Center for the Study of Economic Liberty
at Arizona State University

Working Paper

No. 2016-01 March 8, 2016

A 21ST CENTURY PROSPERITY DISTRICT IN ARIZONA: WHAT INTERNATIONAL EXPERIMENTS CAN TEACH US

BY WILLIAM J. BOYES
Founding Director, Center for the Study of Economic Liberty
Emeritus Professor of Economics, Arizona State University

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The purpose of this paper is to explore the potential of establishing a prosperity district in Arizona. A Prosperity District refers to an area or region where economic freedom is maximized.
- Studies show that the more economic freedom in a region or nation, the faster is economic growth in that region or nation.
- When an entire country adopts the economic freedoms of a prosperity district, economic growth of that country has exploded; GDP per capita has grown at considerably higher rates than comparable countries who had not adopted the economic freedoms.
- The average growth rate in developed countries following establishment of a large degree of economic freedom exceeds 8 percent over a long period of time, far above comparable countries who have significantly less economic freedom.
- Establishment of a prosperity district in Arizona should lead to superior economic performance, leading to increased incomes, jobs, and opportunities. The district provides a bridge to move from current performance to the fast growth of the countries discussed here.

Published by the Center for the Study of Economic Liberty at Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona 85287 | (480) 965-1131 | economiclibertyasu.com

INTRODUCTION

According to a large body of academic research[1] societies with greater economic freedom have enjoyed much more rapid economic growth than societies with lesser economic freedom and thus have achieved significant advances in prosperity and well-being. The same body of work has also found rapid and immediate take-offs in economic growth rates when countries become freer. The question asked here is whether the establishment of an economically free district in a state in the United States would lead to accelerated economic growth in that state.

We are limited in examining this question by the fact that no state in the United States has established an economically free district. Research has been carried out on the impact of one policy change, such as tax cuts or right to work laws, on the economies of individual states, but none has been done on the impact of an economically free district within a state.[2] We examine the impact of a significant increase of economic freedom by carrying out case studies of a few countries who became economically free for significant periods of time. We do not claim that these cases are directly applicable to an individual state but instead that they give us parameters of the potential impact of the creation of an economically free district in an individual state.

The comparison areas and/or countries used as models of what could happen in a prosperity district in Arizona if all conditions of free enterprise were met include Hong Kong, Singapore, Dubai, Ireland, and New Zealand. In all of these cases, governments created an environment of no or low taxes, no or low regulations, and an open economy. The length of time each country enjoyed economic freedom ranges from 20 to 70 years.

In every case, following a period of economic freedom, a great deal of economic success occurred. For instance, economic growth rates averaged about 8 percent per year for these countries during their periods of greatest freedom. Meanwhile, the average growth rate in comparable countries for the same periods was far less than 3 percent.[3]

DUBAI[4]

Dubai enjoys the world's most successful Prosperity Districts. They have transformed the local economy and are populated by blue-chip companies from across the globe.

Dubai's economy has been kept open and free. Government control and regulation of private sector activities has been kept to a minimum. There are no direct taxes on corporate profits or personal income (except for a flat 55% rate for oil companies and a 20% rate on net profits of foreign banks within Dubai). Customs duties are low at 4% with many exemptions, 100% repatriation of capital and profits is permitted, there are no foreign exchange controls, trade quotas or barriers and a stable exchange rate exists between the US Dollar and the UAE Dirham (US$1.00=AED3.678).

In recent years, the government set up industry-specific free zones throughout the city. Dubai Technology, Electronic Commerce and Media Free Zone is one such enclave whose members include IT firms such as EMC Corporation, Oracle Corporation, Microsoft, Sage Software and IBM, and media organizations such as MBC, CNN, Reuters and AP. There are others. These Enterprise Zones in Dubai and the UAE are isolated lands, with a special tax, customs and imports regime and governed by their own framework of regulations (with the exception of UAE Criminal Law). The Free trade zones in UAE are exempted from:

- 100% foreign ownership of the enterprise
- 100% import and export tax exemptions
- 100% repatriation of capital and profits
- Corporate tax exemptions for up to 50 years
- No personal income taxes
- Assistance with labor recruitment, and additional support services, such as sponsorship and housing.[5]

Each Enterprise Zone is designed around one or more business industry categories and only offers licenses to companies within the designated category. An independent Free Zone Authority (FZA) governs each free zone, and is the agency responsible for issuing FTZ operating licenses and assisting companies with establishing their business in the FTZ.

Average GDP growth over 2000 to 2006 in the UAE was about 8.4 percent—the highest in the Gulf Cooperation Council, which averaged 6.5 percent. In 2013 and 2014 GDP per capita was $66,300 (2013 est.) and $60,800 (2012 est.), respectively, putting UAE as 13 highest in the world.

The UAE growth rate in per capita GDP is shown below. Although there is variation from year to year, the average rate of growth is about 6 percent per year. The crash in the 1980s due to oil and financial debacles was overcome with the prosperity district growth. Note how the per capita GDP growth line lies above zero from the 1990s on except for one year.

