

**Zvi Griliches Lectures 2011**  
**Pillars of Prosperity**  
**The Political Economics of Development Clusters**

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Lecture I  
NES, May 23

**A. Overview and B. The Core Model of State Capacity**

# Motivation, Objectives and Background

## Huge income disparities

Massive gap between rich and poor countries

a ratio of income per capita on the order of 200  
is a common starting point

Why are some countries rich and others poor?

classical question in economics, and in other social sciences  
also of paramount importance for donors in various forms  
of development assistance

But development not only about income

very clear in policy discussion about weak/fragile states

## Weak/fragile states – Figures 1.1-2

Central concept in development policy community

subject of various initiatives

What is a weak/fragile state?

it can not support basic economic functions, raise any substantial revenues, deliver basic services, keep law and order, ...

Existing indexes

examples from Brookings and Polity IV classifications,  
though definitions appear to mix up symptoms and causes  
incidence depends on definition, but 20-30 states failed/very weak  
equally many fragile/weak, and others in risk zone  
concentration in Sub-Saharan Africa, south/central Asia

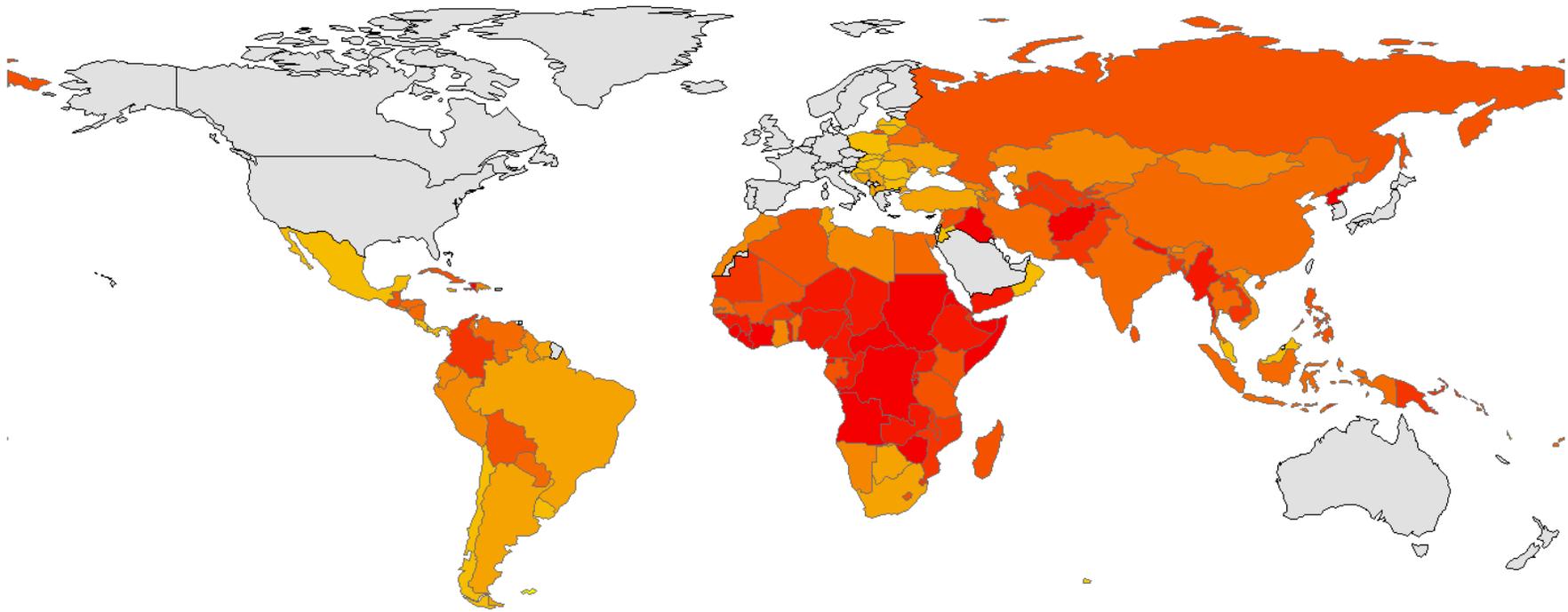


Figure 1.1 Brookings Index of Weak States 2008

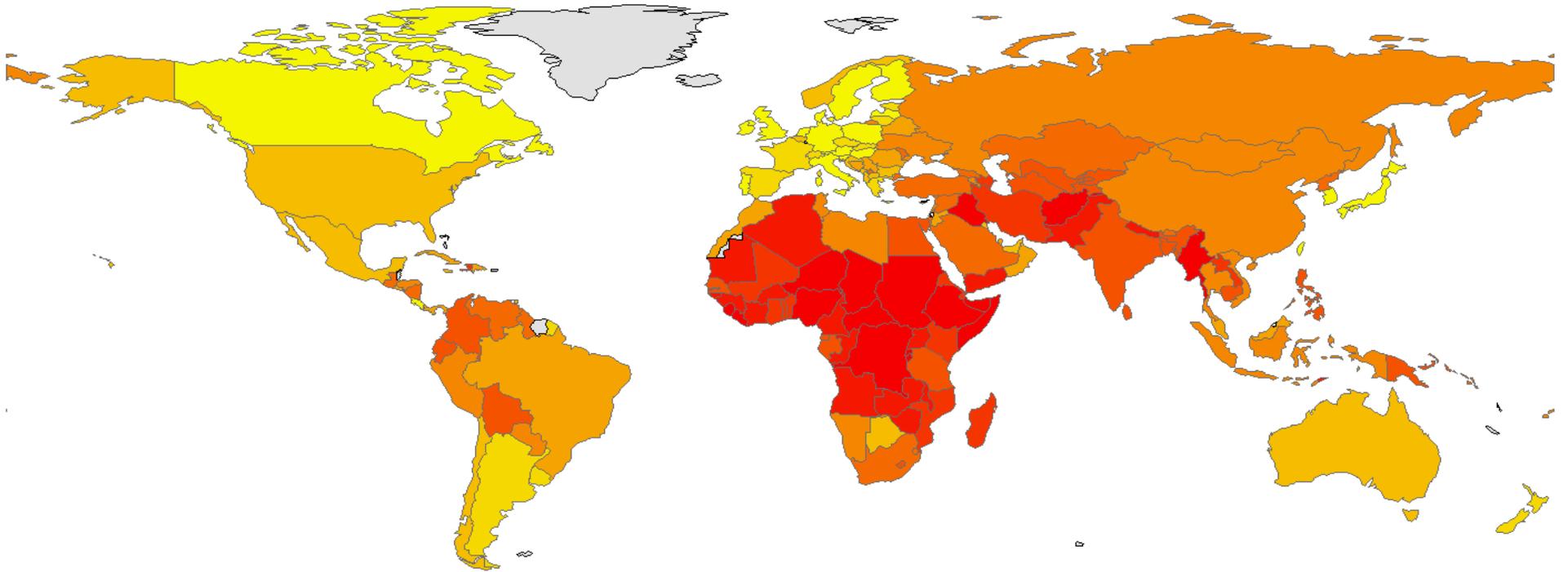


Figure 1.2 Polity IV Index of Fragile States 2009

## Development clusters

*State institutions* link not only with *income*, but with *violence*

weak state institutions in countries with massive poverty  
and societies plagued by internal conflicts

developed countries: high income, institutions work,  
policies in good order, conflicts resolved peacefully, ...

strong clustering of outcomes in different dimensions  
few strong economies with weak states

Multidimensional problem – *the* development problem?

clustering of low income, violence, and a number  
of dysfunctional state institutions

## Example of clustering – Figures 1.3-1.5

Two forms of *state capacity*

extractive capacity: e.g., infrastructure to raise taxes from broad bases like income (or value added)

productive capacity: e.g., infrastructure to enforce contracts or protect property rights

Illustrate with two specific measures

alternative measures (later on) produce similar results

*fiscal* capacity: total taxes as share of GDP, measured at 1999 (IMF data)

*legal* capacity: index of protection of property rights, also at the end of 1990s (ICRG data)

strongly positively correlated with each other, GDP per capita (in 2000), civil war (since 1950), and fragile state indexes

