

# Wealth Inequality and the Political Economy of Financial and Labour Regulations

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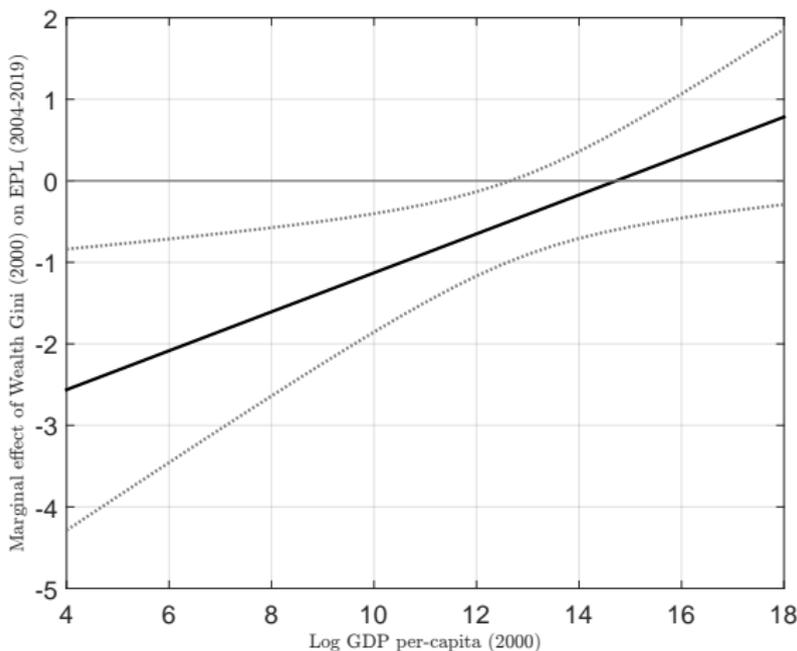
## **This paper:**

- Theory of the interplay of wealth inequality and financial and labor regulations.

# Conditional Correlation between Inequality and Regulations

$$EPL_{2004-2019} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Gini_{2000} + \alpha_2 Gini_{2000} \times \log(GDP_{2000}) + \alpha_3 X + \varepsilon$$

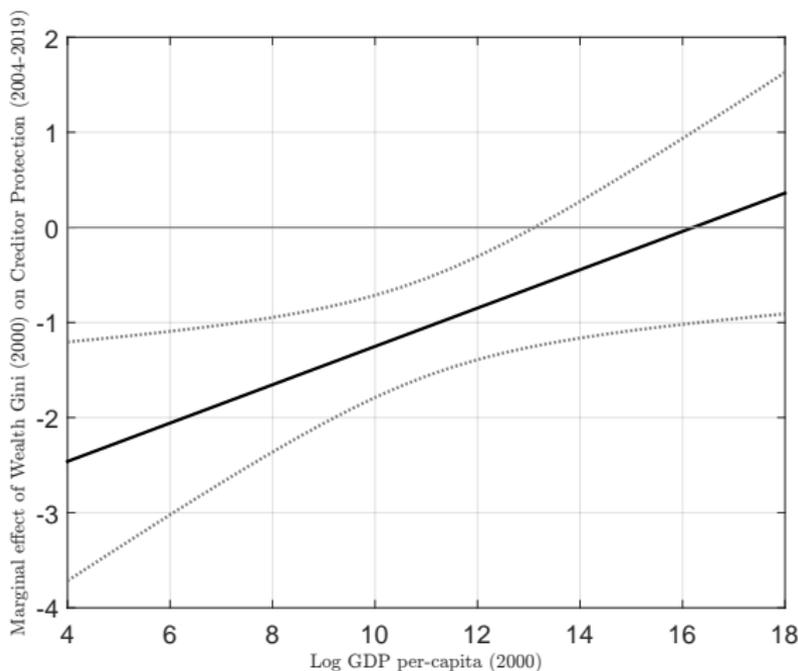
Table



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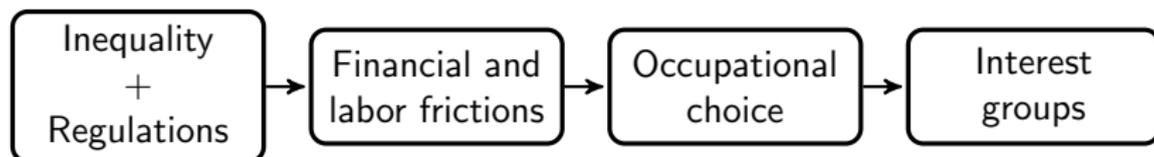
$$LRR_{2004-2019} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Gini_{2000} + \beta_2 Gini_{2000} \times \log(GDP_{2000}) + \beta_3 X + \varepsilon$$

