

The Architecture of Growth: Product Space, Growth Acceleration, and “Small World” Networks.

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1 Introduction

What are the mechanics behind an acceleration in the economic growth rate for a country? What role does trade and comparative advantage play in this process? These are among the most enduring and important questions in economics.

On the first question, a recent paper by Hausman, Pritchett and Rodrik (2005) examines “growth accelerations,” episodes of rapid acceleration in economic growth that are sustained for at least eight years, and finds them to be highly unpredictable. The vast majority of growth accelerations are unrelated to standard determinants such as political change and economic reform, and most instances of economic reform do not produce growth accelerations. This leaves us with a conundrum. Are growth accelerations idiosyncratic and/or a matter of luck? The implications of such a conclusion would be distressing, to say the least. But while the mechanics of these transitions continue to be a mystery, the good news is that Hausman et al. find that growth accelerations are a fairly frequent occurrence. Of the 110 countries in their sample, 60 have had at least one acceleration in the 35-year period between 1957 and 1992 – a ratio of 55 percent.

With regard to the second question, recent papers by Hausman and Bailey (2007) and Hidalgo et. al. (2007) develop an innovative approach to the evolution of comparative advantage that suggest a new way forward. Using detailed product-level data from the NBER World Trade Database, these papers map the “product space,” of relatedness among products based on the pattern of revealed comparative advantage in world trade. In other words, they infer the network of relatedness among products from the observable export-mix in the data. This indicates how likely it is for different products to be exported together. They then ask if the pattern of product specialization of a country is densely or sparsely connected. They identify two patterns here. First, the pattern of relatedness of products exhibits a high degree of heterogeneity: there are parts of the product space that are dense while others are sparse. More sophisticated products are located in a densely connected core whereas less sophisticated products occupy a less-connected periphery. Second, changes in the revealed comparative advantage of nations are governed by the pattern of relatedness at a global level. Empirically, countries move through the product space by developing goods close to those they currently produce. This implies that countries that are specialized in a dense part of

the product space have an easier time at changing their revealed comparative advantage than countries that are specialized in more disconnected products. Most countries can reach the core only by traversing empirically infrequent distances, which may help explain why poor countries have trouble developing more competitive exports and fail to converge to the income level of rich countries. The inability to make long-range leaps is associated with difficulty in moving from low-growth (traditional/poor) products to high-growth (modern/rich) products. Countries that have a comparative advantage in traditional products are likely to be stuck in a “product-trap,” since they will only be able to produce products close to the ones they already produce. According to this view, a country’s location in product space is a key determinant of its growth capabilities.

Our insight builds upon these two strands of work to dispel some of the mystery behind the mechanics of growth acceleration, and in doing so provides a unified relationship between comparative advantage, trade, and economic growth. The work of Hausman and Bailey (2007) and Hidalgo et. al. (2007) suggests a natural interpretation of “product space” in terms of networks. We therefore adopt a network interpretation of product space and use analytical methods from the recent literature on complex networks¹. One of the general results of this literature is that “successful” networks in many settings (biological, technological, social, economic) have the “small world” property (Watts and Strogatz, 1998). In other words, in many contexts, the small world seems to be an “optimal” topology. Small world networks combine high clustering among nodes with high connectivity (short path length) across nodes. High clustering suggests such networks are likely to have strong spillovers between nodes, while short path length implies the possibility of long range leaps. Both features are advantageous in the context of economic development and growth. Could it be that the key to growth acceleration is whether the pattern of product specialization of a country develops a “small world” topology before the take-off? If true, then this implies that it is not just the country’s location in product space, but also (especially) the country’s pattern of product specialization that matters. If we can find evidence for this line of reasoning, then we will have made important progress in decoding the mystery of growth acceleration.

Our research project aims to marshal evidence to support this insight. We will do this in

¹Newman (2000) and Albert and Barabasi (2002) are good overviews of this literature. The survey by Jackson (2006) is a good introduction to the economics of networks.

several steps, the first of which is already complete. First, we chart the topology of product space across time, from 1965 to 2000. This provides us with evidence that the product space network of relatedness among products based on the pattern of revealed comparative advantage in world trade has evolved considerably over time. We find that that the evolution of product space experienced a structural break during the 1980's. Second, we will map the product specialization pattern of individual countries. Third, we will superimpose (country-level) product specialization of countries that experienced episodes of growth acceleration on the network of product space. Superimposing the country-level product specialization "sub"-network on the larger product-space network will enable us to examine whether country-level product specialization resembles a "small world" prior to the time of a growth acceleration. Finally, we will run a multivariate regression to understand if there is large sample support for the hypothesis that if a country's pattern of product specialization resembles a small world, then it is more likely to experience subsequent growth acceleration.

The study of the relationship between trade and economic growth and development has a long and distinguished pedigree in economics, going back to seminal explorations by Rosenstein-Rodan (1943) and Hirschman (1958). The astounding performance of the east Asian economies in the last quarter of the twentieth century reinvigorated this question, and stimulated a number of recent contributions such as Grossman and Helpman (1991), Matsuyama (1992), Frankel and Romer (1999), and Rodriguez and Rodrik (2001), among others. However, this question does not seem to be settled, either theoretically and empirically. We believe that our research has the potential to bring a novel perspective to these issues.

In the next section we explain our hypothesis and the network approach in more detail. We present a simple theoretical framework to ground our empirical analysis. Section 3 describes the evolution of the product space and country-level patterns of product specialization. We also summarize the conclusions from our empirical analysis thus far. Section 4 discusses broader implications of this research project.