THE OTHER CASES

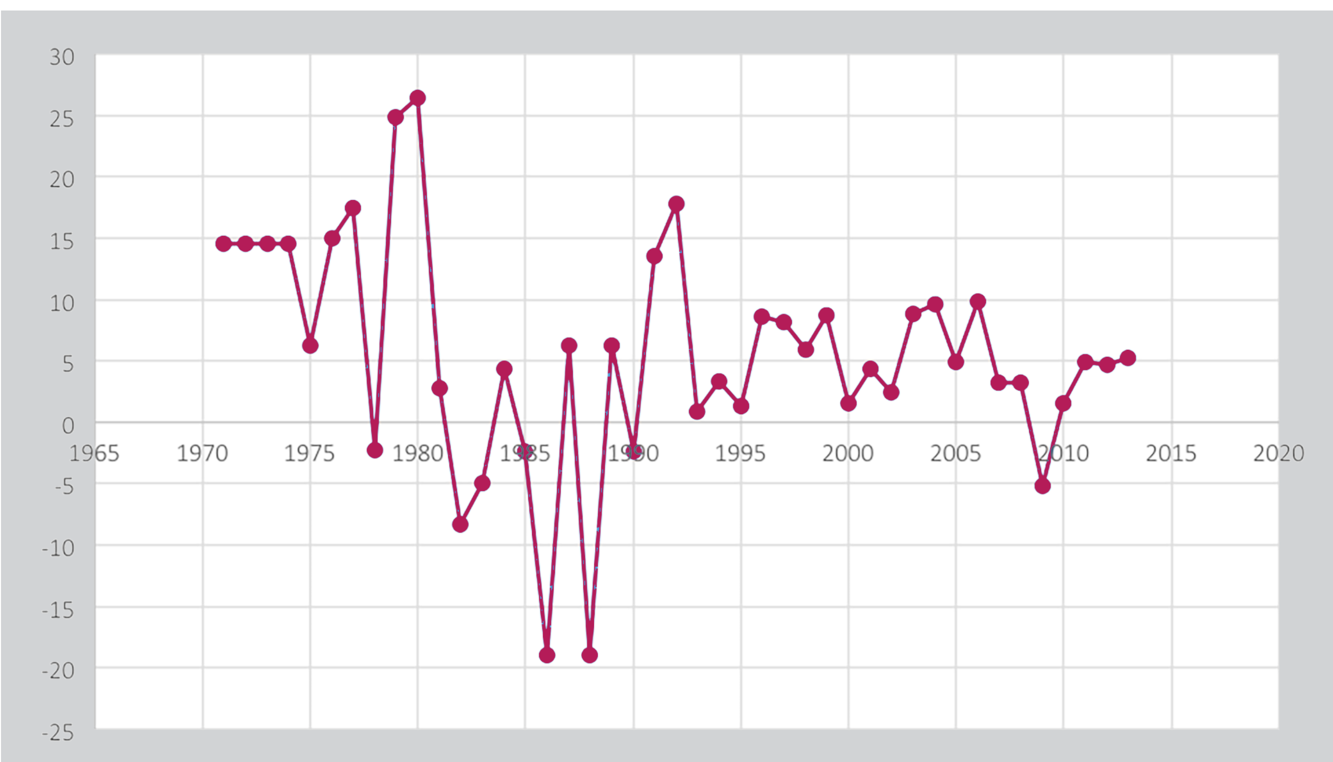
Hong Kong, Singapore, Ireland and New Zealand created free enterprise countries rather than a free enterprise zone. Each experienced substantial economic growth following the implementation of a economic freedom.

HONG KONG

Despite having virtually no natural resources, a strategic location and excellent harbor led the British to acquire Hong Kong in the early nineteenth century for the primary purpose of trading. The colonial government had a policy of benign neglect in the economy although it the retained control of land. It granted limited leases, and used land sales to influence land prices so as to improve the competitiveness of manufacturers.

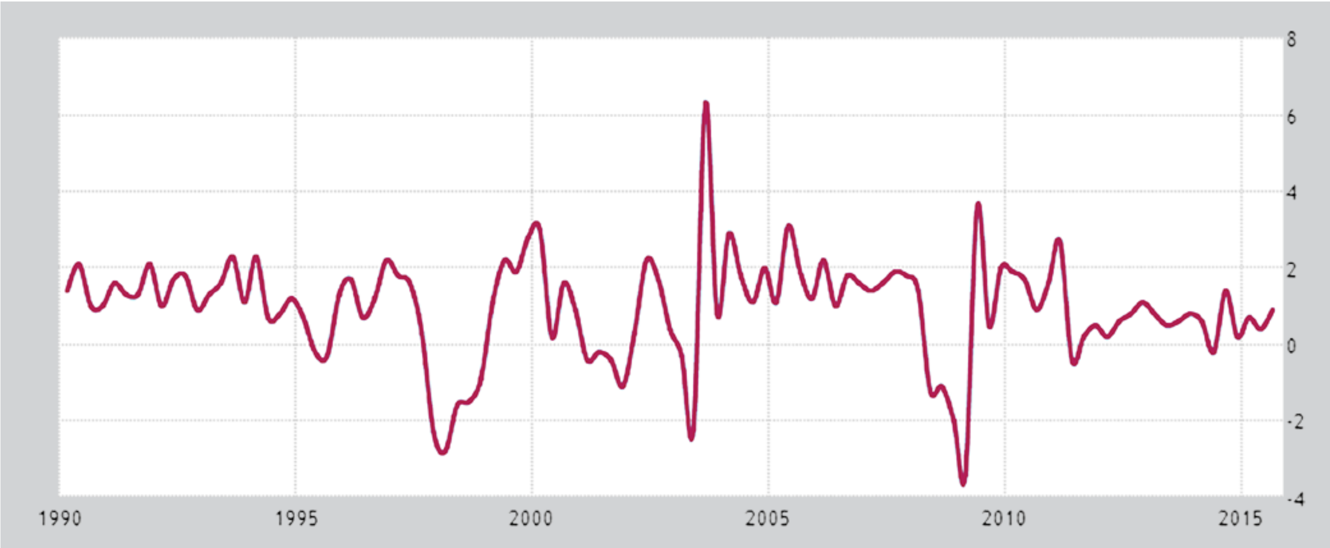
Other than this narrow involvement in the private economy, Hong Kong's government has long supported the predominance of the private sector and had virtually

FIGURE 1
Per Capita GDP Growth Rate UAE



Source: Calculated by the Author using data from various sources.