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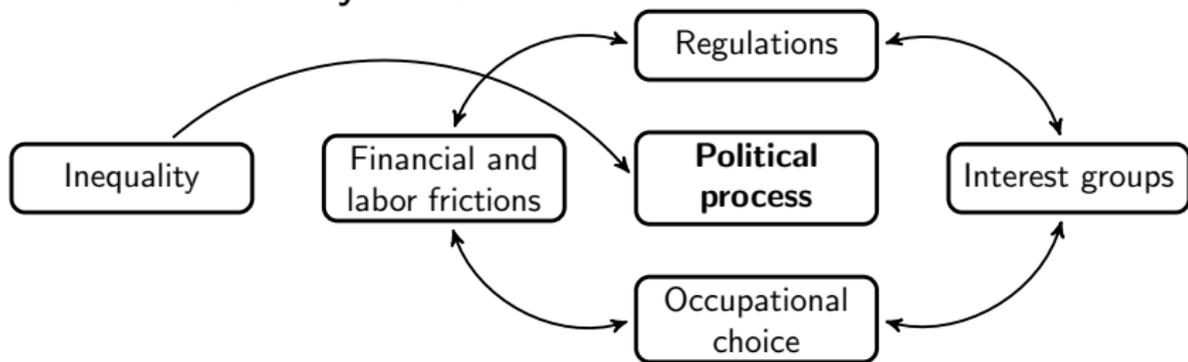
# Overview

## 1. The Background Model



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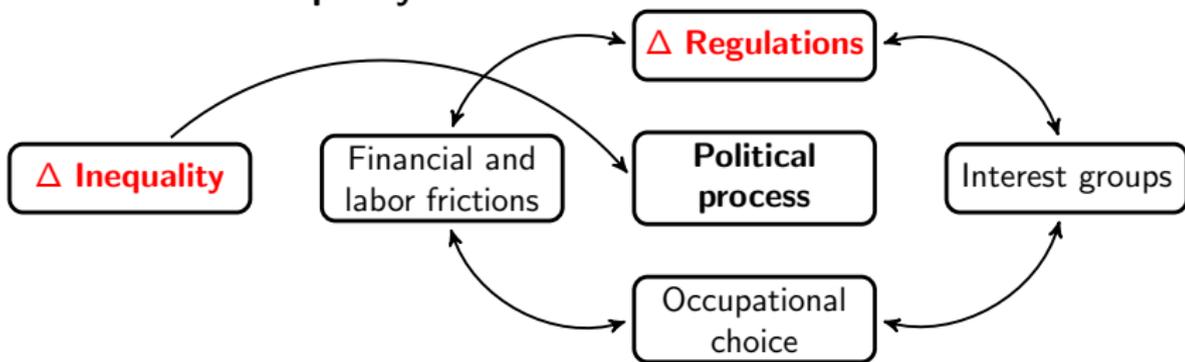
## 2. Political Economy Model



*Laws result from the political process, however, which in turn responds to economic interests. Legal rules and economic outcomes are **jointly determined**, politics being the link between them. (Pagano and Volpin, AER, 2005).*

# Overview

## 3. Increase of Inequality

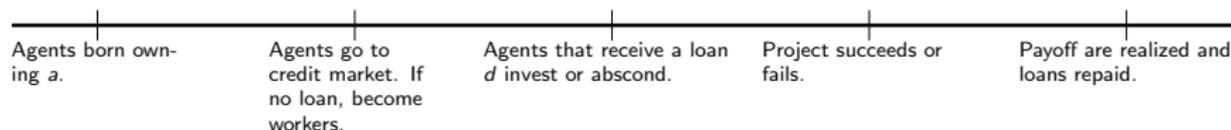


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# The Model

- One good with production function  $f(k, l) = k^\alpha l^\beta, \alpha + \beta < 1$ .
- Agents born with wealth  $a \sim G(a)$  and 'an idea', 'a project'.
- Continuous density  $g(a)$  with  $\text{supp } g(a) = \mathbb{R}_+$ .
- Policy variables:
  - Creditor protection:  $1 - \phi \in [0, 1]$ .
  - Employment protection:  $\theta \in [0, 1]$ .

Figure: Time line.



# The Model

- Agents will endogenously classify into:

## 1. Workers

$$U^w = (1 + \rho)a + pwl^s + (1 - p)\theta wl^s - \varsigma(l)$$

where:  $\varsigma' > 0$ ,  $\varsigma'' > 0$ ,  $\varsigma''' \geq 0$  with  $\varsigma(0) = 0$ ,  $\varsigma(+\infty) = \infty$

