Inclusive Institutions, Unequal Outcomes: Democracy, State Infrastructural Power, and Inequality 1970–2015

Héctor Bahamonde 1 Mart Trasberg ²

¹ O'Higgins University

²Tulane University

April 17, 2020

 Median voter and selectorate theories conceptualize democracy as redistributive.

 Median voter and selectorate theories conceptualize democracy as redistributive. Is it?

- Median voter and selectorate theories conceptualize democracy as redistributive. Is it?
 - Poor accountability, clientelism, interest group capture challenge democratic redistribution (Albertus and Menaldo 2018).

- Median voter and selectorate theories conceptualize democracy as redistributive. Is it?
 - Poor accountability, clientelism, interest group capture challenge democratic redistribution (Albertus and Menaldo 2018).
 - In fact, sometimes autocracies redistribute more, when compared to democracies (Albertus 2015).

- Median voter and selectorate theories conceptualize democracy as redistributive. Is it?
 - Poor accountability, clientelism, interest group capture challenge democratic redistribution (Albertus and Menaldo 2018).
 - In fact, sometimes autocracies redistribute more, when compared to democracies (Albertus 2015).
- What's the overtime relationship between inequality, state capacity and democracy?

- Median voter and selectorate theories conceptualize democracy as redistributive. Is it?
 - Poor accountability, clientelism, interest group capture challenge democratic redistribution (Albertus and Menaldo 2018).
 - In fact, sometimes autocracies redistribute more, when compared to democracies (Albertus 2015).
- What's the overtime relationship between inequality, state capacity and democracy?
- Argue When democracy and state institutions are strong, investment climate should be better, fostering inequality via FDIs.

Democracy

protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction (**benefiting mostly economic elites**).

Democracy

protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction (**benefiting mostly economic elites**).

High State Capacity

fosters a **market economy** via **legal institutions**, enhancing private contracting among economic elites.

Mechanism

Argument Inequality increases where democracy and state capacity are high.

Argument Inequality increases where democracy and state capacity are high.

• Both factors should *decrease* **investment risks** by **securing property rights** and by **enforcing contract security**, fostering a **good investment climate**.

 Both factors should decrease investment risks by securing property rights and by **enforcing contract security**, fostering a **good investment climate**.

These factors should translate into:

• Higher FDIs:

Mechanism

 Both factors should decrease investment risks by securing property rights and by **enforcing contract security**, fostering a **good investment climate**.

These factors should translate into:

Higher FDIs:

Mechanism

1. rise the demand for skilled workers, increasing the wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers (increasing labor income inequality).

 Both factors should decrease investment risks by securing property rights and by **enforcing contract security**, fostering a **good investment climate**.

These factors should translate into:

Higher FDIs:

Mechanism

- 1. rise the demand for skilled workers, increasing the wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers (increasing labor income inequality).
- 2. turn domestic elites into more relevant political and economic actors.

When **property rights** are protected and when **state institutions** provide good-enough legal systems throughout the territory, investment climate should be better, fostering **inequality** via FDIs.

Data

Main Variables

Y Inequality: (post-tax) Gini.

Data

ment Econometrics

• • • • •

Y Inequality: (post-tax) Gini.

 X_1 **Democracy**: Polity.

Main Variables

- Y Inequality: (post-tax) Gini.
- X_1 **Democracy**: Polity.
- X_2 State Capacity: the "infrastructural power of the state" to penetrate its territory (Mann), by observing whether the state is able to conduct regular censuses.

Model

• We're interested in the *combined* effects of a state being **democratic** and with high capacity.

Model

- We're interested in the *combined* effects of a state being **democratic** and with high capacity.
- Hence, we should use an **interaction term** (ρ) .

Interactive Hypothesis Testing: ECM Framework

- We're interested in the *combined* effects of a state being **democratic** and with high capacity.
- Hence, we should use an interaction term (ρ) . More formally, we estimate:

$$\Delta \text{Inequality}_{i,t} = \alpha_0 + \\ \alpha_1 \text{Inequality}_{i,t-1} + \\ \rho(\text{Democracy}_{i,t-1} \times \text{State Capacity}_{i,t-1}) + \\ \beta_1(\Delta \text{Democracy}_{i,t} \times \text{State Capacity}_{i,t-1}) + \\ \beta_n \text{Control Variables}_n + \\ \gamma_i + \lambda_t + \mu_{i,t}$$
 (1)

where y_i and λ_t are the country and year fixed effects, respectively, $\mu_{i,t}$ the estimated residuals, and Control Variables a matrix of length $n_{i,t}$ relevant control variables.

