
The Political Economy of Nonlinear Capital Taxation

Emmanuel Farhi

Iván Werning

April 2008

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$ and progressive $\tau^{k'} > 0$

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$ and progressive $\tau^{k'} > 0$

▷ $\tau^K > 0$: corporate tax, capital gains, income tax

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$ and progressive $\tau^{k'} > 0$

- ▷ $\tau^K > 0$: corporate tax, capital gains, income tax
- ▷ $\tau^{K'} > 0$: income tax

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$ and progressive $\tau^{k'} > 0$

- ▷ $\tau^K > 0$: corporate tax, capital gains, income tax
- ▷ $\tau^{K'} > 0$: income tax

□ **normative** theories \rightarrow mixed

- ▷ Atkinson-Stiglitz: $\tau^k = 0$
- ▷ Chamley-Judd: $\tau^k = 0$
- ▷ others: $\tau^k \neq 0$ (Non-Separability / Inverse Euler)

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$ and progressive $\tau^{k'} > 0$

- ▷ $\tau^K > 0$: corporate tax, capital gains, income tax
- ▷ $\tau^{K'} > 0$: income tax

□ **normative** theories \rightarrow mixed

- ▷ Atkinson-Stiglitz: $\tau^k = 0$
- ▷ Chamley-Judd: $\tau^k = 0$
- ▷ others: $\tau^k \neq 0$ (Non-Separability / Inverse Euler)

Q: Equilibrium Capital Taxation ?

Introduction

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ most countries $\rightarrow \tau^k > 0$ and progressive $\tau^{k'} > 0$

- ▷ $\tau^K > 0$: corporate tax, capital gains, income tax
- ▷ $\tau^{K'} > 0$: income tax

□ **normative** theories \rightarrow mixed

- ▷ Atkinson-Stiglitz: $\tau^k = 0$
- ▷ Chamley-Judd: $\tau^k = 0$
- ▷ others: $\tau^k \neq 0$ (Non-Separability / Inverse Euler)

Q: Equilibrium Capital Taxation ?

Existing Positive Theories

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



positive theories? $\longrightarrow \tau^K > 0$, silent on $\tau^{K'}$

Existing Positive Theories

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ **positive** theories? → $\tau^K > 0$, silent on $\tau^{K'}$

□ **time-inconsistency** (Kydland-Prescott)

- ▷ representative agent
- ▷ linear taxes
- ▷ ex-post: capital = lump-sum
- ▷ no-commitment

Existing Positive Theories

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

- **positive** theories? → $\tau^K > 0$, silent on $\tau^{K'}$
- **time-inconsistency** (Kydland-Prescott)
 - ▷ representative agent
 - ▷ linear taxes
 - ▷ ex-post: capital = lump-sum
 - ▷ no-commitment → capital taxation

Existing Positive Theories

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ **positive** theories? → $\tau^K > 0$, silent on $\tau^{K'}$

□ **time-inconsistency** (Kydland-Prescott)

- ▷ representative agent
- ▷ linear taxes
- ▷ ex-post: capital = lump-sum
- ▷ no-commitment → capital taxation

□ **redistribution**

- ▷ commitment but heterogenous agents
- ▷ linear tax on capital + lump-sum rebate
- ▷ median voter + skewed distribution

Existing Positive Theories

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ **positive** theories? → $\tau^K > 0$, silent on $\tau^{K'}$

□ **time-inconsistency** (Kydland-Prescott)

- ▷ representative agent
- ▷ linear taxes
- ▷ ex-post: capital = lump-sum
- ▷ no-commitment → capital taxation

□ **redistribution**

- ▷ commitment but heterogenous agents
- ▷ linear tax on capital + lump-sum rebate
- ▷ median voter + skewed distribution
→ capital taxation

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

□ focus...

τ^K and $\tau^{K'}$

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

□ focus...

τ^K and $\tau^{K'}$

□ ingredients...

▷ heterogenous agents

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

□ focus...

τ^K and $\tau^{K'}$

□ ingredients...

- ▷ heterogenous agents
- ▷ elections + no commitment

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

□ focus...

τ^K and $\tau^{K'}$

□ ingredients...

- ▷ heterogenous agents
- ▷ elections + no commitment
- ▷ unrestricted tax instruments:
redistribution vs. incentives

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

□ focus...

