

Commitment Institutions and Electoral and Political Instability

A Reduced-Form Approach

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Do the commitment institutions of central bank independence and fixed exchange rates affect electoral and political instability?

- ▶ Net Welfare Benefits
 - ▶ Inflation Time Inconsistency
 - ▶ Political efficacy, access to capital
 - ▶ Economic Voting, Increased Stability
- ▶ Political Business Cycles
 - ▶ Inability to manipulate economy or satisfy partisans
 - ▶ Monetary (perhaps fiscal) policy
 - ▶ Economic voting, Decreased Stability

Can Trump fire Fed Chair Jerome Powell?

Adriene Hill, Janet Nguyen, and Daisy Palacios

Dec 24, 2018



- ▶ Bernhard and Leblang (2002)
 - ▶ OLS, 16 parliamentary democracies since 1970s
 - ▶ CBI increases cabinet duration by 3mos, Fixed rates by 5mos
- ▶ Clark, Golder, and Poast (2013)
 - ▶ Survival Analysis, 19 OECD countries since 1970s
 - ▶ Both institutions increase leader survival but only after 7y in office
- ▶ Contribution:
 - ▶ Far larger dataset including non/semi-democracies
 - ▶ More consideration of endogeneity: choice of institutions based on stability consideration, de jure independence
 - ▶ Political, not just electoral stability (coups, civil wars, etc), consideration for specific governmental positions

- ▶ Panel of 192 countries, 1970-2016
- ▶ Varieties of Democracy
 - ▶ V2elturnhos, v2eltturnhog, v2eltvrig
 - ▶ 0 for same individual, 1 for same party or coalition, 2 for new party & ind.
 - ▶ WGI Political Violence (neg = unstable)
 - ▶ Instability Event- coup, civil war, internal conflict
- ▶ Garriga (Cukierman, Webb, Neyapti)- de jure CBI
- ▶ Dreher et al.- Irregular turnover of governor- de facto CBI
- ▶ Reinhart, Rogoff Exchange Rates: 16 categories (higher = float)

- ▶ Separate regressions (bad control problem)
- ▶ FEs, clustered SEs
- ▶ De Jure CBI and more instability: PBCs
- ▶ De Facto CBI (high irregular turnover) and less lower chamber turnover
- ▶ Fixed rate and less HOS turnover
- ▶ Welfare Benefits of De Facto CBI, Fixed Rates?

Fixed Effects Regression with Clustered Standard Errors

Table: De Jure CBI, Fixed Effects Regression with Clustered Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.276 (1.44) | 0.303* (2.30) | 0.389* (1.99) | -0.417** (-2.75) | 1.000*** (11.15) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.0120 (-1.61) | -0.0207*** (-3.45) | -0.00615 (-0.71) | 0.0106 (1.69) | 0.00690 (1.33) |
| Constant | 0.618*** (6.15) | 0.390*** (5.43) | 0.535*** (4.99) | 0.0283 (0.31) | -0.113* (-2.20) |
| Observations | 1399 | 1399 | 1141 | 2141 | 4207 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Fixed Effects Regression with Clustered Standard Errors

Table: De Facto CBI, Fixed Effects Regression with Clustered Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | -0.117 (-1.68) | -0.0512 (-0.81) | -0.211** (-2.81) | 0.00955 (0.36) | 0.0244 (1.36) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00548 (-0.82) | -0.0117* (-2.06) | 0.00444 (0.53) | 0.0153* (2.08) | 0.0128** (2.73) |
| Constant | 0.805*** (9.91) | 0.521*** (7.75) | 0.865*** (9.43) | -0.247*** (-3.54) | 0.261*** (6.77) |
| Observations | 1651 | 1651 | 1334 | 2669 | 4491 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Ordered Logit (Mean Marginal Effects)

- ▶ Nothing changes in terms of significance, except for fixed Erates and HOG
- ▶ xtologit; random effects