	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000
GDP_Δ	-0.00000^*	-0.00000^*	-0.00000	-0.00000^*	-0.00000*	-0.00000	-0.00000
	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
$Inflation_{t-1}$	0.00000***	0.00000***	0.00000***	0.00000***	0.00000***	0.00000***	0.00000
	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
$Inflation_\Delta$	0.00000**	0.00000**	0.00000**	0.00000**	0.00000**	0.00000**	0.00000
	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
FDI_{t-1}	-0.00000	-0.00000	0.00001	-0.00001	-0.00001	-0.00001	0.00000
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002
FDI_Δ	-0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	-0.00001	-0.00001	-0.00000	0.00000
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001
$Trade_{t-1}$	0.00001*	0.00001	0.00001*	-0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001
$Trade_\Delta$	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	-0.00000	-0.00000	-0.00000	-0.00000
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001
Agriculture $_{t-1}$	-0.00013***	-0.00013***	-0.00014***	-0.00013***	-0.00014***	-0.00013***	-0.00014
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002
Agriculture $_\Delta$	-0.00014***	-0.00014***	-0.00014***	-0.00015***	-0.00014***	-0.00014***	-0.00014
	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.00003)	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.00004
Pop. Age $_{t-1}$	0.00006	0.00008*	0.00005	0.00003	0.00001	0.00009**	0.00005
	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.00005)	(0.00005)	(0.00005)	(0.00005
Pop. Age $_\Delta$	0.00048	0.00062*	0.00063*	0.00082*	0.00077*	0.00109***	0.00104
	(0.00037)	(0.00036)	(0.00035)	(0.00042)	(0.00041)	(0.00039)	(0.00038
Urban Pop. $_{t-1}$	0.00003	0.00004	0.00004	0.00007**	0.00006*	0.00006*	0.00006
	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003
Urban Pop. $_\Delta$	0.00073**	0.00078**	0.00077**	0.00109***	0.00104***	0.00094***	0.00090
	(0.00033)	(0.00033)	(0.00032)	(0.00038)	(0.00038)	(0.00035)	(0.00035

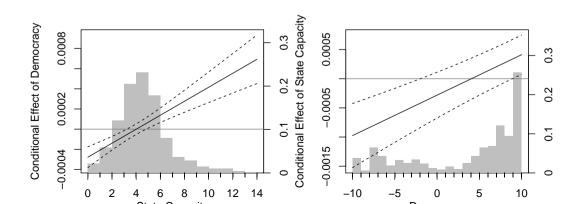
Neither constitutive terms nor interaction terms are directly interpretable (Brambor et al

2006). We calculate the conditional effect of state capacity and democracy on

inequality.

Neither constitutive terms nor interaction terms are directly interpretable (Brambor et al 2006). We calculate the conditional effect of state capacity *and* democracy on inequality.

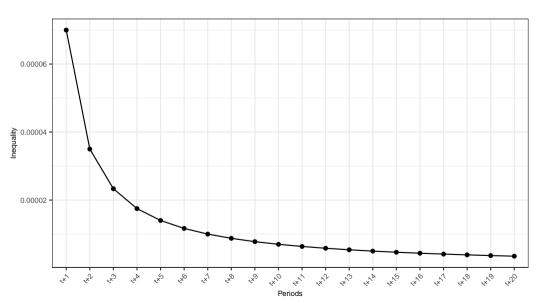
```
##
## The downloaded binary packages are in
## /var/folders/6p/rskc7qs56hd1r90gy1684bgc0000gn/T//RtmpRUt1iE/downloaded_packages
```



Results

- We also compute the long-run effect = $LRM \times ECR = 0.00007$ (DeBoef et al., 2008).
- Substantively, inequality increases immediately in t+1 = 0.00007, and continues increasing 0.00003 the next period.
- The LRM ($\frac{\rho}{\beta_1} = \frac{0.00007}{-0.02055} = -0.0034$) "is the cumulative effect of a covariate on the outcome" (Keele et al 2016) that "spread[s] over future time periods" (Haber et al, 2011).
- The ECR (ho=-0.02055) is the "speed of adjustment" (Keele et al, 2016) or the "short-run effects" (DeBoef et al 2008).

Computing Long-Run Effects



Conclusions

- **Democracy protects private property rights** from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

- Democracy protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

In turn, these elements:

- 1. Foster market institutions.
- 2. Enhance private contracting.

- Democracy protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

In turn, these elements:

- 1. Foster market institutions.
- 2. Enhance private contracting.
- * All these elements create favorable market conditions that attract FDIs:

Conclusions

- **Democracy protects private property rights** from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

In turn, these elements:

- 1. Foster market institutions.
- 2. Enhance private contracting.
- ★ All these elements create favorable market conditions that attract FDIs:
 - attracting multinational corporations.

Conclusions

- Democracy protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

In turn, these elements:

- 1. Foster market institutions.
- 2. Enhance private contracting.
- ★ All these elements create favorable market conditions that attract FDIs:
 - attracting multinational corporations.
 - making economic elites (even) more politically influent:

- Democracy protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

In turn, these elements:

- 1. Foster market institutions.
- 2. Enhance private contracting.
- * All these elements create favorable market conditions that attract FDIs:
 - attracting multinational corporations.
 - making economic elites (even) more politically influent: pressures to liberalize labor protection policies.

- Democracy protects private property rights from arbitrary government extraction.
- High state capacity offers stronger protection of the rule of law.

In turn, these elements:

Conclusions

- Foster market institutions.
- 2. Enhance private contracting.
- * All these elements create favorable market conditions that attract FDIs:
 - attracting multinational corporations.
 - making economic elites (even) more politically influent: pressures to liberalize labor protection policies.

This is why we believe that democracy and state capacity increase inequality overtime.

Thank you!

More info:

www.HectorBahamonde.com