τ^K and $\tau^{K'}$

□ ingredients...

- ▷ heterogenous agents
- ▷ elections + no commitment
- ▷ unrestricted tax instruments:
redistribution vs. incentives
- ▷ ex-post temptation:
extreme redistribution (capital levy)

This Paper

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Political Economy...

redistribution + time-inconsistency

□ focus...

τ^K and $\tau^{K'}$

□ ingredients...

- ▷ heterogenous agents
- ▷ elections + no commitment
- ▷ unrestricted tax instruments:
redistribution vs. incentives
- ▷ ex-post temptation:
extreme redistribution (capital levy)
- ▷ reputation

Main Result

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



progressive capital tax: $\tau^{K'} > 0$

Main Result

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



progressive capital tax: $\tau^{K'} > 0$



$\tau^K > 0$ at top



$\tau^K < 0$ at bottom

Main Result

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ progressive capital tax: $\tau^{K'} > 0$

□ $\tau^K > 0$ at top

□ $\tau^K < 0$ at bottom

□ mechanism

$\tau^{K'} > 0$ → ↓ future inequality

Main Result

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ progressive capital tax: $\tau^{K'} > 0$

□ $\tau^K > 0$ at top

□ $\tau^K < 0$ at bottom

□ mechanism

$\tau^{K'} > 0$ → ↓ future inequality → ↑ credibility

Main Result

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ progressive capital tax: $\tau^{K'} > 0$

□ $\tau^K > 0$ at top

□ $\tau^K < 0$ at bottom

□ mechanism

$\tau^{K'} > 0 \longrightarrow \downarrow$ future inequality $\longrightarrow \uparrow$ credibility

□ results \longrightarrow ex-ante considerations, not ex-post

Related Literature

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Ramsey...

- ▷ **time-inconsistency:** Kydland-Prescott (1977); Fischer (1980); Klein-Rios-Rull (2003)
- ▷ **Reputation:** Kotlikoff-Persson-Svensson (1988); Chari-Kehoe (1990); Benhabib-Rustichini (1996)

Related Literature

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Ramsey...

- ▷ **time-inconsistency:** Kydland-Prescott (1977); Fischer (1980); Klein-Rios-Rull (2003)
- ▷ **Reputation:** Kotlikoff-Persson-Svensson (1988); Chari-Kehoe (1990); Benhabib-Rustichini (1996)



Redistribution...

- ▷ **median voter + commitment:** Persson-Tabellini (1994); Alesina-Rodrick (1994); Bertola (1993)

Related Literature

Introduction

❖ This Paper

❖ Main Result

❖ Related Literature

❖ Outline

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Ramsey...

- ▷ **time-inconsistency:** Kydland-Prescott (1977); Fischer (1980); Klein-Rios-Rull (2003)
- ▷ **Reputation:** Kotlikoff-Persson-Svensson (1988); Chari-Kehoe (1990); Benhabib-Rustichini (1996)

□ Redistribution...

- ▷ **median voter + commitment:** Persson-Tabellini (1994); Alesina-Rodrick (1994); Bertola (1993)

□ Mirrleesian economies...

- ▷ **Political economy:** Sleet-Yeltekin (2007); Acemoglu-Golosov-Tsyvinski (2007)
- ▷ **intergenerational optimum:** Farhi-Werning (2007, 2008)

Outline

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ **Outline**

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

1. **Two Period Model**
2. Infinite Horizon Model

Outline

Introduction

- ❖ This Paper
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Related Literature
- ❖ **Outline**

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

1. Two Period Model
2. Infinite Horizon Model

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

Two Period Model

Environment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



continuum of agents θ

Environment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



continuum of agents θ



preferences

$$v_0 = u(c_0) - \theta h(n_0) + \beta u(c_1)$$

Environment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

- continuum of agents θ
- preferences

$$v_0 = u(c_0) - \theta h(n_0) + \beta u(c_1)$$

- resource constraint

$$\int c_0(\theta) dF(\theta) + k_1 \leq \int n_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$$
$$\int c_1(\theta) dF(\theta) \leq Rk_1$$

[RC]

