

Increasing your chances of success while leaving your comfort zone: Adapting Sri Lanka's growth model

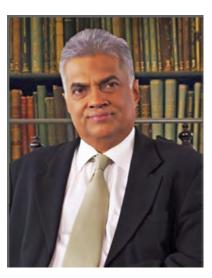
January 9th 2017

Professor Ricardo Hausmann

Director of the Center for International Development Harvard University



Hon. Maithripala Sirisena President of Sri Lanka



Hon. Ranil Wickremesinghe Prime Minister of Sri Lanka



Hon. Malik Samarawickrama Minister of Development Strategies and International Trade



Hon. Sujeewa Senasinghe State Minister of International Trade



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Mr. Mangala Yapa Agency for Development (TBC)



Dr. Saman Kelegama Agency for International Trade (TBC)



Mr. Upul Jayasuriya Chairman, BOI



Mr. Duminda Ariyasinghe Director General, BOI



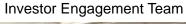
Ms. Indira Malwatte Chairperson & Chief Executive, EDB



Paddy Withana Chairman, SLTDA

Investment Targeting Team







Investor Climate/ Response Team





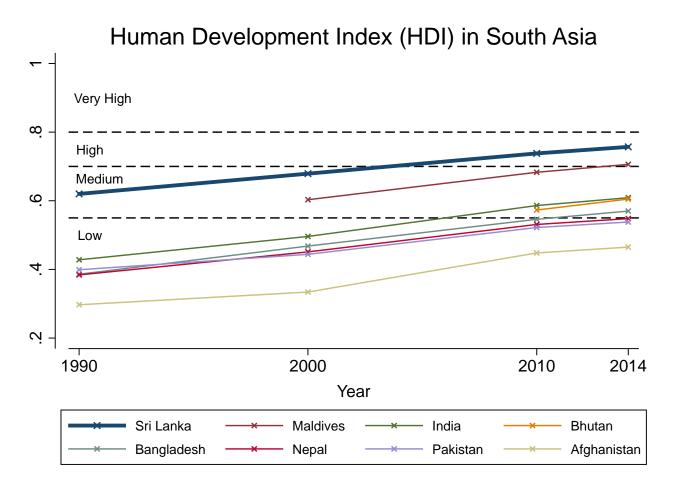
Kuchchaveli

Tourism Team



SRI LANKA'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

Sri Lanka's path to middle income status has been strong and its efforts over the long-term in health and education delivery have been commendable.



GDP per capita: 3,926 US\$ (2015)

<u>Life expectancy</u>: 74.8 (2014)

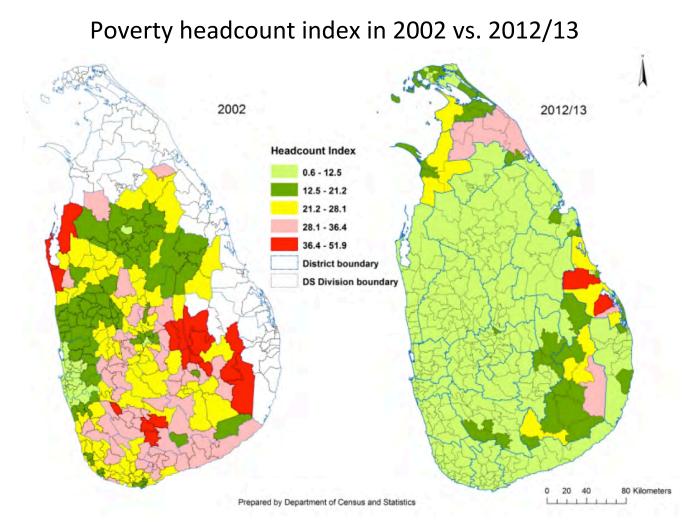
Adult literacy rate: 92.6 (2015)

Note: Sri Lanka's level of development is the highest in South Asia. Thus, the remainder of this analysis uses a different group of comparator countries.

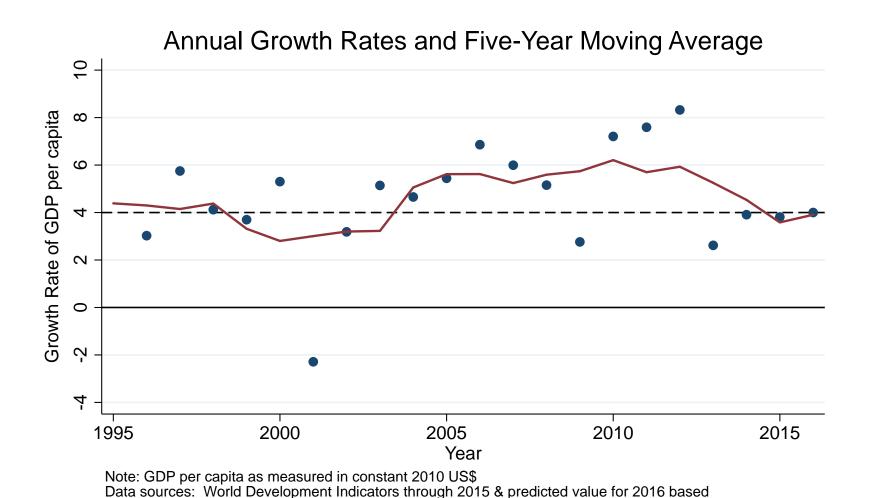
Data source: UNDP Human Development Report, 2015

Strong growth and the end of the conflict have been translated into poverty reduction throughout Sri Lanka.

...but several parts of the country still remain left behind, and many people remain disconnected from the opportunities created by past growth.

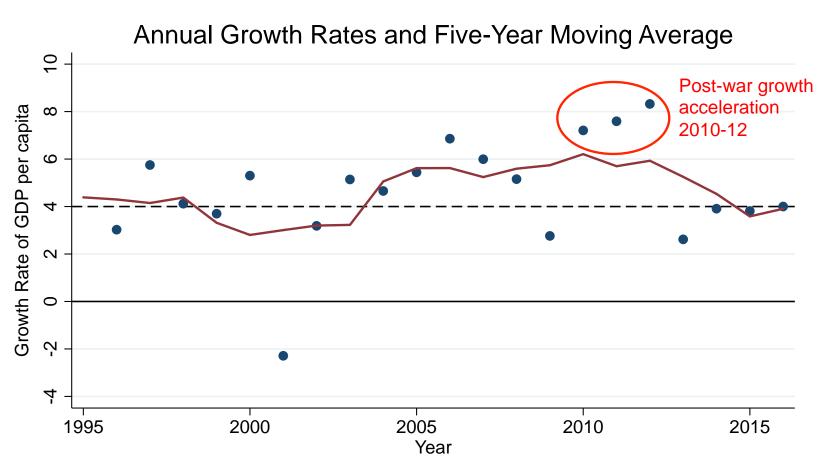


HOWEVER: per capita growth has slowed during the last four years



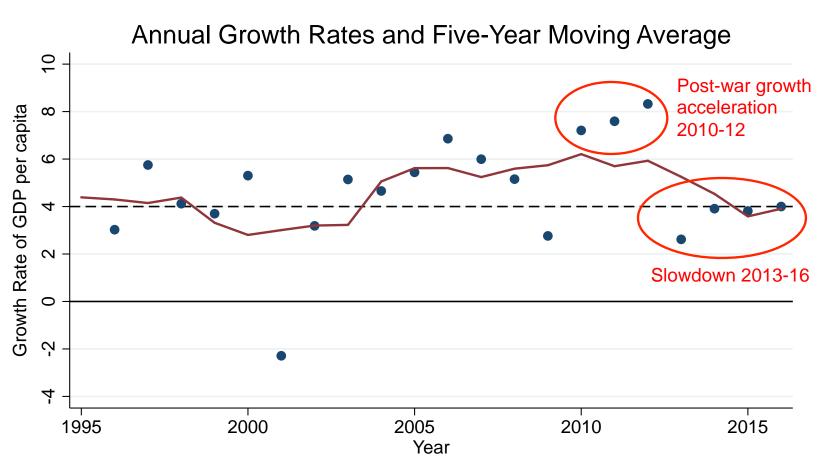
on CBSL projections

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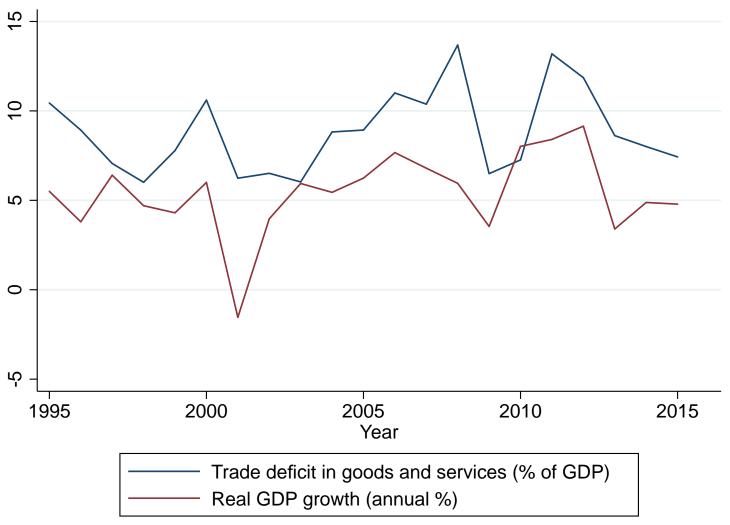
Note: GDP per capita as measured in constant 2010 US\$
Data sources: World Development Indicators through 2015 & predicted value for 2016 based on CBSL projections

HOWEVER: per capita growth has slowed during the last four years



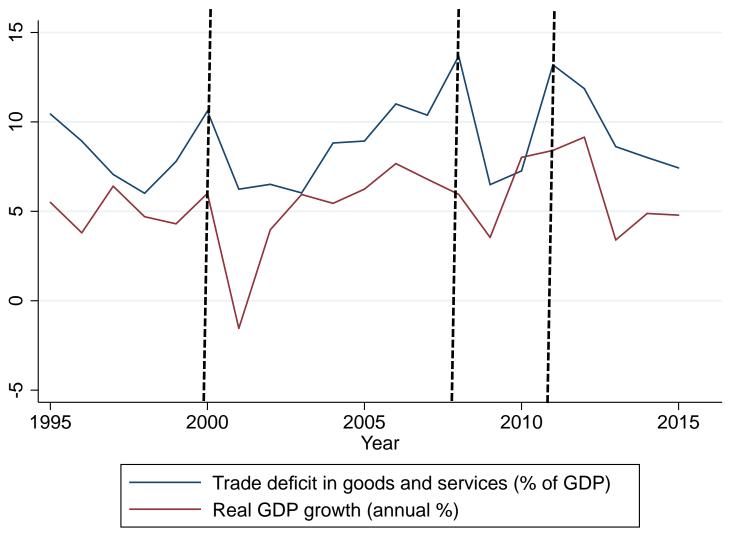
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Why did growth slow down? Because a widening of the current account acted as a speed limit.



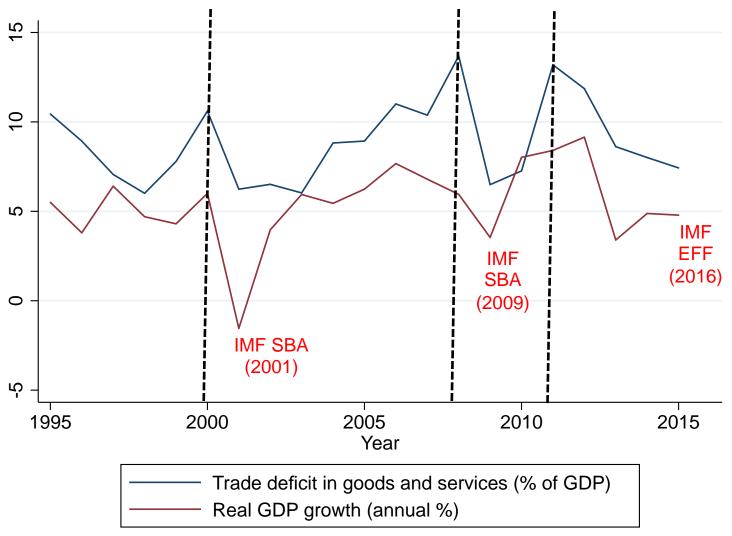
Sources: WDI; IMF Press Releases

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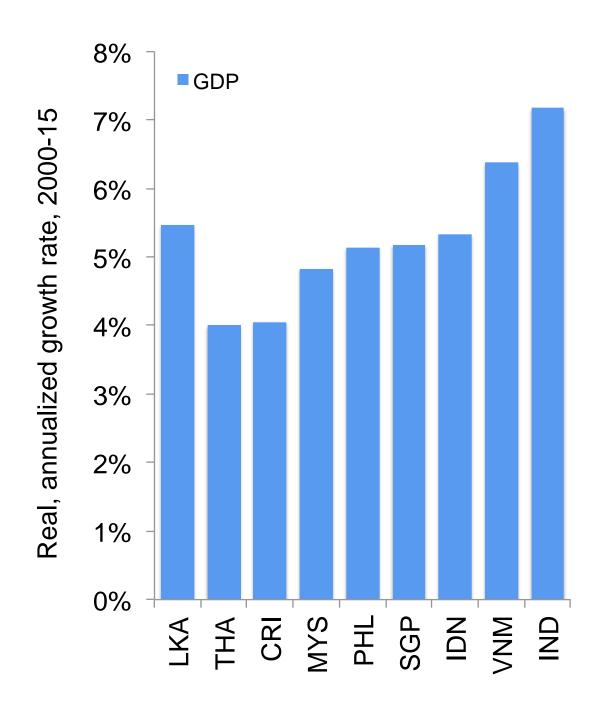


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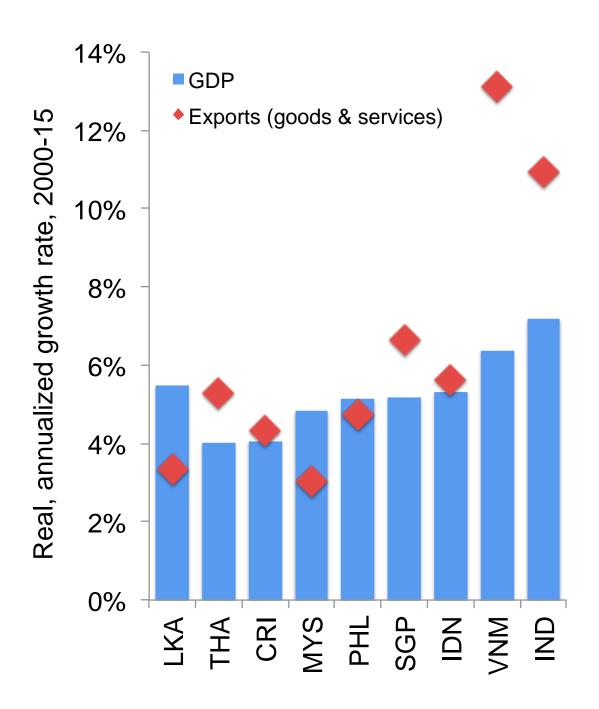


Sources: WDI; IMF Press Releases



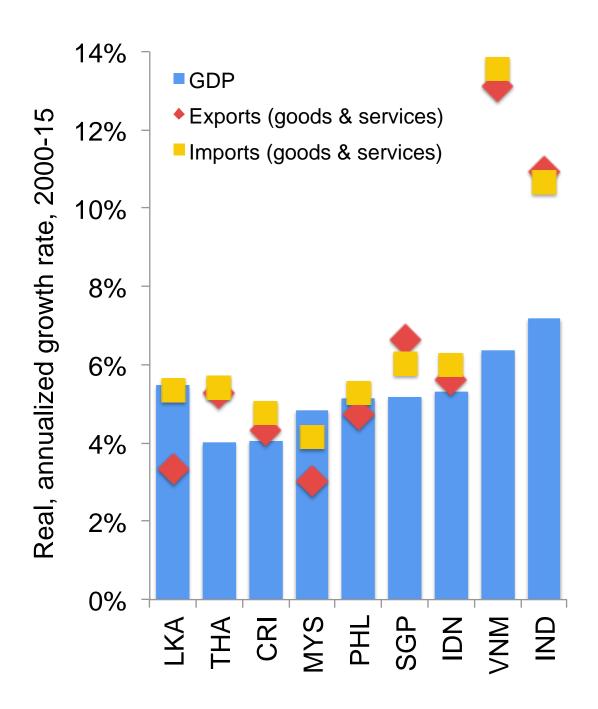
Sri Lanka's growth conundrum

 GDP growth is strong by regional standards.



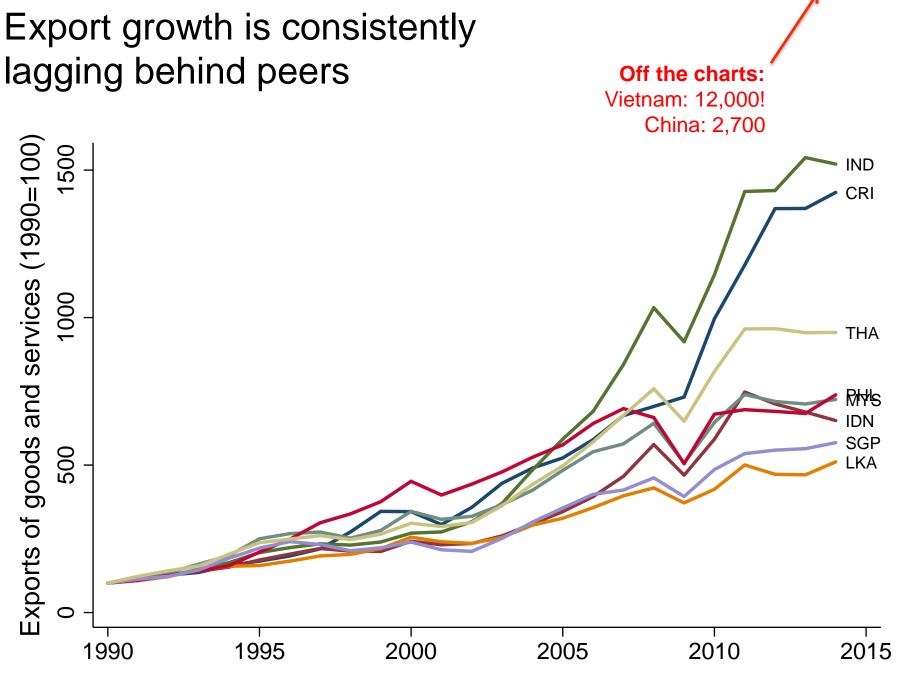
Sri Lanka's growth conundrum

- GDP growth is strong by regional standards.
- Exports are not keeping pace...



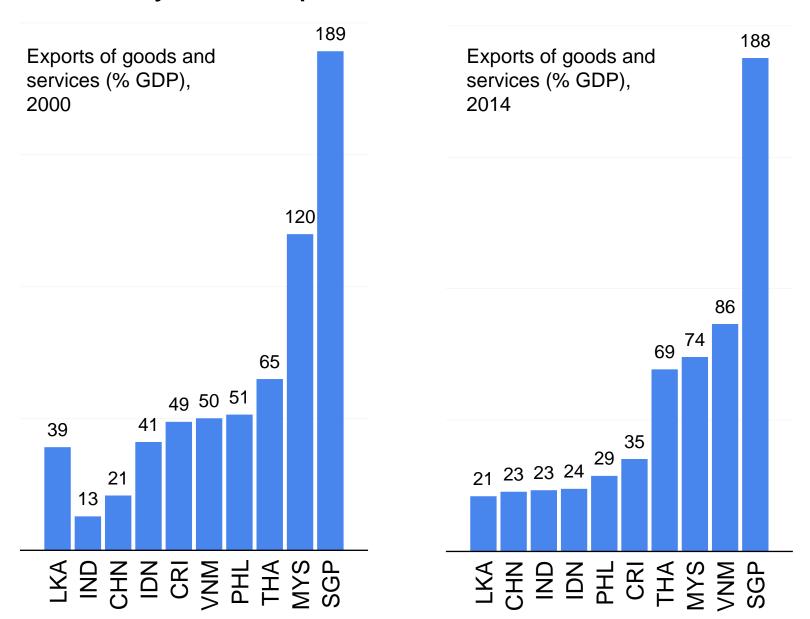
Sri Lanka's growth conundrum

- GDP growth is strong by regional standards.
- Exports are not keeping pace...
- ...but imports are.



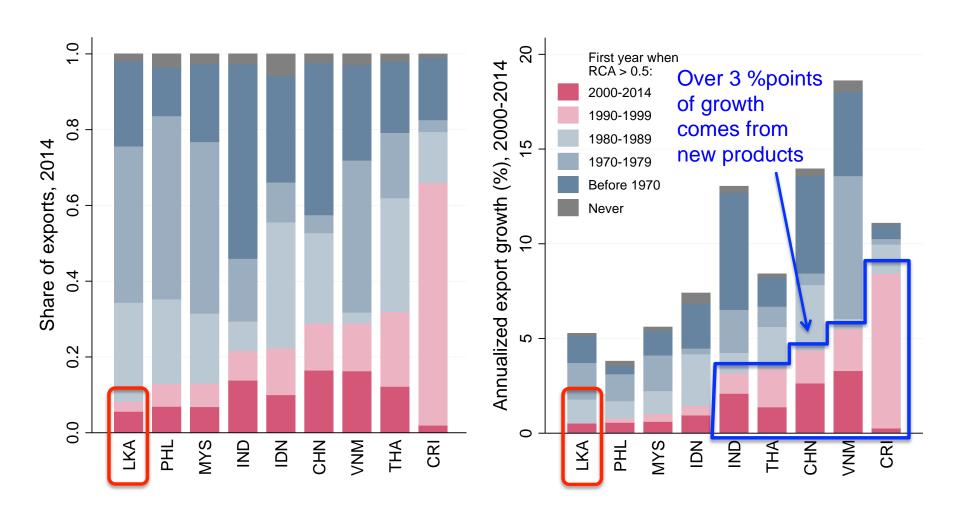
Data source: UN COMTRADE, via CID. Not adjusted for inflation.

And the economy is now considerably less export-oriented



Source: WDI

One reason why Sri Lanka's exports are not growing fast enough: Sri Lanka's exports are not diversifying.



In other countries, diversification results in a direct boost to incomes

New export products, 2000-2015

Products without RCA in 1998-2000 and with RCA in 2013-2015

Country	New products	USD per capita	USD (billions)
China	76	245	331.6
Thailand	70	326	21.8
Vietnam	48	545	50.4
Philippines	11	12	1.2
Malaysia	10	149	4.7
Sri Lanka	7	5	0.1
Costa Rica	6	139	0.7
Indonesia	4	3	0.8
India	0	n/a	n/a

Note: uses both standard RCA and population-based version; excludes natural resources.