2 Product Space, Country Specialization, and the Small World

Product Space

We follow Hidalgo et. al. (2007) and Hausman and Bailey (2007) in computing the

product space of relatedness among products based on the pattern of revealed comparative advantage in world trade. We provide a brief description here; the reader is referred to their papers for more detail. Like them, we use the NBER World Trade Database for the computation of product space (Feenstra et al., 2005).

The first step is the computation of “revealed comparative advantage” (RCA), which measures whether a country c exports more of good i , as a share of its total exports, than the “average” country ($RCA > 1$ not $RCA < 1$).

$$RCA_{c,i} = \frac{\frac{x(c,i)}{\sum_i x(c,i)}}{\frac{\sum_c x(c,i)}{\sum_{c,i} x(c,i)}}$$

RCA, thus computed is then used to compute “proximity” between products, which formalizes the intuitive idea that the ability of a country to produce a product depends on its ability to produce other products. If two goods are related because they require similar institutions, infrastructure, resources, technology, or some combination thereof, they will likely be produced in tandem, whereas dissimilar goods are less likely to be produced together. Formally, the proximity ϕ between products i and j is the minimum of the pairwise conditional probabilities of a country exporting a good given that it exports another:

$$\phi_{i,j} = \min\{P(RCAx_i|RCAx_j), P(RCAx_j|RCAx_i)\}$$

The matrix of these proximities characterizes product space. We compute the proximity matrix for every year between 1962 and 2000. We can then compare these matrices over time to understand how product space has evolved during this period.

The proximity matrix can be considered a complex network², where each product represents a node in the network while the edges between them and their intensities are denoted by the proximities between the products. Given the symmetry of the proximity matrix, the network resulting from it can be characterized as a weighted, undirected network. This perspective then allows us to analyze product space and its evolution in terms of the properties

²Complex networks are large scale graphs that are composed of so many nodes and links that they cannot be meaningfully visualized and analyzed using standard graph theory. Recent advances in network research now enable us to analyze such graphs in terms of their statistical properties. Albert and Barabasi (2002) and Newman (2003) are excellent surveys of these methods.

of the network.

Country Level Product Specialization

The set of products for which a country possesses $RCA (>1)$ is what we refer to as country level product specialization. This is essentially the comparative advantage of a country. We can examine how this set has changed over the time period of our data for countries which experienced growth acceleration and those that did not.

The Small World Hypothesis

A network exhibits small-world (SW) characteristics if, roughly speaking, any two nodes in the network are likely to be connected through a short sequence of intermediate links. This can come about via a combination of short characteristic path length and high clustering in the network. The clustering coefficient of a network is a measure of the cliquishness of nodes, and the characteristic path length is a measure of the average number of links connecting any two nodes. Recent work has suggested that the phenomenon is pervasive in networks arising in nature (Watts and Strogatz, 1998; Watts, 2004; Albert and Barabasi, 2002). Virtually all known complete networks in nature, such as the network of scientific collaborations, the power grid of the U.S., and the neural network of the earthworm, are small world networks. There is now a consensus that the small world is arguably an “optimal” topology for successful (high performance) networks in nature³.

We conjecture that if we were to superimpose country level product specialization on product space, we would find that the pattern of product specialization displays small world characteristics for countries which experienced growth accelerations, prior to their take-off. Conversely, countries which did not experience growth accelerations never saw their country level product specialization resemble a small world. Thus, our key hypothesis is that if a country’s pattern of product specialization resembles a small world, then it is more likely to experience subsequent growth acceleration.

Why should a SW network in product space facilitate rapid economic growth? Clustering of products enables economies of scale and scope and other agglomeration externalities. Short path length allows for “leaps” across product space. The extent of scale and scope economies determines cost savings and thus investment. Investment capabilities in turn determine how

³There is now a large literature on these networks. See Newman, Albert and Barabasi, Jackson in the references.

far a country can leap. Proximity in product space determines how far a country needs to leap to the closest high-income product. The gap between these two plays a role in determining growth acceleration. We present a simple formalization of this intuition below.

If product space is changing over time (due to changes in technology, preferences and other effects), then a country with a particular pattern of product specialization might find that the product space has moved to a configuration that creates advantageous conditions for product leaps and thus faster growth. Product space evolves to intersect with a country's product specialization in such a way as to create a "small world" and enable product leaps. Note that this is the converse of thinking that product space is fixed and it is country level patterns of specialization evolve. Under this hypothesis, country-level patterns of specialization could remain relatively invariant, but what changes is product space. The key to growth acceleration is thus essentially a matter of being "in the right space at the right time."

A Model

At time $t = 1$ country x has *RCA* in a set of products, $R = \{y_1, y_2, \dots, y_{n_1}\}$. We can call set R the pattern of product specialization for country x . Each product is associated with a firm, which produces one unit of its product. Each product faces a price of p_{y_i} . The cost of production for a particular product is affected by positive spillovers from the other products in which the country has *RCA*. The magnitude of the spillover is increasing in the proximity of the other products to the product in question. The proximity measure between product y_i and y_j is ϕ_{ij} and captures fixed investments, shared know-how and other synergies between the two products. The cost of production is $c_{y_i} = c(\sum_{j, j \neq i}^{n_1} \phi_{ij})$, $c' < 0$, $c'' < 0$, and $c(0) = \bar{c}$.

The ϕ_{ij} 's thus define a weighted network between the products that country x has in its *RCA* set. Let $g_i = (\phi_{i1}, \dots, \phi_{ii-1}, \phi_{ii+1}, \dots, \phi_{in_1})$, and the network of relatedness among products for country x is $g = (g_1, g_2, \dots, g_{n_1})$. Let $S_x = \sum_j g_i$. Then $c_{y_i} = c(S_x)$.

