

This PDF is a selection from a published volume from the National Bureau of Economic Research

Volume Title: Measuring and Accounting for Environmental Public Goods: A National Accounts Perspective

Volume Authors/Editors: Nicholas Z. Muller, Eli Fenichel, and Mary Bohman, editors

Volume Publisher: University of Chicago Press

Volume ISBNs: 978-0-226-83935-6 (cloth), 978-0-226-83936-3 (electronic)

Volume URL: <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/measuring-and-accounting-environmental-public-goods-national-accounts-perspective>

Conference Date: March 16-17, 2023

Publication Date: March 2025

Chapter Title: Tracing Sustainability in the Long Run: Genuine Savings Estimates, 1850–2018

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Chapter URL: <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/measuring-and-accounting-environmental-public-goods-national-accounts-perspective/tracing-sustainability-long-run-genuine-savings-estimates-1850-2018>

Chapter pages in book: p. 63–100

Tracing Sustainability in the Long Run

Genuine Savings Estimates, 1850–2018

Eoin McLaughlin, Cristián Ducoing, and Les Oxley

3.1 Introduction

To maintain and augment the [Capital] stock that may be reserved for immediate consumption, is the sole end and purpose both of the fixed and circulating capitals. It is this stock which feeds, cloaths, and lodges the people. Their riches or poverty depends upon the abundant or sparing supplies which those two capitals can afford to the stock reserved for immediate consumption. (Smith, 1776, Book II, chapter I)

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The authors acknowledge the excellent research support by Johanna Fink (johanna.fink@ekh.lu.se) in the database compilation. Previous versions of this paper have been presented at the Swedish Economic History Meeting in Gothenburg October 2021; “The Wealth of Nations in the Post-Covid Era,” April 2022; the World Economic History Congress in Paris, July 2022; the Queen’s University Centre of Economic History Seminar, September 2022; and the Heriot-Watt Economics seminar, September 2022. Thanks to Eli Fenichel, Nicholas Muller, and Stephanie Onder for their comments on earlier iterations of this draft. These acknowledgments are extensive to all the participants at the “NBER Conference CRIW Measuring and Accounting for Environmental Public Goods: A National Accounts Perspective.” This work is funded by the *Riksbanken Jubileumsfond* through the project Genuine Savings as a measure of sustainable development. Towards a GDP replacement. Ref: P19–0048:1 (<https://www.rj.se/en/anslag/2019/genuine-savings-as-a-measure-of-sustainable-development-towards-a-gdp-replacement/>). The data utilized in this article are available at the web site [genuinesavings.org](https://www.genuinesavings.org) (<https://www.genuinesavings.org/data>). For acknowledgments, sources of research support, and disclosure of the authors’ material financial relationships, if any, please see <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/measuring-and-accounting-environmental-public-goods-national-accounts-perspective/tracing-sustainability-long-run-genuine-savings-estimates-1850-2018>.

There is considerable interest from international organizations and policymakers as to how the management of natural resources affects human well-being (e.g., Clark and Harley 2020). For example, the 2021 *Dasgupta Review* argues that “in order to judge whether the path of economic development we choose to follow is sustainable, nations need to adopt a system of economic accounts that records an inclusive measure of their wealth.” The concept of *Inclusive* (or *Comprehensive*) wealth measures the value of produced, natural, and human capital in a country and this approach has been adopted by both the World Bank (World Bank 2006, 2011, 2018, 2021) and the UN Environment Programme (UNU-IHDP 2012, 2014, 2018).¹ Inclusive Wealth includes all assets from which people can obtain well-being, either directly or indirectly. Changes in inclusive wealth per capita, whether positive or negative, are indicators of sustainable or unsustainable development (Hanley et al. 2016).

Polasky et al. (2019) call for a greater integration of both economic and sustainable development concepts and ideas. We echo this call. However, we also call more specifically for greater integration of economic history and sustainability science. Due to the work of the late Angus Maddison and colleagues, we are able to utilize GDP estimates as far back as the Middle Ages for some countries. (Bolt and van Zanden 2014; Broadberry et al. 2015). While this has provided invaluable material for studying the sources of economic growth, the economic history community has shown little engagement with sustainable development research and the measurement of inclusive wealth in particular. Seeing inclusive wealth as the foundation of future income, and hence welfare, means that changes in wealth (saving/investment) provide an indication of the feasibility of future, sustainable, development paths (Dasgupta 2001).

The work presented here is the first step toward producing such long-run comprehensive welfare indicators, focusing more on stocks (e.g., wealth), including natural capital, which provide future generations with the capabilities to increase their well-being, rather than on flows (e.g., income), conventionally measured by GDP, which measures annual outcomes without recourse to their long-term implications. If wealth-based methods are to inform sustainable social, economic, and environmental futures, they should, as a minimum, be able to explain the past. We will therefore analyze whether historical experiences can explain variations in past and current levels of comprehensive/inclusive wealth within and across countries and what future sustainable development prospects might look like. If the wealth accounting concept is to complement or replace other indicators, it requires evidence which includes long-run estimates for a wide range of countries and

1. In August 2022 the US government announced a new national strategy for monitoring natural assets. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/briefing-room/2022/08/18/a-new-national-strategy-to-reflect-natural-assets-on-americas-balance-sheet/>

a standardized empirical methodology (Hanley et al. 2016). The goal of this work is both to illustrate how the concept can be applied to economic history and also to inspire future scholars to expand on this work and develop new estimates to help inform modern debates.

This article introduces a new historical database of Genuine Savings (GS),² a widely used modern economic indicator of sustainable development. The database is the first attempt to collect and collate existing estimates by several scholars to create a consistent database with a wide range of geographic coverage. It builds on work by researchers that has been primarily been published in the field of environmental economics (Rubio 2004; Lindmark and Acar 2013; Greasley et al. 2014; Hanley et al. 2016; Greasley et al. 2017). This work is complementary to existing collaborative research programs in economic history, namely the Maddison Project (Bolt and van Zanden 2014), by providing sustainability contextualization to historic income growth. The project also relates to recent work on historical estimates of the Human Development Index (HDI) (Prados de La Escosura 2021), but with a greater emphasis on environmental degradation. Through the creation of a new database we hope to give important historical context to current debates on sustainability. Therefore our estimates of the change in wealth will complement and nuance these research agendas.

The historical focus is necessary to provide evidence as to whether past policies, choices and resultant outcomes, guided by GDP as a welfare enhancing measure, have maximized (or even increased) well-being, *sustainably*. Historical data and outcomes provide important measures to test the robustness of the GS approach. Furthermore, historical data can enhance current metrics and provide a deeper understanding of natural capital, human capital, technological change, and environmental degradation in the long run, to guide policy for the future.³ Much of the current work on environmental economics considers uncertain, unknown futures, (scenarios or predictions), which may simply never exist.⁴ However, insights and data from the past can test alternative modeling approaches to inform policy making in the present and the future. Fenichel et al. (2016) argue that a better understanding of how past changes influence present sustainability outcomes can be used to forecast the impact of future changes in sustainability.

3.2 Economics of Sustainable Development

By the early 1990s, the phrase *sustainable development* had become “pervasive” and was “the watchword for international aid agencies, the jargon of development planners, the theme of conferences and learned papers, and the

2. Interchangeably known as “Comprehensive Investment” and “Adjusted Net Savings.”

3. Recent studies are going in the same direction, such as the *Dasgupta Review* and the inclusion of Natural Capital in UN accounting.

4. Climate change uncertainty has received increasing attention since the 2000s (Tol 2003).

slogan of developmental and environmental activists” (Lélé 1991). However, a clear definition of the phrase was elusive, as there were (and are) several, sometimes contradictory, definitions (Pezzey 1992; Dietz and Neumayer 2007).⁵ The 1987 *Brundtland Report*, one of the most widely cited interpretations of Sustainable Development (SD) as a concept (Schubert and Láng 2005), defined it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 43).

The *Brundtland Report* definition therefore has inter- and intra-generational equity considerations and has been the starting point of economists engaging with the concept of SD. For example, Asheim (1994) sees SD as an inter-generational equity issue and defines SD, following the lines of Hartwick (1977), “as a requirement of our generation to manage the resource base such that the average quality of life that we ensure ourselves can potentially be shared by all future generations.” Whereas Pezzey (1992) defined SD as “non-declining utility of a representative member of society for millenia into the future.” The former definition has become interpreted as a “capabilities-based” and the latter as an “outcome-based” definition of SD (Hanley et al. 2016). The capabilities-based approach views an SD path of an economy as one where the (per capita) real values of changes in capital stocks are non-negative (i.e., constant or increasing). Whereas the means-based approach views an SD path as one where utility or consumption per capita is non-declining. Dasgupta (2001) illustrates the relationship between both approaches and shows how comprehensive wealth, in particular the change in wealth, equates to future well-being.⁶ The latter approach to sustainability links future well-being with changes in capital stocks (Pearce and Atkinson 1993; Pearce 2002).

Wealth is seen as the foundation of future income and hence welfare (Weitzman 2003, 2017), as changes in wealth (saving/investment) provide an indication of the feasibility of future sustainable development paths. The intuition here is that wealth underpins future well-being within an economy, as wealth (capital) broadly defined is required to generate future income streams (i.e., GDP) (Arrow et al. 2004, 2012), see figure 3.1. This approach has been the hallmark of recent efforts by the World Bank and the UN Environment Programme (e.g., see World Bank 2006, 2011, 2018, 2021; UNU-IHDP 2012, 2014, 2018).⁷

Dasgupta (2001) defines (*comprehensive*) wealth in terms of manufactured capital, human capital, natural capital, and knowledge. There is a further distinction within this literature in terms of how one perceives aggregate

5. SD is inherently interdisciplinary and, as Qasim (2017) shows, this leads to a wide engagement with the concepts and development of metrics to assess it.

6. This is also elucidated in Arrow et al. (2012).

7. See McLaughlin et al. (2024) for a critical appraisal of conflicting signals from the work of the World Bank and the UN Environment Programme.

