

Does the Left Breed Economic Informality? Insider–Outsider Politics and Labor Markets in Developing Democracies

Do leftist governments implement policies to reduce the informal sector or, instead, to reinforce it? In much of the political economy literature, left-leaning governments are assumed to favor the formalization of labor relations. These parties usually have strong historic ties to labor unions and would be expected to expand the number of workers who benefit from market security and better work conditions. Yet, the impact of the left in office in Latin America sometimes confounds these predictions. The informal sector – where workers are off-budget and not covered by social protections – has often grown, not shrunk, in relation to the formal economy under the watch of left-leaning governments. Contrary to the conventional wisdom that the informal sector reflects an impotent state that cannot enforce the law, I argue that structural inequality in labor markets is partly an outcome of the efforts of left-leaning governments to cater to multiple constituencies whose interests are visibly in conflict.

I argue that leftist parties in the region face a dilemma in inviting support from two working-class constituencies: the formal sector and the informal sector. Formal-sector workers want higher wages and improved job security and lack incentives to extend these benefits to other groups; informal-sector workers, instead, want an expanded supply of jobs for low-skilled people like themselves. How do leftist governments maintain coalitions of formal- and informal-sector workers? I argue that these governments keep in place traditional protections favored by unions but instead of trying to extend formal protections to informal workers, they improve working conditions for the working poor *in* the informal sector. Instead of punitively enforcing the law among a myriad of small and unproductive firms that provide jobs for millions of informal-sector workers, leftist incumbents build loyal voters in the informal sector by offering these workers side payments and helping them organize in informal-sector cooperatives and associations.

This allows left-leaning incumbents to keep traditional protections for a shrinking base of formal and unionized workers while, simultaneously, improving conditions for marginal workers in the informal sector. As a result, I argue, leftist incumbents *increase* the informal sector.

I demonstrate the impact of left governments on labor outcomes by analyzing the actions of Brazilian local governments, which have policy tools that influence the work conditions of both formal and informal employees. Brazil provides an excellent setting to evaluate political incentives to sustain the informal sector: labor regulations are burdensome, labor supply at low wages is substantial, and parties vary greatly in the degree of their ties to workers. Within Brazil, I focus on the Workers' Party (PT) – one of the largest leftist parties in the world and the Brazilian party with the strongest ties to organized labor. My analysis features a regression discontinuity design in close mayoral races, combined with a year of fieldwork and text analysis. I show that PT mayors *increase* the proportion of workers who are in the informal sector and, instead of increasing the rate of inspections to enforce labor codes within small firms, they help workers in the informal sector organize in so-called social and solidarity-based enterprises. These findings shed light on the link between partisanship, forbearance, and informality, and they unveil the coalitional constraints that the left faces in middle-income countries elsewhere.

Does the Left Breed Economic Informality?

Insider–Outsider Politics and Labor Markets in Developing Democracies

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(Please do not circulate)

Do governments implement policies to reduce the informal sector or, instead, to reinforce it? In much of the political economy literature, left-leaning governments are assumed to favor the formalization of labor relations. Instead I argue that the left invites votes from both formal and informal workers by favoring the informalization of part of the labor force. This allows left-leaning incumbents to keep traditional protections for a shrinking base of formal and unionized workers in large enterprises while, simultaneously, improving conditions for marginal workers in the informal sector. As a result, leftist incumbents increase and reinforce the informal sector. I find support for this argument using a close-election regression-discontinuity design in mayoral races in Brazil and data on labor informality, tax collection, informal-worker enterprises, and labor inspections.

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There are differences and contradictions between the informal and formal sector, often between workers and smallholders. There is a polarization, still not explained, that the Workers' Party and our governments need to explore further.

— José Dirceu, President of Brazil's Workers' Party, 1999.

The collapse of state-led development models changed the landscape of labor elsewhere in Latin America. Since the 1980s, formal-sector workers have been a decreasing proportion of the workforce; informal workers account today for fifty percent of all workers in the region (ILO 2016). The persistence of the informal sector presents a puzzle to existing political economy approaches. In much of the political economy literature, left-wing incumbents are assumed to favor the formalization of informal workers; these workers are not covered by formal labor protections nor receive benefits from social security systems. Yet, after a decade of leftist national governments (the so-called “Pink Tide”) and high economic growth, the informal sector remains the largest source of jobs in most countries (Figure 1).

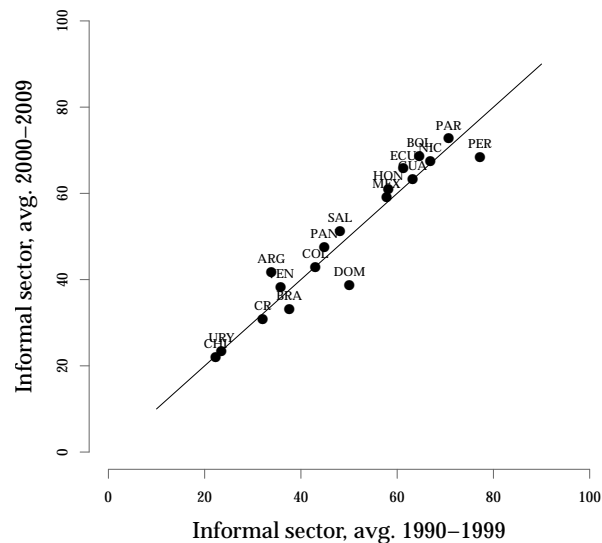


Figure 1: Size of the informal sector in Latin America, averaged for two decades: 1990s and 2000s. The informal sector is defined as the share of workers who do not have access to social security. The line is a 45-degree line. Source: Socio-Economic Database for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Contrary to the conventional wisdom that left-leaning parties favor the formalization of labor relations, I argue that leftist governments in the region invite votes from both formal- and informal-sector workers by favoring the informalization of part of the labor force. These governments often improve the wellbeing and working conditions of informal-sector workers *in* the informal sector and restrict the enforcement of formal labor contracts – including job security rules – to larger firms with unionized workers. This strategy increases both the supply and demand for informal labor. As a result, these governments expand and reinforce the informal economy.

Below I derive several observable implications of my argument. Formal workers protected by steep hiring and firing costs benefit from the heightened enforcement of labor protections but lack incentives to extend benefits to other groups.¹ In turn, the enforcement of formal contracts lowers the probabilities of employment for informal and unemployed workers, especially in industries with substantial labor demand at low wages (i.e., below the cut of the proposed standards).² Governments dominated by leftist parties build ongoing linkages with the informal poor, not by heightening the enforcement of formal regulations (such as by forcing employers to extend formal contracts to workers and workers to pay social security contributions), but by offering informal-sector workers a mix of *de facto* legal exemptions and poverty-alleviation policies, including helping unskilled workers organize in informal-sector enterprises that increase the bargaining power of members. The differential enforcement of labor regulations is a strategy used by these governments to keep traditional protections favored by unions, which provide support that often remains crucial to leftist governments, while inviting support from an ever-larger group of informal-sector workers.

Previous work on the informal sector has often seen informality as a “safety net” of last resort for poor and unskilled workers, given the absence of better alternatives (e.g.,

¹ See [Lindbeck and Snower \(1988, 2001\)](#).

² For a review, see [Betcherman \(2012\)](#) and [Freeman \(2009\)](#). See also [King and Rueda \(2008\)](#).

[Loayza and Rigolini 2011](#)). But the informal sector is a highly heterogeneous sector. It includes small business owners, self-employed individuals, and workers employed in both formal and informal firms that violate all kinds of regulations, including labor protections. My argument is that leftist politicians support workers in small firms and small-shop owners by moving slowly on the enforcement of formal regulations.³ These firms are notorious for their low productivity; this lack of productivity is particularly important in Latin America, where nine in every ten firms have fewer than five employees ([Lederman et al. 2013](#)). Within large firms, instead, leftist politicians have incentives to reduce informal employment and other labor violations. In that case, blocking enforcement benefits large employers and hurt unions directly, which are more likely to represent workers in large establishments. Moving slowly on enforcement among small firms and improving conditions for informal-sector workers positively affects the size of the informal sector.

To evaluate the hypothesis that leftist parties, when in government, increase the size of the informal sector, I exploit subnational variation in enforcement and the partisanship of local officeholders in Brazilian municipalities. Brazil provides an excellent setting to evaluate political incentives for enforcement: labor regulations are burdensome, labor supply at low wages is substantial, and parties vary greatly in the degree of their ties to workers. It is in such context that I expect leftist parties to engage in segmented enforcement. The focus on local politics is appropriate because the relative stability of national labor codes has gone hand in hand with massive changes in local labor market conditions. Within Brazil, I focus on the Workers' Party (PT) – one of the largest leftist parties in the world, the party in Brazil with the strongest ties to organized labor, and the only Brazilian leftist party with massive presence at the local level.

One major challenge to estimate partisan differences in policy outputs is that government ideology is not randomly assigned. Cities where the PT runs competitive

³ [Holland \(2017\)](#) calls this *forbearance* – that is, the intentional nonenforcement of law.

candidates are likely to be systematically different from those where the party struggles. To estimate the causal effect of a PT mayor on labor conditions, I use a regression discontinuity (RD) design in “close” mayoral elections. This design rests on a simple assumption: in close elections, winners and losers are determined essentially by chance (Lee 2008). Hence, we expect them to be on average similar to each other on dimensions such as their ability to solicit support or the needs of the communities they represent. The analysis reveals that by the end of a PT mayor’s term, the share of informal workers (including wage workers and the self-employed) increases sharply and the payroll taxes collected in the district drop by a similar amount, compared to similar municipalities where the PT barely lost the mayoral race.

What explains the growth of informality under PT incumbency? A common framework for the statistical analysis of mechanisms is to conduct so-called mediation analysis (Imai et al. 2011). Yet the assumptions for causal mediation analysis are frequently hard to meet in observational studies. Instead, I focus my attention on the direct effect of PT mayors on policies; do these reflect that they seek to incorporate more workers into the formal sector? Or do they show, instead, that PT mayors rely on a strategy of differential enforcement: the promotion of informal-sector enterprises (so-called *solidarity* enterprises, such as workers’ cooperatives and worker-run factories) and the operation of labor inspectorates, which are in charge of enforcing labor contracts? I show that PT mayors increase the number of informal-sector enterprises and that they block enforcement among small firms and those more likely to employ workers “off the books.”⁴

Using different approaches, definitions, and methods, a burgeoning literature in economics, sociology, and political science explores the determinants of informality. These include burdensome labor regulations (Besley and Burgess 2004; Djankov 2009) and lax enforcement of labor contracts (Almeida and Carneiro 2012); government efforts

⁴ Using semi-automated text analysis of federal-local agreements, I also show that supporting solidarity enterprises is a frequent topic in the agreements signed by PT mayors. See Appendix A.

to lower labor costs to attract foreign direct investment ([Milner and Rudra 2015](#)); and the structure of social security systems ([Levy 2010](#); [Gasparini, Haimovich and Olivieri 2009](#)). These studies, nonetheless, fail to disentangle the individual effect of highly correlated institutional, political, and social factors that affect the incentives of firms and workers to produce informally. They also ignore the distributive stakes of enforcement that transcend problems of weak bureaucracies and inefficient regulations. Instead I show that the extent of economic informality is partly an outcome of the electoral dilemmas that leftist governments face in garnering support among a divided labor base.

The paper makes two additional contributions. While the finding that parties of the left increase informality and block the enforcement of labor protections among small firms is novel, it is consistent with a growing number of studies on labor politics that emphasize insider–outsider dynamics in Latin America and elsewhere (e.g., [Carnes 2014](#); [Rueda 2007](#)). Focusing on formal regulations and policies, these studies often conclude that left-leaning governments privilege the interests of formal workers because these are better organized and more politically active than informal workers. But, in Latin American countries, formal workers have never been a majority of the labor force. Previous studies argued that left-leaning parties simply adapted to the informalization of labor markets by relying more on clientelism and less on unions ([Collier and Handlin 2009](#); [Levitsky 2003](#)). In contrast, my analysis shows that leftist parties in developing settings frequently build coalitions that include *both* formal and informal workers. I also show that, in Brazil, the strategies of leftist parties go beyond extending clientelistic ties to the poor and include a battery of poverty-alleviation programs, including the provision of organizational support to workers in the informal sector.

Lastly, social scientists have begun to acknowledge that the set of behaviors comprising non-enforcement, selective enforcement, and forbearance is a powerful political tool, particularly for parties targeting poor constituencies in “truncated” welfare states. Like [Holland \(2017\)](#), my analysis suggests that politicians with working-class

constituencies frequently ignore legal violations by the poor to alleviate their most immediate needs. And, like [Hummel \(2017\)](#), I show that local governments often improve compliance with basic standards not by the forceful enforcement of regulations but by helping informal-sector workers organize in cooperatives and associations. But this paper takes a step further: it sheds light on the link between partisanship and enforcement, and it unveils the coalitional constraints that the left faces in countries like Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay or Mexico.

Informality and the insider–outsider challenge

Conventional wisdom associates informal workers with street vendors, self-appointed parking attendants, waste pickers, and beggars. Most informal workers, however, are salaried workers rather than self-employed.⁵ These workers are typically employed in small shops and firms but a non-negligible share of them work in firms with more than 100 employees ([Perry et al. 2007](#), p. 11). The defining characteristic of these workers is that they are not covered by labor protections prescribed by law, including contributory social security programs. For this reason governments, both on the left and the right, have fiscal reasons to restrict informal-sector labor, which represents lost revenue.