Environment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

- continuum of agents θ
- preferences

$$v_0 = u(c_0) - \theta h(n_0) + \beta u(c_1)$$

- resource constraint

$$\int c_0(\theta) dF(\theta) + \frac{1}{R} \int c_1(\theta) dF(\theta) \leq \int n_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$$

[RC]

Incentives

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



θ



private info

Incentives

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ θ → private info

□ incentive compatibility: $(c_0(\theta), n_0(\theta), c_1(\theta))$:

$$u(c_0(\theta)) - \theta h(n_0(\theta)) + \beta u(c_1(\theta)) \geq u(c_0(\theta')) - \theta h(n_0(\theta')) + \beta u(c_1(\theta')) \quad [\text{IC}]$$

Incentives

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ θ → private info

□ incentive compatibility: $(c_0(\theta), n_0(\theta), c_1(\theta))$:

$$u(c_0(\theta)) - \theta h(n_0(\theta)) + \beta u(c_1(\theta)) \geq u(c_0(\theta')) - \theta h(n_0(\theta')) + \beta u(c_1(\theta')) \quad [\text{IC}]$$

□ budget constraints:

$$c_0 + a_0 \leq n_0 - T^n(n_0) \\ c_1 \leq Ra_0 - T^a(a_0) \quad [\text{BC}]$$

Incentives

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ $\theta \rightarrow$ private info

□ incentive compatibility: $(c_0(\theta), n_0(\theta), c_1(\theta))$:

$$u(c_0(\theta)) - \theta h(n_0(\theta)) + \beta u(c_1(\theta)) \geq u(c_0(\theta')) - \theta h(n_0(\theta')) + \beta u(c_1(\theta')) \quad [\text{IC}]$$

□ budget constraints:

$$c_0 + a_0 \leq n_0 - T^n(n_0) \quad [\text{BC}]$$
$$c_1 \leq Ra_0 - T^a(a_0)$$

Proposition. [Implementation]

$$[\text{IC}] \leftrightarrow [\text{BC}]$$

Politics

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Probabilistic voting

Politics

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Probabilistic voting

▷ two candidates: A vs. B

▷ propose policies $\longrightarrow v_0^i(\theta)$ for $i = A, B$

Politics

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Probabilistic voting

- ▷ two candidates: A vs. B
- ▷ propose policies $\rightarrow v_0^i(\theta)$ for $i = A, B$
- ▷ agents vote, comparing

$$v_0^A(\theta) + \varepsilon^A \quad \text{vs.} \quad v_0^B(\theta) + \varepsilon^B$$

Politics

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Probabilistic voting

- ▷ two candidates: A vs. B
- ▷ propose policies $\rightarrow v_0^i(\theta)$ for $i = A, B$
- ▷ agents vote, comparing

$$v_0^A(\theta) + \varepsilon^A \quad \text{vs.} \quad v_0^B(\theta) + \varepsilon^B$$

- ▷ $\varepsilon^A - \varepsilon^B$: uniform and i.i.d.
- ▷ result \rightarrow maximize

$$\int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$$

Politics

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Probabilistic voting

- ▷ two candidates: A vs. B
- ▷ propose policies $\rightarrow v_0^i(\theta)$ for $i = A, B$
- ▷ agents vote, comparing

$$v_0^A(\theta) + \varepsilon^A \quad \text{vs.} \quad v_0^B(\theta) + \varepsilon^B$$

- ▷ $\varepsilon^A - \varepsilon^B$: uniform and i.i.d.
- ▷ result \rightarrow maximize

$$\int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$$

- ▷ **crucial**: values equality in consumption

Commitment Benchmark

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Commitment benchmark

$$\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta) \quad \text{s.t.} \quad \text{IC and RC}$$

Commitment Benchmark

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Commitment benchmark

$$\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta) \quad \text{s.t.} \quad \text{IC and RC}$$

□ define marginal tax

$$u'(c_0(\theta)) = \beta R(1 - \tau(\theta))u'(c_1(\theta))$$

Commitment Benchmark

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ **Commitment**

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Commitment benchmark

$$\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta) \quad \text{s.t.} \quad \text{IC and RC}$$

□ define marginal tax

$$u'(c_0(\theta)) = \beta R(1 - \tau(\theta))u'(c_1(\theta))$$

□ Atkinson-Stiglitz $\rightarrow \tau^k(\theta) = 0$

Commitment Benchmark

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ Commitment benchmark

$$\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta) \quad \text{s.t.} \quad \text{IC and RC}$$