FIGURE 2
Hong Kong GDP Growth Rate



Source: www.tradingeconomics.com, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong. Data are in 2014 US dollars.

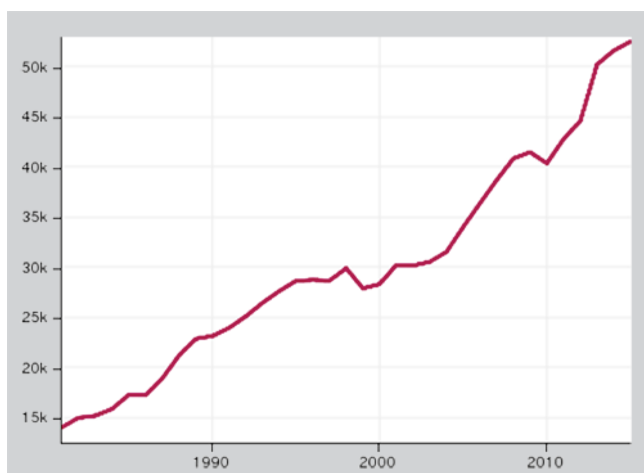
no restrictions on capital, labor or enterprise. There are no official restrictions on foreign ownership, and a company can be started by almost anyone in a matter of days by paying a small registration fee to the Company Registry. There are also no specific incentives like tax concessions to attract foreign investors and the government does not own or subsidize any industries.

Hong Kong has the simplest income tax structure and the lowest tax rates of any industrial economy. There are no general tariffs on imports and exports and there are no exchange controls, no sales taxes, and no taxes on capitals gains and corporate capital. Profits are taxed at a flat rate of 15%.

In the period from 1962 until the onset of the oil crisis in 1973, the average economic growth rate was 6.5% per year. From 1976 to 1996 GDP grew at an average of 5.6% per year. There were negative shocks in 1967-68 as a result of local disturbances from the onset of the Cultural Revolution in the PRC, and again in 1973 to 1975 from the global oil crisis. In the early 1980s there was another negative shock related to politics, as the terms of Hong Kong's return to PRC control in 1997 were formalized. But the economy has averaged about 6 percent growth since its founding as shown in Figure 2. In the Figure, notice how the growth line is above the "0" rate of growth axis.

GDP Per Capita is 18th highest in the world, \$55,100 (2014 est.), \$53,800 (2013 est.) and \$52,200 (2012 est.). GDP growth rates have been as high as 7 percent and have fallen to almost negative 4 percent in 2009.

FIGURE 3
Hong Kong GDP per Capita (PPP)



Source: https://www.quandl.com/collections/hong-kong/hong-kong-economy-data.

SINGAPORE

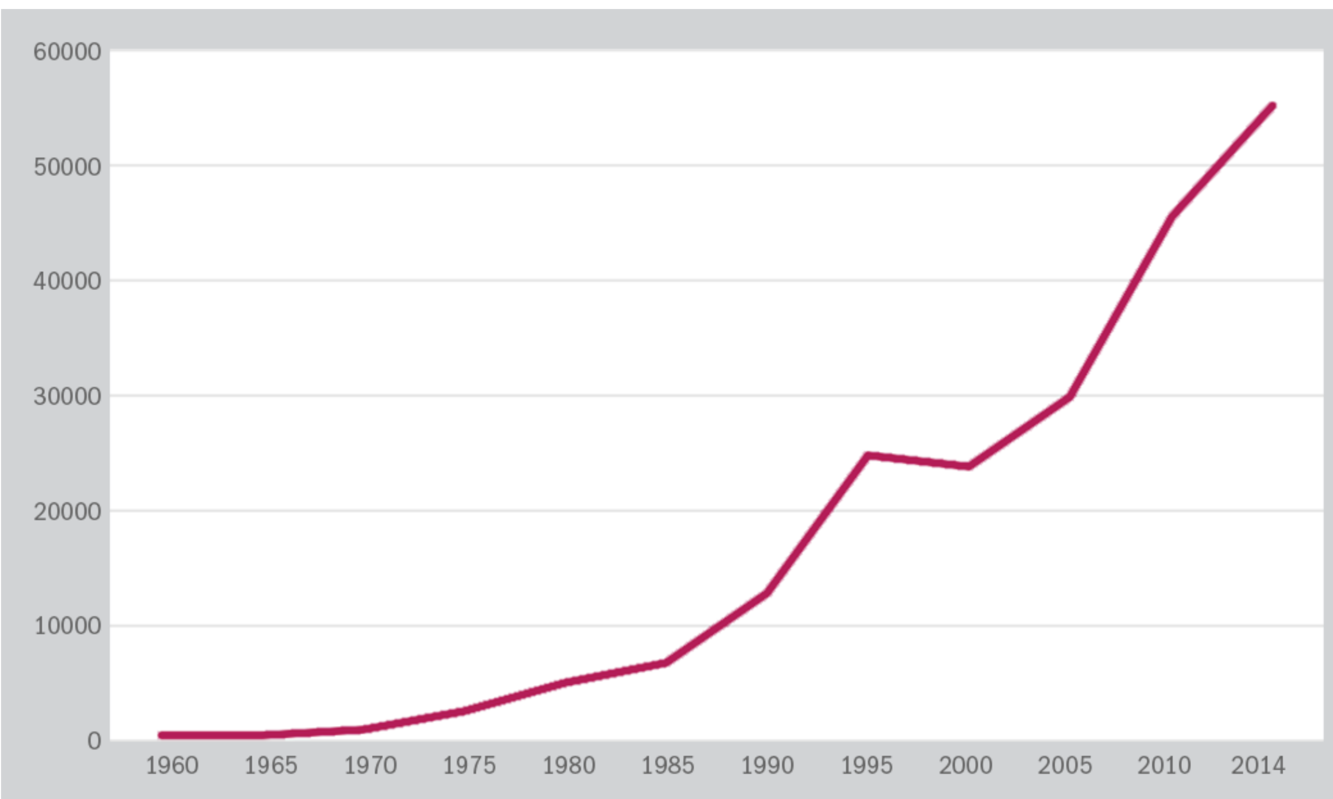
Singapore is at the mouth of the Malacca Strait, through which perhaps 40% of world maritime trade passes. It was an important trading post in the 14th century, and again in the 19th century, when British diplomat Sir Stamford Raffles founded the modern city. When it started life as an independent, separate country in 1965, Singapore's prospects did not look good. Tiny and underdeveloped, it had no natural resources and a population of relatively recent immigrants with little shared history. 50 years ago, the Singapore was an undeveloped country with a GDP per capita of less than US $320. Today its GDP per capita has risen to US $60,000, making it the sixth highest in the world.