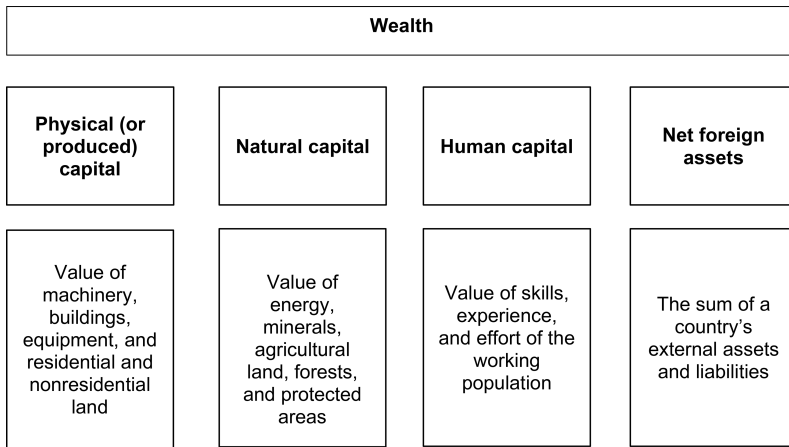


Figure 3.1 Components of wealth

capital. One approach being that SD requires non-declining total wealth (weak sustainability) and another where SD requires non-declining natural capital (strong sustainability). The first approach effectively uses extensions of the Solow (1956) neoclassical growth model to incorporate exhaustible resources (Solow 1974; Dasgupta and Heal 1974; Stiglitz 1974), and assumes perfect substitutability between different types of capital and the monetization of natural capital.⁸ Whereas the latter approach deems that a decrease in a physical unit of natural capital cannot be replaced by increase the quantity of other forms of capital (Costanza and Daly 1992).⁹ Fenichel and Zhao (2015) show how technological advances can enhance the array of substitution possibilities, yet the extent of substitutability is difficult to determine empirically (e.g., Markandya and Pedroso-Galinato 2007; Cohen et al. 2019), therefore how one chooses to approach sustainable development, from a weak or strong perspective, is a matter of preference. However, if a country fails a weak sustainability test, such as negative genuine savings, it will in all likelihood also fail a strong test as well (Hamilton and Clemens 1999).

The GS approach to sustainability rests firmly on the so-called Hartwick (1977) rule, which shows how consumption can be constant over time by re-investing rents from natural resource extraction into other forms of capital

8. So a \$1 decrease in the value of natural capital can be compensated by a \$1 increase in human capital for instance.

9. Costanza and Daly (1992) refer to total natural capital which is renewable plus nonrenewable natural capital. Ecosystems are the example given for renewable (or active) natural resources as they can yield a service when harvested (timber) or when left in place (e.g. erosion control). Whereas nonrenewables are passive in that they yield no service until they are harvested.

(i.e., person-made or human). One of the attractions of GS is that, under certain assumptions, it can be used to assess both the capabilities-based and the outcome-based approaches to SD (Hanley et al. 2016). Another attraction is that it is firmly grounded in the system of national accounts (SNA) framework and can be used to measure and compare countries in a consistent manner. At the most basic level, the economics of SD is more welfare orientated and focuses on changes in wellbeing (proxied by per capita consumption) than GDP growth, as it focuses on net savings (investment), and places greater emphasis on natural resource stocks (Ferreira et al. 2008). The GS approach therefore relates to both the idea of wealth accounting, as it is an indicator of how a nation's total wealth changes year-on-year (i.e., a flow) (Hamilton and Hepburn 2017; World Bank 2018), and income accounting (i.e., GDP), as it is built upon the foundations of the SNAs (Hanley et al. 2016). In accounting terms, while both GS and GDP are flows, the distinction between them is clear: GS is a measure of the change in the stock of wealth, whereas GDP is a measure of income that is derived from the stock of wealth (Weitzman 2003).

3.2.1 Existing GS Estimates

Over the past 25 years, starting with Pearce and Atkinson (1993) and Hamilton and Clemens (1999), there have been a series of genuine savings estimates for a range of countries. The time period covered by most estimates range from the 1970s to the present.

Studies have tended to trade off scale and scope, with studies focusing on individual countries being richer in data quality but not directly comparable across countries. Definitions of metrics have also varied with “green” and “genuine” savings measures commonly constructed and used interchangeably (see Hanley et al. 2016 for a review of the empirical literature). There are several studies that have calculated GS for shorter time periods. Some have explicitly compared estimates of GS with measures of Green National Product (Pezzey et al. 2006; Mota et al. 2010). Others have focused on expanding measures of GS to incorporate additional pollutants (Pezzey et al. 2006; Mota and Domingos 2013; Ferreira and Vincent 2005; Pezzey and Burke 2014).¹⁰ At the most extreme, McGrath et al. (2021) incorporate damage costs for local pollutants and find that this changes genuine savings signals (from positive to negative) for several European countries over the period 1990 to 2018.

There have been several estimates of historical GS, the pioneering work was by Rubio (2004), who estimated GS for Mexico and Venezuela from

10. For example Ferreira and Moro (2011) estimate GS for Ireland from 1995–2005, McGrath et al. (2019) build on this work by incorporating additional pollutants and estimate GS for Ireland from 1990–2016.

the 1920s to the 1990s. Later work looked at the experience of developed countries over more than a hundred years, with a focus on Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, and Australia (Lindmark and Acar 2013; Greasley et al. 2014; Hanley et al. 2016; Greasley et al. 2017). More recent work has analyzed GS for countries in the 20th century (Qasim et al. 2020; McGrath et al. 2021). The innovative contribution of Greasley et al. (2014) was to test the predictive power of GS as a forward-looking indicator of sustainable development using the historical experience of the United Kingdom, where GS performs best over long horizons and when TFP was incorporated. These findings were corroborated for the United States, Germany, Australia, and Ireland (Hanley et al. 2016; Greasley et al. 2017; McGrath et al. 2024) although not in the case of Sweden (Lindmark et al. 2018).

Pezzey and Burke (2014) argue that the scale that GS should be analyzed is at a global level. Their contribution is to aggregate national level estimates of GS and incorporate differences in carbon pricing at a global level. The global scale approach was extended by Blum et al. (2017), who incorporated historical estimates of the abovementioned developed countries with estimates for several Latin American countries. Our database expands on this work by extending the range of countries included in the database.

3.3 Methodology

GS, also known as adjusted net saving (ANS), measures the “true” (or “genuine”) rate of saving (investment) in an economy after taking into account depreciation of fixed capital, investment in human capital, depletion of natural resources, and damages caused by pollution. Genuine savings, the name used in this article, is an indicator that aims to assess an economy’s sustainability based on the concepts of Environmental Economic Accounting (SEEA 1993, 2003, 2014). In effect, GS is tracking the *change* in wealth.

The main formula for calculating GS is as follows:

$$(1) \quad GS = I - \delta K - n - \sigma(e) + m,$$

where I is investment, δK is traditional depreciation of fixed capital, n are resource rents, σ is the damage cost from pollution,¹¹ and m is human capital. We construct several indicators, as illustrated in figure 3.2, to display and distinguish several aspects of sustainability.

We have largely followed Hamilton and Clemens (1999) and the World Bank (2006, 2011) methodology¹² for calculating GS by estimating a range

11. Emissions minus dissipation

12. This is outlined in Bolt et al. (2002).

1	2	3	4	5	6
Gross Savings/ Investment	Net Savings	Green Savings	Green Savings	Genuine Savings	GST
National income minus consumption/ acquisition of new or existing fixed assets	Gross savings minus depreciation	Net savings minus depreciation of natural capital	Green savings minus pollution damages	Green savings (4) plus investment in human capital	Technology-augmented Genuine Savings, augmented plus the present value of technological change

Figure 3.2 Genuine savings calculations

of increasingly comprehensive measures of year-on-year changes in total wealth over time.¹³

3.3.1 Net National Savings and Investment

The starting point for World Bank (2011) in calculating GS is to estimate national savings as a residual from GDP minus total (private and government) consumption. Then estimates of depreciation are subtracted from this to calculate net savings rates.

Maddison (1992) was a pioneer in the comparative study of historical savings rates, calculating historical savings rates for 11 countries from the 1870s through to the 1980s. However, these are gross savings rates and there is no allowance for depreciation.

For our study we deviate from the Hamilton and Clemens (1999) approach and incorporate net *investment* as an alternative to net *savings*. Here net investment, including overseas investment, reflects changes in a country’s physical assets. Estimates of net investment are readily available for various countries, but for some of them we have estimated net investment using gross investment and consumption of fixed capital, or simply annual depreciation of assets (see appendix for a detailed list of sources used).

3.3.2 Natural Capital

To account for the depletion of natural (renewable and non-renewable) resources we subtracted the rent from the depletion of natural resources,

13. Recent work of the World Bank (2018, 2021) has focused primarily on wealth estimates and calculate the change in wealth as a predictor of sustainability. There is only one study which attempted to do this using historic data but viewed GS as a more reliable indicator of sustainability (McLaughlin et al. 2014).

using gross revenues minus average costs of depletion, from net investment.¹⁴ For many European countries (e.g., Great Britain), the bulk of rents from resource extraction originate from fossil fuels (coal, oil, and natural gas). We also considered other resources (metals and mineral ores), but the quantities by and large are negligible compared with the accumulation of other assets. For the United States and Australia, two resource-abundant developed nations, we included data on coal, oil, and gas as well as metal and mineral ores. For Latin American countries, resources considered include metal and mineral ores and fossil fuels. Important sources of natural capital depletion are petroleum (Argentina, Colombia, Mexico), gold (Brazil, Colombia), silver (Colombia), coal (Brazil), and copper (Chile).

In terms of renewable resources, we include changes in forestry. Hamilton and Clemens (1999) do not include net natural growth of living resources and only include forestry that are commercially exploited and acknowledge that this methodological decision biases against sustainability. Here we include net growth to reduce this bias, while the forest stock appreciates it also has biodiversity benefits that would be overlooked if this is omitted. As we do not fully value ecosystems or biodiversity, excluding net forest growth would bias against sustainability even further. However, we are aware that forest growth cannot be readily translated straightforwardly into *biodiversity*.

3.3.3 Human Capital

It is possible to measure human capital created by investment in education and skills (Dasgupta 2001), however within existing national accounting frameworks expenditure on children's education (via teacher salaries) is considered to be consumption, and while some element of capital spending on school building is included in capital formation, this is a small share of annual education expenditure (Hamilton and Clemens 1999). To address this we use education expenditure to proxy the accumulation of human capital to obtain a more inclusive measure of a country's assets.