□ define marginal tax

$$u'(c_0(\theta)) = \beta R(1 - \tau(\theta))u'(c_1(\theta))$$

□ Atkinson-Stiglitz $\longrightarrow \tau^k(\theta) = 0$

□ idea: separability

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



voting in each period

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ voting in each period

▷ $t = 0$: choose tax system to max $\int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ voting in each period

▷ $t = 0$: choose tax system to $\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$

▷ $t = 1$: choose reform or not to $\max \int v_1(\theta) dF(\theta)$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ voting in each period

▷ $t = 0$: choose tax system to $\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$

▷ $t = 1$: choose reform or not to $\max \int v_1(\theta) dF(\theta)$

□ reform...

▷ cost: ρ lost output

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ voting in each period

▷ $t = 0$: choose tax system to max $\int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$

▷ $t = 1$: choose reform or not to max $\int v_1(\theta) dF(\theta)$

□ reform...

▷ cost: ρ lost output

▷ benefit: equalize consumption $c_1(\theta) = Rk_1 - \rho$

□ compare...

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \quad \text{vs.} \quad u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ $t = 0$ candidates...

$$(T_A^n, T_A^a) \quad \text{vs.} \quad (T_B^n, T_B^a)$$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ $t = 0$ candidates...

$$(T_A^n, T_A^a) \quad \text{vs.} \quad (T_B^n, T_B^a)$$

□ agents vote A vs B...

□ winner i^* ...

$$(T_{i^*}^n, T_{i^*}^a)$$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ $t = 0$ candidates...

$$(T_A^n, T_A^a) \quad \text{vs.} \quad (T_B^n, T_B^a)$$

□ agents vote A vs B...

□ winner i^* ...

$$(T_{i^*}^n, T_{i^*}^a)$$

□ $t = 1$ candidates

▷ no reform $\longrightarrow T_{i^*}^a$ implemented

▷ reform \longrightarrow full redistribution

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ $t = 0$ candidates...

$$(T_A^n, T_A^a) \quad \text{vs.} \quad (T_B^n, T_B^a)$$

□ agents vote A vs B...

□ winner i^* ...

$$(T_{i^*}^n, T_{i^*}^a)$$

□ $t = 1$ candidates

▷ no reform $\longrightarrow T_{i^*}^a$ implemented

▷ reform \longrightarrow full redistribution

$$(\text{expropriation tax: } \hat{T}^a(Ra) = Ra - RK_1 - \rho)$$

No Commitment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ **No Commitment**

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



solving backwards...

No Commitment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ solving backwards...

□ $t = 1$: no reform if and only if

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

strategy maps: T_0^a and $a(\theta)$ → reform or not

□ $t = 0$: candidates always avoid reform...
... otherwise output ρ lost!

No Commitment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ solving backwards...

□ $t = 1$: no reform if and only if

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

strategy maps: T_0^a and $a(\theta)$ → reform or not

□ $t = 0$: candidates always avoid reform...
... otherwise output ρ lost!

→ constrained optimum problem

No Commitment

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

$$\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$$

subject to IC, RC and

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

[ν]

No Commitment

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

$$\max \int v_0(\theta) dF(\theta)$$

subject to IC, RC and

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

[ν]

□ first-order conditions $\longrightarrow \tau^k(\theta) \neq 0$

Main Result

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ **Main Result**

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

Two formulas for capital taxes

□ progressivity

$$\tau^k(\theta) = \frac{\beta R u'(Rk_1 - \rho) - u'(c_0(\theta))}{\mu_0 \nu^{-1} \beta + \beta R u'(Rk_1 - \rho)}$$

□ level

$$\tau^k(\theta) = \frac{u'(Rk_1 - \rho) - u'(c_1(\theta))}{\mu_0 \nu^{-1} R^{-1} + u'(Rk_1 - \rho) - u'(c_1(\theta))}$$

Main Result

Introduction

Two Period Model

❖ Environment

❖ Incentives

❖ Politics

❖ Commitment

❖ Policy Game

❖ No Commitment

❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

Two formulas for capital taxes

□ progressivity

$$\tau^k(\theta) = \frac{\beta R u'(Rk_1 - \rho) - u'(c_0(\theta))}{\mu_0 \nu^{-1} \beta + \beta R u'(Rk_1 - \rho)}$$

□ level

$$\tau^k(\theta) = \frac{u'(Rk_1 - \rho) - u'(c_1(\theta))}{\mu_0 \nu^{-1} R^{-1} + u'(Rk_1 - \rho) - u'(c_1(\theta))}$$

Proposition.