A firm i can "leap" to another product in product space that is not currently within set R and develop *RCA* in this new product. If the products are all indexed numerically, then this implies a leap to a product in the set $\{y_{n_2}, y_{n_3}, \dots, y_N\}$. N is the total number of products in product space. However, moving to a different product is costly. The cost of moving, for each unit distance in product space is t . In addition, in the first period after leaping to a new product, there are no spillovers from other products. These spillovers, develop by the

following period, and depend upon the density of the production cluster associated with the new product.

There are three periods. Production takes place in all three periods, but consumption/utility is realized only at the end of period three.

Firm i 's profit at $t = 1$ is $\pi_i^1 = p_{y_i} - c(S_x)$.

In period 2 the firm can choose to make a leap to a nearby product. Say the distance in product space to the nearest product not in R is \underline{d} . If the firm uses its profits to make a leap, the furthest it can go is $\frac{\pi_i^1}{t} = d$. If $d \geq \underline{d}$, then the leap is feasible. In other words, a necessary condition for a leap in period 2 is,

$$\pi_i^1 = p_{y_i} - c(S_x) \geq t\underline{d}. \quad (1)$$

Say the price for the nearest product is p_{y_k} .

If firm i leaps to product k then period 2 profits are $\pi_i^2 = p_{y_k} - \bar{c}$.

In period 3, profits are $\pi_i^3 = p_{y_k} - c(S'_x)$, where $S'_x = \sum_{j, j \neq i}^{n_k} \phi_{ij}$ represents the spillovers associated with the new RCA set for country x , call this R' .

We can then outline three possible production scenarios for a country.

(I) ($t = 1$) Original Product - ($t = 2$) New Product - ($t = 3$) New Product

Payoff $\Pi_i(I) = p_{y_i} - c(S_x) + p_{y_k} - \bar{c} + p_{y_k} - c(S'_x)$

(II) ($t = 1$) Original Product - ($t = 2$) Original Product - ($t = 3$) Original Product

Payoff $\Pi_i(II) = 3(p_{y_i} - c(S_x))$

(III) ($t = 1$) Original Product - ($t = 2$) Original Product - ($t = 3$) New Product

Payoff $\Pi_i(III) = 2(p_{y_i} - c(S_x)) + p_{y_k} - \bar{c}$

Note that a necessary condition for a leap in period 3 is,

$$2(p_{y_i} - c(S_x)) \geq t\underline{d}. \quad (2)$$

Scenario (I) is akin to "growth acceleration," Scenario (II) is "stagnation," and (III) is "slow growth."

From this setup we can see that there are a couple of issues that will come into play in determining whether a country will make a leap, and thus whether we will observe Scenario

(I). There are both demand side (price) and supply side (cost) factors involved. If the move is to more "upscale" products, with higher prices, i.e., $p_{y_k} > p_{y_i}$, then, other things being equal, the transition is more likely. If the production cluster associated with the new product is more dense, with a consequently greater spillovers on the cost side, i.e., $S'_x > S_x$, then, other things being equal, the transition is more likely.

To see the tradeoffs more clearly, subtract Scenario (II) payoff from Scenario (I) payoff.

$$\Pi_i(I) - \Pi_i(II) = 2(p_{y_k} - p_{y_i}) - (\bar{c} - c(S_x)) - (c(S'_x) - c(S_x)) \quad (3)$$

The second term is the period 2 increase in cost from the leap and the third term is the period 3 decrease in cost from the leap. We can see from this that ceteris paribus, a high level of spillovers in period 1 (high S_x) can reduce the incentive to leap because of the period 2 increase in cost (which is large) and the period 3 decrease in cost (which is small). At the same time, high S_x makes it more easy to satisfy (1), the "leap-feasibility" condition.

However, if we assume that in most practical cases the sufficient condition for a period 2 leap (3) is positive, due to higher prices for the new products (i.e., large $(p_{y_k} - p_{y_i})$) and large spillovers in the new products (i.e., large S'_x), then the binding constraint may be the leap feasibility condition.

The leap feasibility condition (1) can be considered to embody the "small world" idea by examining either side of the inequality. The left hand side is increasing in spillovers from neighboring products in close proximity (S_x), and the right hand side is increasing in the distance that needs to be leaped (\underline{d}). If spillovers are large and distance is small, the leap can be made.

Conditions (1), (3), and the preceding discussion can be represented in the following diagram.

The region in-between the two curves is the range of parameter values for which we should expect growth acceleration. This region also corresponds to parameters that represent small world characteristics.