Admittedly there are limitations to this approach as it is known that education does not perfectly equate with human capital, however, alternatives measurements of human capital stocks, such as discounted life-time earnings, are not available for all countries over the whole of our sample. Furthermore, an additional limitation of this approach is that education expenditure as a proxy for human capital accumulation makes no allowances for appreciation

14. We used the market value of extracted renewables and non-renewable resources as well as the extracted quantities to compute the gross revenues. The average extraction costs were estimated using labor requirement and the average wage of laborers. Similarly, estimates of the value of the change in timber stocks by country was based on changes in area covered with forests, the average quantity of timber per m^3 and the market value of timber. For more recent periods the FAO (2010) provides estimates on the cubic quantities of timber on a given surface area; it is likely that applying this methodology on historical periods overestimates historical forest stocks since we implicitly assume that the high modern tree planting density has existed throughout the period under observation.

of, for instance, on-the-job training and experience, as well as depreciation (aging and mortality) of human capital. Moreover, this approach does not account for international migration whereby migrant recipients benefit from the human capital embodied in immigrants and developing countries may experience losses in human capital through emigration.

Besides data availability and evident flaws and limitations of the expenditure approach, it must be understood that we are measuring the savings to produce further increases in well-being. Under this framework, the re-investment of resource rents are a valid indicator of *societies' effort* to compensate future generations (Hartwick 1977).

3.3.4 Technological Progress and the Value of Time

Technological change has been an important concept in the theoretical literature (Weitzman 1997, 1999; Arrow et al. 2004, 2012), but there are a number of challenges incorporating a measure of technology into empirical studies.¹⁵ Weitzman (1997) suggests that an adjustment for technological change may be in the region of 40 percent of Net National Product. Thus, omitting a technological progress measure would misstate the degree of sustainability of an economy. In relation to technological progress, although many of the general purpose technologies were invented in the late 19th century (telephones, electricity, combustion engine), it was not until the 20th century that they were adopted en masse; in many cases this meant the use of new natural resources that had been overlooked in the past (oil and natural gas for example) but in turn this led to more efficient use of resources (e.g., improvements in fuel efficiency, see Gordon 2016).

Several studies have used changes in TFP as an indicator of technological progress and incorporated this into the genuine savings framework through the net present value of TFPs contribution to future GDP growth (Pezzey et al. 2006; Mota and Domingos 2013; Greasley et al. 2014; McGrath et al. 2024). We follow this approach and incorporate the effects of exogenous technological progress into our measure of GS by including the present value of TFP growth. Following Pezzey et al. (2006) and Greasley et al. (2014) we calculate the present value of future changes in trend TFP over a 20-year time horizon. This is done to capture the uncertainty over the duration of the value of technological progress.¹⁶

15. For example, such as how to measure technology, i.e., R&D, patents, energy intensity, total factor productivity.

16. Arrow et al. (2012, table 3) incorporate a measure of TFP but do so by adding the current TFP growth rate to the per capita growth rate of Total (Comprehensive) Wealth. However, this approach only adds 1 year and does not take account of the value of time as an uncontrolled capital stock. The choice of 20 years follows Pezzey et al. (2006) and Greasley et al. (2014). Using the case of Argentina as an example, where the present value of TFP is 10.12 percent over 20 years, if a shorter horizon (10 years) is used, this is reduced to 8.45 percent of GDP, and if a longer horizon (30 years) is used, this increases to 15.87 percent of GDP. Therefore, by choosing a 20-year horizon we err on the side of underestimation of the value of technological progress.

TFP is a central piece of the puzzle to assess sustainable development; this metric, however, is somewhat in conflict with other components of GS. TFP is related to informativeness, intangible assets, institutions, and social capital, and as a consequence the incorporation of TFP brings the risk of “double-counting” the effects equally associated with technology and human capital.

Baier et al. (2006) find that incorporating a measure of human capital reduces the size of the residual. Similarly, Manuelli and Seshadri (2014) argue that better measurements of human capital quantity and quality can further reduce TFP. Moreover, as Bakker et al. (2019) note, “TFP growth is not a synonym for technological change,” and TFP growth may in fact be an over/under estimate of the contribution of technological change to labor productivity growth owing to a misspecified production function. There are also issues relating to specifying a production function which incorporates natural capital. For example, Brandt et al. (2013) find that accounting for natural capital in the production function overestimates productivity in economies undergoing resource booms and underestimates productivity in economies that experience declining natural capital.

This gives us reason to believe that the overlap between human capital accumulation and the value of technology accumulation leads to a slight overestimation of total capital formation. Data limitations and availability prevent us from fully disentangling human capital and technology. We therefore opt to incorporate an unadjusted TFP series in our estimates, however, in the results section we illustrate the effect of TFP appended to green investment to avoid the possibility of double counting as education expenditure is included in GS.

3.3.5 Social Costs of Carbon

Carbon dioxide (CO_2) is a greenhouse gas (GHG) with a lifetime of up to 200 years in the atmosphere and accounts for 75 percent of global warming potential (Stern 2007, table 8.1). The Social Cost of Carbon (SCC) represents “future damage” from of an additional tonne of CO_2 (Rennert et al. 2021). We incorporate a range of prices, related to the damage from CO_2 emissions, in our global estimates.

The crucial factor is that CO_2 is a stock pollutant in that the annual emissions add to the existing concentration in the atmosphere and each unit of emissions increases the marginal damage cost of the pollutant in the future (Kunnas et al. 2014). To account for CO_2 in our sustainability indicator we used the total amount of carbon dioxide emitted and estimates of the social costs of carbon derived from the wider literature.

There is a range of price estimates that we have incorporated, such as the constant \$20 tonne carbon cost of the World Bank metric, \$29 t/c from Tol (2012), \$110 t/c from the Stern Review (Stern 2007). In this paper we have incorporated the last estimates to show the impact of emissions under dif-

Table 3.1 Selected SCC estimations, different sources and methods

Source (Year)	SCC, price per ton (Interval)	Discount rate
World Bank/Fankhauser	US\$20.3 (20–30, after 2010)	n/a
Tol (2008)	US\$25	2%
US Interim SCC	US\$51 (14 to 260)	3%
Stern (2022 and 2007)	US\$110 (77 to 124)	2%
Pezzey & Burke Control (2014)	US\$131	2–3%
Pezzey & Burke Non Control (2014)	US\$1,455	2–3%
Rennert et al. (2022)	US\$185 (44 to 413)	2%

Sources: Fankhauser (1994), Tol (2012), Stern (2022, 2007), Rennert et al. (2022) and Pezzey and Burke (2014).

ferent scenarios.¹⁷ and warn against choosing a singular price because of the wide range of estimates.

The current predominant view in the academic literature seems to be that the underlying DICE models are biased downwards (Stern 2022). A recent review by Hänsel et al. (2020) argues for a higher cost of \$208 in 2020. The results presented below utilize two estimates of the social cost of carbon by Pezzey and Burke (2014).¹⁸ The first price, \$131 t/c, estimated from a DICE model recalibrated to assume that it is economically optimal to control emissions such that warming may be limited to an agreed target of 2°C and a significantly higher price of \$1455 t/c which assumes that no controls of CO₂ emissions are implemented. We also incorporate a lower bound estimate of \$51 from the US government (2021). Support from these prices can be found in the most recent estimates of SCC based on a new integrated model assessment, and it has resulted in an SCC of US\$185 (with a lower bound of US\$44 and an upper bound of \$413 per CO₂ ton) (Rennert et al. 2022). A summary of the main SSC estimates is presented in table 3.1.

We choose to highlight these contrasting prices as our study shares similarities with Pezzey and Burke (2014) and Pezzey (2024) in that we also attempt to determine if the world is on a “global” sustainability path. These prices are discounted over time as suggested by Tol (2012) and as illustrated by Kunas et al. (2014).¹⁹ Using the United States as an example, figure 3.3 illustrates our approach to SSC. The left panel discounts \$51 SCC while the right panel discounts the \$110 (converted to 1990 prices) using different

17. There is a range of 300 estimates published in journals and reports (Tol 2011). Kaufman et al. (2020) reported SCCs between US\$0 and US\$2000.

18. Although Pezzey (2019) himself warns, “*SCCs attract more attention globally from academics than from policymakers.*”

19. For a more comprehensive overview of data sources used, see the data appendix as well as Blum et al. (2019); Camacho (2014); Greasley et al. (2014); Greasley et al. (2017); Höfeler (2014); Klenk (2013); and Mennig (2015). “Experts Clash over Cost of Carbon” <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/experts-clash-over-cost-of-carbon/text>. Accessed September 20, 2022.

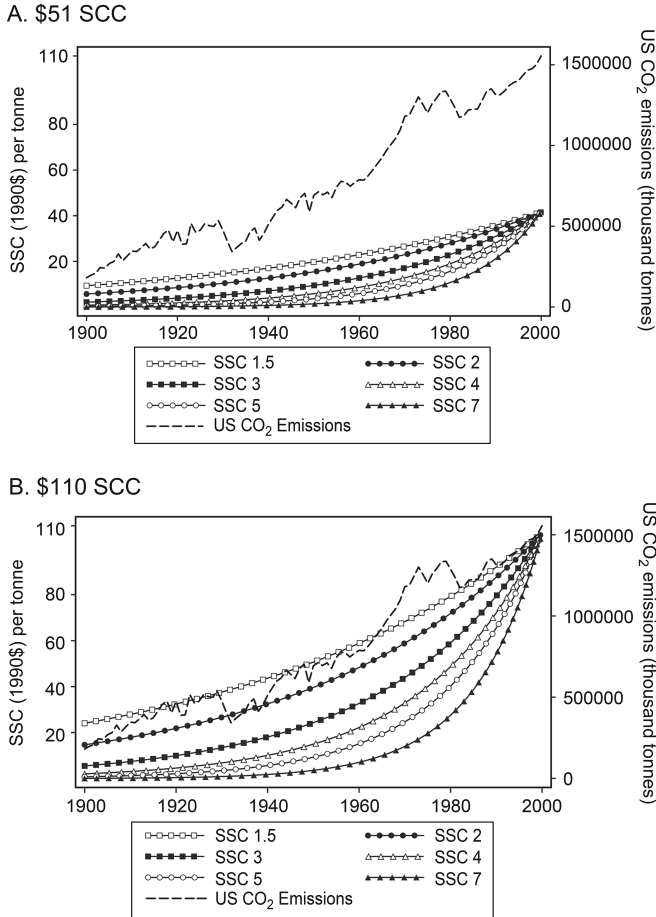


Figure 3.3 SCC example using different discount rates

discount rates, from 1.5 percent to 7 percent.²⁰ In turn, discounting the same SCC by different discount rates has a dramatic effect on the estimate of the damage cost of US carbon emissions, see figure 3.4. The results below are thus sensitive to both the discount rate as well as the chosen SCC.