Hong Kong and Singapore had quite different experiences in developing their free enterprise economies. Since 1959 when Singapore was granted self-governance, Lee Kuan Yew, the country's former prime minister relied on creating an administrative state. Rolling five-years plans were drafted to coordinate the development of infrastructure to suit the needs of foreign investors; in addition, the Singapore government involved itself in direct production through multi-billion dollar corporations like Singapore International Airlines (SIA), PSA, and Singapore Telecommunications (SingTel). In 2001, Singapore's Government-Linked Companies (GLCs) accounted for 12.9% of GDP.

Singapore's government, while exercising a heavy hand on pension savings and labor market policies, has overall remained quite free and open to trade and competition.

GDP growth in Singapore averaged 6.83 percent from 1976 until 2015, reaching an all time high of 18.90 percent in the second quarter of 2010 and a record low of -8.80 percent in the first quarter of 2009. From 2000 to 2010, GDP nearly doubled. Real GDP per capita

FIGURE 4
Singapore per Capita GDP



Source: https://www.google.com/publicdata/explore?ds=d5bncppjof8f9_&met_y=ny_gdp_pcap_cd&idim=country:SGP:HKG&hl=en&dl=en.

also rose at a compounded rate of nearly 12% per year. Singapore's annual GDP growth rate from the 1960s to the 1990s averaged about 8%, more than double of the 3.3% average of the OECD growth rate and more than three times the US growth rate.

The pictures of per capita growth of a country by itself does not provide much information. However when comparing Hong Kong and Singapore to other nations, these growth rates, sustained over at least a 30-year period, are simply amazing. While the average resident of a non-Asian country in 1990 was 72 percent richer than his parents were in 1960, the corresponding figure for the average Korean is no less than 638 percent.

IRELAND

During the last 15 years, Ireland has become the second wealthiest member of the European Union (EU). Ireland's contrast with the rest of the EU is stark. In the EU, unemployment is close to 10 percent. The tax burden across the EU is heavy. The labor market is massively regulated, and social mobility is low. In Ireland, the unemployment rate is a third of what it was only a few years ago. Foreign companies stand in line to move in; and to meet the demand for labor, companies as well as the authorities encourage immigration.

Just 30 years ago the Irish economic situation was dire. The economy had ground to a standstill, and the country's unemployment rate was close to 20 percent. In 1987, the average income in Ireland was only 63 percent of Great Britain and it was poorer than Spain and barely above the incomes enjoyed in Portugal and Greece.

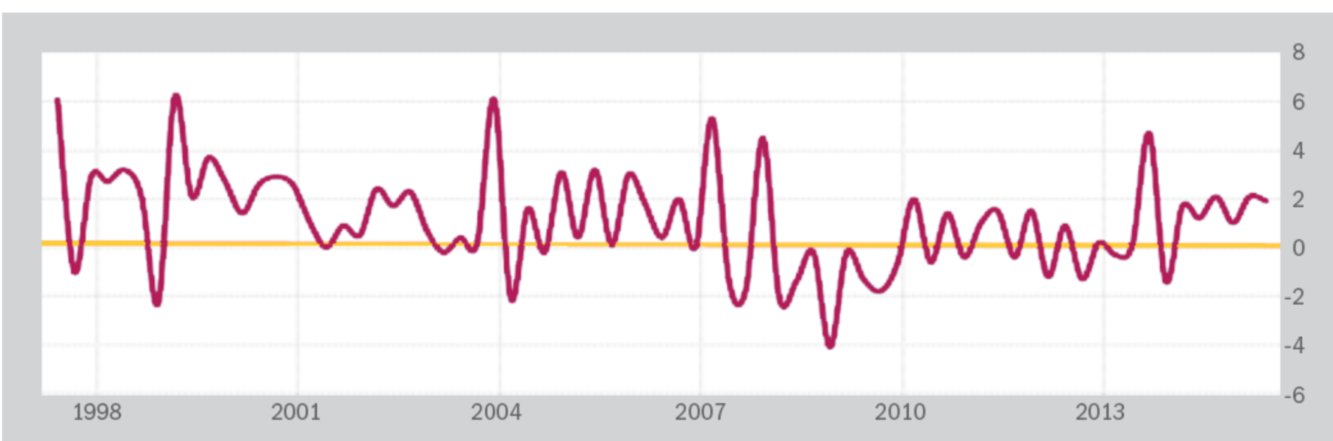
1987 marked the bottom of a long recession; Charles Haughey took over as prime minister and sought to rebuild the economic system from scratch. The public sector was trimmed. The government cut taxes for corporations and working citizens and reduced the number and complexity of regulations. Publicly owned banks were privatized and the economy was opened to foreign business. The corporate income tax was reduced to 12.5 percent for both foreign and domestic corporations.