Source: CID calculations using COMTRADE data

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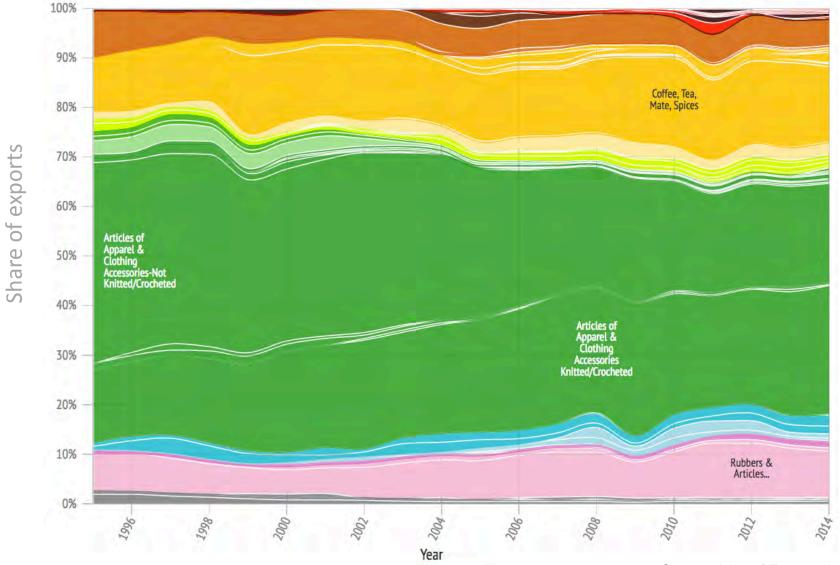
Product
Rags, textile scraps
Woven fabrics of bast fibers
Wheat or meslin flour
Cigarettes
Tulles and other net fabrics
Lead oxides
Textile for conveyor belts

Note: uses both standard RCA and population-based version; excludes natural resources.

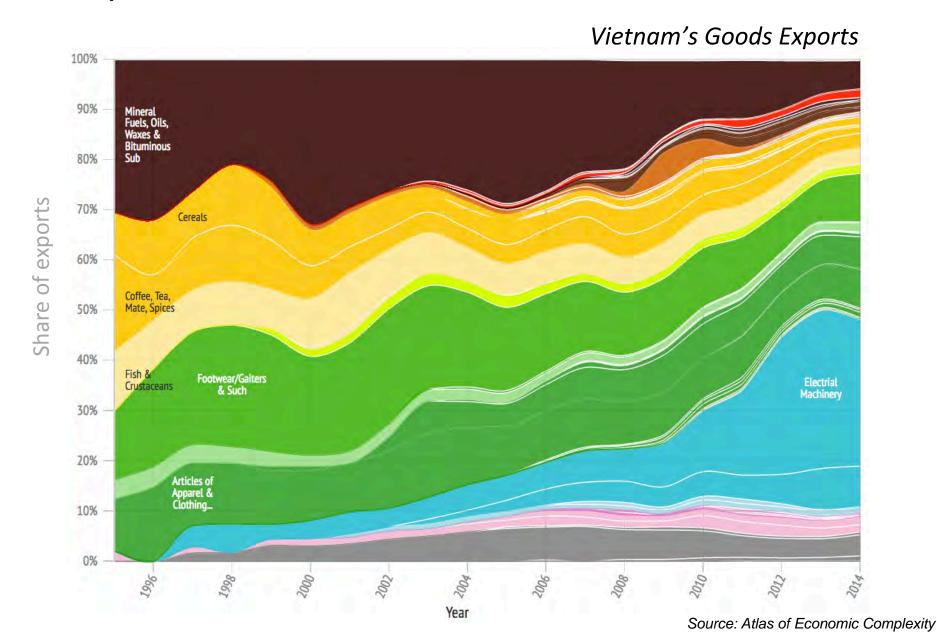
Source: CID calculations using COMTRADE data

Sri Lanka's export composition has been stagnant since the mid-1990s.

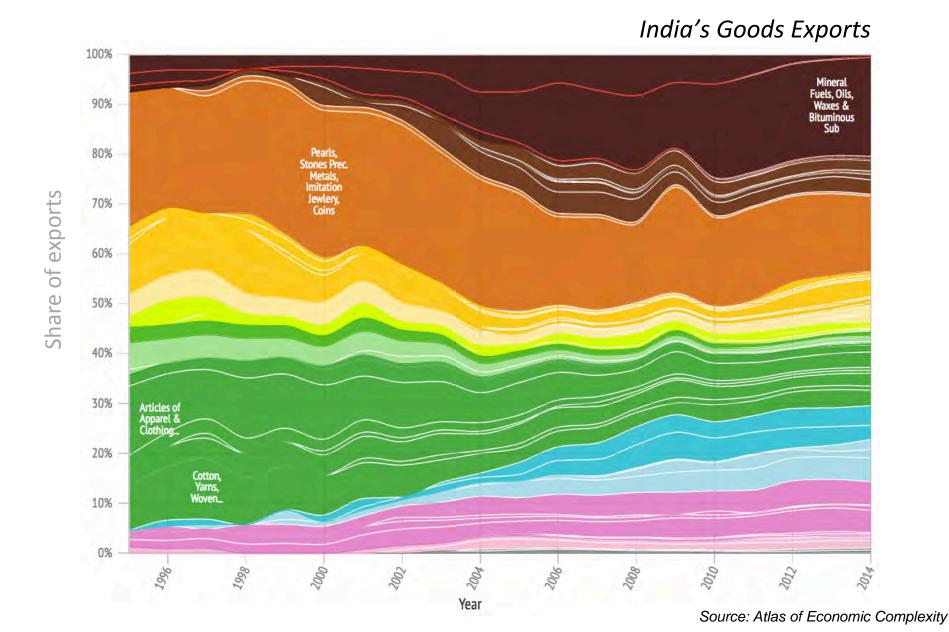
Sri Lanka's Goods Exports



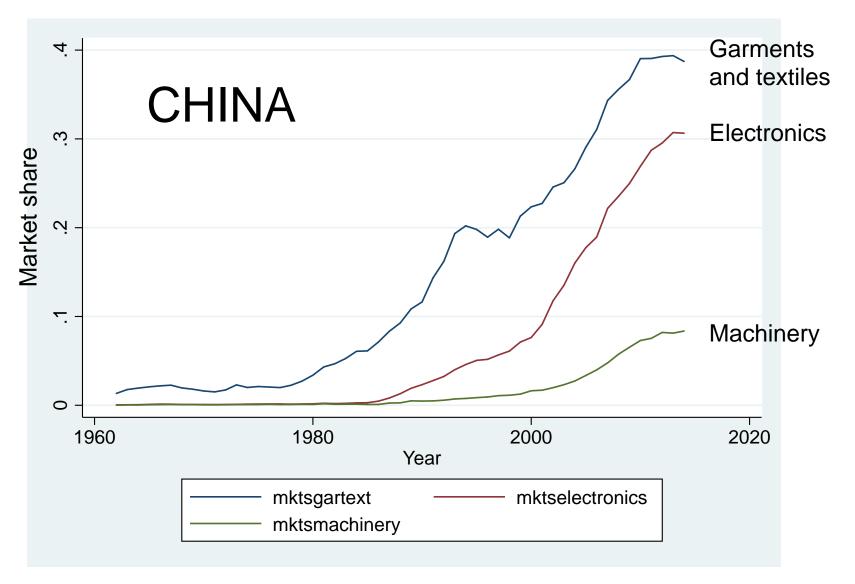
Compare to Vietnam



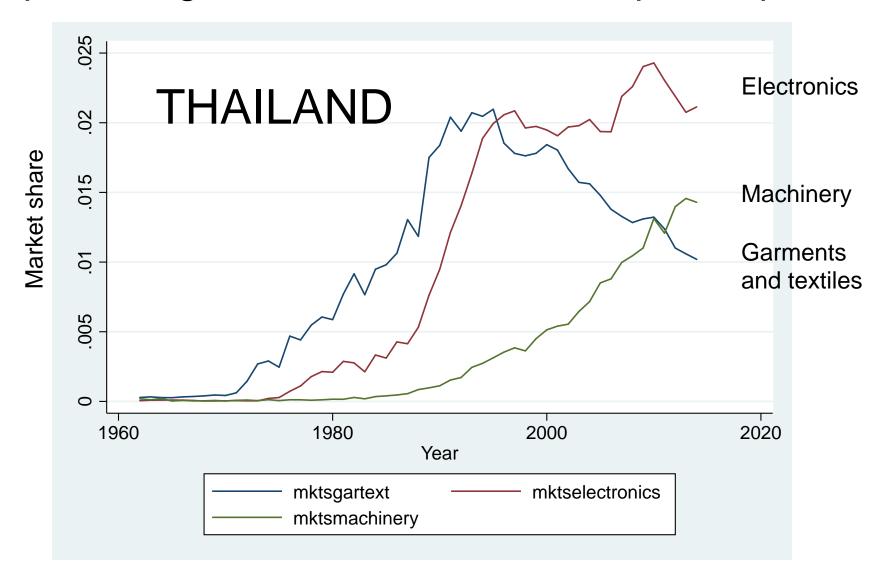
Or India



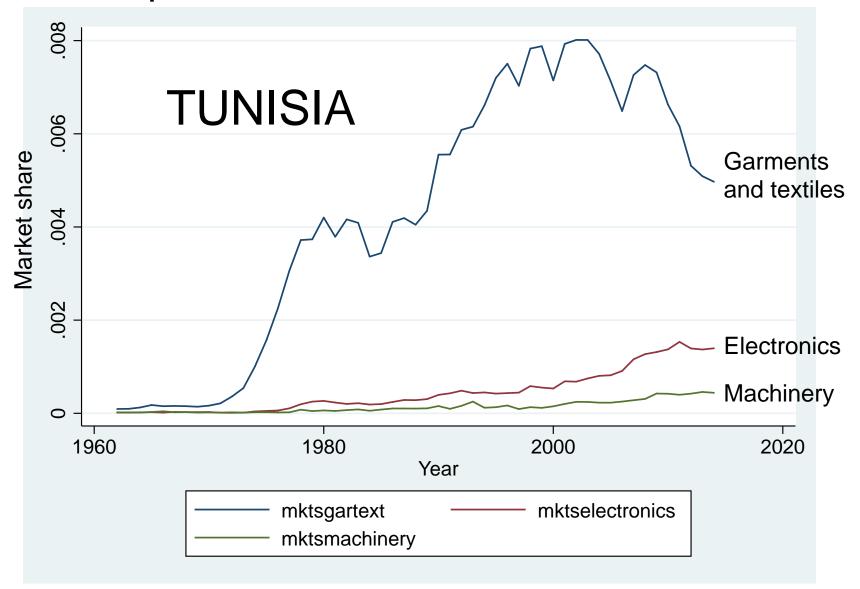
Countries often first diversify into garments, followed by electronics and then machinery



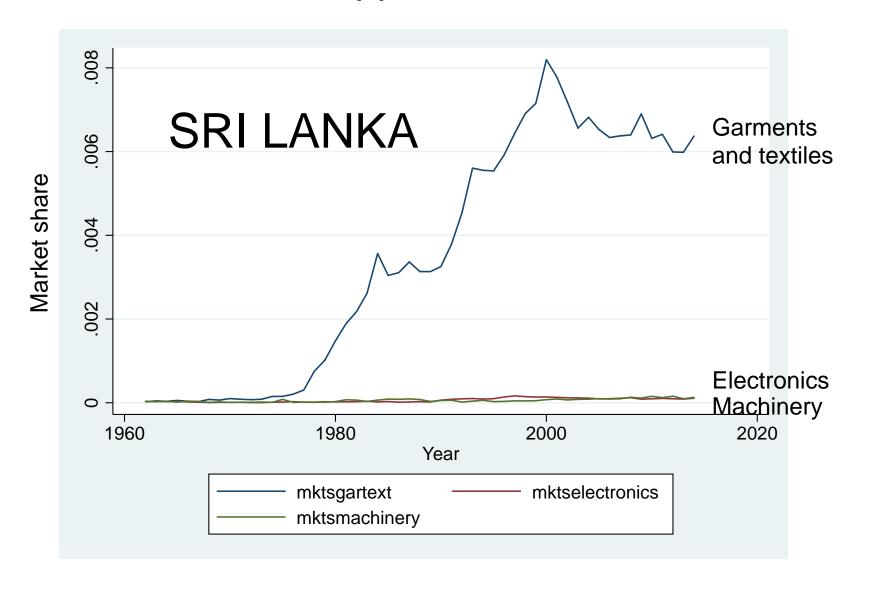
Over time, garments tend to peak as a share of exports as growth in other industries picks up



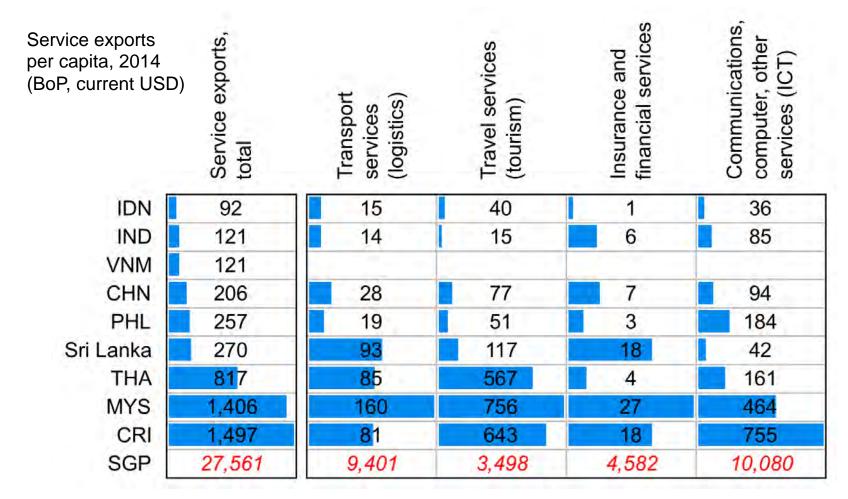
...but sometimes countries get stuck in the garments phase



...this is what has happened in Sri Lanka

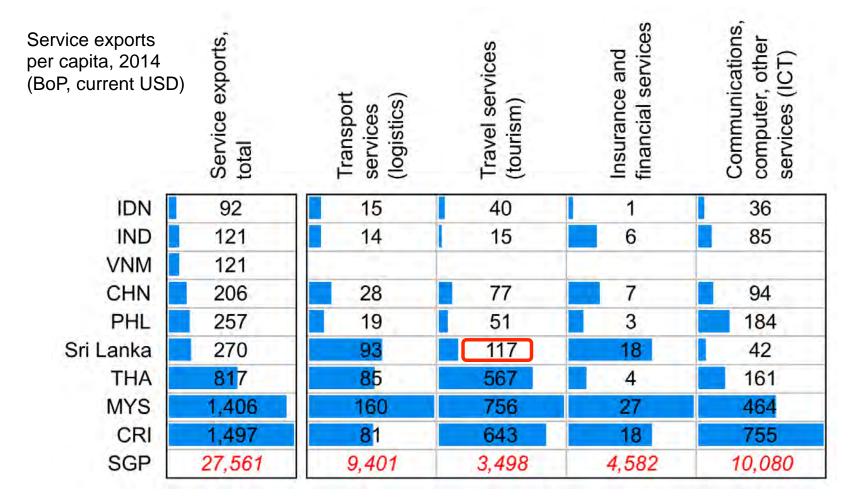


In service exports, Sri Lanka performs relatively well in transport and insurance/finance, but has much room to grow in tourism and ICT.



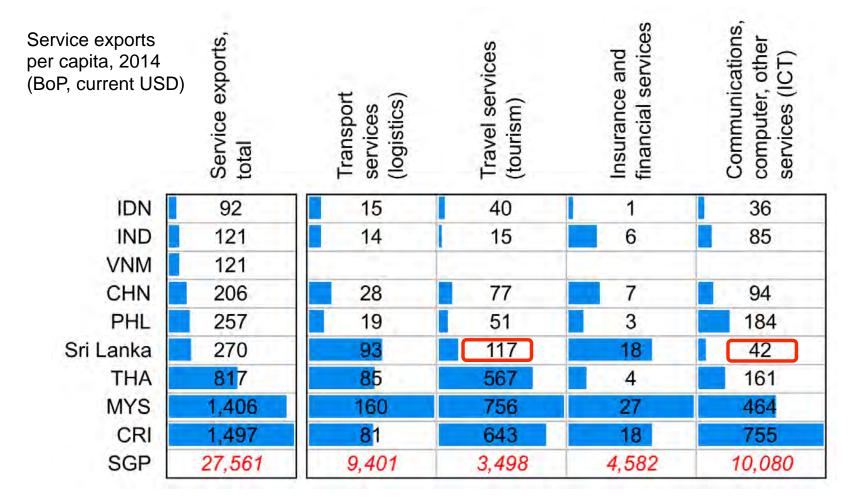
Notes: Transport service exports are services related to the movement of non-resident goods & passengers. Travel service exports are services consumed by visitors (inc. tourists). Disaggregated data not available for Vietnam. Source: WDI

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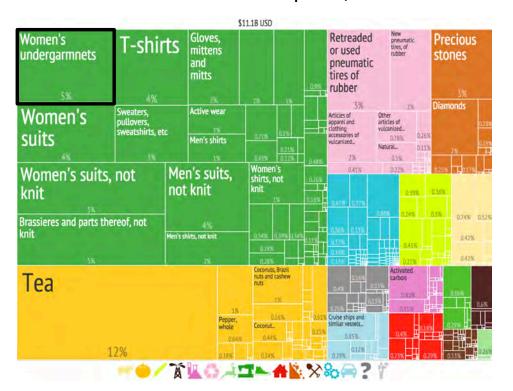
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Sri Lanka's main exports tend to face competition from low income countries

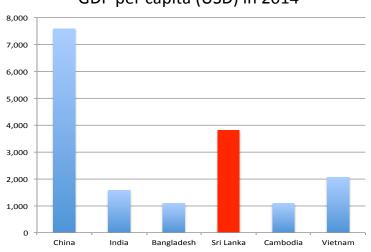
Sri Lanka's Goods Exports, 2014



Global Share of Women's Undergarments Exports (Net) in 2014

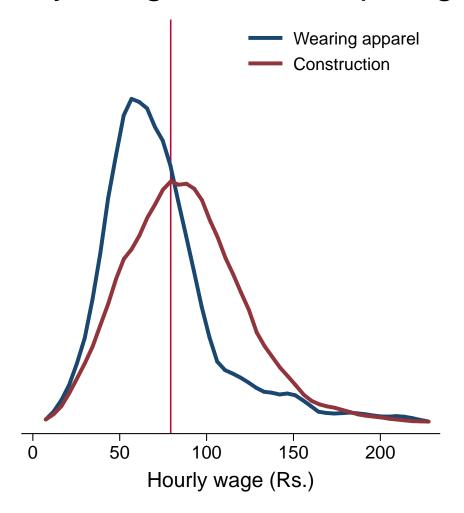


GDP per capita (USD) in 2014



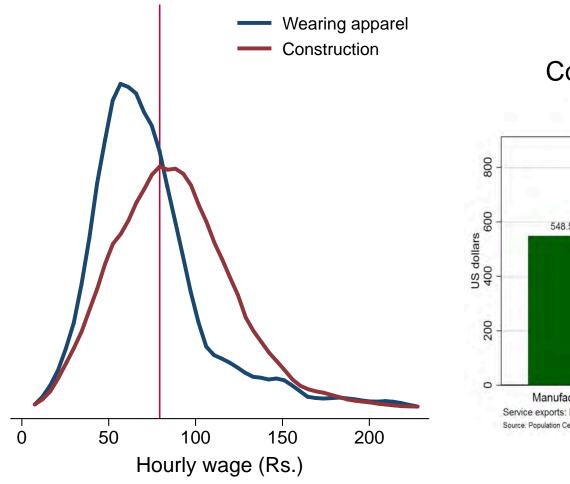
Sources: Atlas of Economic Complexity; WDI

Wages in Sri Lanka's main export industry are now lower than for most other jobs. Without diversification beyond garments, export growth cannot keep pace.

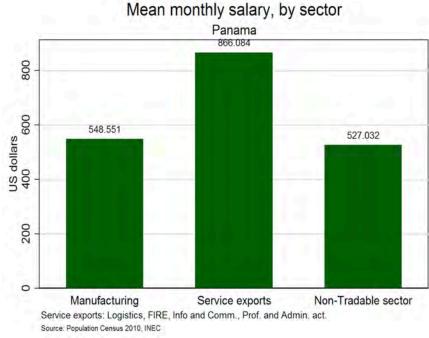


Note: Red reference line indicates the national median wage.

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Compare with Panama:



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Summing up:

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- This is because Sri Lanka had a post-war growth acceleration that was unsustainable, caused by a construction boom financed by capital inflows and a widening current account

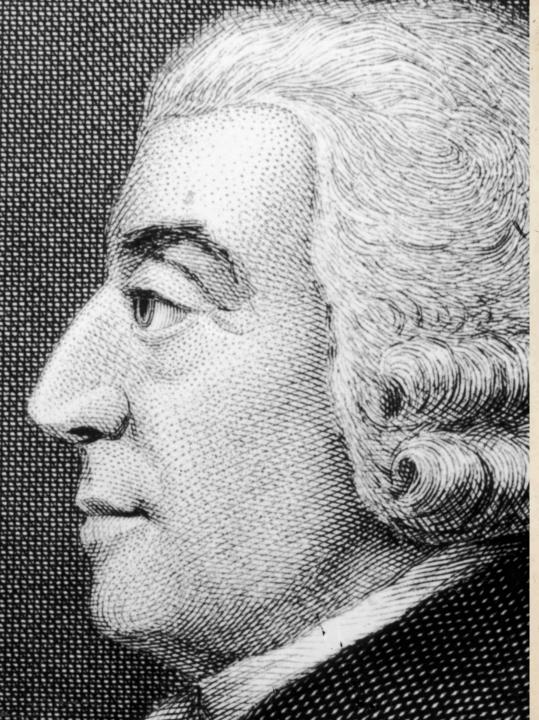
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- Exports are not growing fast enough because they have not diversified beyond a set of traditional goods: tea, rubber and garments
- The problem is that Sri Lanka's export industries pay low wages and compete with low wage countries
- How can Sri Lanka increase its exports by diversifying into higherproductivity industries that can afford higher wages?

HOW DO COUNTRIES AND REGIONS DEVELOP HIGHER PRODUCTIVITY INDUSTRIES?



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INQUIRY

INTO THE

NATURE AND CAUSES

OF THE

WEALTH OF NATIONS.

By ADAM SMITH, L.L. D. F.R.S.

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

ALSO,

VIEW OF THE DOCTRINE OF SMITH, COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE FRENCH ECONOMISTS; WITH A METHOD OF FACILITATING THE STUDY OF HIS WORKS; FROM THE FRENCH OF M. GARNIER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MAYNARD, PANTON STREET, HAY-MARKET; AND F. ZINKE, 448, STRAND.

1811.