## 2. Entrepreneurs

$$\max_{d,l} \{ U^e \equiv p[f(\underbrace{(a+d)}_{\equiv k}), l] - (1+r)d - wl - F \}$$

$$\text{s.t. } U^e \geq \phi k \quad (\text{IC})$$

$$U^e \geq U^w \quad (\text{PC})$$

- Exogenous competitive **banking system**:

$$U^b = p(1+r)d + \max\{(1-p)(\eta k - \theta wl), 0\} - (1+\rho)d,$$

# Equilibrium

## Banks' decisions: debt contracts

- ① Interest rates:  $(1 + r) = \frac{1+\rho}{p} - \frac{1}{pd}(1 - p)[\eta k - \theta w l]$ . Then:

$$U^e = pf(k, l) + (1 - p)\eta k - (1 + \rho)d - (p + (1 - p)\theta)wl - F$$

Efficient scale:

$$pf_k(k^*, l^*) = 1 + \rho - (1 - p)\eta$$

$$pf_l(k^*, l^*) = (p + (1 - p)\theta)w$$

- ② Minimum wealth to get a loan ( $\underline{a}$ ):

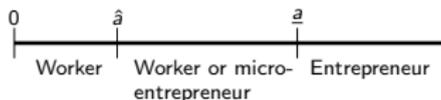
$$\min_{\underline{a} \geq 0} \max_{d \geq 0} \Psi(\underline{a}, d, l) \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow \begin{cases} \Psi(\underline{a}, \underline{d}, \underline{l}) & = 0, \\ \Psi_d(\underline{a}, \underline{d}, \underline{l}) & = 0, \\ \partial U^e(\underline{a}, \underline{d}, \underline{l}) / \partial l & = 0. \end{cases}$$

where  $\Psi \equiv U^e - \phi k$ . [Graph](#)

- ③ Minimum wealth  $\bar{a}$  to reach a loan to attain  $k^*$ :  $\Psi(\bar{a}, k^* - \bar{a}, l^*) = 0$ .
- ④ Maximum allowable loan  $d$ :  $\Psi(a, d, l(a + d)) = 0$ . [Graph](#)

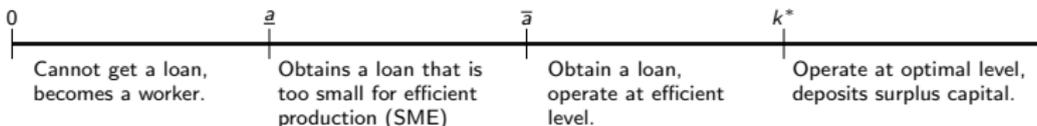
# Occupational choice and equilibrium wage

- The first agent that prefers to form a firm instead of becoming a worker ( $\hat{a}$ ) is:  $\hat{a} = \inf_{\{a\}} \{U^e(a, d(a), l(a)) - U^w(a) \geq 0\}$



- Worker's decision ( $I^S$ ):  $(p + (1 - p)\theta)w = \zeta'(I^S)$

Figure: Occupational choice.



- Labor market equilibrium:

$$I^S \cdot G(\underline{a}) = \int_{\underline{a}}^{\bar{a}} l \partial G(a) + I^*(1 - G(\bar{a}))$$

# Some Micro and Macro predictions

## Micro

- 1 SMEs are more financially constrained than large firms (Beck and Demirgüç-Kunt, 2006).
- 2 The return to capital of SMEs is higher than in larger firms (Beck and Demirgüç-Kunt, 2008).
- 3 Small firms' employment is more variable than in larger firms when facing general and idiosyncratic shocks (Brock and Evans, 1989).
- 4 Smallest firms are the ones that benefit the most from financial development (Beck et al., 2005).

## Macro

- 1 Financial development increases total output, GDP, investment, credit penetration and financial inclusion (Djankov et al., 2007).
- 2 Higher inequality in poor countries leads to higher output and debt, while this effect is the opposite in rich countries (Fischer et al., 2019; Brueckner and Lederman, 2018; Galor and Zeira, 1993).

# Interest Groups

Table: Political preferences

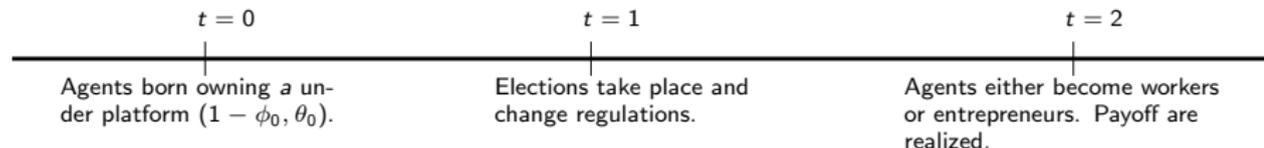
| Type of agent                                            | Effect of $1 - \phi$ on utility | Effect of $\theta$ on utility |
|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Workers (W); $a \in [0, \underline{a})$                  | +                               | +                             |
| Small entrepreneurs (S); $a \in [\underline{a}, a_\phi)$ | +                               | -                             |
| Medium-Large entrepreneurs (L); $a \geq a_\phi$          | -                               | -                             |

- Theories for opposition to improvements in finance regulation: Rajan and Zingales (2003); La Porta et al. (2000).
- Labor regulation responds to the pressure of labor unions: Botero et al. (2004).
- This paper: the factor channel for the differing interests among groups is through the interaction of labor and financial frictions.

