

# The Evolution of the Welfare State

Diego Huerta  
Northwestern University

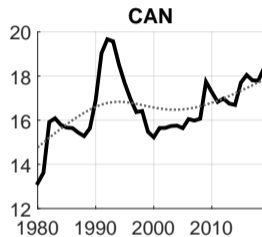
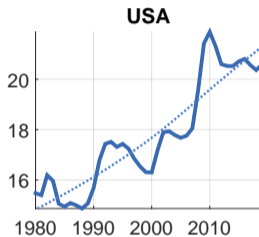
January 9, 2024

## Social benefits evolve differently across the world

- Social benefits, share of GDP (e.g. health, family, unemployment).

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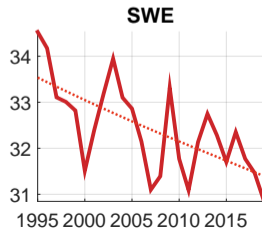
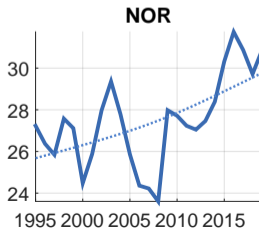
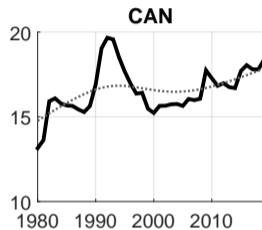
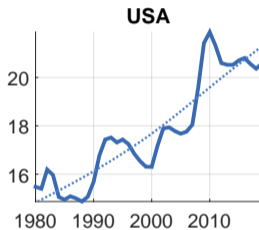
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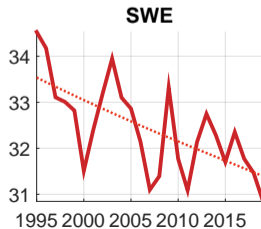
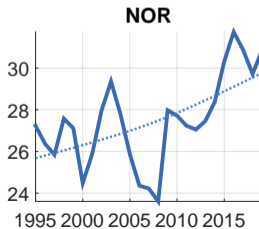
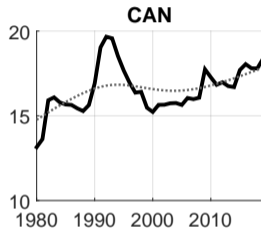
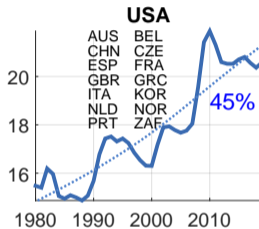
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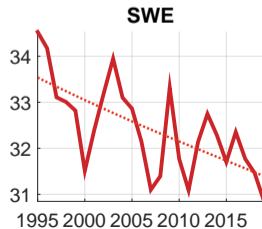
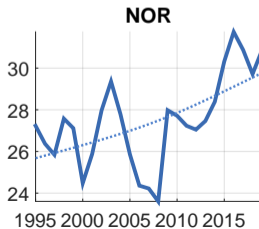
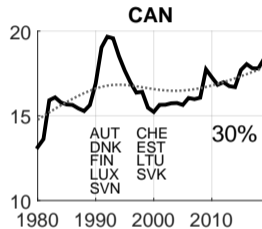
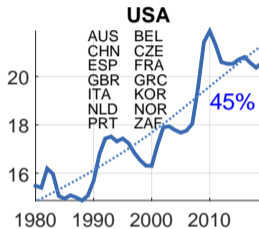
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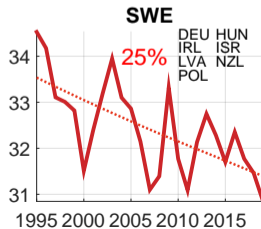
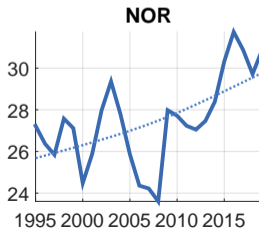
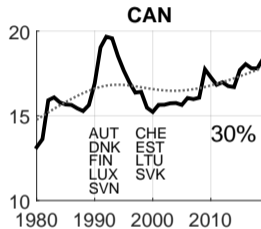
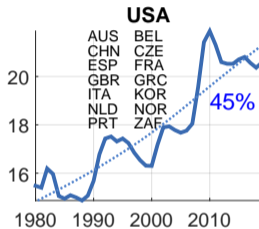
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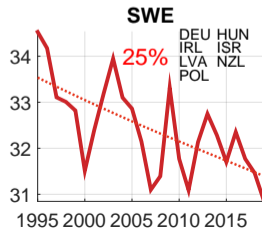
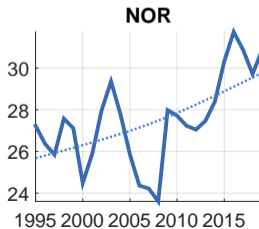
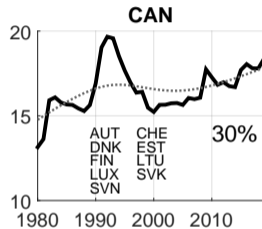
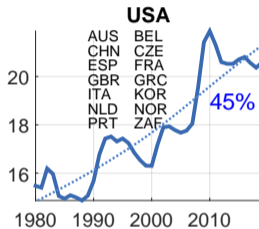
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Net soc. ben.



# What explains the evolution of the Welfare State?

- **Many possible factors** country-specific shocks, government changes, demographics, convergence ...

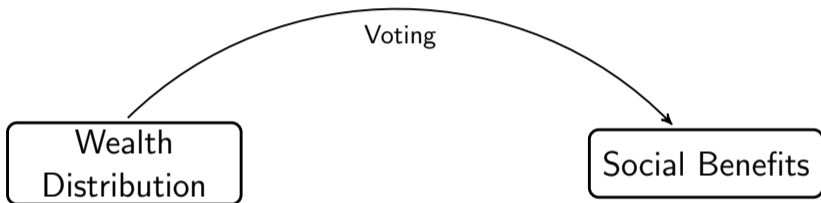
# What explains the evolution of the Welfare State?

- **This Paper**

Wealth  
Distribution

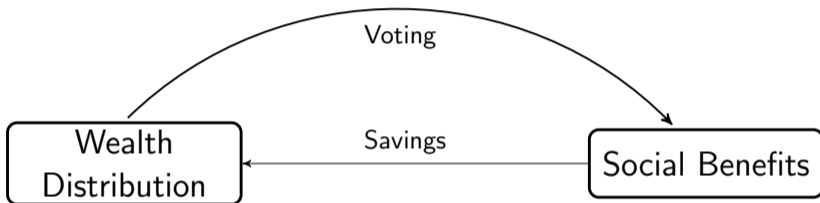
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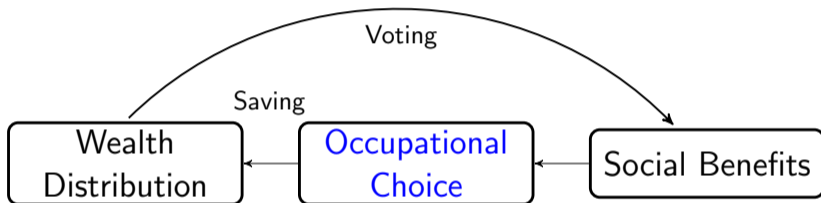
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## 1. **Inequality-Policy Link**

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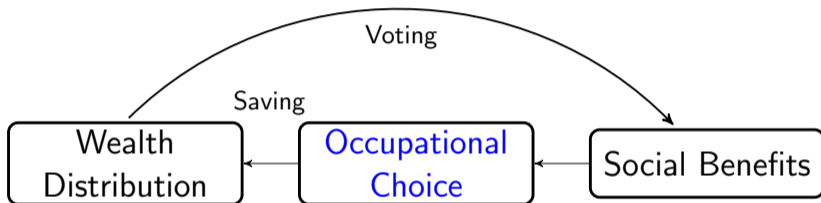
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1. **Inequality-Policy Link**
2. **Anticipatory Voting**

# What explains the evolution of the Welfare State?

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1. **Inequality-Policy Link**
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- The **Inequality-Policy Link** predicts a large fraction of countries

# Main Theoretical Results

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# Main Theoretical Results

1. Size of Welfare State depends on Middle class of **Aspirational** voters
2. Evolution of Welfare State depends on Wealth & Inequality

Wealthy but **↑ inequality**: social benefits **increase** over time (e.g. US).

Wealthy but **↓ inequality**: social benefits **decrease** over time (e.g. Sweden).

# Quantitative Result

- Theory **PREDICTS** trends of social benefits in **18 out 24** countries
  1. Calibration based on observed wealth distribution in 1995
  2. Simulation of next 25 years given the 1995's distribution

# Contributions to the Literature

1. Theory that explains the differences in the evolution of the Welfare State  
Alesina and Rodrik (1994); Alesina and Angeletos (2005); Hassler et al. (2003)
2. Tractable model with heterogeneous agents, occupational choice, and politics  
Krusell et al. (1996); Krusell and Rios-Rull (1996, 1999); Nuño and Moll (2018); Itskhoki and Moll (2019)
  - ▶ Theoretical results for transition dynamics

# Plan

1. The Model
2. Equilibrium Social Benefits
3. The Evolution of the Welfare State
4. Quantitative Exercise
5. Conclusions

# The Model

# The Model

- Continuum of agents heterogeneous in wealth  $a_t \sim \Gamma_t(a)$

$$\begin{aligned} \max_{\{c_t\}_{t=0}^{+\infty}} & \left\{ \int_0^{\infty} e^{-\rho t} \log(c_t) dt \right\} \\ \text{s.t.} & \quad \dot{a}_t = (r - \tau_t) a_t - c_t + \begin{cases} w_t \ell + T_t & \text{if worker} \\ \Pi_t & \text{if entrepreneur} \end{cases} \\ & \quad a_t \geq \underline{a} \end{aligned}$$

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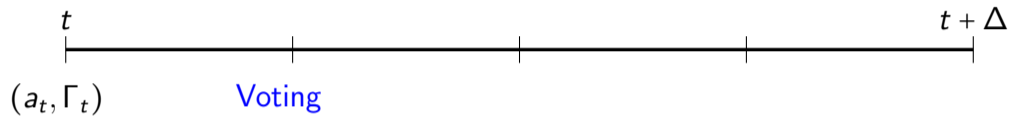
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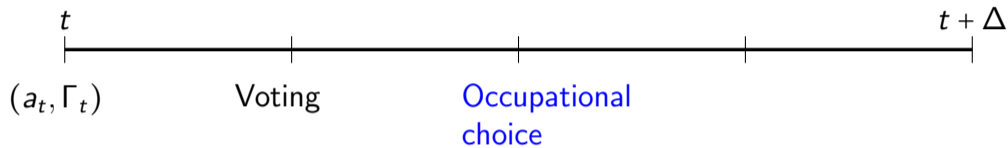
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*Individual profits:*  $\Pi_t = p_t R - rI$

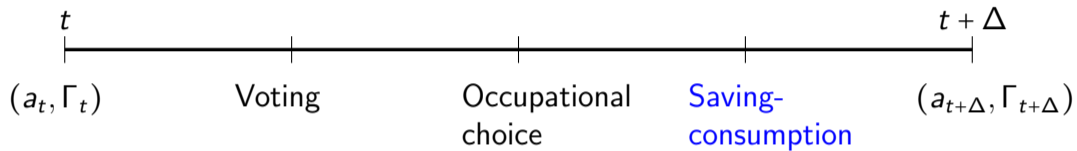
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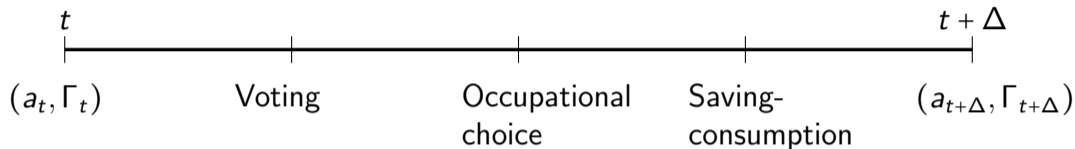
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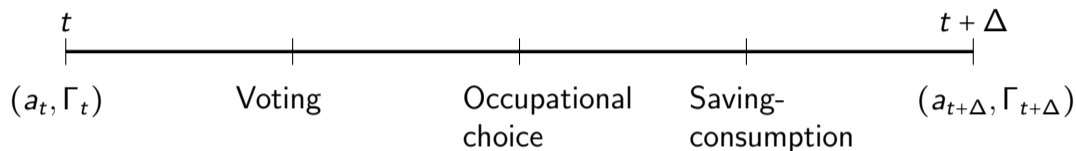


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Benabou and Ok (2001); Alesina and La Ferrara (2005)

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Benabou and Ok (2001); Alesina and La Ferrara (2005)
- *Alternative*: fully-rational equilibrium (numerical)  
Krusell and Rios-Rull (1996, 1999); Quadrini and Rios-Rull (2023)

# Occupational Choice



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- Occupational constraint:  $\Pi_t \geq w_t \ell + T_t$

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- Credit constraints à la Holmstrom and Tirole (1997):

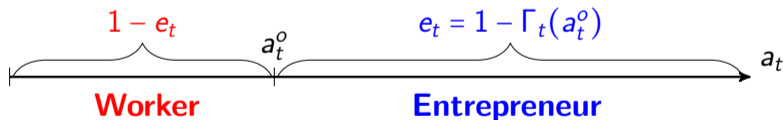
$$\Pi_t + ra \geq (1 - a) + w_t \ell + T_t$$

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- **Occupational choice:**  $a_t^o(b_t, \Gamma_t) = \max\{\hat{a}_t, \tilde{a}_t\}$  (OC)



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2. Maximum Sustainable transfer rate:  $\bar{b}(\Gamma_t)$



# Plan

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# Equilibrium Social Benefits: Roadmap

1. Individual Preferences
2. Probabilistic Voting (Persson and Tabellini, 2000)
3. Equilibrium Social Benefits

# Individual Preferences

## Individual preferred transfer rate: $b(a; \Gamma_t)$

- Agents observe  $a$  and  $\Gamma_t$ , and maximize disposable income at  $t$ :

$$b(a; \Gamma_t) = \underset{b \in [\underline{b}, \bar{b}]}{\operatorname{argmax}} y_t(a, b; \Gamma_t) = \begin{cases} y_t^W & \text{if } a < a^\circ(b, \Gamma_t) \\ y_t^E & \text{if } a \geq a^\circ(b, \Gamma_t) \end{cases}$$

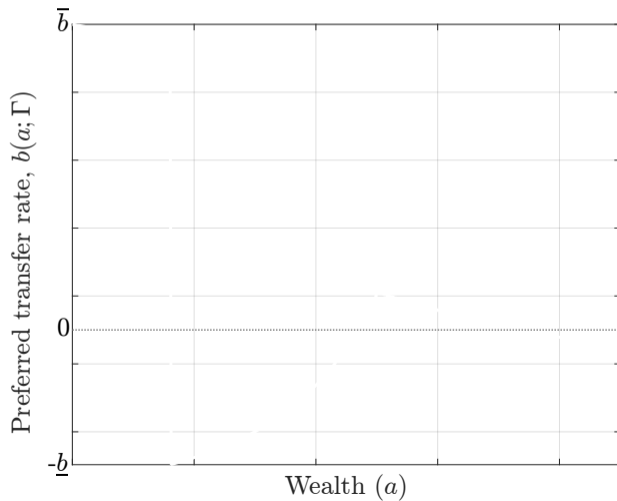
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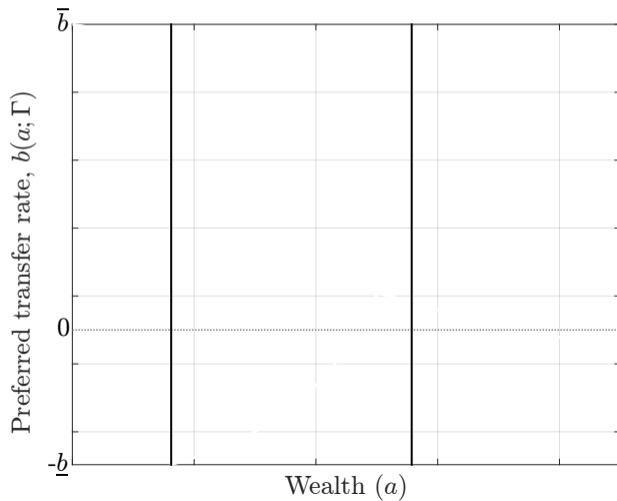
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- Agents anticipate **occupational mobility prospects** at  $t$