- (i) τ^k progressive
- (ii) positive at top
- (iii) negative at bottom

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ no-commitment constraint

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

→ distortions

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ no-commitment constraint

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

→ distortions

□ two effects

▷ LHS → progressive subsidy

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ no-commitment constraint

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

→ distortions

□ two effects

▷ LHS → progressive subsidy

▷ RHS → constant tax

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ no-commitment constraint

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

→ distortions

□ two effects

▷ LHS → progressive subsidy

▷ RHS → constant tax

□ ex-ante: progressivity reduces inequality

→ helps avoid ex-post reform

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ no-commitment constraint

$$\int u(c_1(\theta)) dF(\theta) \geq u(Rk_1 - \rho)$$

→ distortions

□ two effects

▷ LHS → progressive subsidy

▷ RHS → constant tax

□ ex-ante: progressivity reduces inequality

→ helps avoid ex-post reform

□ implementation: $T^a(a)$ convex, increasing at the top, decreasing at the bottom

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



mechanism...



asset distribution endogeneous

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ mechanism...

- ▷ asset distribution endogeneous
- ▷ policy → not ex-ante redistribution

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ mechanism...

- ▷ asset distribution endogeneous
- ▷ policy → not ex-ante redistribution
- ▷ policy → avoid ex-post redistribution!

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ mechanism...

- ▷ asset distribution endogeneous
- ▷ policy → not ex-ante redistribution
- ▷ policy → avoid ex-post redistribution!
- ▷ ...shift inequality across time

Intuition

Introduction

Two Period Model

- ❖ Environment
- ❖ Incentives
- ❖ Politics
- ❖ Commitment
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ No Commitment
- ❖ Main Result

❖ Intuition

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

□ mechanism...

- ▷ asset distribution endogeneous
- ▷ policy → not ex-ante redistribution
- ▷ policy → avoid ex-post redistribution!
- ▷ ...shift inequality across time

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

- ❖ Setup
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ Planning Problem
- ❖ FOCs
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Worst
- ❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

Infinite Horizon

Setup

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions



infinite horizon → dynamic game



no cost of reform ($\rho = 0$)



consumption and work each period

Setup

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ infinite horizon → dynamic game

□ no cost of reform ($\rho = 0$)

□ consumption and work each period

□ two differences...

1. reputational equilibria → “endogenize ρ ”

2. commitment case → immiseration

Setup

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ preferences

$$\begin{aligned}v_t &= \mathbb{E}_{t-1}[u(c_t) - \theta_t h(n_t) + \beta v_{t+1}], \\ &= \sum_{s=0}^{\infty} \beta^s \mathbb{E}_{t-1}[u(c_{t+s}) - \theta_{t+s} h(n_{t+s})]\end{aligned}$$

□ $\{\theta_t\}$ i.i.d., private information

Setup

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ preferences

$$\begin{aligned}v_t &= \mathbb{E}_{t-1}[u(c_t) - \theta_t h(n_t) + \beta v_{t+1}], \\ &= \sum_{s=0}^{\infty} \beta^s \mathbb{E}_{t-1}[u(c_{t+s}) - \theta_{t+s} h(n_{t+s})]\end{aligned}$$

□ $\{\theta_t\}$ i.i.d., private information

□ Revelation principle on equilibrium path (Albanesi-Sleet, 2007; Acemoglu-Golosov-Tsyvinski, 2007)

Incentives

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ Utility from strategy σ ...

$$U(\{c_t, n_t\}, \sigma) \equiv \sum_{t, \theta^t} \beta^t [u(c_t(\sigma^t(\theta^t))) - \theta_t h(n_t(\sigma^t(\theta^t)))] \Pr(\theta^t)$$