# Political Economy with Endogenous Interest Groups

- The base political framework comes from Persson and Tabellini (2000).
  - Two parties A (right-wing) and B (left-wing) propose a policy platform  $q_i \equiv (1 - \phi, \theta) \in [1 - \bar{\phi}, 1 - \underline{\phi}] \times [\underline{\theta}, \bar{\theta}]$ ,  $i = \{A, B\}$ .
  - They act simultaneously and are rent-seeking.
  - Probabilistic and proportional voting.
  - Uncertainty about voters' preferences (to avoid cycling problems).
- Additional features:
  - Endogenous interest groups (ranges and demographic weights).
  - Within-groups heterogeneity.

Figure: Time line.



# The Setup

- There is a continuum of agents  $(a, \nu)$ , with  $\nu$  the idiosyncratic political preference.
- Voter  $(a, \nu)$  votes for A if:

$$U^j(a, q_A) > U^j(a, q_B) + \tilde{\delta} + \sigma_\nu^j(a), j \in \{W, S, L\}$$

where:

- $\tilde{\delta} \sim U[-1/2\varphi, 1/2\varphi]$  reflects the general popularity of party B.
- $\sigma_\nu^j(a) = \bar{\sigma}^j + \tilde{\epsilon}_\nu^j(a)$  represents the ideological preference for party B of a voter  $(a, \nu)$ , with  $\tilde{\epsilon}_\nu^j(a) \sim U[-1/2\chi, 1/2\chi]$ . Assume:

$$\bar{\sigma}^L = -\bar{\sigma} < \bar{\sigma}^S = 0 < \bar{\sigma}^W = \bar{\sigma}.$$

- The voter  $\nu = V$  who is indifferent between the two parties is ('swing voter'):

$$\tilde{\epsilon}_V^j(a) = U^j(a, q_B) - U^j(a, q_A) - \tilde{\delta} - \bar{\sigma}^j.$$

# The Political Equilibrium

- The fraction of agents in group  $j$  with  $a$  and vote for party  $A$  is:

$$\tilde{p}_A^j(a) = \text{Prob} \left[ \epsilon \leq \tilde{\epsilon}_V^j(a) \right] = \chi[U^j(a, q_B) - U^j(a, q_A) - \tilde{\delta} - \bar{\sigma}^j] + \frac{1}{2}.$$

- The probability that party  $A$  wins the election is:

$$p_A = \text{Prob} \left[ \int_0^{\underline{a}} \tilde{p}_A^W(a) \partial G(a) + \int_{\underline{a}}^{a_\phi} \tilde{p}_A^S(a) \partial G(a) + \int_{a_\phi}^{\bar{a}} \tilde{p}_A^L(a) \partial G(a) + \int_{\bar{a}}^{+\infty} \tilde{p}_A^H(a) \partial G(a) \geq \frac{1}{2} \right],$$

- Maximizing  $p_A \Leftrightarrow$  maximizing the politically weighed surplus:

$$\begin{aligned} \max_{q_A=(\phi, \theta)} \bar{U}(q_A) &\equiv \int_0^{\underline{a}} U^w(a, q_A) \partial G(a) + \int_{\underline{a}}^{a_\phi} U^e(a, q_A) \partial G(a) + \int_{a_\phi}^{\bar{a}} U^e(a, q_A) \partial G(a) + \int_{\bar{a}}^{+\infty} U^e(a, q_A) \partial G(a). \\ \text{s.t. } \phi, \theta &\in [1 - \bar{\phi}, 1 - \underline{\phi}] \times [\underline{\theta}, \bar{\theta}] \end{aligned}$$

## Lemma

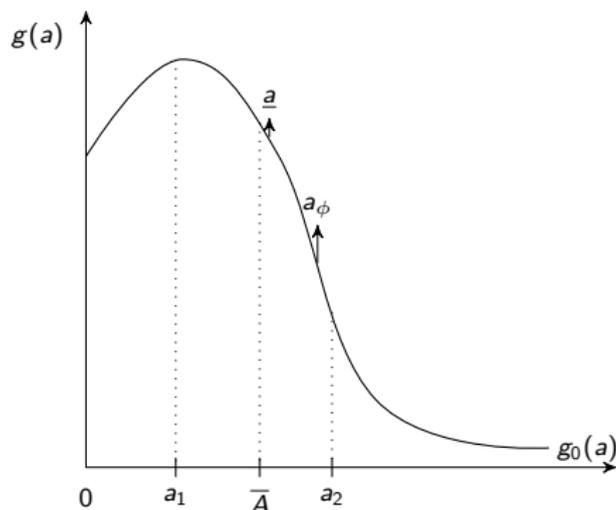
If  $\bar{\phi} < \frac{(1+r^*)(1-\alpha-\beta)}{\alpha(2+\frac{1}{\beta}) + \frac{2(1-\beta)}{\min\{1, \beta(1+r^*)\}}}$ , there exists a political equilibrium  $(1 - \phi, \theta)$ .