Singapore

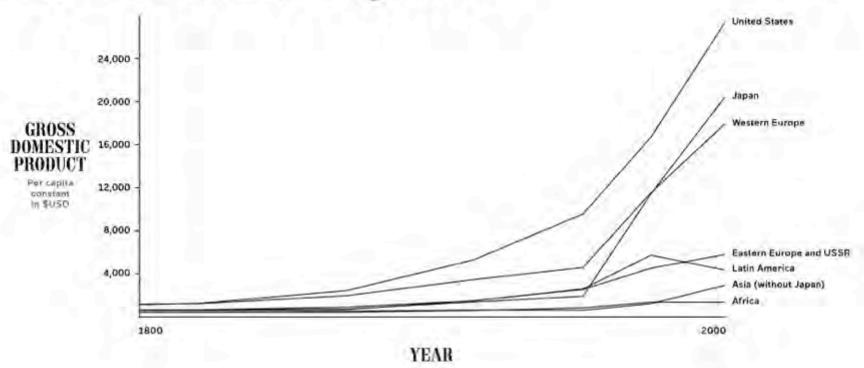
\$55,182 per capita



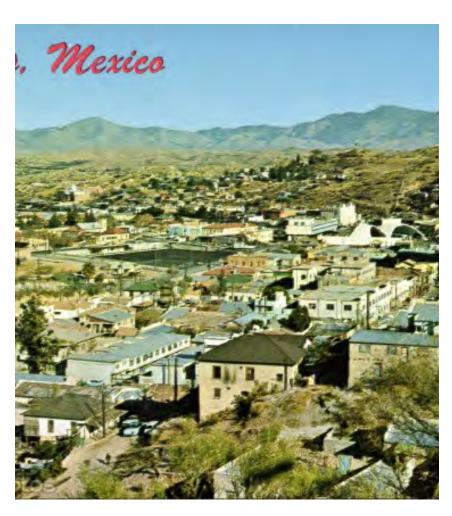
The Great Acceleration

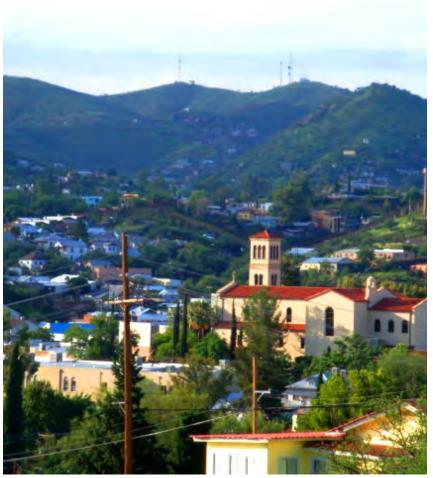


The Great Divergence



The two Nogales





















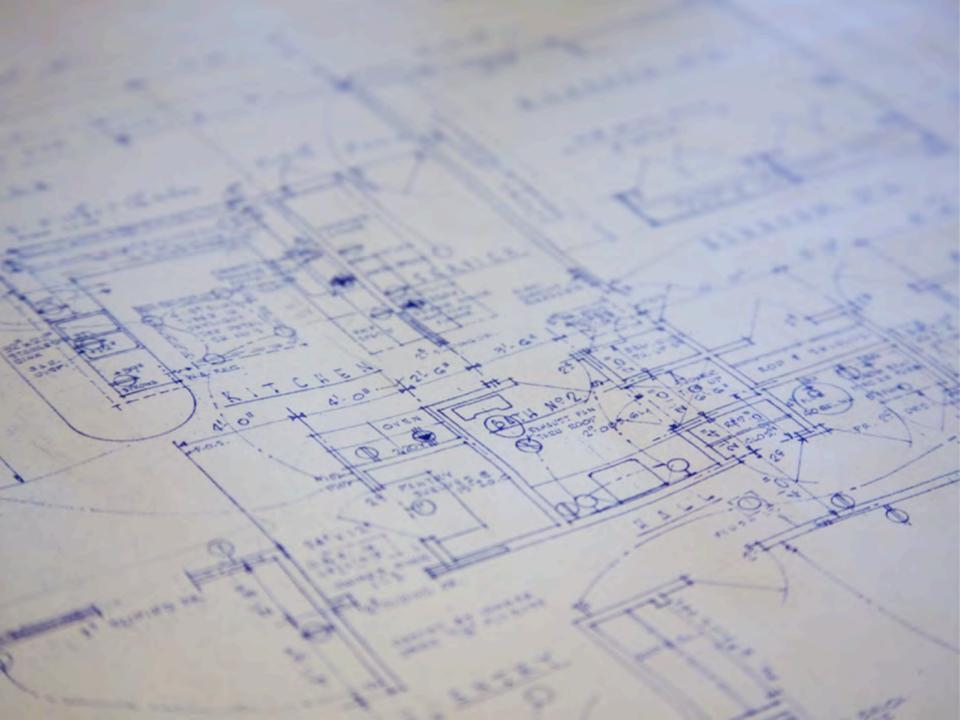














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Lift (force)

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

For other uses, see Lift (disambiguation).

A fluid flowing past the surface of a body exerts a force on it. Lift is the component of this force that is perpendicular to the oncoming flow direction.[1] It contrasts with the drag force, which is the component of the surface force parallel to the flow direction. If the fluid is air, the force is called an aerodynamic force. In water, it is called a hydrodynamic force.

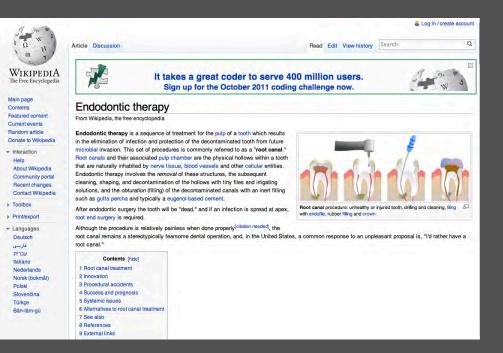
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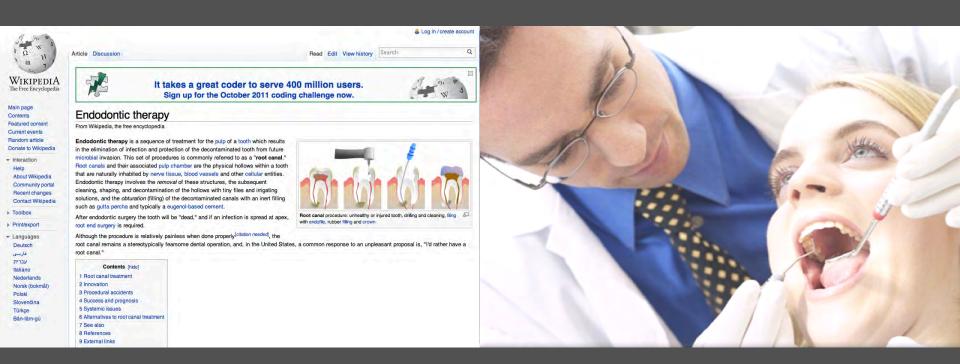
What do you do when your tooth hurts?

What do you do when your tooth hurts?



Search the web and fix it yourself?

What do you do when your tooth hurts?



Search the web and fix it yourself?

...or look for a dentist

Knowhow needs to be in brains





Who has more knowhow?



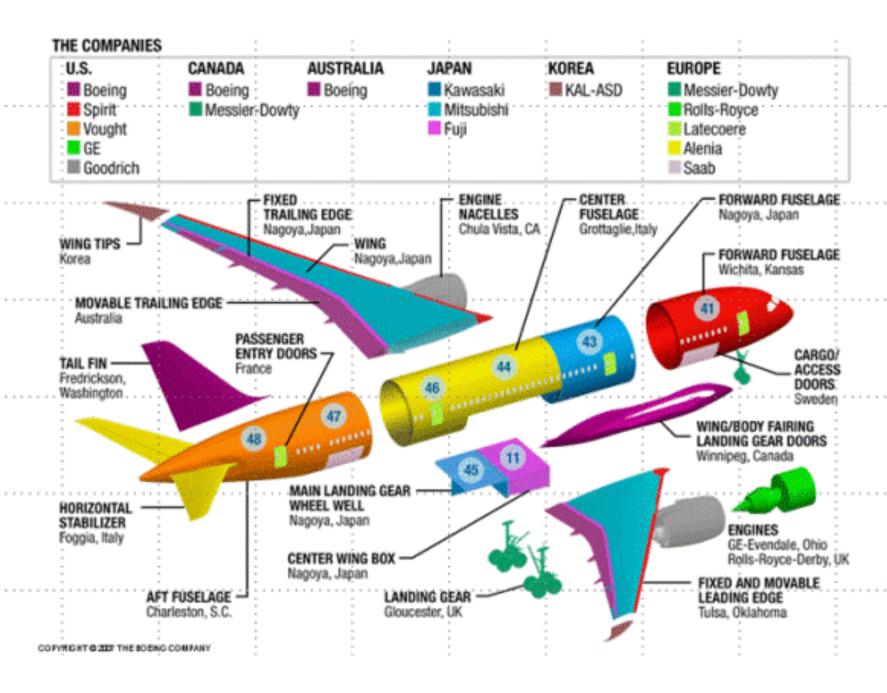




















AMERICA'S FAVORITE WORD GAME

The TURNTABLE

Theory of Economic Development...



а



a cat act



a at cat art rat car act tar cart



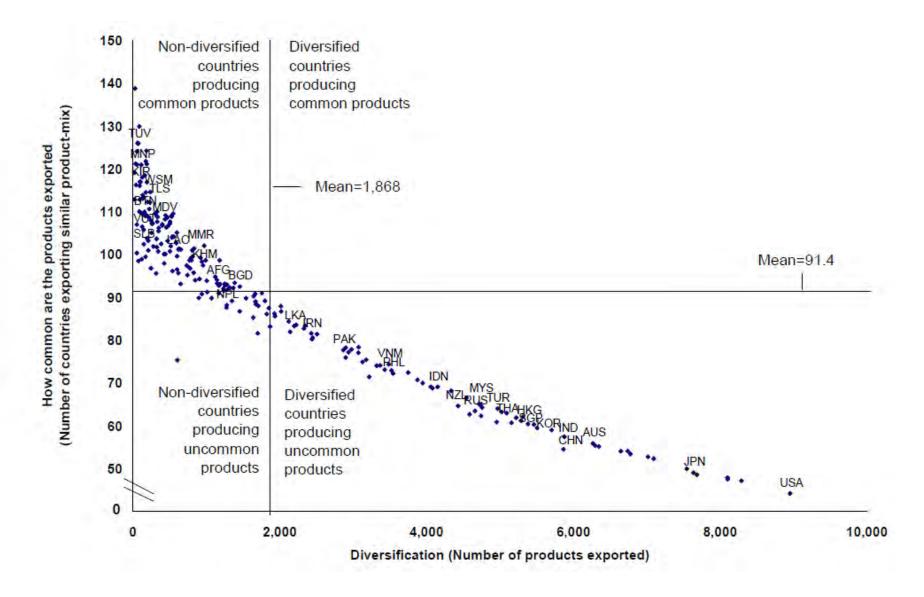
cilantros contrails gnostical nostalgic triclosan agnostic antilogs calorist cantoris carlings caroling carotins castling catlings clangors clarinos clarions clarting coasting coatings congrats contrail cortinas cotingas locating oracling organics organist ratlings roasting saltoing scarting sclating slarting solacing solating starling tonsilar tracings trigonal actings actions agnosic agonist alnicos alongst angicos anglist antilog arcings argotic aroints atonics caligos cantors carling

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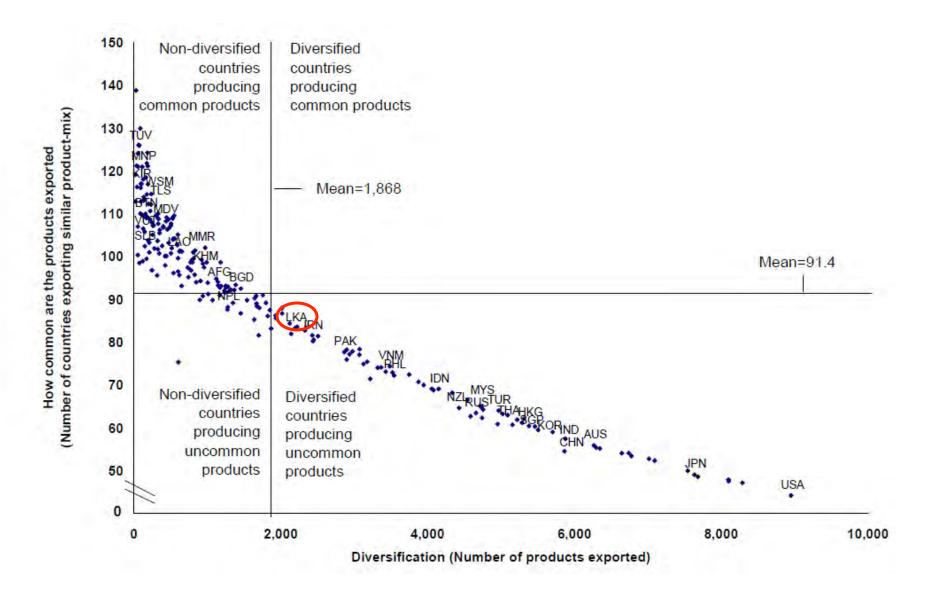
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garcons garlics gastric gastrin girasol gitanos glorias gnostic gratins ignaros lacings lasting latigos

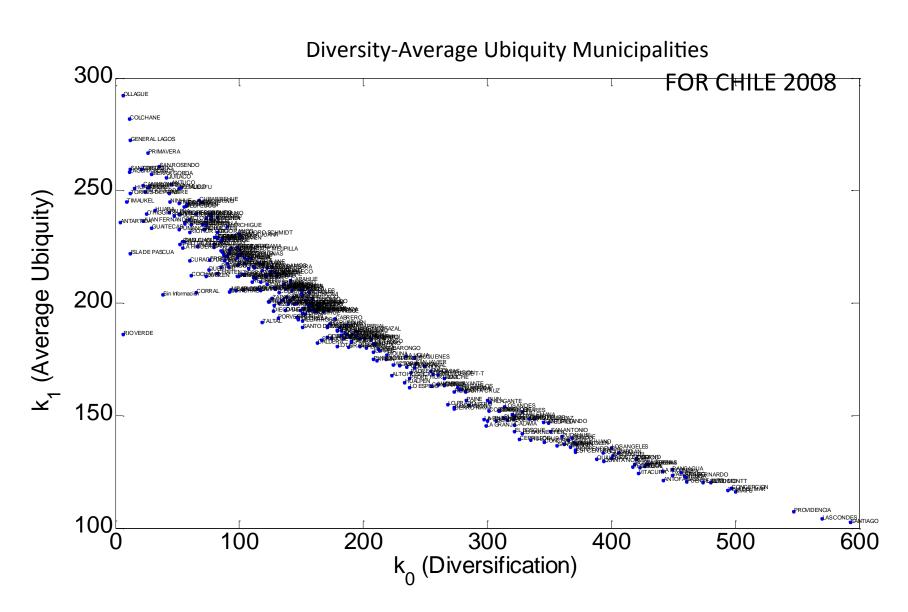
Diversification and ubiquity - 2009



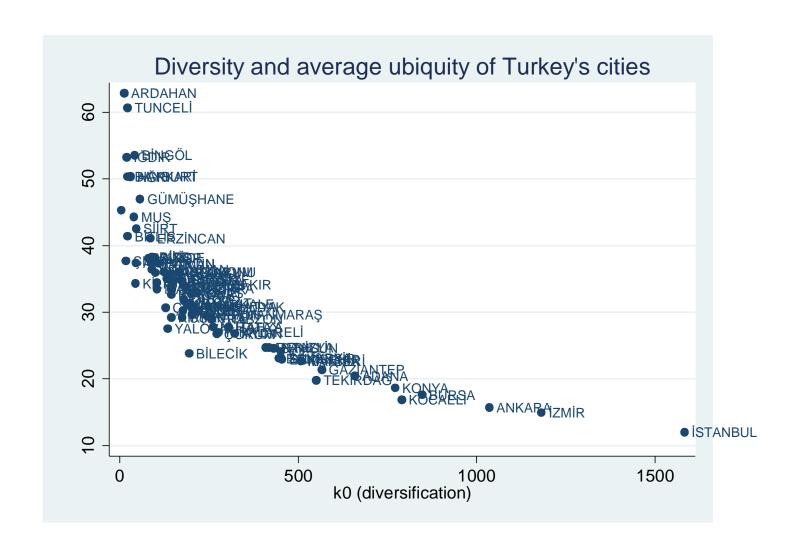
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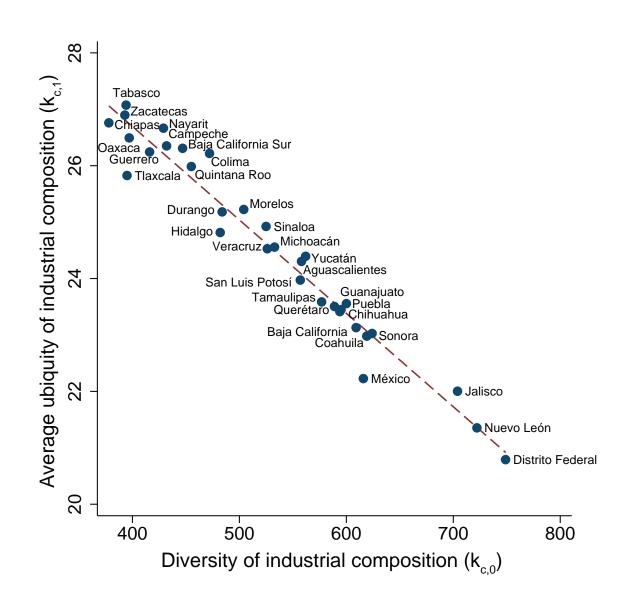
It also works within countries: Chile