Several questions arise from the estimated SCC used in these calculations. The most relevant relates to the discount rate used. In our historical GS the SCC is linearly discounted over time, while there are arguments for using different discount factors or different SCCs at different points in time. In order to address this concern, we have estimated a price variation based on

20. The latter being the preferred discount rate of the Trump administration.

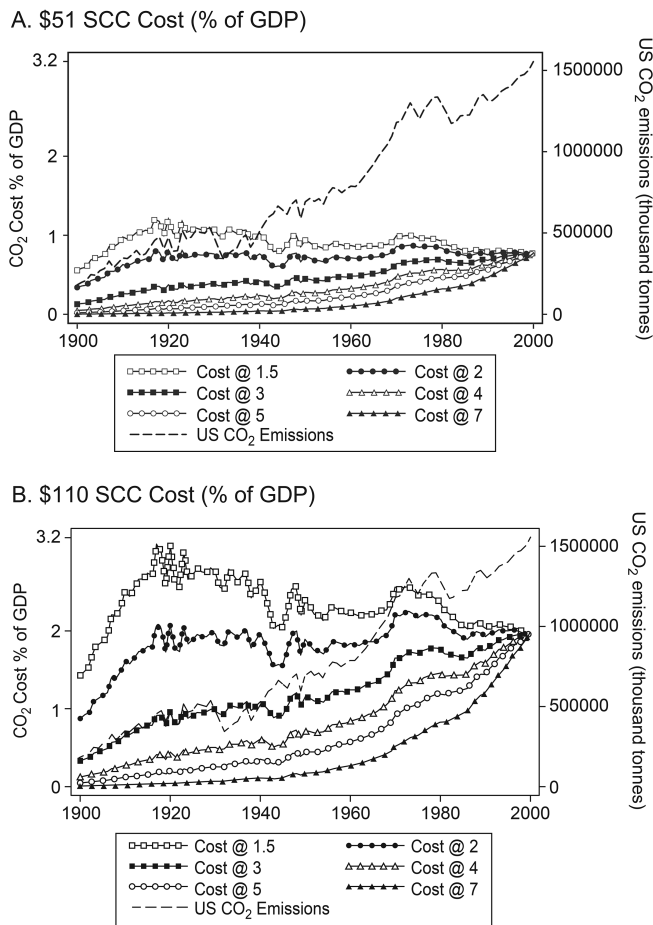


Figure 3.4 SSC example using the United States with \$51 and \$110

the previous accumulated CO₂ emissions. The difference with the linearly discounted SSC is marginal (between 0.3 percent and 0.5 percent).²¹

3.3.6 International Dollars

Until recently, the World Bank (2006) made comparisons of wealth between countries using market exchange rates. While noting the variance in wealth per capita between developed and developing countries, some of this was attributed to the use of nominal exchange rates (World Bank 2006, 17). The most recent World Bank (2021) attempts to address this issue by adopting Purchasing Power Parities, derived from the International Com-

21. The results of this exercise are included in the appendix.

parison Programme (Deaton and Heston 2010). The issue here is that the prices collected are not necessarily related to the capital stocks that are being measured in wealth accounting and were originally intended to be used in comparing income across countries. Although it is acknowledged that various theoretical and empirical considerations, such as whether using PPP is appropriate in a wealth accounting context; what level of PPP should be used; and how to construct a constant value series based on PPPs, were not addressed in the application of PPPs in a wealth accounting context (World Bank 2021, 83).²²

While we share the reservations about applying PPPs that are derived for another purpose, using a PPP based series enables comparability across space and time. All units have been deflated using national GDP deflators and have been converted into purchasing power adjusted international dollars following Maddison (2001) and Bolt and van Zanden (2014), expressed as Geary-Khamis dollars (\$) in the figures below. Such PPP adjusted estimates are similar to Hanley et al. (2016) and Greasley et al. (2017).

3.3.7 Limitations

A limitation of the construction of GS as outlined above is that it only covers quantifiable indicators that can be approximately expressed in monetary units. Thus GS overlooks nonmarket environmental goods and services. As a result the GS metric excludes developments in fisheries, biodiversity, and ecosystem services. It also underestimates pollution damages as it does not incorporate some major pollutants, such SO_2 and NO_x , that were more local in impact.

While historical estimates of biodiversity are available, these indicators are difficult to incorporate in an augmented long-run GS metric until a compromise estimate of their economic value over time is obtained.

Losses in biodiversity are largely the result of changes in land use; the increasing demand for grazing and cropland has encouraged deforestation which in turn has resulted in losses in biodiversity. Estimates of the development of biodiversity suggests that Latin America and the United States, and the majority of the world's countries, experienced losses in biodiversity whereas some countries in Western Europe saw stagnating or even increases in biodiversity.²³ Any future evaluation of the costs of biodiversity loss and

22. Inklaar et al. (2023), in a report commissioned by the World Bank, advocate using multiple deflators (CPI, GDP deflators, PPPs) depending on the purpose of the wealth measure, whether it is seen as the foundation of future consumption or future production. This relates to a well-documented issue surrounding how to deflate consumption when the composition of consumption changes over time, e.g., Palumbo et al., 2006. We highlight the difference between using CPI or GDP deflators in appendices, as CPI and GDP tend to co-move but by different magnitudes changing deflator leads to modest level effects but with no change in the trend of the series.

23. Stock valuations of global ecosystem services are most notable at the end of our period of study, such as Costanza et al. (1997), who estimated the global value of the entire biosphere

SO₂ emissions will lower any sustainability indicator (see Goldewijk 2014 for an overview). Therefore our estimates can be seen as a lower bound estimate of natural capital.

Similarly, there are estimates of SO₂ pollution. The global output of SO₂ increased throughout the 20th century, with the major share of SO₂ being emitted in North America, followed by Western Europe. Total global SO₂ emissions rapidly rose after World War Two, and peaked around 1980. During the late 20th century, environmental regulation combined with fuel-saving technologies and a transition away from fuels with a high-sulphur content helped to lower global SO₂ output (Stern and Kaufmann 1996). The challenge with SO₂ pollution is placing a damage cost on emissions. Unlike CO₂ pollution which is global, SO₂ damages are time and context specific which would require country level estimates SO₂ pollution at various points in time. For example, EEA (2014) estimates of SO₂ damage costs per tonne are based on health damage caused by SO₂. These estimates vary enormously by country.²⁴ Although both approaches effectively measure health costs through loss in lifetime earnings, the dramatic increase in life expectancy over time raises challenges to this conventional approach.²⁵

The absence of monetary evaluations of these phenomena, however, cannot hide the fact that economic growth seems to adversely affect biodiversity and levels of pollution (Dasgupta 2021).

A related issue relates to what is considered a “resource.” In some respects this relates to the thorny issue of new goods, goods that did not exist in the past and can distort pictures of growth and inflation (Bresnahan and Gordon 1996). In our study there are several cases of resource discovery and discovery of new uses for once undervalued resources. In our own time this is reflected by the increased demand for lithium in the manufacturing of electric vehicles. Our treatment of “new” environmental resources is to track both production and prices of these goods over time.

3.4 Historical Estimates of Genuine Savings: The New Data Set

As with the majority of economic history research or historical data in the long run, the main group of countries studied have been the developed ones. If we classified these countries by the length of the period already

to be between \$16–54 trillion and \$125–145 in ecosystem services and updated the Costanza et al. (1997) figures from 1997–2011. However, these stock valuations do not enable us to value changes in ecosystem services in the years preceding 1997. Furthermore, there have been increasing use of revealed and stated preference methods to value changes in environmental goods and services. However, these studies have not been applied consistently over time and benefit transfers may not be applicable spatially or temporally for all countries in our study.

24. For example, estimates range from €1,052 in Cyprus to €38,778 in Norway based on value of a life year or from €2,270 in Cyprus to €90,337 in Switzerland based on value of a statistical life.

25. In real terms, the marginal value of an additional year of life when life expectancy is 43 (as it was in 1900), is significantly different to the marginal value of an additional year of life when life expectancy is 79 (as in 2019).

estimated, the United Kingdom has the longest series of GS thanks to the work of Greasley et al. (2014), whose foundation rests on the classic work of UK capital stock estimates (Feinstein 1972, 1978; Feinstein and Pollard 1988). With further estimates of GS available from a number of published studies for several developed countries: the United States, Germany, Australia, France, Switzerland, New Zealand, and Spain (Hanley et al. 2016; Blum et al. 2019; Greasley et al. 2017; Blum et al. 2017; Qasim et al. 2020; Iriarte 2021).

One issue with estimates of GS is the lack of long run data for developing countries. A previous study of Latin American “green” investment over the period 1973–1986 lamented the quality of conventional measures of reproducible capital in Latin American countries (Vincent 2001). In order to overcome this concern, we make use of capital stock estimates for Latin American (Tafunell and Ducoing 2016) and the investment series produced by Tafunell (2013). We also note the availability of the pioneering work of Rubio (2004), who was the first to estimate GS for several Latin American Countries, including Mexico and Venezuela, in the 20th century. Blum et al. (2017) extended these estimates, as well as incorporating four additional Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia). Most recently Labat et al. (2018) estimated a long run series for Uruguay (1875–2020).

In this paper we include GS for an additional four countries: Japan, Norway, Portugal, and Denmark.²⁶ Moreover, the Argentinean and Chilean data have extended a further 20 years back in time from the former estimation mentioned above (Blum et al. 2017).

A summary of the countries presented in this article and the time spans that cover each of the estimates is presented in table 3.2. One of the important contributions of this present paper is the inclusion of long run data-based estimates of GS for more developing countries, which was previously a major issue for comparative economic history and economic development research.