# Wealth Inequality and the Political Equilibrium

## Proposition

Consider a country 1 with an initial wealth distribution with mean  $\bar{A}$ . Assume we perturb the distribution by an MPS, and call it country 2.

i) If  $\bar{a} > \bar{A}$ , then  $1 - \phi_1 \geq 1 - \phi_2$  and  $\theta_1 \geq \theta_2$ , ii) If  $\bar{a} < \bar{A}$ , the equilibrium platform shifts in the opposite direction.

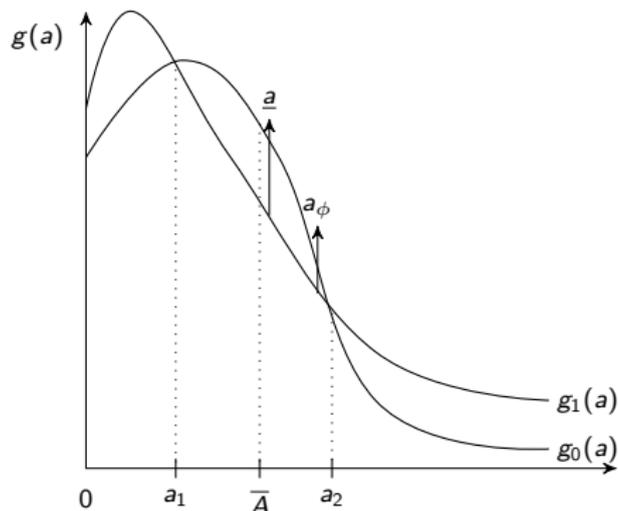


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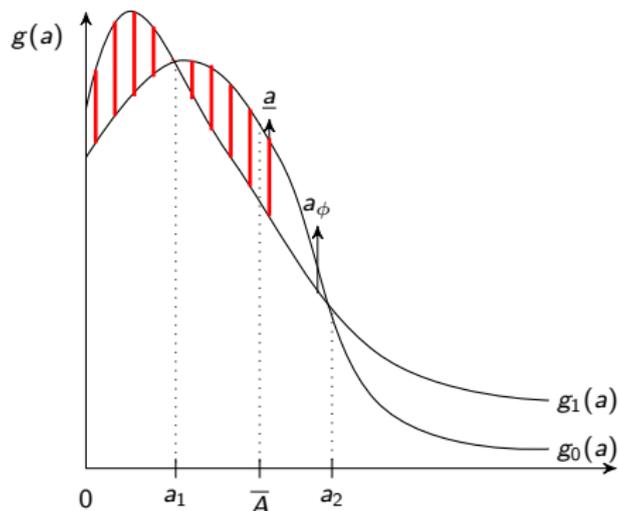


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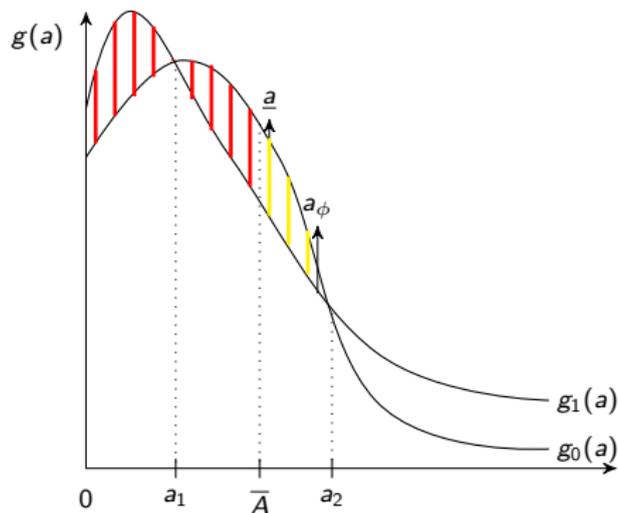


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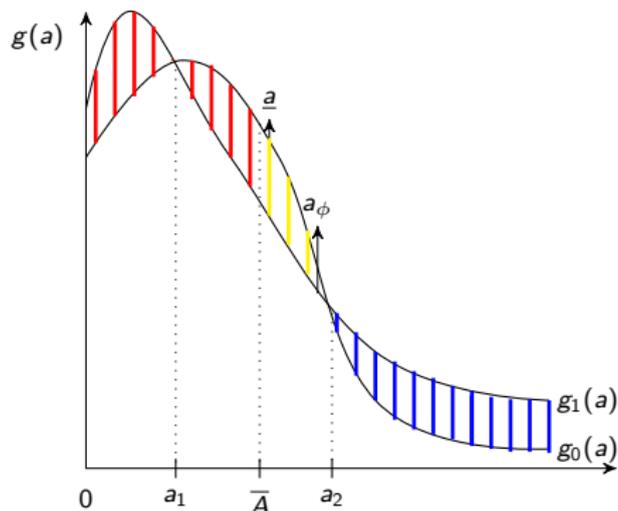