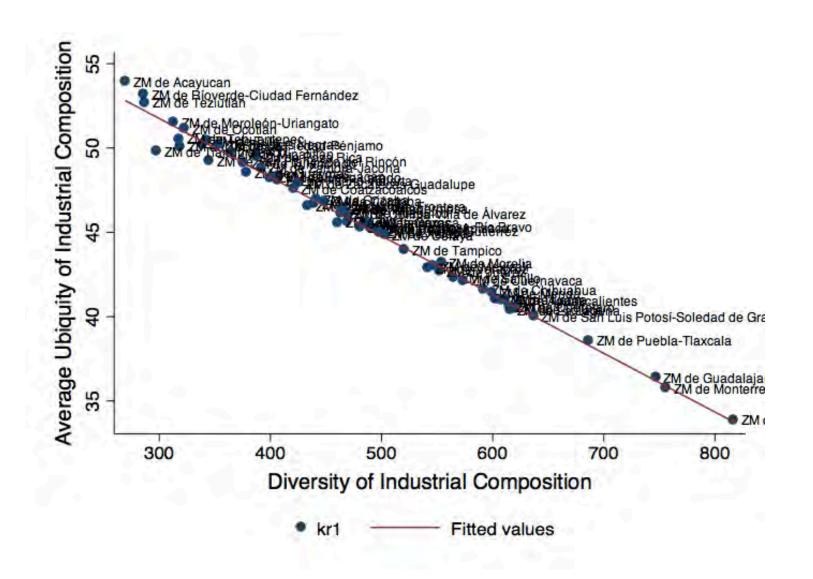
...Turkey



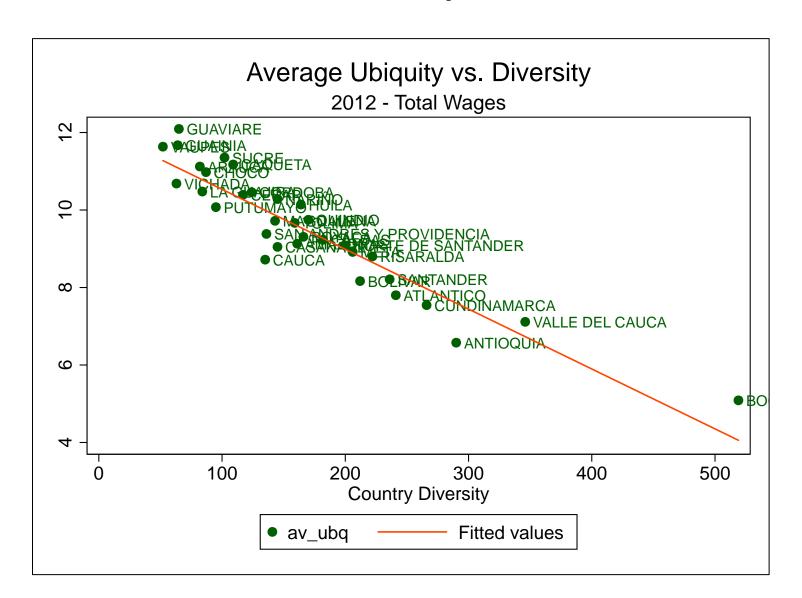
Mexican states



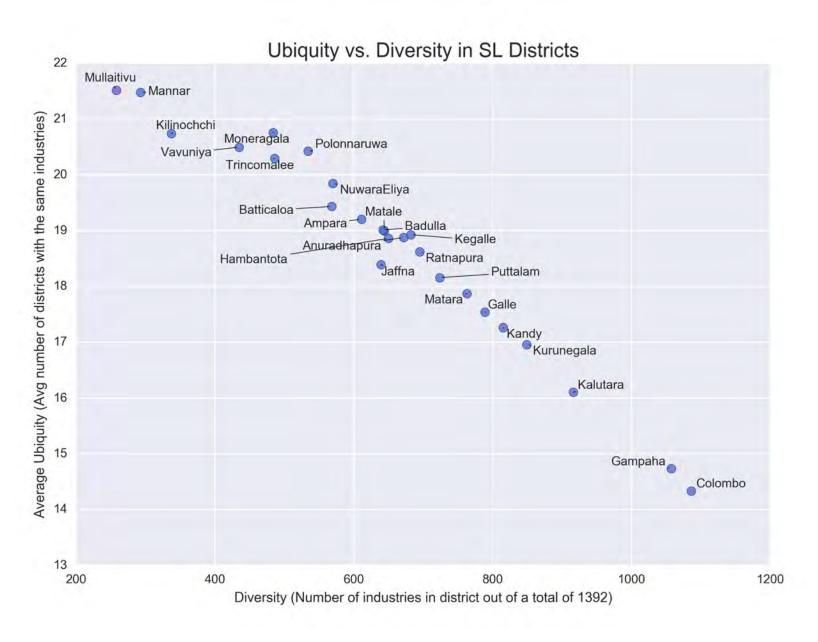
Mexican cities



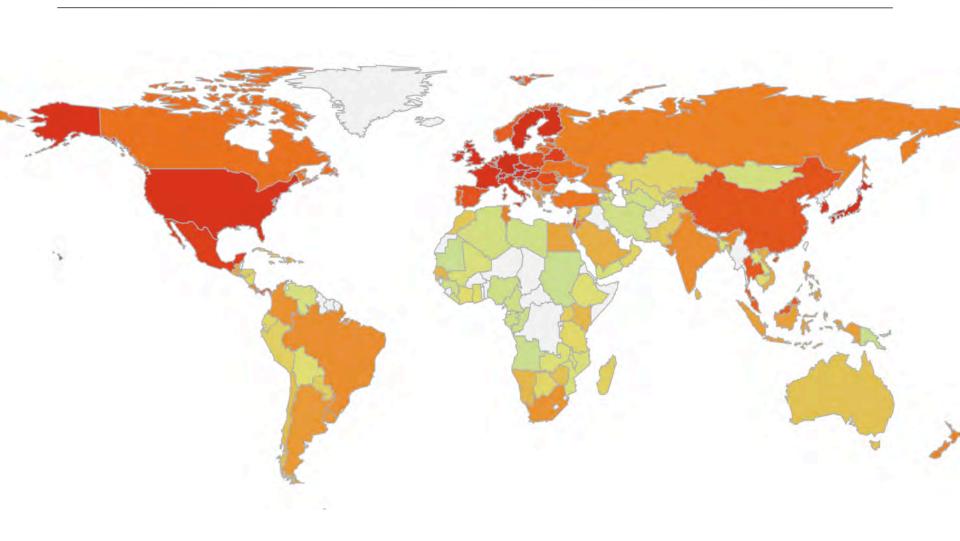
Colombian departments



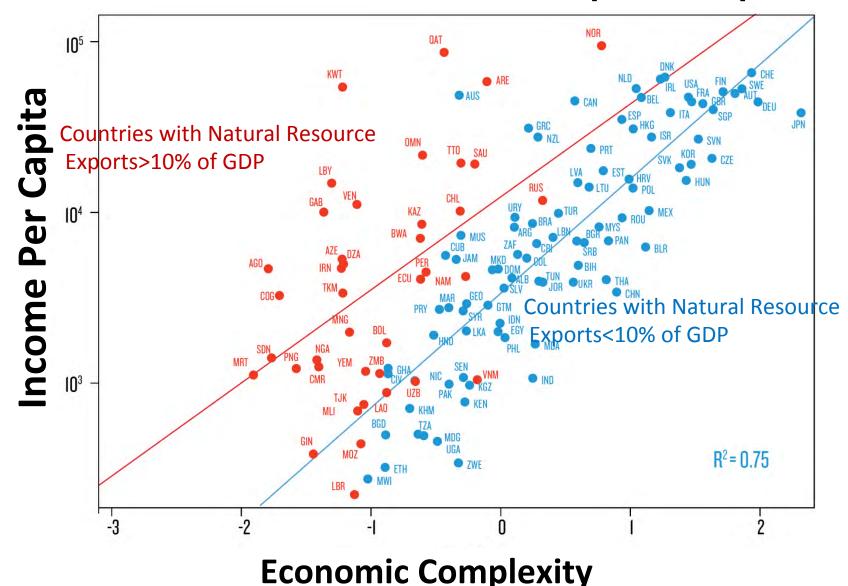
And it works for Sri Lanka



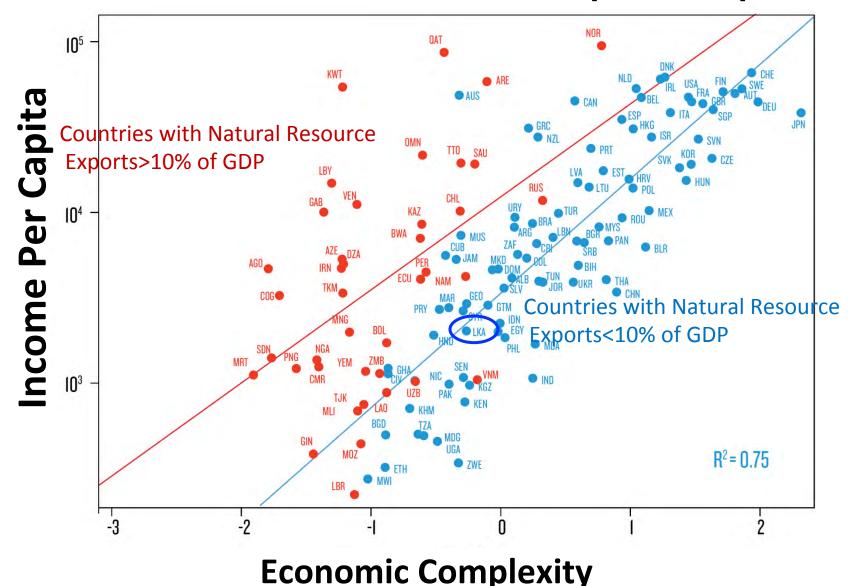
Economic Complexity Index



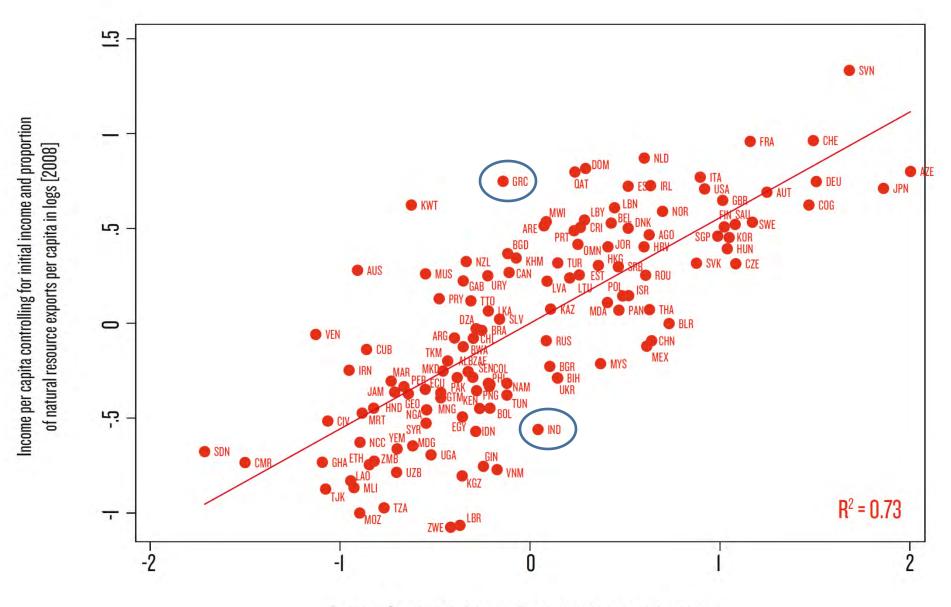
ECI correlates with GDP per capita



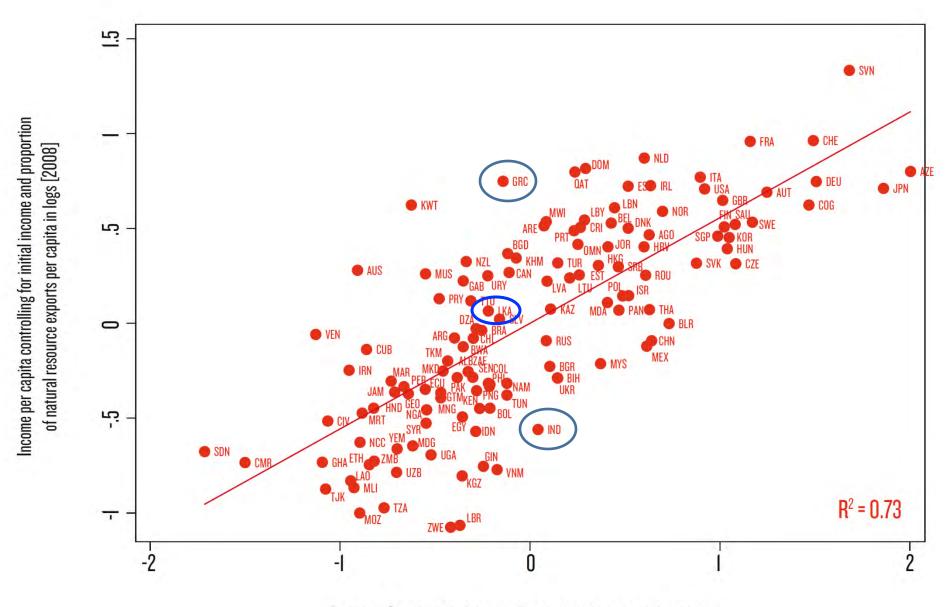
ECI correlates with GDP per capita



Economic Complexity Index controlling for initial income and proportion of natural resource exports per capita in logs [2008]



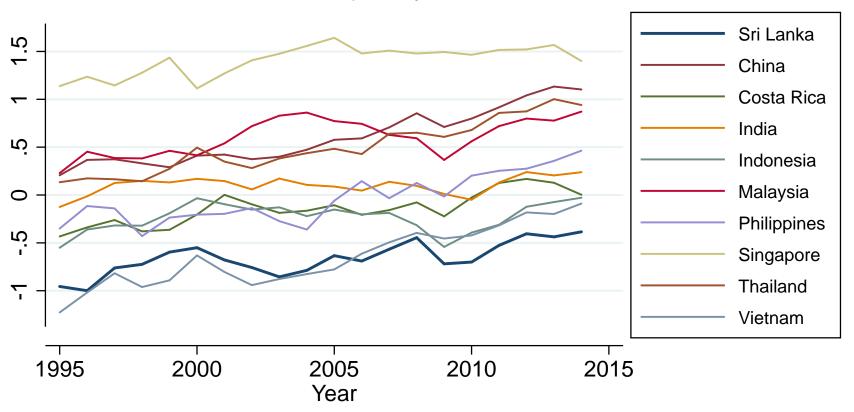
Economic Complexity Index controlling for initial income and proportion of natural resource exports per capita in logs [2008]



Economic Complexity Index controlling for initial income and proportion of natural resource exports per capita in logs [2008]

Sri Lanka's economic complexity is low and it is evolving at a slow pace.

Economic Complexity Index



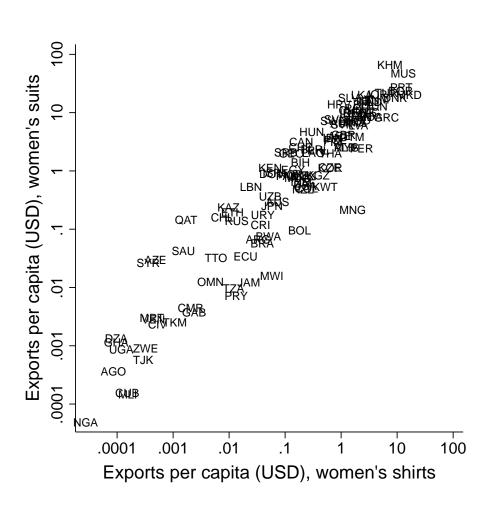
Data source: Atlas of Economic Complexity

How do economies learn?

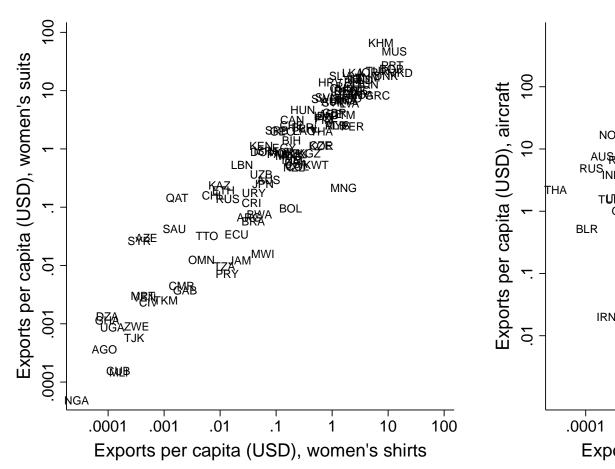


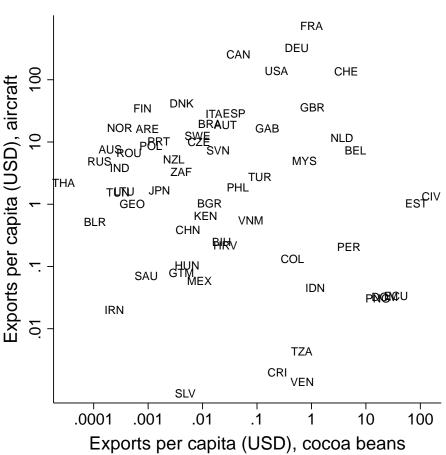


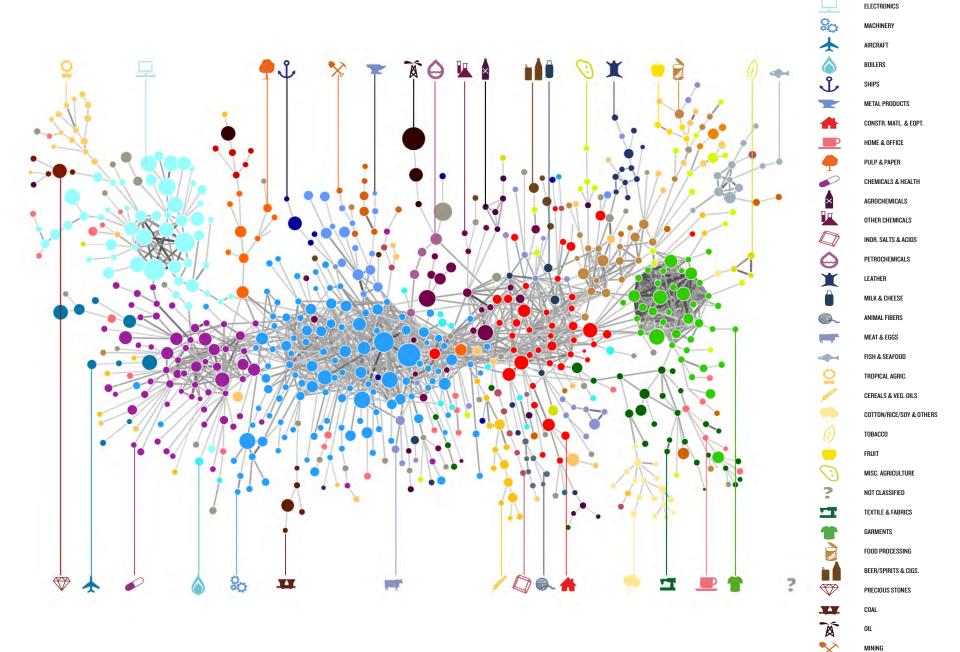
Some products tend to be exported together... ...others not so much



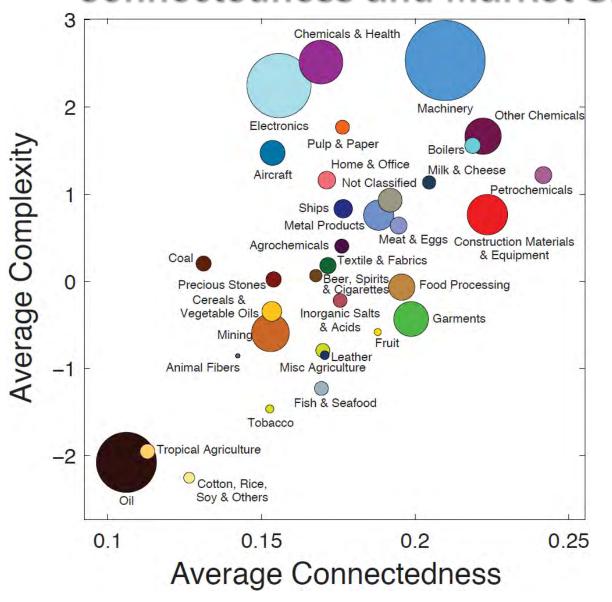
Some products tend to be exported together... ...others not so much

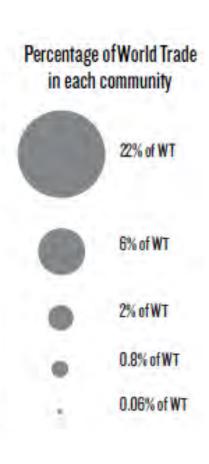






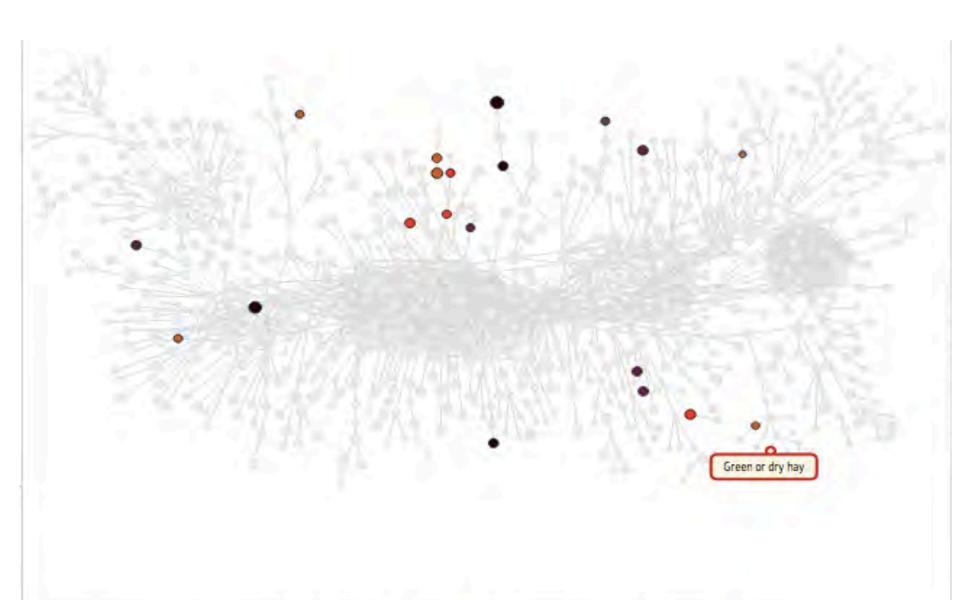
Community characteristics: Complexity, Connectedness and Market Size



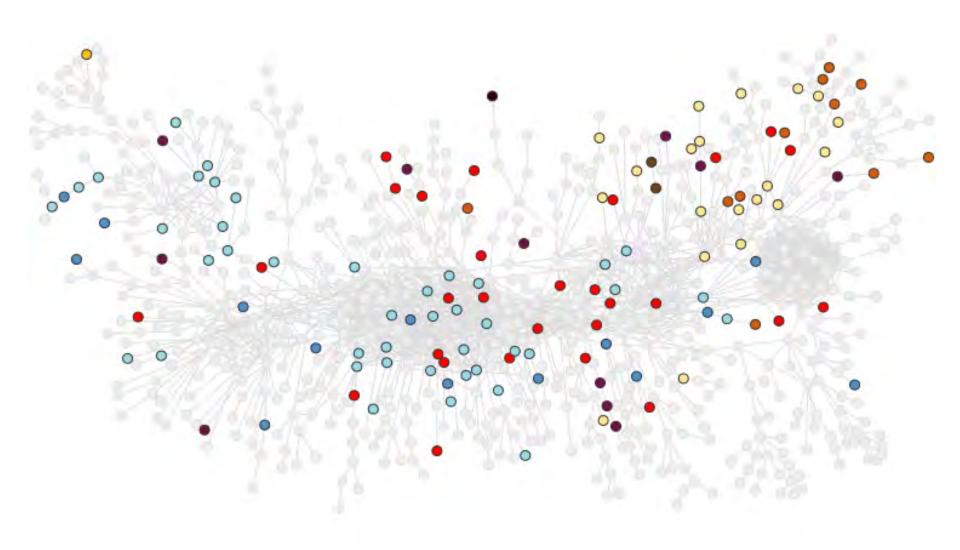




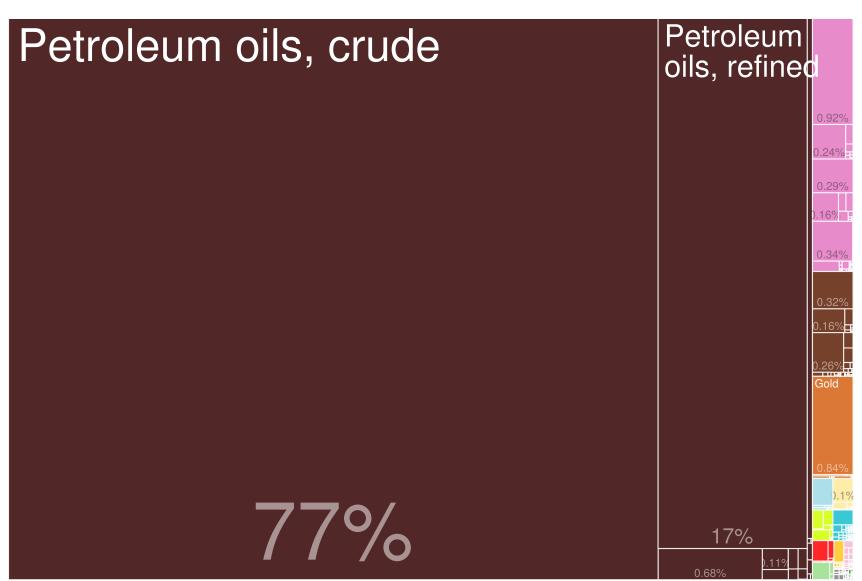
Venezuela 2013



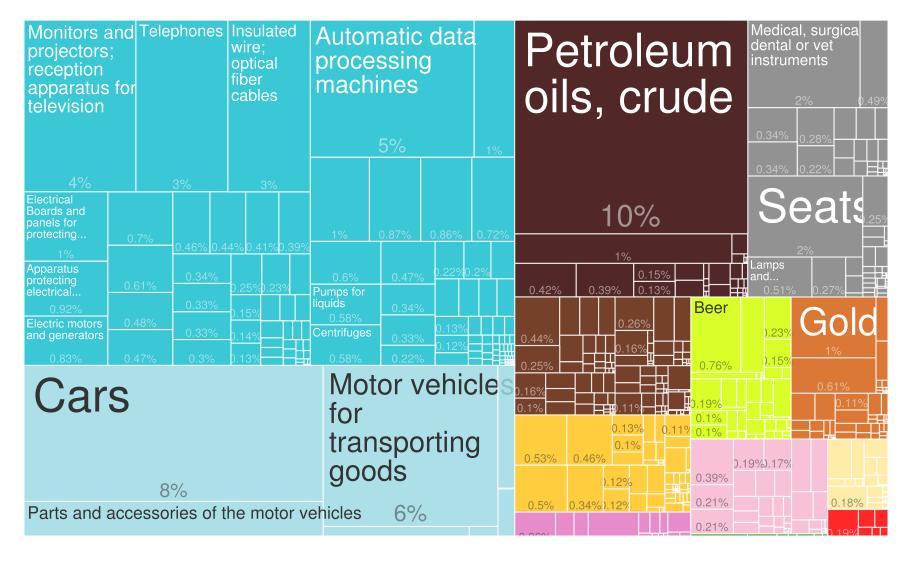
Mexico 2013



Venezuela 2014



Mexico 2014



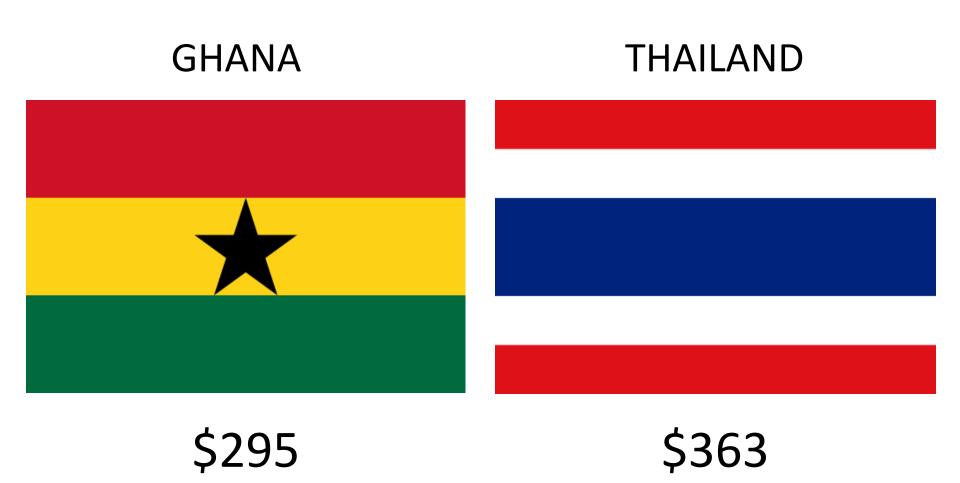
How do monkeys jump?



