

# **Gov 2006: Formal Political Theory II**

## **Section 4**

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**Sophie Hill**

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# Agenda

- PSET review: (even more) probabilistic voting
- Models of growth & inequality
- Brainstorming: what's missing?

## PSET review

We start with the familiar set-up:

- $W(q^P, \alpha^i)$  = indirect utility for voter  $i$  from policy  $q^P$
- individual shock  $\sigma_i \sim U \left[ -\frac{1}{2\phi}, \frac{1}{2\phi} \right]$
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Now define  $\tilde{\sigma}^i$  as the value that makes voter  $i$  indifferent between  $A$  and  $B$ :

$$\tilde{\sigma}^i(\alpha^i, q^A, q^B, \delta) = W(q^A, \alpha^i) - W(q^B, \alpha^i) - \delta$$

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So we can express  $\pi^A$ , the vote share of  $A$ , as follows:

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## Models of inequality & growth

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- Alesina & Rodrik (1994)
  - conflict between capital and labor
  - taxes redistribute but ALSO finances a public good necessary for private production
- Persson & Tabellini (1994)
  - overlapping generations model where agents can invest in human capital
  - taxes are purely redistributive

## Empirical testing

- **Cross-sectional OLS:** Alesina & Rodrik (1994), Persson & Tabellini (1994)
  - inequality **decreases** growth

# Empirical testing: cross-sectional OLS

GROWTH REGRESSIONS FOR 1970–1985						
	High-quality sample ( <i>N</i> = 46)	Largest possible sample ( <i>N</i> = 70)	Largest possible sample			
	OLS (9)	OLS (10)	( <i>N</i> = 49)	( <i>N</i> = 41)		
			OLS (11)	OLS (12)	OLS (13)	OLS (14)
Const.	4.56 (2.67)	2.80 (2.00)	4.88 (3.16)	7.22 (3.79)	7.18 (3.69)	7.22 (3.74)
GDP70	−0.29 (−2.60)	−0.27 (−2.33)	−0.21 (−2.09)	−0.28 (−2.58)	−0.28 (−2.23)	−0.27 (−2.15)
PRIM70	3.28 (2.46)	3.79 (3.52)	3.45 (2.65)	2.77 (1.83)	2.81 (1.79)	2.81 (1.80)
GINI70	−9.71 (−3.62)	−7.95 (−3.49)		−5.71 (−2.33)	−5.74 (−2.30)	−5.73 (−2.30)
GINILND			−8.14 (−5.49)	−6.41 (−3.79)	−6.39 (−3.69)	−6.46 (−3.71)
DEMOC* GINILND					−0.11 (−0.13)	
DEMOC						−0.09 (−0.15)
$\bar{R}^2$	0.28	0.23	0.43	0.46	0.45	0.45

Table II from Alesina & Rodrik, 1994

## Empirical testing

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- **Panel data with country fixed effects:** Li & Zou (1998), Forbes (2000)
  - inequality **increases** growth

# Empirical testing: panel data with fixed effects

TABLE 3—REGRESSION RESULTS: ALTERNATE ESTIMATION TECHNIQUES

Estimation method	Five-year periods				Ten-year periods: fixed effects (5)
	Fixed effects (1)	Random effects (2)	Chamberlain's $\pi$ -matrix (3)	Arellano and Bond (4)	
<i>Inequality</i>	0.0036 (0.0015)	0.0013 (0.0006)	0.0016 (0.0002)	0.0013 (0.0006)	0.0013 (0.0011)
<i>Income</i>	−0.076 (0.020)	0.017 (0.006)	−0.027 (0.004)	−0.047 (0.008)	−0.071 (0.016)
<i>Male Education</i>	−0.014 (0.031)	0.047 (0.015)	0.018 (0.010)	−0.008 (0.022)	−0.002 (0.028)
<i>Female Education</i>	0.070 (0.032)	−0.038 (0.016)	0.054 (0.006)	0.074 (0.018)	0.031 (0.030)
<i>PPP</i>	−0.0008 (0.0003)	−0.0009 (0.0002)	−0.0013 (0.0000)	−0.0013 (0.0001)	−0.0003 (0.0003)
$R^2$	0.67	0.49			0.71
Countries	45	45	45	45	45
Observations	180	180	135	135	112
Period	1965–1995 <sup>a</sup>	1965–1995 <sup>a</sup>	1970–1995	1970–1995	1965–1995

Notes: Dependent variable is average annual per capita growth. Standard errors are in parentheses.  $R^2$  is the within- $R^2$  for fixed effects and the overall- $R^2$  for random effects.