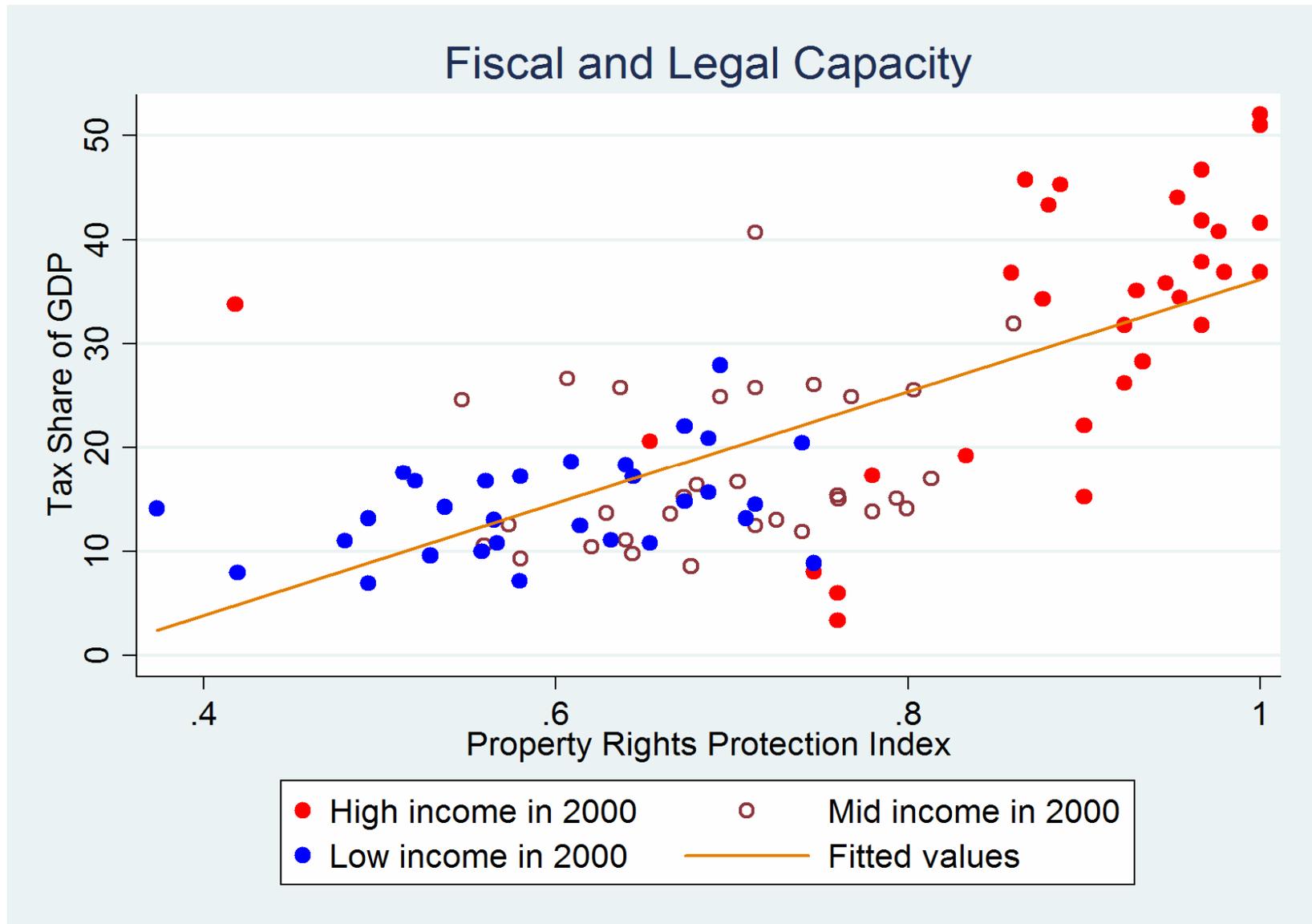


Figure 1.3 Legal and fiscal capacity conditional on income

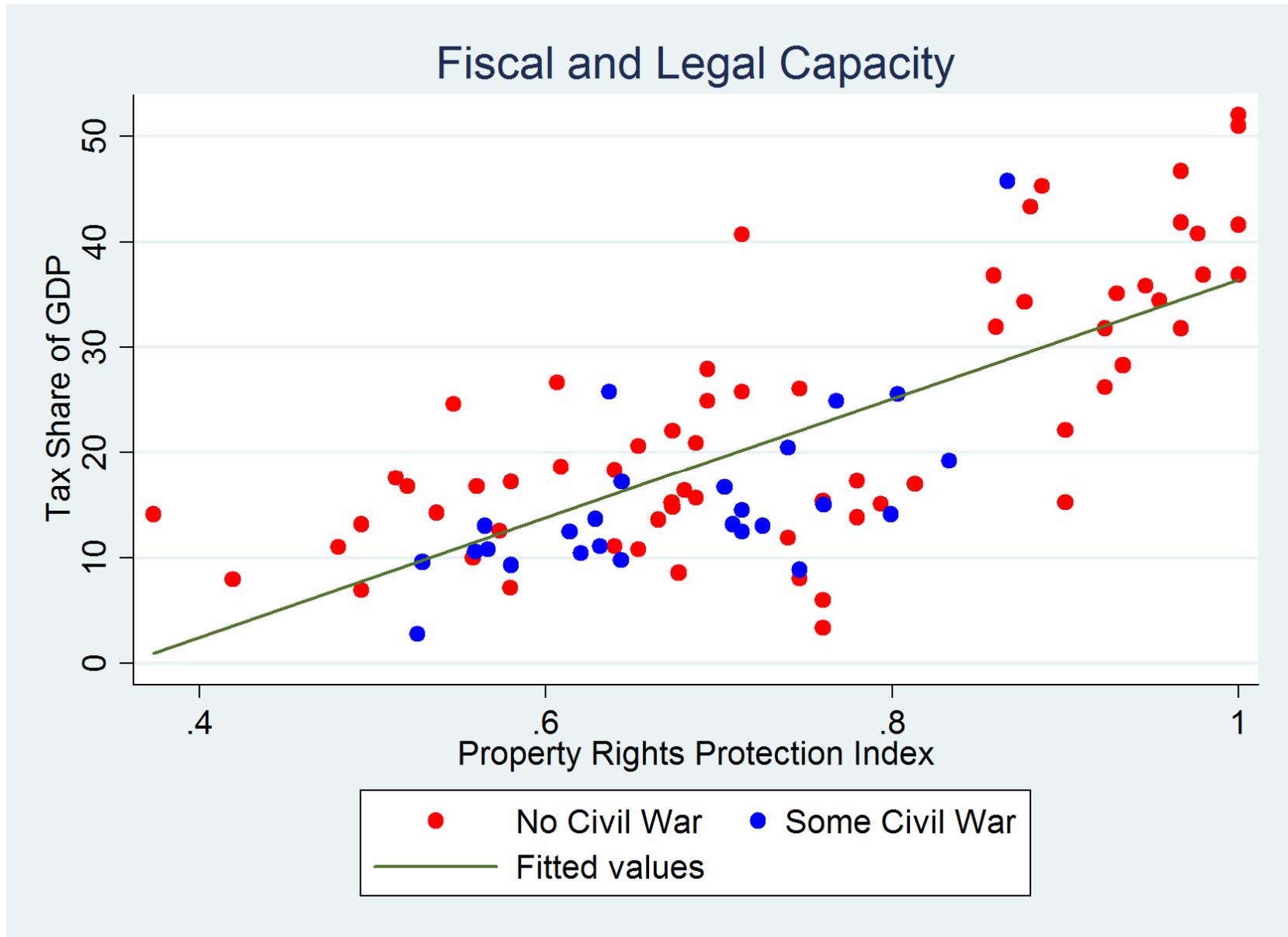


Figure 1.4 Legal and fiscal capacity conditional on civil war

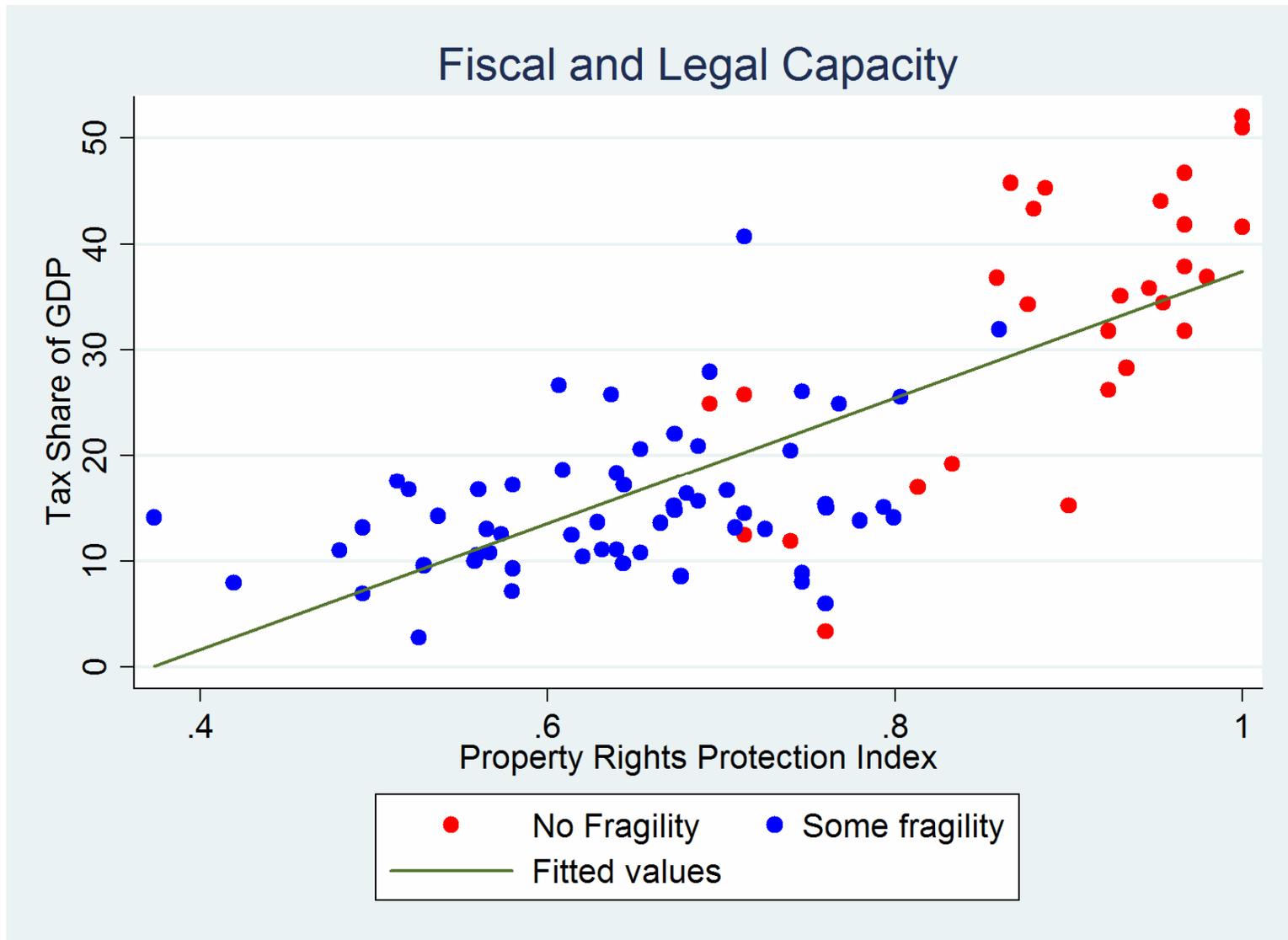


Figure 1.5 Legal and fiscal capacity conditional on fragility

# How understand such patterns in the data?

Basically need to pose – and answer – three general questions

## **Question 1**

what forces drive building of different state capacities,  
and why do these capacities move together?