Ordered Logit Mean Marginal Effects

Table: De Jure CBI, Mean Marginal Effects, Ordered Logit Panel Regression, Random Effects, Clustered Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L.H. Turnover |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | | | |
| 1._predict | -0.146 (-1.93) | -0.208*** (-3.54) | -0.316*** (-3.65) |
| 2._predict | 0.0152 (1.80) | 0.0390*** (3.32) | 0.0980** (3.21) |
| 3._predict | 0.131 (1.93) | 0.169*** (3.47) | 0.218*** (3.68) |
| Fixed Rate | | | |
| 1._predict | 0.00792* (2.45) | 0.00896** (3.21) | 0.00392 (0.96) |
| 2._predict | -0.000826* (-2.22) | -0.00168** (-3.00) | -0.00122 (-0.96) |
| 3._predict | -0.00710* (-2.46) | -0.00728** (-3.18) | -0.00271 (-0.96) |
| Observations | 1399 | 1399 | 1141 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Ordered Logit Mean Marginal Effects

Table: De Facto CBI, Mean Marginal Effects, Ordered Logit Panel Regression, Random Effects, Clustered Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L.H. Turnover |
|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | | | |
| 1._predict | 0.0734* (2.23) | 0.0356 (1.30) | 0.119** (3.19) |
| 2._predict | -0.00756* (-2.02) | -0.00655 (-1.24) | -0.0296** (-3.05) |
| 3._predict | -0.0658* (-2.23) | -0.0290 (-1.31) | -0.0890** (-3.14) |
| Fixed Rate | | | |
| 1._predict | 0.00384 (1.32) | 0.00473 (1.93) | -0.00440 (-1.19) |
| 2._predict | -0.000396 (-1.27) | -0.000870 (-1.87) | 0.00110 (1.18) |
| 3._predict | -0.00345 (-1.32) | -0.00386 (-1.92) | 0.00331 (1.19) |
| Observations | 1651 | 1651 | 1334 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Panel Logit (binary instability event variable) Mean Marginal Effects

- ▶ Fixed effects
- ▶ More evidence that de jure CBI increases political instability
- ▶ Fixed exchange rate (low RR rate classification) increases pol. instability, but very small effect size

Binary Instability Event Logit, Mean Marginal Effects

Table: Instability Event Panel Logit, Fixed Effects and Clustered Standard Errors, Mean Marginal Effects

| | (1) Instab. Event |
|--------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.376*** (12.93) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.00227** (2.99) |
| Observations | 3912 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Binary Instability Event Logit, Mean Marginal Effects

Table: Instability Event Panel Logit, Fixed Effects and Clustered Standard Errors, Mean Marginal Effects

| | (1) Instab. Event |
|--------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | 0.0282 (1.18) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.0152*** (6.71) |
| Observations | 4163 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

IV1: Tertiary Ed Enrollment (CBI), Aggregate GDP (Fixed Rate)

- ▶ Good first stages
- ▶ Poor exclusion restrictions for political stability, better ones for electoral stability/turnover
- ▶ De jure CBI now increases lower chamber turnover, but no longer HOS; strange sign for WB stability
- ▶ Fixed rates appear to increase instability
- ▶ De facto CBI more or less insignificant

Tertiary Education and Aggregate GDP Instruments

Table: Instruments of Tertiary Education Enrollment Rate and Aggregate GDP, Robust Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.629 (1.55) | -0.478 (-1.42) | 0.847* (1.97) | 6.976*** (13.27) | 0.835*** (4.30) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00669 (-0.19) | 0.0171 (0.51) | 0.0266 (0.76) | -0.0865** (-2.84) | -0.0295 (-1.66) |
| Constant | 0.401 (1.28) | 0.576* (2.01) | 0.0636 (0.22) | -3.422*** (-9.22) | 0.292 (1.65) |
| Observations | 851 | 851 | 686 | 1865 | 2047 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Tertiary Education and Aggregate GDP Instruments