# Individual preferred transfer rate

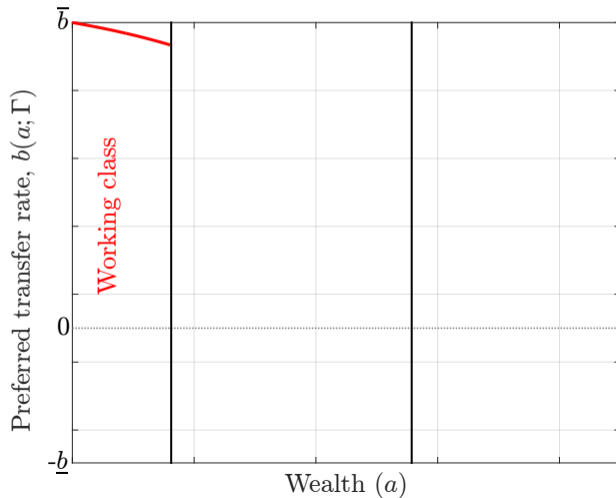


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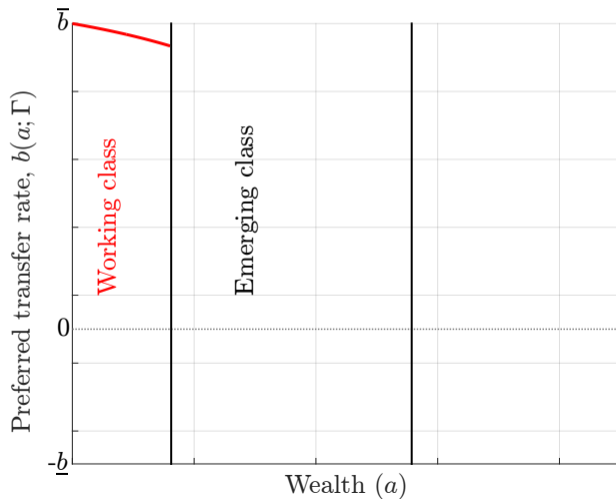
- **Working Class:** high social benefits





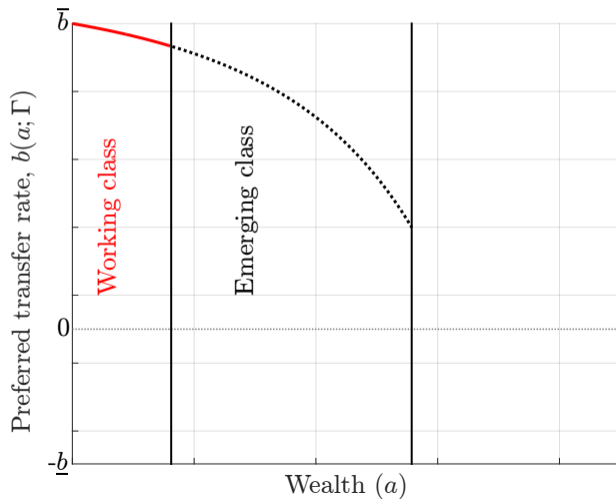
# Individual preferred transfer rate

- **Emerging Class:** either **Workers** or **Entrepreneurs**



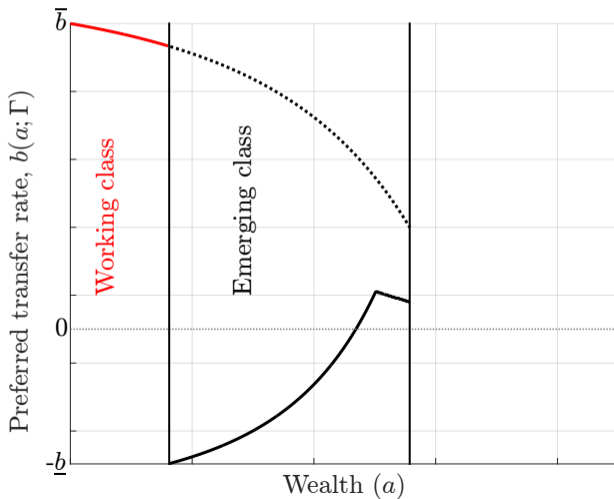
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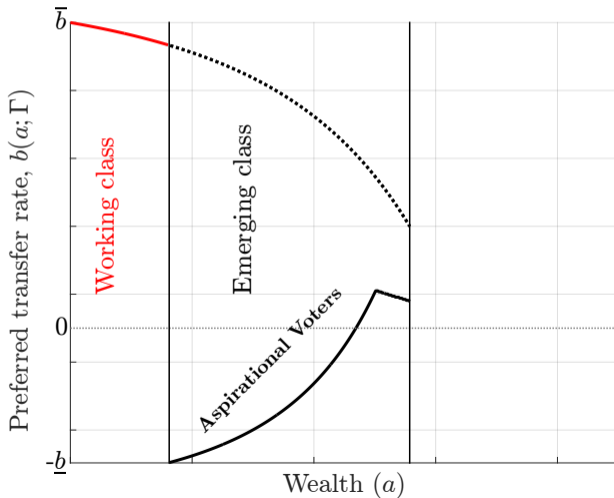
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- **Emerging Class:** pro-business policy



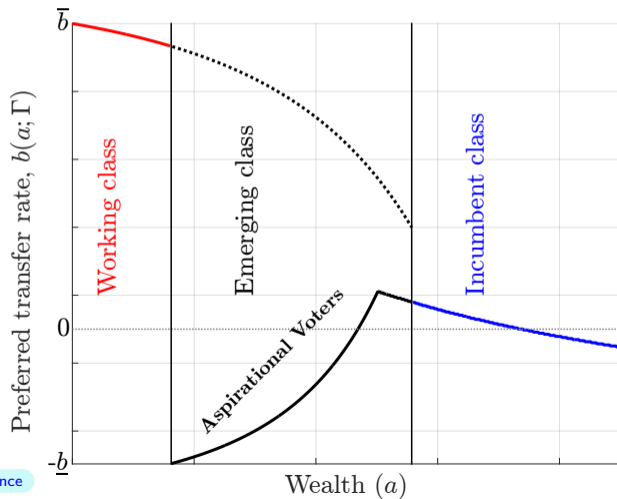
# Individual preferred transfer rate

- **Emerging Class:** pro-business policy



# Individual preferred transfer rate

- **Incumbent Class:** less pro-business policy



# Probabilistic Voting

# Electoral competition under uncertainty

- Two parties choose  $b_t^1$  and  $b_t^2$  to maximize expected share of votes

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- **Voters** indexed by  $(a, p)$   
 $p$ : idiosyncratic political preference (Uniform,  $(\phi^W, \phi^E)$ )
- Symmetric Nash equilibrium:

$$b_t = \operatorname{argmax}_b \left\{ \int_{a < a_t^o(b)} y(a, b) d\Gamma_t(a) + \underbrace{\frac{\phi^E}{\phi^W}}_{\equiv \phi} \int_{a \geq a_t^o(b)} y(a, b) d\Gamma_t(a) \right\}$$

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- Equilibrium policy  $b_t$ :

$$1 - \Gamma_t(a^o(b_t, \Gamma_t)) = e^* \quad (PE)$$

►  $e^* = \Psi(Z, r, \alpha, R, I, l, \phi) \in (0, \alpha)$

Forward looking gov.

PE: 2-D diagram

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# Equilibrium Definition

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$$s_t(a) = \theta_t \cdot y_t(a) \quad (HJB)$$

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$$a_t^o = \max\{\hat{a}_t, \tilde{a}_t\} \quad (OC)$$

$$e^* = 1 - \Gamma_t(a_t^o) \quad (PE)$$

$$\tau_t \cdot A_t = T_t \cdot (1 - e^*) \quad (BB)$$

# Stationary Equilibrium

# Stationary Equilibrium

1. Unique stationary tax rate:  $\tau^* = r - \rho$  ( $\theta(\tau^*) = 0$ )
2. Set of stationary distributions:  $\Gamma^*$

SS details

# Transition Dynamics

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- Six possible patterns for the joint dynamics of  $(b_t, \tau_t, A_t)$  [details](#)

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2.  $\Gamma$  diverges
3.  $\Gamma$  converges to a degenerate distribution



# Transition Dynamics

- Six possible patterns for the joint dynamics of  $(b_t, \tau_t, A_t)$  [details](#)

## Main takeaway

1. If  $\tau(\Gamma_0) < r - \rho \Rightarrow b$  increasing over time
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# Transition Dynamics

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## Main takeaway

1. If  $\tau(\Gamma_0) < r - \rho \Rightarrow b$  increasing over time
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**Question** Which properties of  $\Gamma_0$  give rise to each case?

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- **Solution** Construct  $\Gamma_0$  perturbing stationary distributions  $\Gamma^*$

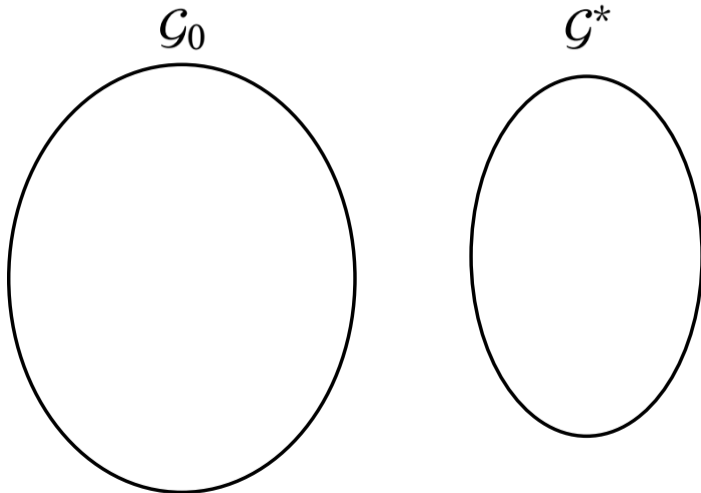
**Question** Which properties of  $\Gamma_0$  imply that  $\uparrow b$  or  $\downarrow b$ ?

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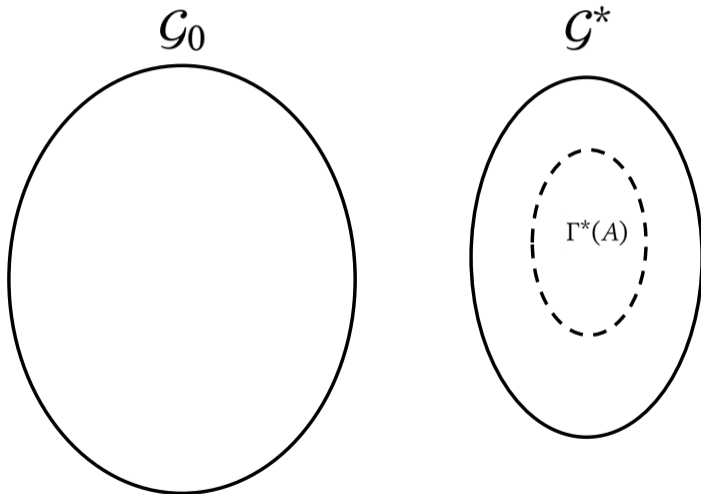
Apply an MPS on  $\Gamma^*$  to obtain  $\Gamma_0$  (MIT shock)

MPS around the mean (Rothschild and Stiglitz, 1971)

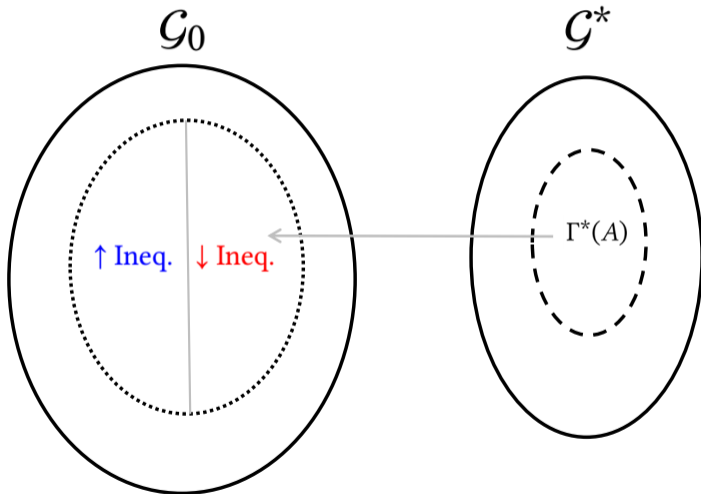
# The MPS approach



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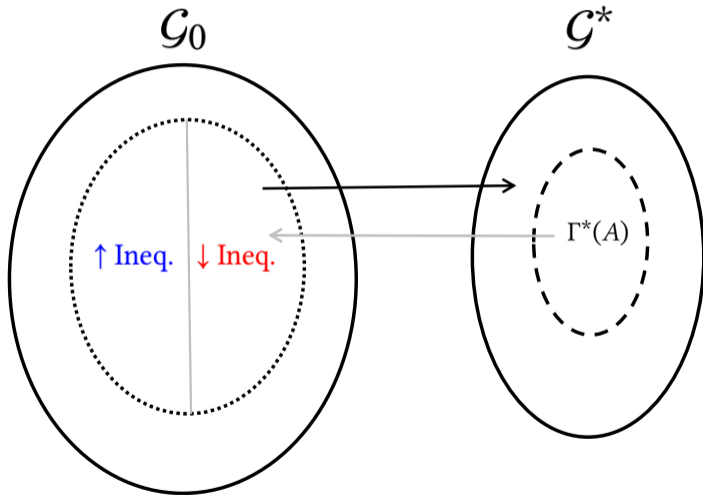


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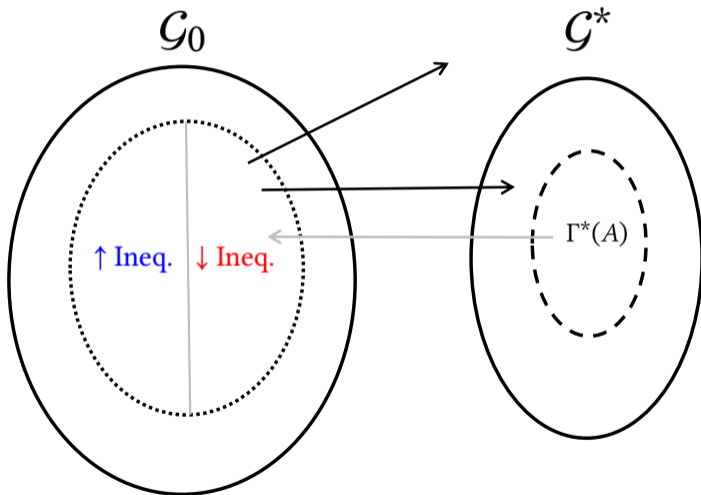




# The MPS approach



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# The Evolution of the Welfare State: Wealthy Countries

↑ **Inequality**: USA (1970-2019)