Apart from these goals, governments have distributive objectives and their choices about law enforcement are restricted by the electoral coalitions that support them. Consider the case of a left-leaning party. The classic approach to labor and social policy reform focuses on the relative power of business versus labor. In Latin America, scholarly studies suggest that leftist parties represent the interests of the working class and have been a positive force of welfare state development ([Huber and Stephens 2012](#); [Pribble 2013](#)). Scholars have also found that the left increases, and the right decreases, labor market rigidity, meaning that left-leaning governments are more likely to pass job security

⁵ Self-employed informal workers make up 24 percent of total urban employment in Latin America; informal salaried workers account for roughly 30 percent.

laws ([Murillo, Ronconi and Schrank 2011](#)). Strong labor regulations are rendered useless if employers ignore them by hiring workers informally. Furthermore, informal workers are not represented by unions and can underbid formal workers, pressing down wages and working conditions for everyone. Several studies, in Latin America and Western Europe, argue that left-leaning parties typically benefit their core constituency of formal and unionized workers, even at the expense of informal ones ([Wibbels and Ahlquist 2011](#)). Therefore, much of the political economy literature suggests that left-leaning governments will protect workers by favoring the formalization of labor relations.

These views, however, ignore the tensions and dilemmas that left-leaning parties face. A crucial consequence of the period of market reforms has been the transformation of labor's traditional base. De-industrialization reduced the number of unionized industrial workers; these workers can no longer deliver electoral victories to leftist parties on their own. Additionally, market reforms weakened clientelistic ties between outsiders and conservative parties, providing an opportunity for left-leaning parties to build support among the working poor. Yet, as I explain below, there are tensions between courting insiders and outsiders in the labor market simultaneously.

A majority of informal workers are employed in small, unproductive firms that provide employment of last resort for millions of workers. These firms, which often survive by ignoring all kinds of taxes and regulations, are frequently seen as crucial to reduce poverty and unemployment.⁶ In addition to working in low-productivity firms, outsiders see their employment opportunities further complicated by existing labor codes. Job security regulations are presumed to allow insiders to demand wage increases that keep unemployment above the "natural" rate. At best, they make it harder to reshuffle who is formally employed.⁷ In this context, formal workers in protected jobs are presumed to lack incentives to extend benefits to other workers. Indeed, previous studies

⁶ Some of these firms are completely informal, in the sense that they are not registered with tax agencies. Some are small- and medium-size firms that are registered with tax agencies and have a permit to operate but avoid taxes and regulations. For a summary on small firms in Latin America, see [Lederman et al. \(2013\)](#).

⁷ See footnote 2 for references.

have found that formal and informal workers lack a coherent class identity and belong to different organizations ([Haggard, Kaufman and Long 2013](#); [Roberts 2002](#)). Parties of the left, then, face a difficult dilemma: either they enforce burdensome regulations, reducing employment for outsiders, or they reform labor institutions and alienate their core working-class supporters.

The situation is different for a rightist party with ties to business and upper income voters. Conservative parties can respond to the challenge posed by a growing base of outsiders in a number of ways: they can promote labor reforms to make employment less expensive and more flexible; they can also take a battery of measures to moderate unions' power, especially in the public sector. By lowering public wages, restricting strikes and picketing, relaxing employment protection legislation, and lowering payroll taxes, these governments can claim they promote *formal* job creation. Furthermore, the preferences of business-friendly governments are contingent on baseline levels of enforcement. In countries with autonomous and capable labor inspectors and unions that pressure big firms into compliance, conservative governments may actually prefer an equal exposure to regulations over unevenly enforced regulations.⁸

In response to these tensions between their different constituencies, left governments opt for a strategy of what I call *differential* or *segmented enforcement*. They pursue strict enforcement of labor codes among big firms in the formal sector, where unions have more influence and the forbearance of regulations is likely to benefit business owners rather than workers, and a mix of less enforcement and subsidies in sectors and firms where the trade-off between mandated standards and employment is likely to be greatest – e.g., small firms and firms in unskilled-labor-intensive industries. The key for understanding why leftist parties may sustain the informal sector (through low enforcement of contracts and by improving both incomes and working conditions for informal-sector workers) is to keep in mind the trade-offs involved in enforcing costly labor regulations. Actions that

⁸ See, for instance, [Amengual \(2016\)](#), p. 99.

increase welfare for the median formal worker also reduce the employment opportunities for the median informal worker.

A model of segmented enforcement

Consider, first, the utility function of a formal sector worker (i.e., an insider):

$$U_{insider} = p \cdot [w_f(1 - t)] + (1 - p) \cdot [w_u + q \cdot w_i] \quad (1)$$

where p is the probability of remaining formally employed, w_f is the income while formally employed (including working conditions and other benefits), and t is a tax paid by the worker if formally employed. In turn, q is the probability of informal employment, w_u is whatever income an unemployed worker earns (his or her unemployment insurance or severance pay), and w_i is the income a worker can earn while informally employed. Outsiders have an equivalent utility function, with p being the probability of being formally employed. This setup assumes that some workers are involuntarily unemployed and captures well two features of developing labor markets: wage dualism and high levels of open unemployment and underemployment.

The defining feature of being an insider is that formal workers are insulated from unemployment. This insulation means that the probability of *remaining* an insider is substantially greater than the probability of *becoming* one ($p_{insider} > p_{outsider}$). As a result, formal-sector workers prefer policies that increase formal-sector wages (w_f), dislike policies that raise taxes for the formally employed (t), and favor policies that shield them from losing their formal jobs (p). Outsiders, instead, are more concerned about unemployment. Because the income available to unemployed informal-sector workers (w_u) is zero in most developing countries, these workers like policies that increase

informal-sector wages (w_i) and are more concerned with policies that reduce their chances of employment, either formal (p) or informal (q).⁹

To cultivate the support of both insiders and outsiders, left-leaning governments can deliver distinct sets of benefits to informal and formal workers. Below I consider two policies: labor inspections that oversee labor contracts and benefits, and policies targeted directly at informal-sector workers. Of course, governments affect the size of the informal sector through various policies: changing the level of public employment, reducing taxes, or simplifying procedures and regulations. But the two policies I examine below reflect whether governments seek to incorporate more workers into the formal sector or rely, instead, on a strategy of segmented enforcement.

Regulating the formal sector. The degree to which labor violations are discovered and corrected by labor officials affects the number of formal, informal, and unemployed workers in the economy and the benefits – i.e., wages and working conditions – enjoyed by formal workers.¹⁰ In most countries, labor inspectors oversee the whole of the labor code, including worker’s formal registration, severance pay, and minimum wage regulations.¹¹ I distinguish two kinds of enforcement depending on whether the target of enforcement are formal or informal workers. Labor inspectors can increase the costs of *formal* employment by demanding compliance with costly regulations (e.g., overtime pay); this reduces demand for formal labor. They can also increase costs of *informal* employment by raising the expected penalty for employing workers “off the books.” This kind of enforcement depresses demand for informal labor and forces firms to reclassify informal workers as formal or to terminate their employment. When firms face stricter

⁹ The income available to unemployed informal-sector workers has become positive in many countries with the implementation of cash transfers in the 2000s; yet these income-support policies typically offer meager benefits.

¹⁰ In most cases, labor inspectors cannot enforce regulations affecting the working conditions of informal workers without first reclassifying them as formal workers.

¹¹ The exception are Anglo-Saxon countries, which divide labor enforcement into various agencies. See [Piore and Schrank \(2008\)](#).

enforcement of regulations, their access to informal workers is diminished, employing workers formally is more expensive, and the unemployment rate is higher.¹²

As is clear from equation 1, the effect of labor inspections on a worker's utility depends on the status of the worker and the regulations that inspectors enforce more aggressively. For insiders, low levels of enforcement of labor contracts increase competition from outsiders in industries where insiders and outsiders are substitutable, depressing the wages of employed insiders. Thus, inspections that limit the access of firms to informal workers increase formal wages (w_f) by raising the marginal product of labor. In the civil construction sector, for instance, where formal workers are typically unskilled, unions frequently lobby inspectors to increase enforcement and limit firms' access to informal labor (Amengual 2016; Cardoso and Lage 2006).¹³ Insiders also favor the enforcement of benefits (e.g., overtime and severance pay) because it increases entry costs to formal employment.

Outsiders, on the other hand, are easily replaceable: they lack employment protections and are generally unskilled. Thus, they may fear that improved working conditions or the enforcement of formal contracts will lower their chances of employment (i.e., they will decrease q and/or p), particularly in industries and firms that compete on low wages.¹⁴ In the Brazilian garment industry, for instance, Tilly et al. (2013) argue that "workers see the state more as a threat to their income (through the collection of fees and taxes or through inspections that threaten to eliminate their means of survival) than a provider of social security or as a promoter of decent working conditions" (p. 26). Outsiders must balance the costs and benefits of being re-classified as formal workers over the probability of being fired. Some may like a formal job; but a bird in hand may worth two in the bush.

¹² The rise in unemployment helps to clear the market. See, e.g., Harris and Todaro (1970).

¹³ That being said, some insiders – e.g., those with more skills – may profit from firms having access to cheap and flexible labor. Similarly, strict enforcement of some rules – e.g., working hours – may benefit outsiders, by increasing demand for additional workers.

¹⁴ The elasticity of labor demand is greater in industries that rely mostly on unskilled workers because of scale effects (labor is a large share of the total cost of production) and substitution effects (unskilled workers are more easily replaceable with capital).

Regulating the informal sector. Governments can also implement policies to increase the income a given worker makes in the informal sector (w_i) or while unemployed (w_u). In the framework proposed by equation 1, informal workers and the unemployed are the main beneficiaries of these policies. These include cash transfers targeted to informal-sector workers, wage subsidies to workers in informal enterprises and friendlier legal frameworks that allow informal-worker associations and cooperatives to access public subsidies and credit lines (as well as the forbearance of taxes and regulations; see [Holland 2017](#)). To the degree that insiders are protected from unemployment, they will be less interested in increasing informal-sector wages (w_i) and will instead be concerned about the effect of these policies on their taxes (t) and on labor-market competition from outsiders (e.g., firms may outsource part of the production process to cooperatives of informal-sector workers).

One example of these policies is the financial and legal support that governments give to informal-sector cooperatives and associations under the umbrella of what are termed social and solidarity economy (SSE) initiatives. These programs seek to organize workers marginalized from formal employment to “extend and strengthen labour standards *within* the informal economy” ([Fonteneau et al. 2011](#), p. 78; emphasis added). Unions have sometimes supported these initiatives, but not without reservations. In Brazil, for instance, the first experiences with SSEs began in cities controlled by the PT, such as Porto Alegre, Belém, and Santo André ([Gaiger, Ferrarini and Veronese 2015](#)).¹⁵ But unions linked to the party – those organized around the Unified Workers’ Central (CUT) – have argued that “many of these processes [the promotion of social and solidarity economy initiatives] are coordinated by businessmen who want to lower labor costs (...) The union movement must pressure for a more rigorous state control of these cooperatives” ([Magalhães and Todeschini 2000](#), p. 2).

¹⁵ Similarly, PT local governments were pioneers in the implementation of conditional cash transfers targeted to informal workers.

Hypotheses and observable implications

In sum, I argue that left-leaning governments implement policies to reinforce, not reduce, the informal sector. With this strategy, leftist governments protect the jobs of outsiders while supporting or maintaining protections supported by unions. The central hypothesis that emerges from my argument is that *leftist governments will increase the size of the informal sector*. The number of workers informally employed increases partly because of more attractive working conditions in the informal sector and a reduction of state efforts to sanction firms employing workers “off the books.” The logic of holding back enforcement in the case of informal businesses and low-productivity small- and medium-size firms to maximize the employment opportunities of the poor is relatively straightforward. For instance, some of these firms are owned by single individuals working with the help of unpaid family members. The alternative is to enforce regulations – including labor and social security taxes – that may threaten the jobs of many unskilled workers.

The situation is different within large firms. Holding back on the enforcement of labor contracts and working conditions would likely benefit large employers and hurt unions directly. Here I hypothesize that *leftist incumbents will focus their labor enforcement efforts on large firms*; these firms are more productive and employ workers who are more likely to be protected by unions.

Finally, I suggest that *leftist incumbents will implement policies that do not seek to bring workers into the formal sector but instead improve working conditions for informal-sector workers*. These include policies that organize workers into social and solidarity economy initiatives but also a reduction in state efforts to enforce labor contracts. Thus, some informal workers may lose the opportunity of being reclassified as a formal worker by a labor inspector. But, in return, he or she may have access to an informal job that is a little better than the typical informal job – i.e., an informal job in a solidarity enterprise.

Between the unions and the *Economia Solidária* in Brazil

Brazil has one of the most rigid labor codes in the world, which dates to the 1940s: all employees must have a work permit (the *carteira de trabalho*), which entitles the worker to a number of benefits paid by the employer, and employers must pay eight percent of the worker's salary to a severance indemnity fund (the *Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço* or FGTS).¹⁶ Furthermore, workers cannot work more than 44 hours per week, overtime pay must be at least 1.5 times the normal hourly wage, paid leave is three fourths of a normal wage, and paid maternity leave is 120 days. Employers must also give prior notice of dismissal no smaller than one month; once the worker receives this notice she is granted two hours a day to look for a job. Workers with non-justified dismissals have the right to receive a monetary compensation paid by the employer, beyond that accumulated in the worker's job security fund. On the whole, turnover costs – the linchpin of insiderness – are largely determined by government regulations and are among the highest in the world.