Table: Instruments of Tertiary Education Enrollment Rate and Aggregate GDP, Robust Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | 1.295 (1.19) | -0.626 (-0.74) | 2.071 (1.66) | 39.47* (1.97) | -18.01 (-0.46) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.0152 (0.46) | -0.0101 (-0.32) | 0.0864* (2.08) | 0.581 (1.49) | -0.131 (-0.47) |
| Constant | -0.538 (-0.50) | 1.085 (1.32) | -1.708 (-1.39) | -40.72 (-1.96) | 17.29 (0.48) |
| Observations | 962 | 962 | 788 | 2236 | 2011 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

IV2: Population Share Social Science/Business Grads (CBI), Agg GDP (Fixed Rates)

- ▶ Better Exclusion Restriction
- ▶ Very limited data but strong result for de jure CBI and political instability

Population Share Social Science/Business Grads and Agg GDP Instruments

Table: Instruments of Social Science/Business Graduates Population Share and Aggregate GDP, Robust Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 44.33 (0.49) | 14.48 (0.47) | -22.04 (-0.48) | -19.44 (-0.24) | 2.704*** (4.11) |
| Fixed Rate | -1.277 (-0.47) | -0.422 (-0.44) | 0.704 (0.51) | 0.722 (0.27) | -0.129 (-1.60) |
| Constant | -19.38 (-0.50) | -6.144 (-0.46) | 10.39 (0.52) | 8.414 (0.25) | |
| Observations | 20 | 20 | 17 | 53 | 12 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Population Share Social Science/Business Grads and Agg GDP Instruments

Table: Instruments of Social Science/Business Graduates Population Share and Aggregate GDP, Robust Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| De facto CBI | -18.95 (-0.83) | -5.278 (-0.40) | 19.37 (0.80) | -7.488 (-0.66) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.0129 (0.22) | -0.0133 (-0.25) | 0.131* (2.07) | 0.0659 (1.16) |
| Constant | 19.38 (0.85) | 5.799 (0.44) | -19.06 (-0.79) | 7.212 (0.64) |
| Observations | 59 | 59 | 52 | 187 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Just Aggregate GDP for Fixed Rates

- ▶ Clearer case for fixed rates decreasing pol and electoral stability (PBC)
- ▶ Note on exclusion restriction: still an imperfect case
 - ▶ Agg GDP proxies for economy size (optimum currency area)
 - ▶ Arguably not as connected to GDP per capita to stability

Aggregate GDP Instrument for Fixed Rates

Table: Instrument of Aggregate GDP for Fixed Exchange Rates, Robust Standard Errors

| | (1) L. H. Turnover | (2) WB Pol. Stability |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Fixed Rate | 0.0779*** (3.35) | -0.257*** (-4.13) |
| Constant | 0.0991 (0.58) | 1.992*** (4.16) |
| Observations | 835 | 437 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table of Lags (see paper)

- ▶ Additional observations for the longer term:
 - ▶ T-3 sees strongest de jure CBI political instability impact
 - ▶ T-6, T-8 de jure CBI increases pol instability. T-8 reduces HOG turnover (electoral instability) (similar to Clark, Golder, and Poast).
 - ▶ Fixed rates increase instability in the same T-6 and up range
 - ▶ De facto CBI not very significant
 - ▶ Similar results with lagged ordinal logit specification, though de facto CBI more significant in reducing L.H. turnover

Institutional Interaction Terms

- ▶ De jure CBI generally overrides fixed rates with respect to political instability
- ▶ Signs mixed for other kinds of instability
- ▶ De facto CBI and fixed rates in combination somewhat increase instability relative to individually