Increasing social benefits

# The Evolution of the Welfare State: Wealthy Countries

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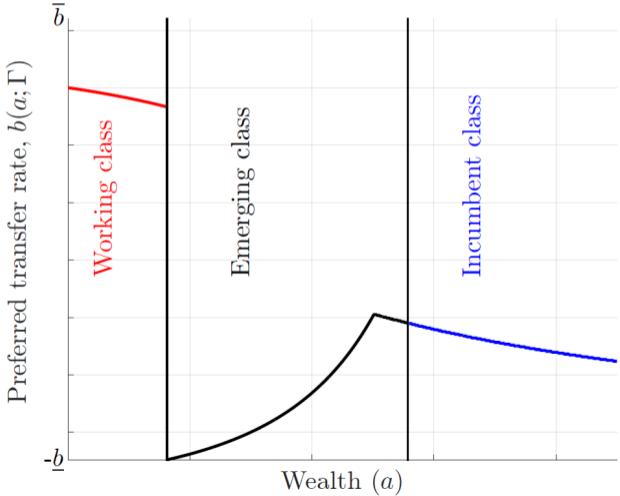
Increasing social benefits

↓ **Inequality**: Sweden (1995-2019)

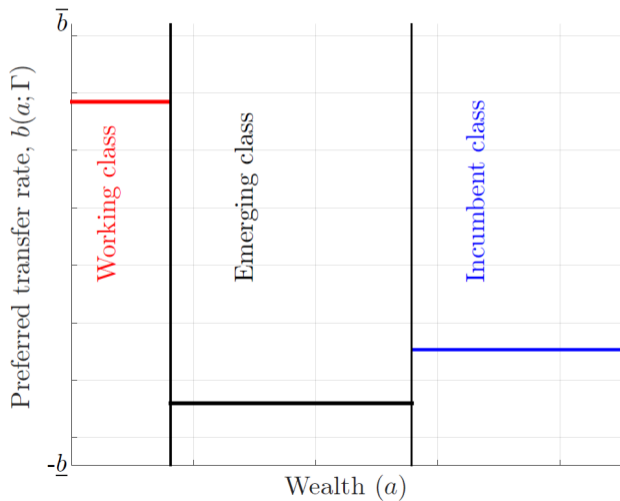
Decreasing social benefits

# The American Experience (1970-2019)

# American Experience: Intuition

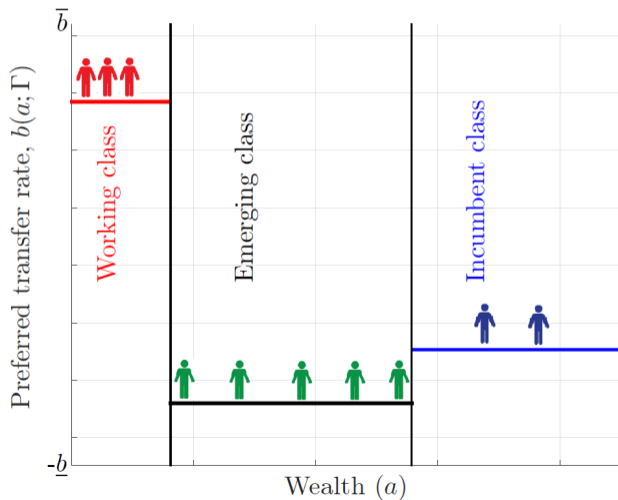


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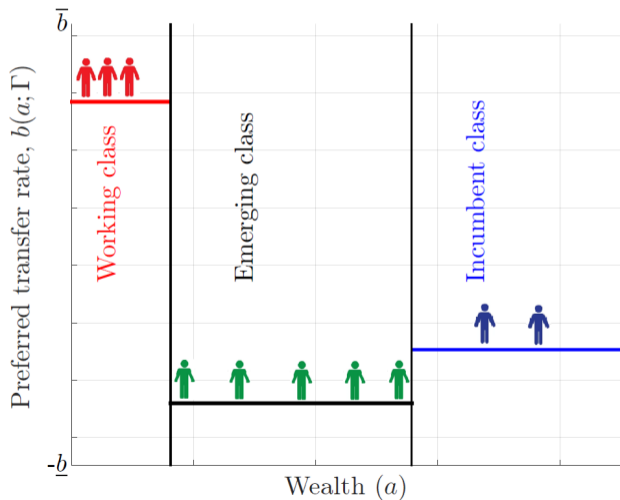
- $t = 0$ : Wealthy and Unequal  $\Rightarrow$  Many Aspirational Voters (AV)





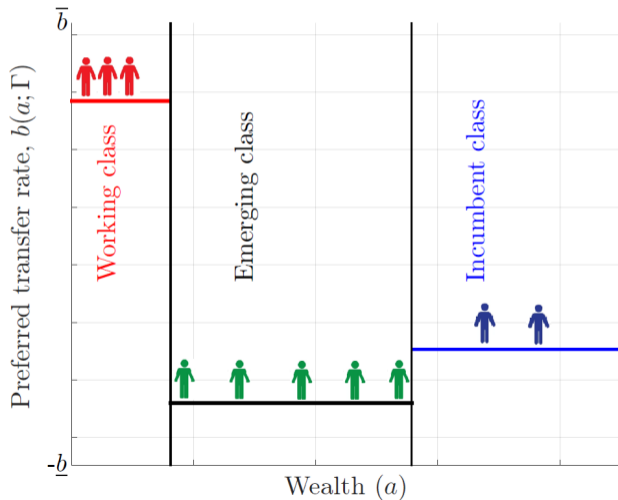
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- $t = 0$ : Wealthy and Unequal  $\Rightarrow$  Many Aspirational Voters (AV)  $\Rightarrow$  Low  $b$



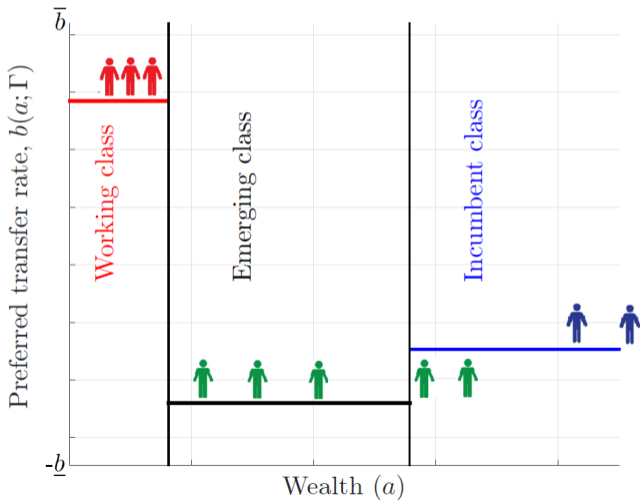
# American Experience: Intuition

- $t = 0$ : Low  $b \Rightarrow$  Low  $\tau \Rightarrow$  Agents save



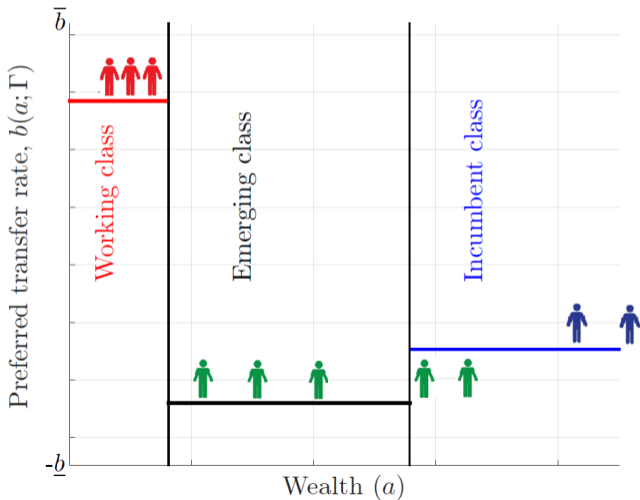
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- $t = 0$ : Low  $b \Rightarrow$  Low  $\tau \Rightarrow$  Agents save  $\Rightarrow \Gamma$  shifts right



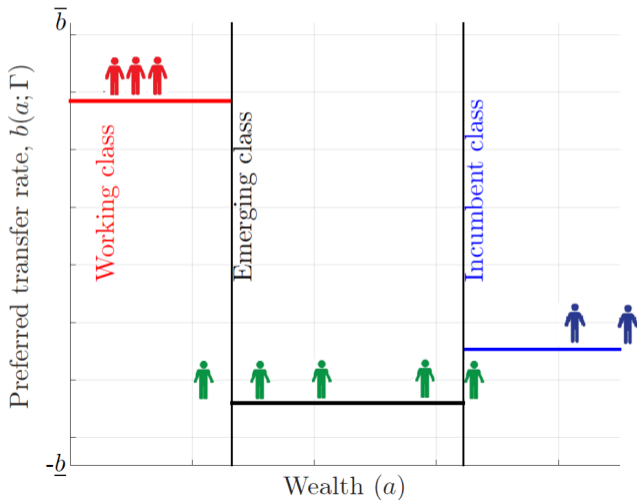
# American Experience: Intuition

- $t = \Delta$  :  $\Gamma$  shifts right  $\Rightarrow$  Everyone wealthier



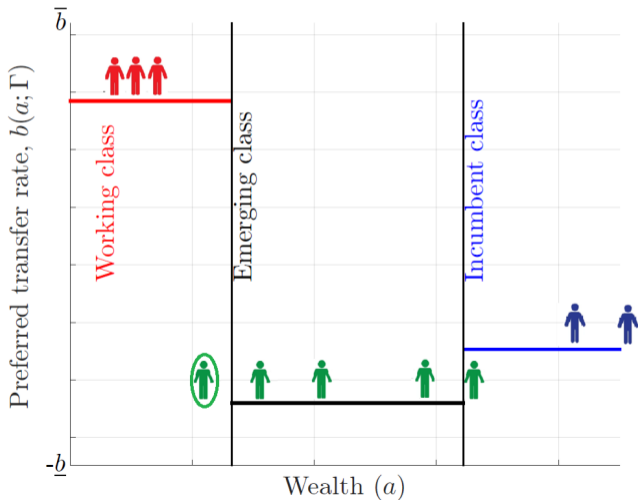
# American Experience: Intuition

- $t = \Delta$  :  $\Gamma$  shifts right  $\Rightarrow$  Everyone wealthier  $\Rightarrow \uparrow a^o$



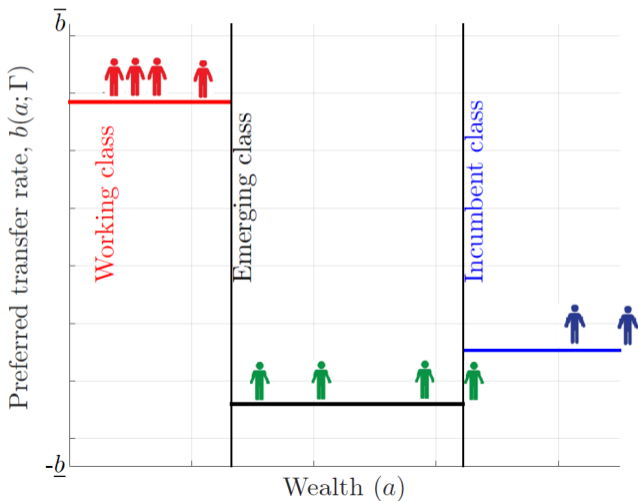
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- $t = \Delta$  : Poorest AV didn't save enough



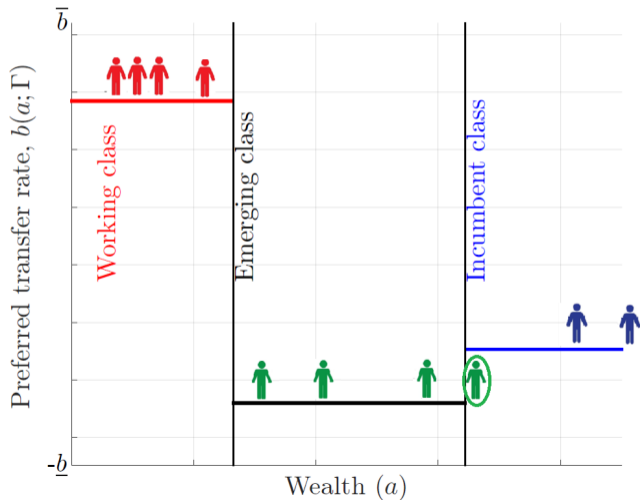
# American Experience: Intuition

- $t = \Delta$  : Poorest AV didn't save enough  $\Rightarrow$  join the **Working Class**



# American Experience: Intuition

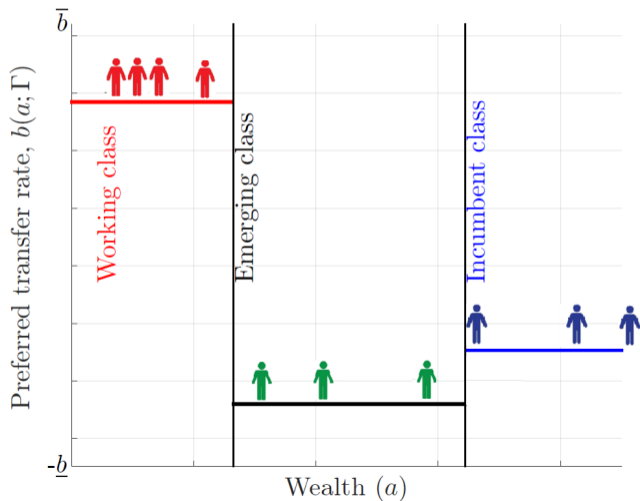
- $t = \Delta$  : Wealthiest AV saved enough





# American Experience: Intuition

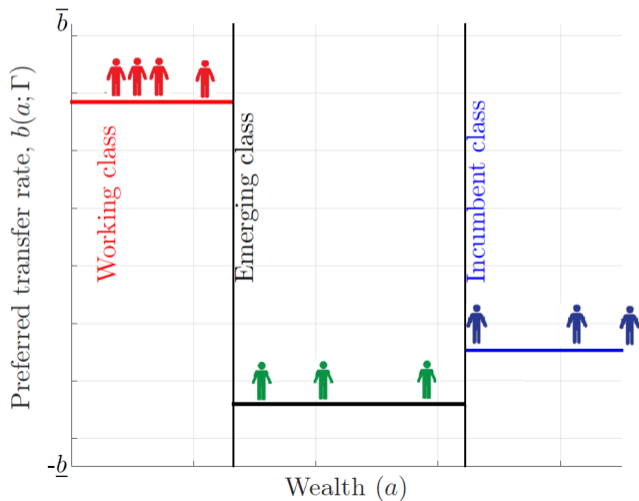
- $t = \Delta$  : Wealthiest AV saved enough  $\Rightarrow$  join the **Incumbent Class**



# American Experience: Intuition

- $t = \Delta$  : Mass of AV shrinks  $\Rightarrow b$  goes up

Mathematical intuition



# American Experience: Intuition

1.  $t = 0$ : Wealthy and unequal

Many AV  $\Rightarrow$  Low social benefits

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Wealthiest AV join the Incumbent Class

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**Question** Can the model predict the trends in the data?