3.4.1 Preliminary Analysis of the New Database

Firstly does the measurement of GS provide us with, as Hamilton and Clemens (1999) call it, “useful new information”? To see if this is the case we compare conventional net national savings (NNS) rates with our measure of resource depletion, shown in figure 3.5. This is effectively a first approximation to the so-called Hartwick (1977) rule, “The investment of current exhaustible resource returns in reproducible capital implies per capita consumption is constant.”²⁷ The 45° line labeled “marginal sustainability” highlights the difference between countries that are sustainable (savings

26. The Denmark data have been estimated from a thesis written by Andrew Pierson.

27. Asheim et al. (2023) generalize the Hartwick rule to account for non-constant population growth.

Table 3.2 Data sources and period covered of genuine savings estimations

Country	Period covered	Source
Argentina	1900–2000	Blum et al. (2017)
Australia	1870–2018	Blum et al. (2017); Greasley et al. (2017)
Bolivia	1885–2015	This paper
Brazil	1880–2018	Blum et al. (2017)
Cambodia	1970–2010	Phillipsen + this paper
Chile	1880–2000	Blum et al. (2017) + this paper
Costa Rica	1902–2000	Pollack + this paper
Colombia	1900–2000	Blum et al. (2017)
Germany	1850–2010	Blum et al. (2013)
Great Britain	1850–2010	Greasley et al. (2014)
France	1900–2000	Blum et al. (2017)
Mexico	1900–2000	Blum et al. (2017)
New Zealand	1950–2000	Qasim et al. (2020)
Norway	1870–2000	Fink and Ducoing (2022)
Portugal	1900–2000	This paper
Spain	1950–2010	Iriarte (2021)
Sweden	1850–2010	Lindmark and Acar (2013)
Switzerland	1900–2000	Blum et al. (2017)
Japan	1880–2010	This paper
Venezuela	1935–1985	Rubio (2004)
Uruguay	1875–2015	Labat et al. (2019)
United Kingdom	1765–2000	Greasley et al. (2014)
United States of America	1870–2015	Hanley et al. (2015)

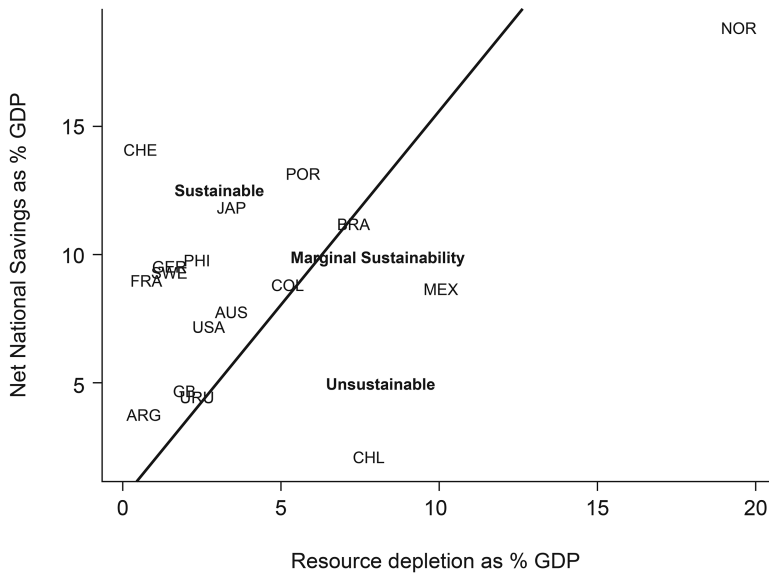


Figure 3.5 Scatter plot of resource depletion and net savings rates, 1950–2000

Source: see table 3.2

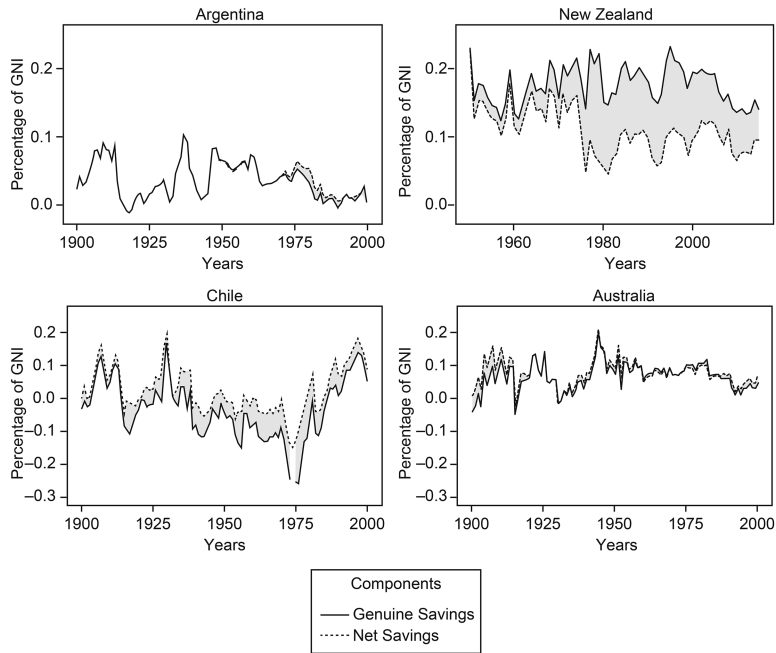


Figure 3.6 Net national savings and genuine savings in Argentina, New Zealand, Chile, and Australia. 1900–2000

Source: See table 3.2

rates > Resource depletion) and countries that are unsustainable (savings rates < Resource depletion). In contrast to Hamilton and Clemens (1999), we do not observe countries with negative net savings rates but we do identify countries that have higher resource depletion than net savings rates and are therefore deemed unsustainable.

The gap between NNS and GS has been called the “depletion rate” by Hamilton and Clemens (1999). If we compare New Zealand with Argentina, two countries with a reasonably well-developed agro-sector, savings rates are mainly positive, but there is a noticeable difference in levels between both countries (see figure 3.6). The case of Chile (bottom left panel in figure 3.6) is a representative example of development in Latin America. Between 1950 and 1990 the average GS per capita was negative, meaning that the extraction of natural resources, mainly copper, was not *re-invested* in either human capital or fixed investment. The experience of Australia stands in contrast to that of Chile. Australia, despite its large mining sector, saw little difference between NNS and GS as resource rents were reinvested to maintain positive genuine savings.

Considering GS alone, figure 3.7 shows all countries using the same scale. Clear trends emerge of savings rates that average 7.8 percent of GDP, rang-

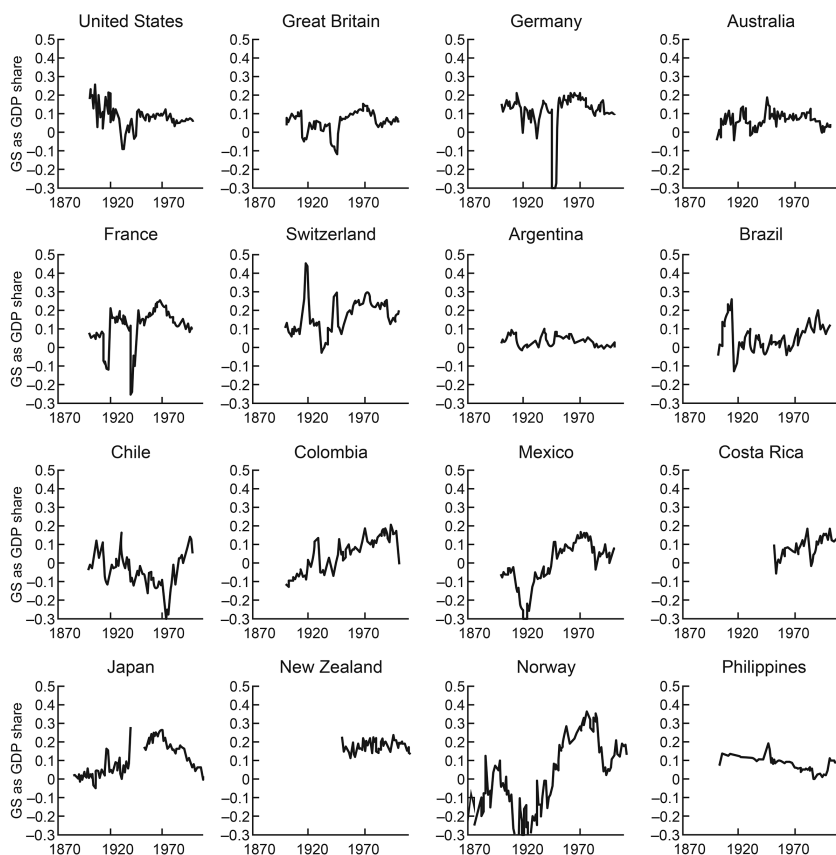


Figure 3.7 Genuine savings as share of GDP, selected countries, 1850–2020

Source: See table 3.2

ing between 69 percent and –68 percent of GDP, in their extreme values.²⁸ Some countries experience periods of negative GS, such as Brazil, Australia, France, Germany, Britain, the United States, Uruguay, which tended to coincide with well-known macro shocks such as wars and the Great Depression. Others, such as Sweden and Mexico, start the period experiencing negative GS and transition to positive GS. Of the countries two were notable outliers, Chile and Uruguay; the former for persistent negative GS, the latter for its high initial rates of GS and the volatility of the measure. Of the countries in the sample, only New Zealand and Spain do not show signs of negative GS.

The picture is changed when our measure of technological change is incorporated. Figure 3.8 compares GS rates and GSTFP rates for the coun-

28. See table 3.3 for summary statistics for each country.

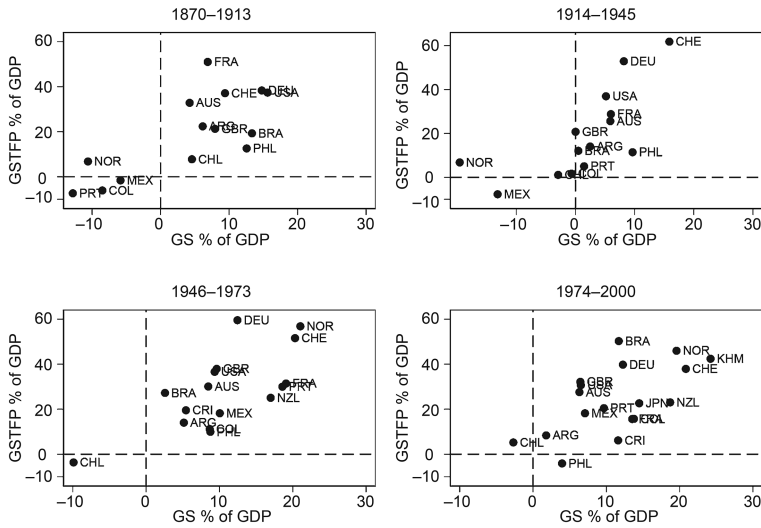


Figure 3.8 Genuine savings incorporating technological change, 1870–2020

Source: See table 3.2

tries in our database. While countries may have episodes of negative GS, this is overcome by positive GSTFP rates. While there are a few exceptions to this, in earlier periods countries had negative GS and low rates of TFP growth which meant that technological progress was unable to compensate for negative GS. On the whole when a measure of technological progress is incorporated it shows a pattern of positive GS indicating that technological progress cannot be omitted in studies sustainable development. This finding is in line with Ferreira and Vincent (2005), who argue that measures of GS are incomplete when sources of economic growth go beyond conventional capital accumulation.