Summary

- ▶ De jure CBI generally decreases (esp. pol) stability, suggesting limits on PBCs
- ▶ Unclear sign for de facto CBI though it appears to increase stability if anything
- ▶ Fixed rates mostly appear to increase stability in fixed effects regressions, but the sign flips in more robust models (IV, lags)
- ▶ Commitment institutions politically costly, at odds with literature
- ▶ Robust results
 - ▶ Not covered: institutional controls for federalism and corporatism do not affect signs or cause large changes in effects, unclear results on HOS = HOG and legislative power in practice, interactions with democracy do not matter, capital account openness may increase significance somewhat

- ▶ More complex theory for de jure versus de facto CBI puzzle, importance of credible commitment
- ▶ Diverging predictions for Head of Government, Head of State, Lower House Turnover
 - ▶ HOS and Lower House seem to have strongest relationships
- ▶ Endogenous elections
- ▶ Dynamic panel (A-Bond)?
- ▶ Ordinal logit regression with IV (different procedure)

Additional Results/Checks

- ▶ Regional government exists and has autonomy and authority, checks and balances/horizontal accountability
- ▶ Not strictly necessary
 - ▶ Many items already included in FEs
 - ▶ No sign flips for main variables
- ▶ Omitted: Corporatism
- ▶ The controls themselves are often significant and somewhat interesting

Controls Excluding Corporatism

Table: All Controls Excluding Corporatism, Fixed Effects and Clustered Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.181 (0.62) | 0.151 (0.70) | 0.481 (1.25) | -0.531 (-1.98) | 0.961*** (5.33) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00641 (-0.48) | -0.0356*** (-3.93) | 0.00257 (0.15) | -0.000489 (-0.05) | 0.0232* (2.49) |
| Reg. Govt. Exists | 0.863*** (3.65) | 0.0000816 (0.00) | 1.010*** (3.50) | 0.107 (1.98) | -0.221* (-2.22) |
| Horiz. Acctability | 0.390** (3.30) | 0.371** (3.38) | 0.220 (1.85) | 0.0639 (0.56) | 0.100* (2.20) |
| Checks and Balances | -0.0126 (-0.31) | -0.0392 (-1.40) | 0.00165 (0.04) | 0.00951 (0.75) | 0.00762 (0.63) |
| Autonomous Regions | -0.714 (-1.37) | -0.0764 (-0.58) | -1.274*** (-4.10) | -0.359*** (-7.85) | -0.0416 (-0.69) |
| State Govt. Auth. | 0.306 (0.40) | 0.0825 (1.19) | 0.465 (1.65) | 0 (.) | -0.0651 (-1.28) |
| Constant | -0.317 (-0.73) | 0.522** (2.67) | -0.676* (-2.35) | 0.168 (0.95) | -0.164 (-1.46) |
| Observations | 483 | 483 | 415 | 780 | 1389 |

Controls Excluding Corporatism

Table: All Controls Excluding Corporatism, Fixed Effects and Clustered Standard Errors

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | -0.264* (-2.39) | -0.119 (-1.13) | -0.321* (-2.57) | 0.0570 (1.44) | 0.0307 (0.98) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00661 (-0.56) | -0.0207* (-2.16) | 0.00415 (0.24) | -0.000246 (-0.03) | 0.0311*** (3.53) |
| Reg. Govt. Exists | 0.681** (2.75) | 0.0312 (0.33) | 0.985*** (5.03) | 0.0731 (0.68) | -0.0622 (-0.36) |
| Horiz. Acctability | 0.306** (3.17) | 0.308** (3.24) | 0.223 (1.81) | 0.0329 (0.34) | 0.133* (2.36) |
| Checks and Balances | -0.0415 (-1.22) | -0.0507 (-1.74) | -0.00753 (-0.20) | 0.01000 (0.61) | -0.00346 (-0.27) |
| Autonomous Regions | -0.553 (-1.10) | -0.0437 (-0.64) | -1.206** (-3.16) | -0.302*** (-7.57) | 0.0203 (0.23) |
| State Govt. Auth. | 0.308 (0.38) | 0.0861 (1.41) | 0.615* (2.52) | 0 (.) | 0.123 (1.45) |
| Constant | 0.322 (0.71) | 0.651*** (4.73) | -0.134 (-0.56) | -0.192 (-1.12) | 0.0226 (0.15) |
| Observations | 563 | 563 | 477 | 993 | 1416 |

HOS = HOG?