As generous as these conditions may be, they help only a segment of the labor force. Half of workers in the country are either employed in the informal sector or employed in informal jobs – i.e., they work without a work permit or *carteira*. The average share of informal workers in a municipality in the 2000s (counting both waged and self-employed workers) was close to 70%; in 2010, it was roughly 60%. Thus, although informality receded in the 2000s, informal workers still are a majority of the workforce in most municipalities (the median share of informal workers was 76% and 61% in 2000 and 2010, respectively). These workers earn low wages and are not covered by social insurance – although, as [Garay \(2016\)](#) notes, they have gain access to a range of transfers and programs particularly (but not only) after the PT won the presidency in 2002.

¹⁶ The employer deposits the funds in a government-owned bank in the name of each worker. The sum of all these accounts is held in a single account and used by the government to finance infrastructure projects.

Early analyses of partisan politics in Latin America argued that workers outside the formal sector were highly heterogeneous in their preferences and social circumstances, which undermined their collective capacity in the political arena. In Brazil, extensive poverty and inequality did not translate into massive support for the PT following democratization in 1985. Instead, the vote of the poor remained with conservative and populist parties, which attracted the poor using traditional clientelistic networks (Przeworski, Bresser-Pereira and Maravall 1993; Weyland 1996). At the same time, the joint effect of democratization and a shrinking blue-collar base in the 1980s forced many left and labor-based parties – including the PT – to mobilize the poor. Mainwaring, Torcal and Somma (2015), analyzing twenty-four presidential elections and eight legislative elections, show that poor, unskilled workers have played a decisive role in contemporary Latin America in supporting parties on the left. They argue that “class voting is in fact strongest among highly disadvantaged sectors – the poor self-employed and unskilled workers – and weak among skilled workers” (p. 111).

From the party’s beginning, the leadership of the PT realized that the organized working class was not big enough to win power at either the national or sub-national levels. In 1999, the president of the PT, José Dirceu, argued that “the main problem [that the party faces] is to consolidate its alliances in society, because other parties do not represent some sectors, but also because we do not represent them,” including “informal-sector workers and small businesses” (Barreto, Magalhães and Trevas 1999, p. 18). To make up for a small blue-collar base, the party forged ties to middle-class professionals and myriad social movements, including sectors of the Catholic church; however, a large portion of the working poor remained elusive to the party.

Several victories at the local level led the PT to a period of ideological transformation that allowed it to aggrandize its coalition – but not without conflict, especially between the party and its allied unions. Luiza Erundina, São Paulo’s mayor from 1989 to 1992, “faced cross-cutting pressures between raising wages of municipal workers and

attending to other city residents, including poorer and less organized constituents who had provided an important margin for her victory” (Hunter 2010, p. 91). PT mayors in other cities, such as Porto Alegre, faced similar constraints, “between pleasing the party’s traditional base (unions and social movements) and meeting the needs of those with less obvious means of voicing their demands” (ibid, p. 96).¹⁷ For much of the 1980s, unions linked to the PT were representatives of what was called “new unionism.” They were more sympathetic to shop-floor organization and to the interests of unorganized workers, building cross-cutting alliances with social movements and neighborhood associations (Keck 1989; Seidman 1994). However, during the market reforms of the 1990s, “new unionism” became more pragmatic, self-oriented, and institutionalized (Antunes and Santana 2014; Sluyter-Beltrão 2010). At the same time the PT started to prioritize electoral victories, CUT-affiliated unions became more focused on preserving jobs and wages for their members.

Research design and data

Brazil is a presidential democracy with 26 states and one federal district. At the sub-state level, Brazil has 5,564 municipal governments, which collect taxes and provide a number of public goods and services, including education and basic health services. Municipal governments are headed by mayors, who are elected by popular vote. If a district has more than 200,000 voters, the election is held under a runoff system. Otherwise, mayors are elected through plurality rule. All executive offices are elected every four years.

Brazil has a highly fragmented party system composed of weak and personalistic parties. The PT is, however, considered the strongest party in Brazil and an exception to the rule of highly personalistic and patronage-oriented parties. This article studies close races in the 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008 municipal electoral contests, thus including five

¹⁷ See also Baiocchi (2003), pp. 4 and 23.

different federal governments: two PSDB governments from 1994 to 2002 and three PT governments from 2003 to 2012. I restrict the sample to municipalities in which one of the top two candidates belonged to the PT. The focus on the PT is justified because the other left-wing parties in Brazil are either organizationally weak or have little presence at the municipal level. The party's strong organization and clear programmatic goals provide some level of uniformity in PT-held governments, despite the heterogeneity of Brazil's municipalities ([Hunter 2010](#), p. 83).

A close-election RD design can be adapted to estimate the effect of a mayor's partisanship on informality and enforcement. This design rests on a simple assumption: in close elections, winners and losers are determined essentially by chance.¹⁸ Therefore, municipalities where a candidate from party j barely wins should be, on average, indistinguishable from municipalities in which a party j candidate loses by a small margin. The only difference between them is that one set of municipalities is governed by party j while the other set is governed by mayors from other parties ($-j$). A common choice for estimating the local average treatment effect (LATE) is to restrict the sample to include only close competitive races where party j was either winner or runner-up. To estimate the effect of PT incumbency, I use a local-linear estimator with triangular kernel weights around two bandwidths, h and $h/2$, estimated using the optimal function developed by [Imbens and Kalyanaraman \(2012\)](#).

While the identification assumption that in the absence of the treatment (having a PT mayor), municipalities on both sides of the cutoff should look on average alike is unverifiable, no statistically significant differences are discovered for units with and without a PT mayor for a number of relevant pre-treatment covariates. Hence, control and treated municipalities are indistinguishable in a number of pre-treatment covariates.¹⁹

¹⁸ For a full derivation of the RD estimand see [Imbens and Lemieux \(2008\)](#).

¹⁹ See Appendix, A.1 and A.2, for more details.

Informality. I investigate the effect of a PT victory on two measures of labor informality. The first is the share of informal workers in the economy using two rounds of the Brazilian Demographic Census (2000 and 2010). I operationalize this variable in two ways: as the share of *salaried* workers who do not hold a labor card and as the share of workers who do not hold a labor card, also including *self-employed* workers. I look at the effect of a PT victory in 1996 and 2008 in the share of informal workers in 2000 and 2010, respectively. I also investigate the effect of a PT victory on the total amount of Social Security taxes collected from the paychecks of formal workers (over the number of residents). These data are available as of 2000; thus, I look at the effect of PT victories for three mayoral cohorts: 2000, 2004, and 2008. I consider the total number of taxes collected during a mayor's term, divided by the number of residents in the municipality.

SSEs. In 2005–2007 and 2012–2013, the National Secretary of Solidarity Economy (SENAES) – created by PT president Lula da Silva in 2003 – conducted national censuses with the aim of mapping the number and operation of SSEs in Brazil. The second round mapped new organizations and those that were mapped in the first round and still in operation at the time of the second census.²⁰ This survey counted 20,000 collective, permanent organizations engaged in the production of goods and services, including associations, cooperatives, and self-managed enterprises. Only 8% were considered formal, and most of the workers lacked working cards. I focus on two outcomes: the number of SSE workers per 1,000 residents at the end of a mayor's term, for those mayors elected in 2000 and 2008, and the number of organizations created during a mayor's term since 1996 that were still in operation at the time of any of the censuses.

Inspections. To measure enforcement efforts, I use data on labor inspections at the municipal level for the period 1996–2012.²¹ The Federal System of Labor Inspection

²⁰ See <http://sies.ecosol.org.br/atlas>.

²¹ Data was provided by the Brazilian Ministry of Labor.

(SFIT) has approximately 3,000 labor inspectors and oversees the enforcement of labor regulations (e.g., worker's formal registration and severance pay). Although labor inspectors report to the federal government, local politicians exercise influence over field operations by providing labor inspectors with information and resources that are critical for enforcement. The appendix, Section C, provides a detailed discussion of how mayors influence enforcement in Brazil.

The dataset contains a myriad of enforcement measures at the municipal level. In addition to the number of inspections, it includes data on the amount of unpaid taxes on the workers' severance indemnity fund collected by inspectors and the number of unreported workers found during inspections. I normalize the first variable by dividing the number of inspections by the number of residents in the municipality, and multiplying this by 1,000.²² The variable provides a measure for the intensity of enforcement, which I predict will go down when a leftist mayor is in office. To identify different types of inspections, the latter two variables are normalized by the number of workers covered during inspections. The unpaid taxes on the workers' severance indemnity fund collected by inspectors serves as an indicator of the enforcement of insiders' working conditions; the number of unreported workers found during inspections indicates efforts toward enforcing labor contracts.

I also use data from the 2003 Enterprise Surveys (ES). This survey interviewed 1,642 *registered* firms in 419 municipalities and 13 (out of 27) states on aspects of business-state relations. Firms were selected from a stratified sample of firm size, industry, and region. The industries sampled are auto parts, chemicals, electronics, food, garments, machinery, textile, and wood manufacturing. Respondents – usually firm managers – were asked about the number of labor and social security inspections they received over the last year. These data give a picture of the types of firms that the agency targets. I test whether the

²² Results are robust to alternative ways of operationalizing the dependent variables; for instance, taking the logarithm of the number of inspections.

agency shifts enforcement toward larger or smaller firms and to firms with more or fewer informal workers in PT-held municipalities.

Results

The following sections present the main results; validity and placebo checks, including tests of design, are relegated to the appendix.

PT mayors increase informality

Does informality increase under the tenure of PT mayors? The graphical analysis reveals patterns consistent with the theoretical expectations that municipalities governed by the PT have, on average, a larger share of informal workers (Figure 2, panel a). This finding is confirmed by regression analysis, comparing treatment (PT-held) and control (non-PT-held) municipalities. Figure 2, panel b, shows treatment effects using kernel regression at \hat{h} and twice that bandwidth. The effect is not only statistically significant at conventional levels but also large in magnitude. A PT victory increases the number of informal workers (both waged and waged and self-employed) by roughly six percentage points.²³

Additional evidence on labor market segmentation comes from the collection of social security taxes from the paychecks of formal workers. These taxes are paid by formal workers (both self-employed and employees) and are on average 10% of a worker's salary (20% for a self-employed worker). These contributions guarantee that the payer or his family will receive money in the event of illness, injury, accident, pregnancy, or death of the payer. In municipalities controlled by the PT, per capita tax collection drops by 270 to

²³ Results counting both salaried and self-employed informal workers are analogous – in size and statistical significance – to those presented here; see Appendix, A.3.

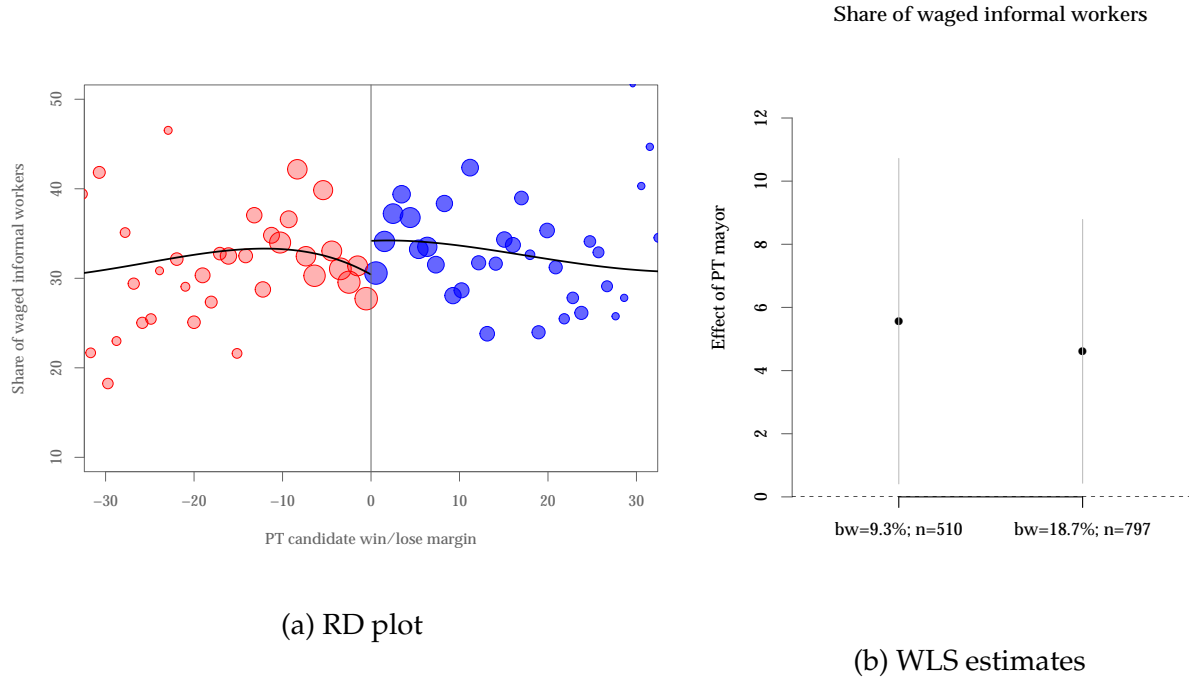


Figure 2: RD for the effect of a PT victory on the share of salaried informal workers over the total number of salaried workers at the municipal level. Panel (a) The circles depict bin averages of the share of informal workers at the municipal level in places where a PT candidate wins or loses. Panel (b) WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals.

370 *reais* for the whole mayoral term (Figure 3, panel b).²⁴ The graphical analysis further confirms this finding (Figure 3, panel a).

Two mechanisms help explain the increase of informal workers: the first mechanism is a reduction in enforcement efforts – particularly, in the reclassification of informal workers as either formal or unemployed workers – within firms that employ many informal workers. Enforcement also changes the relative attractiveness of informal jobs whether compared to jobs in the formal sector or to unemployment. Labor inspectors can enforce regulations that workers deem attractive, such as health and safety conditions and overtime pay. Thus, an increase in inspections can reduce informality if some workers in the informal sector are choosing informal jobs rather than being excluded from formal ones (see [Maloney 2004](#)). Lax enforcement, by contrast, blurs the difference between the

²⁴ For PT-races, the mean is 1232 *reais* per capita with a standard deviation of 2006.