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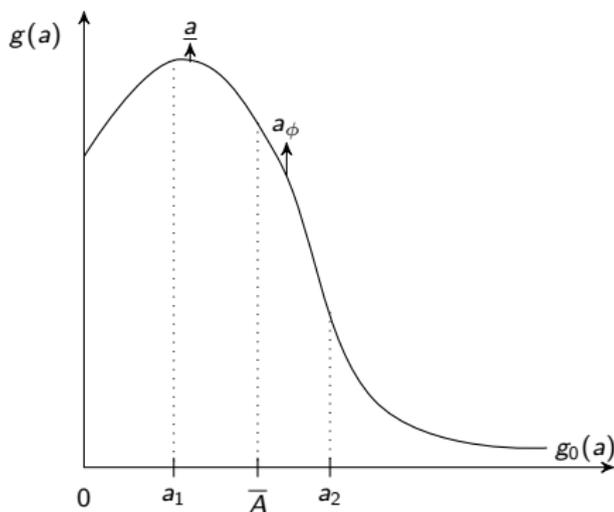


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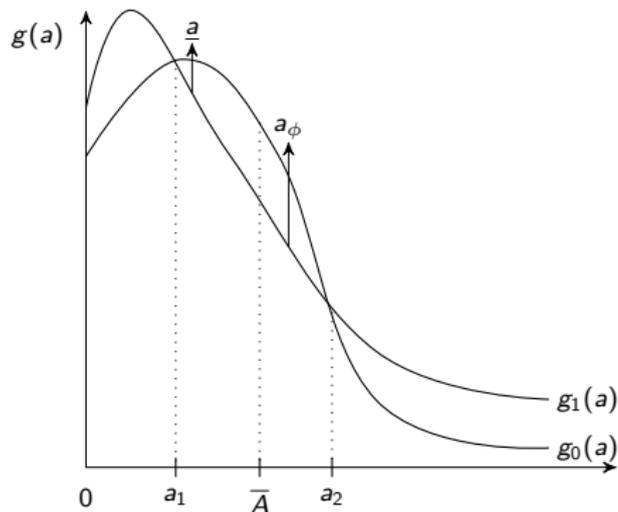


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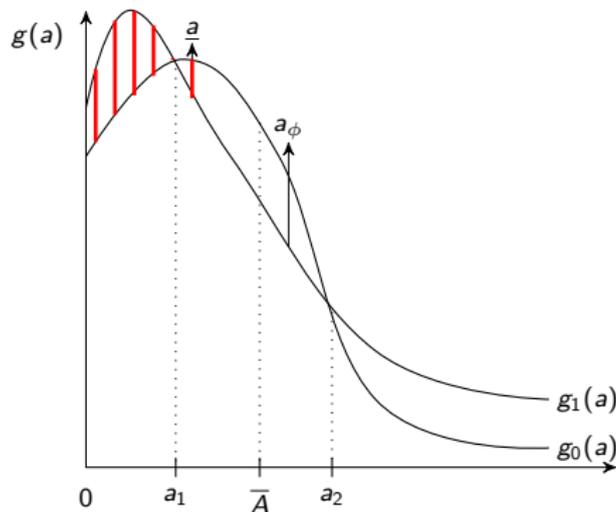


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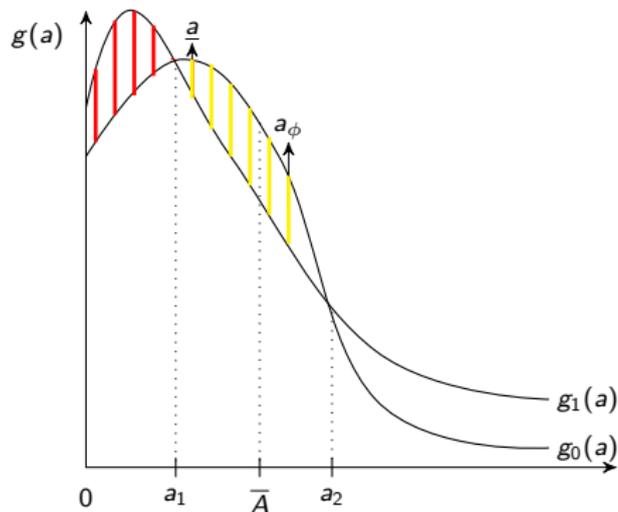


