

# CAPITALIST INVESTMENT AND POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION

by Roger Myerson, 12/2008, <http://home.uchicago.edu/research/caplib.pdf>

$F$  = (fixed-resource endowment). Additional invested capital is durable and mobile.

$Y(F+k)$  is net output production (flow) with any investment  $k \geq 0$ .

Suppose  $Y(\bullet)$  is differentiable, strictly concave,  $Y'(0) = +\infty$ ,  $Y'(+\infty) = 0$ .

Capitalists' rate of time discounting is  $r$ . They must get rent  $rk$  on investment  $k$ .

$\rho$  = (rate of time discounting for an authoritarian ruler).

With investment  $k$ , authoritarian ruler gets value  $(Y(F+k) - rk) / \rho$ .

$\theta$  = (fraction of investment that the ruler could expropriate).

With worst reputational threat, expropriation would yield  $\theta k + Y(F) / \rho$ .

Capitalist investment  $k$  is feasible without liberalization iff

$$(Y(F+k) - rk) / \rho \geq \theta k + Y(F) / \rho.$$

Equivalently,  $Y(F+k) - (r + \rho\theta)(F+k) \geq Y(F) - (r + \rho\theta)F$ .

Let  $K_r = \operatorname{argmax}_{\kappa \geq 0} Y(\kappa) - r\kappa$ ,

$K_{r+\rho\theta} = \operatorname{argmax}_{\kappa \geq 0} Y(\kappa) - (r + \rho\theta)\kappa$ .

$(Y(F+k)-rk)/\rho \geq \theta k + Y(F)/\rho$  iff  $Y(F+k)-(r+\rho\theta)(F+k) \geq Y(F)-(r+\rho\theta)F$ .

Let  $K_r = \operatorname{argmax}_{\kappa \geq 0} Y(\kappa) - r\kappa$ ,

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Thm 1.  $\exists h_0$  such that  $k$  is feasible without liberalization iff  $0 \leq k \leq h_0$ .

In this interval, the optimum for ruler is  $k = \min\{h_0, K_r - F\}$ .

If  $F \geq K_{r+\rho\theta}$ , then  $h_0 = 0$ .

If  $F < K_{r+\rho\theta}$ , then  $F+h_0 > K_{r+\rho\theta}$  and  $Y(F+h_0)-(r+\rho\theta)(F+h_0) = Y(F)-(r+\rho\theta)F$ .

When  $F < K_{r+\rho\theta}$ , a small increase in  $F$  would cause both  $h_0$  and  $F+h_0$  to decrease.

Cor 1. Given  $(Y(), r, \rho, \theta)$ , if  $Y(K_r)-(r+\rho\theta)K_r < Y(0)$  then the ideal investment  $K_r - F$  is not feasible without liberalization for any fixed endowment  $F < K_r$ .

But if  $Y(K_r)-(r+\rho\theta)K_r \geq Y(0)$ , then there exists some  $f_0$  such that the ideal investment  $K_r - F$  is feasible without liberalization iff  $F \leq f_0$ .

This bound  $f_0$  satisfies  $Y(f_0)-(r+\rho\theta)f_0 = Y(K_r)-(r+\rho\theta)K_r$  and  $f_0 < K_{r+\rho\theta} < K_r$ .  
(So  $F$  near  $K_{r+\rho\theta}$  always makes ideal  $K_r$  infeasible without liberalization.)

Cor 2. If the production function is  $Y(\kappa) = A\kappa^\alpha$ , for some  $A > 0$  and  $0 < \alpha < 1$ , then the ideal investment  $K_r - F$  is feasible without liberalization for  $F=0$  iff  $\alpha \leq r/(r+\rho\theta)$ .

(So even at  $F=0$ , ideal  $K_r$  is infeasible without liberalization when  $\alpha > r/(r+\rho\theta)$ .)

Liberalization  $\lambda$  is probability of ruler losing power if he tried to expropriate capital.