# Plan

1. The Model
2. Equilibrium Social Benefits
3. The Evolution of the Welfare State
4. Quantitative Exercise
5. Conclusions

# Quantitative Exercise



# Quantitative Exercise (1995-2019)

## Inputs

1. Starting wealth distribution:  $\Gamma_{1995}$   
World Inequality Database (WID)

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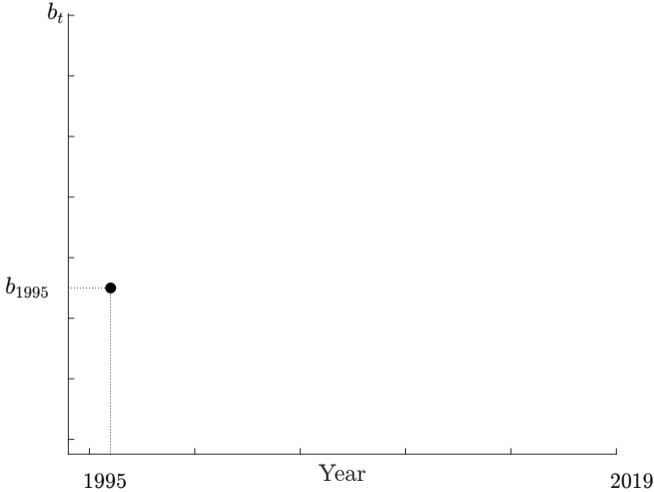
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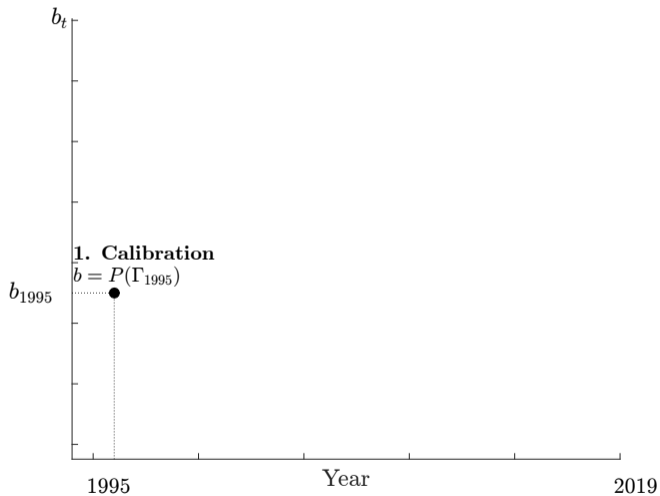
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  - 2.2 Olley and Pakes (1996): control for selection/simultaneity (17 countries)  
COMPUSTAT North America and COMPUSTAT Global

# Quantitative Exercise (1995-2019)

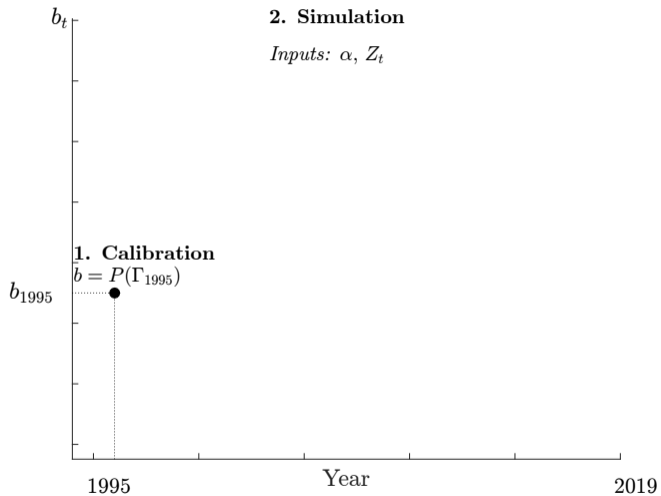


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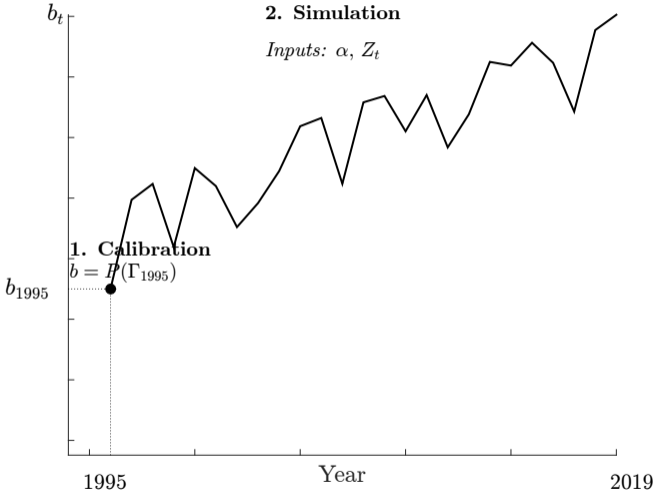


Calibration method

# Quantitative Exercise (1995-2019)

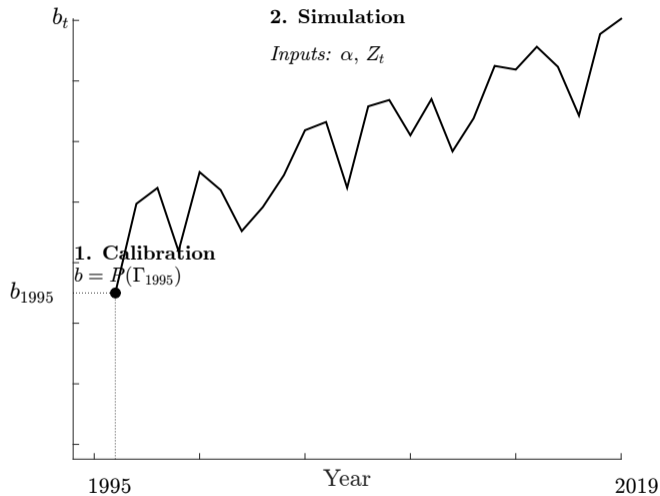


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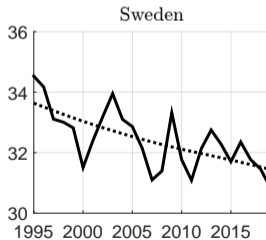
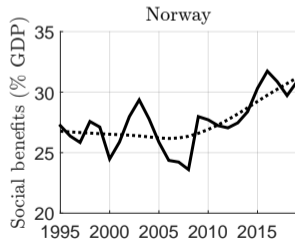
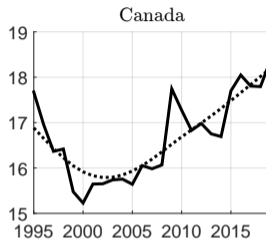
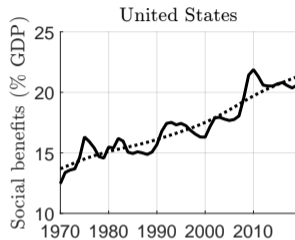


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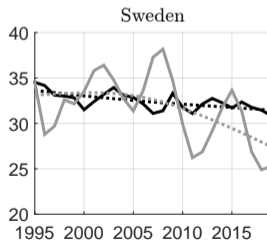
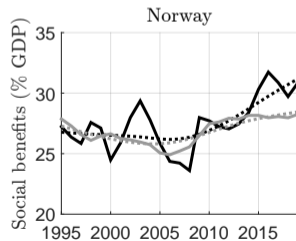
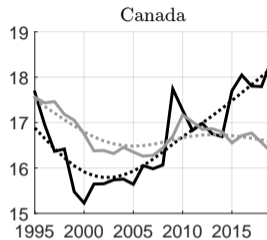
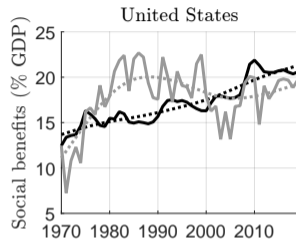
**Result:** the model predicts the trend of **18 out of 24** countries

# Countries in the Intro: Data versus Model



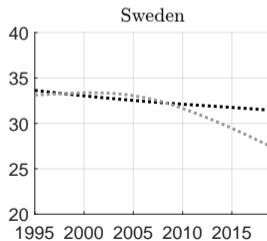
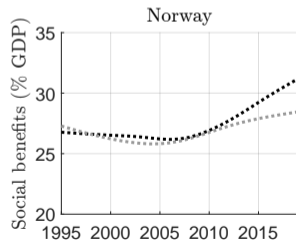
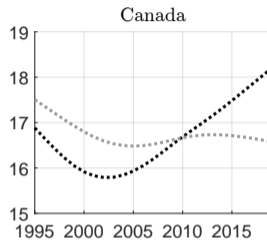
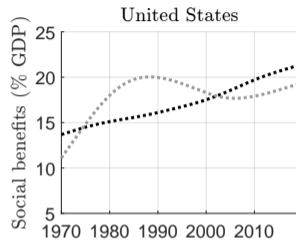
Black: Data

# Countries in the Intro: Data versus Model



Black: Data Gray: Model

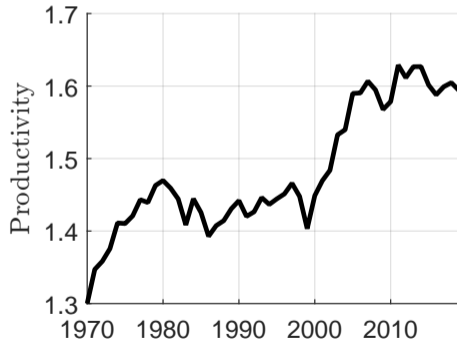
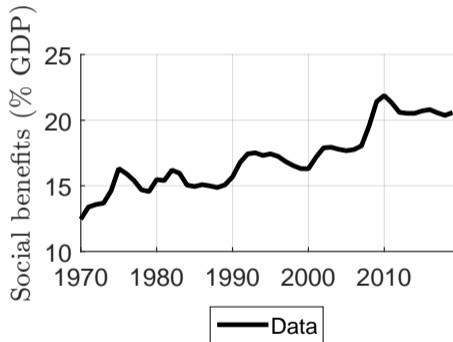
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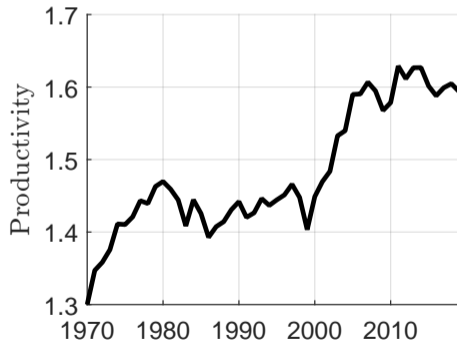
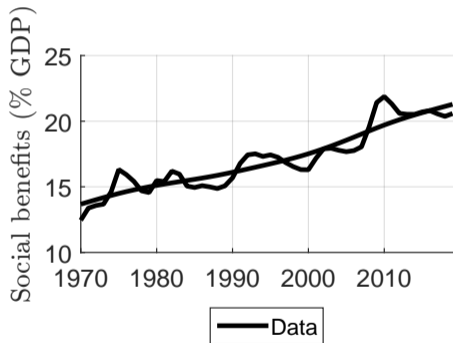
Black: Data Gray: Model

# The Role of Productivity

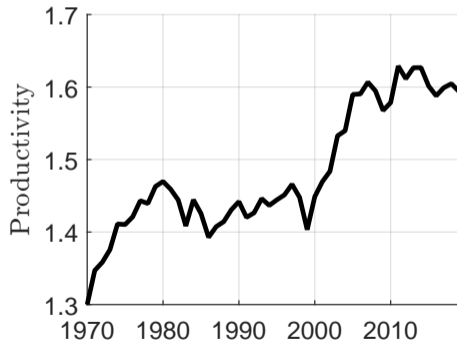
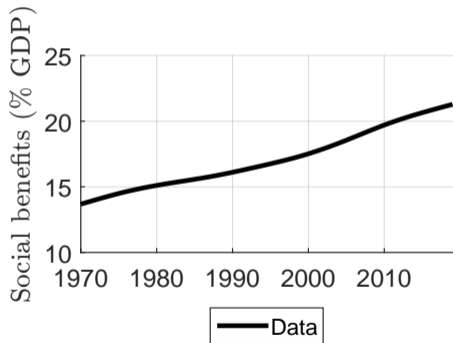
# United States: Social benefits and Productivity



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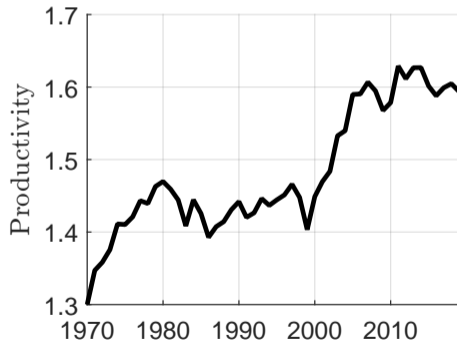
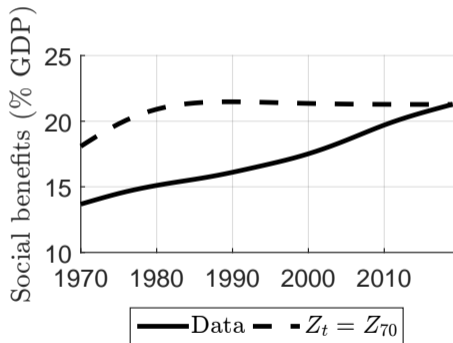


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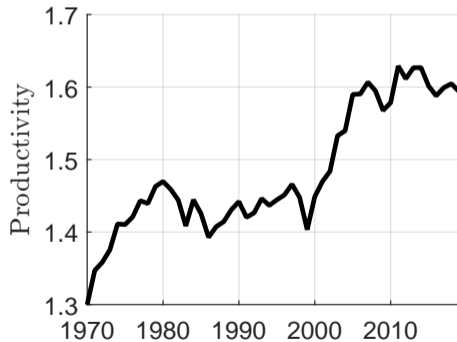
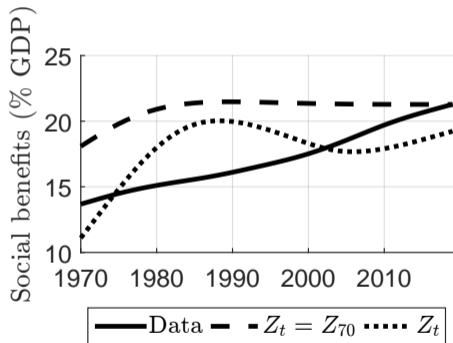




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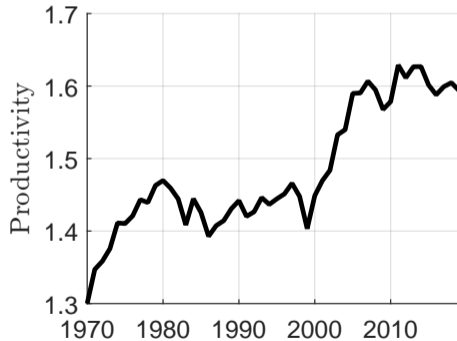
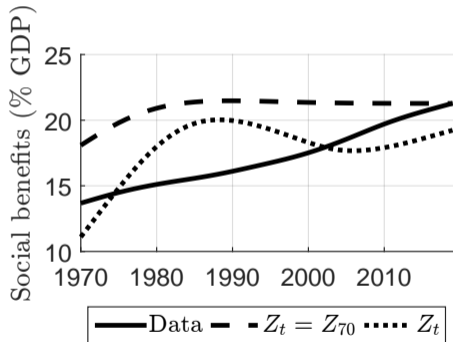


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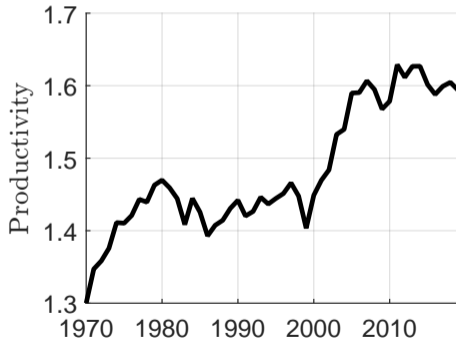
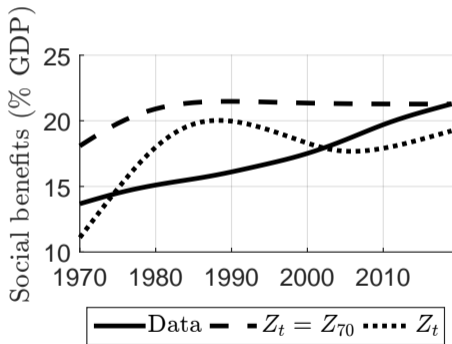
# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

- Effects of increasing productivity?