- ▶ $V2exhoshog$ is an indicator for whether HOS and HOG are the same person
- ▶ Fixed rates reduce turnover for both more when they are the same person

HOS = HOG Interaction Term

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.158 (0.67) | 0.207 (1.38) |
| HOS = HOG | -0.0257 (-0.12) | 0.0811 (0.36) |
| Yes x De Jure CBI | 0.114 (0.33) | 0.121 (0.36) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.00467 (0.54) | -0.00925 (-1.37) |
| Yes x Fixed Rate | -0.0401** (-3.05) | -0.0268* (-2.24) |
| Constant | 0.635*** (5.76) | 0.364*** (4.24) |
| Observations | 1399 | 1399 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

HOS = HOG Interaction Term

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| De facto CBI | -0.154 (-1.74) | -0.0273 (-0.38) |
| HOS = HOG | -0.0412 (-0.22) | 0.225 (1.21) |
| Yes x De Facto CBI | 0.0991 (0.68) | -0.0679 (-0.51) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.00788 (0.95) | -0.00288 (-0.42) |
| Yes x Fixed Rate | -0.0345** (-2.81) | -0.0229* (-2.17) |
| Constant | 0.800*** (7.69) | 0.429*** (4.96) |
| Observations | 1651 | 1651 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Legislative Power in Practice

- ▶ Strange results, de facto CBI most significant without legislative power in practice

Legislative Power in Practice Interaction Term

Table

| | (1) L. H. Turnover |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.326 (1.59) |
| Leg. Efficacy | 0.148 (1.42) |
| Yes x De Facto CBI | -0.0602 (-0.95) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00827 (-0.85) |
| Yes x Fixed Rate | 0.00615 (0.80) |
| Constant | 0.493*** (3.86) |
| Observations | 1027 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Legislative Power in Practice Interaction Term

Table

| | (1) L. H. Turnover |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| De facto CBI | -0.218* (-2.47) |
| Leg. Efficacy | 0.0780 (0.83) |
| Yes x De Facto CBI | 0.0134 (0.21) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.000275 (-0.03) |
| Yes x Fixed Rate | 0.00715 (0.92) |
| Constant | 0.814*** (7.61) |
| Observations | 1299 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Democracy/Nondemocracy

- ▶ Classification based on Polity IV scores
- ▶ Not really any consistent pattern of major differences
- ▶ De facto CBI (less irregular turnover) means less lower chamber turnover in democracies but not in autocracies. Rule of law?

