January 2021 Volume 1

# Westminster School Economics Society Newsletter





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#### **Welcome Note:**

Welcome to the inaugural edition of the Economics newsletter.

This project is the brainchild of the Sixth Form Economics Society Committee. I applaud their energy, creativity, and determination.

Economics helps us understand the world we live in and provides us with the tools to tackle global issues. Economics is a broad church, encompassing politics, sociology, psychology, geography, and ethics. Different political ideologies lead to lively debate and contrasting solutions to problems from the environment to the education deficit created by the pandemic.

The pieces chosen by the editors, Harry Day, and Adi Raj, demonstrate the dynamism, scope, and relevance of economics.

I very much hope you enjoy the first edition.

It really is a first class read.

Mrs Newton
Head of Economics

#### A note from the Editors:

Thank you very much for choosing to read the first ever edition of the Westminster School Economics Newsletter. It has been a great pleasure to put together these fantastic submissions and we have an excellent line-up of articles from multiple Sixth Form economists on a variety of topics. We really hope you enjoy this edition, and we would welcome any feedback as we begin to prepare for future editions of the newsletter.

Adi Raj Harry Day

### Made in \*\*\*\*!

By Patra Urairat

Let's play a guessing game! Name the country. Here are some wonderful, wikipedia-esque facts about the country: she has a mammoth population of nearly 1.4 billion, is often recognised as "the world's factory" and has the name that completes the common phrase, 'Made in \*\*\*\*\*!'. Unless you've filled those asterisks in with something a tad more colourful (kindly keep it to yourself), the country being alluded to is China. Sometime between the late 20th century and today, China grappled her way into the limelight of the political and economic sphere. She remains the popular subject of global commentary, and means something to everyone.

Mao Zedong took hold of the anarchic country in 1949 after the Chinese Civil War, in what Americans have mournfully called China's 'fall to communism'. For more than twenty years afterwards, China and her economy dwindled; she maintained few contacts, engaged in limited trade and had no diplomatic ties. The United States, who was once one of China's main allies, immediately suspended all ties with China at the revulsion of its newly communist government. <sup>1</sup> Fast forward to 1979. China heralded a new era by adopting market-oriented reforms because of the challenges that arose in its centrally planned economy, whilst steadfastly maintaining a communist system of government. This atypical alignment of political and economic policy marked China's notorious new system, a country that practiced 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' pioneered by the controversial but immensely influential leader, Deng Xiao Ping. <sup>2</sup> Under Deng, China left behind cumbersome ideological restrictions, in favour of embracing openness, reform and practicality- a transition which no doubt caused national strife. Radical zealots of the Mao doctrine besieged and berated his ideas and political authority.



1People pose in front of a billboard featuring China's late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the country's "reform and opening up" policy on Monday. (Nicolas Asfouri/AFP/Getty Images)

Despite the ever-present controversy of Deng's rule, the 1979 reforms propelled massive economic growth. In the last four decades, China has experienced what the World Bank refers to as 'the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history,'3 as well as pivotal trends that mark the transition into a developed country (though the defining term "developed" does come with scepticism). For example, the standard of living of the Chinese people shifted drastically. Extreme poverty in China plummeted from 90% in 1981 to less than 2% in 2013. Income skyrocketed, as rapid growth enabled China to double its GDP roughly every 8 years. China's reliance on agriculture faded out, giving way to a dominant manufacturing and services sector, quickly shifting their focus sector (from primary to tertiary) to resemble that of a developed country's economy. Surely enough, the migration outwards and upwards followed suit, as people moved from urban to rural in droves and the doors of the Chinese economy rolled open. Deng embraced globalisation, and exports, once a small proportion of China's economy, grew to more than a third of China's GDP in the mid-2000s.

Alas, nothing truly worthwhile comes free. Chinese policymakers, as they should be, are keeping their guard up in anticipation of the precarious repercussions of such expeditious growth. Let us first consider the Gini coefficient. This refers to the most commonly used measure of inequality, where 0 is perfect equality and 1 is perfect inequality. Unfortunately, China has begun to draw nearer to the latter, with her coefficient having risen to nearly 0.5 as of 2018, from 0.3 in the early 1980s. Rampant inequality combined with the dualistic nature of its society (which is divided between the urban and rural sectors) may very well lead to civil unrest. Rising tensions and social unrest could shake the legitimacy not only of the Chinese regime, but also its economy - as demonstrated by the 2019 Hong Kong protests. Amongst the political turbulence, the Asian financial hub was pushed to the brink of a recession<sup>6</sup>; an authoritarian regime's worst nightmare.