Approximately 40,000 people immigrate annually, while only half as many leave the country. From a rate of 15 percent in 1993, Ireland's unemployment rate by 2000 had fallen to less than 4 percent.

Ireland's overall growth is three times as high as Western Europe as a whole. GDP per capita was $51,000 in 2014, $48,700 in 2013 and $48,100 in 2012 (using 2014 US dollars).

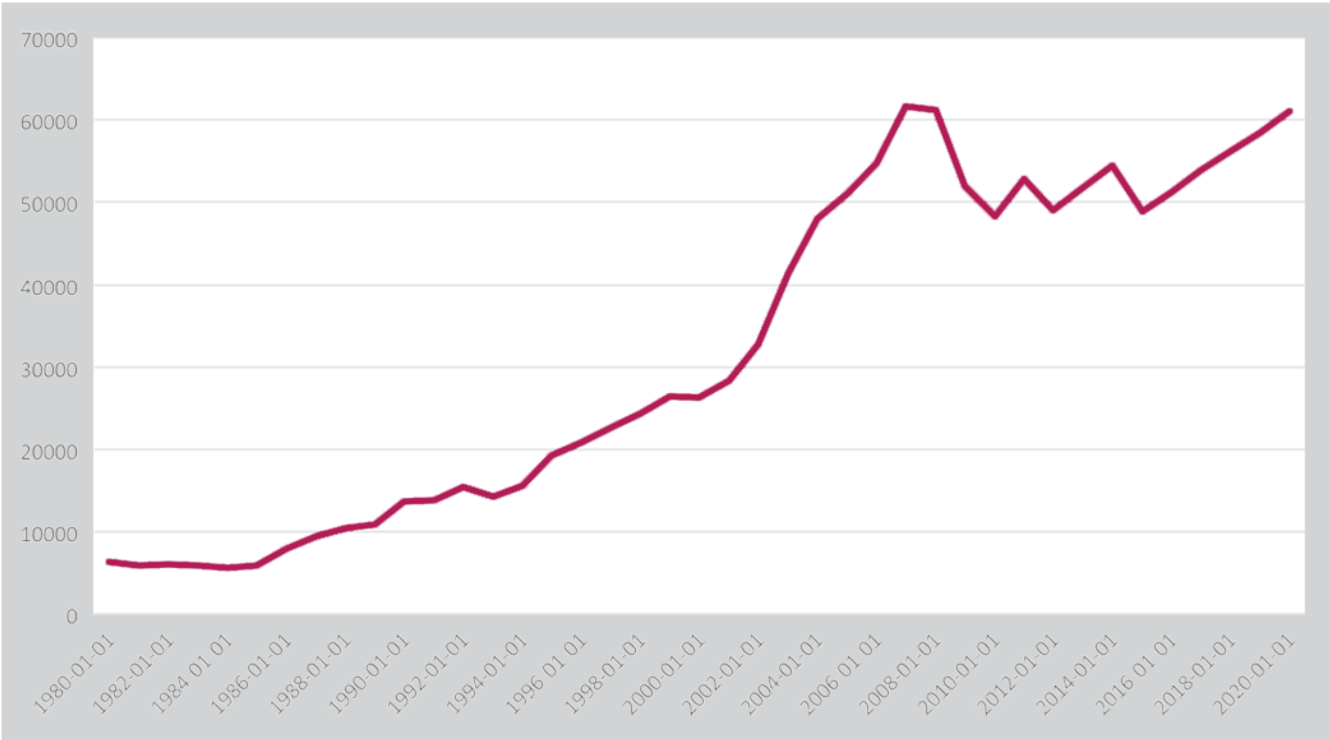
Ireland's economic growth has exceeded the OECD even during the lower growth periods of 2004-2013.

FIGURE 5
Ireland GDP Growth Rate



Source: www.tradingeconomics.com, Central Statistics Office Ireland.

FIGURE 6
Ireland GDP per Capita



Source: https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=350#.

(Note Ireland's growth rate relative to the zero growth line. Except for the 2008-10 period of world recession, Ireland has positive growth). Between 2000 and 2007 Ireland's growth rate was more than double the Euro area's.

In Figure 6, you can see how Ireland's per capita growth took off in the late 1990s. This was Ireland's period of increasing economic freedom.

When Ireland joined the EEC in 1973, GDP per capita was 64.2% of the average. It remained well below

TABLE 1
Ireland GDP by Year

Year	GDP
2010	47,420
2011	52,022
2012	47,983
2013	50,294
2014	53,579

Source: Calculated by the Author using data from various sources.

the average until the mid-nineties. By 2007 Ireland's GDP had reached a high of 148% in 2007 before dropping back to 133% in 2008 and 128% in 2009. In the following years Ireland's GDP per capita rose except for 2012, as shown in Table 1.

Ireland's growth rate in 2014-2015 was near 7% per year.

NEW ZEALAND[6]

In the late 1930s, New Zealand became a `cradle-to-grave' welfare system. It erected protective trade barriers and price, wage and capital controls in an attempt to insulate itself from changes in the world economy. By the early 1980s, almost all prices, interest rates, rents, wages, and dividends were controlled by government. Among the numerous regulations, people were required to secure exchange control approval to subscribe to a foreign journal, a doctor's prescription to buy margarine, and only two sorts of refrigerators were available (both made by the same manufacturer and to the same specifications).