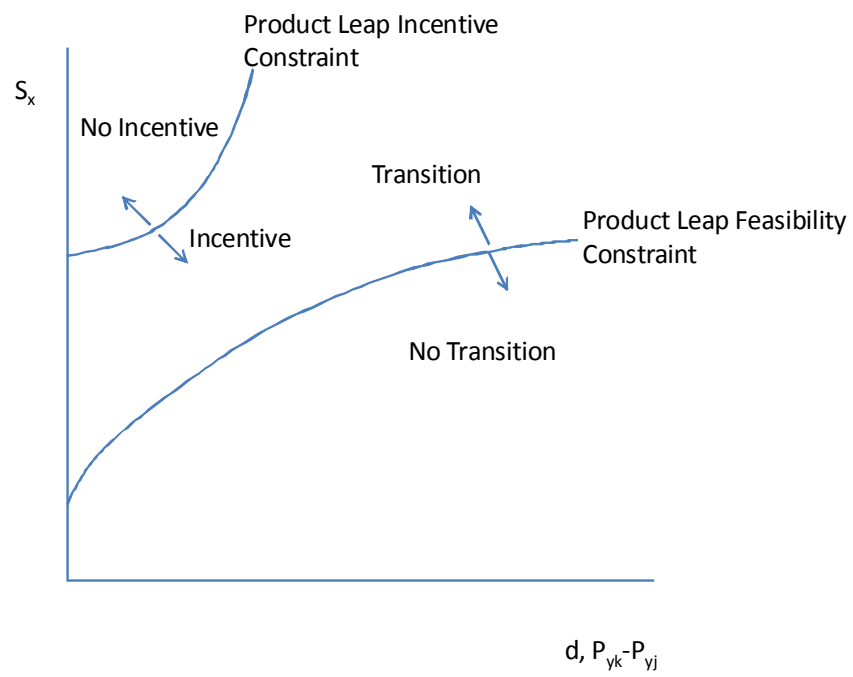


Figure 1: Product Leaps

3 The Evolution of the Product Space

The first step in our methodology is to describe the evolution of the product space of relatedness among products between 1962 and 2000. The product space is defined by the proximity matrix introduced in the previous section and can be considered a complex network where each product represents a node in the network while the edges between them (and their intensities) are denoted by the proximities between the products. Given the symmetry of the proximity matrix, the network resulting from it can be characterized as a weighted and undirected network. With this framework, we attempt to analyze the evolution of the properties of the product space by using a variety of network indicators. This section presents a series of network analyses that show that the product space has changed over the past 30 years. The set of communities, the density of the product space, the distribution of proximities, and the clustering between industries is studied in detail.

3.1 Correlation between Product Space Proximities across Time

The simplest way for the analysis of the changes in the product space is to compute the Pearson correlation coefficient for the proximities between each pair of products across time. The correlation coefficients across time fall dramatically once the correlation is computed

	1962	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
1962	1								
1965	0.93	1							
1970	0.90	0.97	1						
1975	0.69	0.76	0.81	1					
1980	0.62	0.68	0.73	0.91	1				
1985	0.36	0.42	0.46	0.58	0.72	1			
1990	0.29	0.34	0.38	0.50	0.62	0.94	1		
1995	0.16	0.20	0.24	0.35	0.43	0.69	0.83	1	
2000	0.16	0.20	0.24	0.35	0.43	0.68	0.81	0.98	1

Table 1: Pearson Correlation Coefficient for Proximities between Product Pairs

between product spaces more than ten years apart, and there is no correlation above 0.79. In addition, it is noteworthy that there is a sharp fall in the correlation coefficient in the early eighties. The correlation for a year on year comparison is always above 0.80 for all years, except when 1980 is compared to 1975.

3.2 Network Density and the Distribution of Weighted Links

Next we look at two simple indicators which provide insight into how product space has changed over time. The first is network density, the number of links present in the network as a percentage of the maximum possible. The second is the distribution of the weighted links. Examining network density and the distribution of weighted links together allows us to understand whether the changes have been quantitative instead of qualitative. For instance, it could be that the number of products that are likely to be exported together has increased but the likelihoods are very small. In other words more of the proximities between products are now different from zero, but they are just marginally positive. A different scenario would be the case in which the number of products that are likely to be exported together remains constant, but the likelihood (proximity) becomes much greater.

The results presented in Figures 2 and 3 show evidence for relatively significant changes of the product space. Regarding density (i.e., number of products exported together), we see it clearly accelerated in between 1975 and 1980 where it increased from 0.45 to 0.88 and then came back down to 0.65 in the mid nineties. Regarding the distribution of the weighted links, the changes are less visible but, nonetheless, still present. Figure 3, which presents the kernel density distributions for the years 1975, 1985, and 2000, shows that there has been a an amplification in the magnitude of the proximities between the products present in the product space. Interestingly, the increase in density observed in the eighties (Figure 2) coincides with an increase in the number of high weighted links in the product space. Evidence of this is the rightward shift of the probability mass observed for 1985 in Figure 3. Additionally, the drop in density during the nineties actually corresponded to a drop of low weight links in the product space.

3.3 Clustering in Product Space

The clustering coefficient of a given node is defined as the ratio of the number of triangles with node i as one vertex to the total number of triangles that node i could have been a part of (which is determined by its degree). Within the product space context, clustering can shed some light on economies of scale and scope leading to the simultaneous export of certain products. These economies could result from the similarities of the product or due to the