Moreover, the issue of economic sustainability has become an increasingly pressing matter. As projected by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), China's real GDP growth has slowed significantly from 14.2% in 2007 to 6.6% in 2018 through the course of the country's maturation. In response to the aforementioned issues along with a number of others, (e.g environmental degradation, resource constraints and corruption) China has embraced a "new normal". Coined by



Benxi Steel Industries, Liaoning, People's Republic of China (Habich, 2013) https://chinaenv.colgate.edu/airpollution/air-pollution-in-china/

President Xi Jin Ping, the term refers to a "comprehensively deepening" growth model. Its three main features are: the accommodation of slower growth, continual elevation of the economy's structure, and the prioritisation of innovation as a driver of the economy (rather than input and investment). Such features are imperative for China to avoid hitting the 'middle-income trap', which refers to the phenomenon whereby rapidly growing economies stagnate at middle-income levels, failing to transition into a high-income economy. They are unable to compete with either low-wage LEDCs or skilled MEDCs; stuck in economic limbo.

Whilst it is recognisable that China's hand has left a significant imprint on the tapestry of economic history, it is evident that there is still a copious amount of residue that needs to be dealt with. There is a great deal to be learnt as we observe China's economic pilgrimage. Will their intensive fixation on innovation allow them to bend away from the 'middle-income trap'? Do the costly negative externalities of such extreme growth outweigh its benefits? And will China ever fully make the crossing from a planned economy to a market one?

As of today, China still remains an emerging superpower. The question of China's ascension is a comment not only on her past and current progress, but more notably, her future. The strides that she takes in hopes of finally evolving into a great power country are ploys that we wait on with anticipation. So let them come.

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## Why do pandemics increase economic inequality?

By Flora Prideaux

Throughout history, pandemics have accelerated the rate of socioeconomic change. From the Black Death, to Smallpox, to the Spanish Flu, humanity has been battered by nature. The devastating impact that these pandemics have on the poorest in society has long been recognised; in 1848, the German pathologist Rudolf Virchow described the link between poverty and vulnerability to outbreaks. But why do pandemics disproportionally affect the least wealthy and increase economic inequality?

Firstly, pandemics usually have the most severe and immediate effect for the poorest in society. During the Black Death, the hardest hit members of the populace were rural peasantry, labourers and artisans. Correspondingly, during the Spanish Flu, the poorest segment of the population was largely undernourished, in poor health, with overcrowding and poor hygiene. Additionally, in the post-war environment, public resources were scarce. These factors created conditions where the poorest were the hardest hit by the initial outbreak, both in mortality and unemployment; in Sweden, for every death by influenza came another four people to the poorhouse.

The Covid pandemic has had similar consequences for low-income workers. Unemployment has risen rapidly, due to job loss, both from infection but largely from lockdown and other containment measures. Additionally, the transition to home working was far easier for high-income workers, many of whom were able to continue their jobs from home because of greater accessibility to technology. Furthermore, service industries such as restaurants, shops, bars, which are often low-wage or part-time jobs held by minimum-wage workers, have been significantly more affected due to the pandemic, than other sectors of industry, such as business and finance, traditionally high-income jobs. Lower to middle income countries also have



Neighbours wearing masks to curb the spread of the new coronavirus wait in a line for a free meal at the Villa Maria del Triunfo district of in Lima, Peru, Wednesday, June 17, 2020. The food was donated by a wealthy family and distributed to a poverty-stricken area of the capital. (AP Photo/Rodrigo Abd) Photograph: Rodrigo Abd/AP

generally weaker healthcare systems and a lower capability to handle surges in cases, so are often more drastically affected when an outbreak starts.

Secondly, pandemics drive changes in consumer spending which help to increase socioeconomic inequality. During the Black Death, the immediate affect due to the scarcity of labour and overall economic decline was a temporary increase in economic equality, triggering a move from a feudal system to a wage-based economy. However, in the long term this served to increase wealth

inequality. Because the peasantry now had cash, they spent this new money in towns. This new money helped to fuel the emergence of merchant entrepreneurs, who combined trade in goods with production, in a way only available to those with capital, quickly gaining trade domination, creating a further wealth divide for the working class and the new richer middle class.