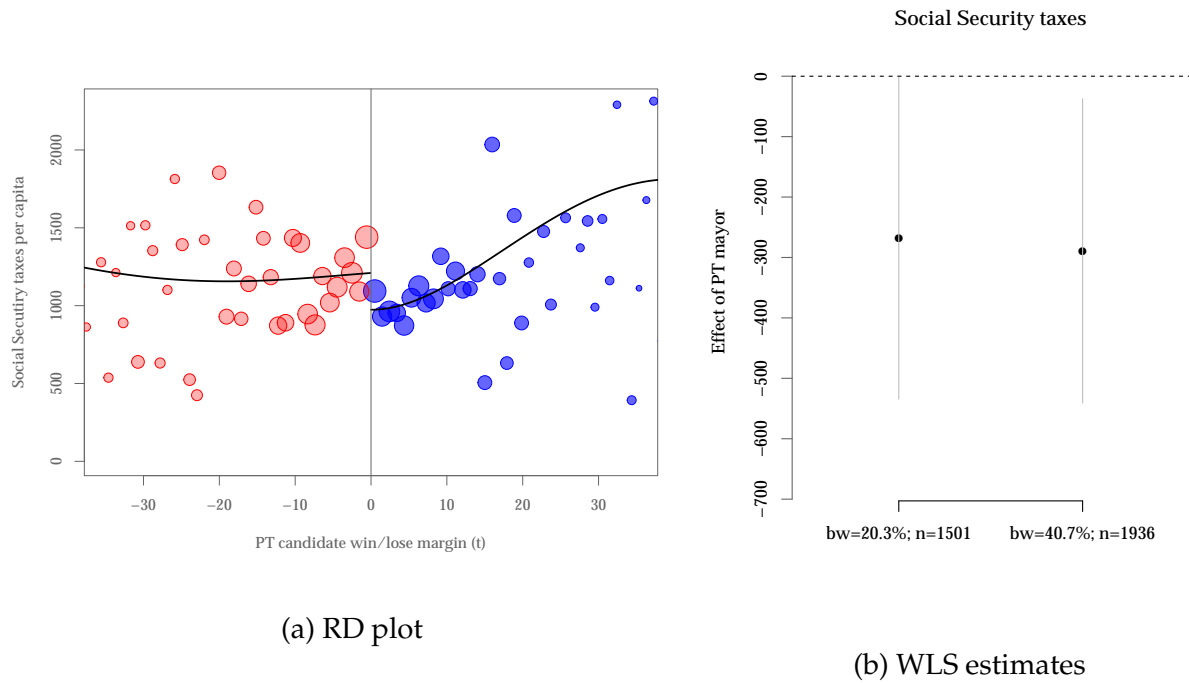


Figure 3: RD for the effect of a PT victory on the amount of social security taxes collected during a mayor's term, divided by the number of residents. Panel (a) The circles depict bin averages of per capita social security taxes collected at the municipal level in places where a PT candidate wins or loses. Panel (b) WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals.

average formal and informal sector jobs, reinforcing the incentives of some workers to remain informal. Finally, policies supporting the informal sector, such as micro-credits for informal organizations, associations, and workers' cooperatives can make informal jobs more attractive, especially for workers whose prospects of being formally employed are small. I evaluate each of these possibilities in turn.

PT mayors improve conditions in the informal sector

Governments, at both the national and local level, can make informality more attractive by helping the working poor to organize in self-managed enterprises. As I mentioned earlier, governments have increasingly promoted SSE initiatives to combat unemployment and underemployment in the formal sector. Consistent with expectations, Figure 4 shows that PT mayors are associated with an increase in the number of SSEs.

The results are both statistically and substantively significant. The plot on the left shows estimates for the effect of a PT victory on the number of SSEs that were created during a mayor's term. PT municipalities have roughly 0.8 per 1,000 residents more SSEs (over the total number of firms) than control municipalities.²⁵ The plot on the right shows effects on the total number of SSEs. Municipalities governed by the PT have almost 2.5 per 1,000 residents more SSEs than municipalities where the PT barely lost.²⁶

The appendix provides additional evidence of PT mayors' efforts at promoting SSEs to improve the life of the working poor.²⁷ Using a text analysis model called Structural Topic Model (STM), I analyze all the *parcerias* or cooperation agreements signed between PT-headed governments and the federal Ministry of Labor. Of the topics identified by the STM, many refer to the provision of support to SSEs and informal-sector workers. While common wisdom suggests that poor and unskilled workers must fend for themselves in the informal sector, leftist governments have improved standards in the informal economy by providing technical and financial services to cooperatives and associations of informal and unemployed workers.

²⁵ The mean of the dependent variable is 0.587; the standard deviation is 1.46

²⁶ The mean of the dependent variable is 2.26 with a standard deviation of 4.2.

²⁷ See Appendix C.2 for details.

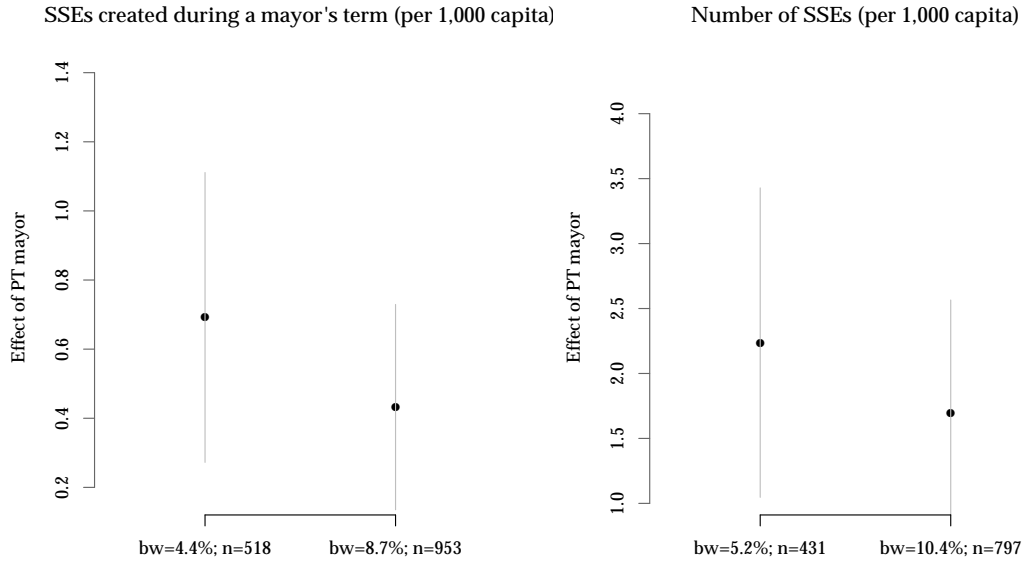


Figure 4: WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals for the effect of a PT victory on the number of SSEs. *SSEs created during...* is the number of SSEs (per 1,000 residents) created during a mayor's term (1996–2012). *Number of SSEs* is the total number of SSEs (per 1,000 residents) in the municipality.

PT mayors reduce and segment the enforcement of labor law

Enforcement also differs significantly according to which party wins or loses the mayoral race. In places where the PT wins by a small margin, firms are subject to fewer inspections than places where the PT loses by a small margin (Figure 5). These results are both substantive and statistically significant at conventional levels. A PT victory is associated with a negative effect of 1.65 inspections per 1,000 capita for the entire four-year period (and almost 2 points for half the IK bandwidth).²⁸

A victory by the PT also influences the type of labor violations that are enforced more vigorously. I hypothesized that leftist incumbents would move slowly on the enforcement of labor protections, particularly in firms employing a larger share of informal workers

²⁸ The mean of the dependent variable for the entire sample of PT races is 4.13 with a standard deviation of 5.52.

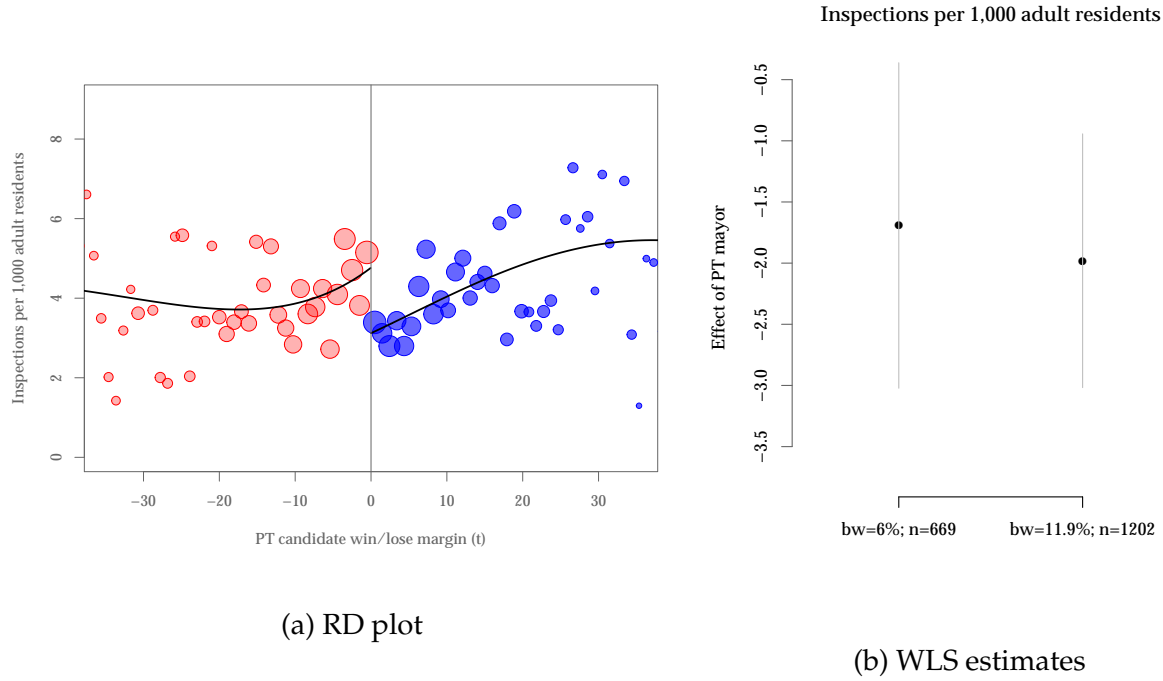


Figure 5: RD for the effect of a PT victory on the number of inspections (1996–2012). Panel (a) The circles depict average number of inspections per 1,000 residents at the municipal level in places where a PT candidate wins or loses. Panel (b) WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals.

(where the trade-off between enforcement and employment is likely to be greater). Figure 6 shows results for analogous local-linear regressions. In PT-controlled municipalities, inspectors focus disproportionally on detecting labor violations that affect formal rather than informal workers: they focus on the collection of FGTS payments for the workers' severance fund while ignoring the detection of unreported workers (this last effect is not statistically significant at conventional levels).

Further evidence on PT's segmented enforcement strategy comes from the 2003 ES firm-level data. I code the dependent variable as one if a firm received at least one inspection and zero otherwise. I also show results for the number of times each firm was visited by a labor inspector. The appendix (B.1) shows the corresponding balance and density tests, using the cohort of mayors elected in 2000.²⁹ All standard errors are

²⁹ There are only 12 cities (121 firms) that had a PT candidate as the winner or runner-up within \hat{h} (3.41%). Thus, I use 5% bandwidths to increase the number of observations.

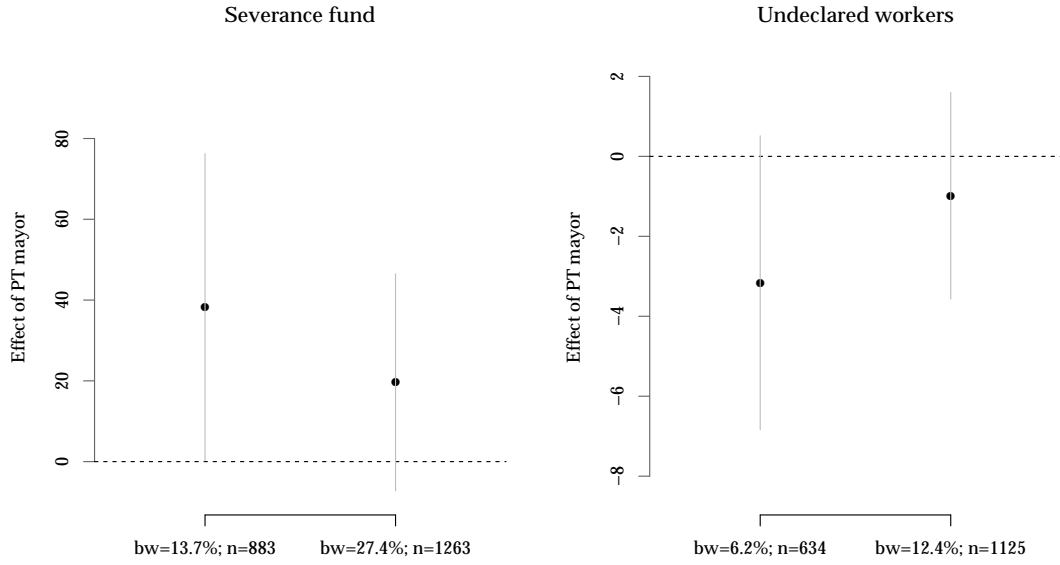


Figure 6: WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals for the effect of a PT victory on enforcement. *Severance fund* is the amount of unpaid FGTS taxes collected by inspectors over the total number of workers covered. *Undeclared workers* is the number of undeclared workers found during an inspection over the total number of workers covered.

clustered at the city level. Main effects – i.e., the unconditional effect of a PT victory on a firm receiving a visit from a labor inspector – replicate the findings previously shown: firms in PT-held municipalities are 21% less likely to receive a labor inspection (see Appendix, B.2).