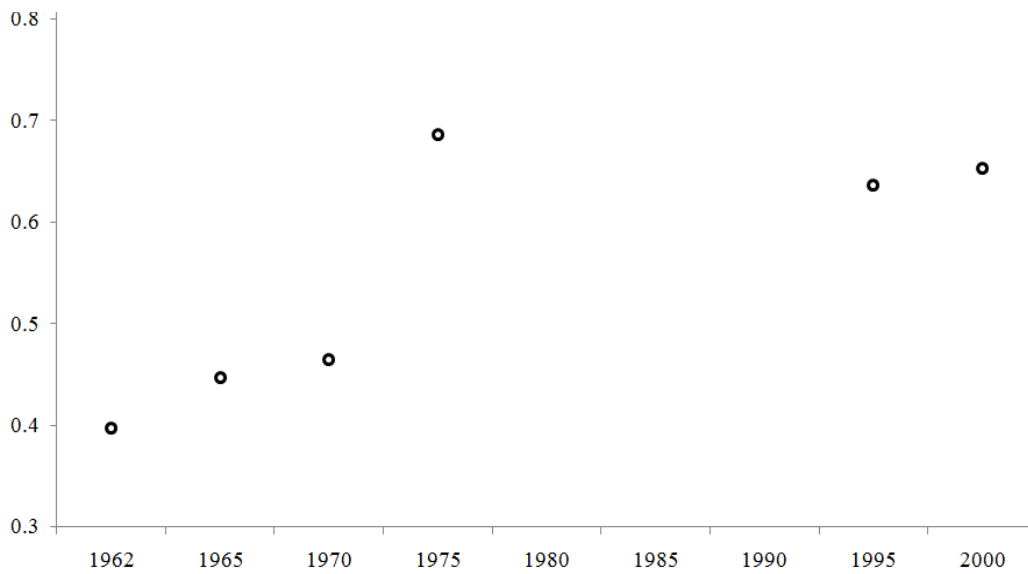


Figure 2: Product Space Density

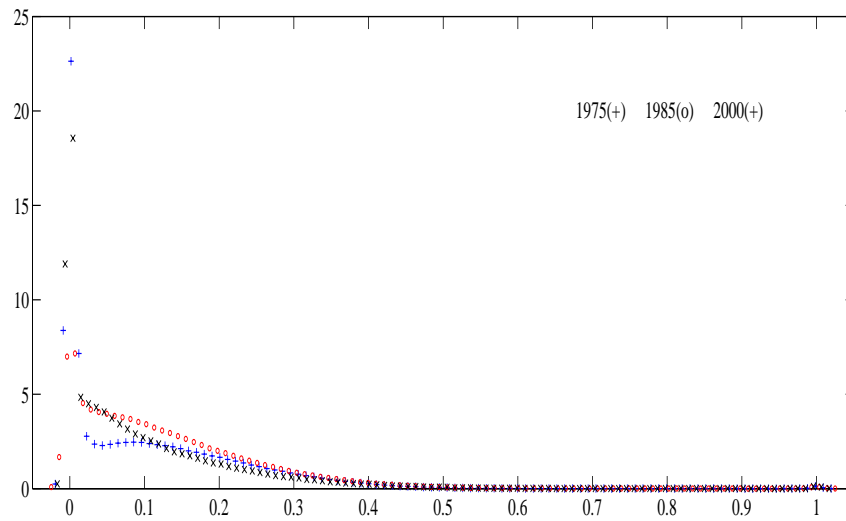


Figure 3: Distribution (kernel density) of weighted links.

flexibility of the inputs (or production lines), for example. Given that the proximity matrix constitutes a weighted network, we employ the weighted version of the clustering coefficient. More specifically we use the one proposed by Onela et. al. (2005) which is computed as follows:

$$\tilde{C}_u(W) = \frac{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{v \neq u} \sum_{z \neq (u,v)} w_{uv}^{\frac{1}{3}} w_{uz}^{\frac{1}{3}} w_{vz}^{\frac{1}{3}}}{\frac{1}{2} d_u (d_u - 1)} = \frac{(W^{[\frac{1}{3}]})_{uu}^3}{d_u (d_u - 1)}, \quad (4)$$

where we define $W^{[\frac{1}{k}]} = \{w_{uv}^{\frac{1}{k}}\}$, i.e. the matrix obtained from W by taking the k -th root of each entry. The index \tilde{C}_u ranges in $[0, 1]$ and reduces to the binary clustering coefficient when weights become binary. Furthermore, it takes into account weights of all edges in a triangle (while disregarding weights not participating in any triangle) and is invariant to weight permutation for one triangle.

We compute two different clustering coefficients. The first one explores the economies of scale and scope that could materialize within an industry. To do so we first partition the product space according to industry classifications and then estimate the \tilde{C}_u for each product by only considering its within-industry links. Afterwards we explore the possibility that there are economies of scale and scope across industries and compute \tilde{C}_u for every product but now only consider its connections outside of its own industry. We compute the average for the clusterings of all the products of an industry and report the results in figures 4 and 5⁴

The results provide an interesting perspective on the changes observed for the product space. Before 1990, within-industry clustering shows a clear decrease for all classifications, except labor and capital intensive, but in 1990 or 2000 there is a general increase. Regarding cross-industry clustering, here it seems to be a relatively stable degree of clustering up until 1990, when all classifications see an increase in their clustering with other classifications. When these results are considered in conjunction with those reported for network density and the distribution of weighted links across times it is possible to obtain a clearer idea of the changes in the product space. The increase in density over the eighties lead to a diversification of the product space where unrelated products (like agricultural products and machinery) were being simultaneously exported but with very weak proximities. This suggests there

⁴For the industry classification, we use the Leamer Clusters which assign each product into one of these classifications: petroleum, raw materials, forrest products, tropical agriculture, animal products, cereals, labor intensive, capital intensive, machinery, and chemical.