A tale of two countries



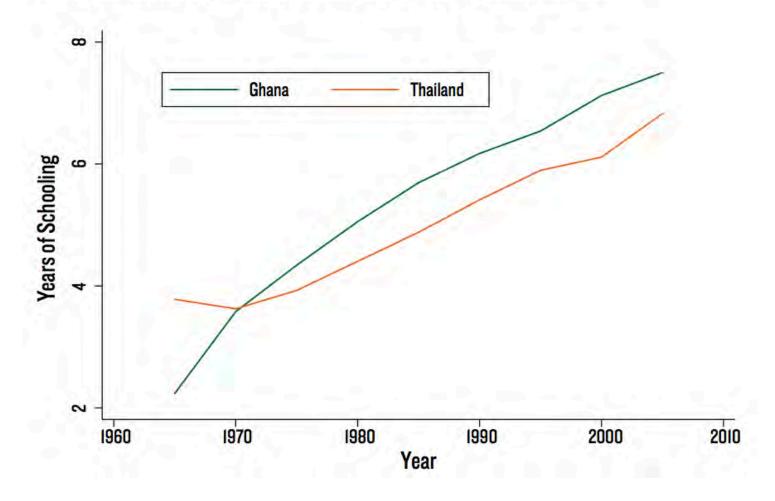
1962: Roughly equal income



GDP per capita (constant 2000 US\$)

Human capital story:

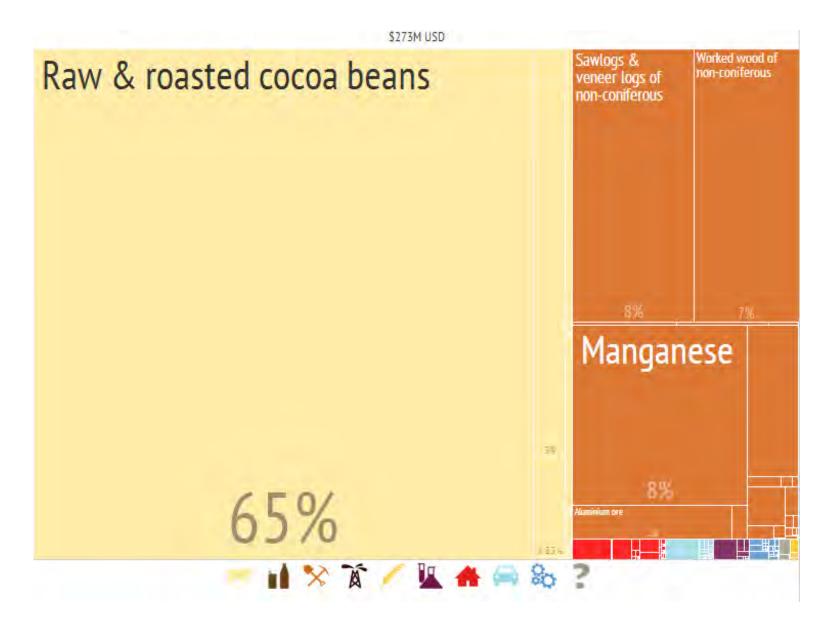
Years of schooling of Thailand and Ghana as a function of time.



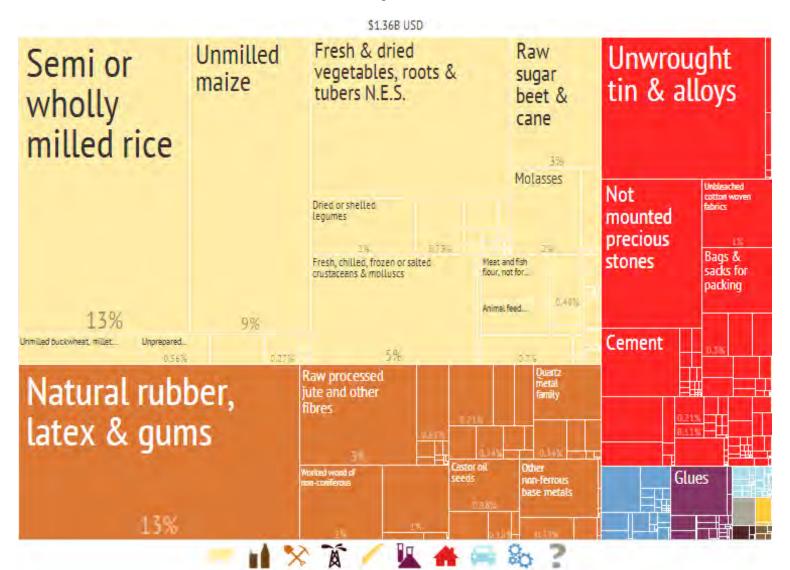


GHANA

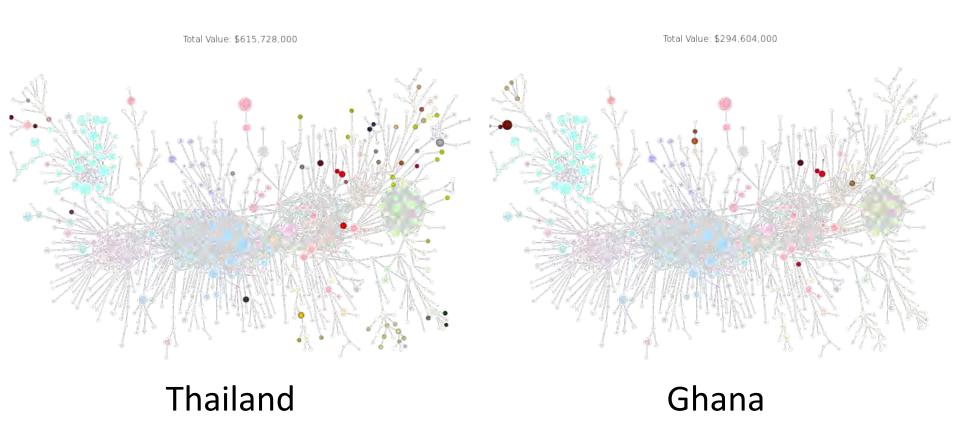
Ghana's exports in 1962

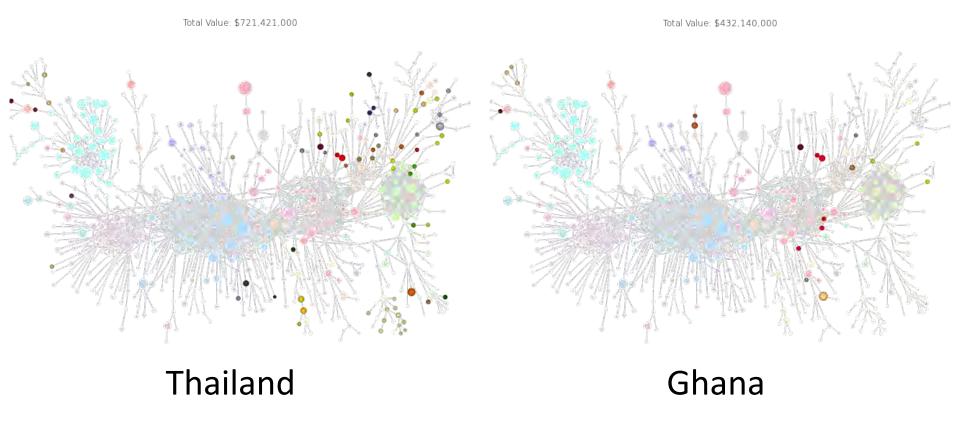


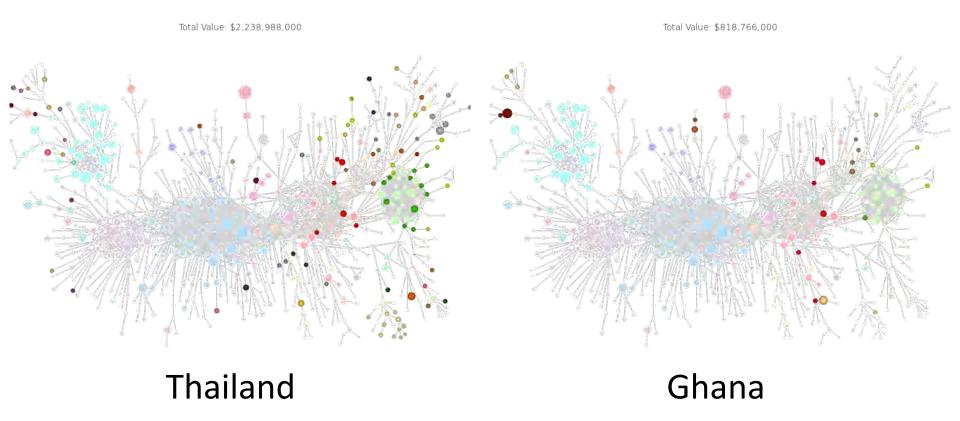
Thailand's exports in 1962

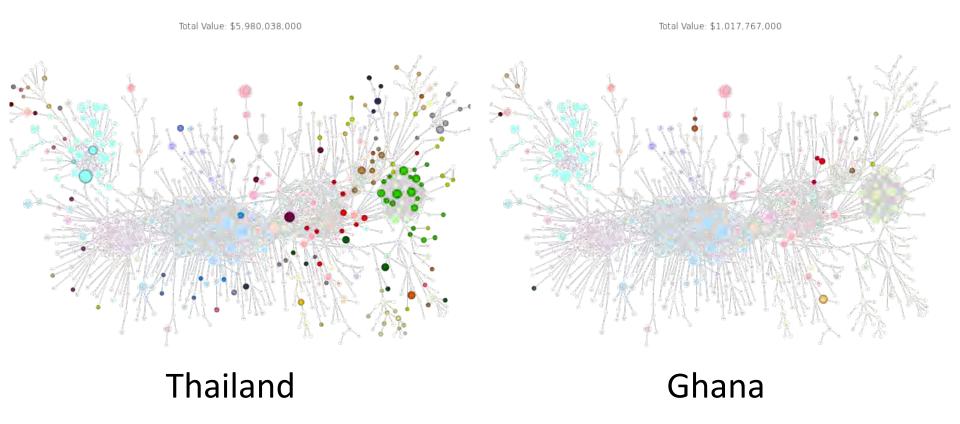


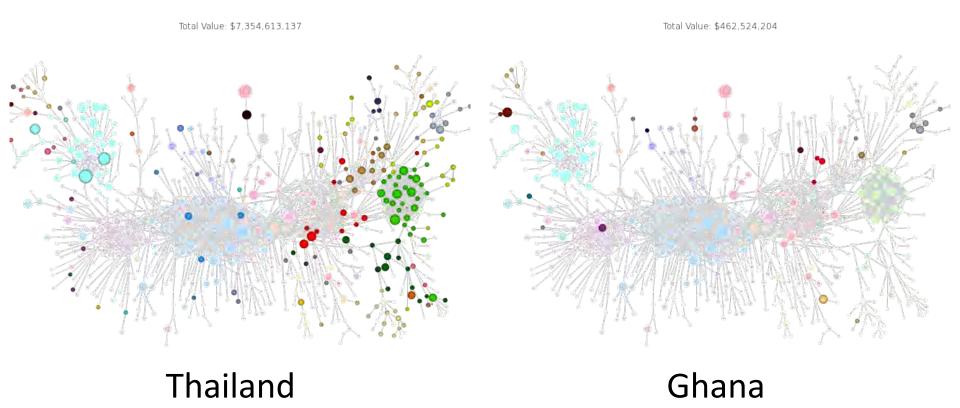
Thailand vs. Ghana in the Product Space 1965

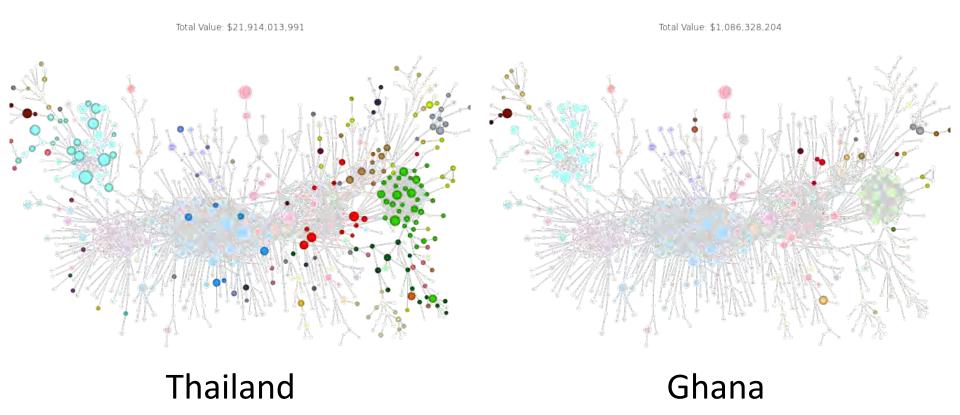


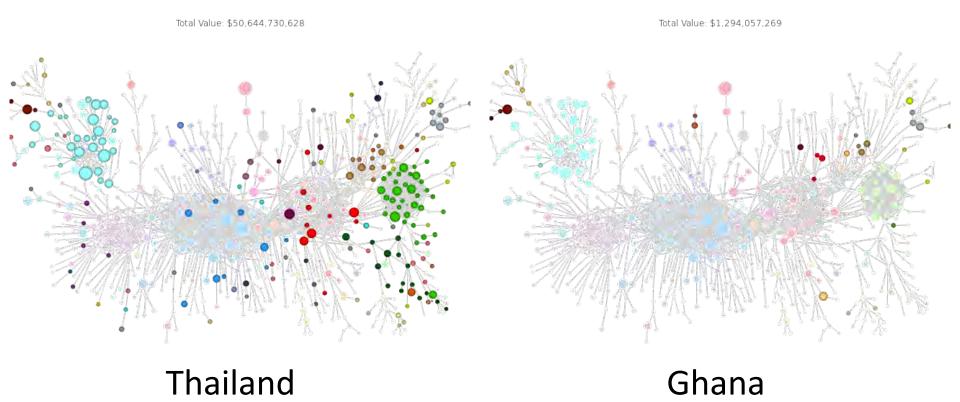


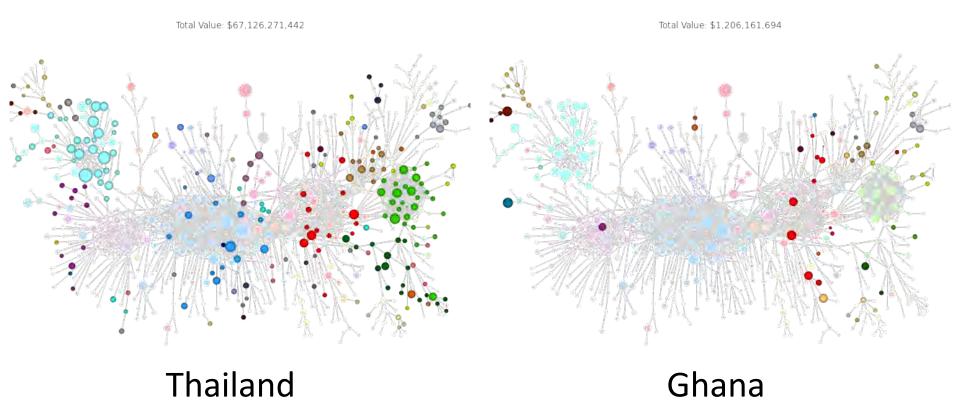


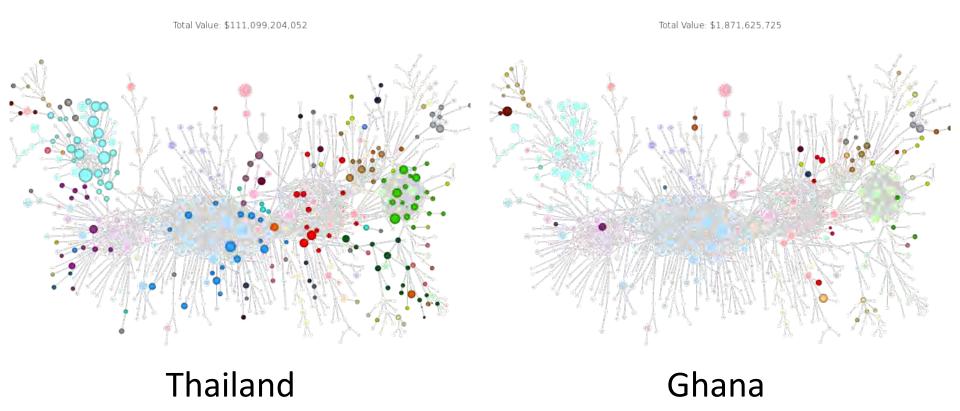


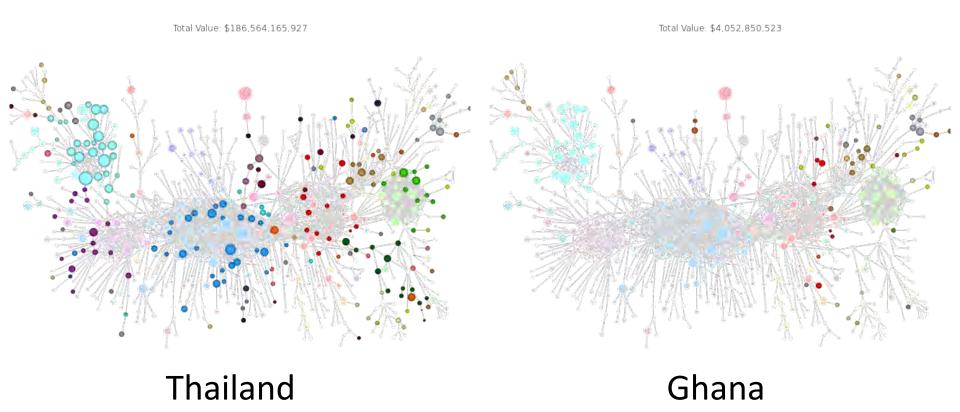




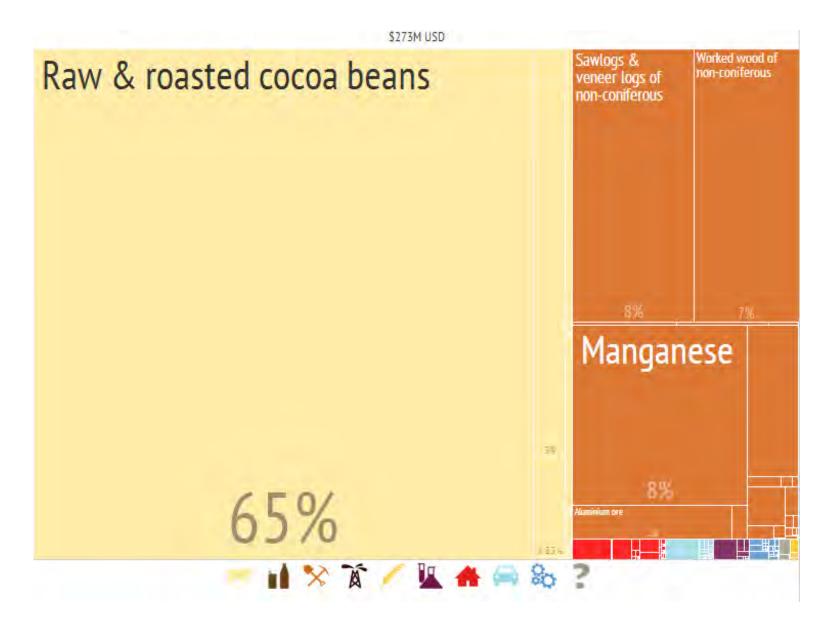








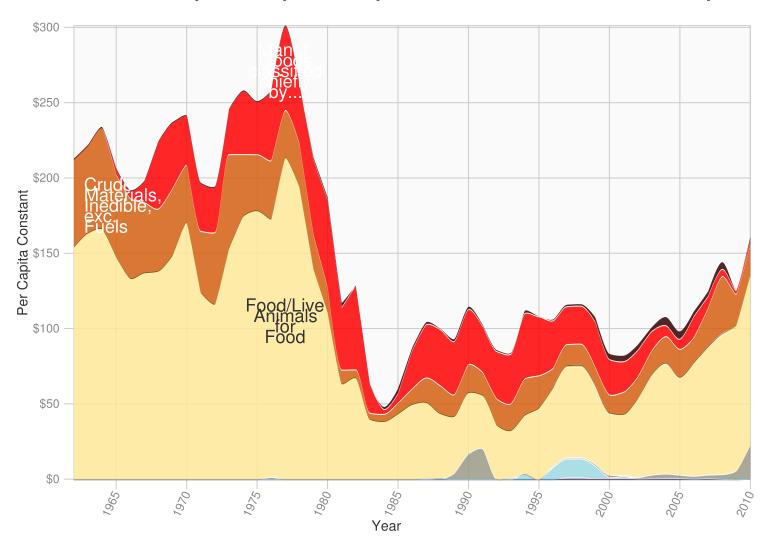
Ghana's exports in 1962



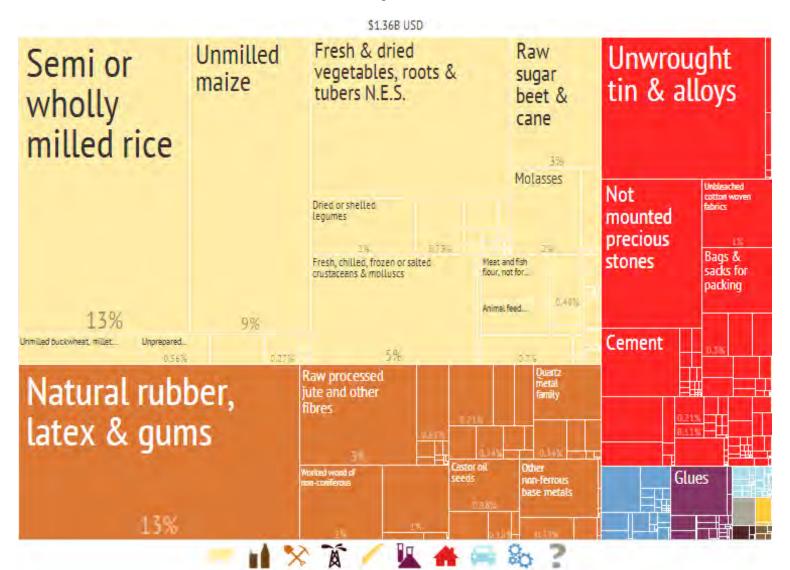
Ghana's exports in 2010



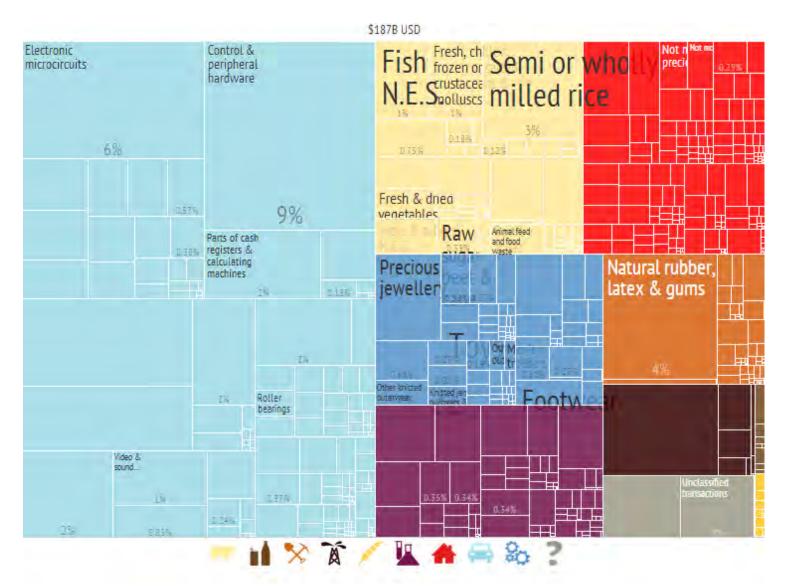
Ghana's exports per capita at constant 2005 prices