Then, in the late 1980s, New Zealand went through a remarkable transformation[7] from one of the most regulated economies in the OECD to one of the freest. Since, New Zealand has ranked among the freest countries in the world; in 2015, the Fraser Institute's Economic Freedom of the World report ranks New Zealand third out of 103 countries.

After growing at half the average OECD rate between 1950 and 1984, New Zealand's economy went into virtual hibernation during the reform years of 1985 to 1992. But in 1993, the growth rate rose to 5.6 percent, and in 1994 it was 6.2 percent, which were the fastest annual growth rates in the OECD at the time. New Zealand's growth continued until 2008 when the global recession occurred. The New Zealand economy has made a solid recovery since the 2008/09 recession. Annual growth has averaged a solid 2.2% since the March quarter of 2010, despite a period of softer growth in 2012, and was strong by historical standards in 2014.

In the Figures below note how New Zealand's growth rate from less than half of the United States' in the 1984-94 period but then has exceeded the US growth rate. In the period 2000-2004 US growth rate was a full 100 basis points less than New Zealand's and in the period following 2004, New Zealand's growth rate has exceed that of the US.

New Zealand demonstrates that increased economic freedom leads to increased economic growth and rising standards of living. It did not have the explosive increases in per capita GDP experienced in the other economically free cases we have discussed, but for a small, export oriented economy, its performance following its transition to economic freedom has been quite extraordinary.

SUMMARY

Economic freedom and economic performance go hand in hand. The freest countries are also the most successful countries. In economically free countries standards of living are higher, quality of life is higher, life expectancy is higher, environmental protection is greater, and political and personal freedom are higher. In addition to understanding the wealth and poverty of nations, economic freedom helps us understand why a nation will accelerate its economic growth following a transition to economic freedom.

TABLE 2
Average Annual Percent Change

Period	New Zealand	Australia	United States	OECD
1984-1994	1.5	3,3	3,2	2.9
1994-2004	3.4	3.9	3.3	2.6
1999-2004	3.8	3.3	2.8	2.3

Source: Calculated by the Author using data from various sources.

TABLE 3
New Zealand — GDP per capita (USD) Data

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
GDP per Capita (USD)	33,126	37,616	39,226	41,511	43,728

Source: Calculated by the Author using data from various sources.

APPLYING THE LESSONS FROM INTERNATIONAL EXAMPLES OF PROSPERITY ZONES TO ARIZONA

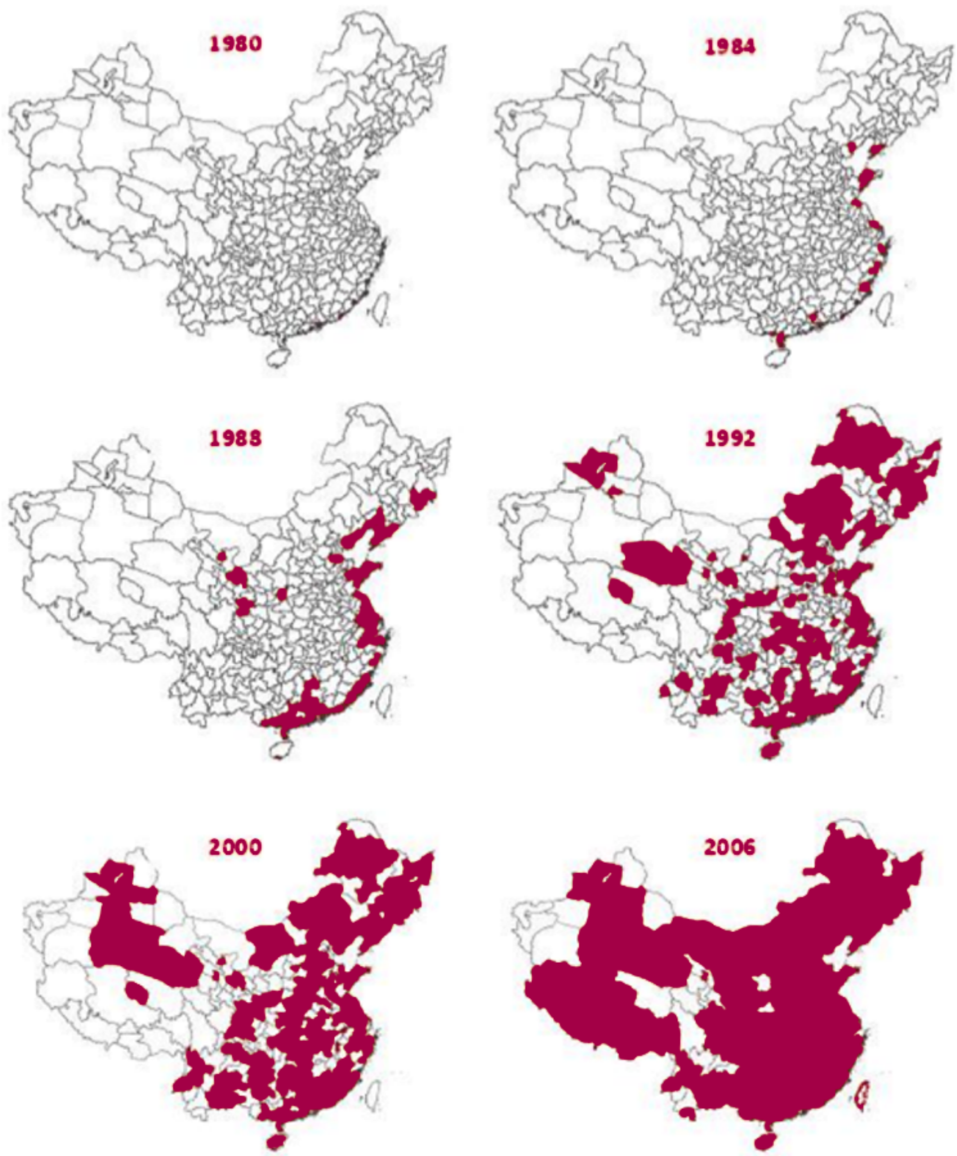
Is it possible to instill in a region, city or state in the United States a small enclave of economic freedom along the lines of Hong Kong, Singapore, Ireland, Dubai and New Zealand? Is it likely that a state such as Arizona could achieve similar success to reformers like Ireland, New Zealand, Dubai, and Hong Kong by embracing freedom-enhancing reforms?