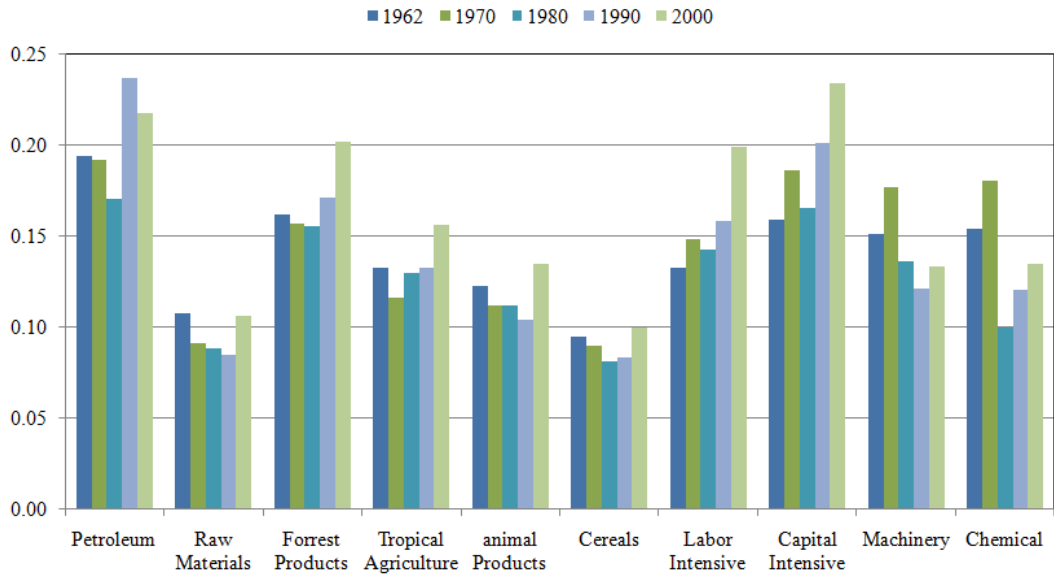


Figure 4: Weighted clustering coefficient (within industry)

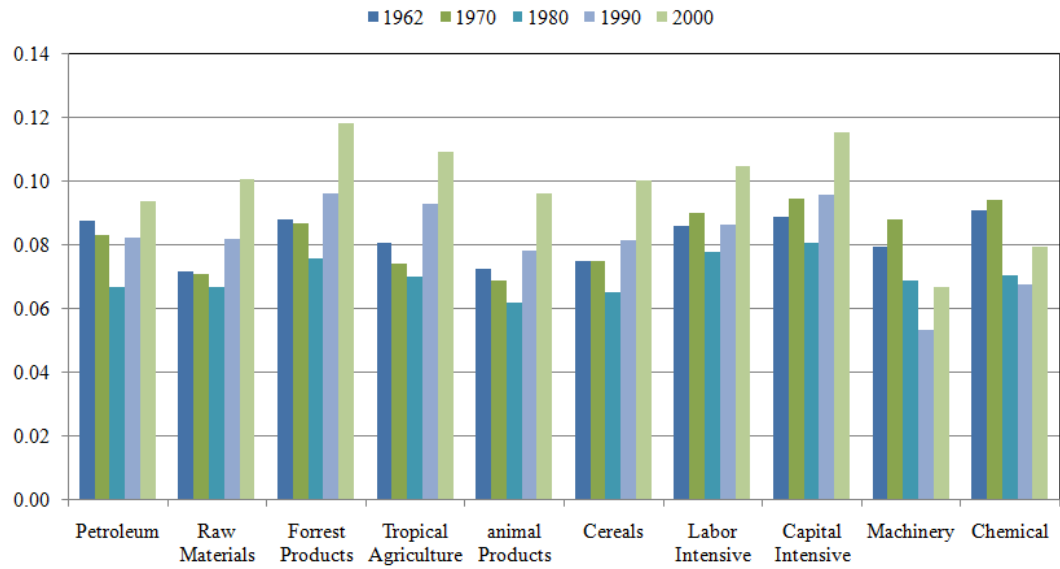


Figure 5: Weighted clustering coefficient (across industries)

may not have been strong economies of scale and scope present, otherwise proximity would have been much higher (leading to higher weighted clustering coefficients). Interestingly enough the only sectors that see a continuous increase in within-industry clustering are labor and capital intensive. A possible explanation is that during the nineties, when we observe a decrease in density of the product space and also increasing clustering within and across industries, the technological and skill improvements in the labor and capital intensive products lead to economies of scale and scope for other products.

3.4 Community Structure Analysis

Community structure can be explained as the search for a natural division of the network into a set of communities where nodes within each community are heavily interconnected between them while connections with nodes belonging to other communities are relatively weak. For example, when the World Wide Web is analyzed as a network and is divided into communities, the resulting groupings are clearly defined by similarity of topics. Clearly, in the case of the product space, the communities are formed by products that are more likely to be exported together (as defined by the proximity between them).

For the partition of the product space into communities we use the QCUT methodology proposed by Ruan and Zhang (2008) which extends the modularity maximization procedure initially provided by Newman (XXXX). Here we follow Ruan and Zhang (2008) in order to discuss the general intuition behind the QCUT algorithm but we refer the reader to the original paper for a detailed discussion.

Let G be a weighted and undirected network with N nodes (products) and V weighted edges present in the network. The weighted matrix for such a network is given by W where the columns/rows of the matrix represent the products and w_{uv} denotes the proximity between products u and v . Additionally, let A denote the adjacency matrix for G , where a_{uv} is set equal to one when the link between nodes u and v is greater than zero, and zero otherwise. Then define the number and the total strength of all edges connected to a vertex u , d_u and s_u , respectively, as

$$s_u = \sum_v w_{uv} \tag{5}$$

and

$$d_u = \sum_v a_{uv}. \quad (6)$$

Assuming that the nodes/products in G have been partitioned into k mutually exclusive communities, c_1, c_2, \dots, c_k , then define e_{ij} as the sum of the magnitude of all edges connecting vertices in community i and community j , represented as follows

$$e_{ij} = \sum_{u \in c_i, v \in c_j} w_{uv}. \quad (7)$$

Notice that e_{ii} would represent twice the total value of the edges with both ends within community i . Let also a_i be the total strength for the nodes included in community i ,

$$a_i = \sum_{u \in c_i} s_u. \quad (8)$$

Then following Newman and Girvan (2004), the modularity of G for a particular partition of the network is defined by

$$Q = \sum_{i=1}^k \left[\frac{e_{ii}}{M} - \left(\frac{a_i}{M} \right)^2 \right] \quad (9)$$

where M represents twice the total value of all edges present in the network. The first term in equation 9 measures the fraction of total strength of edges present inside community i , while the second term denotes the expected value for such fraction if the weighted edges within the network were rewired, keeping d_u fixed for every u . Therefore, the objective of the community structure algorithms that use the modularity approach is to maximize the value of Q . This is because higher values of Q denote higher intracommunity connectivity (by number and value of the edges).⁵ The problem with the maximization of the modularity is that it has been shown that an efficient optimal algorithm is unlikely to exist.