Figure 7 shows that partisanship effects are moderated by the size of the firm, for both the number of labor inspections and probability of receiving an inspection. Small firms located in places governed by the PT receive fewer inspections than the average. Moving one standard deviation away from the average firm (54 employees) reduces the negative impact of the PT on the likelihood of a firm receiving a federal inspection by almost 30%. Firms employing large numbers of informal workers also receive fewer visits from inspectors in PT-held municipalities, consistent with the hypothesis that the PT blocks inspections to protect job sources for informal workers.

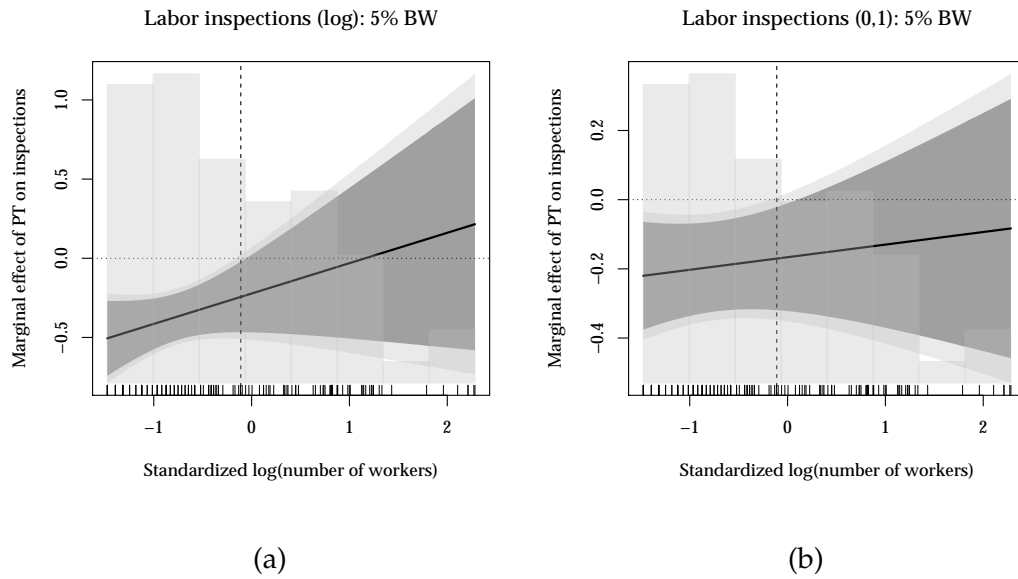


Figure 7: Marginal effect of PT-incumbency on firms receiving a labor inspection conditional on firm size. 90% confidence intervals in dark grey and 95% confidence intervals in grey, calculated using clustered robust standard errors.

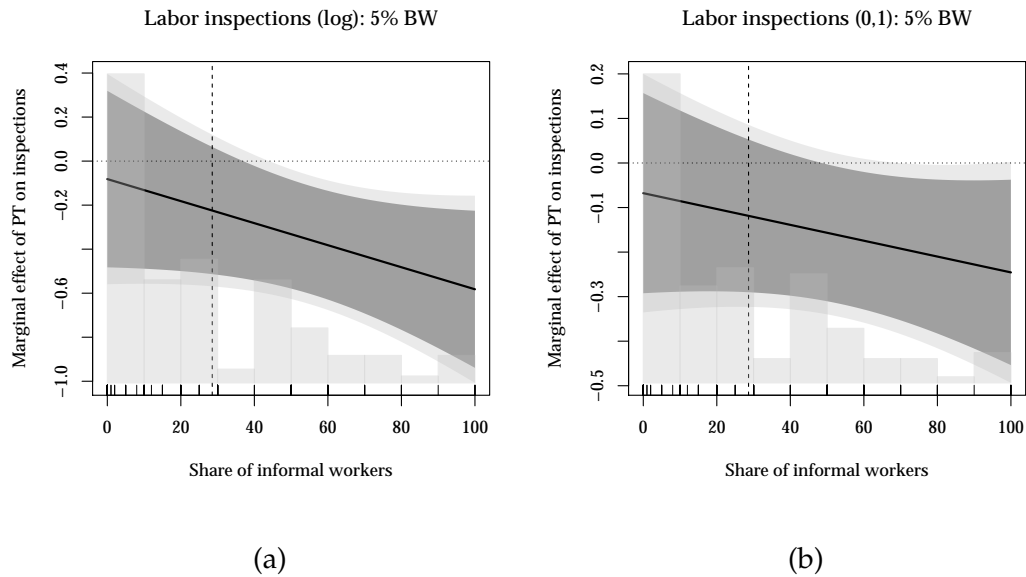


Figure 8: Marginal effect of PT-incumbency on firms receiving a labor inspection conditional on the share of informal workers. 90% confidence intervals in dark grey and 95% confidence intervals in grey, calculated using clustered robust standard errors.

Heterogeneous effects

The pressures that lead to segment labor markets in Brazil are widespread for a party with a divided labor base, given the relative strength of unions, the large numbers of

informal-sector workers employed in small and unproductive firms, and the cost of *de jure* labor protections; yet contextual factors may reduce or increase incentives for mayors to segment enforcement. I consider two moderating conditions in the appendix. First, I look at the effect of trade liberalization on informality and enforcement. Trade liberalization is expected to reduce employment in import-competing industries where wages cannot be adjusted downward because of labor rigidities (e.g., unions and employment protection legislation) or where labor is not highly mobile. I show that PT local governments block enforcement precisely in those municipalities that were hurt most by the liberalization of trade (especially those containing a larger share of unskilled workers).³⁰ Second, PT mayors may feel more pressure to segment enforcement in places where they must assemble larger electoral coalitions that include both formal and informal workers. I show that the effect of mayors on enforcement and informality increases with the vote share obtained by PT's strongest opponent.

Discussion and rival interpretations

The findings from the previous section show that a PT victory *causes* a sharp rise in the number of workers informally employed and a drop in the collection of payroll taxes, a rise in the number of informal-sector organizations, a drop in the number of labor inspections and a change in the target of labor inspectors (who focus disproportionately on large firms and firms less likely to employ workers “off the books,” and on enforcing employment protections for insiders).

I interpret these findings in the following way: organized workers and union leaders push allied governments to keep current benefits and advocate for the strict enforcement of job security requirements and other protective measures. However, in Brazil, most workers are neither unionized nor covered by existing protections. As insiders resist

³⁰ As I explain in the appendix, the size of the liberalization shock on local labor markets was plausibly exogenous to underlying political conditions and counterfactual industry performance (see [Kovak 2013](#)).

diluting or sharing benefits with outsiders, political parties wishing to attract the support of informal workers and the unemployed adopt a dual strategy, moving slowly on the enforcement of regulations, particularly those that could affect the employment opportunities of the working poor, while delivering benefits to workers in the informal sector (instead of pushing for their formalization). Here I consider several possible objections and alternative interpretations of the findings.

A vast literature in political science argues that presidents reward allied-held constituencies and penalize those headed by an opposition incumbent in the allocation of central resources. In principle, it is possible that PT presidents reward firms in allied municipalities with less enforcement in exchange of campaign funds for allied mayors. Weak or lax enforcement may explain the increase in informality as well. This explanation, however, is not supported by the data. PT mayors depress the number of inspections and increase informality, both in periods where the PT was out of office at the federal level (1997-2000) and in periods where the PT was in office but did not control the Ministry of Labor (2009-2012).³¹

Another concern with these findings is that, while a change in the partisanship of the mayor may induce a change in the behavior of inspectors, firms and workers may increase their compliance with labor law when the PT is in government, making identification harder. But this is precisely not what I find. While labor inspectors find fewer informal workers during inspections in firms located in PT-held municipalities, the number of informal workers in PT-held municipalities in fact goes up.

One may also wonder if leftist parties face similar constraints in other countries or if there is something unique about Brazil or the PT. One limiting difference between Brazil and other developing countries is the capacity of inspectors and unions to enforce costly labor regulations. As mentioned, Brazil has a professional – if understaffed – agency and unions play an active role in the economy. The political calculus that incumbents make

³¹ See Appendix, A.4.

when regulating the labor market depends on the baseline level of enforcement. First, for wage-employment tradeoffs to be salient there must be some level of enforcement. Second, powerful unions and active labor inspectors are more likely to compel big firms into compliance given fixed monitoring costs and economies of scale. In this context, I hypothesize that conservative parties will deal with a rising informal sector by favoring the formal deregulation of labor relations and the weakening of unions rather than weakening enforcement.

A final concern relates to the research design. The main drawback of the RD design is that it estimates a *local* average treatment effect for cities where a PT mayoral candidate wins or loses an election by essentially a margin of zero. Mayors who win a close election may, however, behave differently from those who win by larger margins. On the one hand, in places where local competition is intense, leftist mayors may face stronger incentives to appeal to a broad sector of society – e.g., poor and unskilled workers who are not unionized. On the other, competitive environments typically increase incentives for political parties, both leftist and rightist, to shift policy toward the center. Another concern is whether the left faces similar incentives at different levels of government or if the pressures that lead PT mayors to segment enforcement are stronger at the local level. All these are essentially questions about external validity, which I discuss in the concluding section.

Conclusion and future research

Over the past three decades, developing countries substantially deregulated and liberalized their economies. Previous analyses studied the organizational features that allowed leftist and labor-based parties to collect votes from informal-sector workers while retaining the support of the organized, formal working class. But, as a literature in related topics in Europe suggests, labor-based and social democratic parties still face a dilemma, in that the interests of formal and informal workers often conflict.

I showed that leftist governments respond to these pressures by moving slowly on regulatory enforcement, particularly among small firms, and by providing organizational support to labor-market outsiders in the informal sector. I found that leftist governments increase the size of the informal sector, redirect inspections away from firms employing “off the books” (i.e., informal) workers, and encourage the creation of informal-sector enterprises. These policies – the promotion of autonomous work-organizations and the forbearance of regulations – make outsiders relatively better off but reinforce the divide between insiders and outsiders. In the words of [Tendler \(2002\)](#), they make “informality [...] *more* attractive, and formalization *less* attractive, than they otherwise might be” (p. 3). I show that insider–outsider dynamics help explain why leftist incumbents implement policies we would have not expected (such as blocking enforcement of labor contracts in small enterprises or promoting informal-sector jobs).

Turning to the broader implications of this study, one may wonder whether the pressures for segmented enforcement are greater at the local than at the national level. National-level incumbents have access to additional fiscal, legal, and technical resources to compensate outsiders. And local politicians are heavily constrained in their relationship with workers as the laws regulating individual and collective labor rights cannot be modified by local governments.

That said, the PT may have followed a similar *segmented* strategy after winning the presidency in 2002 (see, in particular, [Luna 2014](#), pp. 310–315). The PT retained most protections for insiders, including restoring collective bargaining and keeping generous social security benefits for formal workers, while implementing policies targeted at informal-sector workers – the widely known *Bolsa Familia* but also the creation of the SENAES, among other initiatives. Informality receded during PT’s administrations but enforcement efforts are an unlikely explanation for this retrenchment ([Cardoso 2007](#)). For starters, informality began to recede in 1999, during the presidency of Cardoso, of the PSDB. Also, the number of labor inspectors did not increase during the presidencies of

the PT. On numerous occasions, labor inspectors complained to me that the PT did not increase the operational capacity of the agency.³² Instead of revamping the agency, the PT encouraged tripartite councils such as the National Labor Forum to bring together unions and employers to govern the labor market.³³ These policies allowed the PT to retain a significant share of its core constituency while extending linkages to the poorest segments of the population ([Samuels and Zucco 2014](#); [Zucco 2013](#)).

Are these lessons useful beyond Brazil and beyond the PT? As [Garay \(2016\)](#) and others show, left-leaning parties currently compete for the votes of both insiders and outsiders (in Latin America and elsewhere). Thus, the challenges of collecting votes from a heterogeneous labor base are common to other developing democracies. Furthermore, many developing societies feature both large unskilled segments of the labor force and laws that powerfully protect workers in the formal economy. In Latin America, even Uruguay and Chile, the two countries with the most flexible regulations in the region, have labor regulations that are more protective than those found in France, Spain, Sweden, or Norway ([Heckman and Pagés 2000](#)). But the structural characteristics of the labor market are probably not the whole story. Throughout Latin America, leftist governments have established different relations with formal and informal organizations. In some countries, like Argentina and Brazil, the so-called “New Left” governments established strategic alliances with both unions and informal-sector organizations. But in other nations, such as Venezuela and Ecuador, leftist politicians clashed with organized labor ([Handlin 2013](#)). Future research can investigate how different types of political coalitions change government incentives to sustain large informal sectors and restrict the enforcement of labor regulations.

³² The PT did continue with efforts to increase the operational capacity of a small team of elite labor inspectors in charge of rescuing “slave-like” workers. See [Coslovsky \(2014\)](#).

³³ These councils do not have enforcement capacity but allow large employers and unions to share information, communicate demands, and coordinate around shared goals.