False-alarm scandals occur at rate  $\psi$ .

Ruler's present discounted value is  $V(k,\lambda) = (Y(F+k) - rk) / (\rho + \psi\lambda)$ .

Trying to expropriate would yield  $W(k,\lambda) = (1 - \lambda)(\theta k + Y(F) / \rho)$ .

Optimal regime  $(k,\lambda)$  maximizes  $V(k,\lambda)$  s.t.  $V(k,\lambda) \geq W(k,\lambda)$ ,  $k \geq 0$ ,  $0 \leq \lambda \leq 1$ .

Let  $Q(k) = [Y(F+k) - rk] / [\theta k + Y(F) / \rho]$ , and  $q(\lambda) = (\rho + \psi\lambda)(1 - \lambda)$ .

So  $V(k,\lambda) \geq W(k,\lambda)$  iff  $Q(k) \geq q(\lambda)$ .

Let  $\Lambda(k)$  denote the smallest  $\lambda \geq 0$  such that  $Q(k) \geq q(\lambda)$ .

Optimal  $k$  maximizes  $V(k, \Lambda(k))$  over  $k \geq 0$ .

Notice  $q(\lambda) = \rho + (\psi - \rho)\lambda - \psi\lambda^2$ , which is maximized at  $(1 - \rho/\psi)/2$ ,

and  $q(0) = \rho = q(1 - \rho/\psi)$ ,  $q(1) = 0$ .

So if  $Q(k) \geq \rho$  then  $\Lambda(k) = 0$ .

If  $Q(k) < \rho$  then  $\Lambda(k) = \{\psi - \rho + [(\psi - \rho)^2 + 4\psi(\rho - Q(k))]^{0.5}\} / (2\psi)$ .

Thm 2. If  $(k, 0)$  is optimal, then  $k = \min\{h_0, K_r - F\}$ , as in Thm 1.

If  $(k, \lambda)$  is optimal with  $\lambda > 0$ , then  $Q(k) = q(\lambda)$ ,  $Y'(F+k) = r + \theta\psi(1 - \lambda)^2$ ,

$\lambda = \Lambda(k) > 1 - \rho/\psi$ , and  $k > h_0$ .

Recall that the worst endowment without liberalization was  $F = K_{r+\rho\theta}$ .

Incentives for liberalization may be greatest with such intermediate endowments.

Cor 3. If  $F = K_{r+\rho\theta}$  and  $\psi < \rho$  then the optimal regime has  $\lambda > 0$ .

Strong liberalization becomes optimal in cases where investments yield approximately constant returns for national output.

Approximate linearity implies that, when  $Y' > r$ , large investments can yield surplus returns, but then strong liberalization is needed to protect these investments.

Theorem 3. Consider production functions of the form  $Y(F+k) = A(F+k)^\alpha$ , where  $A > 0$  and  $0 < \alpha < 1$ , so that the parameters of our models are  $(r, \rho, \theta, \psi, F, A, \alpha)$ .

Consider a sequence of models where  $(r, \rho, \theta, \psi, A, \alpha)$  converge to finite positive limits, and the fixed endowments  $F$  satisfy  $\lim Y'(F)/r > 1$ .

If  $\lim \alpha = 1$  then the optimal  $(k, \lambda)$  satisfy  $\lim Y'(F+k)/r = 1$  and  $\lim \lambda = 1$ .

Consider adding fixed revenue for the government, independent of invested capital. Adding a fixed revenue means adding a positive constant  $z > 0$  to the production function, changing it from  $Y(\kappa)$  to  $\hat{Y}(\kappa) = Y(\kappa) + z$  for all  $\kappa \geq 0$ , keeping all other parameters unchanged.

Thm 4. Adding a fixed revenue  $z > 0$  would allow greater investments to be feasible with any given liberalization  $\lambda$  such that  $\max\{0, 1 - \rho/\psi\} < \lambda < 1$ .

