-thinking economists. Try to remember the objectives when you write your answers because these are the skills they will be looking out for when they mark your exam papers.

AQA wants you to...

- be critical
- understand the basic concepts and be able to apply them to various situations
- understand the theories and ideologies from various schools of thought
- be able to draw on real-world examples (there is no need to remember exact figures; knowing a few relevant case studies means you can add in a sentence or two)
- make connections and links across all the topics in each topic relevant to the question

The Structure of the Exams: A Level

Paper 1: 'Markets and market failure', Paper 2: 'The national and international economy' and Paper 3: 'Economic principles and issues'

 **Time:** 2 hours per paper ✓ **Total Marks:** 80 per paper

Paper 1 looks at microeconomics. Paper 2 looks at macroeconomics, and Paper 3 looks at both micro and macro as well as questions on a case study provided in the exam. Try to link concepts with macro concepts; try to keep them clear and differentiated in your mind.

Within both papers there are different sections which all require slightly different approaches. For Papers 1 and 2:

- In **Section A** you are given a choice between two different 'contexts'. After reading the questions, you must answer two questions (one of which is a calculation question). You should skip through both the content and questions contained in each section, deciding which one you can answer best. This section is worth 40 marks, so spend the same amount of time on each section (no more than 1 hour on each).
- In **Section B** you must answer two essay questions, based on a short quote / statement. You are given a choice of three possible sets of questions, so think carefully about what you are most knowledgeable about before you start writing – make sure you plan your essay!

For Paper 3:

- **Section A** contains 30 multiple-choice questions. Since this is worth 30/80 marks, you should spend no more than 45 minutes on this section (or 1 minute 30 seconds on each question). If you are stuck with a particular question, just move on and come back to it at the end if you have time for more marks!
- In **Section B** you must answer three longer, 'open-response' questions based on a short quote / statement. It is probably best to take the time to read all the material through, the source booklet, before writing your answers.

It's up to you which section you tackle first, but it might make sense to do the multiple-choice first to get your brain into gear.

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Assessment objectives

Assessment objectives, or AOs, determine the level of your answers and show the marks you should award. Not all questions will require all the levels; make sure you have full marks to gain the highest marks, without wasting time on answers that go above and beyond what is required.

AO2

Application!

Explain how the concepts work in relation to the situation or example provided.

AO1

Knowledge!

Identify and explain concepts, theories, and models.

AO3

Analysis!

Inspect and examine the pros and cons of the relevant concepts and the possible outcome with regard to the situation or example provided.

Be careful and remember

How to tackle a question

It's a good idea to underline the keywords while you're reading a question. This will help you identify the points and skills the question is testing. This also helps you to know what when you come back to the question you can quickly recognise what you're supposed to be looking for.

Essay-style and long-answer questions will require an answer that is succinct, structured, and easy to read. It's a good idea to spend just a few minutes brainstorming and planning your response before you start writing. This will save you time in the long run and make it easier for the examiner to mark your answer. By showing them what you know – remember that this is your knowledge! By planning what you are going to say and in what order, you will make your answer more coherent. Equally, this gives you a chance to trawl through your memory and draw upon relevant points that you may have forgotten through writing and forgotten the other point you were going to mention, or those that you may have to tack on? If you have a plan, it can guide you through all the points you need to cover.

Things to always check before finishing

- Each axis on your graph is labelled, and labelled correctly.
- Lines/curves on diagrams are labelled, and labelled correctly.
- Micro concepts are kept for micro questions.
- Macro concepts are kept for macro questions.
- Calculations are correct. Start with the end number in mind and work through the calculation, checking to see whether the number you get at the end matches the original question.
- You have answered all the questions. If you need to answer, all sub-questions are answered, and you are looking for.

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