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Online Appendix for *Does the Left Breed Economic Informality?*

German Feierherd*

September 11, 2017

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A RD: balance and robustness checks

A.1 Density test

A potential threat to the regression-discontinuity design comes from the possibility that units (PT candidates that barely lost or won a mayoral election) can sort near the threshold. I use the test developed by McCrary (2008) to identify sorting on the running variable (the vote margin of PT candidates). The test fails to reject the null hypothesis of no sorting. This test reduces concerns about electoral manipulation.

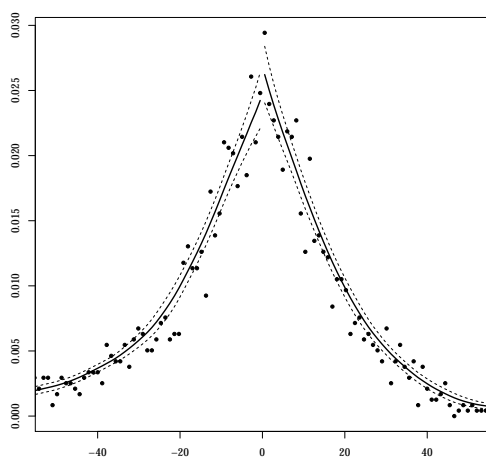


Figure A1: McCrary Density Test for PT candidates. The running variable (x-axis) is the electoral margin of the PT candidate.

A.2 Balance tests

Figure A2 shows balance tests for two estimators – local-linear regression, using a 5% bandwidth, and difference in means, using a 1% bandwidth – on a number of pre-treatment covariates for municipalities where PT candidates came either first or second. Treated and control municipalities are statistically indistinguishable from one another on a number of relevant covariates.

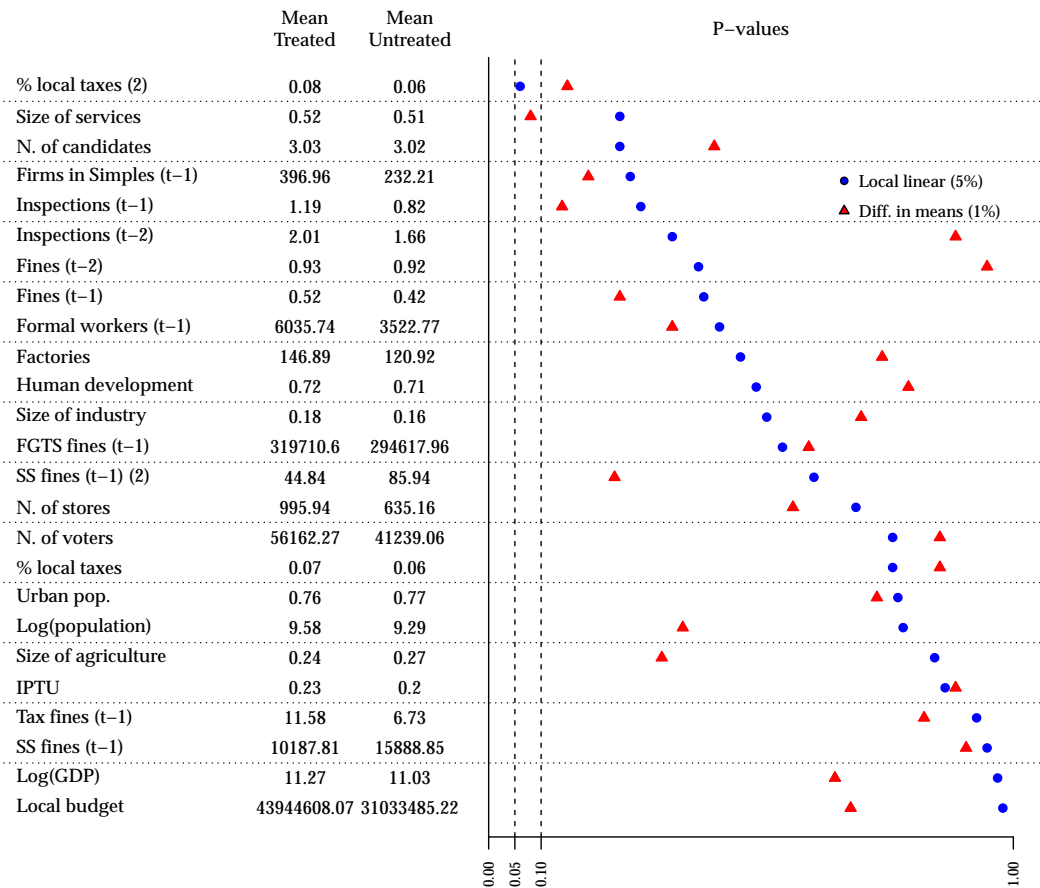


Figure A2: RDD: balance tests for pre-treatment covariates (municipal-level data). *% of local taxes (1) and (2)*, is the share of local taxes one year and two years before the election, as a share of the local GDP; *Size of services, industry, and agriculture* is the size of each industry over GDP; *Firms in Simples* is the number of firms participating in a tax simplification program, the year before the election; *Inspection and Fines* (multiple years) is the per capita number of labor inspections and fines; *SS and FGTS fines* is the amount of unpaid taxes collected by the inspectorate on each tax; *Human development* is a municipal-level human development index. *IPTU* is share of local property taxes over the local budget; the rest of the variables are self-explanatory.

A.3 Results for waged and self-employed informal workers

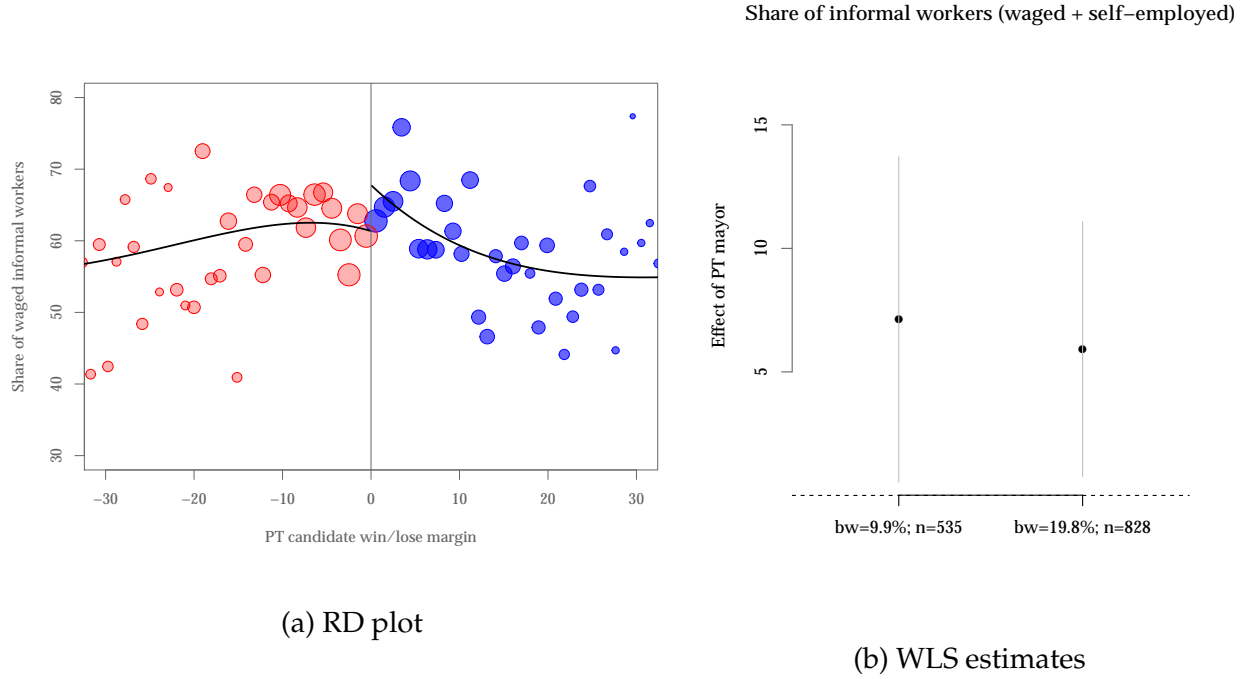


Figure A3: RD for the effect of a PT victory on the share of salaried and self-employed informal workers over the total number of salaried workers at the municipal level. Panel (a) The circles depict bin averages of the share of informal workers at the municipal level in places where a PT candidate wins or loses. Panel (b) WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals.

A.4 Results by cohorts

Table A1 shows that the PT depresses the number of inspections, both in periods where the PT was out of office at the federal level (1997-2000) and in periods where the PT was in office but did not control the Ministry of labor (2009-2012). During 2003-2012 (a period covering three PT presidential terms), the PT headed the Ministry of Labor only until March 2007, when Luiz Marinho (a union leader from São Paulo) was replaced by Carlos Lupi, from the Democratic Labor Party (PDT).

	RD Estimate	Standard Error	p-value	Bandwidth	N
1996-2012	-1.692	0.679	0.013	5.952	669
1997-2000	-6.991	2.539	0.006	7.456	109
2001-2004	1.127	1.768	0.524	7.599	114
2005-2008	-1.040	0.959	0.278	7.367	290
2009-2012	-1.669	0.818	0.041	5.931	243

Table A1: RDD: WLS point estimates at \hat{h} for the effect of a PT victor on the number of inspections per 1,000 adult residents by electoral round (1996–2012).

B Enterprise Surveys (ES) data

B.1 McCrary's density and balance tests

Figure A4 shows that there is no evidence of PT candidates in 2000 being able to sort near the threshold. Figure A5 shows that “treated” and “control” municipalities (i.e., where PT candidates win or lose a close elections) included in the ES sample are similar in a number of pre-treatment covariates; yet some imbalance remains.

Municipalities in the control group are more rural and slightly poorer.

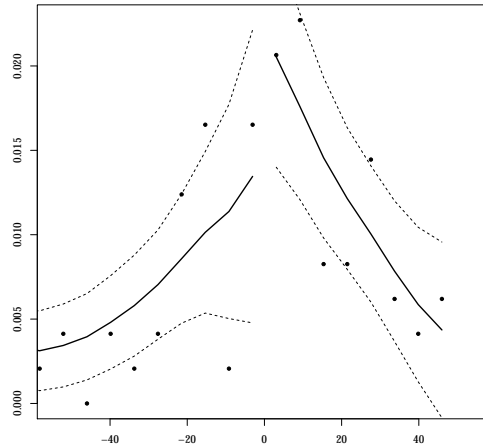


Figure A4: ES data: McCrary's Density Test for PT candidates. The running variable (x-axis) is the electoral margin of the PT candidate.

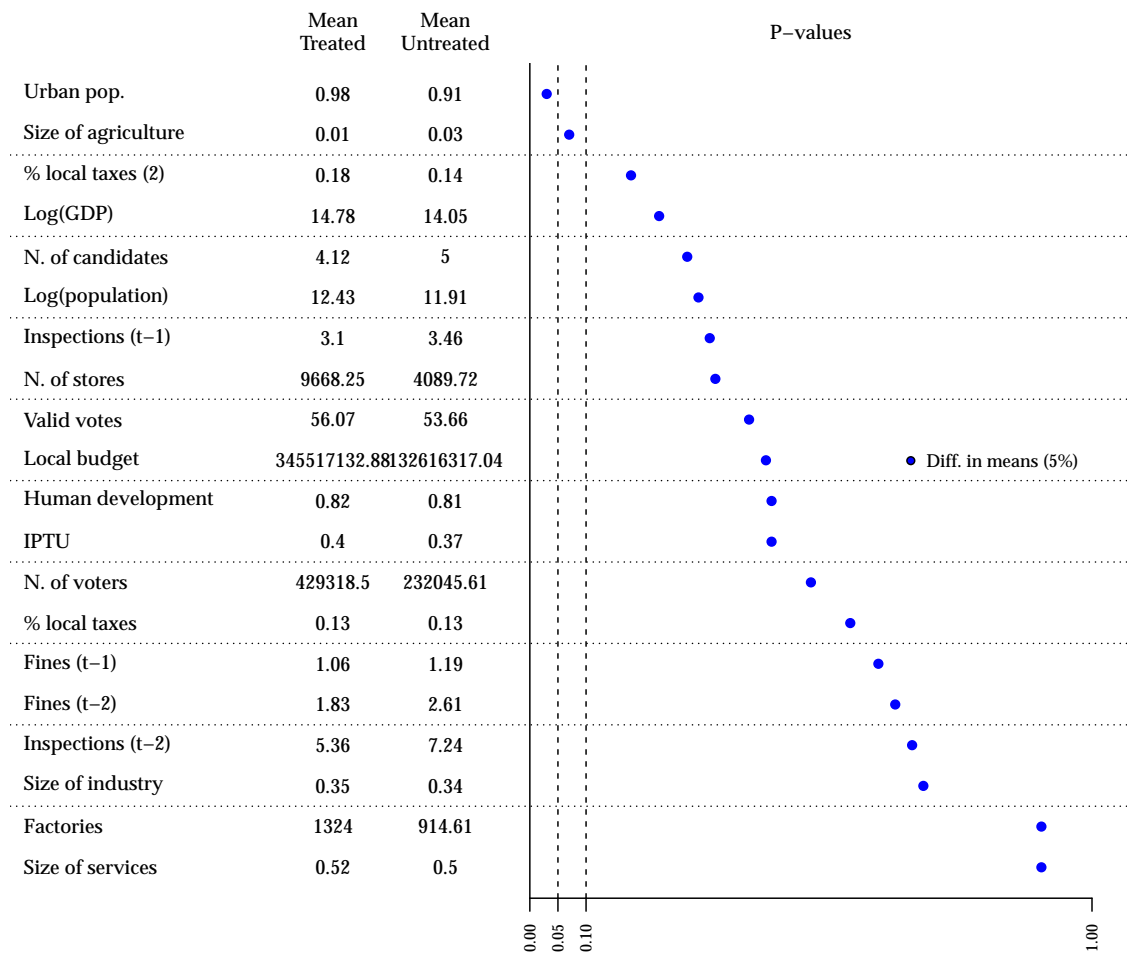


Figure A5: RDD: balance tests for pre-treatment covariates (ES data). For sources, see Figure A2.