The Spanish Flu had very different characteristics to than the black death; a much lower mortality rate, around 2.5-5%, but a very high infection rate, around a third of the global population. Because of the high infection rate many people who worked in manual labour, the majority of the poorest people, became sick and were unable to work, causing a significant loss in income. In contrast, the wealthier, who remained fairly unscathed by the virus, still had large amounts of money to spend. When the pandemic was over, the wealthy elites' mentality changed to a "carpe diem" outlook, spending their money on luxuries, Great Gatsby style; the roaring 20s. This only served to further socioeconomic inequality for the poorest people, who couldn't afford the same opulent lifestyle.



Working from Home- The new normal? Source: Shutterstock

Covid-19 has triggered a move to technology-based products, accelerating the digital transformation of production, commerce and work. But the increased automation and teleworking has further tilted the market against low-skill, low-income workers. A technology inequality is also rapidly appearing, in high-income families, education and work can continue as normal, but for lower-income families, the lack of technology available has meant that they have lost out on work and education. On a global scale, globalisation was allowing emerging economies to begin to narrow the income gap with advanced ones, but the pandemic could disrupt this economic convergence by provoking nationalist trade responses and the reshoring of production.

So, pandemics create sudden and drastic change in the way we work, and the nature of pandemics hit the poorest in society hardest, creating an environment where in this new rapidly changing milieu they can't keep up. This is a trend that is only likely to continue, and will exacerbate other social tensions such as racial and gender inequality, which run hand in hand with socioeconomic inequity. As we move out of this pandemic, we should be aware of the socioeconomic inequality created, and how in the future it could fuel extremist politics and social unrest.

## A Glimpse into the Post-Pandemic World

By Anya Saund

Since the Cold War, the pandemic is the single most universal crisis that has faced us in recent times after 9/11 and the financial crash of 2008. However, no change has been as ubiquitous as the incidence of the virus, with people worldwide experiencing the same changes to their individual lives and their society. Chasing constant economic growth, we have been accelerating and elevating our standard of living to an unprecedented level, devoid of the awareness of risks, which we are consequentially taking on.

In the past decades we have experienced massive geopolitical shocks, such as 9/11, economic shocks, such as 2008, but never have we experienced as extensive a health shock. Our rapid expansion has left us exposed, with the structure of living currently upholding us, vulnerable to crash at any time. Living in a world of never-ending development is also living in a world of continual risk. Assuming that nature is eternally yielding, and has a fondness for human life is dangerous as it is actually neutral and can have the potential to wipe out life on Earth.

Take our increasing demands of food consumption as an example, many countries have found a massive increase in meat consumption, leading to the rearing of more farm animals, which increases greenhouse gas emissions. The supposed solution is factory farming, with genetic engineering favouring the more desired animals, and thus the dismissal of natural selection. This provides another platform for a global virus to break out, being transmitted from animals to humans, and this is a danger we must plan for; meaning the next pandemic should be the last one.

A global crisis of such magnitude has not occurred since the Great Depression; despite there have being some national crises such as the Latin American Debt crisis in the 80s as well as 2008. The only solution seen for these are low-interest rates, which affect assets, mostly, benefitting the owners of these assets, the rich. In the Coronavirus pandemic, a national lockdown is a sign of clear failure, this is evident if the only solution is devastating the economy. Taiwan was a country which avoided this as President Tsai Ing-wen, isolated the population 1% at a time and thus achieved the best possible outcome; having lowest decline in economic growth in the world (-0.6% whereas the UK's was -22% according to Our World In Data). This is a lesson, which must be learnt by the West, for them to withstand their arrogance and inactivity, and be pro-active, following the East.

Taiwan, with a population of 24 million people only had 8 COVID-19 deaths. New York State alone, with a population of 19 million people, had 34,000 deaths. We know that strategies implemented by the East have been far more effective, with the exception of Germany. This is reflected in the statistics where the UK and US have handled it the worst by far. The medical



3Taiwan celebrates a third week of zero cases of COVID-19 infection on April 17. David Chang/EPA

experts all wanted to go through a lockdown in the west but most were counterproductive in developing countries. The three-week lockdown in India resulted in more deaths by malnutrition than by COVID-19. We need not just medical experts but economists; everyone globally collaborating to find the right answer. In the Western world, we need to learn from countries like Taiwan and better ourselves.