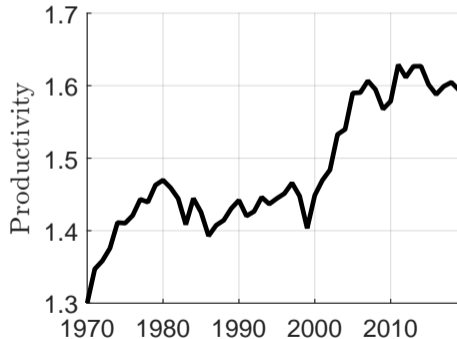
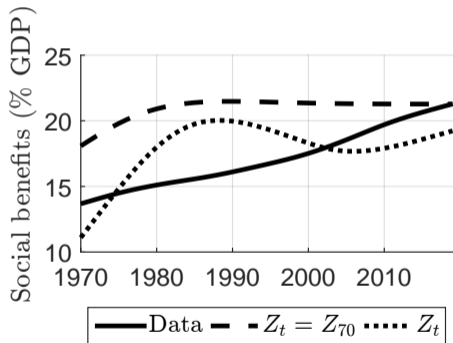
# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

- 1st order effect:  $\uparrow Z \Rightarrow \uparrow \Pi$  and  $\downarrow a^o$



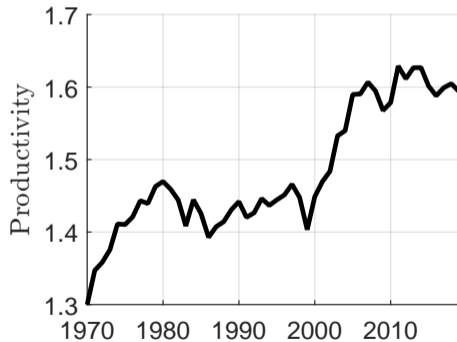
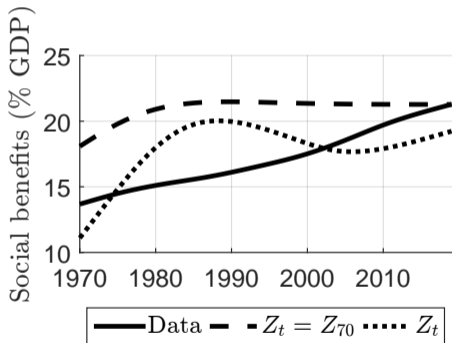
# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

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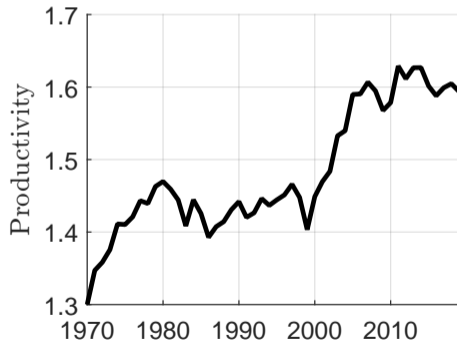
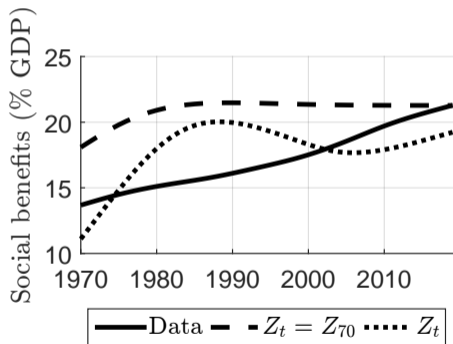
# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

- Why social benefits going up despite increasing productivity?



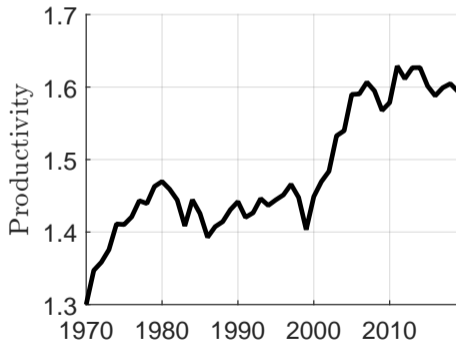
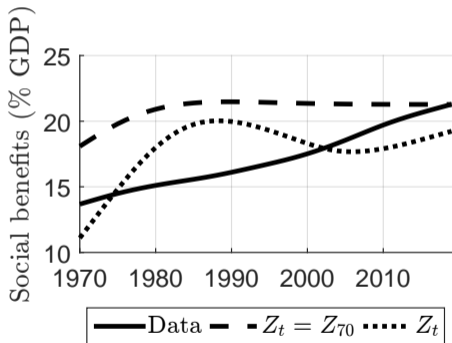
# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

- 2nd order effect:  $\downarrow b \Rightarrow \downarrow \tau \Rightarrow$  Agents save



# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

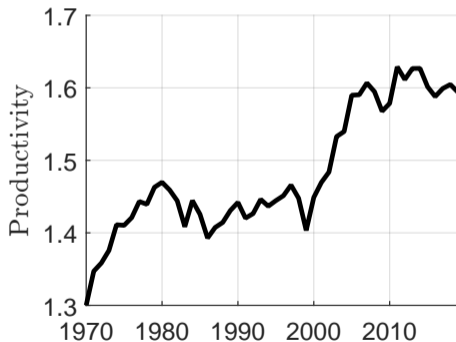
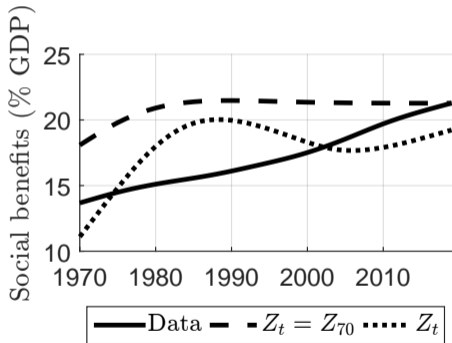
- 2nd order effect:  $\downarrow b \Rightarrow \downarrow \tau \Rightarrow$  Agents save  $\Rightarrow \downarrow$  mass of AV  $\Rightarrow \uparrow b$





# United States: Social benefits and Productivity

- 2nd order effect has dominated in the US!



# Extensions

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**Theory**

# Extensions

## Theory

1. Labor and capital tax ✓

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1. Labor and capital tax ✓
2. Transfers to entrepreneurs and workers ✓

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## **Quantitative Exercise**

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1. Simulations using only social benefits in cash ✓

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2. Counterfactual Analysis (Canada, USA, Sweden) ✓



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  - ▶ Limited role of government changes in the trend of the Welfare State!

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2. Transfers to entrepreneurs and workers ✓

## Quantitative Exercise

1. Simulations using only social benefits in cash ✓
2. Counterfactual Analysis (Canada, USA, Sweden) ✓
  - ▶ Limited role of government changes in the trend of the Welfare State!
3. *Future work*: Role of immigration (e.g. Canada and Sweden), aging population, ...

# Conclusions

- Size of the Welfare State depends on Middle class of Aspirational voters
- Evolution of the Welfare State depends on Wealth & Inequality
- Theory predicts the trends of social benefits in 18 out of 24 countries

**Thanks!!!**

# References I

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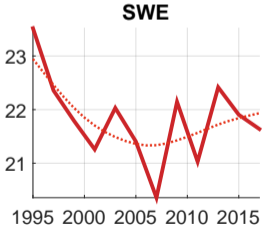
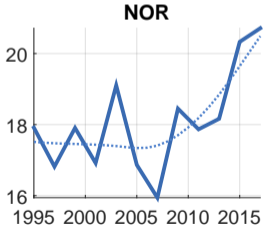
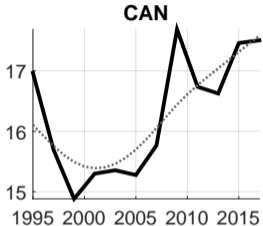
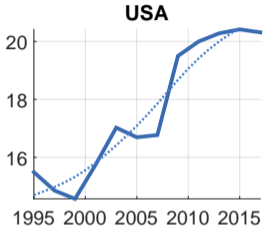
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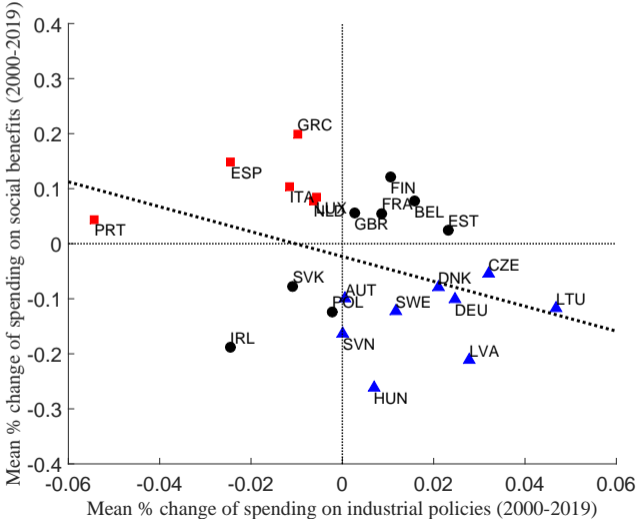
# Supplementary Material

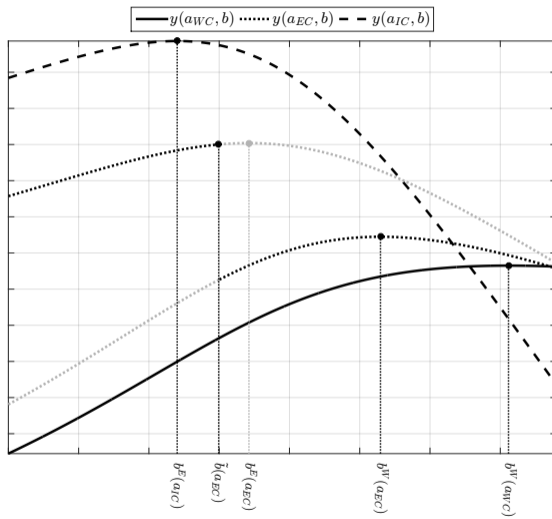


# The Evolution of Net Social Benefits



# Social Benefits versus Business Policies





Main

# The Three Classes: Related Literature

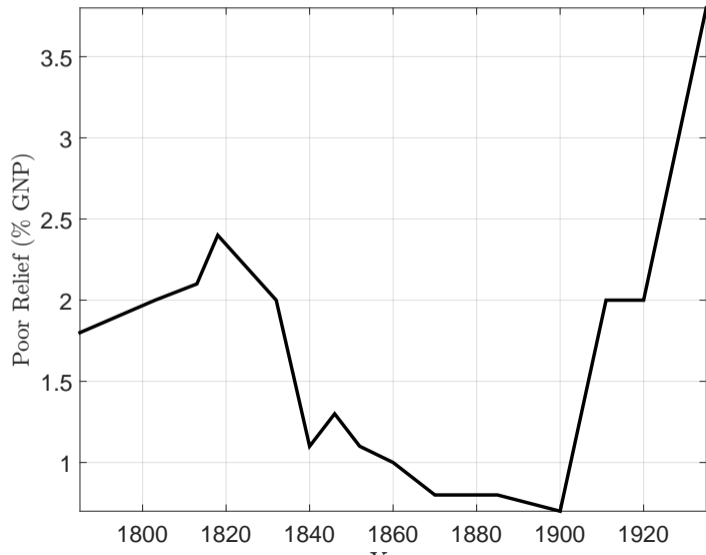
- Emerging Class: Prospects of Upward Mobility Hypothesis  
Benabou and Ok (2001); Checchi and Filippin (2004); Alesina and La Ferrara (2005)

# The Three Classes: Related Literature

- **Emerging Class: Prospects of Upward Mobility Hypothesis**  
Benabou and Ok (2001); Checchi and Filippin (2004); Alesina and La Ferrara (2005)
- **Incumbent Class: Interest group theories of financial development**  
La Porta et al. (2000); Rajan and Zingales (2003); Rajan and Ramcharan (2011)

Main

# The Three Classes: The Industrial Revolution in Britain



# The Three Classes: The Industrial Revolution in Britain



# The Three Classes: The Industrial Revolution in Britain

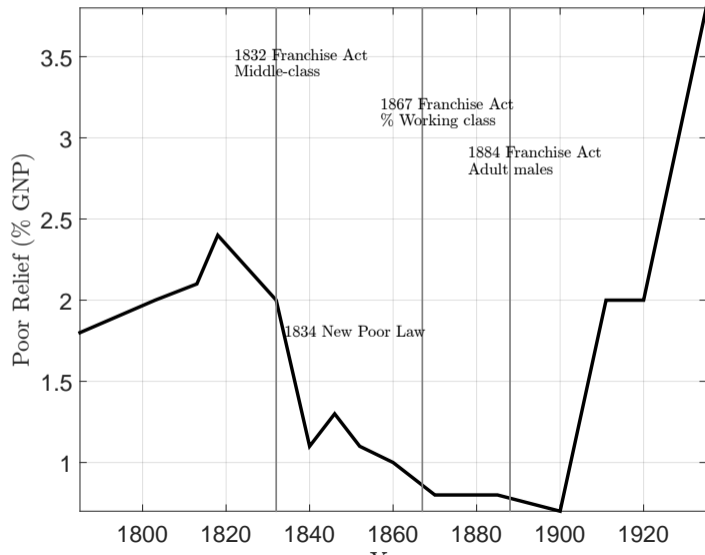




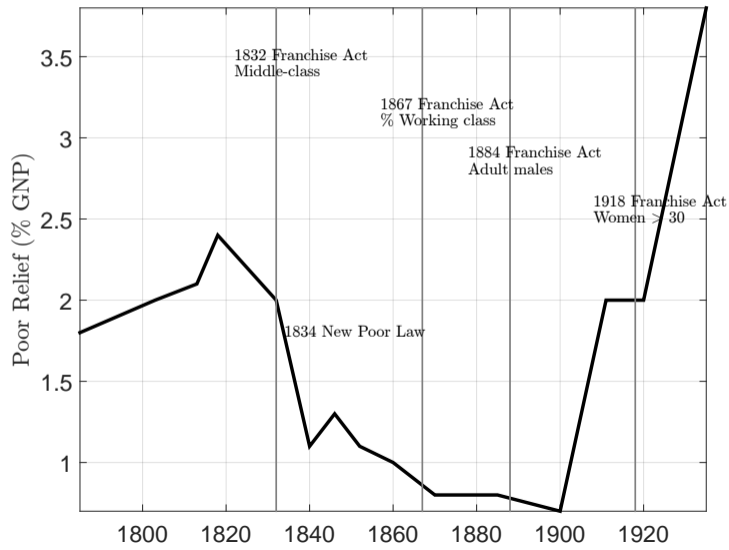
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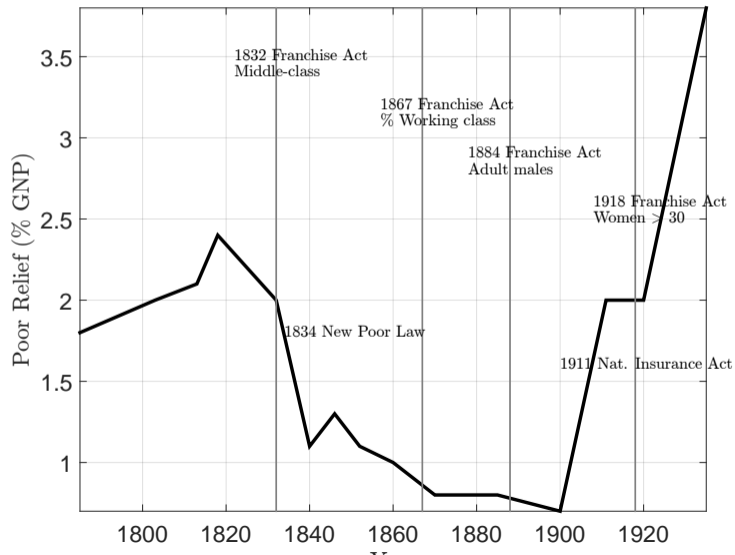
# The Three Classes: The Industrial Revolution in Britain



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# The Three Classes: The Industrial Revolution in Britain



# Forward-looking government

- The government solves:

$$\max_b \left\{ \int v_t(a, b) d\Gamma_t(a) \right\}$$

- The PE condition is:

$$\int_{a < a^o(b, \Gamma_t)} \frac{(d_b w_t \ell + d_b T_t)}{y_t(a)} d\Gamma_t(a) + \int_{a \geq a^o(b, \Gamma_t)} \frac{d_b p_t}{y_t(a)} d\Gamma_t(a) = d_b \tau_t \int \frac{a}{y(a)} d\Gamma_t(a) + e^{\rho t} \left( \int_t^{+\infty} d_b \tau_s \frac{1}{r - \tau_s} e^{-\rho s} ds \right) + \frac{1}{\rho}$$