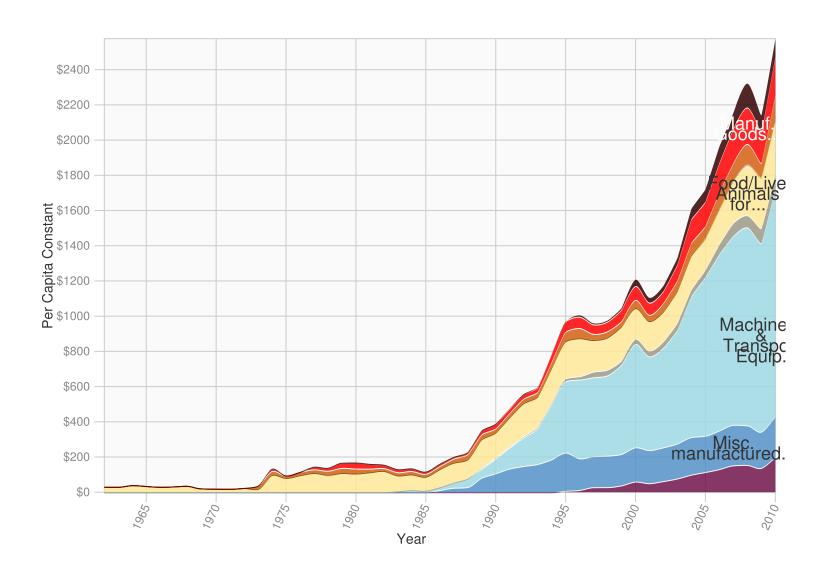
Thailand's exports in 1962



Thailand's exports in 2010

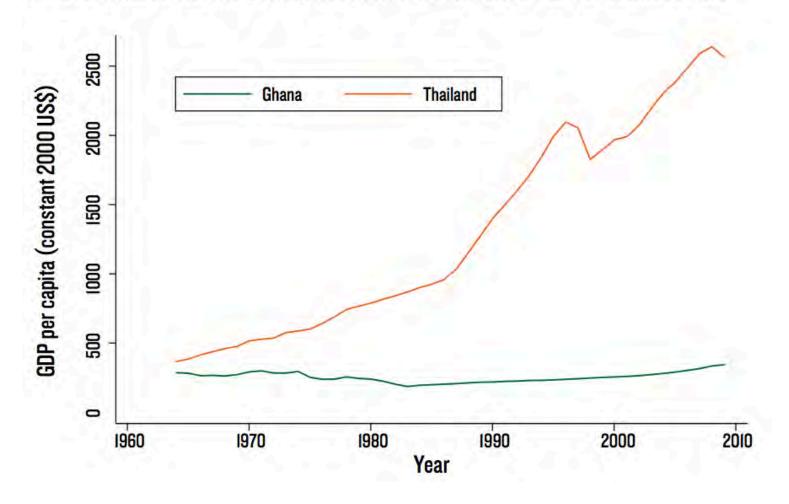


Thailand's exports per capita at constant 2005 prices

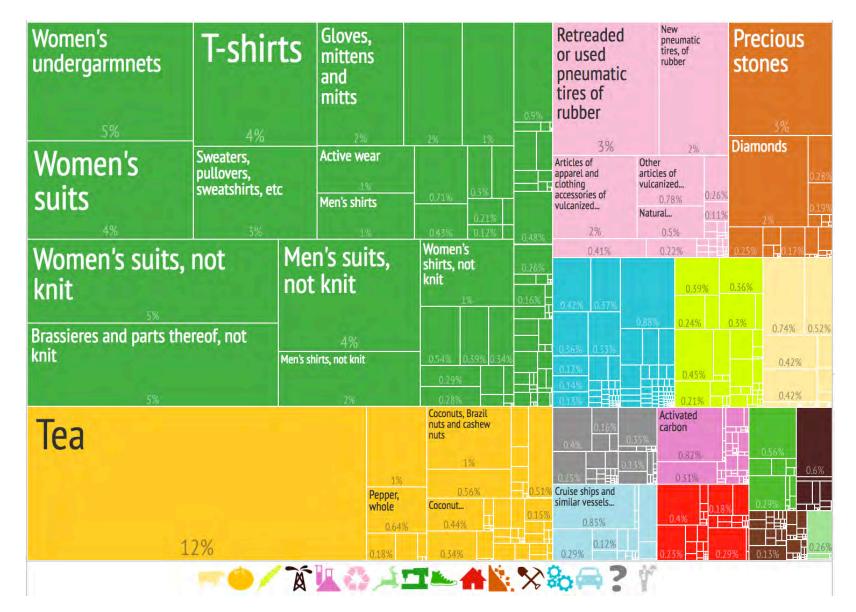


Divergence, big time

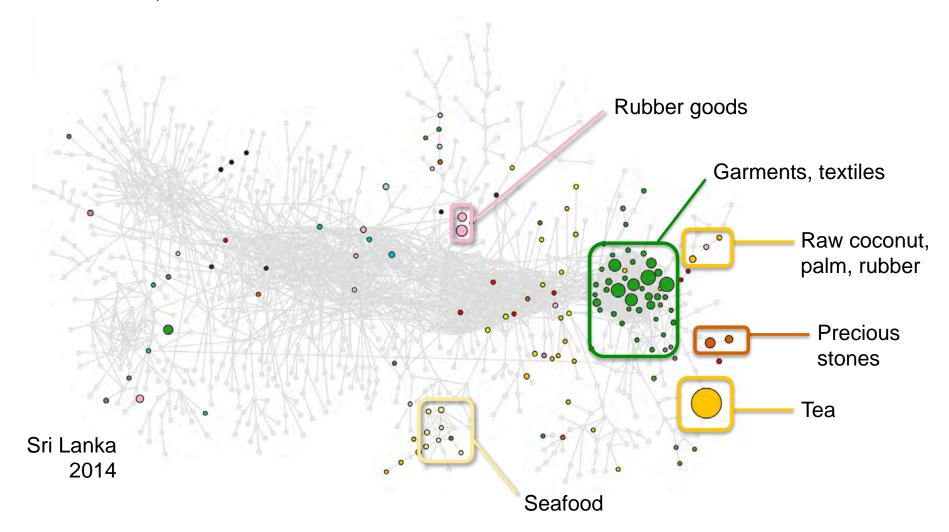
Evolution of the GDP per capita of Thailand and Ghana as a function of time.



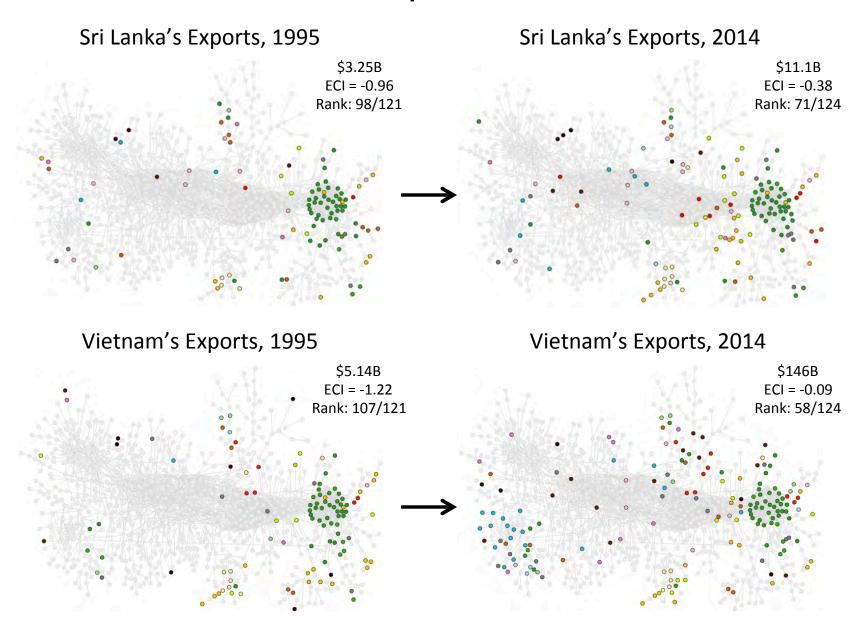
Sri Lanka 2014



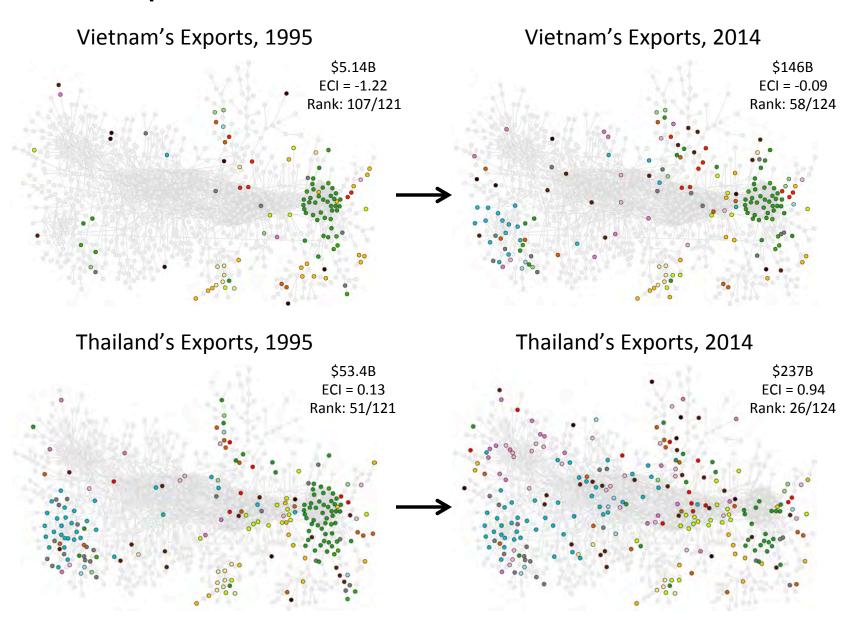
Sri Lanka in the Product Space: Current clusters are saturated. Most new export opportunities are in empty clusters, with few related industries.



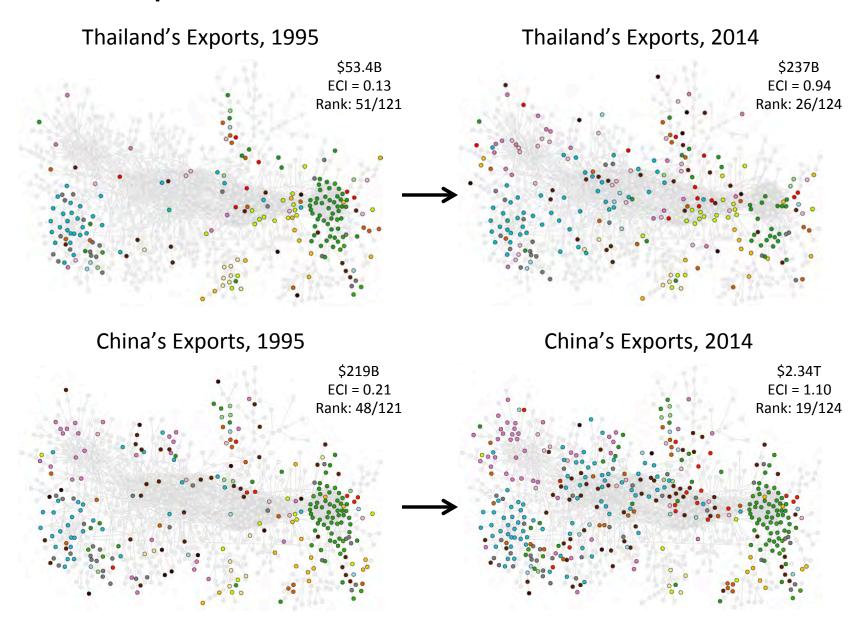
Sri Lanka is not on the path of Vietnam

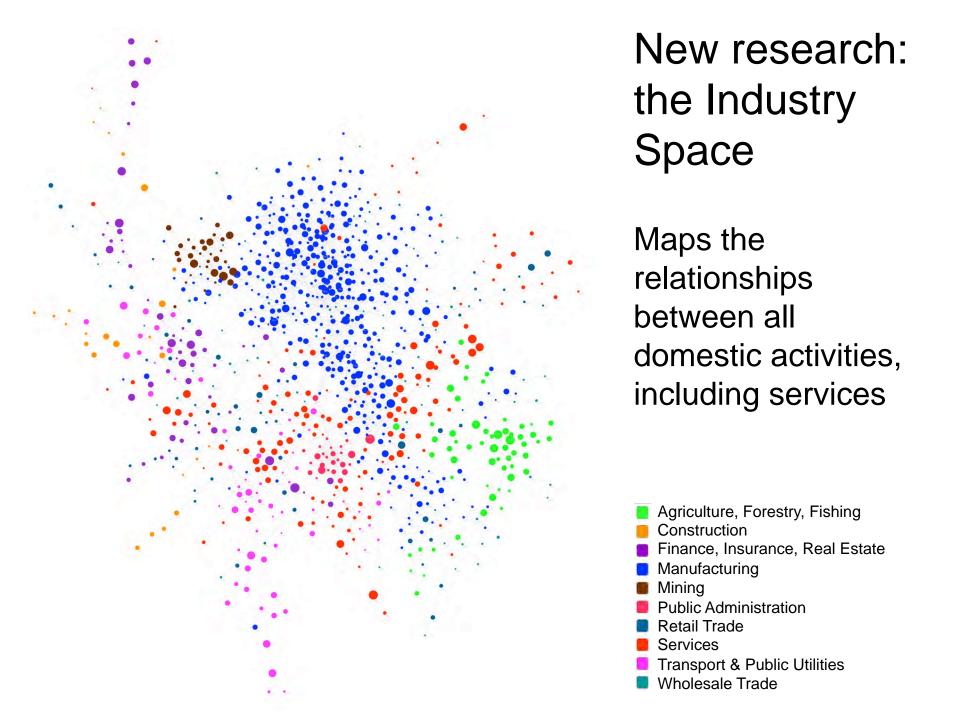


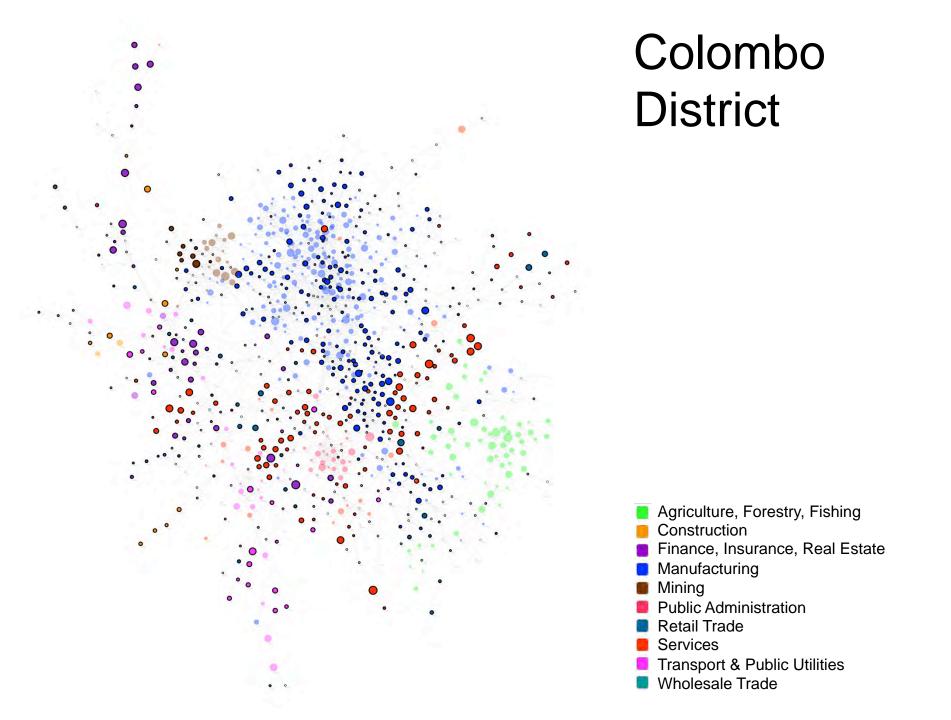
...or the path from Vietnam to Thailand

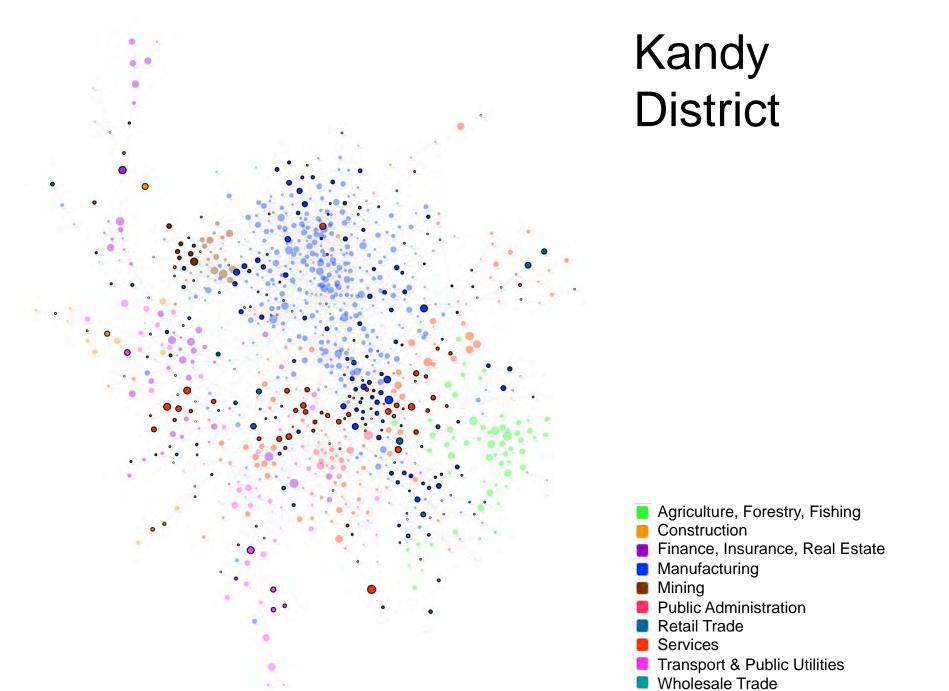


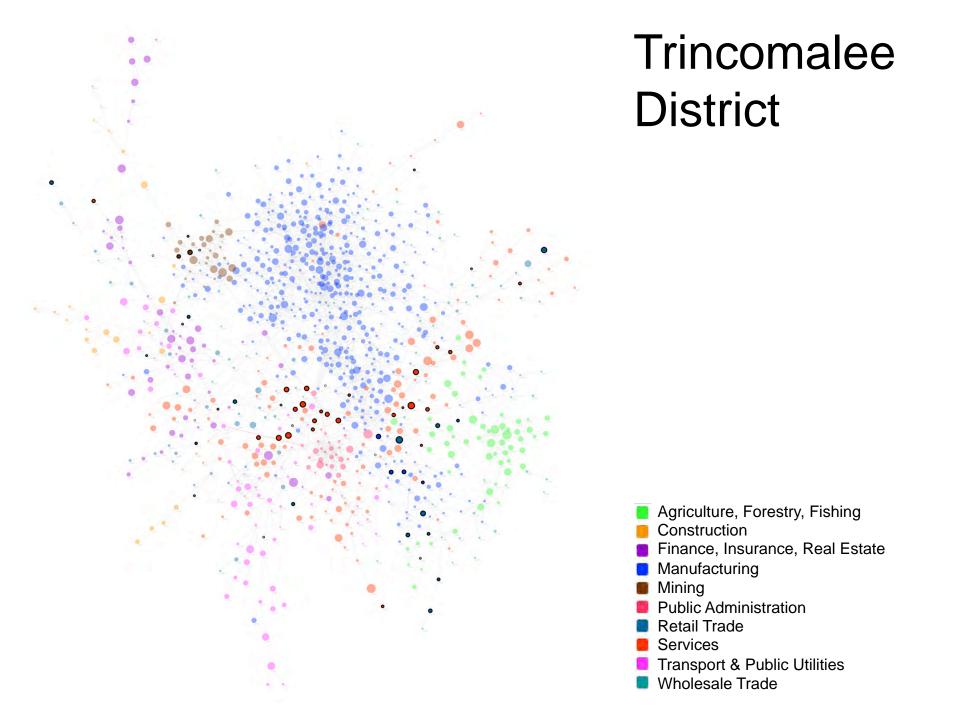
...or the path from Thailand to China

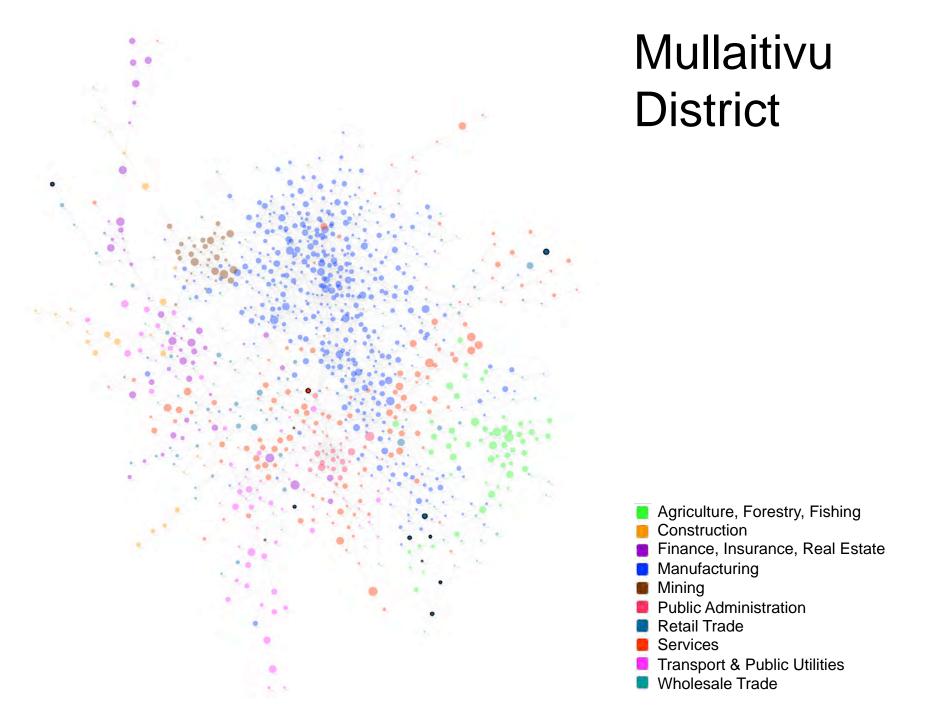




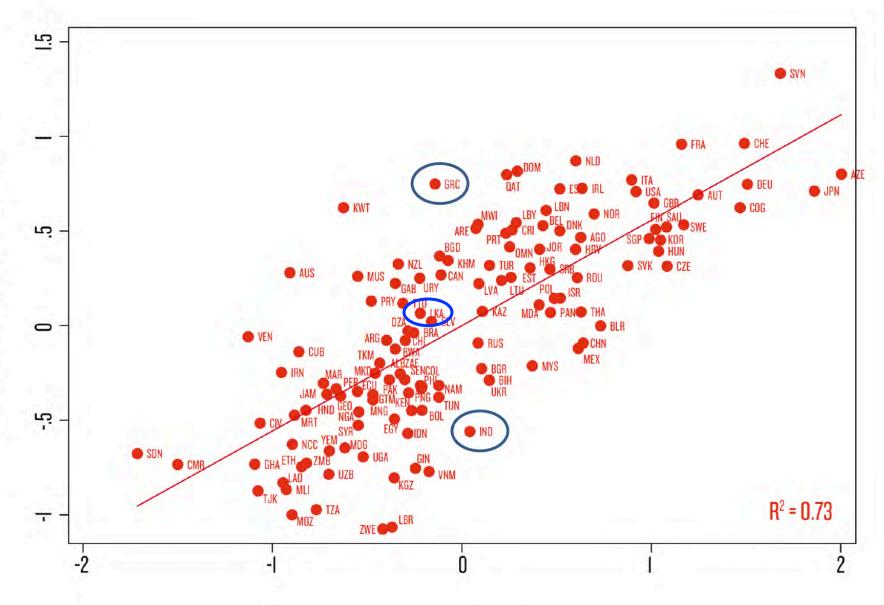




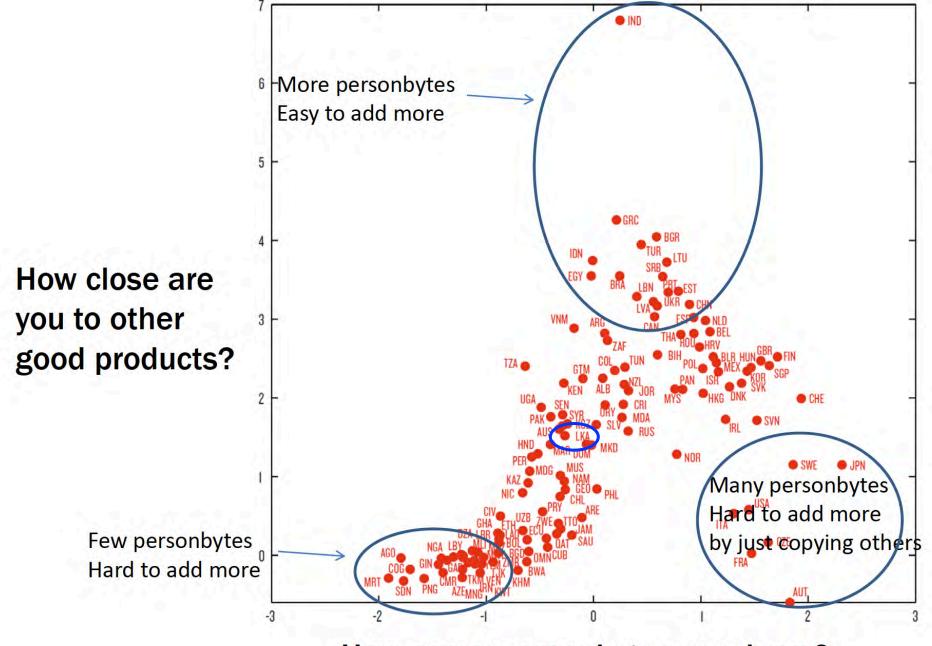




How do we explain growth?