But when the optimal regime has positive liberalization  $\lambda$ , adding a fixed revenue would decrease both the optimal liberalization and the optimal investment.

When the optimal regime involves no liberalization ( $\lambda = 0$ ), adding a fixed revenue would not change the optimal regime.

Proof: Adding  $z > 0$  to  $Y$  increases  $V$  by  $z/(\rho + \psi\lambda)$  and increases  $W$  by  $z(1 - \lambda)/\rho$ .

With  $\lambda > \max\{0, 1 - \rho/\psi\}$ , we get  $(1 - \lambda)(\rho + \psi\lambda) < \rho$  and  $z/(\rho + \psi\lambda) > z(1 - \lambda)/\rho$ .

Let  $K(\lambda) = \Lambda^{-1}(\lambda)$ . Adding  $z > 0$  increases  $K(\lambda)$ .

$$K'(\lambda) = q'(\lambda)/Q'(K(\lambda)) = (\psi - \rho - 2\psi\lambda) (\theta k + Y(F)/\rho) / [Y'(F + K(\lambda)) - r - \theta q(\lambda)].$$

$$d/d\lambda \text{LN}(V(K(\lambda), \lambda)) = (1/W) d/d\lambda [(1 - \lambda)(\theta K(\lambda) + Y(F)/\rho)]$$

$$= \theta (2\psi\lambda + \rho - \psi) / [r + \theta q(\lambda) - Y'(F + K(\lambda))] - 1/(1 - \lambda), \text{ decreasing in } z \text{ (thru } K).$$

So increasing  $z$  decreases optimal  $\lambda$  and  $k$ , with  $Y'(F + k) = r + \theta\psi(1 - \lambda)^2$ .

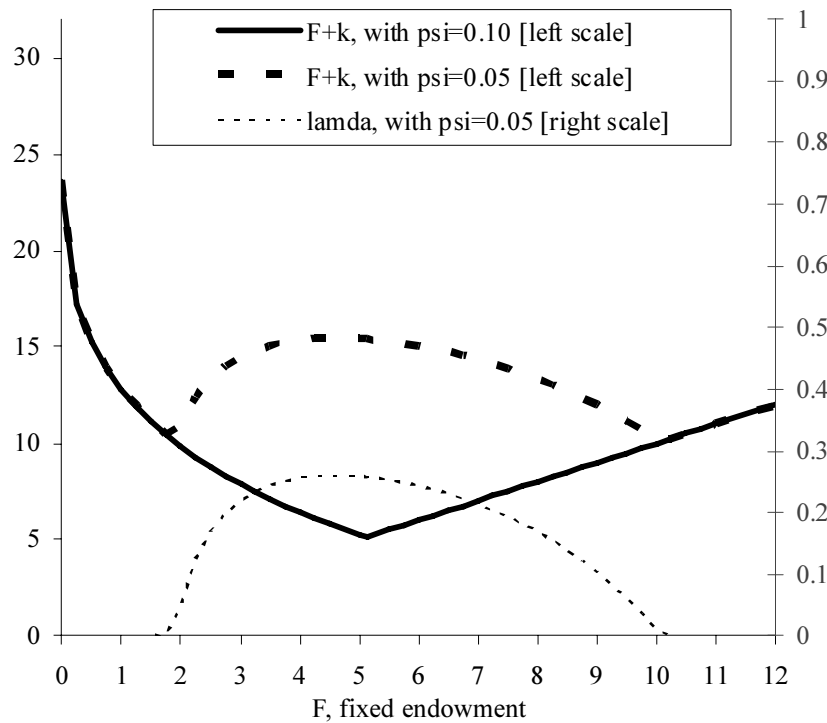
$$\max_{k \geq 0, \lambda \in [0,1]} V(k,\lambda) = (Y(F+k) - rk) / (\rho + \psi\lambda) \quad \text{s.t.} \quad V(k,\lambda) \geq (1-\lambda)(\theta k + Y(F) / \rho).$$

**Example.** Consider an island with production  $Y(F+k) = (F+k)^{0.4}$ , investors' discount rate  $r=0.05$ , authoritarian-ruler's discount rate  $\rho=0.1$ , expropriatable fraction  $\theta=1$ , and scandal rate  $\psi=0.1$ .