Despite citizens globally being affected by the virus in the same terrible way, the net effect of COVID- 19 has widened the inequality gap. Internationally debt is rising, with prosperous countries such as the US and UK doing what it takes to mitigate the economic effects of the virus but poorer countries, such as in Latin America only doing what they can afford. Likewise, multinational corporations with diversified options are prospering with Amazon's earnings soaring as their sales triple during the pandemic, compared to smaller local firms who are struggling with the lack of demand. On a more microscopic scale, the same things apply, with people who can work online faring well compared to workers in hospitality who are struggling. Thousands have become unemployed, at no fault of their own and this is where the government must employ robust social protection measures. We need to look towards countries like Denmark, where there is a successful combination of the free market and social protection, a recipe easy to follow but difficult to achieve.



4Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro puts on a mask during a March news conference about the coronavirus pandemic. (AP Photo/Andre Borges)

With uncertainty and social agitation, trust in leaders, elites and governments has deteriorated. However, the importance of science has been elevated with one of Boris Johnson's catchphrases being "guided by the science", so will we come out of the pandemic with a newfound respect for science? The measuring scales have to be very carefully balanced in order to avoid trust for scientific advisers completely collapsing. Trump and Bolsonaro portray this extreme as they ignore advice such as wearing facemasks. A great class divide has to also be factored into this lack of trust; this

resentment between the powerful elites and the working-class people. Urban versus rural, people who work in the service economy versus people in the material economy. How do we convey ideas to people who have differing political views and social values? How do we show empathy and connect these two worlds?

Since World War Two, the globalised and internationally interlinked world we have built is astounding and there has been unprecedented prosperity for many. Poverty reductions have been achieved 5 years before the target set by the UN agreement. It is important to stabilise the everchanging political climate to continue this progression. Economic growth in the East, such as in China and India needs to be integrated into the world economy as letting them soar to unreached heights may be risky. If there is a cold war between China and the US then we can wave goodbye to our open trading and open technological concepts and our extraordinary world will be unravelled, stunting our future growth. However, this increased global co-operation has already been seen with Britain supplying the Oxford-AstraZeneca vaccine to Europe at no profit.

What we have learnt from this pandemic is that to deal with future crises, such as global warming there needs to be a unified global effort. I would like to see a bargain where the US agrees to abandon some of its hypocrisy when accusing China of trade crimes and where China adopts more integrationist views: we need incremental compromises, which contribute to progress. There needs to be hope that we will achieve this. Achieving building of perfect world peace and a new international system is unreasonable but we could achieve more international cooperation and more compromise and eventually this will lead to the advancement of the international system.

## The Haitian economy, 10 years on

By Purav Menon

Even before being struck by a horrifically devastating earthquake on January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Haiti was already the poorest country in the entirety of the Western Hemisphere. Copious amounts of historical foreign debt and autocratic regimes meant the country was plagued with political instability throughout most of the 20th century, particularly under the Duvalier dynasty between 1956 and 1968, which was characterised by state-sanctioned violence, corruption, and economic stagnation, coupled with numerous natural disasters and coups.

The 2010 earthquake was catastrophic, killing between 160,000 to 316,000 people, and an estimated 300,000 buildings across the country were destroyed. The death toll from the disaster was only exacerbated by Haiti's economic history, as well as the subsequent cholera outbreak. The quake also effectively destroyed what was left of the economy; the country's GDP fell 8%, (from US\$12.2 billion to \$11.2 billion), and one in five jobs were lost. The country's economy largely depended on agriculture and trade, especially with the US, as well as tourism; the earthquake's damaging effects caused all of these to reduce drastically.



People walk in downtown Port-au-Prince on December 20, 2019. The country's infrastructure remains in dire need of repair. (CHANDAN KHANNA/AFP via Getty Images)

Though massive amounts of foreign aid were pledged to help Haiti's recovery following the earthquakes, things were still not going well six months later. A CNN report reported that "it looks like the quake happened yesterday". One year after the quake, a damning Oxfam report attributed relief and recovery being at a standstill due to government inaction and indecision, and that less than half of pledged humanitarian aid money was actually being funnelled into helping the country. Through these years, Haiti continued to be pounded with hurricane after flood after drought.

Even 10 years on, there are parts across Haiti's capital Port-au-Prince which still have not been rebuilt, for example, the National Palace. Haitian President Jovenel Moïse publicly acknowledged in January 2020 how little Haiti had moved forward, saying "Ten years on, we still lack the basic infrastructure and services to support the people of our country."