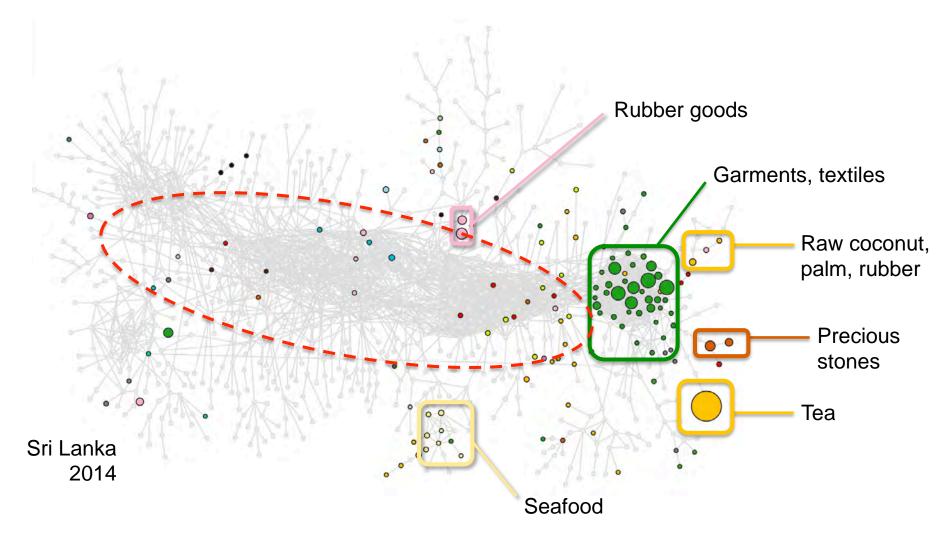


Economic Complexity Index controlling for initial income and proportion of natural resource exports per capita in logs [2008]

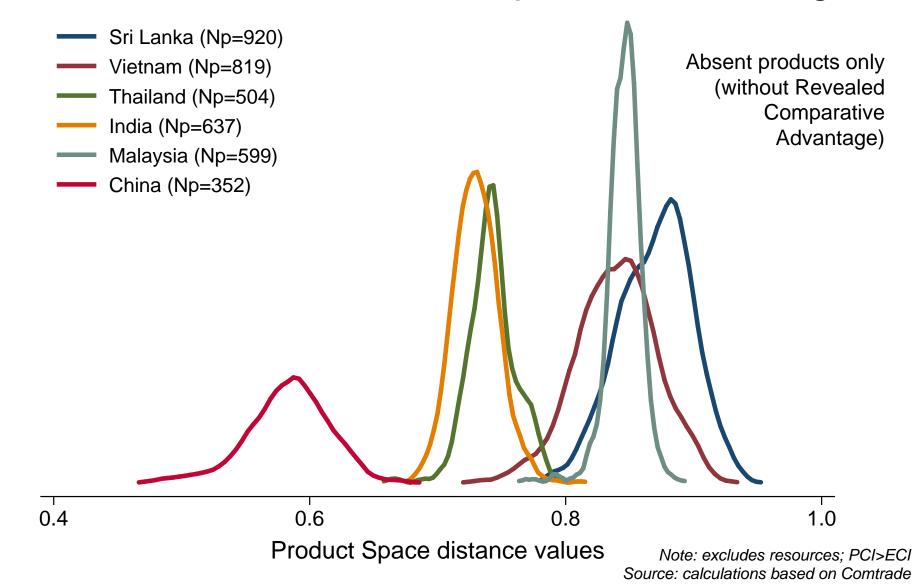


How many personbytes you have?

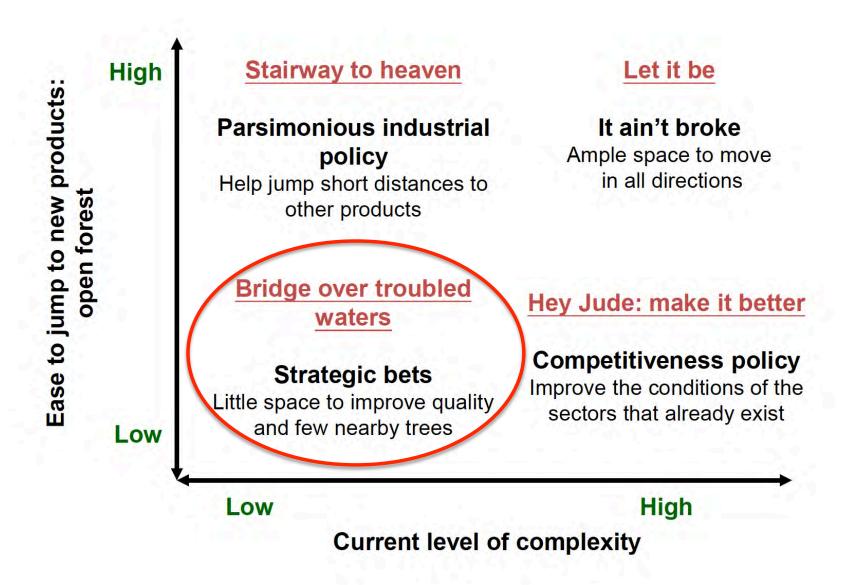
Yet nearly all new products are highly "distant" from Sri Lanka's current comparative advantage



Yet nearly all new products are highly "distant" from Sri Lanka's current comparative advantage



Therefore, the path to diversification may lie in helping investors take "strategic bets" on new sectors



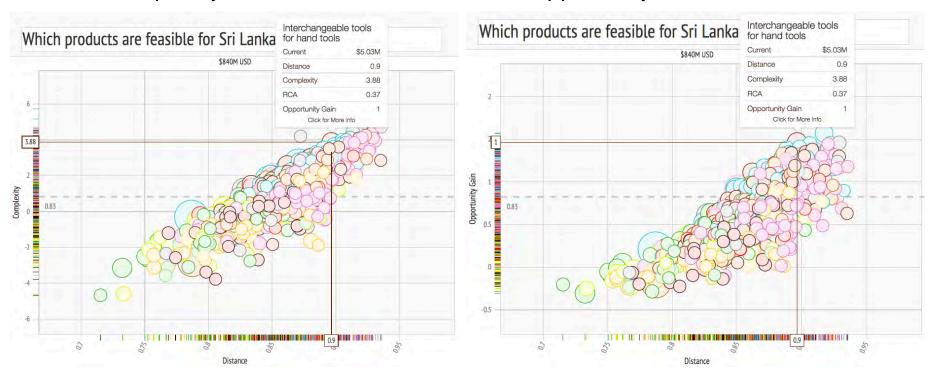
How do you identify potential new sectors?

- Distance
 - How far is the industry from the current capabilities of the country or region?
- Complexity
 - How productive is the industry?
- Strategic value
 - How much does the development of the industry facilitate further diversification?

Applying these ideas to Sri Lanka: An efficient frontier between three goals

Complexity and Distance

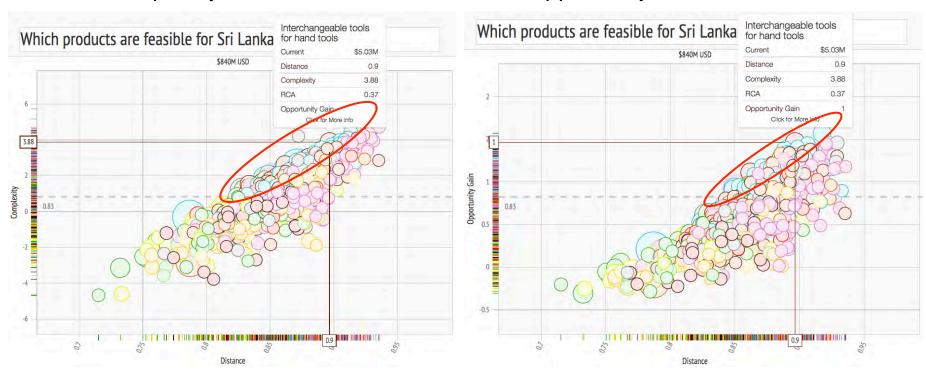
Opportunity Gain and Distance



Applying these ideas to Sri Lanka: An efficient frontier between three goals

Complexity and Distance

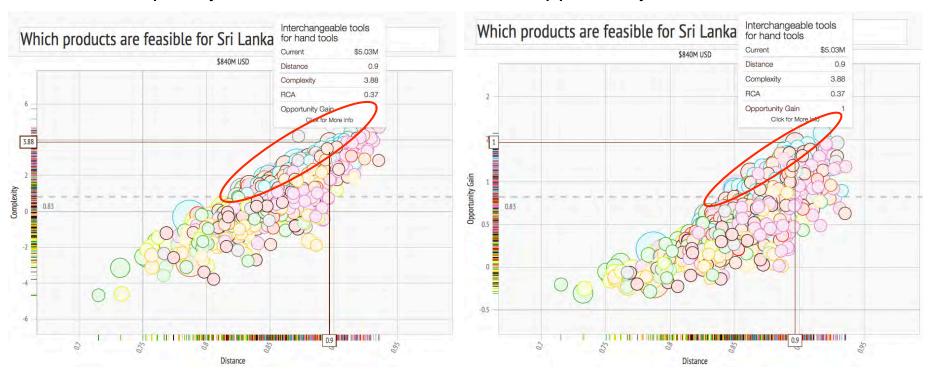
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Applying these ideas to Sri Lanka: An efficient frontier between three goals

Complexity and Distance

Opportunity Gain and Distance

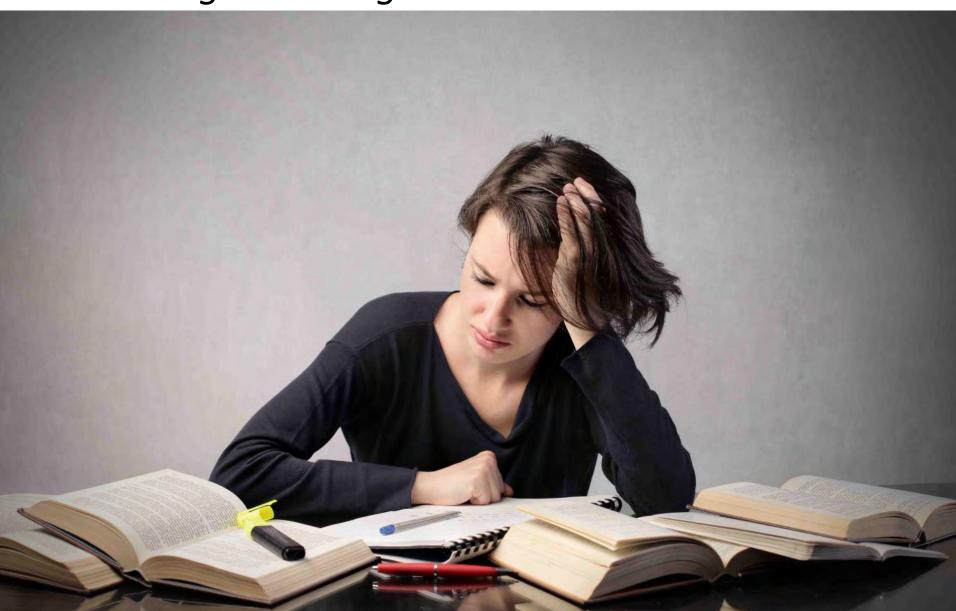


A BOI/EDB team is now taking a comprehensive approach...

How does knowhow move?

DIFFUSION OF INDUSTRIES

Moving knowledge into brains is hard work...



IT IS MUCH EASIER TO MOVE BRAINS: DIFFUSION THROUGH MOBILITY



Different mechanisms of diffusion

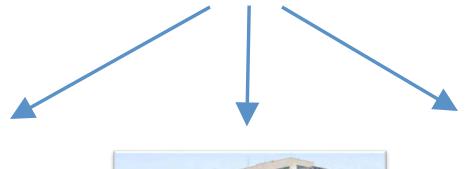
- Labor mobility between firms
- Immigration
- Diasporas
- Business travel
- FDI

Example 1: DETROIT



All successful car firms in Detroit came out of Olds Motor Works









Example 2: SILICON VALLEY

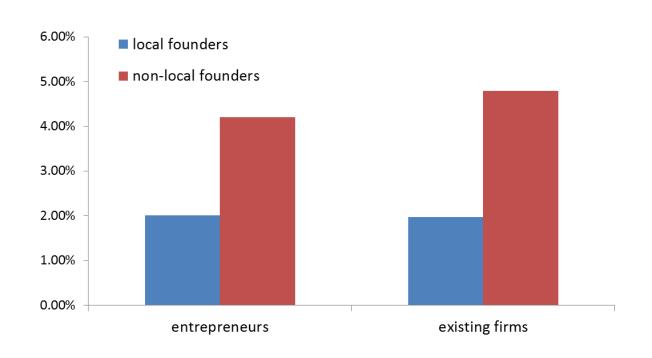


DIFFUSION OF INDUSTRIES

...it is easier to move the brains!

 Neffke/Hartog/Boschma/Henning (2014): Industries diffuse when firms and entrepreneurs move to a region

Share of new establishments that pioneer a local industry (by founder type)



DIFFUSION OF INDUSTRIES

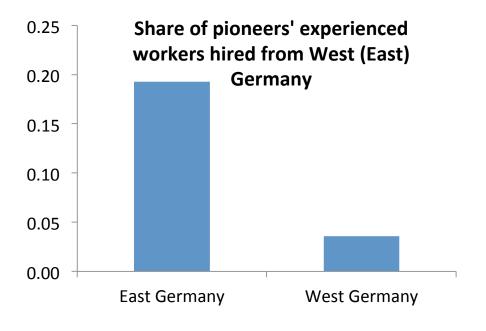
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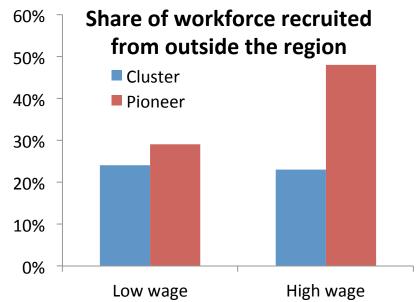
Germany

Hausmann/Neffke/Otto (2013): Industry pioneers in East Germany strongly hire many of their core workers from West Germany

Colombia

Matté Hartog: First analyses show that also in Colombia pioneering requires mobility of experts





DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE ACROSS COUNTRIES

- Products diffuse through <u>migrants</u>
 - Bahar and Rapoport (2013)

Franschhoek Valley, South Africa

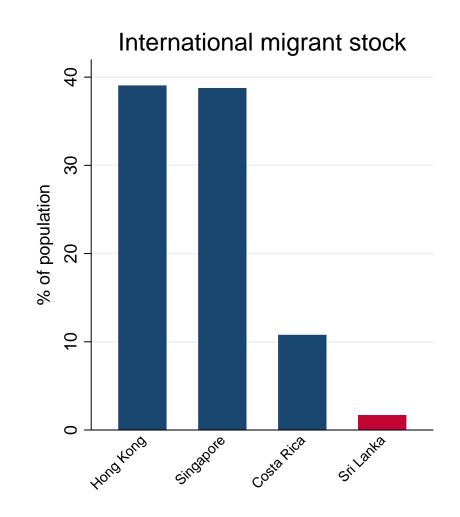


What scope is there for Sri Lanka to learn from immigrants?

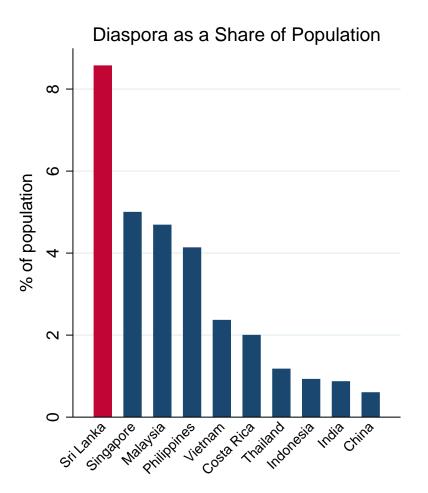
Few residents of Sri Lanka are foreign born. Almost all (99%) come from India.

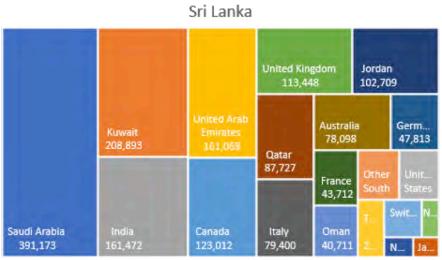
The BOI has issued less than 5,000 work visas to foreigners in each of the last 10 years.

Elsewhere, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines have benefited from large overseas Chinese communities. And China benefited from investment from Hong Kong and Taiwan.



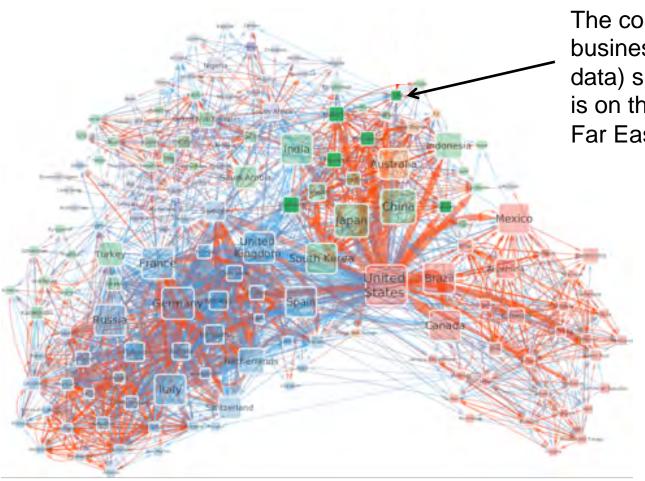
What scope is there for Sri Lanka to learn from its diaspora?





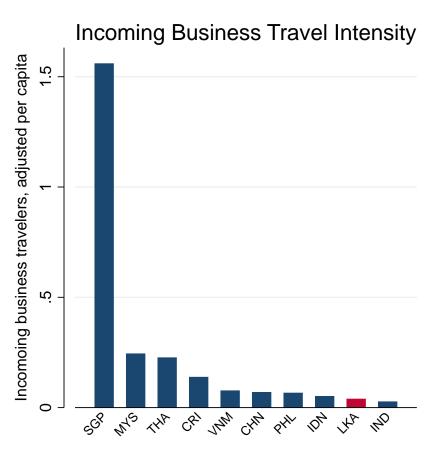
Non-resident Indians were key to India's diversification into ICT and BPO

How does Sri Lanka do in business travel? It is fairly disconnected from business travel networks, but close to a dynamic cluster.

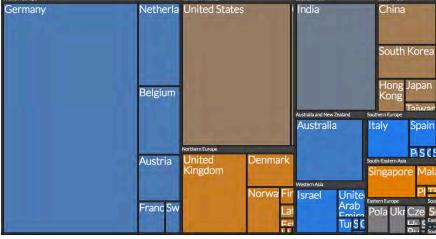


The country space for business travel (using 2011 data) shows that Sri Lanka is on the periphery of the Far East cluster.

Business travel is limited versus comparator countries



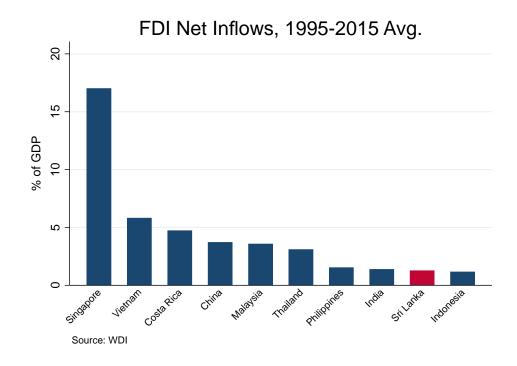
Origin countries of business travelers to LKA, 2014

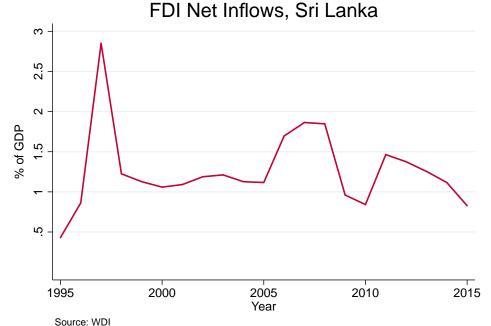


Gaining knowhow through FDI?

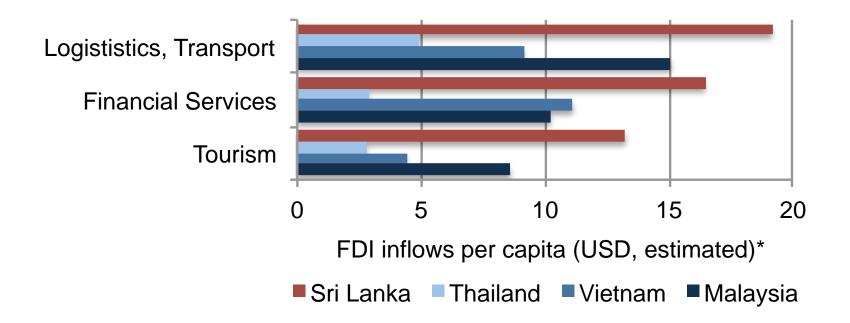
Sri Lanka has seen little FDI over last 20 years.

And no sustained increase in FDI after the conflict.