## **Question 2**

what forces drive different forms of political violence?

## **Question 3**

what explains clustering of institutions, income, and violence?

## Scope of forthcoming book with Tim Besley

Some over-arching objectives

analyze the politics and economics of state building and political violence in the process of development

try to understand the observed development clusters of institutions, income, and violence

aim at constructing new theory and uncovering new evidence

hope to bring these issues into mainstream of economics

Pool together four broad research agendas

determinants of long-run development

determinants of different forms of political violence

importance of history in explaining today's patterns of development

interaction of economics and politics in shaping of societies

## Background – earlier and ongoing research

"Wars and state capacity", *JEEA*, 2008

"Repression or civil war?", *AER*, Papers and Proceedings, 2009

"The origins of state capacity: Property rights, taxation and politics", *AER*, 2009

"State capacity, conflict and development", *Econometrica*, 2010

"Fragile states and development assistance", *JEEA*, 2011

"The logic of political violence", *QJE*, forthcoming, 2011

"Weak states and steady states: The dynamics of fiscal capacity", mimeo (3rd coauthor Ethan Ilzetzki), 2010

"From trade taxes to income taxes: Theory and evidence on fiscal capacity and development", mimeo, 2010

"Political turnover and institutional reform"  
(3rd coauthor Marta Reynal-Querol), in preparation

## This lecture series

Try to tell the major story

describe overall approach and main messages of book

use our core, macroeconomic and macropolitical, model

omit details, extensions, microfoundations, and references

look at data in more or less depth

Road map

A. Overview

B. The Core Model of State Capacity

C. Adding Political Violence

D. State Spaces

E. Analyzing Development Assistance

F. Political Reform

G. Lessons Learned?

## A. Overview

### General modeling approach

Analytical building blocks

two groups that can alternate in power

distinguish policy and institutions, which constrain policy

purposeful investments in institutions and in violence

Build analysis successively

start by simple framework with a single dimension for policy  
and investment, constrained by number of parameters

gradually endogenize several of these parameters – i.e., turn  
them into new endogenous variables

revisit data as we go along

Quick review of contents of different chapters

## Chapter 2 Fiscal capacity – Figure 1.6

Analyze investments in fiscal (extractive) capacity

    solve simple investment problem under uncertainty

    uncover some proximate and ultimate determinants

    find analytical typology with three types of states

Consider a number of extensions

    microeconomic foundations for fiscal capacity

    more general models of public goods

    polarization/heterogeneity

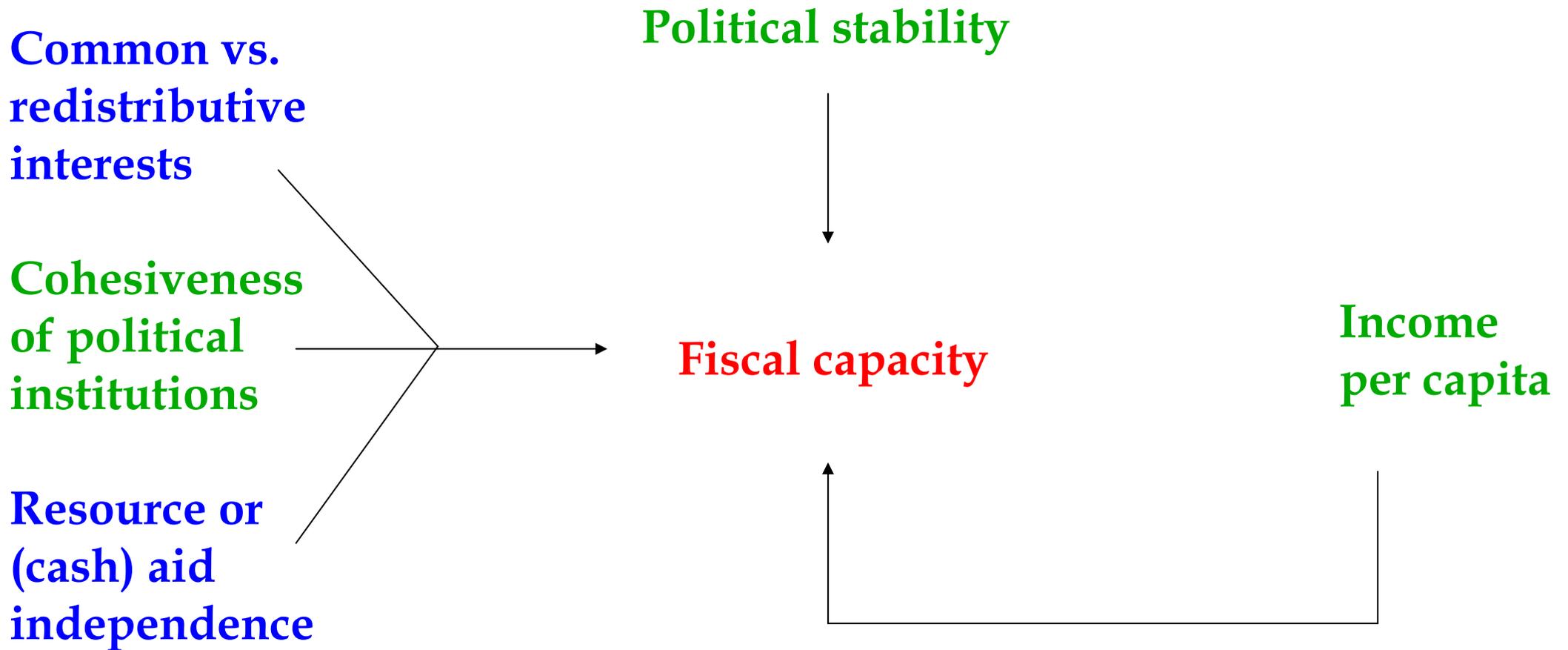
    income inequality and size asymmetry

    tax distortions

    other tax bases than income

    infinite horizon

Figure 1.6 Scope of Chapter 2



## Chapter 3 Legal Capacity – Figure 1.7

Add investments in legal (productive) capacity

endogenize income

demonstrate basic complementarity of investments  
in different sides of state

perform comparative statics and look at data

Consider some extensions

microeconomic foundations for legal capacity,  
contract enforcement in simple two-sector model

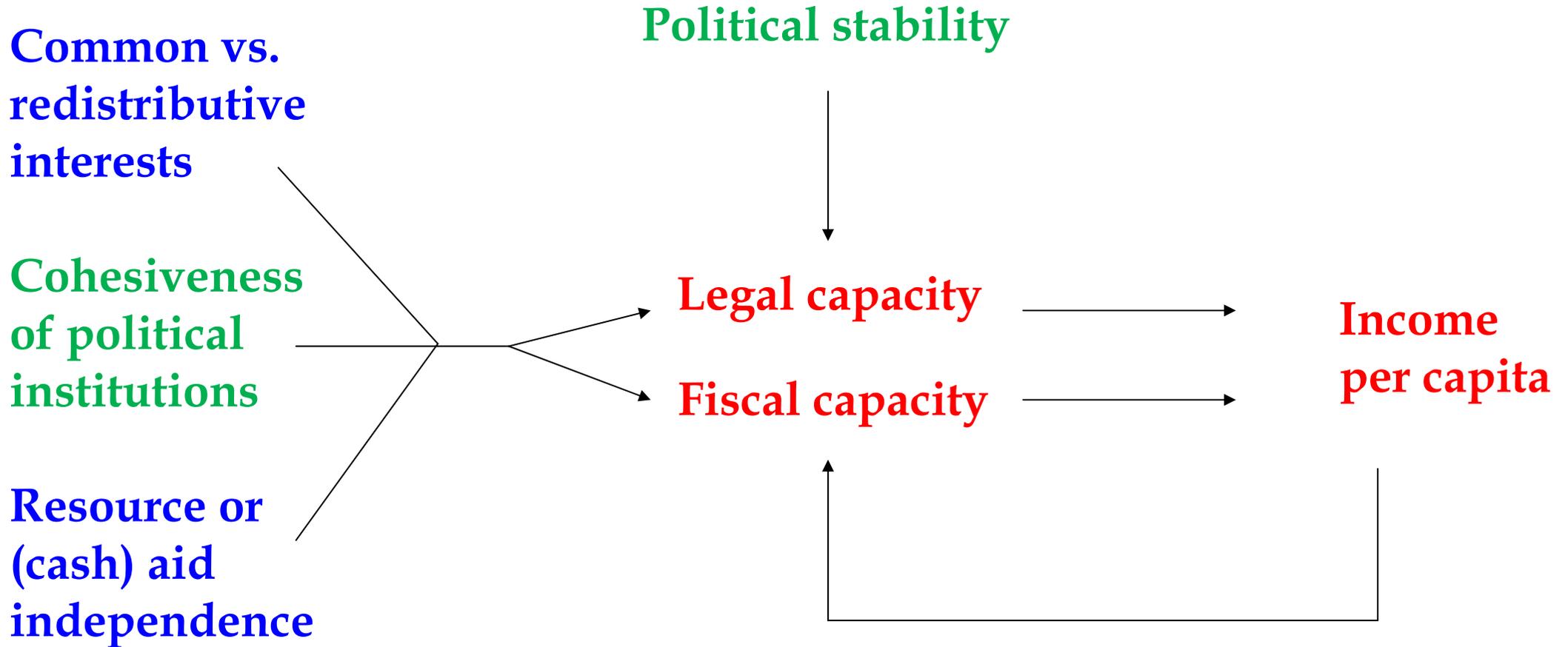
rents and static production inefficiencies

additional sources of complementarity

private capital accumulation

alternative microfoundations, protection of property  
rights – and lack such protection in predatory states