B.2 RDD for unconditional effects

Figure A6 show results for the unconditional effect of a PT victory on a firm receiving a visit from a labor inspector using the ES data. These results largely replicate the findings using the municipal-level administrative: firms in PT-held municipalities are approximately 20% less likely to receive a labor inspection.

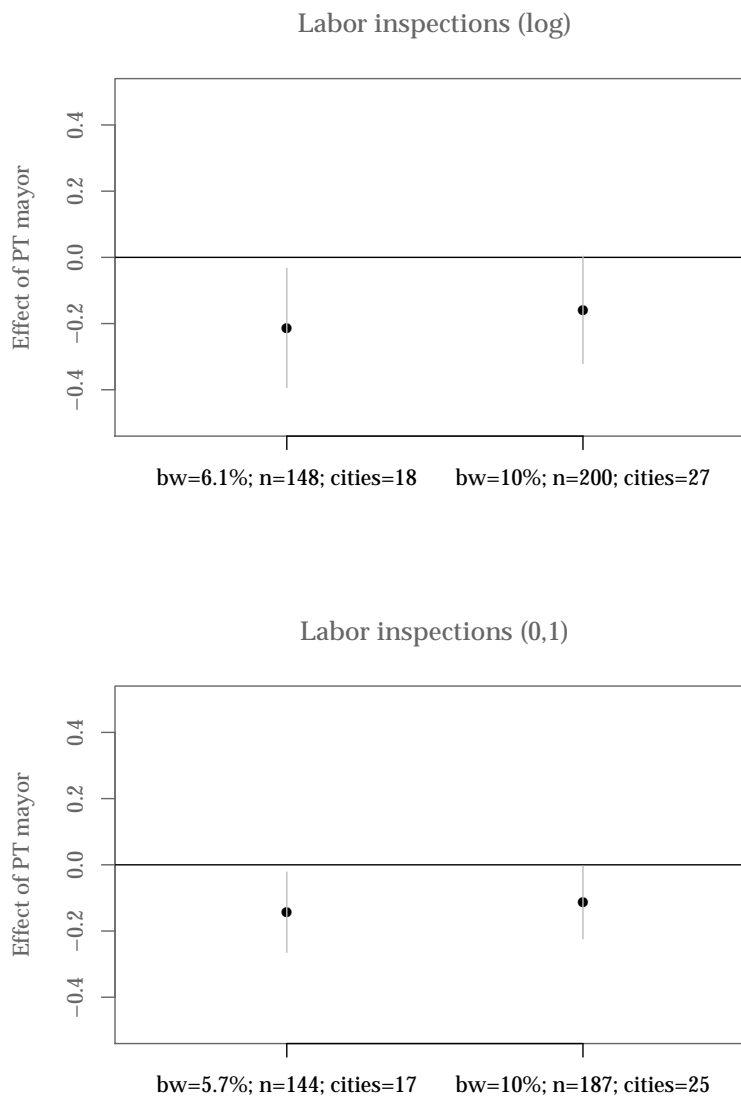


Figure A6: RDD: effect of PT mayor on inspections (ES data). Dots represent average treatment effects. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Models were estimated using difference in means and clustered-robust standard errors.

B.3 RDD for conditional effects for 10% bandwidths

Figures A7 and A8 replicate figures 7 and 8 in the main text using 10% bandwidths. Again, the negative effect of PT mayors on enforcement decreases with firm size and increases with the share of informal workers employed by the firm.

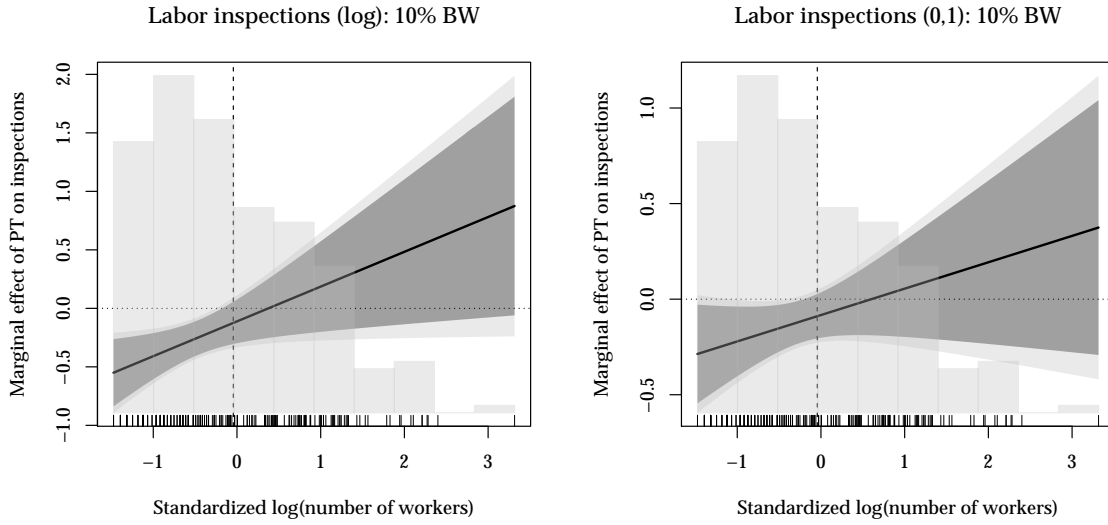


Figure A7: Marginal effect of PT mayor on receiving a labor inspection, conditional on firm size.

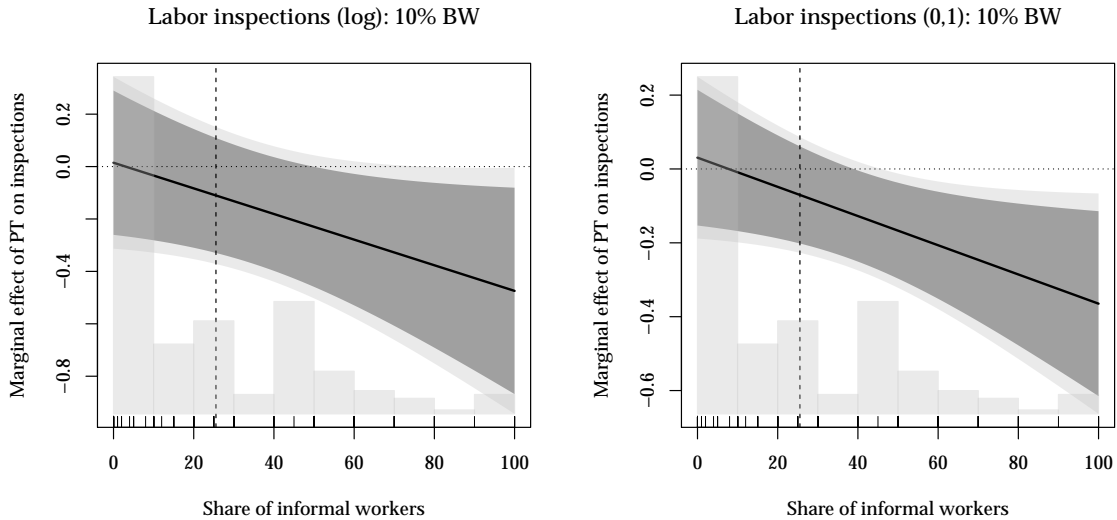


Figure A8: Marginal effect of PT mayor on receiving a labor or municipal and labor inspectors, conditional on the share of informal workers.

C Mayors and labor inspectors in Brazil

The Federal System of Labor Inspection (SFIT) is in charge of controlling the enforcement of all labor regulations. Inspectors are selected through competitive public service exams and have one of the best-paid jobs in the federal civil service. The agency is decentralized into *superintendências* at the state level, which are located in the state capitals (26 plus one for the federal district), and these regional offices are subdivided into 114 *gerências regionais*. These lower level offices are in charge of labor inspections in more than one municipality. Inspectors are affiliated with a specific *superintendência* and report to the *superintendente*, a politically-appointed individual who is not necessarily a career auditor.¹

Inspections can be broadly grouped into two categories: planned and unplanned. Every year, the federal government sets physical goals for each state-level office. These goals include the number of unpaid taxes that should be collected, the number of undeclared or “off the books” workers that should be detected, and the sectors that should be inspected more aggressively. Regional offices organize their work around these goals drawing information on labor violations from multiple sources, including claims filed by workers, unions, and local governments. Unplanned inspections are initiated in response to complaints filed by third parties, including workers and unions. Given the limited number of inspectors, inspectors choose which complaints they address and which they ignore. They prioritize complaints that affect a group of workers over those that affect only one worker.² Over the years, the SFIT has moved away from unplanned inspections and instead prioritizes planned inspections.³

During an inspection, inspectors notify the firm of any violation to the labor code. The firm has 10 days to respond to the accusation. If the firm does not refute the claim

¹ Inspectors must report to the superintendent in two cases: to bring an injunction against a company or a worksite or to request a travel allowance for worksite visits to distant municipalities.

² Interviews RGS3, BH3.

³ Interviews SP1, SP3, RGS3, BH3.

and pays the fine within 10 days of its notification, there is a 50% discount on the amount of the fine. Alternatively, if the firm decides to appeal the decision, it must deposit the total value of the penalty until a second decision has been reached. The size of the fines varies but experts believe they are “high enough to curtail breaches of the law, especially in small and medium enterprises” (Cardoso and Lage 2006, p. 6).

C.1 Qualitative evidence from interviews

I am interested in the influence of local government agencies, with little or no access to presidential or congressional channels of influence, on enforcement. Studying the enforcement of the Occupational Health and Safety Act (OSHA), Scholz, Twombly and Headrick (1991) show that *local* political networks influence the behavior of *federal* bureaucratic agencies in several ways. According to these authors, local influence varies negatively with the enforcement resources of field-level offices and positively with the discretionary power of field-level officials. In Brazil (and elsewhere in Latin America), labor inspectors possess great discretionary power – even more so than OSHA inspectors. They are in charge of enforcing the whole of the labor code and can decide which rules to enforce more aggressively. They also have discretion over which places to visit, how closely to scrutinize an establishment, and whether to sanction a violation or deal with it informally. Additionally, labor enforcement agencies lack resources to enforce regulations more broadly. The SFIT is clearly understaffed considering the number of workers that inspectors need to cover and the sparse geography of the country. Qualitative studies examining the day-to-day work of labor inspectors in Brazil provide numerous examples of local governments participating in the process of enforcing labor protections (Almeida 2008; Pires 2013; Tandler 2002).

I conducted fieldwork in several municipalities across four Brazilian states (including Brazil’s federal district), where I interviewed local labor agencies, federal labor inspectors, and employer and worker representatives. To identify the effect of local

governments on enforcement, I exploit three particularities of the Brazilian system. Firstly, to enforce regulations, inspectors rely (to some degree, at least) on municipalities. Local governments have plenty information on local labor market conditions. All businesses must register with the municipal tax agency and obtain an operating permit, and municipalities also supervise the operation of particular sectors. For instance, they supervise construction projects: they examine practical and facility aspects, issue equipment operating permits, and check that the construction conforms to municipal legislation, zoning laws, and the municipal building code. Inspectors rarely reside in the municipality where they conduct inspections; thus, they frequently seek information and guidance from local actors, including local government agencies. For an understaffed labor agency, municipalities are an invaluable source of resources and information.⁴

Secondly, local governments have informal and formal channels of influence over the labor agency. Mayors successfully lobby the superintendent and inspectors to block or prevent enforcement efforts. Complaints (or expected complaints) from mayors on inspectors affect inspectors' behavior and deter enforcement.⁵ Municipalities can also sign *parcerias* (cooperation agreements) with the enforcement agency. With these agreements, municipalities provide resources for enforcement (e.g., access to data or a building to set up a local inspection office); they also influence the operation of the agency by focusing the attention of inspectors on particular sectors or by signaling that the local government is already working with firms and workers to improve compliance. Inspectors are aware of the risks of regulatory capture but they also recognize that enforcement is more likely to produce "sustainable compliance" when local development agencies are positively involved in enforcement.⁶

Finally, a substantial number of inspectors are affiliated with the PT. Surveyed in 1999, 45% declared their sympathy with a particular party. Of these, more than 60%

⁴ Interviews BH2, BH4, RDS1, SP1, SP2, RDS1.

⁵ Interviews SP1, SP3, RDS2.

⁶ Interviews BH3, RGDS5, SP3.

declared being affiliated with the PT (Rosso 1999). Inspectors whose political sympathies lie with PT mayors may share policy guidelines with them.⁷

C.2 Cooperation agreements with the Ministry of Labor

The channels through which PT mayors influence labor inspectors are hard to observe quantitatively. That said, the number and type of cooperation agreements between local governments and the federal Ministry of Labor – on which the SFIT depends – provide some evidence of the greater involvement of PT mayors with local labor markets and the federal agencies in charge of enforcing labor law. Table A2 shows that a large proportion of these agreements are signed by PT mayors: 25% of all agreements signed between the Ministry of Labor and local governments were signed by a municipality headed by a PT mayor; more than 16% of PT mayors had signed agreements with the Ministry of Labor.