The ideal investment  $K_r=32$  (with  $Y(K_r)=4$ ) is not feasible without liberalization.

With  $F=0$ , optimum is  $k = 23.61$ ,  $\lambda = 0$ ; then  $Y(F+k) = 3.54$ ,  $V(k,\lambda) = 23.61$ .

With  $F=K_{r+\rho\theta} = 5.128$ , optimum is  $k=0$ ,  $\lambda=0$ ; then  $Y(F+k) = 1.92$ ,  $V(k,\lambda) = 19.23$ .



The curse of natural resources even harms the ruler here.

$\lambda=0$  is optimal  $\forall F$  when  $\psi=0.10$  here.

But reducing the scandal rate to  $\psi=0.05$  makes positive liberalization  $\lambda$  optimal for intermediate endowments  $1.9 < F < 10.1$ .

Example. Consider an archipelago where production is  $(F+k)^{0.4}L^{0.5}$ .

Each island has labor  $L=1$ , fixed capital  $F=5$ ,  $r=0.05$ ,  $\rho=0.1$ ,  $\theta=1$ ,  $\psi=0.1$ .

When  $L$  are serfs, we get  $Y=(F+k)^{0.4}$ , optimum  $k=0.258$ ,  $\lambda=0$ ;  $Y=1.94$ ,  $V=19.29$ .

A free labor fringe has marginal product  $0.5Y/L = 0.971$ .

Suppose one island frees its serfs, extensively recruits mobile free labor at wage  $w$ :

$Y(F+k) = \max_{L \geq 0} (F+k)^{0.4}L^{0.5} - wL = (F+k)^{0.8}/(4w)$ , with  $L = (F+k)^{0.8}/(2w)^2$ .

With  $w=0.971$ , we get  $Y(F+k) = 0.2574(F+k)^{0.8}$ ,

optimum is  $k=1126$ ,  $\lambda=0.931$ , with  $L=73.5$ , yielding  $Y = 71.36$ ,  $V(k,\lambda) = 77.95$ .

The possibility of matching capitalist investments with additional labor creates a strong incentive for liberalization ( $77.95 > 19.29$ ).

But  $73.5 > 1$ . If all free serfs and compete for free labor, the wage must increase.

With  $w=1.777$ , we have  $Y(F+k) = 0.1407(F+k)^{0.8}$  and get two optimal regimes:

liberal optimum  $k=47.73$ ,  $\lambda=0.903$ , with  $L=1.89$ ,  $V=5.10$ ;

nonliberal optimum  $k=0$ ,  $\lambda=0$ , with  $L=0.29$ ,  $V=5.10$ . ( $K_r - F = 57.8 - 5 = 52.8$ .)

Average matches supply  $L=1$  when 44% of islands are liberal, 56% nonliberal.

Reducing  $\psi$  can decrease optimal  $\lambda$ . An island with  $\psi=0.05$  has  $k=48.44$ ,  $\lambda=0.874$ ;

$\lim_{\psi \rightarrow 0} \lambda = 1 - [Y(K_r) - r(K_r - F)] / [Y(F) + \rho\theta(K_r - F)] = 0.832$ .