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.0978 (0.46) | 0.122 (0.81) | 0.0716 (0.29) | -0.417* (-2.03) | 1.019*** (10.10) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00893 (-0.84) | -0.0198* (-2.46) | 0.00879 (0.73) | 0.00148 (0.20) | 0.0112 (1.76) |
| Constant | 0.859*** (7.75) | 0.579*** (6.75) | 0.686*** (5.38) | 0.254* (2.22) | -0.201*** (-3.83) |
| Observations | 903 | 903 | 768 | 1419 | 2289 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | -0.178* (-2.10) | -0.0142 (-0.19) | -0.222** (-2.68) | -0.0115 (-0.39) | 0.0476 (1.86) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00293 (-0.32) | -0.00997 (-1.44) | 0.00849 (0.81) | 0.00735 (0.86) | 0.0240*** (3.85) |
| Constant | 1.013*** (10.40) | 0.587*** (7.00) | 0.950*** (8.98) | -0.0367 (-0.47) | 0.133** (2.94) |
| Observations | 1066 | 1065 | 903 | 1805 | 2413 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 0.245 (0.55) | 0.127 (0.30) | 0.297 (0.58) | -0.486 (-1.61) | 1.217** (3.30) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.0172 (-1.65) | -0.0161* (-2.28) | -0.0327* (-2.38) | 0.0278** (2.70) | 0.000476 (0.06) |
| Constant | 0.278 (1.17) | 0.230 (1.23) | 0.556* (2.16) | -0.554** (-3.31) | -0.133 (-0.88) |
| Observations | 401 | 401 | 311 | 585 | 1710 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | -0.0406 (-0.41) | -0.00190 (-0.03) | 0.106 (0.83) | 0.0661 (1.26) | -0.00218 (-0.08) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00927 (-0.93) | -0.0120 (-1.66) | -0.0133 (-0.94) | 0.0481** (2.87) | 0.00417 (0.73) |
| Constant | 0.350** (2.99) | 0.253** (2.97) | 0.432** (2.70) | -1.063*** (-6.60) | 0.326*** (5.91) |
| Observations | 449 | 450 | 341 | 678 | 1820 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Capital Account Openness Interactions

- ▶ Strange sign on effects
- ▶ If anything, open capital accounts lead to more significance (logical given increased Mundell-Fleming tradeoff)

High Capital Account Openness, Tertiary Education Instrument

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | 1.036 (0.91) | -1.759 (-1.63) | 1.585 (1.16) | 12.70*** (6.24) | 1.960* (2.57) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.00654 (-0.13) | 0.0410 (0.84) | 0.0157 (0.30) | -0.217*** (-3.87) | -0.0199 (-0.90) |
| Constant | 0.138 (0.30) | 1.213** (2.75) | -0.322 (-0.61) | -6.097*** (-5.69) | -0.441 (-1.24) |
| Observations | 468 | 468 | 392 | 1023 | 981 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

High Capital Account Openness, Tertiary Education Instrument

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | 1.416 (1.02) | -1.320 (-1.07) | 2.343 (1.28) | 15.39** (3.29) | 4.248 (1.32) |
| Fixed Rate | 0.0181 (0.59) | -0.0133 (-0.40) | 0.0764 (1.89) | 0.0870 (0.91) | 0.0334 (0.69) |
| Constant | -0.705 (-0.56) | 1.777 (1.69) | -1.954 (-1.18) | -14.51*** (-3.36) | -3.497 (-1.17) |
| Observations | 571 | 570 | 476 | 1320 | 1001 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Low Capital Account Openness, Tertiary Education Instrument

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De Jure CBI | -0.0646 (-0.09) | -0.0470 (-0.09) | 0.398 (0.60) | 7.875*** (4.23) | -1.194 (-1.03) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.0557 (-1.05) | 0.0461 (1.28) | -0.0320 (-0.55) | 0.182 (1.70) | -0.161 (-1.94) |
| Constant | 1.166 (1.66) | 0.0628 (0.14) | 0.784 (1.23) | -6.084*** (-3.49) | 2.294* (2.00) |
| Observations | 383 | 383 | 294 | 842 | 1066 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Low Capital Account Openness, Tertiary Education Instrument

Table

| | (1) HoG Turnover | (2) HoS Turnover | (3) L. H. Turnover | (4) WB Pol. Stability | (5) Instab. Event |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| De facto CBI | 1.205 (0.76) | -0.435 (-0.48) | -0.244 (-0.19) | -7.957** (-3.03) | 241.5 (0.01) |
| Fixed Rate | -0.0404 (-0.75) | 0.0184 (0.53) | -0.0473 (-0.82) | -0.106 (-1.22) | -16.01 (-0.01) |
| Constant | 0.0372 (0.02) | 0.640 (0.71) | 1.349 (1.10) | 7.554** (2.89) | -84.95 (-0.01) |
| Observations | 391 | 392 | 312 | 916 | 1010 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$