□ incentive compatibility

$$U(\{c_t, n_t\}, \sigma^*) \geq U(\{c_t, n_t\}, \sigma) \quad \text{[IC]}$$

for all σ

Technology

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ $v =$ initial utility entitlement

□ $\psi =$ distribution of v

□ resource constraint...

$$C_t + K_{t+1} \leq F(K_t, N_t) \quad t = 0, 1, \dots \quad \text{[RC]}$$

$$N_t \equiv \int \sum_{\theta^t} n_t^v(\theta^t) \Pr(\theta^t) d\psi(v)$$

$$C_t \equiv \int \sum_{\theta^t} c_t^v(\theta^t) \Pr(\theta^t) d\psi(v)$$

Feasible allocation. $(\{c_t^v, n_t^v\}, K_t)$:

IC, RC and $v = U(\{c_t^v, n_t^v\}, \sigma^*)$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ $H^t =$ public history entering period t

▷ past reports $\sigma^{t-1,v}(\theta^{t-1})$

▷ past allocations $(\{c_s^v, n_s^v\}_{s \leq t-1}, \{K_s\}_{s \leq t})$

Policy Game

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ $H^t =$ public history entering period t

▷ past reports $\sigma^{t-1,v}(\theta^{t-1})$

▷ past allocations $(\{c_s^v, n_s^v\}_{s \leq t-1}, \{K_s\}_{s \leq t})$

□ Timing within period...

1. agents: report $\sigma_t^v(\theta^t)$ and work $n_t^v(\sigma_t^v(\theta^t))$
2. candidates: platforms $(\{c_t^v\}, K_{t+1})$ s.t. **RC**
3. voting: winning platform implemented
4. move to next period $\rightarrow H_{t+1}$

Credibility

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions



trigger strategy: deviation → worst

Credibility

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

❑ trigger strategy: deviation → worst

❑ credible allocations: feasible and...

$$\int U(\{c_{t+s}^v, n_{t+s}^v\}_{s \geq 0}, \sigma^*) d\psi(v) \geq \hat{W}(K_t, \{n_t^v(\theta^t)\})$$

Credibility

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ trigger strategy: deviation → worst

□ credible allocations: feasible and...

$$\int U(\{c_{t+s}^v, n_{t+s}^v\}_{s \geq 0}, \sigma^*) d\psi(v) \geq \hat{W}(K_t, \{n_t^v(\theta^t)\})$$

$$\hat{W}(K, \{n_\theta\}) \equiv \max_{K'} \left\{ u(F(K, N) - K') - \sum_{\theta} \int \theta h(n_\theta) \Pr(\theta) + \beta W(K') \right\}$$

□ $W(K) =$ worst equilibrium payoff

Planning Problem

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ best equilibrium \longleftrightarrow Dual planning problem:

$$\min K_0 \quad \text{s.t.} \quad (\{c_t^v, n_t^v\}; \{K_t\}) \text{ credible}$$

FOCs

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

- ❖ Setup
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Worst
- ❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

$$\frac{\mu_{t+1}}{\mu_t} \beta F_K(K_{t+1}, N_{t+1}) - \frac{\nu_{t+1}}{\mu_t} \beta \hat{W}_K(K_{t+1}, \{n_{t+1}^v\}) = 1$$

$$\frac{1}{u'(c^v(\theta^t))} - \frac{\nu_{t+1}}{\mu_{t+1} - \mu_t} = \frac{\mu_{t+1}}{\mu_t} \left(\mathbb{E}_t \left[\frac{1}{u'(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))} \right] - \frac{\nu_{t+1}}{\mu_{t+1} - \mu_t} \right)$$

Main Result

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ average capital tax:

$$1 - \bar{\tau}_t(v_t) \equiv \sum_{\theta} (1 - \tau(v_t, \theta)) p(\theta)$$

□ average capital tax is progressive:

$$\bar{\tau}_{t+1}(v_{t+1}) = \frac{\beta \hat{W}_K(K_{t+1}, \{n_{t+1}^v\}) - u'(c^v(\theta^t))}{\beta R_{t+1}} \frac{\nu_{t+1}}{\mu_{t+1}}$$

or

$$\bar{\tau}_{t+1}(v_{t+1}) = \frac{\beta \hat{W}_K(K_{t+1}, \{n_{t+1}^v\}) - \beta R_{t+1} (\mathbb{E}_t [u'^{-1}(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))])}{\beta R_{t+1} \frac{\mu_{t+1}}{\nu_{t+1}} - \beta R_{t+1} (\mathbb{E}_t [u'^{-1}(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))])^{-1}}$$

Worst

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions



what is the worst?