Figure 1.7 Scope of Chapter 3



## Chapter 4 Political Violence – Figure 1.11

Add investments in political violence to core model

endogenize political (in)stability

solve for investments in violence by two groups,  
for given state capacities

find analytical typology with three violence states

uncover determinants of violence

Embark on long empirical detour

discuss how to go from theory to data

present econometric results

Figure 1.11 Scope of Chapter 4

**Common vs.  
redistributive  
interests**

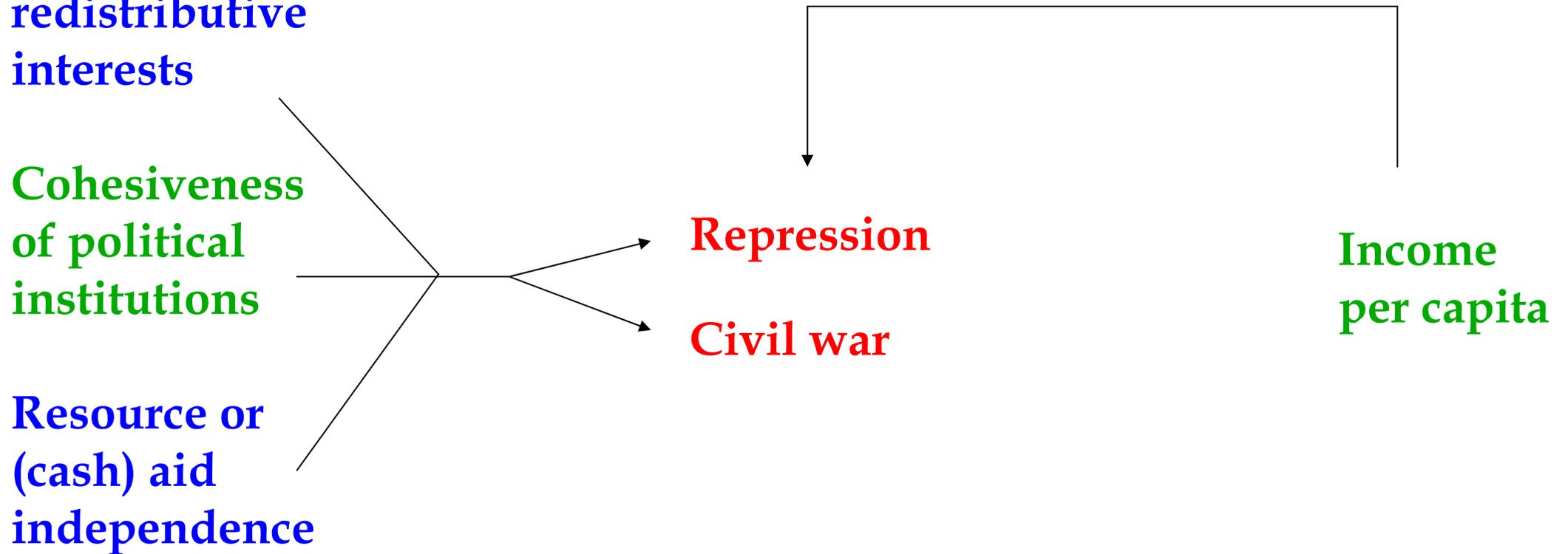
**Cohesiveness  
of political  
institutions**

**Resource or  
(cash) aid  
independence**

**Repression**

**Civil war**

**Income  
per capita**



## Chapter 5 State Spaces – Figures 1.12, 1.14

Put pieces together

revisit investments in state capacity with  
endogenous political stability (turnover)

extensions: polarization, predatory states,  
private investment with risk of violence

common determinants and feedback effects can  
create clusters of strong state capacities in strong  
economies and peaceful societies, or vice versa

gives new perspectives on the data

Summarize the analysis that far

local and global comparative statics imply two-way, state-space  
matrix, and an *Anna Karenina principle of development*

Figure 1.12 Scope of Chapter 5

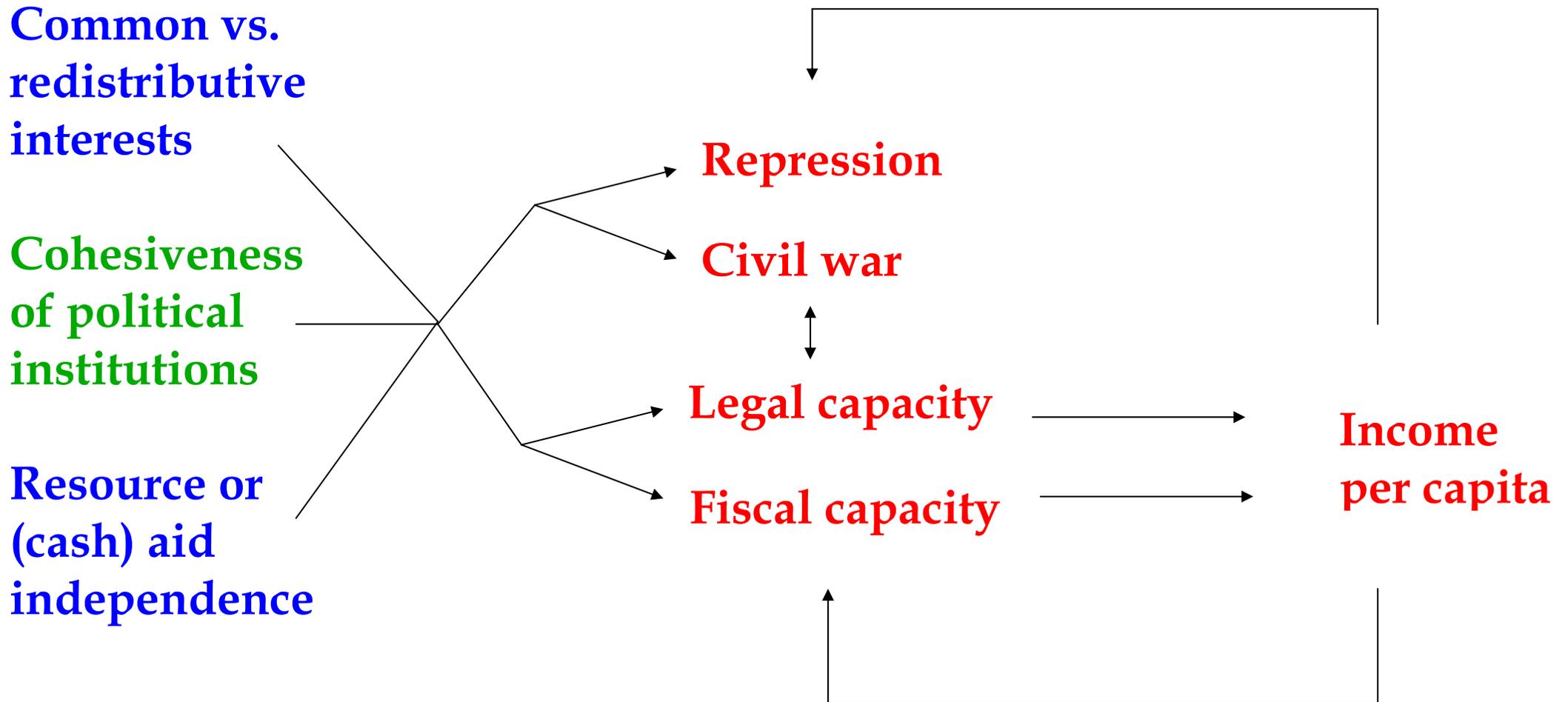


Figure 1.14 Our state space

	Weak	Redistributive	Common interest
Peace			
Repression			
Civil war			

## Chapter 6 Development Assistance – Figure 1.15

Analyze consequences of development assistance

use core model to evaluate effects of different forms  
of assistance in different forms of states

cost-benefit analysis for donor, with endogenous responses of  
policy, state-capacity investment and violence

provide consistent perspective on outside interventions in  
weak or fragile states