Economically, the past six years has seen a staggering increase in the rate of Haitian inflation, from 3.94% in 2014 to 22.4% in 2020, according to a study from World Bank, and fuel shortages have inhibited the country's industry. In addition to this, the past two years has seen Haiti in political crisis, over dissatisfaction with the government and its failure to deal with widespread corruption. Protests were sparked by a large hike in fuel prices, and an official report showing that past administrations had waste millions of dollars that had been allocated to crucial infrastructure projects; in some cases, this meant paying for new roads and buildings that went unbuilt.



A boy flees from tear gas during clashes with Haitian police in Port-au-Prince on February 15, 2019. (CHANDAN KHANNA/AFP via Getty Images)

It is clear that in 2020 the recovery project for Haiti does not command anywhere near the same interest that it did in 2010, a drop in compassion that is measurable: in 2019, a United Nations plan for humanitarian aid to Haiti only raised a third of the funding it needed. The UN predicted in January 2020 that, by March, forty percent of Haitians would face food insecurity, and that for least 1 in 10, food insecurity would reach "emergency levels." Haiti was also named one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change. The position that Haiti is in has led to mass amounts of emigration, especially to America. It is clear that another earthquake would be completely damaging to every aspect of the country.

However, there are some positives in the ten-year post-earthquake period to be noted. Haiti's GDP has been increasing in recent years. The country's medical system also widened in the long-term aftermath. This no doubt helped their Covid-19 response earlier this year, which was remarkably effective, resulting in only 232 deaths for a population of 11 million. UNICEF reported that no new cholera cases were reported since February 2019.

Though silver linings are to be observed, it is clear that Haiti still has a long way to go. The government's coronavirus response is likely to have won over some critics, but public sentiment in the country is still firmly against the government. The next steps for the government are to learn from the mistakes made in 2010 and fully recover the country, which means attempting to eliminate corruption, rebuild infrastructure, and prepare the country for another natural disaster, which would massively cripple it. But this is no easy task, and it remains to be seen how Moïse handles this in the next few years.

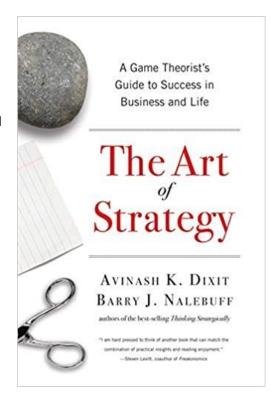
## Book Review: 'The Art of Strategy' by Avinash K. Dixit and Barry J. Nalebuff

By Melinda Zhu

Although not strictly an 'economics book', in the sense that this book covers topics concerning not only economists but everyone, perhaps this is a text on the periphery of what may be considered a 'serious economics book' review.

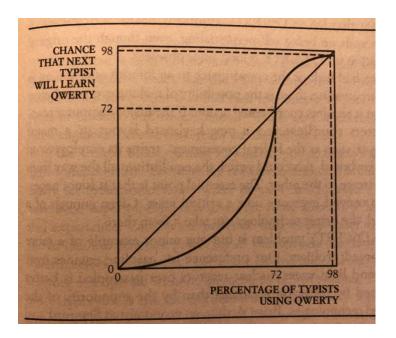
Nonetheless, that is where the value of the book lies – it provides insight into economic organisation, the logic behind tacit cooperation, the optimal bidding strategy at an auction – alongside providing practical advice about decisions one might encounter through life, which is filled with games of strategy, as the authors frequently point out in their examples, that are accessible vehicles to understanding the underlying theory.

The concepts central to game theory; of actions and outcomes being interdependent, Nash equilibria, zero-sum games, unstable outcomes - are surprisingly prevalent in a non-business context. A particularly surprising example is taken from a former American primetime program called 'Life: The Game.' Six pairs of strangers were required to find the other half of their pair in New York, starting from



different locations, and were given no other hints apart from the fact that their other half would be trying to find them in similar conditions. Astonishingly, all six pairs were successful, without having met before or communicated in any explicit way - half met in front of the Empire State Building, the other in Times Square, both at noon. This was possible because both locations were prominent in terms of cultural and social significance. Noon was the natural time, being halfway through the day. These common 'focal points' guided them together.