Worst

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ what is the worst?

$$W(K) = \min_{n \in [0, \bar{n}]} \max_{K'} \{u(F(K, n) - K') - h(n) + \beta W(K')\}$$

Worst

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ what is the worst?

$$W(K) = \min_{n \in [0, \bar{n}]} \max_{K'} \{u(F(K, n) - K') - h(n) + \beta W(K')\}$$

□ two implications...

1. $W(K)$ is nondecreasing and concave
2. $\hat{W}(K, \{n_\theta\})$ is increasing, concave, and differentiable.

□ back to sign...

Worst

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ what is the worst?

$$W(K) = \min_{n \in [0, \bar{n}]} \max_{K'} \{u(F(K, n) - K') - h(n) + \beta W(K')\}$$

□ two implications...

1. $W(K)$ is nondecreasing and concave
2. $\hat{W}(K, \{n_\theta\})$ is increasing, concave, and differentiable.

□ back to sign...

$$\bar{\tau}_{t+1}(v_{t+1}) = \frac{\beta \hat{W}_K(K_{t+1}, \{n_{t+1}^v\}) - \beta R_{t+1}(\mathbb{E}_t [u'^{-1}(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))])}{\beta R_{t+1} \frac{\mu_{t+1}}{\nu_{t+1}} - \beta R_{t+1}(\mathbb{E}_t [u'^{-1}(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))])^{-1}}$$

Worst

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions

□ what is the worst?

$$W(K) = \min_{n \in [0, \bar{n}]} \max_{K'} \{u(F(K, n) - K') - h(n) + \beta W(K')\}$$

□ two implications...

1. $W(K)$ is nondecreasing and concave
2. $\hat{W}(K, \{n_\theta\})$ is increasing, concave, and differentiable.

□ back to sign...

$$\bar{\tau}_{t+1}(v_{t+1}) = \beta R_{t+1} \frac{u'(\hat{C}_{t+1}) - (\mathbb{E}_t [u'^{-1}(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))])^{-1}}{\beta R_{t+1} \frac{\mu_{t+1}}{\nu_{t+1}} - \beta R_{t+1} (\mathbb{E}_t [u'^{-1}(c^v(\theta^{t+1}))])^{-1}}$$

Non i.i.d. shocks

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

- ❖ Setup
- ❖ Policy Game
- ❖ Planning Problem
- ❖ FOCs
- ❖ Main Result
- ❖ Worst
- ❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions



potential ratchet effects...



... revelation principle doesn't hold

Non i.i.d. shocks

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions



potential ratchet effects...



... revelation principle doesn't hold

1. general mechanisms  m^t

Non i.i.d. shocks

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

❖ Setup

❖ Policy Game

❖ Planning Problem

❖ FOCs

❖ Main Result

❖ Worst

❖ Non i.i.d. shocks

Conclusions



potential ratchet effects...



... revelation principle doesn't hold

1. general mechanisms $\rightarrow m^t$

2. assume

▷ there exists $w > 0$ s.t. $\min_{N \geq 0} F_N(K, N) > w$

▷ $K \in [0, \bar{K}]$ and $n \in [0, \bar{n}]$ where $\bar{K}, \bar{N} < \infty$

▷ $u'(F(\bar{K}, \bar{n})) > (\bar{\theta}h(\bar{n}) - h(0))/w$

\rightarrow revelation principle on equilibrium path

Conclusions

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Main Result: Political economy

→ redistribution + no commitment

Conclusions

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions



Main Result: Political economy

→ redistribution + no commitment

→ progressive capital tax

Conclusions

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

- **Main Result:** Political economy
 - redistribution + no commitment
 - progressive capital tax

- **key idea:** progressivity helps credibility

Conclusions

Introduction

Two Period Model

Infinite Horizon

Conclusions

- **Main Result:** Political economy
 - redistribution + no commitment
 - progressive capital tax

- **key idea:** progressivity helps credibility

- **extensions:** other policies? human capital?