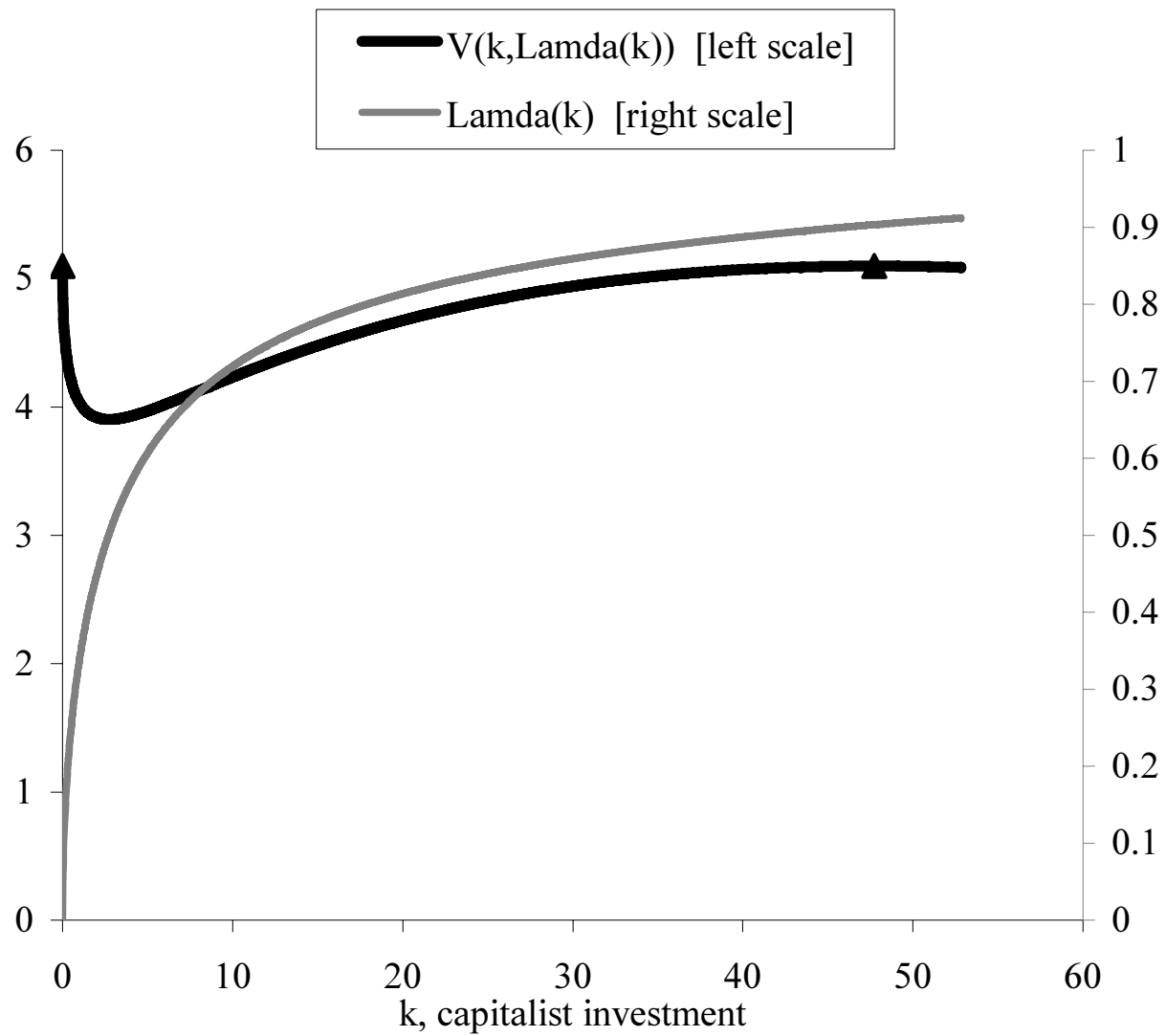


Figure 2. Required liberalization  $\Lambda(k)$  and ruler's value  $V(k, \Lambda(k))$ , for  $Y(F+k)=0.1407(F+k)^{0.8}$  with  $F=5$ ,  $r=.05$ ,  $\rho=.1$ ,  $\psi=.1$ ,  $\theta=1$ ; from  $w=1.777$ .