Game theory also points out that seemingly trivial or even arbitrary events and actions can have significant long-term consequences. Consider the QWERTY keyboard – the now standard keyboard letter arrangement, originally designed to prevent typewriters jamming, by positioning frequently used keys as far apart as possible. Although no longer relevant to today's technology, other keyboards, for example the DSK (Dvorak Simplified Keyboard patented in 1936, that reduced the distance your fingers need to travel significantly which should increase efficiency), have not become the norm, on account of the number of people who are already accustomed to using the QWERTY arrangement, which is the industrial standard. In the graph below from the book, it depicts a situation of 72% of typists using QWERTY, which means the chance a new typist learns QWERTY is 72%. As QWERTY prevalence increases, so does its dominance through the bandwagon effect, and it becomes increasingly difficult to introduce any new standard unless the percentage of typists using QWERTY falls below 72%, at which point a new equilibrium has a chance of being established. Historic results are hard to overcome due to the effects of inertia, or status quo bias. The cost, or inconvenience, is greatest to those who make the change first.



The book is filled with many examples and absorbing discussions of their significance, which can be pragmatically applied to our current world. The pandemic has had widespread behavioural impacts, some of which have led to positive shifts in finding a new equilibrium, which otherwise may not have occurred so soon. Take for example, the extent to which people were forced to work at home, due to government guidance and the risk of virus transmission in the conventional office setting. There have been inconveniences, from unreliable Wi-Fi, to a lack of hardware such as printers, or efficient computers, but consider the welfare gained from not having to commute daily, and the subsequent effect of reduced traffic and associated emissions. Workers have more autonomy at home, and more flexible working hours. If a working from home culture becomes more widespread, creating a new equilibrium, people may experience a higher quality of day-to-day life. This simultaneous change of such a scale is what is necessary to shift an equilibrium, from a sub-optimal equilibrium to a better one; the circumstances created by the pandemic might be able to do what was not possible with the QWERTY keyboard.

This book provides insights that encourage us to look beyond the immediate, and the immediately obvious, which is more important now than ever. It is a lesson from the theory and from the past that, as we are presented with what habits to keep and what to let go of in this new year, we need to think forward then reason back, in order to choose solutions that are best for us not only now, but in the long-term too.

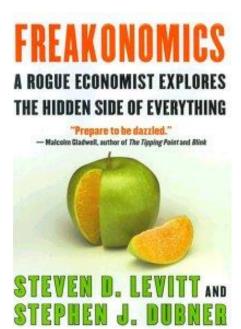
## Book Review: Freakonomics by Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner

#### Aditya Raj

What do schoolteachers and sumo wrestlers have in common? How is the KKK like a group of real estate agents? Why do drug dealers still live with their moms?

Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner's international bestseller, Freakonomics, answers these questions, and others like them, by taking a non-conventional approach to economic principles in everyday life in six witty, engaging, and easy to follow chapters. The book explores four key economic concepts: incentives, informational asymmetry, conventional wisdom, and correlation vs causation, and applies these to various scenarios.

Economics is, at its core, driven by incentives – how people fulfil their wants and desires, especially when there are also others trying to do so. It shows that incentives can have a dark side, particularly when moral and economic incentives are pitted against each other, leading to cheating and dishonesty.



Informational asymmetry deals with the study of decisions in transactions where one party has more and/or better information than the other, creating an imbalance of power. Although this force has been significantly weakened by the internet and the democratisation of information, it continues to have adverse effects on areas like property sales to this day.

Conventional wisdom refers to the ideas and beliefs generally accepted by experts and the public about a certain issue. Freakonomics tells us never to blindly trust conventional wisdom, even if it seems intuitive to do so. An example of this is the fall in violent crime in the USA in the late 1990s — while at the time, the cited reasons for this included better policing and prisons, and the booming economy, the real reason for this fall in crime was the legalisation of abortion in 1973. The book shows that certain phenomena can have more distant and indirect causes than what initially meets the eye.

The last key theme that the book explores is that of correlation vs causation: through investigating the question of what makes a perfect parent, and to what extent the things parents do actually affect a child's success, the book shows that a correlation between two factors does not necessarily mean that one caused another to occur. By taking such a non-conventional approach to economics, Freakonomics will redefine your perspectives on the world – it shows us that if morality represents how we would like the world to work, economics represents the way that it actually works.

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### Closing Note:

We very much hope that you enjoyed the inaugural edition of the Westminster School Economics Newsletter. We aim to be releasing a new edition of the newsletter every half term, so please do feel free to submit an article for future editions (you do not necessarily need to do Economics A-Level to submit an article). To send submissions, please email Aditya.raj@westminster.org.uk and Harry.day@westminster.org.uk.

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