Figure 1.15 Scope of Chapter 6

**Development  
assistance**

**Common vs.  
redistributive  
interests**

**Cohesiveness  
of political  
institutions**

**Resource or  
(cash) aid  
independence**

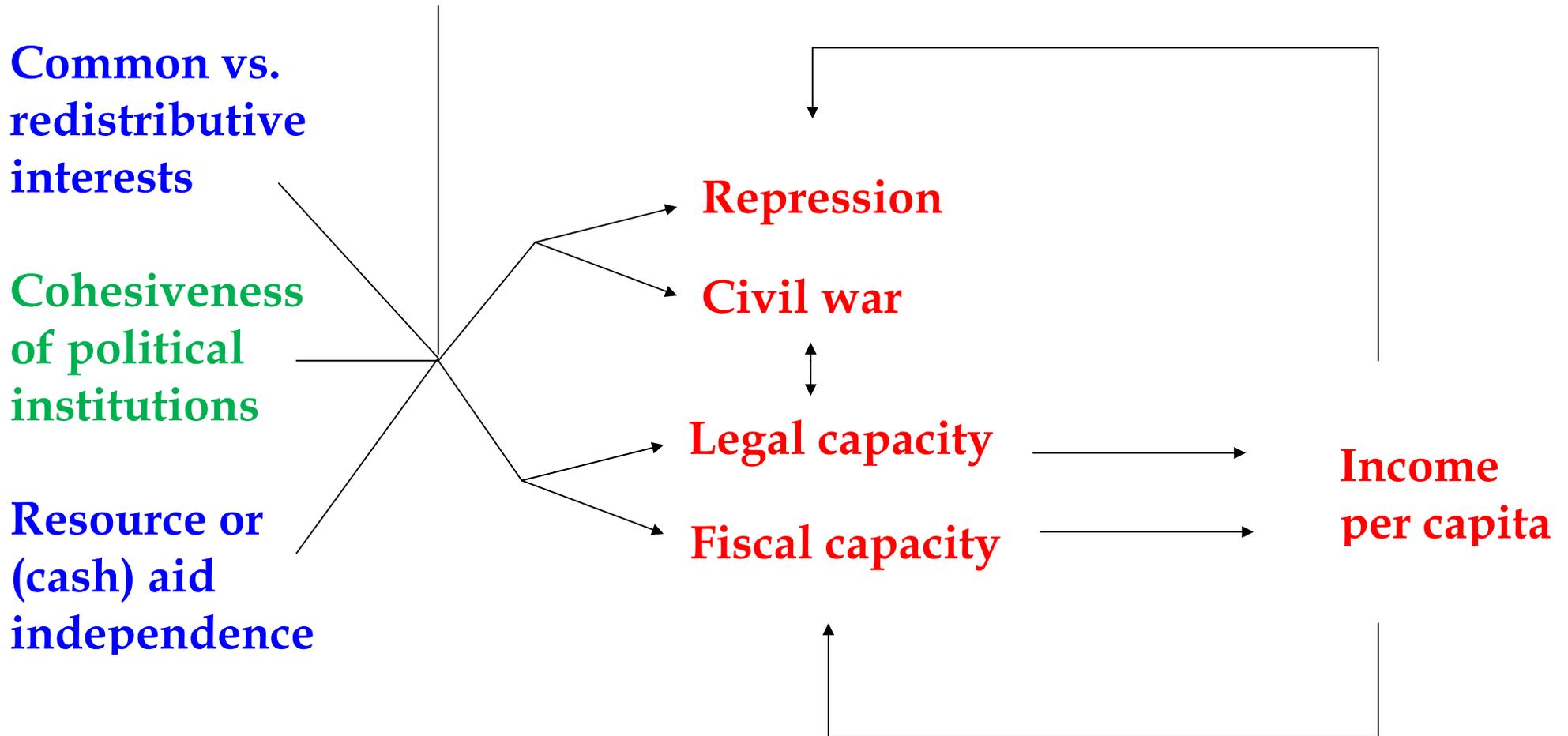
**Repression**

**Civil war**

**Legal capacity**

**Fiscal capacity**

**Income  
per capita**



## Chapter 7 Political Reform – Figure 1.16

Add possibility of political reform in core model

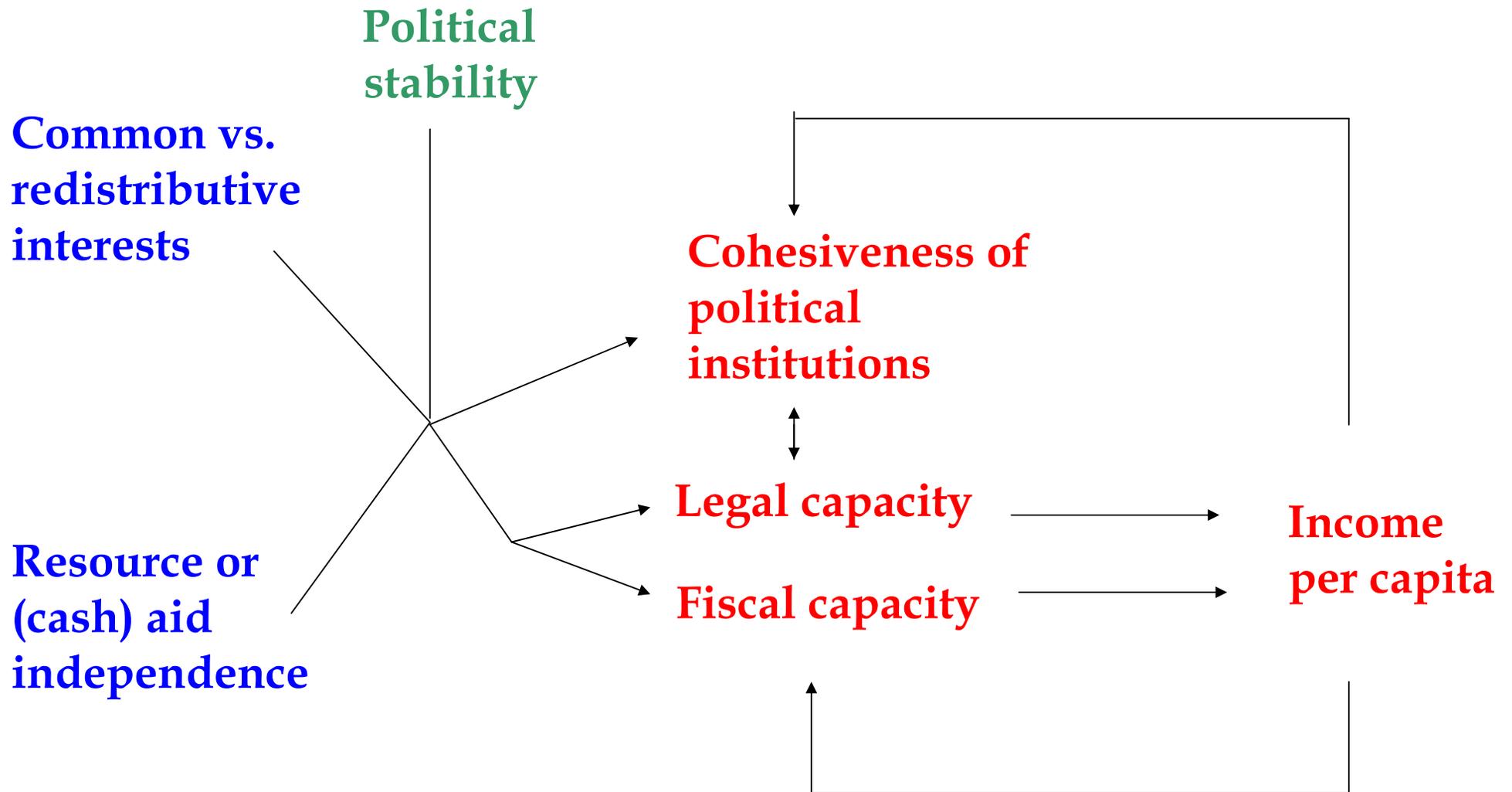
cohesiveness of political institutions central determinant of  
investments in state capacity and violence

analyze incentives to reform political institutions

discuss micropolitical foundations

shed light on stability of strong and peaceful states, or  
weak and violent states, as well as on observed reforms  
away from and towards cohesiveness

Figure 1.16 Scope of Chapter 7



## B. The Core Model of State Capacity

### 1. Basic structure

Two time periods,  $s = 1, 2$

Two identical groups of individuals,  $J = A, B$

each has share  $\frac{1}{2}$  of population size, which is normalized to 1 (asymmetries in ch 2)

Incumbents and opponents

at beginning of  $s = 1$ , one group holds power

we call this group the incumbent  $I_1 \in \{A, B\}$

the other group is the opponent  $O_1 \in \{A, B\}$

with exogenous probability  $\gamma$ , there is a peaceful transition of power until  $s = 2$

thus  $\gamma$  measures political instability (turnover)  
(endogenized in chs 4 and 7)

# Private utility

## Linear utility functions

linear utility buys us risk neutrality

and a model that is *recursive* in policy and investments

$$u_s^J = c_s^J + \alpha_s g_s$$

$c_s^J$  private consumption of group- $J$  member at  $s$

no savings (one of extensions in ch 3)

$g_s$  utility from consumption of public goods,  $\alpha_s$  their value;  
think about as "defense", and "threat of external conflict"  
(adding curvature one extension in ch 2)

# Value of public goods

Value of public goods stochastic

$\alpha_s$  has two-point distribution  $\alpha_s \in \{\alpha_L, \alpha_H\}$ ,  
where  $\alpha_H > 2 > \alpha_L > 1$ , and  $\text{Prob}[\alpha_s = \alpha_H] = \phi$   
(continuous distribution one extension in ch 2)

shocks to  $\alpha$  iid over time

realization of  $\alpha_s$  known when policy set in  $s$

## Taxation and fiscal capacity

Government has discretion over current taxation

taxes income at rate  $t_s$ , but is constrained by  
existing fiscal capacity, i.e.,  $t_s \leq \tau_s$

Microeconomic foundations (see ch 2)

individual can earn some income in informal (untaxed) sector,  
but incentives to hide depend on risk and cost of getting caught

Investments in fiscal capacity

e.g., tax authority, compliance structures, infrastructure to  
enforce income tax (or impose value-added tax)

initial stock  $\tau_1$  is given, but can be augmented

to achieve fiscal capacity  $\tau_2$  requires non-negative investment

$\tau_2 - \tau_1$  at  $s = 1$  (depreciation and reversibility in ch 2)

convex cost  $\mathcal{F}(\tau_2 - \tau_1)$ , where  $\mathcal{F}_\tau(0) = 0$

## Incomes and legal protection

Group  $J$ 's income  $s$  depends on "legal protection"  $p_s^J$

$$y_s^J = y(p_s^J)$$

where  $y$  is an increasing function

no tax distortions (but one of extensions in ch 2)

think of  $p_s^J$  as "legal protection of group  $J$  contracts"

or "legal protection of group  $J$  property rights"

Alternative microfoundations in two-sector model (see ch 3)

- (i) symmetric credit-market model with partial enforcement of collateralized debt contracts: higher  $p_s^J$ , better enforcement
- (ii) model of coercive theft from producers of output by other citizens: higher  $p_s^J$ , more clamp-down on predatory activity