Ruan and Zhang (2008) proposed a heuristic algorithm referred to as QCUT that provides a good approximation for the maximization of Q . The specifics of their methodology are not discussed here for matters of scope and space, but intuitively this algorithm is based on two

⁵It is clear that when the network is comprised of one community then $Q = 0$, also the expected value for randomly partitioning a network is also equal to zero. But a random network can have positive or even substantial modularity, especially for sparse networks

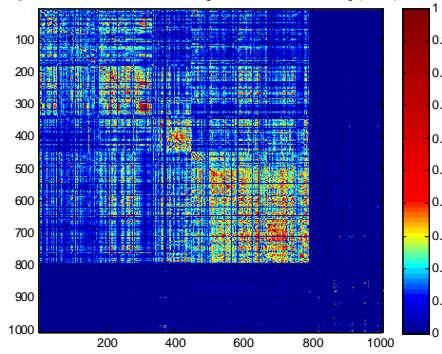
steps.⁶ First, it uses a spectral graph algorithm to recursively divide the network until no improvements to Q , equation (9), can be achieved. Therefore, it provides an efficient approximation to find a relatively good Q . Afterwards, a routine where nodes are moved to different communities or communities are merged in an attempt to improve Q is applied, this is referred to as the refinement stage. These two steps, partition and refinement, are done recursively until neither improves Q .

The objective of using the QCUT algorithm is to provide some basis of comparison for the product space across time. Once the proximity matrices for two different years have been partitioned into their optimal communities, it is then possible to see how well their communities match. Visually one can use the community partition of one year and use it to sort the product space of that year into clusters. In Figure 6, which shows the hierarchical clustering for the proximity matrix in 2000 using the community partition for this year, it is easy to identify the highly clustered regions in the product space. In order to show the changes in the product space, Figure 6 also shows the results for the product spaces of 1975, 1985, and 1995 when these are partitioned according to the community structure of the product space of 2000. We can see that the highly clustered regions of the 2000 product space are not the same as those of 1975. Moreover, there even are some slight differences between the 1995 and the 2000 data.

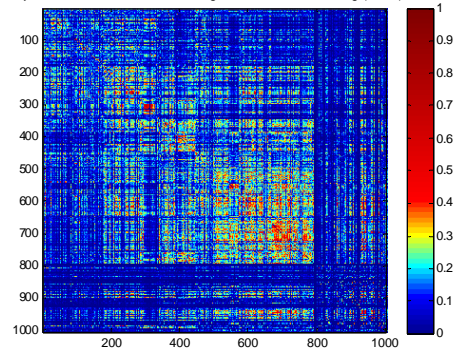
Although the visual representation of the changes of the product space through time seems very convincing, we also use more rigorous tools for this comparison. This is another advantage of using the community structure for the analysis of the product space. Given a two community partition, a benchmark and an alternative, it is possible to assess the number of intracommunity vertex pairs that are identified in both partitions. Here we use three different indices for this comparison, the Jaccard Index, the Fowlkes and Mallows Index, and the Variation of Information approach. Intuitively, assume a benchmark community structure C_1 and an alternative one referred to as C_2 , then let S_1 be the set of vertex pairs in the same community in C_1 , and S_2 the set of vertex pairs in the same community in C_2 .

⁶The interested reader is referred to the original article for more details

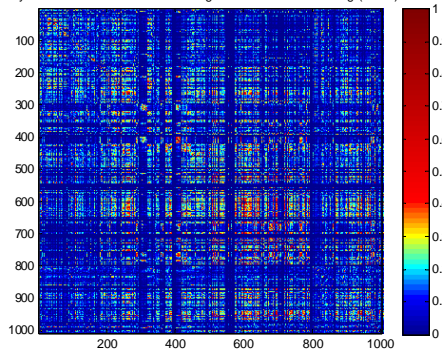
Proximity Matrix for 2000 Plotted According to Hierarchical Clustering (QCUT) for 2000



Proximity Matrix for 1985 Plotted According to Hierarchical Clustering (QCUT) for 2000



Proximity Matrix for 1975 Plotted According to Hierarchical Clustering (QCUT) for 2000



Proximity Matrix for 1962 Plotted According to Hierarchical Clustering (QCUT) for 2000

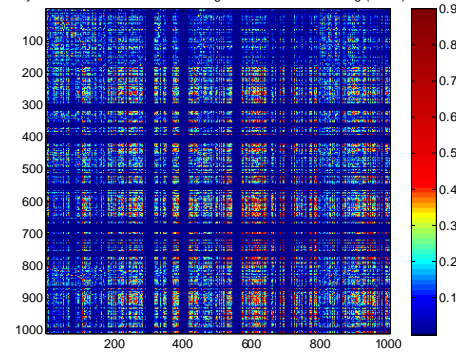


Figure 6: Hierarchical clustering using QCUT partitions.