Evidence suggests that reduced regulations, taxes, etc., at the state level would have a positive economic impact and influence the relative potential for new economic growth. Eliminating the income tax in Arizona, for example, would move Arizona into the ranks of Texas and Nevada in terms of business climate and attractiveness for business investment.[8] Regulatory reform, such as on the stringency of occupational licensing (an area in which burdens are heavier in Arizona than in most states) and zoning regulations could also improve economic growth in the state.[9] Changing education from public to private would lead to significant improvements in educational achievement and the quality of the labor force.[10]

If all these policies occurred, if the state became an economically free zone like Hong Kong or Singapore, Arizona would experience significant economic growth and growth that would exceed all other states.

Even if a prosperity district is established only in a small part of Arizona, a ripple effect on growth in the state as a whole could occur. Over time, the economic benefits would likely grow as competition between existing local governments takes place. The positive innovations and best practices that come from the inevitable

FIGURE 7
Title



Source: "The Economic Impact of Special Economic Zones: Evidence from Chinese Municipalities" Jin Wang, London School of Economics experimentation within the Zone would likely catch on in other cities. Over time, policymakers either get on the bus of prosperity district reform or face greater losses of business, jobs, and people.

The experience of China is suggestive, even though China is a centrally planned economy. In China, Special Enterprise Zones (SEZs) were first established in coastal areas to attract Foeign Direct Investment (FDI). Their success in attracting FDI, led the state to establish additional SEZs. Success encouraged success, and FDI grew. Notice in the following Figure how the FDI grew in China from 1980 to 2006 due to the establishment of SEZs.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have discussed the results of four countries who increased economic freedom. These countries include Hong Kong and Singapore who, from their inception, established the greatest economic freedom among countries from their inception. The countries also include New Zealand and Ireland, who increased economic freedom significantly following a period of increased central planning and reduced or non-existent economic freedom.

Hong Kong rose from a state in extreme poverty to one of the wealthiest societies in the world today. Hong Kong's economy has grown at a rate of nearly 8 percent per year since the 1950s. Singapore has been a prosperity district since its independence in 1965. Singapore's economic growth rate has exceeded even that of Hong Kong. Ireland transitioned to economic freedom in the 1990s which increased its economic growth rate several times higher than the European Region. New Zealand underwent a fundamental transition from a centrally planned nation to one with substantial economic freedom in the 1980s. It has experienced an economic growth rate nearly as high as that of Hong Kong. The economic growth of these countries far exceeded comparable nations that did not maximize economic freedom.

Many of the countries of the former Soviet Bloc have also moved from central planning to more economic freedom and have experienced considerable economic growth, countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Estonia, and Georgia. We did not discuss these countries because for many the transition is still in progress. Their progress is summarized in Shleifer and Treisman (2014) and their results mimic those of the countries we have discussed. [11]

> *On average, the postcommunist countries have transformed their economies and political systems, becoming typical for their—rising—income levels. That has meant a lot of progress. But the average masks huge variation. Communism imposed uniformity. Freed from Moscow's brace, postcommunist countries have diverged from one another, spreading out on almost all dimensions.*
>
> *Why did some countries do much better than others? Why is Poland today a liberal market democracy whose income has more than doubled since 1990, while Turkmenistan has become a sultanistic petrostate with an economy rated less free than Yugoslavia's under communism? While the full answer is not yet known, one that is widely believed is clearly mistaken. From early on, critics claimed that reforms had failed in certain Eastern European states because they had been pursued in too radical a manner. Countries that proceeded more slowly and methodically were said to have fared better. As Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz put it: "gradualist policies lead to less pain in the short run, greater social and political stability, and faster growth in the long [run]. In the race between the tortoise and the hare, it appears that the tortoise has won again."*
>
> *This view appealed to those in the East whose privileges were threatened by liberalization and those in the West who distrusted market forces or felt excluded from the debate. But it was wrong.*

By the mid-1990s, countries that had embraced radical reform were outperforming those that had delayed.

There is no doubt that countries with economic freedom do better than countries without such freedom. Evidence suggests that a rapid increase in economic freedom will have a larger economic impact than a slow, graduate increase in economic freedom.

There should be no doubt that regions or districts with economic freedom will do better than regions or districts without such freedom. The question we have to end with is why no developed nation has created special prosperity districts. Moreover, to create a prosperity district better results will follow from a large scale increase in economic freedom that occurs rapidly.

ENDNOTES

1 See Miller and Kim (2015) for a summary and overview. See References for this paper for other examples. Berggren (2003) provides an excellent review of the scholarly literature prior to 2003.

2 See for a review See State Personal Income Tax Cuts: Still a Poor Strategy for Economic Growth May14, 2015, Michael Leachman and Michael Mazerov, Center for Study of Budget and Policy Priorities. http://www.cbpp.org/research/state-budget-and-tax/state-personal-income-tax-cuts-still-a-poor-strategy-for-economic; For a review see Jeffrey Eisenach, "Right to Work Laws: The Economic Evidence", Nera Consulting, 2015. http://www.nera.com/content/dam/nera/publications/2015/PUB_Right_to_Work_Laws_0615.pdf.