## Legal protection and capacity

Incumbent controls current legal protection

$p_s^J$  constrained by existing legal capacity, i.e.,  $p_s^J \leq \pi_s$

Investment in legal capacity

e.g., courts, educated judges, credit or property registries

initial stock of legal capacity,  $\pi_1$ , given, but can be augmented

by non-negative investment  $\pi_2 - \pi_1$

convex costs  $\mathcal{L}(\pi_2 - \pi_1)$ , where  $\mathcal{L}_\pi(0) = 0$

## Government budget

Budget items at  $s$

$g_s, t_s, \{r_s^J\}_{J=I,O}$ , and  $m_s$  total investments

$$m_s = \begin{cases} \mathcal{F}(\tau_2 - \tau_1) + \mathcal{L}(\pi_2 - \pi_1) & \text{if } s = 1 \\ 0 & \text{if } s = 2 \end{cases}$$

budget constraint is

$$R + t_s \frac{y(p_s^I) + y(p_s^O)}{2} = g_s + m_s + \frac{r_s^I + r_s^O}{2}$$

where  $r_s^J$  is a non-negative targeted transfer to group  $J$

$R$  is additional (constant) revenue source accruing to government  
interpret as natural resource rents, or foreign (cash) aid

$R$  is randomly distributed on support  $[R_L, R_H]$

## Political institutions

Model as constraint on incumbent

incumbents must give fixed share  $\sigma$  to opposition  
of any given unit of transfers to its own group  
by the budget constraint

$$r_s^J = \beta^J \left[ R + t_s \frac{y(p_s^I) + y(p_s^O)}{2} - g_s - m_s \right]$$

where  $\beta^I = 2(1 - \theta)$  and  $\beta^O = 2\theta$  and where  $O$ 's share  
 $\theta = \frac{\sigma}{1+\sigma} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$  represents more *cohesive* institutions  
the closer is  $\theta$  to its maximum of  $\frac{1}{2}$

interpret as more checks and balances on executive,  
or better representation of opposition  
(micropolitical foundations in ch 7)

## Timing

1. Start out with state capacity  $\{\tau_1, \pi_1\}$  and incumbent group  $I_1$ , nature determines  $\alpha_1$  and  $R$
2.  $I_1$  chooses a set of first-period policies  $\{(p_1^J), (r_1^J), t_1, g_1\}$ , and investments in period-2 state capacities  $\tau_2$  and  $\pi_2$ .
3.  $I_1$  remains in power with probability  $1 - \gamma$ , nature determines  $\alpha_2$
4. The new incumbent  $I_2$  chooses current policy  $\{(p_2^J), (r_2^J), t_2, g_2\}$

goal is to solve for a subgame-perfect equilibrium in policy,  
and state-capacity investments – treat in that order

## 2. Policy

### Polycymaking in period $s$

Policy objective

linearity makes model recursive, so that we can study  
policy choice at stages 2 and 4 separately from investments  
whoever holds power, chooses  $\left\{ (p_s^J), (r_s^J), t_s, g_s \right\}$  to maximize

$$\alpha_s g_s + (1 - t_s) y(p_s^I) + r_s^I$$

subject to

$$p_s^J, p_s^J \leq \pi_s, \quad t_s \leq \tau_s, \quad r_s^O \geq \sigma r_s^I$$

and the government budget constraint

Optimal policy design?

can be described by four observations

## Observation 1 – legal protection

Will legal protection be allocated in same way to each one of the groups – i.e., will there be rule of law?

*For  $s \in \{1, 2\}$  any incumbent  $I_s$ , any  $\alpha_s$  and any  $R$ , regulation fully utilizes all legal capacity,  $p^{I_s} = p^{O_s} = \pi_s$*

"Obvious" result in the current set up

relates to Diamond-Mirrlees production efficiency  
and a Political Coase Theorem

this result can be violated, when there are rents  
(two of extensions in ch 3 entail strong violations)

## Observation 2 – public goods

Equilibrium public-good provision

linear preferences give us a "bang-bang", corner solution  
the level of public goods provided is

$$G(\alpha_s, t_s) = \begin{cases} R + t_s y(\pi_s) - m_s & \text{if } \alpha_s \geq 2(1 - \theta) \\ 0 & \text{if } \alpha_s < 2(1 - \theta) \end{cases}$$

depending on whether public goods is worth more to the incumbent than transfers to her own group (1<sup>st</sup> row), or not (2<sup>nd</sup> row)

## Observation 3 – taxes

Equilibrium tax rate

$$t_s = \tau_s$$

Interpretation

always worthwhile to fully utilize all fiscal capacity, since gain of higher tax rate is, at least,  $2(1 - \theta)y(\pi_s)$ , while loss is  $y(\pi_s)$

## Observation 4 – transfers

Equilibrium transfers to incumbent group

follow from

$$r_s^J = \beta^J [R + \tau_s y(\pi_s) - G(\alpha_s, \tau_s) - m_s]$$

Interpretation – recall  $\beta^I = 2(1 - \theta)$  and  $\beta^O = 2\theta$

higher value of the opposition's share,  $\theta$ , reflects more cohesive political institutions

as stated earlier, this may reflect more minority protection by constitutional checks and balances, or more representation through PR elections or parliamentary form of government  
if  $\theta = 1/2$ , transfers shared equally across the two groups

## Indirect utility and value functions

Plug in optimal policy in utility at  $s$  to get

$$W(\alpha_s, \tau_s, \pi_s, m_s, \beta^J) = \alpha_s G(\alpha_s, \tau_s) + (1 - \tau_s)y(\pi_s) + \beta^J [R + \tau_s y(\pi_s) - G(\alpha_s, \tau_s) - m_s]$$

period  $s$  utility of group  $J$

Define "value functions"

$$U^I(\tau_2, \pi_2) = \phi W(\alpha_H, \tau_2, \pi_2, 0, \beta^I) + (1 - \phi) W(\alpha_L, \tau_2, \pi_2, 0, \beta^I)$$

and

$$U^O(\tau_2, \pi_2) = \phi W(\alpha_H, \tau_2, \pi_2, 0, \beta^O) + (1 - \phi) W(\alpha_L, \tau_2, \pi_2, 0, \beta^O)$$

for being incumbent or opposition group in period 2  
depending on the two state variables

### 3. Investments in State Capacity Preliminaries

Investment objective is

$$W(\alpha_1, \tau_1, \pi_1, \mathcal{F}(\tau_2 - \tau_1) + \mathcal{L}(\pi_2 - \pi_1), 2(1 - \theta)) \\ + (1 - \gamma)U^I(\tau_2, \pi_2) + \gamma U^O(\tau_2, \pi_2)$$

What's the shadow cost of public funds for incumbent?

value *realized* in period 1

$$\lambda_1 = \max \{ \alpha_1, 2(1 - \theta) \}$$

and value *expected* for period 2

$$E(\lambda_2) = \phi \alpha_H + (1 - \phi) \lambda_2^L$$

where

$$\lambda_2^L = \begin{cases} \alpha_L & \text{if } \alpha_L \geq 2(1 - \theta) \\ 2[(1 - \theta)(1 - \gamma) + \gamma\theta] & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

## Euler equations

First-order conditions

for fiscal and legal capacity are

$$y(\pi_2)[(E(\lambda_2) - 1)] \leq \lambda_1 \mathcal{F}_\tau (\tau_2 - \tau_1)$$

$$\text{c.s. } \tau_2 - \tau_1 \geq 0$$

$$y_\pi(\pi_2)[1 + (E(\lambda_2) - 1)\tau_2] \leq \lambda_1 \mathcal{L}_\pi (\pi_2 - \pi_1)$$

$$\text{c.s. } \pi_2 - \pi_1 \geq 0$$

Marginal cost of investment – RHS

period-1 foregone consumption of public or private goods

Marginal net benefit of investment – LHS

collect any direct effect on period-2 private income plus  
indirect effects via the government budget

## When is investment positive?

Because  $\mathcal{F}_\tau(0) = \mathcal{L}_\pi(0) = 0$ , it is sufficient that

$$E(\lambda_2) - 1 \geq 0$$

expected value of public funds must to be large enough

this depends on key parameters:  $\{\phi, \alpha_H, \alpha_L, \theta, \gamma\}$

Immediate interim agenda

analyze optimal investment

understand how it depends on the model parameters

## Two conditions

To pin down the type of equilibrium, define

**Cohesiveness:**  $\alpha_L \geq 2(1 - \theta)$

requires  $\theta$  close enough to  $1/2$  or large enough  $\alpha_L$

i.e., strong enough common-interest vs. redistributive motives

guarantees that  $E(\lambda_2) - 1 \geq 0$

**Stability:**  $\phi\alpha_H + (1 - \phi)2[(1 - \gamma)(1 - \theta) + \gamma\theta] \geq 1$

relevant only when Cohesiveness fails – depends on  $\gamma$

e.g., holds as  $\gamma \rightarrow 0$  even if  $\phi \rightarrow 0$

also guarantees that  $E(\lambda_2) - 1 \geq 0$

These conditions uniquely define three possible outcomes

## Three types of state

- Proposition 2.2** *If Cohesiveness holds, then the outcome is a **common-interest state** (the same as chosen by a Pigouvian planner). Public goods are provided for any  $\alpha_S$  and there is positive investment in fiscal and legal capacity*
- Proposition 2.3** *If Cohesiveness fails, while Stability holds, the state is **redistributive**. Public revenues finance only transfers when  $\alpha_S = \alpha_L$  and the state invests in both fiscal and legal capacity*
- Proposition 2.4** *If Cohesiveness and Stability fail, the state is **weak** with no investments in fiscal capacity and lower investments in legal capacity than in a common-interest or redistributive state*
- this is one dimension of our state-space (Anna Karenina) matrix

# Complementarity and supermodularity

## Complementarity

a further consequence of  $E(\lambda_2) - 1 \geq 0$

has two important implications

## Substance

higher  $\pi$  raises motives to invest in  $\tau$  and vice versa

Analytical convenience – monotone comparative statics

supermodularity holds (by positive cross-partial)

if reduced-form objective function  $n(\tau_2, \pi_2; \varphi)$  supermodular

in  $(\tau_2, \pi_2)$ , then  $(\tau_2, \pi_2)$  monotonically increasing in  $\varphi$

if  $\partial^2 n(\cdot) / \partial \tau_2 \partial \varphi \geq 0$  and  $\partial^2 n(\cdot) / \partial \pi_2 \partial \varphi \geq 0$

very easy to derive effects of most parameter shifts

## 4. Comparative Statics

### Value of public goods

**Proposition 3.2** *Higher expected demand for public goods raises investments in state capacity in common-interest and redistributive states*

$$\frac{\partial E(\lambda_2)}{\partial \phi} = \alpha_H - \lambda_2^L > 0$$

common interests make fiscal capacity more valuable

external conflict promotes fiscal capacity and legal capacity  
consistent with historical work by Hintze, Tilly and others,  
but augmented prediction for productive side of government