Then the Jaccard Index, which lies between 0 and 1, can be computed as

$$J(S_1, S_2) = \frac{|S_1 \cap S_2|}{|S_1 \cup S_2|} \quad (10)$$

In the case of the Fowlkes and Mallows Index, what is measured is the probability of a pair of vertices which are in the same community under C_1 are also in the same community under C_2 , and the index is between 0 and 1. With respect to the Variation of Information index, this one measures the amount of information lost or gained in changing from C_1 to C_2 , it is always non-negative, and zero denotes the best accuracy. The specifics of the Fowlkes and Mallows Index and the Variation of Information Index are discussed in detail in Tan, Steinback, and Kumar(2005), Fowlkes and Mallows (1983), and Meila (2007), respectively.

For the benchmark community this study uses the one resulting for the product space of 2000 and then compares the community structures of all the other years against this benchmark. The results, presented in Figure 7, support the argument of a changing product space through time. One aspect that is gained by moving from the visual results of Figure 7 is that a clear break point is identified. There is a change in the slope of the degree of difference, as measured by the indices discussed above, between the product space of 2000 and the previous years. This change in the slope takes place in 1980. This suggests that the product space suffered accelerated changes during the 1980 to 2000 period but this change was much slower before 1980. Even between 2000 and 1995 the correspondence of vertex pairs between partitions is only between seventy to eighty percent.

3.5 Summary

The evolution in the product space network between 1962 and 2000 based on the measures computed above can be summarized as follows:

1. The qualitative nature of the network of relatedness between products changed considerably from 1962 to 2000. The network, as described by the correlation of proximity over time is substantially different in 2000 as compared to 1965. This is also evident from the change in hierarchical community structure in the network. The community structure in the network of relatedness between products in 2000 is a poor description

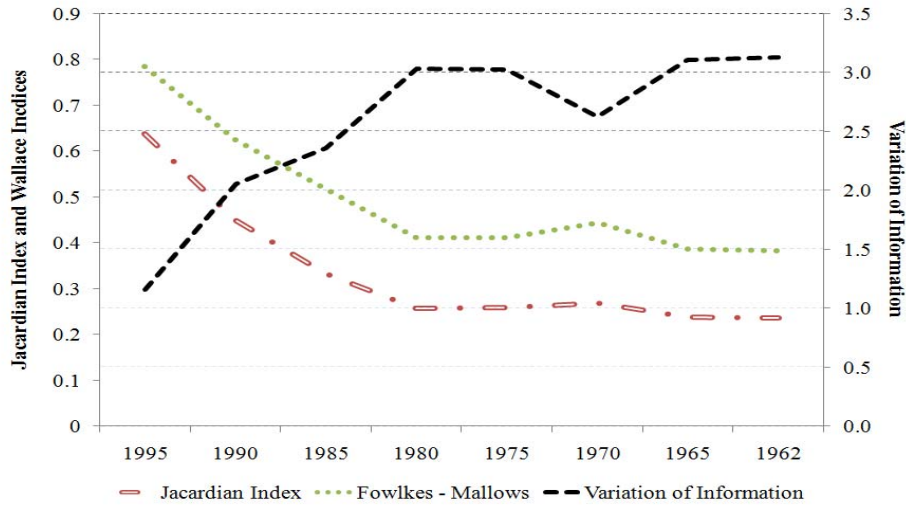


Figure 7: Results for community structure comparisons (all compared to 2000 partition)

of the community structure in 1975.

2. It appears that the network of relatedness between products experienced a structural change during the decade of the eighties. Overall network density, which was steadily increasing till then, experienced a sharp decline over the decade starting around 1985. The decline in network density was accompanied by an increase in the strength of the links, as displayed by an increase in the magnitude of proximities between products at about the same time. This suggests that the number of products being exported together went down but the probabilities with which products were exported together went up. An interpretation is that specialization increased and synergies across products also increased. Conjecture: This could be driven by greater specialization into agricultural/traditional and technological/modern products across the world. Note that this would be consistent with some countries taking off during the 1980s and others stagnating. Diagrams, of the network itself, like in Hidago et. al. would really help make this point.
3. Within and across-industry clustering jumps in the mid-eighties. This implies spillovers

are likely to have gone up starting in the mid-eighties. This is actually a conjecture, since the clustering figures at the moment show a decline in 1980 and sudden increase in 1990. Our conjecture is that the jump might actually be in the mid-eighties.

4. The next step involves superimposing country-level patterns of product specialization on product space to examine for the “small-world” hypothesis.

4 Broader Implications: The Architecture of Growth

We believe that a network approach along the lines described has the potential to uncover “structural” properties of product specialization, comparative advantage and their relationship to economic growth that have not been examined in the literature. If we find support for the hypothesis that there is a unifying pattern in the way in which the products that a country possesses comparative advantage are related (such as a small world topology), then we will have made important progress in decoding the mystery of growth acceleration. This in turn will lead to important implications for industrial and development policy. For example, it could suggest ways in which a country could target or prioritize sectors of the economy given its current pattern of product specialization so as to be well-primed for a development trajectory.

The network-based methodology can unravel characteristics of the growth acceleration process that are difficult to both see and understand using conventional approaches. In this sense, the methodology itself can expand the scope of the questions that we will be able to ask. For example, the literature on complex networks proposes many ways in which the small world configuration (SW) may arise (short-cuts, hubs, modularity). This in turn suggests that a number of different policies/accidents could lead to this optimal configuration. A diversity of ways may lead to the possibility of growth acceleration. In this spirit, a logical next step in this research agenda would be to examine the diversity of ways in which the product specialization network of countries that experienced episodes of growth acceleration approximates the optimal topology.

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