Dasgupta (2009) makes the case that the empirical literature on the sources of economic growth may actually “misdirect” and instead of focusing on GDP growth as an outcome variable, the outcome variable should be the change in well-being. Another aspect to this is that the literature on growth finds conventional investment to be a key driver in growth, but what of comprehensive investment: How do the figures presented here compare to standard narratives surrounding economic growth? Figure 3.9 plots GS (as a percent of GDP) and GDP growth over different time periods.²⁹

For three of the sub-periods there is a positive association between GS rates and GDP growth. However, this relationship breaks down during

29. There are two outliers. In 1870–1914 Uruguay has very high GS rates (46.49 percent and 1946–1973 Cambodia with 97.89 percent of GDP; these are excluded from this figure) in the period 1870–1913 but growth is modest.

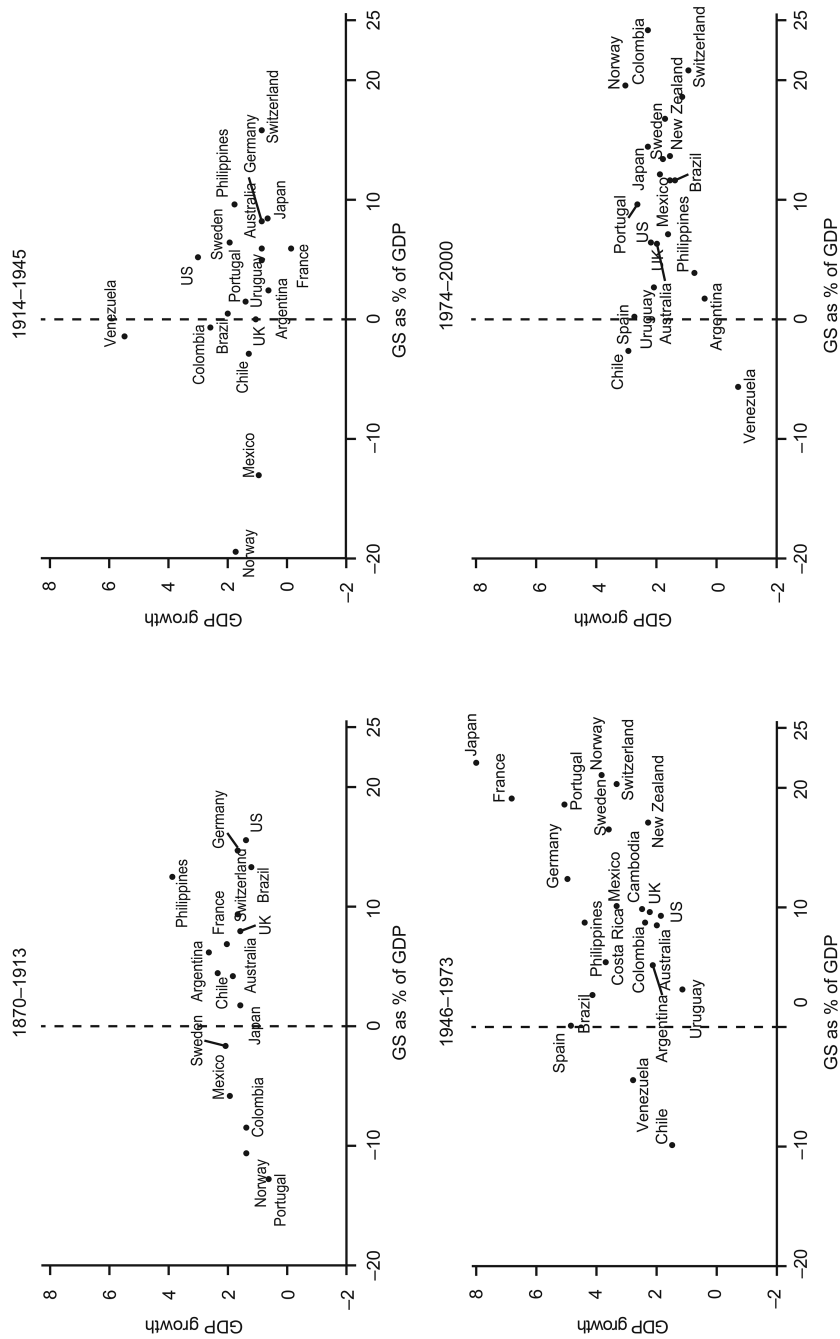


Figure 3.9 GDP growth and savings rates, 1870—2000

Source: See table 3.2 and Maddison database, <https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/historicaldevelopment/maddison/?lang=en>.

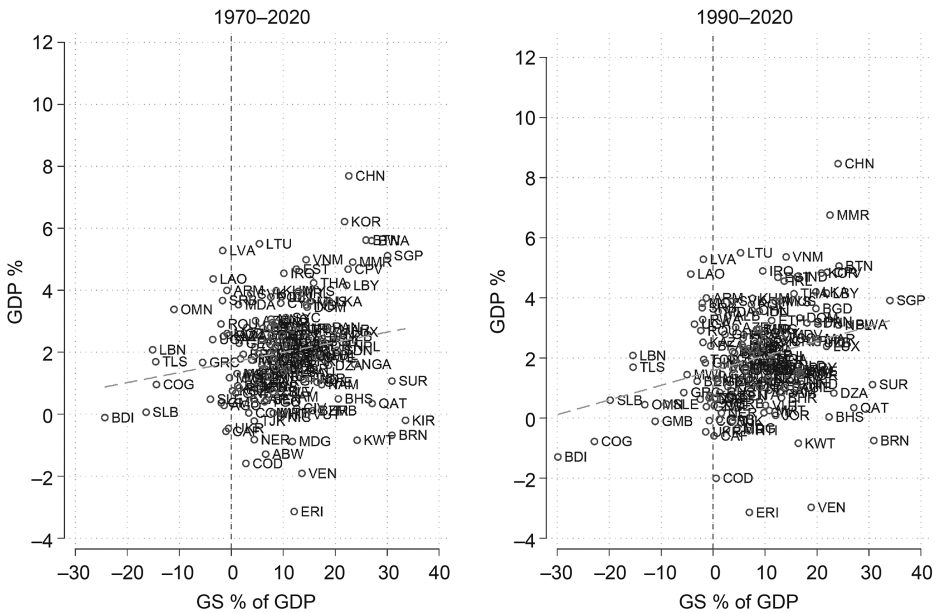


Figure 3.10 GS (% of GDP) and GDP per capita growth

Source: World Development Indicators, <https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>.

the interwar period. Several countries experience negative GS rates during the first period, but the number of countries that experienced negative GS declined in each sub-period. Of the countries included in the sample, only Chile and Venezuela persistently displayed negative GS in consecutive periods; this is driven by the resource intensity of their respective economies. On the whole, most countries only experienced short spells of negative GS and reverted to positive growth rates thereafter; the major exception here was Venezuela in the final period 1974–2000. Thus overall, we do find evidence to support the view that countries can experience GDP growth at the expense of growth in (comprehensive) wealth (UNU-IHDP 2018; Yamaguchi et al. 2019); this also becomes evident when using the modern database of the World Bank (see figure 3.10).

The theoretical literature on genuine savings stresses a link between GS and well-being, although in practice this has tended to be defined in monetary units. An exception is Gnégé (2009), who explores the relationship between GS and other measures of well-being such as changes in infant mortality and the Human Development Index, finding a weak positive relationship between the two.³⁰ Here we focus on the relationship between the