## Political instability and cohesiveness

**Proposition 3.3** *Investment in fiscal and legal capacity are promoted by lower political instability if institutions are not cohesive*

lower  $\gamma$  raises the likelihood that Stability holds and increases  $\lambda_2^L$  if it does hold

this effect is stronger, the more non-cohesive political institutions  
case study of England in 18th century: after Glorious Revolution (higher  $\theta$ ), Whigs rule for many decades (high  $\gamma$ ), great expansion of tax capacity, and more independent and well-paid judiciary (higher  $\tau, \pi$ )

more cohesiveness has an uncertain effects on state capacity in redistributive state, but raise probability of common-interest state

## Costs of investments

**Proposition 3.4** *Lower costs of either legal or fiscal capacity raise investments in legal and fiscal capacity in common-interest and redistributive states*

a downward multiplicative shift of  $\mathcal{L}(\cdot)$  or  $\mathcal{F}(\cdot)$  cuts the RHS of investment FOCs for given  $\pi_2$  and  $\tau_2$

this gives a theoretical rationale for "legal origins" hypothesis, but with an auxiliary prediction for fiscal capacity

# Exogenous growth and income

Exogenous productivity differences

$$y_s^J = \Lambda_s y(p_s^J)$$

perhaps due to geography or Hicks-neutral technology

**Proposition 3.5** *More productive economies (higher  $\Lambda_2$ ) choose greater investments in fiscal and legal capacity in common-interest and redistributive states.*

higher  $\Lambda_2$  raises  $\Lambda_2 y(\pi_2)$  and  $\Lambda_2 y_\pi(\pi_2)$  for given  $\pi_2$ , which makes both types of investments in the state more worthwhile

## Resource or aid dependence

Define equilibrium GDP in period  $s$  as

$$Y(\pi_s, R) = R + \frac{\Lambda_s(y(\pi_s) + y(\pi_s))}{2}$$

and consider variations in  $R$  and  $\Lambda_s y(\pi_s)$  that keep  $Y(\pi_s, R)$  constant

**Corollary** *Higher resource or aid dependence, higher  $R$  for given  $Y(\pi_2, R)$ , means lower investments in legal and fiscal capacity in common-interest and redistributive states*

clue why some aid or resource-dependent countries in Africa

and South Asia may have weak incentives to build their states  
consistent with idea of "rentier states"

# Endogenous growth

The model also has "endogenous" growth

income grows due to investments in legal capacity  
whatever the source of these investments

$$\frac{Y(\pi_2, R) - Y(\pi_1, R)}{Y(\pi_1, R)}$$

growth driven by institutional deepening leading to  
more efficient private markets, when  $\pi_2 > \pi_1$

by complementarity, (expected) government size grows  
together with legal capacity and income

## Clustering of state capacity and income – Figure 3.1

Strong positive associations

recall correlations in Figure 1.3

similar picture appears with alternative measures:

income tax share in government revenue (IMF, late 1990s)  
vs. index of contract enforcement (World Bank, 2005)

Earlier results shed light on observed clustering

positive correlation can reflect higher (exogenous)  
income causing higher state capacity

but may also reflect other factors that lead to higher  
state capacity, which – in turn – spills over into  
higher (endogenous) income



## Extension: Polarization/heterogeneity

Different valuations of public goods across groups

assume drawn from same two-point distribution  $\{\alpha_H, \alpha_L\}$

$\{\alpha_s^I, \alpha_s^O\}$  period- $s$  realizations for groups  $I$  and  $O$  and

$$(1 - \iota) = \text{Prob} \{\alpha_s^O = z | \alpha_s^I = z\} \leq 1$$

greater polarization/heterogeneity, higher  $\iota$ , gives  
lower expected value of public funds

$$\frac{dE(\lambda_2)}{d\iota} = -\gamma\phi(\alpha_H - \alpha_L) < 0$$

**Proposition 2.5** *If Cohesiveness fails, more polarization (higher  $\iota$ ) decreases fiscal and legal capacity-investments in redistributive states, and raises the likelihood of a weak state. Both effects are larger with greater political instability (higher  $\gamma$ )*

## 5. Data and Partial Correlations

### Measuring state capacity

Five proxies for fiscal capacity (IMF and World Bank data)

ratio of total tax revenue to GDP, at end of 1990s

share of income taxes in total revenue, at end of 1990s

share of *non*-trade taxes in revenue at end of 1990s

difference between income-tax and trade-tax share

1 – (share of informal economy in GDP around 2006)

Five proxies for legal capacity (ICRG and World Bank data)

index of government anti-diversion policy, end of 1990s

normalized rank on Doing Business indicators, circa 2006

normalized rank on ease of registering property

normalized rank in the ease of access to credit

normalized rank on a measure of enforcing contracts

## Measuring parameters of the model

Use various proxies

common interests: proportion years in external war from 1816 (or independence) until 2000 (Correlates of War data)

polarization:  $1 -$  (degree of ethnic fractionalization) (Fearon 2003 data on (0,1))

cohesive institutions: average from 1800 (or independence) to 2000 of constraints on executive ("Xconst" in Polity IV data, 1-7 scale normalized to (0,1))

political stability: same period average of non-open and non-competitive recruitment of executive (normalized (0,1) score for "Xrcomp"+"Xropen" in Polity IV)

investment costs: legal origin indicators (La Porta et al 1998)

## Partial correlations – Figures and tables

Compute partial correlations

regress measure of state capacity on suggested determinants;  
of course, absolutely no claim of causal interpretation

Basic correlations in line with theory

for different measures of fiscal as well as legal capacity

Auxiliary predictions of theory?

interaction effects are mixed success

additional measures implied by extensions (in ch 3) – private investments, private credit, corruption – also correlated with basic determinants in line with model predictions