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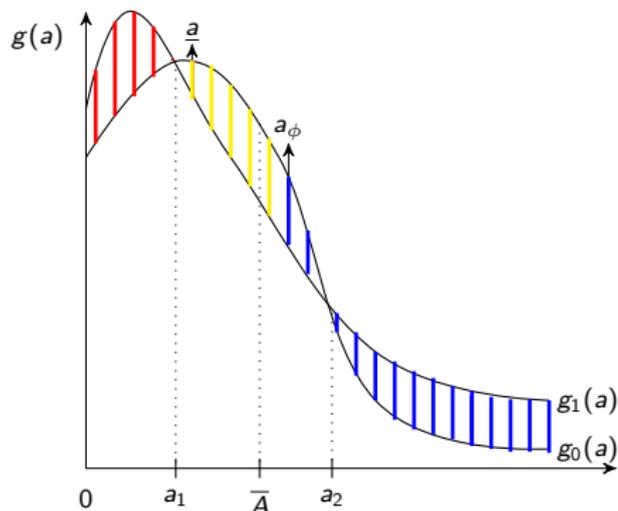


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# Conclusion

## This paper

- Novel Result: Higher wealth inequality in poor countries leads to worse creditor and labor protection, the opposite in rich countries.
- Wealth inequality and wealth scarcity are factors that favour the influence of economically powerful groups on the political process.

Additional contributions:

- ① Political setup where interest groups arise endogenously as consequence of regulations.
- ② Pure effect of inequality on regulations through general MPSs, no specific functional forms (e.g. Chong and Gradstein, 2007).
- ③ New directions for the empirical study of the causal link between wealth inequality and regulations.

## Working progress...

- Not studied here: conflicts between workers attached to different firms.
  - ① Test labor interest groups theory and underlying mechanisms.
  - ② Theory for the political economy of optimal labor policy design.

**Table:** Wealth Inequality and the Strength of Regulations.

|                                                    | (1)                           | (2)                  | (3)                  | (4)                  | (5)                                  | (6)                  | (7)                  | (8)                  |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                                                    | <i>Loan Recovery Rate (%)</i> |                      |                      |                      | <i>Employment Protection Law (%)</i> |                      |                      |                      |
| Log GDP per capita (2000's)                        | -14.07**<br>(6.902)           | 0.800<br>(8.498)     | -10.63*<br>(6.094)   | -14.14**<br>(5.808)  | -17.50***<br>(6.436)                 | -14.84**<br>(5.603)  | -18.13**<br>(6.922)  | -17.34***<br>(6.464) |
| Wealth Gini (2000's)                               | -3.528***<br>(1.185)          | -1.224<br>(1.331)    | -2.779***<br>(1.027) | -3.267***<br>(0.949) | -3.512***<br>(1.176)                 | -3.171***<br>(1.091) | -3.665***<br>(1.308) | -3.519***<br>(1.227) |
| Wealth Gini (2000's) x Log GDP per capita (2000's) | 0.190*<br>(0.0992)            | -0.00483<br>(0.120)  | 0.152*<br>(0.0866)   | 0.202**<br>(0.0833)  | 0.241**<br>(0.0933)                  | 0.208**<br>(0.0829)  | 0.250**<br>(0.0985)  | 0.239**<br>(0.0934)  |
| English Legal Origin                               | 14.73***<br>(4.506)           |                      | 15.16***<br>(4.474)  | 17.46***<br>(4.106)  | -14.74***<br>(3.710)                 |                      | -14.65***<br>(3.968) | -14.84***<br>(3.709) |
| German Legal Origin                                | 45.04***<br>(5.495)           |                      | 32.69***<br>(5.954)  | 30.52***<br>(5.316)  | 5.600<br>(3.480)                     |                      | 6.735<br>(4.774)     | 5.528<br>(4.282)     |
| Scandinavian Legal Origin                          | 54.88***<br>(3.862)           |                      | 39.50***<br>(4.805)  | 36.38***<br>(4.152)  | 1.840<br>(5.299)                     |                      | 3.317<br>(7.734)     | 2.167<br>(6.593)     |
| Ethnic Fractionalization                           |                               | -27.15***<br>(7.723) | -13.32*<br>(7.159)   | -16.09**<br>(6.832)  |                                      | -2.521<br>(9.243)    | 3.352<br>(10.23)     | 3.323<br>(9.773)     |
| Democracy                                          |                               |                      | 16.79***<br>(5.177)  |                      |                                      |                      | -1.677<br>(4.818)    |                      |
| Electoral Democracy Index                          |                               |                      |                      | 32.94***<br>(6.979)  |                                      |                      |                      | 2.875<br>(6.821)     |
| Constant                                           | 285.2***<br>(82.44)           | 129.5<br>(94.64)     | 223.2***<br>(73.26)  | 248.1***<br>(66.78)  | 309.5***<br>(81.65)                  | 280.4***<br>(74.00)  | 320.2***<br>(91.35)  | 306.6***<br>(82.67)  |
| Observations                                       | 146                           | 143                  | 131                  | 136                  | 67                                   | 67                   | 65                   | 67                   |
| R-squared                                          | 0.363                         | 0.195                | 0.488                | 0.540                | 0.336                                | 0.161                | 0.332                | 0.339                |

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Standard errors are clustered by country.