	Municipalities with...		
	no agreement	agreement	%
Non-PT mayor	14,000	593	4.06
PT mayor	932	182	16.34

Table A2: Agreements signed between local governments and the Federal Ministry of Labor between 1996–2012

Examining the content of these agreements provides evidence of the intent of PT mayors: instead of seeking cooperation from the SFIT to formalize informal workers and sanction non-compliant firms, PT mayors seek support to promote Social and Solidarity Enterprises (SSEs) and to provide assistance and training for marginal workers.

To examine the agreements, I first cleaned the text of the agreements signed by PT mayors using a series of standard techniques: I converted the text to lowercase, stemmed all words and removed stop words and numbers. I also removed words that appeared in fewer than 25 documents. With this data, I used a semi-automated, text analysis model

⁷ See Blau (1963) and Kaufman (1960).

called Structural Topic Model (STM) using the R package developed by Roberts et al. (2014). This model estimates both the content and prevalence of topics in the text as a function of covariates (in my case, simply state and year fixed effects). The STM is an unsupervised model, meaning that topics emerge from the data rather than by a coding scheme created by the researcher; unlike single-member models, each document or agreement may contain multiple topics.

Table A3 lists keywords identified as being part of each topic. Of the topics identified by the STM model, several relate to the segmented strategy of the PT and indicate that local government involvement with federal labor agencies focuses on improving conditions for informal-sector workers rather than on enforcing labor protections or the formalization of informal workers.

Topics	<i>Keywords</i>
SSE initiatives (1)	solidarity, income, development, work, local
Support for the unemployed	employment, unemployment, SINE, insurance, training
Cooperation with SFIT	cooperation, technical, financial, agreement, establishment
SSE initiatives (2)	enterprise, economy, social, family, inclusion
Support for marginal workers	construction, allowance, family, civil, program

Table A3: Highest probability words by selected topic

D Heterogeneous Effects

D.1 Coalition size

Next, I explore the heterogeneity of the effect of a PT victory by separately estimating the RD effects at two levels of the strongest opponent's vote share: below and above the median value. For each sample, I separately estimate the RD effect of a PT victory on the number of inspections during the 4-year mayoral term. As suggested in the main text, the PT should adopt an strategy of segmented enforcement in municipalities where it has to build larger coalition that includes both insiders and

outsiders. Indeed, the negative effect of the PT on enforcement, and the positive effect of the PT on informality, concentrate in municipalities where the strongest opposition party wins more than 45% of the votes.

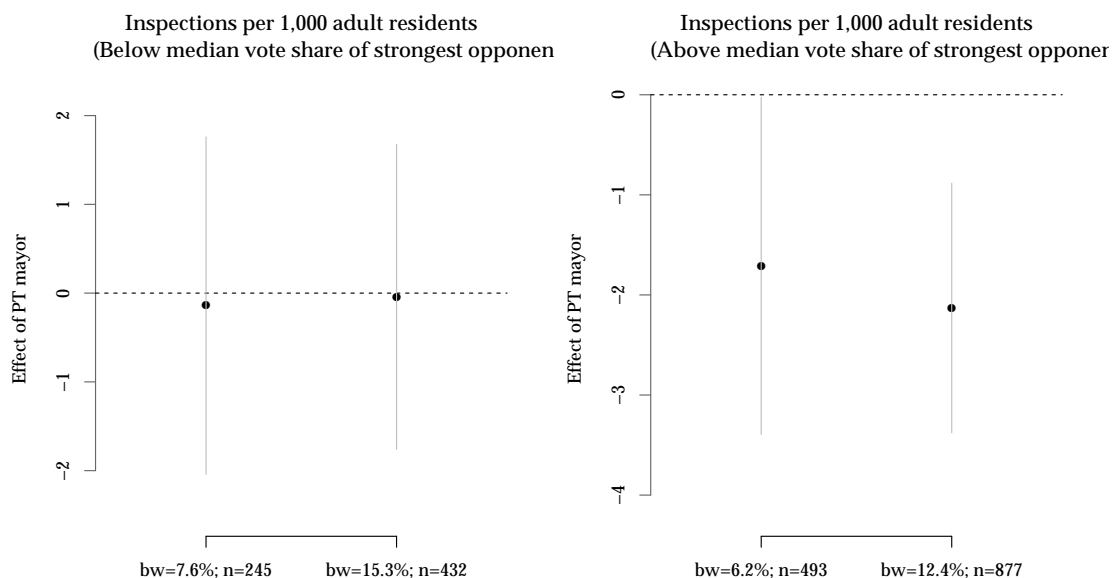


Figure A9: WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals for the effect of a PT victory on enforcement by levels of strongest opponent's vote share.

D.2 Trade Liberalization

Scholarly studies suggest that openness to international markets has deep political consequences. Globalization impacts the everyday lives of workers and consumers in several ways, as well as their employment prospects. The liberalization in trade in Brazil involved drastic reductions in overall trade tariffs across industries, reducing the dispersion of tariffs across industries. The bulk of the liberalization reform took place between 1991 and 1994. Following 1994, tariffs remained essentially stable. I follow Kovak (2013), who exploits exogenous changes in prices across 21 tradable industries, including agricultural and non-traded goods. Kovak defines a "region-level tariff change" (RTC) as a weighted average of liberalization-induced price changes, with

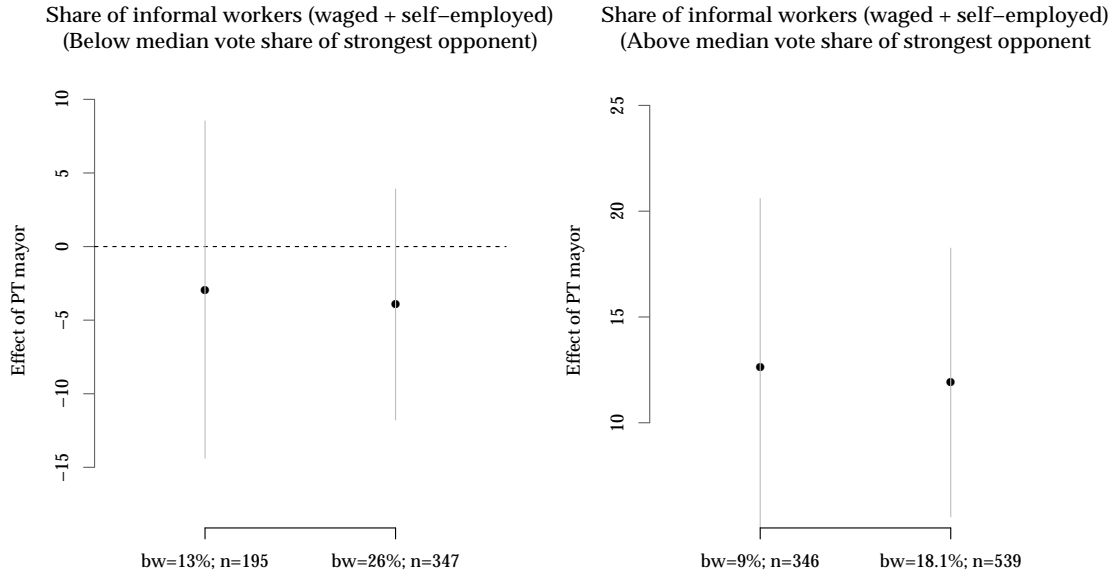


Figure A10: WLS point estimates at \hat{h} and $\hat{h}/2$ with 95% (gray) confidence intervals for the effect of a PT victory on Informality by levels of strongest opponent's vote share.

weights based on the industrial distribution of labor in each region:

$$RTC_m = \sum_{i \neq N} \lambda_{m,i} \cdot d \cdot \ln(1 + \tau_i) \quad (1)$$

where

$$\lambda_{m,i} = \frac{\frac{1}{\lambda_{m,i} \theta_i}}{\sum_{i' \neq N} \frac{1}{\theta_{i'}}} \quad (2)$$

In these equations, i denotes industries and m local labor markets. $d \cdot \ln(1 + \tau_i)$ is a measure of the liberalization-induced price changes, where τ_i is the nominal tariff rate for industry i and d represents the long-difference from 1990 to 1995.⁸ These changes are weighted by the fraction of local labor allocated to industry i in municipality m ($\lambda_{m,i}$). θ_i is equal to one minus the wage bill share of industry i and proxies for labor demand

⁸ That is, $\ln(1 + \tau_{i,95}/100) - \ln(1 + \tau_{i,90}/100)$.

elasticity in each industry. My analysis departs from Kovak's in two ways: first, I measure the region-level tariff change at the municipal level, while he focuses on micro-regions (which typically include several municipalities). Second, I compute the region-level tariff changes, by looking at the distribution of unskilled workers across industries and municipalities (defined here as workers without completed high-school).

RTC_m captures how municipal labor markets are affected by the liberalization of trade: municipalities whose workers were concentrated in industries facing the largest tariff cuts should be more affected by tariff changes than those facing smaller cuts or with fewer workers employed in liberalizing industries. I use the same regression discontinuity design as in equation (2) and a difference in means at the 10% bandwidth, but I add an interaction between the treatment (i.e., the partisanship of the mayor) and RTC_m . As mentioned, the bulk of the tariff reform process took place between 1991-1994. Thus, I focus on the effect of the municipal-level tariff change by looking at the cohort of mayors elected for the 1996-2000 period. Figure A11 shows results for heterogeneous treatment effects for PT-held municipalities on the number of labor inspections, conditional on $RTC_{m,unsk}$. Irrespective of bandwidth or model choice, PT mayors block enforcement in municipalities that experienced a negative trade shock in industries with many unskilled workers.

E Details about interviews in Brazil and Argentina

I conducted semi-structured interviews with officials of the federal Ministry of Labor, the state and local labor offices, labor inspectors, federal and state prosecutors and judges, union leaders, businessmen, and local experts. The following list provides the identification code, position (if available), organization, geographic location, and date of interviews cited or referenced in the main text:

BA1, Former Ministry of Labor of Santa Fe, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 09/2015

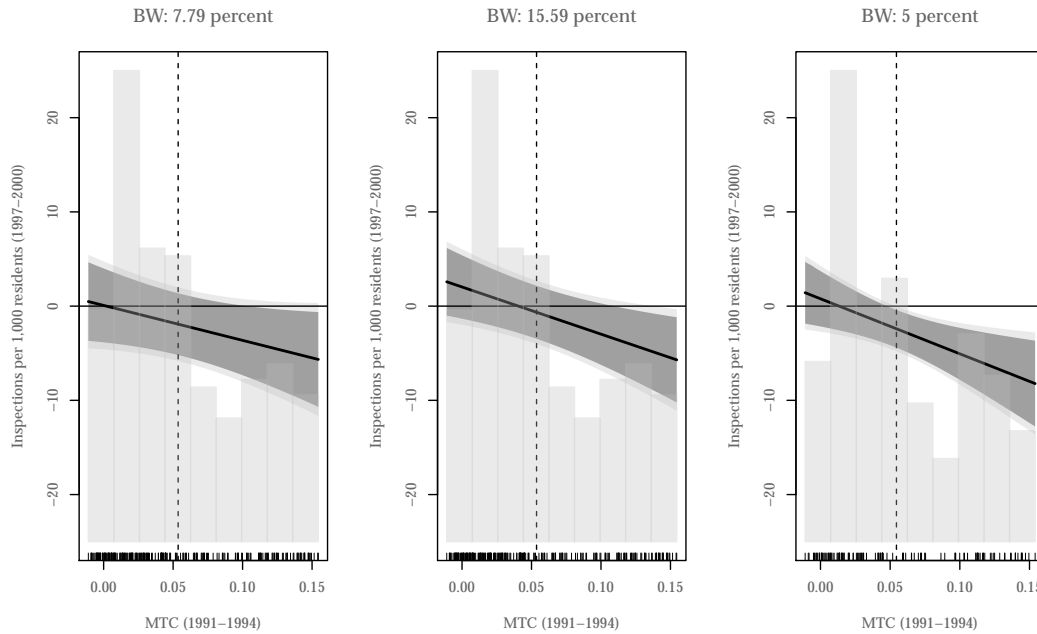


Figure A11: Marginal effect of PT mayors on enforcement conditional on the regional tariff change, weighted for the industry-municipal proportion of unskilled workers. 90% confidence intervals in dark grey and 95% confidence interval in grey, calculated using robust standard errors.

BA2, Senior Official, Department of Labor Inspection, Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 09/2015

BH2, Union Leader, FETAG-BA, Bahia, Brazil, 06/2015

BH3, Labor Inspector (AFT), Ministry of Labor and Employment, Bahia, Brazil, 06/2015

BH4, State Legislator, Bahia, Brazil, 06/2015

SF2, Senior Official, Ministry of Labor of Santa Fe, Santa Fe, Argentina, 08/2015

ER1, Labor Inspector, Department of Labor Inspection, Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Security, Entre Rios, Argentina, 08/2015

PR1, Journalist, Pará, Brazil, 08/2016

RGDS1, Labor Inspector (AFT), Ministry of Labor and Employment, Rio Grade do Sul, Brazil, 05/2015

RGDS2, Union Leader and Labor Inspector (AFT), AGITRA/Ministry of Labor and Employment, Rio Grade do Sul, Brazil, 05/2015

RGDS5, Former Senior Official, Secretary of Labor, Rio Grade do Sul, Brazil, 05/2015
RGDS7, Labor Inspector (AFT), Ministry of Labor and Employment, Rio Grade do Sul, Brazil, 05/2015
SP1, Senior Official, Ministry of Labor and Employment, São Paolo, Brazil, 09/2014
SP2, Union Leader, CUT-SP, São Paolo, Brazil, 09/2014
SP3, Former Labor Inspector (AFT), SINAIT, São Paolo, Brazil, 09/2014
SP11, Journalist, São Paolo, Brazil, 08/2016

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