- **Observation** The evolution of  $b$  depends on  $\Gamma$  evaluated at each  $a$

The **inequality** → **policy link**:

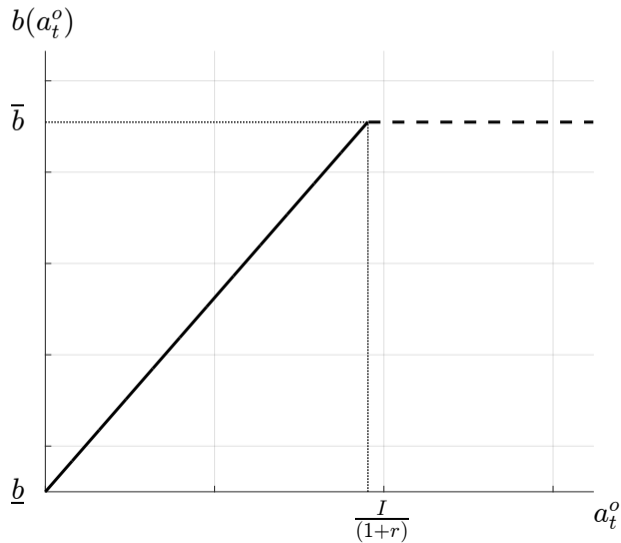
$$1 - \Gamma_t(a^o(b_t, \Gamma_t)) = e^*$$

The **inequality** → **policy** link:

$$a_t^o = \Gamma_t^{-1}(1 - e^*)$$

The **inequality**  $\rightarrow$  **policy** link:

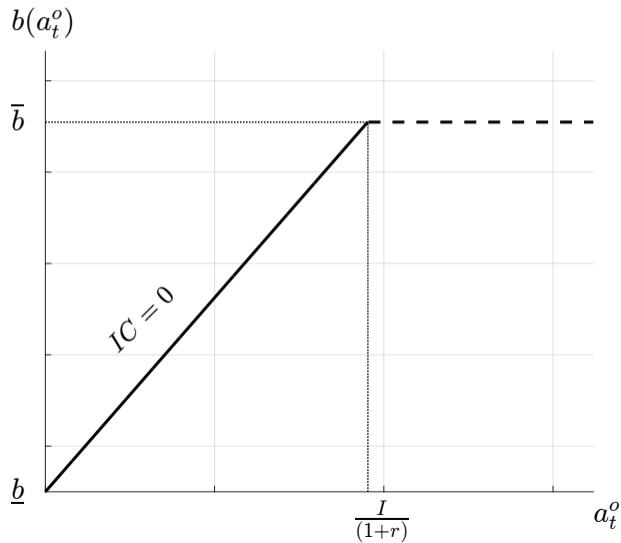
$$a_t^o = \Gamma_t^{-1}(1 - e^*)$$





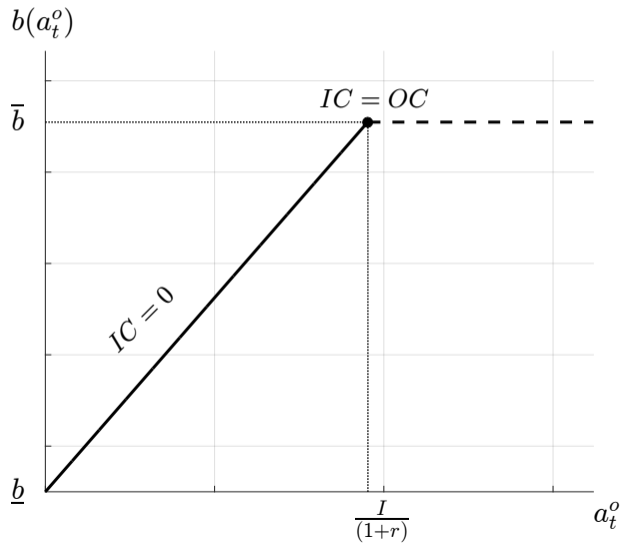
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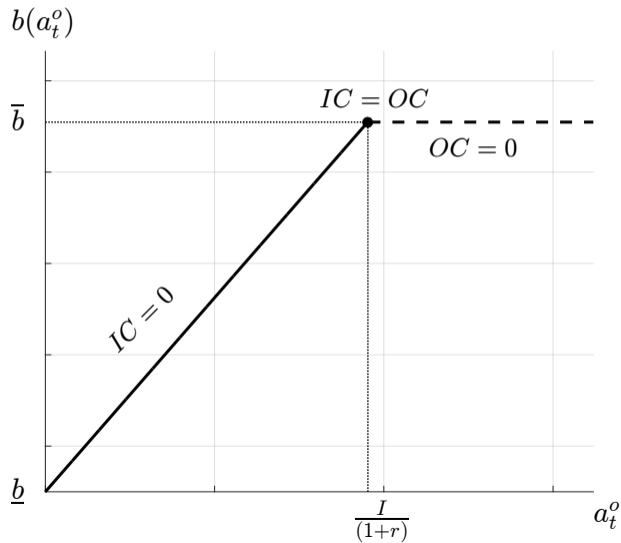
The **inequality**  $\rightarrow$  **policy** link:

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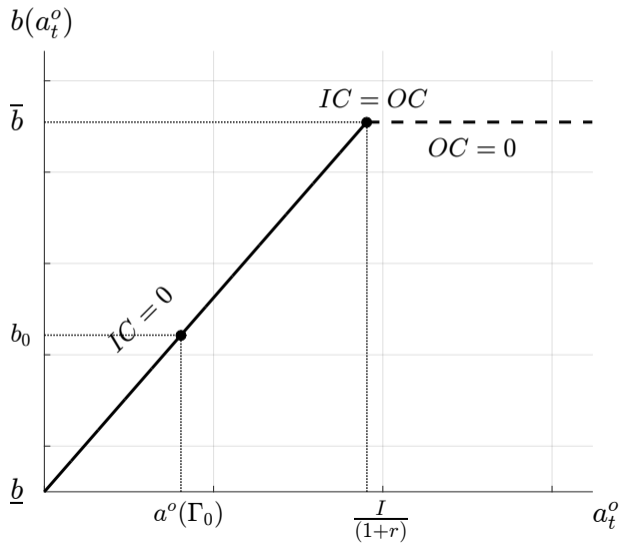
The **inequality**  $\rightarrow$  **policy** link:

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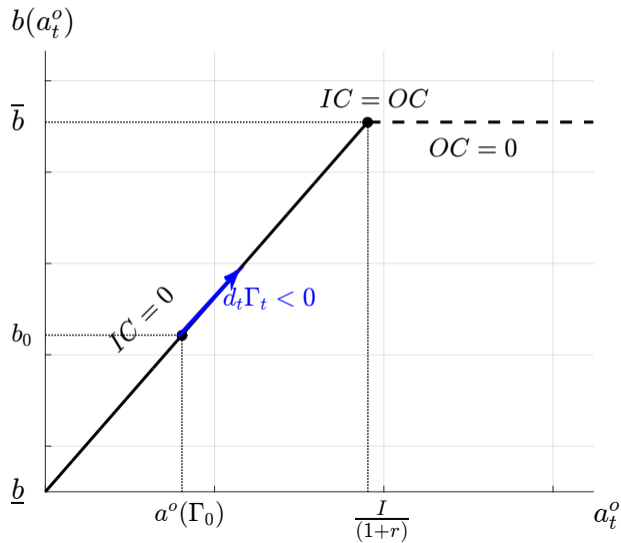
The **inequality**  $\rightarrow$  **policy** link:

$$a_t^o = \Gamma_t^{-1}(1 - e^*)$$



The inequality  $\rightarrow$  policy link:

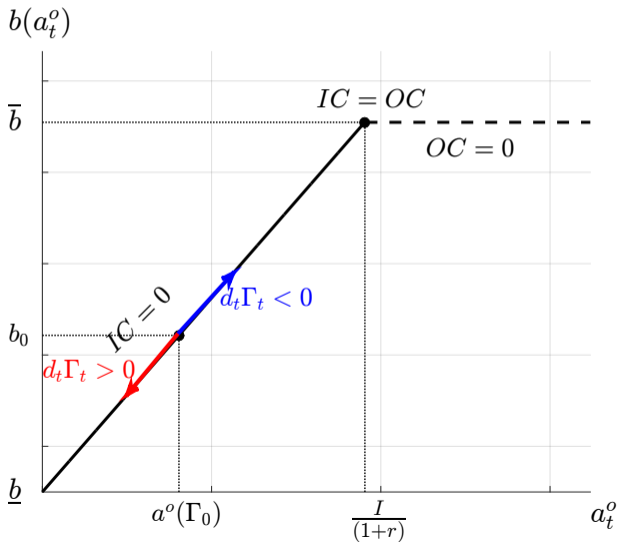
$$a_t^o = \Gamma_t^{-1}(1 - e^*)$$



# The inequality $\rightarrow$ policy link:

$$a_t^o = \Gamma_t^{-1}(1 - e^*)$$

Main



# Stationary Equilibrium

**Steady-state:**  $d_t \Gamma_t(a) = 0$

$$\begin{aligned}\tilde{H}(\Gamma^*, s = \theta^* \cdot y) &= 0 && (HJB) + (KFE) \\ \Rightarrow \theta^* &= 0 \\ \Rightarrow \tau^* &= r - \rho\end{aligned}$$

- **Result** *There is a unique stationary tax-rate:  $\tau^*$*

# Stationary Equilibrium

## Steady-state distribution ( $\Gamma^*$ )

$$r - \rho = \frac{b^* \Gamma^* (\hat{a}^*) \cdot y(\Gamma^*)}{A^*} \quad (BB)$$

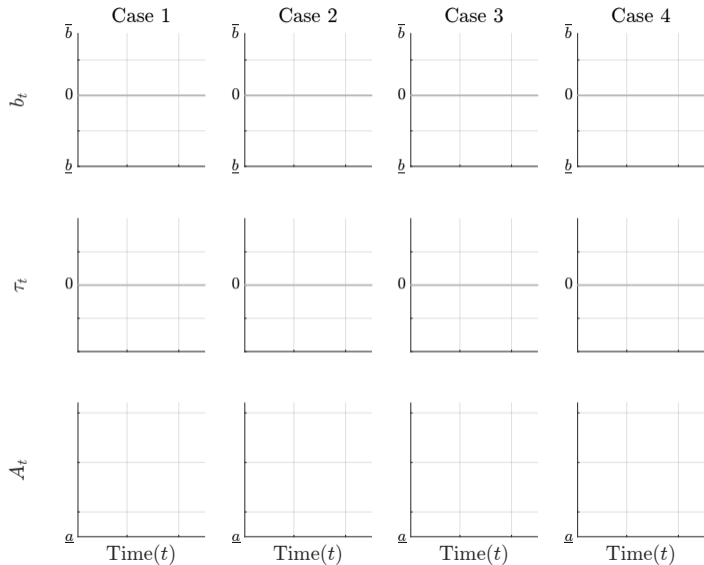
$$a^{\circ*} = \tilde{\psi}(\Gamma^*) \quad (OC)$$

$$b^* = \tilde{\phi}(\Gamma^*) \quad (PE)$$

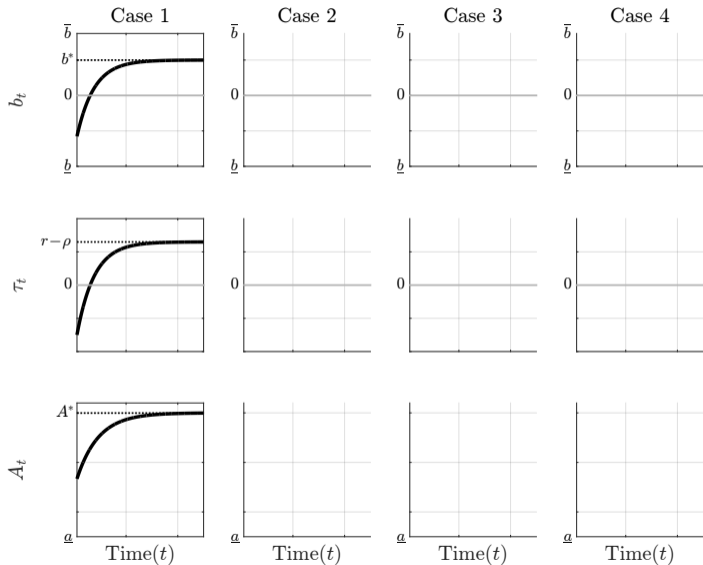
- **Result**  $\Gamma^*$  is non-unique: there is a set  $(A^*, \Gamma^*)$  that solves the system.
  - ▶ Similar result in the neoclassical model + politics.  
Krusell and Rios-Rull (1996, 1999)



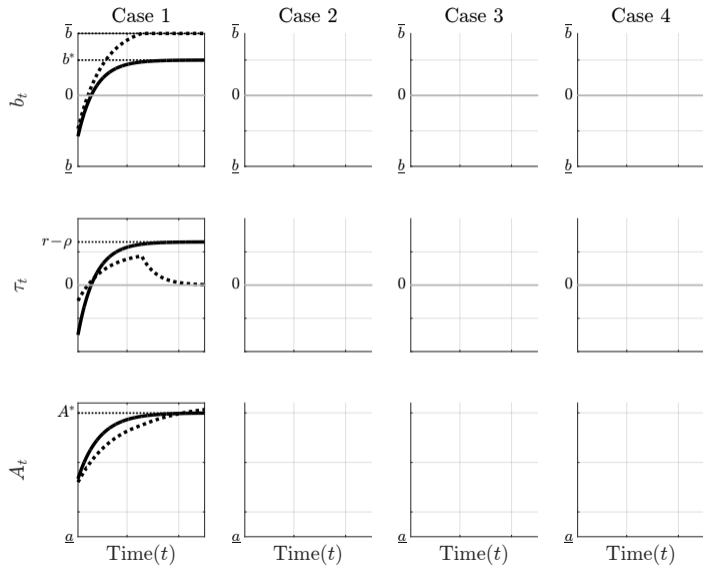
# Cases are function of $r - \rho$ and $\Gamma_0$