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  - inequality **increases** growth
- **Non-linear specifications:** Banerjee & Duflo (2003)
  - **changes** in inequality (in *either direction*) **decrease** growth

## Empirical testing: non-linear specification

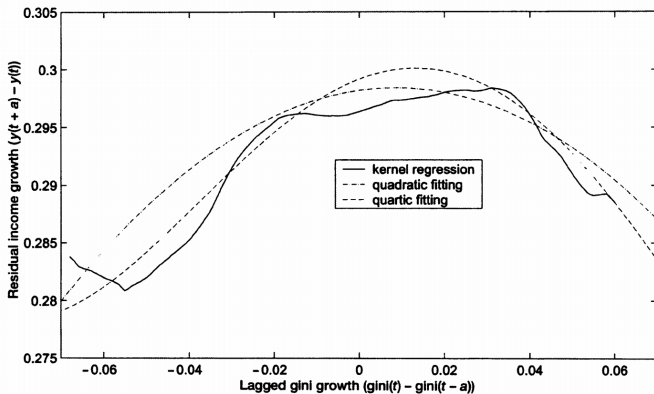


Figure 2. Relationship between income growth and lagged gini growth: partially linear model (Barro variables).

Figure 2 from Banerjee & Duflo, 2003

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- **Scope conditions**
  - Should we expect models based on MVT to apply to all democracies?

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- **Periodization**

- Long-term growth (e.g. 25 yr period) used in x-sectional OLS
- Medium-term growth (e.g. 5 yr periods) used with panel data

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- **Measuring inequality**

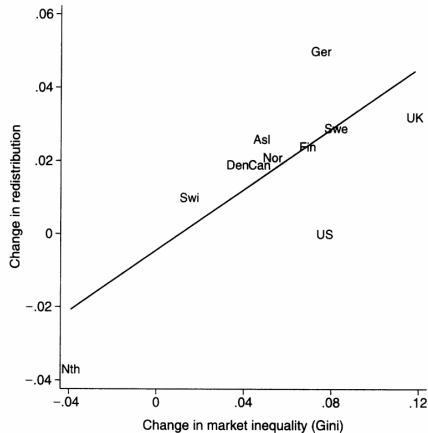
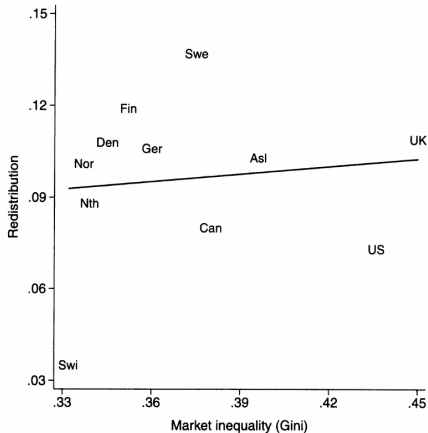
- Gini coefficient most common, but not a good measure of mean-median skew!
- Persson & Tabellini (1994) is a notable exception, using the income share going to the middle quintile. Better approximation of the position of the median voter?



## Empirical testing: evidence on the mechanism

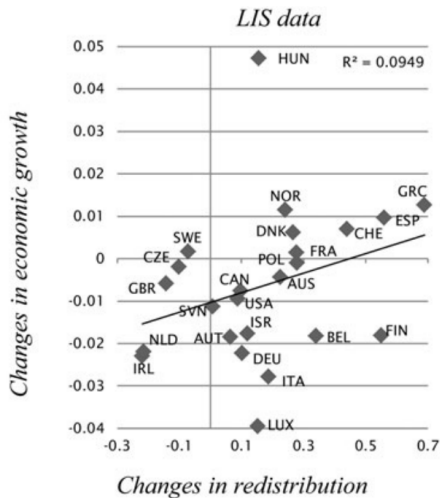
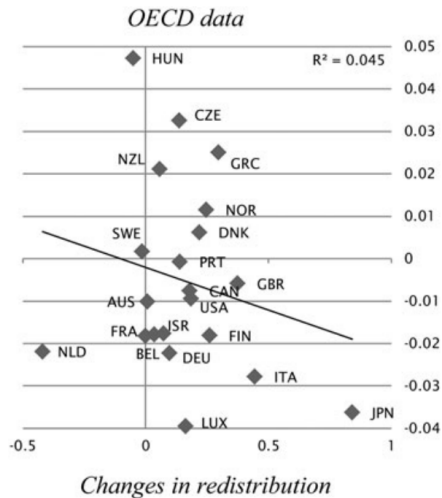
- Recall that both Alesina & Rodrik (1994), Persson & Tabellini (1994) identify (the threat of) **redistribution** as the key mechanism linking inequality and growth.
- So far we've only seen evidence on the inequality-growth relationship.
- Does inequality  $\uparrow$  redistribution? And does redistribution  $\downarrow$  growth?

## Empirical testing: does inequality $\uparrow$ redistribution?



Figures 6 & 7 from Kenworthy & Pontusson, 2005

## Empirical testing: does redistribution ↓ growth?



## Let's brainstorm! Round I

What's missing from the A&R / P&T models?

## Let's brainstorm! Round I

What's missing from the A&R / P&T models?

Drawing on your substantive knowledge, come up with 3 factors that might complicate the inequality-redistribution link or the redistribution-growth link.

## Let's brainstorm! Round II

How can we incorporate these insights into a formal model?

Pick **1 suggestion** and brainstorm how it could be introduced in a formal model, drawing on material we have covered so far.

## Section feedback

As always, your feedback on how to improve section is much appreciated!

Feedback form: <https://goo.gl/forms/qYk5zoI4y0ShpDxo2>