30. Similarly, Blum et al. (2019) explore non-monetary indicators of well-being and find a positive correlation.

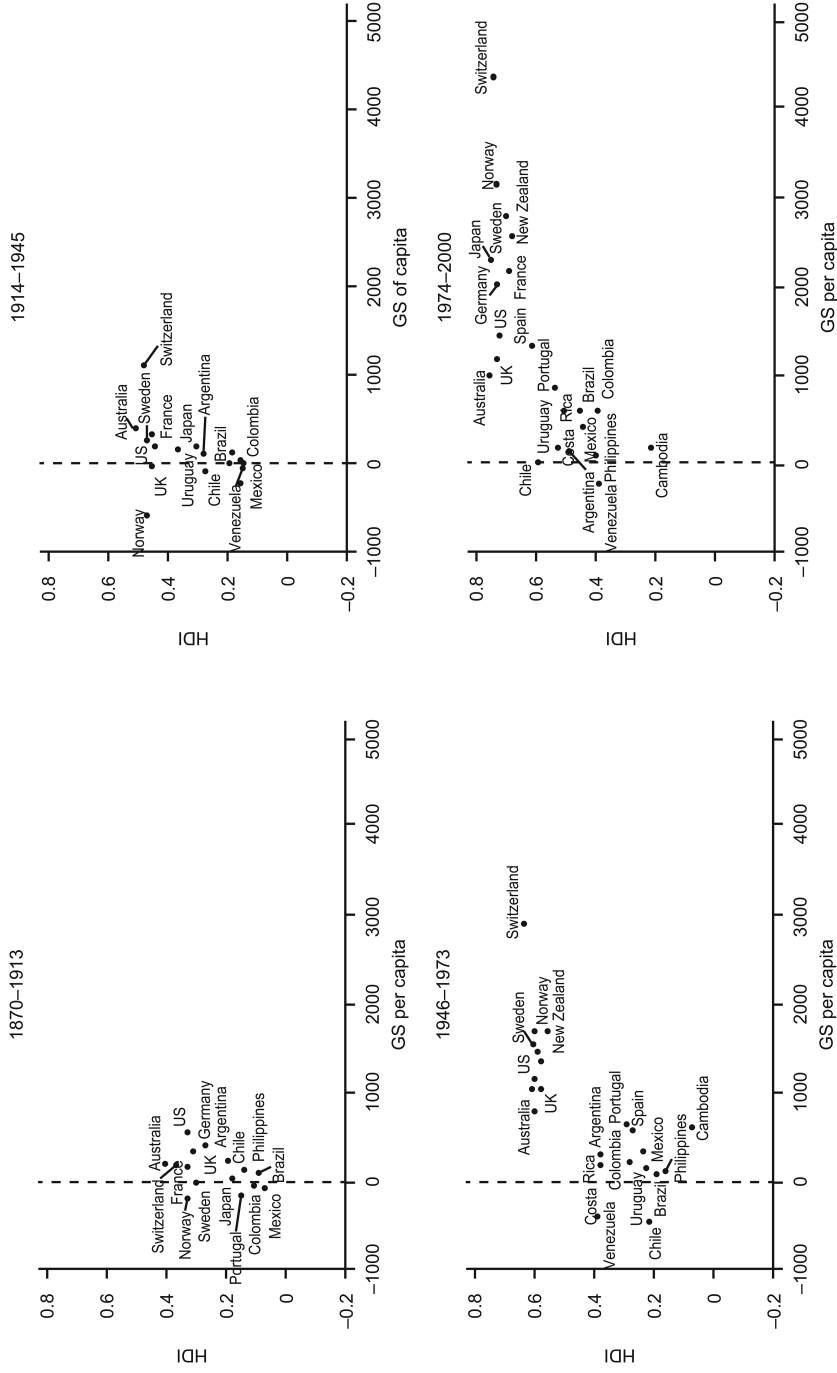


Figure 3.11 HDI and savings rates, 1870—2000

Source: See table 3.2 and Prados de la Escosura database, https://frdelpino.es/investigacion/en/category/01_social-sciences/02_world-economy/03_human-development-world-economy/.

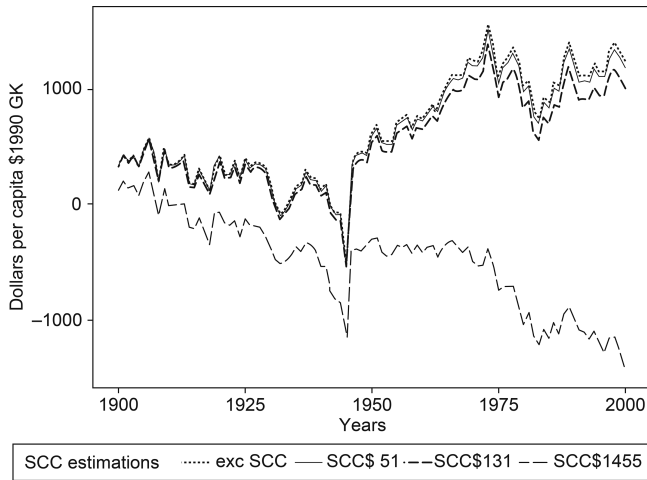


Figure 3.12 Global GS estimations with four different CO₂ cost prices

Source: See table 3.2

GS indicator and the new augmented HDI series (Prados de La Escosura 2021). The initial findings here suggest a weak correlation between GS and HDI initially but that the relationship strengthened significantly over time.

Finally, what are the effects of global pollutants on GS? Figure 3.12 illustrates the effect of including four different SSCs; this is analogous to our GS* above. The SCC represents a range from the distribution in the literature (see discussion above). We include a “price” of \$0, which is effectively our benchmark global GS estimate. A \$51 SSC shows a slight decrease in the level of GS per capita; doubling the SSC to \$131 sees a further decrease in the level of the GS indicator but it is not negative barring the Great Depression and the Second World War. A substantial divergence in the GS metric is noted when the \$51 SSC effectively sees a thirtyfold increase (\$1,455), the price advocated by Pezzey and Burke (2014). Clearly the GS* metric is sensitive to the price of carbon, but this highlights the challenge of estimating a practical SSC to give policymakers a more realistic impression of likely future damage costs from carbon-intensive economic activity (Kaufman et al. 2020).

3.5 Conclusion

This is the first major compilation of data on historical sustainability trends for a significant sample of countries. Through a standardized methodology, the authors have provided future researchers and the general public a starting point to compare sustainable development from the 19th century to the present day.

Historical estimates of GS help us to trace the main trends in long run sustainability and present new information for policymakers. One power-

ful and potentially concerning message is the destiny of natural resources rents (and environmental degradation). Figure 3.5 gives a positive message. None of our countries on average experienced negative genuine savings over the period 1950–2000. However, looking at the whole century (figure 3.6), we show that Latin American countries, many of whom had based their economic development on the exploitation of their natural wealth, were unable to maintain a constant rate of savings, thus hampering their future well-being.

Another extremely relevant finding is that the treatment of CO₂ and how it is priced have an enormous impact on the sustainability signal (Pezzey and Burke 2014). The prices shown, namely the high “business as usual” and the lower “control,” highlight the messages embodied in their assumptions: if there are no attempts to control emissions into the future, the last 150 years were built on unsustainable practices; if, however, the damaging potential of uncontrolled emissions are accepted and these emissions are optimally “controlled,” then the development seen in the last century can be determined to have been on a sustainable path. However, current climate events are closer to the former price.

The preliminary results presented in this article have strong implications for the present and future economic development of the countries considered in this study. A number of studies argue that consumption is a function of (previous) capital accumulation, since the productive basis, i.e., labor, physical and intangible capital, are the productive forces used to generate income. The lessons from these studies are straightforward: current investment in physical capital, and intangible assets such as human capital and technology, may result in higher consumption, wages, and well-being in the future. Likewise, erosion of the productive base due to depreciation of assets, pollution, and depletion of natural resources may limit, or even reduce, future well-being. The implications of this perspective for the “global” economy are clear; if the goal is to ensure future sustainability, the Hartwick rule should be followed. Technological progress, i.e. an increasingly intelligent use of existing assets, can play a significant role in future sustainability. However, in order to use GS in an applied policy framework, further studies and tests must be implemented. The data presented in the article are a crucial input to informed debate.

Appendix

Data Appendix

Summary statistics of “GS as a share of GDP” are shown in table 3A.1. We are aware of the GDP differences between these countries, but this variable is a good proxy of the *saving effort* of each country.

Table 3A.1 Summary statistics: Genuine savings as share of GDP 1870–2019

Country	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
USA	0.0811	0.0805	0.0615	−0.0916	0.261
Great Britain	0.0549	0.0603	0.0541	−0.120	0.145
Germany	0.113	0.131	0.113	−0.595	0.212
Australia	0.0655	0.0694	0.0417	−0.0480	0.190
France	0.118	0.138	0.0980	−0.254	0.256
Switzerland	0.175	0.175	0.0874	−0.0341	0.447
Argentina	0.0354	0.0324	0.0268	−0.0117	0.100
Brazil	0.0577	0.0439	0.0761	−0.125	0.262
Chile	−0.0375	−0.0362	0.0931	−0.314	0.166
Colombia	0.0469	0.0629	0.0898	−0.124	0.211
Mexico	−0.00298	0.0334	0.123	−0.437	0.171
Costa Rica	0.102	0.110	0.0563	−0.0526	0.189
Japan	0.0981	0.0666	0.0823	−0.0448	0.282
New Zealand	0.175	0.174	0.0286	0.123	0.231
Norway	0.0207	0.0448	0.207	−0.684	0.368
The Philippines	0.0897	0.0937	0.0367	−0.00327	0.186
Portugal	0.0684	0.0768	0.112	−0.311	0.250
Sweden	0.0800	0.0892	0.0861	−0.0669	0.223
Uruguay	0.154	0.0967	0.155	−0.105	0.691

Total Factor Productivity

We calculate TFP assuming a standard Cobb-Douglas production function with capital and labor measured in person-hours.

$$Y = AL^{(\alpha)}K^{1-\alpha}$$

where Y equals income, L is labor (measured in person hours) and K is the capital stock. A denotes TFP which is estimated as a residual from this calculation. Trend TFP was used to estimate the value of exogenous technological progress.

Trend TFP is estimated using a Kalman filter.

Social Cost of Carbon under Price Variation

As we discuss in section 3.4, our SCC estimates are based on a linear discount rate, using the latest models that have measured the potential damage of further CO₂ emissions (see table 3.1).

As the accumulated carbon in the atmosphere is lower in the first half of the 20th century, we initially use a lower constant SCC for this period. As the emissions increase in the latter 20th century, the accumulated carbon in the atmosphere and the decreased capacity of the atmosphere to absorb excess carbon emission lead us utilize a higher SCC in line with the literature, as discussed above.

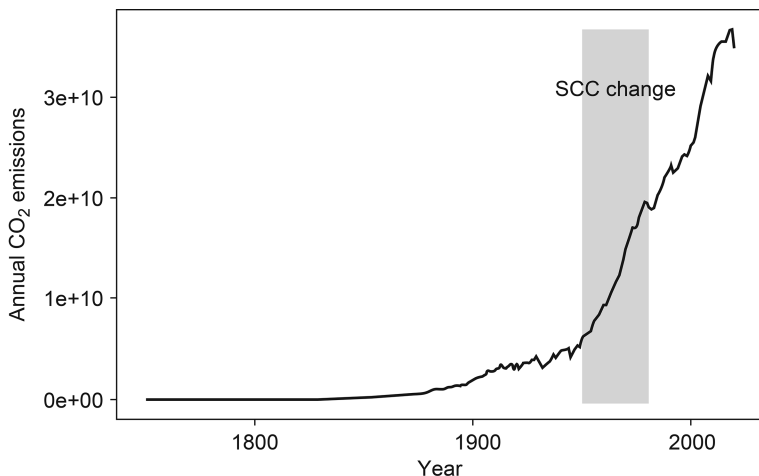


Figure 3A.1 CO₂ historical emissions

As we highlight in the main text, the difference between the estimates based on a discount rate of 2 percent are marginal. This is due to the fact that the amount of CO₂ emissions in the first half of the 20th century are lower compared to the latter 20th century, as shown in figure 3A.1. To formalize our visual analysis, we performed a structural break test on CO₂ emissions (the data from in figure 3A.1). The results identify a clear break point in 1954. As a result of this, we do not believe that there is a reason (or noticeable difference) to estimate distinct SSCs for different time periods. Rather we use a linearly discounted SCC which gives a lower SCC for the earlier years of the 20th century.

Deflators

An important point raised relates to the appropriate deflator for this exercise. As the wealth and change in wealth relates to welfare it is argued that perhaps a consumer price index might be a more appropriate deflator for the series. CPIs by definition are consumer focused, whereas a GDP deflator includes prices of all goods and services that contribute to GDP.