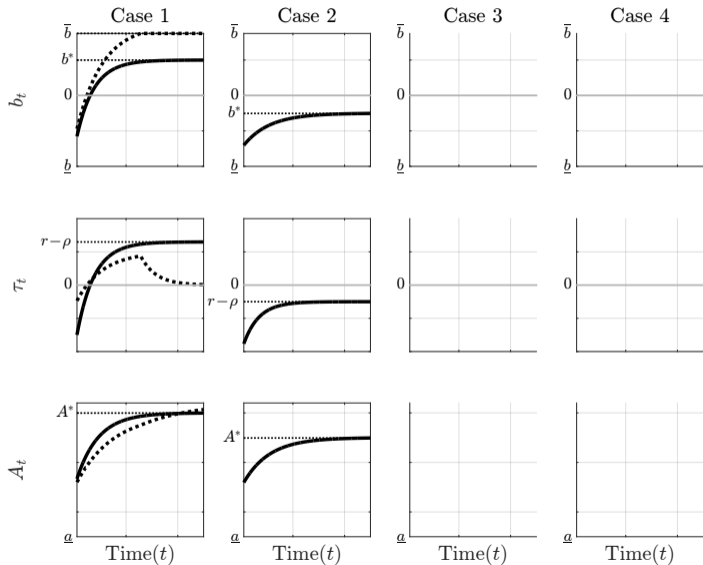
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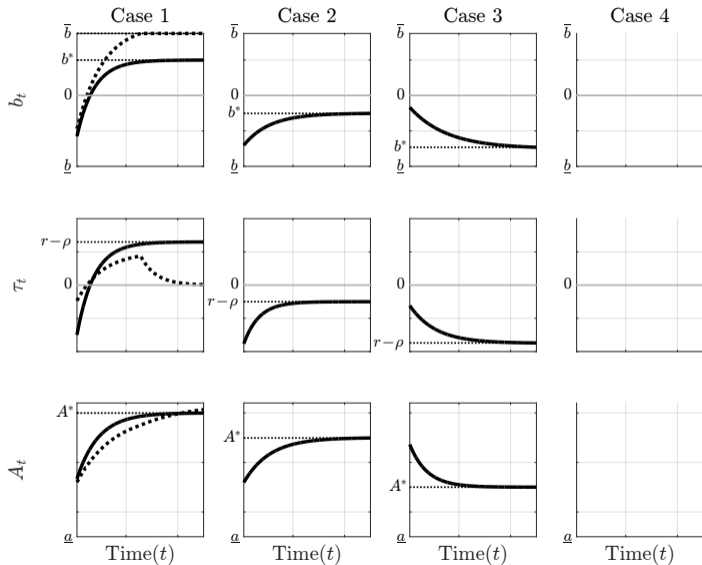
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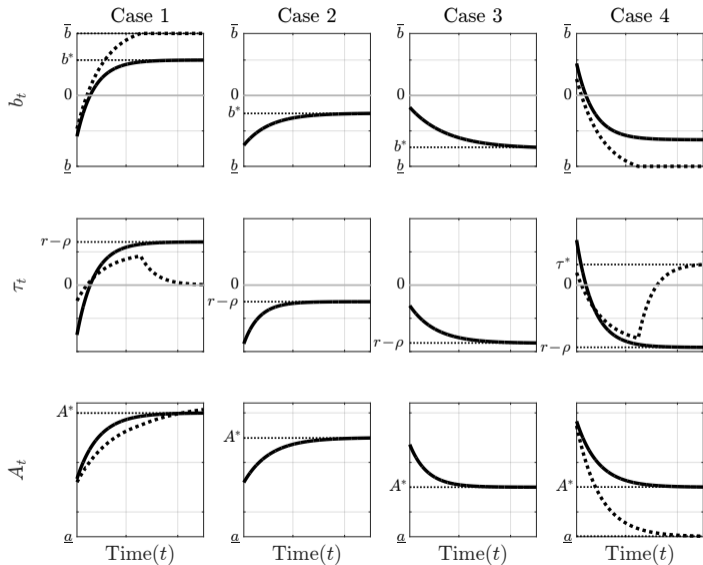
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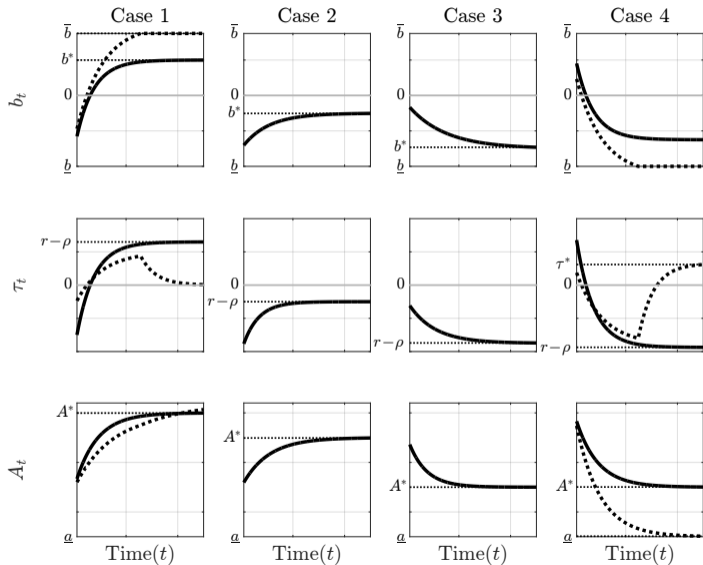
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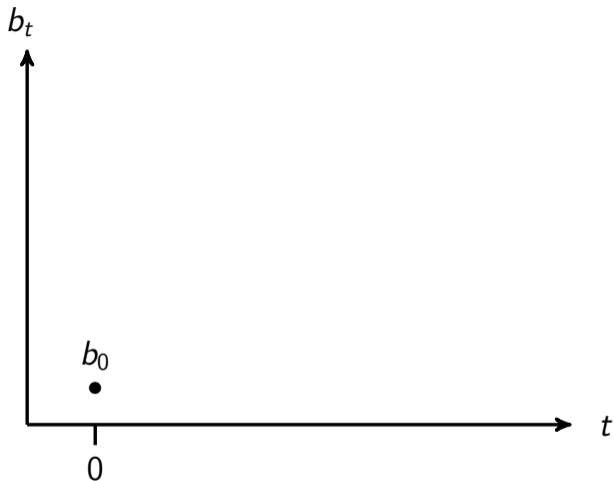
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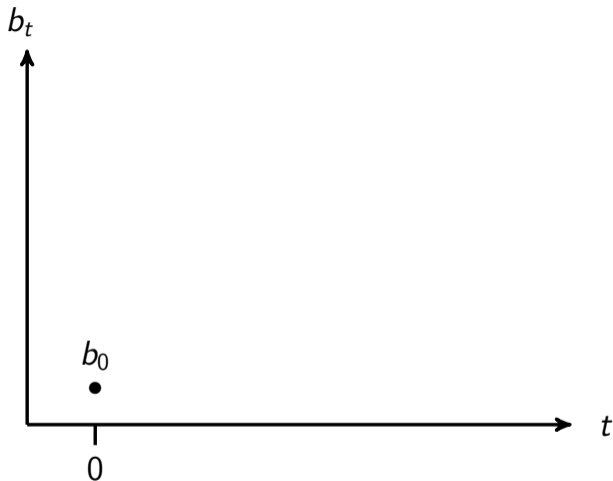


Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



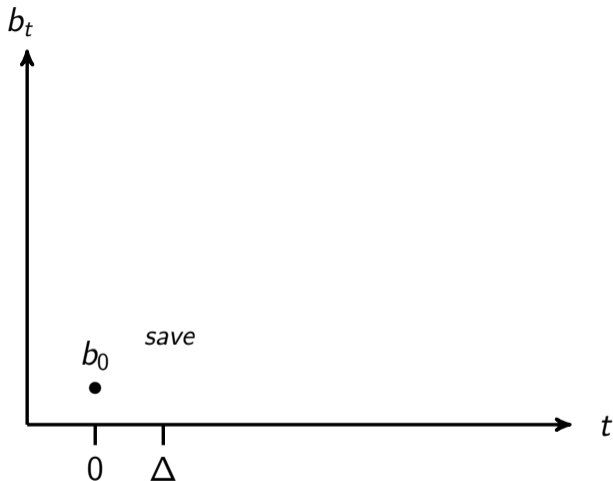


Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



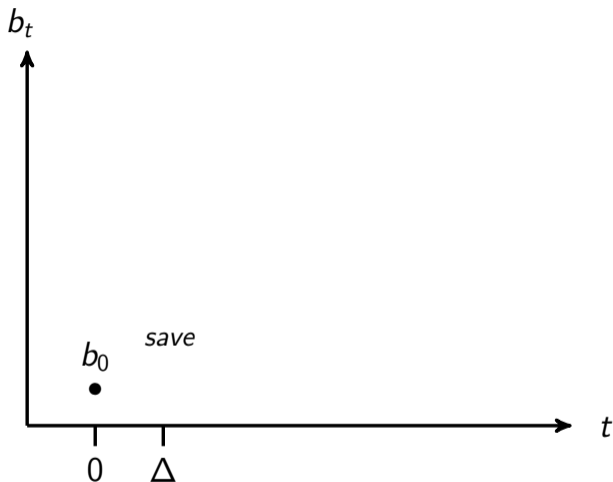
- $\tau_0 < \tau^* = r - \rho$ 
  - ▶  $\theta_0 > 0 \Rightarrow$  agents save

Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



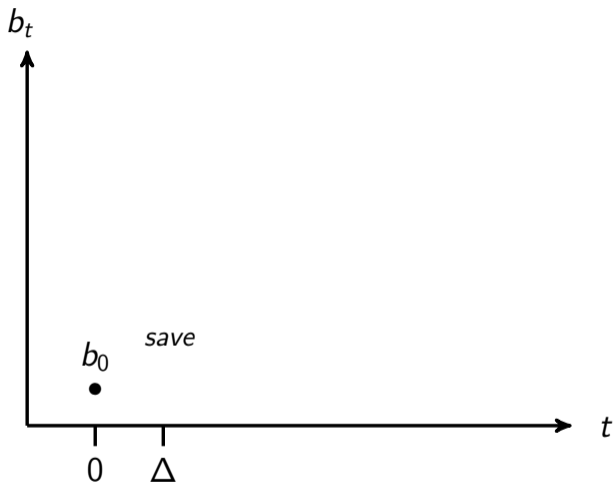
- $\tau_0 < \tau^* = r - \rho$ 
  - ▶  $\theta_0 > 0 \Rightarrow \Gamma_\Delta$  FOSD  $\Gamma_0$  ( $\Gamma$  shifts right)

Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



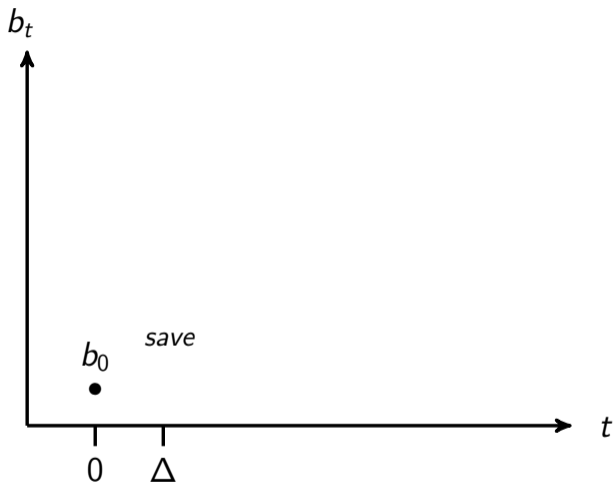
1. More entrepreneurs:  $1 - \Gamma_{\Delta}(a^o(b_0, \Gamma_0)) > e^*$

Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



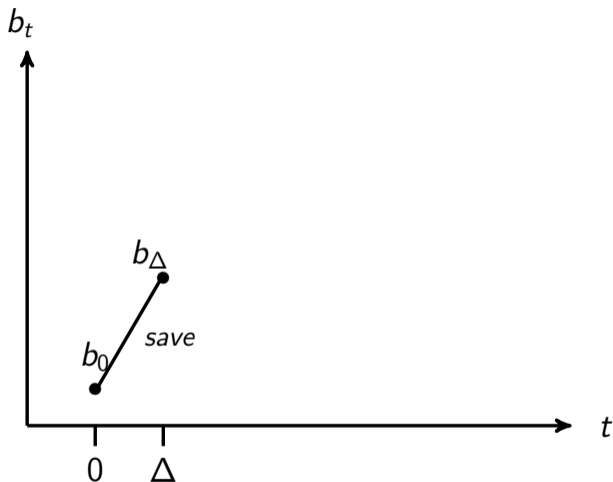
1. More entrepreneurs:  $1 - \Gamma_{\Delta}(a^{\circ}(b_0, \Gamma_0)) > e^*$
2. More competition ( $\downarrow \Pi$ ):  $a^{\circ}(b_0, \Gamma_{\Delta}) > a^{\circ}(b_0, \Gamma_0)$

Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



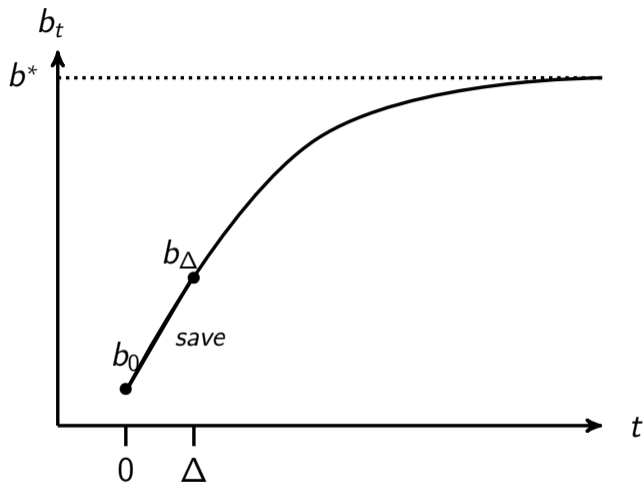
1. More entrepreneurs:  $1 - \Gamma_{\Delta}(a^{\circ}(b_0, \Gamma_{\Delta})) > e^*$  (net effect)
2. More competition ( $\downarrow \Pi$ ):  $a^{\circ}(b_0, \Gamma_{\Delta}) > a^{\circ}(b_0, \Gamma_0)$

Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



- Too many entrepreneurs:  $1 - \Gamma_{\Delta}(a^o(b_0, \Gamma_{\Delta})) > e^*$ 
  - ▶ Government: increases  $b$  to raise  $a^o \Rightarrow b_{\Delta} > b_0$

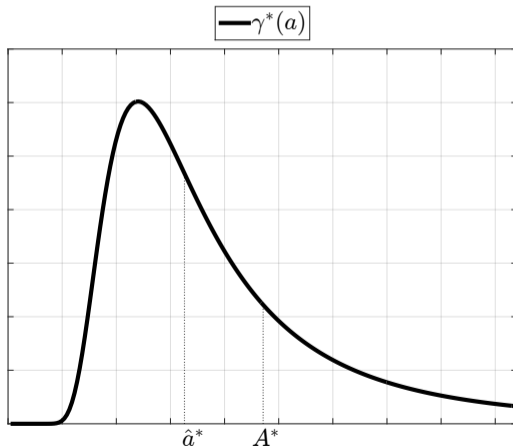
Transfer rate dynamics:  $\Gamma_0$  such that  $\tau_0 < r - \rho$



- $b_t$  keeps increasing as long as  $\theta_t > 0$ 
  - ▶ When  $\theta_t = 0 \Rightarrow b_t = b^*$  [Main](#)

# MPS in a Wealthy Country

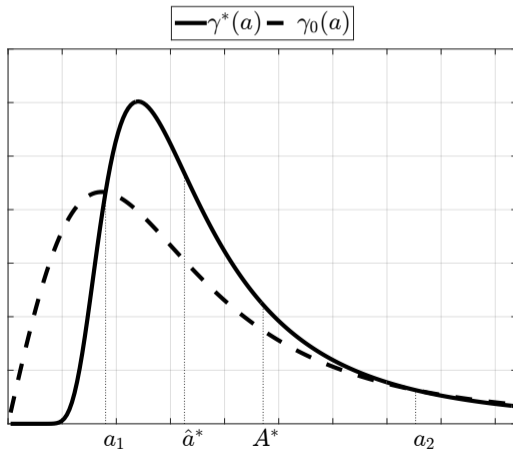
- Capital unconstrained country ( $A^* > \hat{a}^*$ )





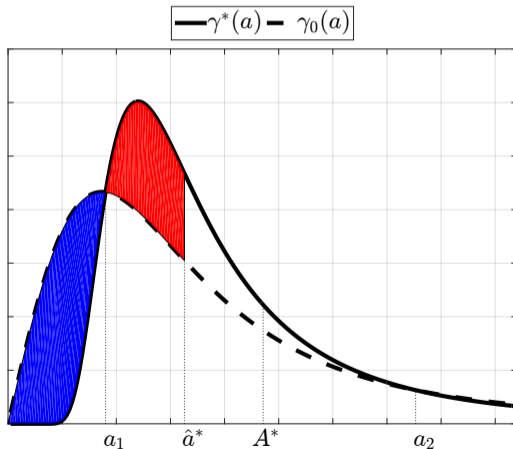
# MPS in a Wealthy Country

- $\gamma_0$  more unequal than  $\gamma^*$  (*double-crossing*)