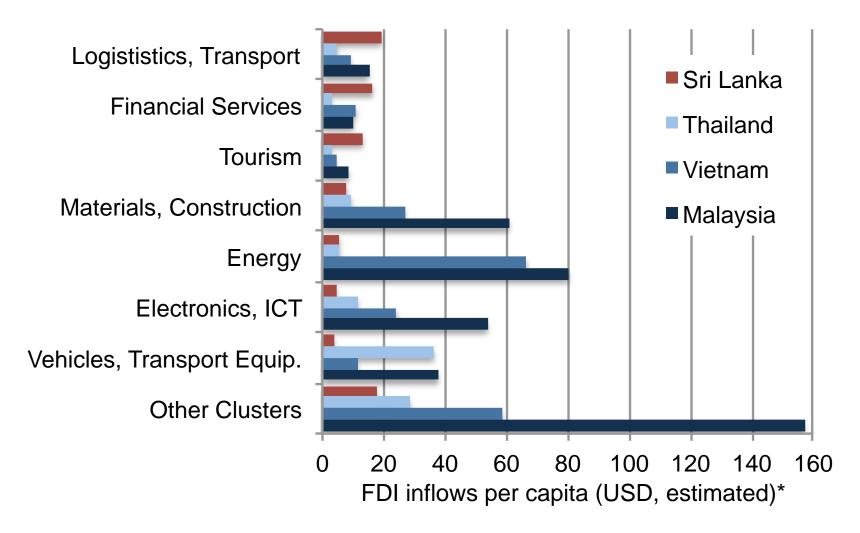




New FDI inflows are high in existing sectors...



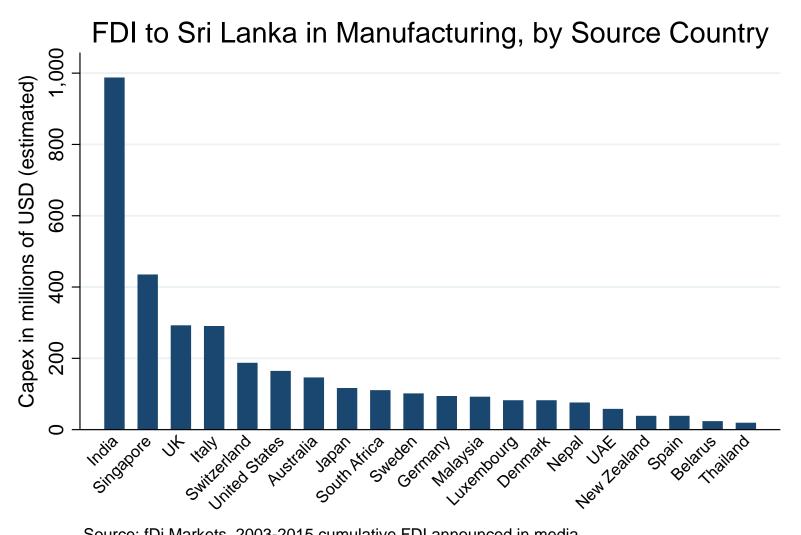
...but peer countries receive the bulk of their FDI from sectors that are mostly absent in Sri Lanka



Source: fDi Markets, April 2016. Note: dataset is based on estimates of large, high-profile FDI project announcements.

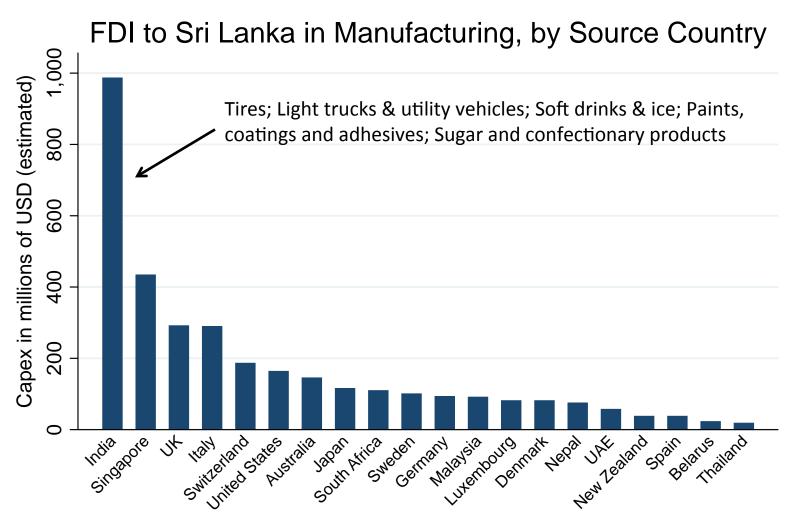
* Estimated capital expenditure per capita, January 2009 – March 2016 (annualized)

Who is Sri Lanka learning from through FDI in manufacturing and in what industries?



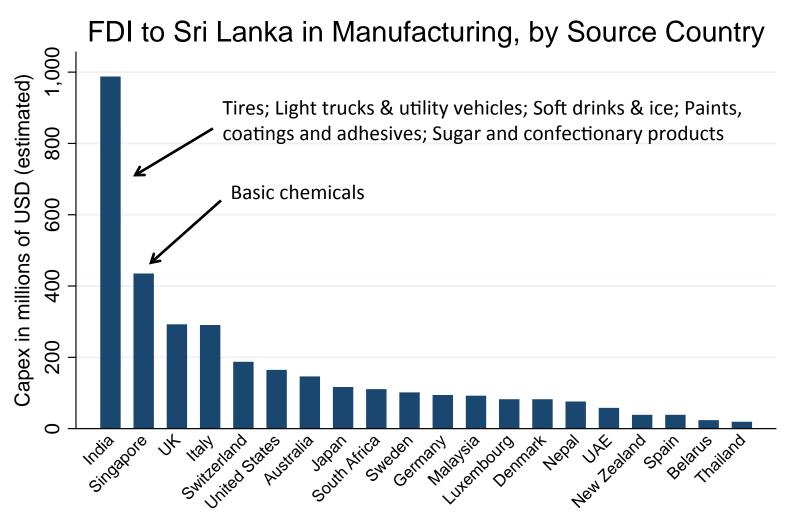
Source: fDi Markets, 2003-2015 cumulative FDI announced in media Note: Data source is biased toward large, high-visibility projects

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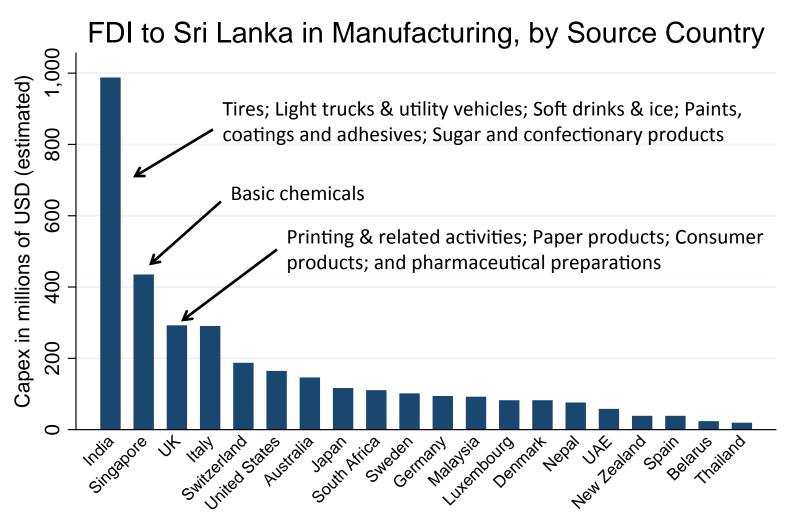
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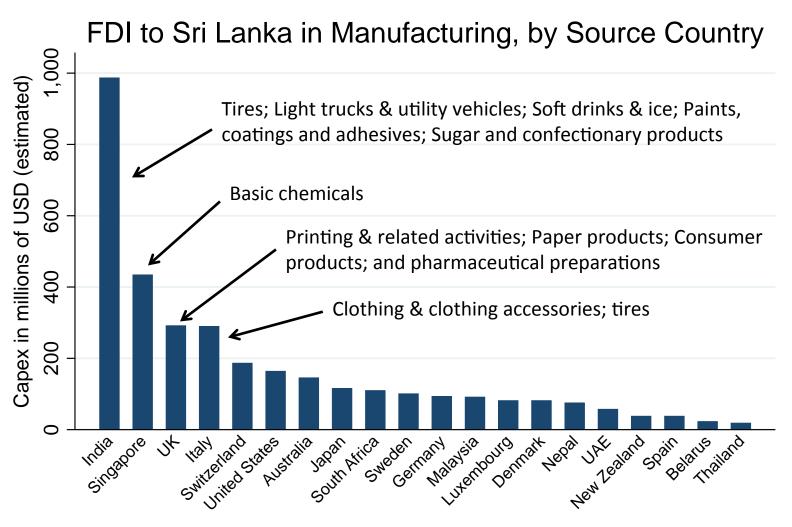
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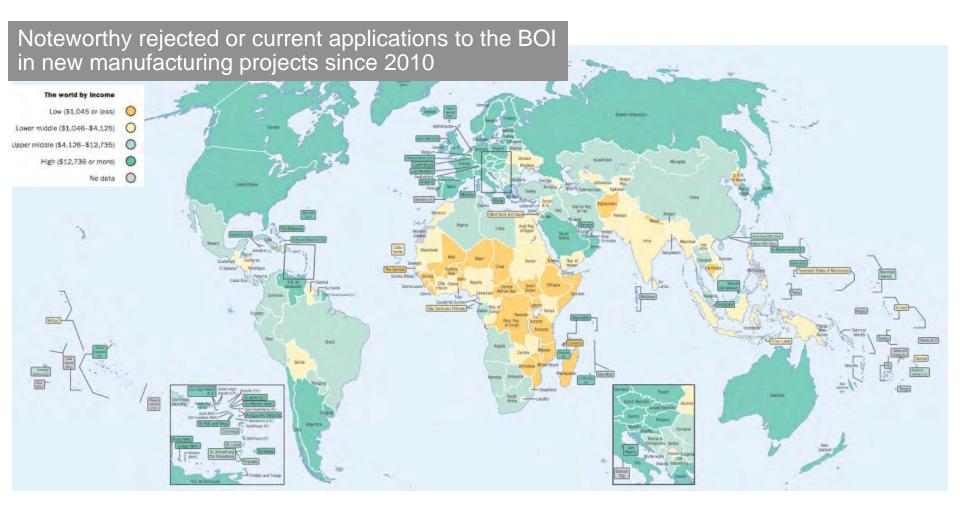


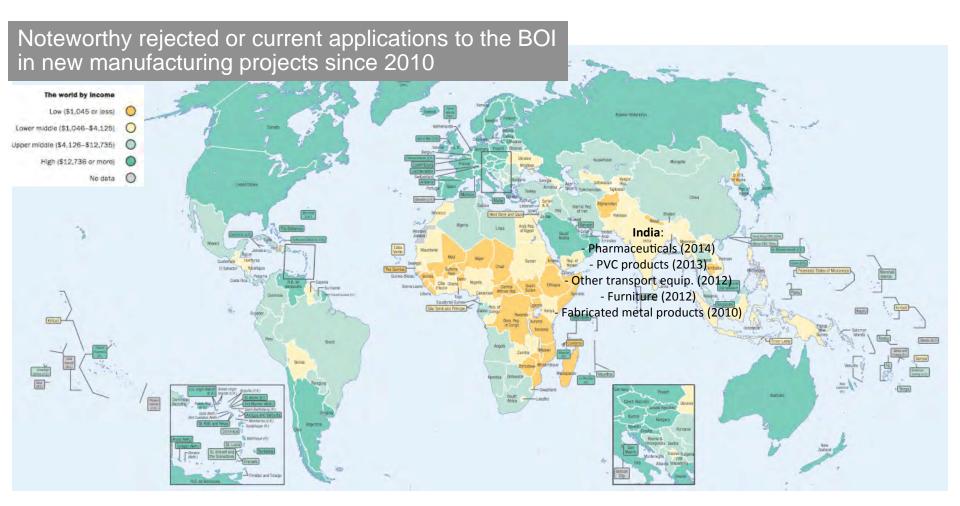
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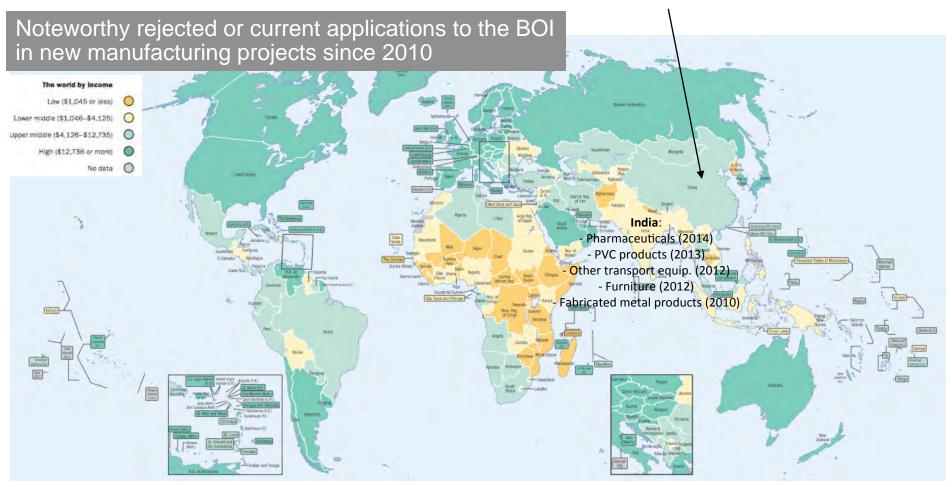
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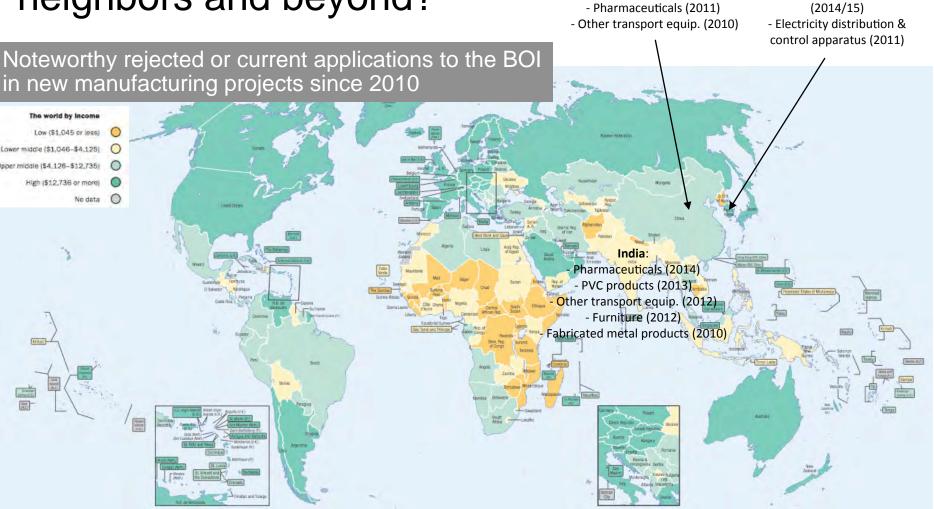




China:

- Medical and surgical equipment (2016)
- Electrical equipment (2014)
 - Motorcycles (2012)
 - Pharmaceuticals (2011)
- Other transport equip. (2010)





South Korea: - Fishing boats (2016)

- Electric lamps & lighting

equip. (2016)

- Special purpose

machinery (2016)

- Pharmaceuticals

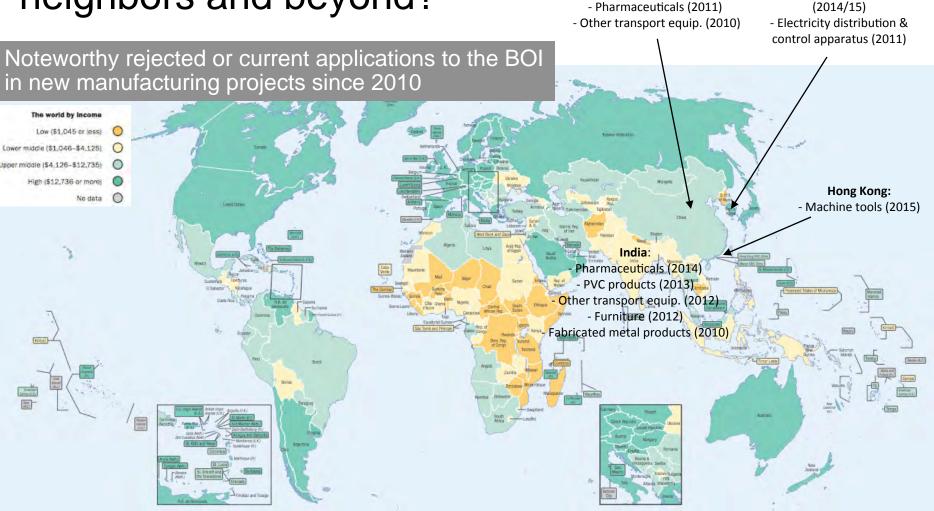
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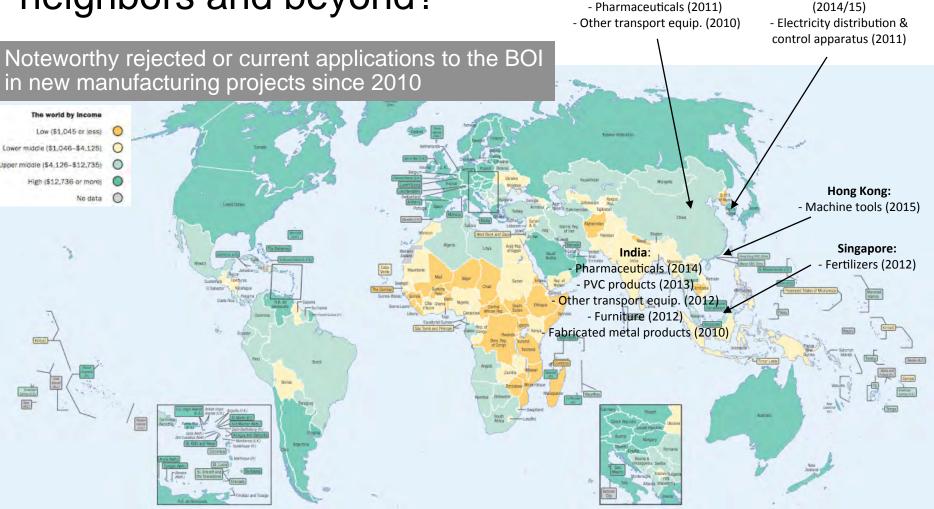
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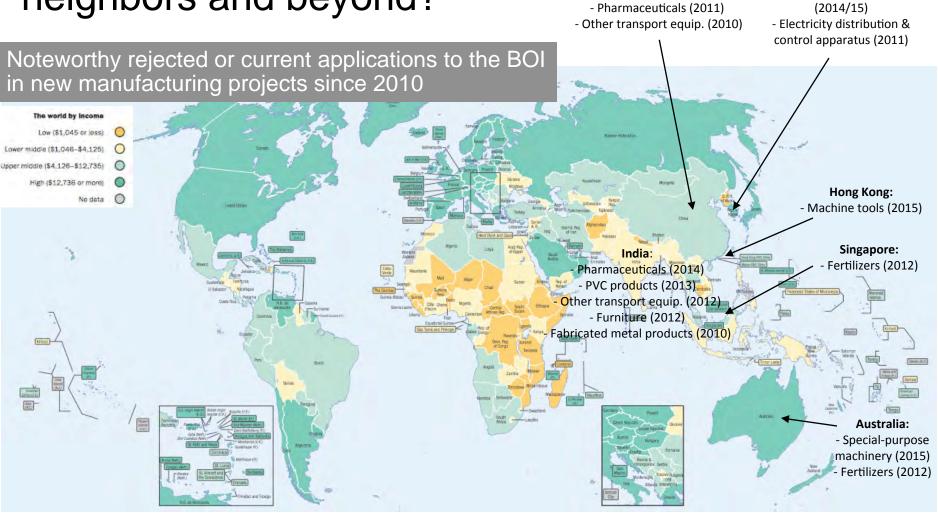
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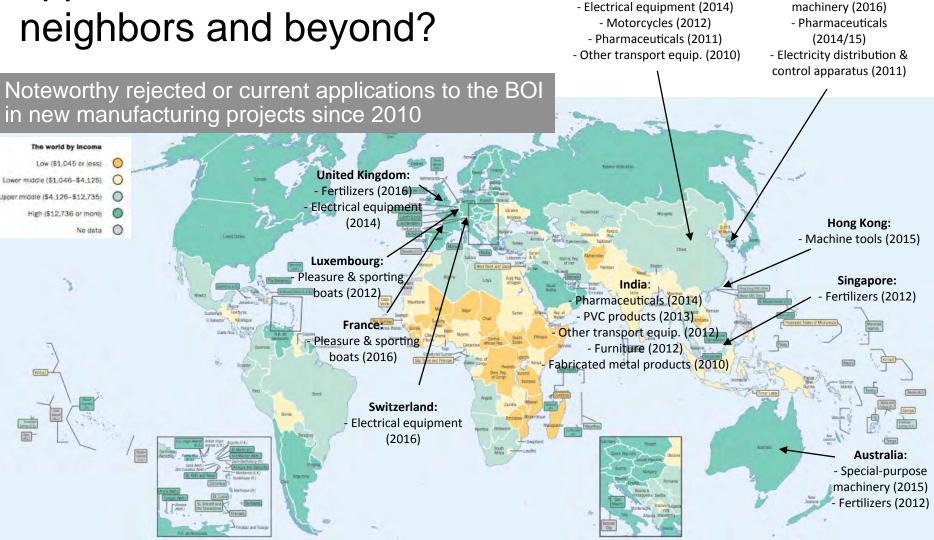
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POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Immigration policy

- Immigration policy
- Diaspora strategy

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- Diaspora strategy
- Productive development policies for economic complexity

PRODUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES FOR ECONOMIC COMPLEXITY

• Investors lack either money or adequate incentives

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- Solution: give them credit, subsidies or tax brakes

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- INDUSTRIAL POLICY IS SEEN AS AN INSTRUMENT, NOT AS A PROBLEM SOLVING MACHINE

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- You need to assure the supply of what is missing
- But you don't know what it is
- Or how to prompt its supply

• I know that I don't know

- I know that I don't know
- But I still need to improve on what I am doing

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- I can talk to those that exist

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- But I cannot talk to those that do not exist because of things I am doing or not doing

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- But I still need to improve on what I am doing
- I can talk to those that exist
- But I cannot talk to those that do not exist because of things I am doing or not doing
- So, I have an information revelation problem
- Talking to me is not cheap
 - Participation constraint of others

Two Different Questions

• How can the government organize itself to provide better public inputs to the monkeys that exist?

Two Different Questions

- How can the government organize itself to provide better public inputs **to the monkeys that exist**?
- How to improve the environment for the monkeys that don't exist?

Talking to existing monkeys: some principles

• Self-organization around common problems / possibilities

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- About public inputs or coordination failures

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- About productivity, not profitability
 - Win –win vs. I win you lose

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- In Japan there are over 200 deliberation councils

Talking to the monkeys that don't yet exist

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- Need institutions to search the space of possibilities and the related obstacles
- Beyond the existing firms

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 - Handholding
 - One stop shop
- Version 2.0 involves
 - Conversations that reveal the space of possibilities
 - Direct marketing
 - Problem solving of missing public inputs
 - Creation of solutions
 - Irish IDA
 - Industrial and business space
 - Missing skills

An emerging system of coordinated = Area being worked on by a current team, supported by Harvard CID public sector capabilities needed in = Potential area for next cohort of teams. supported by Harvard CID Sri Lanka **Key Capabilities** Backward reach Forward reach Other **Incentives** govt. **Target** Infrastruc-Land firms ture access Other govt. **Investor Target Promotions** climate/ Targeting firms response Other govt. External **Export Target** attaches readiness firms Other Trade govt. policy **Target** firms **Domestic Domestic** Domestic exporters exporters exporters