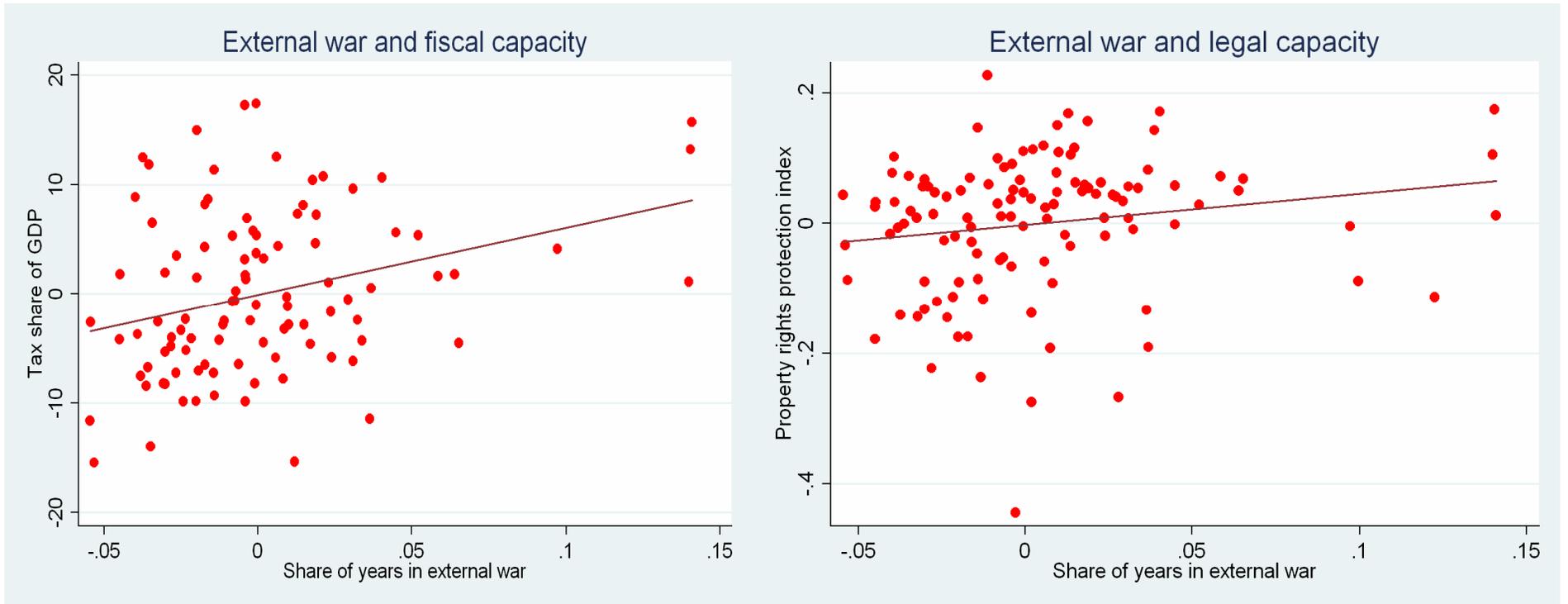


Figure 1.8 State capacity and external war

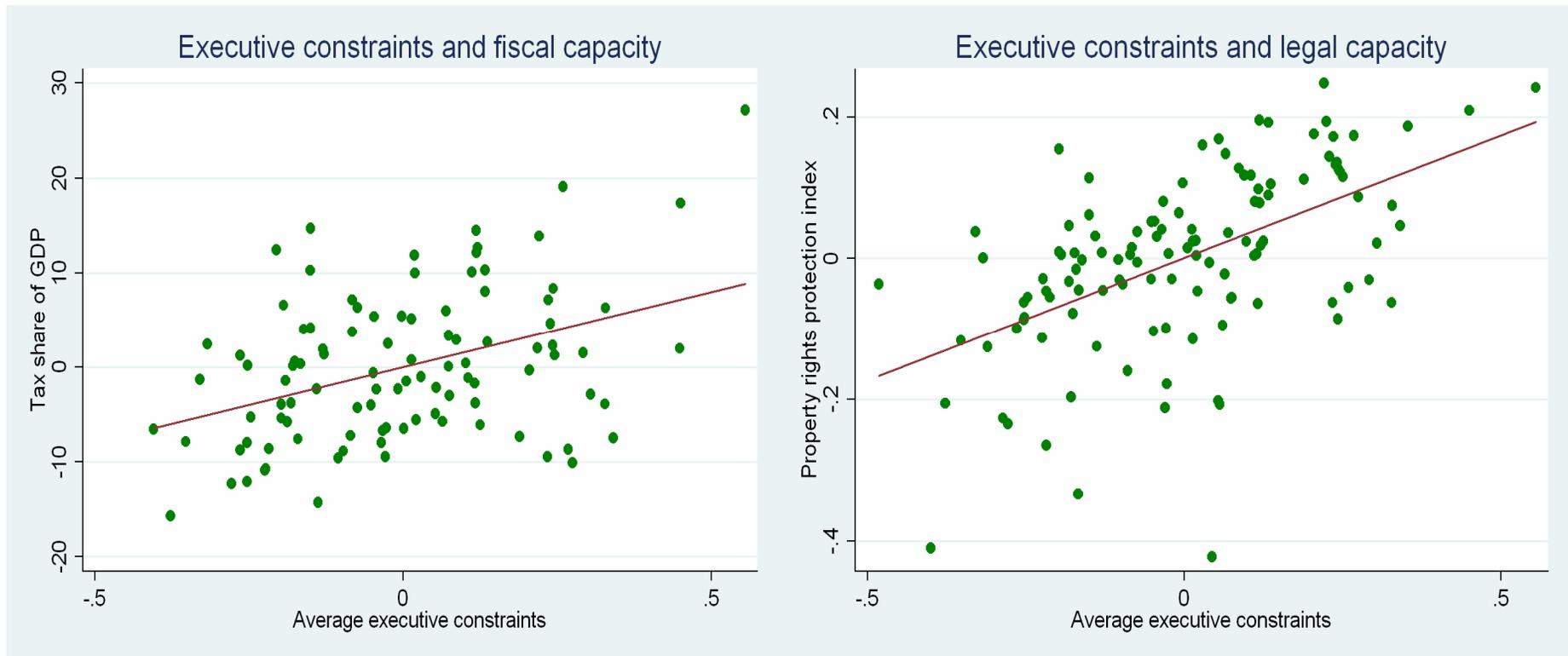


Figure 1.9 State capacity and executive constraints

Table 2.1 Correlations between fiscal capacity measures

	Tax revenue share in GDP	Income tax share	Non-trade tax share	Income tax bias	Formal sector share
Tax revenue share in GDP	1.000				
Income tax share	0.815	1.000			
Non-trade tax share	0.729	0.693	1.000		
Income tax bias	0.846	0.954	0.878	1.000	
Formal sector share	0.564	0.587	0.580	0.624	1.000

## Table 2.2 Fiscal Capacity and Covariates: Simple Correlations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Tax revenue share in GDP in 2000	Income tax share in 2000	Non-trade tax share in 2000	Income tax bias in 2000	Formal sector share around 2000
Prevalence external war before 2000	1.897* (1.142)	1.213 (0.952)	2.387** (0.915)	1.972** (0.965)	1.671** (0.690)
Average executive constraints before 2000	2.130*** (0.374)	2.309*** (0.335)	1.135*** (0.312)	2.001*** (0.307)	1.768*** (0.356)
Average non-open executive recruitment before 2000	1.080** (0.432)	1.254*** (0.451)	0.541 (0.391)	1.054*** (0.392)	1.490*** (0.447)
Ethnic homogeneity (1 - ethnic fractionalization)	1.058*** (0.300)	0.438 (0.271)	0.656** (0.304)	0.606** (0.270)	0.709** (0.298)
Observations	104	104	103	103	109
R-squared	0.503	0.465	0.301	0.482	0.317

**Notes:** Robust standard errors in parentheses: (\* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%)

## Table 2.4 Fiscal Capacity and Covariates: Additional Controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Tax revenue share in GDP	Income tax share in total revenue	Formal sector share	Tax revenue share in GDP	Income tax share in total revenue	Formal sector share
Prevalence external war before 2000	1.536 (1.076)	0.884 (0.867)	1.203* (0.660)	0.819 (1.341)	0.583 (0.860)	1.484** (0.659)
Average executive constraints before 2000	1.595*** (0.415)	1.757*** (0.383)	0.891** (0.397)	1.163** (0.452)	1.240*** (0.402)	1.131** (0.429)
Average non-open executive recruitment before 2000	0.686* (0.408)	0.866** (0.410)	0.989** (0.428)	0.891* (0.474)	0.473 (0.396)	1.249** (0.475)
Ethnic homogeneity (1 - ethnic fractionalization)	0.718* (0.368)	0.085 (0.339)	- 0.010 (0.372)	0.423 (0.384)	0.024 (0.322)	0.084 (0.397)
Log(GDP per capita) in 2000	0.209** (0.105)	0.221** (0.099)	0.398*** (0.106)	0.350*** (0.112)	0.342*** (0.083)	0.378*** (0.117)
Low value of inequality				0.513* (0.297)	0.321** (0.151)	- 0.182 (0.191)
Observations	103	103	109	83	83	90
R-squared	0.531	0.496	0.404	0.591	0.570	0.480

**Notes:** Robust standard errors in parentheses: (\* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%)

Table 3.1 Correlations between legal capacity measures

	Government Anti- diversion Policy	Doing Business	Registering Property	Obtaining Credit	Contract Enforcement
Government Anti- diversion Policy	1.000				
Doing Business	0.8010	1.000			
Registering Property	0.5082	0.5670	1.000		
Obtaining Credit	0.6680	0.7879	0.4360	1.000	
Contract Enforcement	0.7277	0.7062	0.3851	0.4069	1.000

## Table 3.2 Legal Capacity and Covariates: Simple Correlations

	(1) Government Anti- Diversion Policy	(2) Doing Business	(3) Registering Property	(4) Obtaining Credit	(5) Contract Enforcement
Prevalence external war before 2000	1.294** (0.580)	0.427** (0.185)	0.278 (0.441)	0.355* (0.203)	0.749*** (0.230)
Average executive constraints before 2000	2.085*** (0.291)	0.535*** (0.084)	0.222* (0.122)	0.358*** (0.092)	0.287*** (0.108)
Average non-open executive recruitment before 2000	1.467*** (0.303)	0.235** (0.109)	0.229 (0.152)	- 0.082 (0.114)	0.202* (0.09)
Ethnic homogeneity	1.079*** (0.259)	0.241*** (0.073)	0.257*** (0.091)	0.286*** (0.089)	0.104 (0.096)
English Legal Origin	- 0.157 (0.189)	0.148*** (0.050)	0.106* (0.064)	0.062 (0.054)	0.103* (0.054)
Scandinavian Legal Origin	0.706*** (0.204)	0.276*** (0.067)	0.327*** (0.079)	0.127 (0.081)	0.452*** (0.069)
German Legal Origin	0.627*** (0.185)	0.280*** (0.054)	0.244*** (0.079)	0.219*** (0.051)	0.365*** (0.063)
Socialist Legal Origin	0.013 (0.153)	0.062 (0.050)	0.155** (0.059)	- 0.007 (0.059)	0.265*** (0.053)
Observations	122	147	147	147	147
R-squared	0.623	0.552	0.293	0.414	0.442

**Notes:** Robust standard errors in parentheses: (\* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%). French legal origin is the omitted category.

## Table 3.4 Other Outcomes and Covariates: Simple Correlations

	(1) Private Credit to GDP	(2) Corruption Perceptions	(3) Private Investment Rate	(4) Tax Revenue Share in GDP	(5) Income Tax Share in Total Revenue	(6) Formal Sector Share
Prevalence external war before 2000	2.490*** (0.571)	2.130*** (0.495)	0.132 (0.659)	3.227*** (1.160)	2.056* (1.100)	2.159*** (0.807)
Average executive constraints before 2000	1.729*** (0.331)	1.799*** (0.275)	0.906*** (0.260)	1.491*** (0.420)	1.690*** (0.421)	1.485*** (0.375)
Average non-open executive recruitment before 2000	1.099** (0.429)	0.870*** (0.310)	0.751** (0.356)	0.640 (0.388)	0.849* (0.473)	1.249*** (0.471)
Ethnic homogeneity	0.489 (0.301)	0.693*** (0.254)	0.991*** (0.216)	0.650** (0.311)	0.171 (0.283)	0.549 (0.353)
English Legal Origin	0.131 (0.218)	0.078 (0.156)	0.298* (0.161)	0.047 (0.178)	0.225 (0.183)	0.089 (0.233)
Scandinavian Legal Origin	-0.346 (0.41)	1.719*** (0.212)	0.154 (0.212)	1.966*** (0.348)	1.114*** (0.293)	0.499** (0.215)
German Legal Origin	1.618*** (0.407)	1.117*** (0.231)	0.272 (0.232)	0.677* (0.359)	1.273*** (0.219)	0.892** (0.221)
Socialist Legal Origin	N/A	-0.376*** (0.120)	0.268* (0.146)	-1.027*** (0.171)	-0.308 (0.450)	-0.172 (0.239)
Observations	96	147	154	104	104	109
R-squared	0.633	0.643	0.332	0.630	0.554	0.375

**Notes:** Robust standard errors in parentheses: (\* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%). French legal origin is the omitted category.