While they differ in theory, in practice they tend to co-move as it is difficult to isolate changes in prices of purely consumer goods from wider price movements in the economy. However, the movements can be sharper for one or the other and it is not consistent across countries. We illustrate this explicitly using data from the United States and the United Kingdom from 1870 to present (see figure 3A.2).

The key issue is how this affects the genuine savings series for the respective countries. We highlight the case of the United States and United Kingdom,

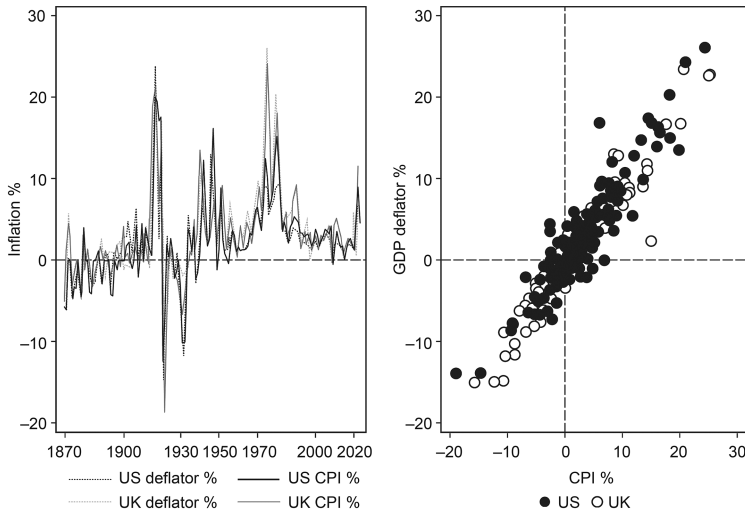


Figure 3A.2 Inflation in the United States and the United Kingdom, 1870–2022

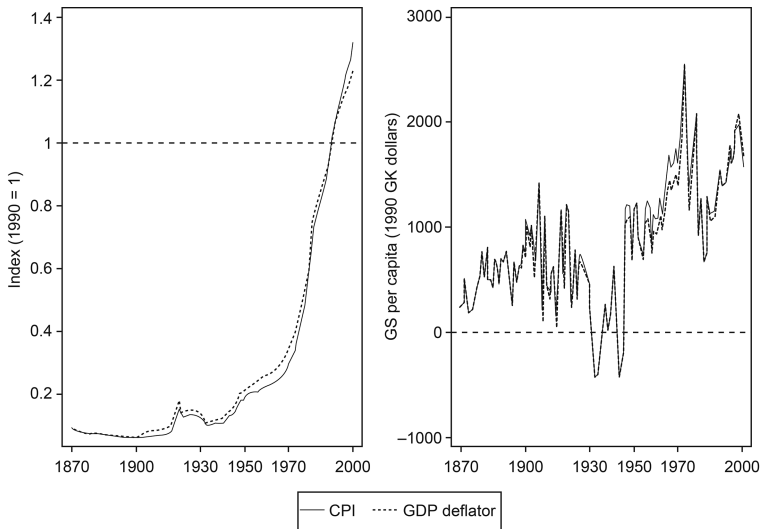


Figure 3A.3 Deflators and GS per capita, United States, 1870–2022

given their well-documented divergence between CPI and GDP deflators (Pessoa and Reenen 2013). In both cases there is a clear levels effect of deflating via a CPI vis-à-vis a GDP deflator. In the case of the United States, this results in a lower GS per capita on average when deflated by a GDP deflator, whereas in the United Kingdom, the GS per capita deflated by a CPI is lower on average (see figure 3A.4). However, in both the United States and

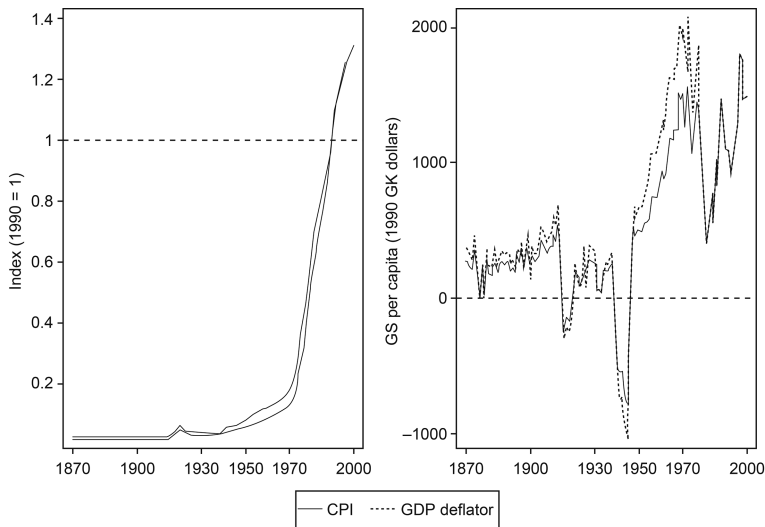


Figure 3A.4 Deflators and GS per capita, UK 1870–2022

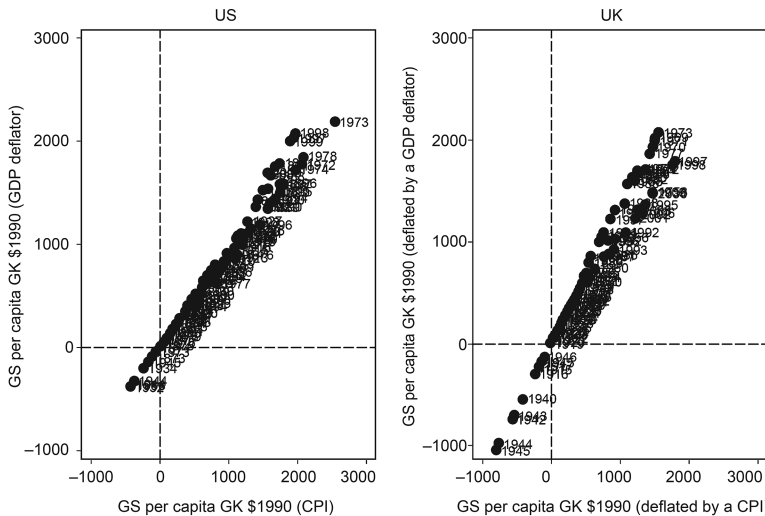


Figure 3A.5 Correlation between GS measures deflated by CPI and GDP deflator 1870–2000

the United Kingdom the underlying trends are similar; the choice of deflator does not lead to a divergence in terms of positive or negative GS in either context (see figure 3A.5).

Table 3A.2 highlights correlation coefficients between inflation as measured by CPIs and GDP deflators for the countries in our sample. While

Table 3A.2 Correlation between GDP deflator and CPI %

	1960–2022	pre-1990	Post-1990
Australia	0.936	0.953	0.618
Bolivia	1.000	1.000	0.735
Brazil	0.997	1.000	1.000
Cambodia	0.752	—	0.752
Chile	0.988	0.986	0.702
Colombia	0.873	0.838	0.830
Costa Rica	0.915	0.963	0.847
France	0.971	0.965	0.654
Germany	0.854	0.831	0.778
Japan	0.879	0.805	0.721
Mexico	0.981	0.986	0.855
New Zealand	0.938	0.844	0.530
Norway	0.489	0.811	0.561
Portugal	0.950	0.931	0.840
Spain	0.966	0.963	0.783
Sweden	0.934	0.887	0.846
Switzerland	0.895	0.795	0.866
UK	0.937	0.975	0.418
US	0.959	0.955	0.926
Uruguay	0.914	0.826	0.991
Venezuela	0.538	—	0.538

Source: World Bank (2023)

correlation is not perfect, their measures co-move. This suggests that, as with the United Kingdom and United States as depicted, there would be differences in levels depending on how the measures are deflated but that the underlying trends remain.

Data Availability

The data can be downloaded from the following link: <https://www.genuinesavings.org/data>. They are available in several formats (Stata, Gretl, Excel, csv and R) and the reference should be this paper if there are more than five countries used in the study. If the number of countries in your study is fewer than five, please use the list of references for each country available in the data set.

The code to reproduce the graphics and some of the estimations is available at further request: cristian.ducoing@ekh.lu.se.

Sources

Australia

The GS estimations for Australia used in this paper are from Greasley et al. (2017).

United Kingdom and United States

The GS estimations of Great Britain and United States are from Greasley et al. (2014) and Hanley et al. (2016).

Germany

The sources of the German data are described in Blum et al. (2019).

France and Switzerland

The GS estimates for these countries are based on Blum et al. (2017); the sources used are described extensively in the working paper linked to the book chapter (Blum et al. 2017). Please note that all statistics used for this study refer to European France, excluding Algeria and other (former) colonies.

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico

The GS estimates for these countries are based in Blum et al. (2017) and described extensively in the working paper linked to the book chapter (Blum et al. 2016).

Cambodia

The sources from these estimates are available at (Philippsen 2021).

Costa Rica

The sources from these estimates are available at (Pollak 2021).

Norway

The sources from these estimates are available at (Fink and Ducoing 2022).

The Philippines

The sources from these estimates are available at (Limjoco 2021).

Uruguay

The data sources for Uruguay are available in (Labat et al. 2018)

Venezuela

The data for the period 1942–1985 from (Rubio 2004) and the rest from (World Bank 2014).

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Comment Stefanie Onder

Measuring the sustainability of economic development has long been a concern for economists,¹ with two key indicators emerging as leading metrics: Comprehensive/Inclusive wealth (CW/IW) and Genuine/Adjusted Net Savings (GS/ANS). CW/IW measures the value of an economy’s asset base, including produced, human, and natural capital as well as net foreign assets, which reflect the future consumption and well-being possibilities of a given nation. By measuring changes in wealth per capita over time, it provides policymakers with an important signal of how these future opportunities are changing. GNS/ANS is instead measuring how much an economy is, on balance, investing for the future by tracking net savings. Both metrics capture how assets are changing over time in positive (quality improvements and accumulation) and negative (depreciation and depletion) ways.

McLaughlin et al. (this volume) make a substantial contribution to this literature by producing historical GS estimates for a large group of devel-

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1. See Solow (1993), Dasgupta and Mäler (2000), Dasgupta (2001), and Arrow et al. (2004); as well as Fleurbaey and Blanchet (2013), Hamilton and Hartwick (2014), and Irwin et al. (2016) for excellent reviews.