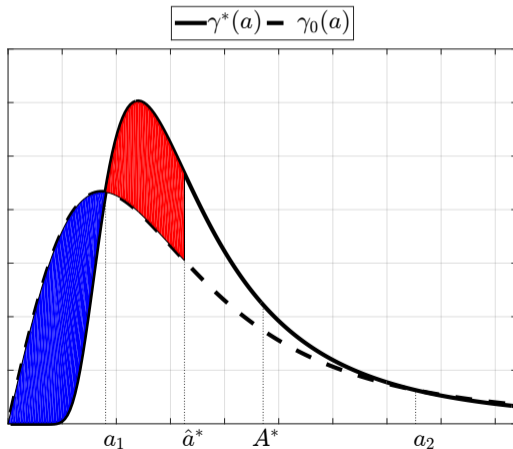
# MPS in a Wealthy Country

- More unequal  $\Rightarrow$  Less entrepreneurs:  $1 - \Gamma_0(\hat{a}^*) < 1 - \Gamma^*(\hat{a}^*)$



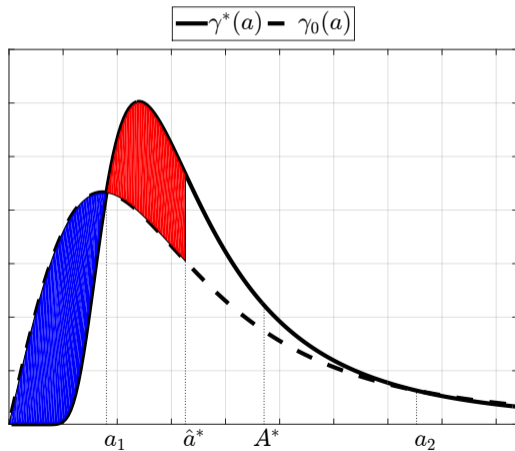
# MPS in a Wealthy Country

- Net effect:  $1 - \Gamma_0(\hat{a}_0) < 1 - \Gamma^*(\hat{a}^*) \Rightarrow \mathbf{b}_0 < \mathbf{b}^* \Rightarrow \tau_0 < r - \rho$



# MPS in a Wealthy Country

- $\tau_0 < r - \rho \Rightarrow b$  increasing over time



# Calibration Method

- Set of parameters  $\Psi = (r, \phi, l, R, \rho, \omega)_{1 \times 7}$

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- Set of parameters  $\Psi = (r, \phi, I, R, \ell, \rho, \omega)_{1 \times 7}$ 
  - ▶  $\omega$ : “government responsiveness” to  $\Delta Z$
- Set of moments:

$$m(\Psi|\Gamma_0) = \begin{bmatrix} b_0 - P(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ K_0/L_0 - K/L(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ I_0/Y_0 - Inv(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ Giniy_0 - Giniy(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ b_0 - P(\Gamma_\Delta, \Psi) \\ \mathbb{E}[a|\Gamma_0] - \mathbb{E}[a|\Gamma_\Delta] \\ Var[a|\Gamma_0] - Var[a|\Gamma_\Delta] \\ Gini[a|\Gamma_0] - Gini[a|\Gamma_\Delta] \end{bmatrix}_{8 \times 1}$$

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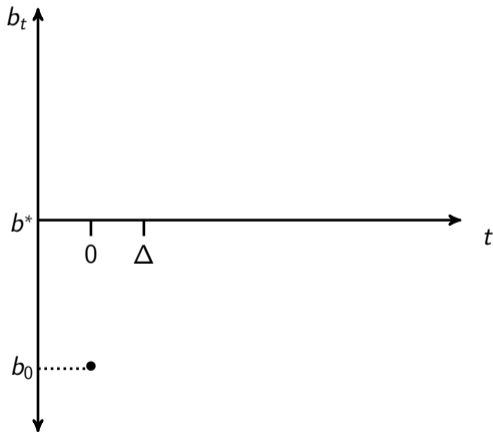
$$m(\Psi|\Gamma_0) = \begin{bmatrix} b_0 - P(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ K_0/L_0 - K/L(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ I_0/Y_0 - Inv(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ Giniy_0 - Giniy(\Gamma_0, \Psi) \\ b_0 - P(\Gamma_\Delta, \Psi) \\ \mathbb{E}[a|\Gamma_0] - \mathbb{E}[a|\Gamma_\Delta] \\ Var[a|\Gamma_0] - Var[a|\Gamma_\Delta] \\ Gini[a|\Gamma_0] - Gini[a|\Gamma_\Delta] \end{bmatrix}_{8 \times 1}$$

- Solve:  $\hat{\Psi} = argmin_{\Psi} \{m(\Psi|\Gamma_0)' W m(\Psi|\Gamma_0)\}$



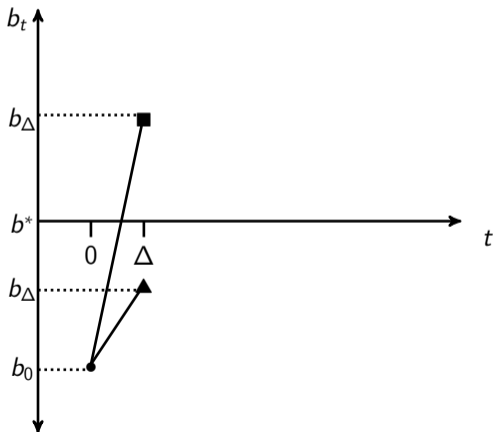
## A permanent increase of productivity (MIT shock)

- At  $t = 0$ :  $\uparrow Z \Rightarrow \uparrow e^* \Rightarrow 1 - G_0(\hat{a}(b^*)) < e^* \Rightarrow \downarrow b$



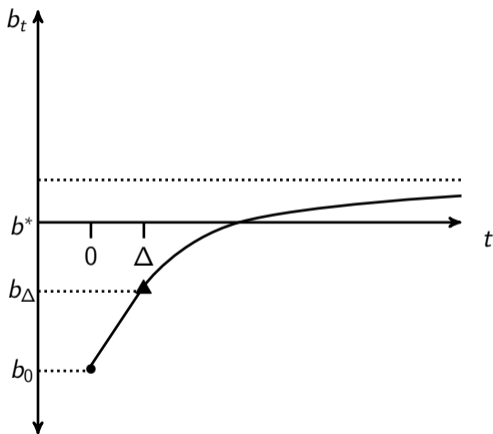
# A permanent increase of productivity (MIT shock)

- At  $t = \Delta$ :  $\mathbf{G}$  shifts right  $\Rightarrow \uparrow b$ 
  - ▶  $1 - G_{\Delta}(\hat{a}(b_0)) > e^*$



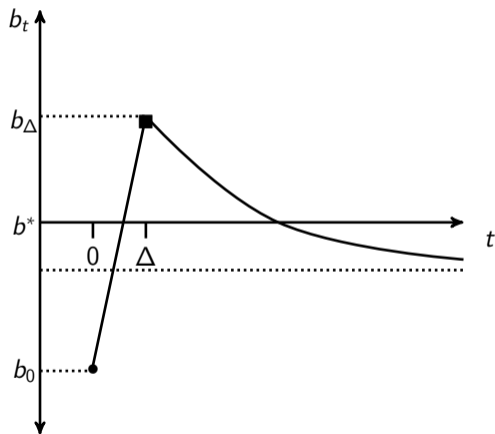
# A permanent increase of productivity (MIT shock)

## Case 1



# A permanent increase of productivity (MIT shock)

## Case 2



# The “Oscillatory” Behavior of $\tau$

- *Example:* Suppose that  $\uparrow b_t$  and  $\uparrow A_t$ . Recall:

$$\tau_t = \frac{b_t}{A_t} \cdot (1 - e^*) \cdot y(e = e^*)$$

# The “Oscillatory” Behavior of $\tau$

- *Example:* Suppose that  $\uparrow b_t$  and  $\uparrow A_t$ . Recall:

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- Two cases:

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1.  $\uparrow \tau_t$  if  $\Delta b_t > \Delta A_t$

2.  $\downarrow \tau_t$  if  $\Delta b_t < \Delta A_t$

- ▶  $\tau$  may oscillate over time  $\Rightarrow b$  may hit the *PC* before  $\tau_t \rightarrow \tau^*$

# The “Oscillatory” Behavior of $\tau$

- *Example:* Suppose that  $\uparrow b_t$  and  $\uparrow A_t$ . Recall:

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- Two cases:
  1.  $\uparrow \tau_t$  if  $\Delta b_t > \Delta A_t$
  2.  $\downarrow \tau_t$  if  $\Delta b_t < \Delta A_t$ 
    - ▶  $\tau$  may oscillate over time  $\Rightarrow b$  may hit the *PC* before  $\tau_t \rightarrow \tau^*$
- The dynamics of  $b$  can still be characterized!

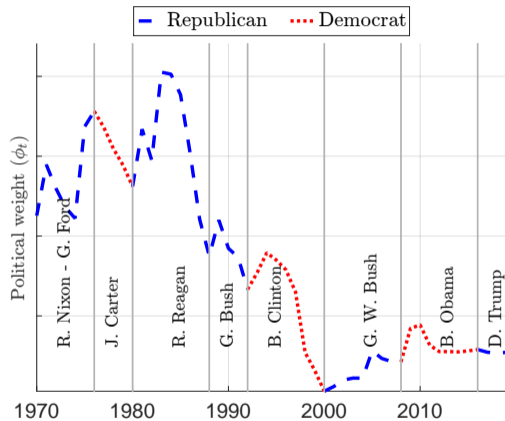
# Counterfactual Analysis

**Question** Role of Politics in the Evolution of the Welfare State?

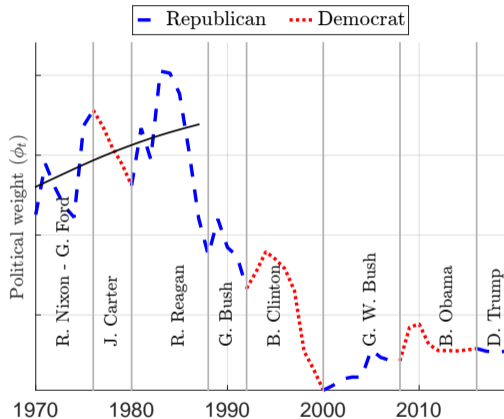
# Counterfactual Analysis for the US

1. Find the sequence of Political Weights  $\{\phi_t\}_{1970}^{2019}$  that matches  $\{b_t\}_{1970}^{2019}$
2. Simulate the model for “extreme” alternative paths around  $\{\phi_t\}_{1970}^{2019}$
3. **Question** Does the trend of social benefits change?

# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight

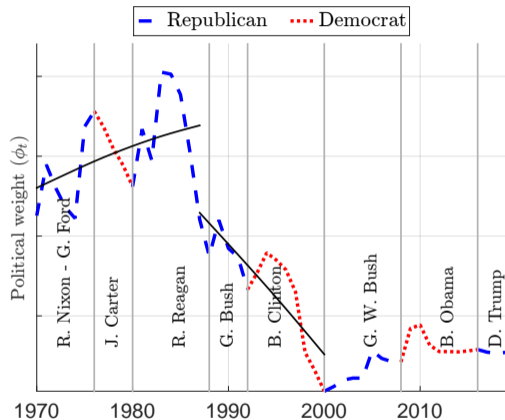


# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight



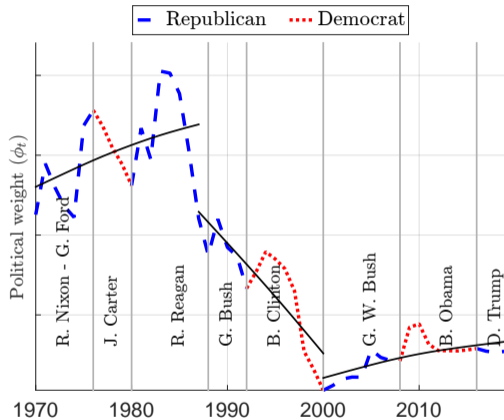
- 1970-1990: Pro-business trend ( $\uparrow \phi$ )

# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight



- 1990-2000: Pro-worker trend ( $\downarrow \phi$ )

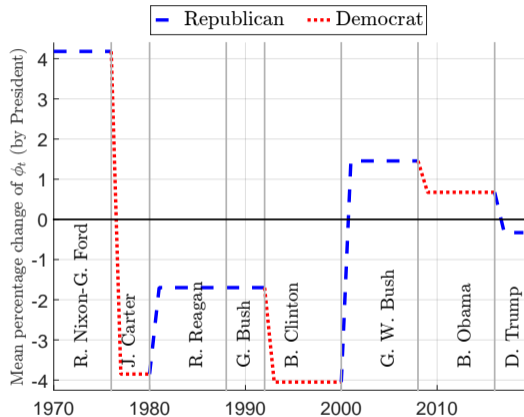
# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight



- 2000-present: moderate Pro-business trend ( $\nearrow \phi$ )

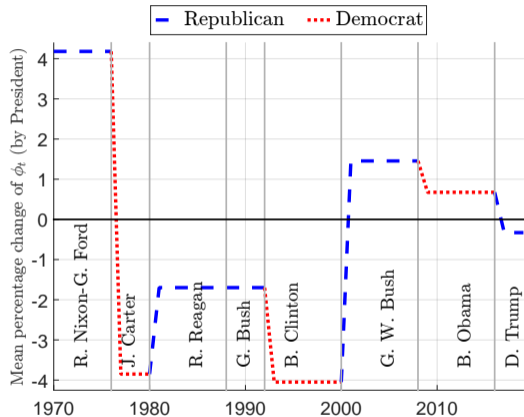


# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight



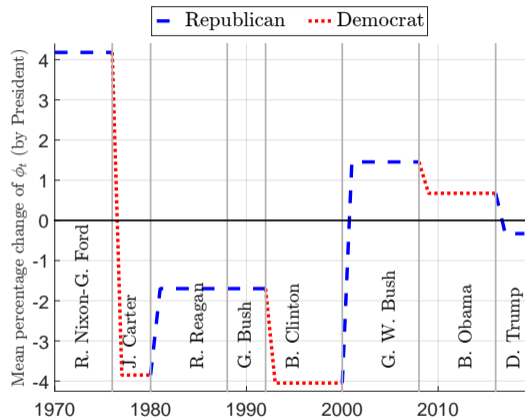
- **Republicans:** largest increases of  $\phi$

# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight



- **Democrats:** largest decreases of  $\phi$

# USA: The Evolution of the Political Weight



- Behavior of  $\phi$  consistent with partisan political perspectives

**Question** What would have been the evolution of  $b$  if?

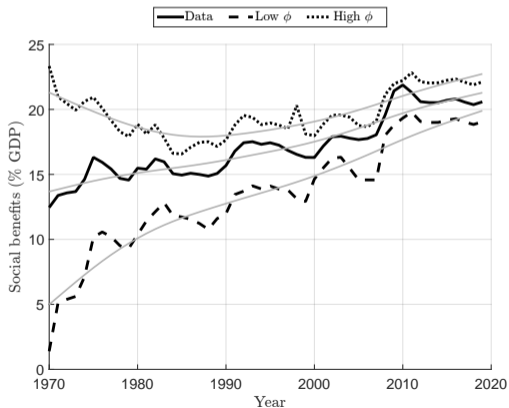
1. **Pro-worker** scenario (Low  $\phi$ ):  $\phi_t \times$  largest % drop

## Question What would have been the evolution of $b$ if?

1. **Pro-worker** scenario (Low  $\phi$ ):  $\phi_t \times$  largest % drop
2. **Pro-business** scenario (High  $\phi$ ):  $\phi_t \times$  largest % increase

## Question What would have been the evolution of $b$ if?

1. **Pro-worker** scenario (Low  $\phi$ ):  $\phi_t \times$  largest % drop
2. **Pro-business** scenario (High  $\phi$ ):  $\phi_t \times$  largest % increase



# Question What would have been the evolution of $b$ if?

## Main

- Trend of  $b$  would have remained positive since 1990
- **Main message:** Limited role of politics in the evolution of the welfare state

