THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PRUDENTIAL REGULATION MAGDALENA ROLA-JANIKA (TILBURG)

DISCUSSION BY KARTIK ANAND (BUNDESBANK)

ONE PAGE SUMMARY

- Research question: How do elections influence the choice of prudential regulations and what are the welfare implications?
- Approach: Two key ingredients
 - Pecuniary externality leads to over-borrowing (perfect-foresight model); exacerbates inequality between rich- and poor-borrowers (capital trade channel)
 - Debt limit set through elections between two competing politicians
- Findings:
 - Elections with committed politicians improve welfare (constrained efficient outcome → knife-edge case)
 - Greater initial inequality increases the debt limit iff rich borrowers are more responsive to policy shifts

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 - 2016 `Brexit' decision (UK) and election of Trump (US): empirical evidence suggests that inequality and distributional conflicts were key factors (Green et al., 2021; Baccini and Weymouth, 2021)
- Formal analysis of interaction between politics and policy, and their economic implications, is limited, making this paper a timely contribution (some related work: Majumdar and Mukund, 2004; Chang, 2010; Pastor and Veronesi, 2021; Anand et al., 2021)

MODEL STRUCTURE

INITIAL DATE

BORROWERS ENDOWED WITH (DURABLE) CAPITAL AND BORROW FROM LENDERS

PECUNIARY EXTERNALITY: IMPACT OF BORROWING ON THE PRICE OF CAPITAL IS NOT INTERNALISED

INTERIM DATE

LOW PRICE OF CAPITAL LEADS TO BORROWING CONSTRAINT, $d_1 \leq \phi p k_2$, TO BIND

POOR BORROWERS SELL CAPITAL TO RICH BORROWERS TO SMOOTH CONSUMPTION

FINAL DATE

BORROWERS PRODUCE (NON-TRADABLE) CONSUMPTION GOODS USING CAPITAL

LENDERS LAY CLAIM TO DEFAULTING BORROWERS' (DURABLE) CAPITAL AND SELL IT (OFF-EQ)

MODEL STRUCTURE INCLUDING ELECTIONS

INITIAL DATE

GENERAL ELECTIONS: CANDIDATES
CHOOSE DEBT LIMITS FOR (SOME)
BORROWERS AT THE INITIAL DATE

LENDERS AND RICH- AND POOR-BORROWERS GROUPED INTO DISTINCT BLOCS AND VOTE

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 - Accountability mechanisms (e.g., retrospective voting)
- This paper: Aggregation of voters' preferences =
 - Borrowers' utilities, which depends on the debt limit (spatial component) +
 - Random (non-spatial) characteristics about voting group +
 - Random (non-spatial) characteristics about politicians

MYTWO and a half COMMENTS

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 - Is this grouping redundant → borrowers are already divided based on their endowments?
- Inefficient platform choices: politicians choose debt levels based on expected biases
 - Hypothesis: analysis goes through for realised biases → the "median voter" is a weighted rich- and poorborrower → efficient platform choices

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- Alternative: emphasis the role of consensus style politics wherein the entire "political class" credibly pledges
 to a policy course
 - Typically requires government decision-making bodies to be non-adversarial and civil institutions to protect minority rights (Lijphart, 1984; Anderson and Guillory, 1997)

WRAP UP

- This paper is a timely contribution
 - Model is elegant; perhaps could be simplified along some dimensions
 - · A discussion on the specific role of elections in the model would be welcome
 - Lemma 2 (how inequality impacts outcomes) lends itself to an importantly testable implication → speaks to (anecdotally) the reasons behind some recent events (e.g., Chilean constitutional referendum of 2021)