3 Bjorn T. Asheim, Industrial districts as 'learning regions': A condition for prosperity. European Planning Studies, Vol 4. Issue 4., 1996. PP 379-400.

4 Guilherme Lohmann, Sascha Albers, Benjamin Koch, Kathryn Pavlovich, From hub to tourist destination – An explorative study of Singapore and Dubai's aviation-based transformation. Journal of Air Transport Management. Volume 15, Issue 5, September 2009, Pages 205–21.

5 Free Zones in the UAE. 2009. PKF Accountants & business advisers; http://www.pkf.com/media/135638/free%20zones%20in%20the%20uae%202009.pdf.

6 Structural Change in the New Zealand Economy 1974-2012. Nick Carroll . The Treasury, New Zealand Government. 2012. http://www.treasury.govt.nz/government/long-term/externalpanel/pdfs/ltfep-s1-04.pdf.

7 Sir Roger Douglas, Unfinished Business, Random House, 1993.

8 See Stephen Slivinski, "Paths to Reform: A Policy Roadmap to Elimination of the Arizona Income Tax," Policy Report No. 2015-01, Center for the Study of Economic Liberty, Arizona State University, available at: http://research.wpcarey.asu.edu/economic-liberty/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/CSEL-Policy-Report-2015-01-Income-Tax.pdf.

9 See Stephen Slivinski, "Bootstraps Tangled in Red Tape: How State Occupational Licensing Hinders Low-Income Entrepreneurship," Goldwater Institute Policy Report, February 23, 2015, available at: http://www.goldwaterinstitute.org/en/work/topics/free-enterprise/entrepreneurship/bootstraps-tangled-in-red-tape/.

10 See Boyes, William, "Education is Failing", Policy Report, 2016, Center for the Study of Economic Liberty, ASU.

11 Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, "Normal Countries: The East 25 Years After Communism", September 12, 2014. http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/normal_countries_draft_sept_12_annotated.pdf?m=1412109950.

REFERENCES

Bergoeing, Raphael, Norman V. Loayza, and Andrea Repetto. Regulation and Economic Performance. 2010 The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank.

Berggren, Niclas. "The Benefits of Economic Freedom: A Survey." *Independent Review* 8, no. 2 (2003): 193–211. Available online at: http://www.independent.org/pdf/tir/tir_08_2_berggren.pdf.

Crews, Clyde Wayne, Ten Thousand Commandments, 2015, https://cei.org/10KC.

Dawson, John D., John J Seater, "Federal Regulation and Aggregate Economic Growth", Journal of Economic Growth, (http://www4.ncsu.edu/~jjseater/regulationandgrowth.pdf).

de Haan, Jacob, Jan-Egbert Sturm, "On the relationship between economic freedom and economic growth", European Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 16, 2000, pp. 215–241.

Friedman, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Gwartney, James, and Robert Lawson. *Economic Freedom of the World: 2004 Annual Report.* Vancouver: Fraser Institute. Available online at: http://www.freetheworld.com.

Johnson, Noel D., William Ruger, Jason Sorens, Steven Yamarik, "Corruption, Regulation and Growth: An Empirical Study of the United States"; Journal of Economic Growth; February 2014, Volume 15, Issue 1, pp 51-69. http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10101-013-0132-3www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/inforeg/2013_cb/draft_2013_cost_benefit_report.pdf.

Loayza, Norman V. Servén, Luis. 2010. Business Regulation and Economic Performance. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2554 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO." http://hdl.handle.net/10986/2554.

Messick, Richard E., ed. *World Survey of Economic Freedom 1995–1996: A Freedom House Study.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1996.

Miller, Steve and Anthony Kim. Why Economic Freedom Matters. 2015 Index of Economic Freedom, Heritage Foundation. http://www.heritage.org/index/book/chapter-2.

Miles, Marc A., Edwin J. Feulner, and Mary Anastasia O'Grady. *2005 Index of Economic Freedom.* 2005. Available online at: http://www.heritage.org/research/features/index/.

Moore, Stephen and Stephen Slivinski, Cato COMMENTARY, "Do Tax Cuts Work? Just look at the States." 2001.

Scully, G. W., and D. Slottje. "Ranking Economic Liberty Across Countries." Public Choice 69, no. 2 (1991): 121–152. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/2554/528590PUB0Busi000public00BOX358355B.pdf?sequence=1.

Shleifer, Andrei and Daniel Treisman, "Normal Countries: The East 25 Years After Communism", September 12, 2014. http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/normal_countries_draft_sept_12_annotated.pdf?m=1412109950.

Slivinski, Stephen. "Paths to Reform: A Policy Roadmap to Elimination of the Arizona Income Tax"May 2015, Center for the Study of Economic Liberty, Policy Report.

Walsh, Dylan, "Economic growth by stricter regulation", Yale Environment Review, April 30, 2012. http://environment.yale.edu/yer/article/economic-growth-by-stricter-regulation.

Zivin, Joshua S. Graff and Matthew J. Neidell. The Impact of Pollution on Worker Productivity (April 2011). NBER Working Paper No. 17004.

The Center for the Study of Economic Liberty (CSEL) is non-partisan academic unit within the W. P. Carey School of Business at Arizona State University. Founded in 2014, CSEL is committed to the study of the role economic liberty and the free enterprise system play in increasing opportunity and improving well-being. CSEL seeks to advance our understanding through scholarly debate and research. Our scholars enjoy academic freedom and share a basic commitment to a freer, more prosperous world. For more information, visit our website.