Figure:  $\Psi$  as a function of  $d$  for different levels of  $a$  ( $a'' > \underline{a} > a'$ ).

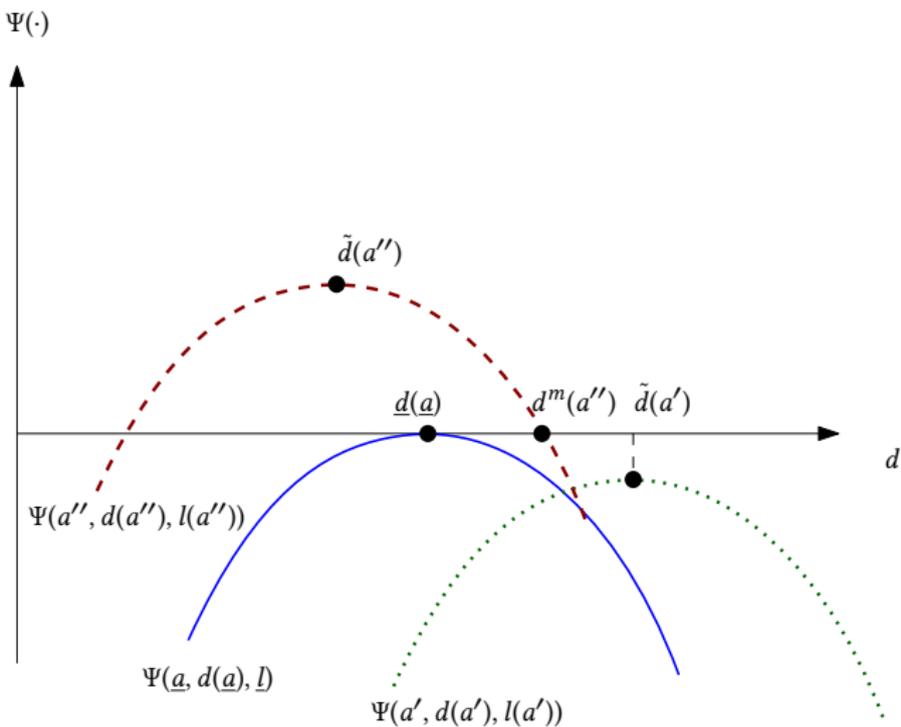
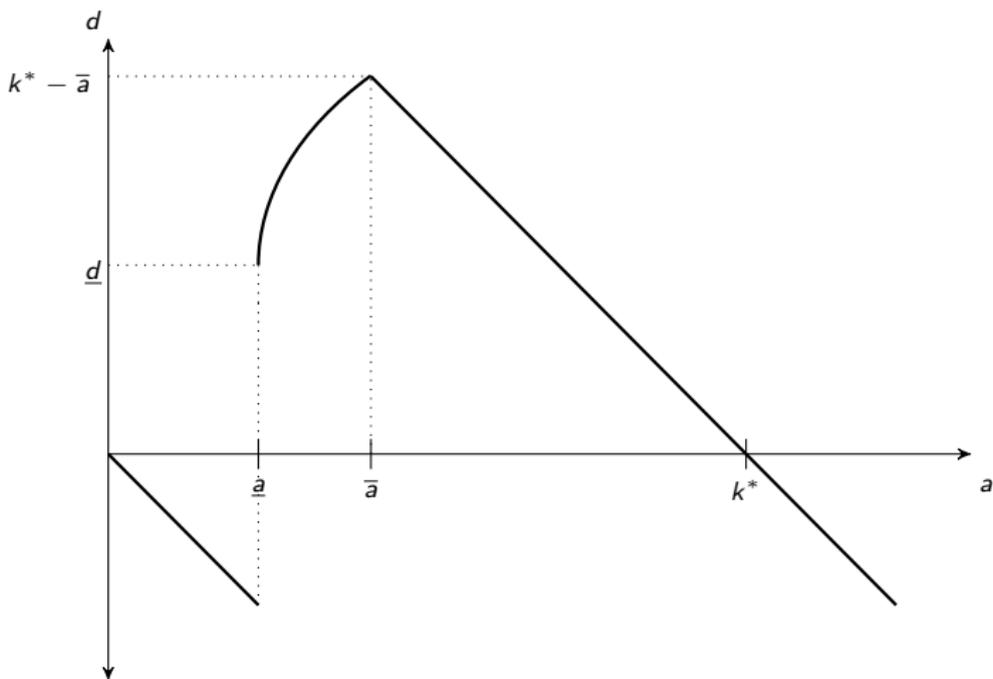


Figure: Effective loan curve.



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