

# Fiscal Equalization and Yardstick Competition

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	<u>mobility of tax base</u>	<u>voting</u>
Consequence of fiscal competition	Fiscal externalities reduce welfare. <i>Zodrow/Mieszkowski (1986)</i>	“Yardstick competition” improves accountability. <i>Besley/Case (1995), Besley/Smart (2007)</i>
Impact of fiscal equalization	Equalization alleviates externalities. <i>Wildasin (1989), Köthenbürger (2002), Bucovetsky/Smart (2006)</i>	?

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Impact of fiscal equalization	Equalization alleviates externalities. <i>Wildasin (1989), Köthenbürger (2002), Bucovetsky/Smart (2006)</i>	<i>This paper:</i> <b>Equalization reduces accountability.</b>

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- Voters evaluate the incumbent's ability based on observing public good supplies in both jurisdictions.



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- Voters evaluate the incumbent's ability based on observing public good supplies in both jurisdictions.
- Incumbents trade off the immediate gain from rent diversion against the induced loss in election prospects.

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- The extent of equalization is determined by the *equalization rate*.
- **Fiscal capacities are imperfectly measured.**
- Therefore, citizens cannot derive fiscal capacities from the observation of public goods supplies.

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## **Result**

The rent taken in a symmetric equilibrium increases in the equalization rate.

# The model

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- two jurisdictions  $i = 1, 2$
- two periods 1, 2
- In each jurisdiction an incumbent politician decides on rent extraction in period 1.
- At the end of period 1, in each jurisdiction, citizens either re-elect the incumbent or elect a challenger.
- The winners of the elections decide on rent extraction in period 2.

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- $\eta_i \sim N(1, \sigma_\eta^2)$  ability of the incumbent in jurisdiction  $i$
- $\varepsilon \sim N(0, \sigma_\varepsilon^2)$  economic environment of the federation
- $\bar{\tau}$  exogenous tax rate
- $r_i$  rent extracted by the incumbent of jurisdiction  $i$ , with  $\bar{\tau} > \bar{r} \geq r_i \geq 0$
- $\eta_1, \eta_2$ , and  $\varepsilon$  are independent from each other and unknown to both voters and incumbents.



# Fiscal equalization

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- transfer to jurisdiction  $i$

$$z_i = t \left[ \frac{(\tau_1 + \Gamma_1) + (\tau_2 + \Gamma_2)}{2} - (\tau_i + \Gamma_i) \right]$$

- $z_1 + z_2 = 0$  budget balances
- $t$  equalization rate, with  $0 \leq t \leq 1$
- $g_i = \tau_i + z_i$  public good supply in period 1 in jurisdiction  $i = 1, 2$

- mistake in the assessment of fiscal capacities  $i = 1, 2$

$$\Gamma_i = (\bar{\tau}_i - r_i)\gamma_i$$

- $\gamma_1, \gamma_2 \sim N(0, \sigma_\gamma^2)$  independent of  $\eta_1, \eta_2$ , and  $\varepsilon$ , and unknown to both voters and incumbents

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### **Payoff to citizens in jurisdiction $i = 1, 2$**

$$u_i = 1 - \bar{\tau} + \alpha g_i + \delta (1 - \bar{\tau} + \alpha g_i^2) \quad \text{with } \alpha > 1$$

- $\delta$  discount factor
- $g_i^2$  public good supply in period 2 in jurisdiction  $i = 1, 2$

## Payoff to the incumbent of jurisdiction $i = 1, 2$

$$r_i + p_{I,i} \cdot \delta(R + r_i^2)$$

- $p_{I,i}$  probability of re-election
- $R$  benefit from gaining office
- $r_i^2$  rent diverted in period 2, with  $\bar{\tau} > \bar{r} \geq r_i^2 \geq 0$
- If elected, the challenger's payoff is  $r_i^2$ .

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- Fiscal capacity, equalization and public goods are determined as in period 1.
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- The government of the second period takes maximal rent,  $r_i^2 = \bar{r}$ .
- Voters in jurisdiction  $i$  re-elect the incumbent if their estimate  $\tilde{\eta}_i$  of the incumbent's ability is at least as large as the expected ability of the challenger,  $\tilde{\eta}_i \geq 1$ .

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- In an equilibrium, the rents chosen by the incumbents coincide with the rents assumed by the citizens,  $\tilde{r}_1 = r_1$  and  $\tilde{r}_2 = r_2$ .

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- The citizens' estimate  $\tilde{\eta}_1$  of the incumbent's ability is normally distributed with mean  $\mu(r_1, r_2, t)$  and variance  $\sigma^2(r_1, r_2, t)$ .
- With  $F(\cdot, \mu, \sigma^2)$  for the c.d.f. of the  $(\mu, \sigma^2)$ -normal distribution, the re-election probability is

$$p_{I,i} = \text{Prob}\{\tilde{\eta}_i \geq 1\} = 1 - F(1; \mu_i(r_1, r_2, t), \sigma_i^2(r_1, r_2, t)).$$



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- Decision problem and first-order condition

$$\begin{aligned} \max_{r_i} \quad & r_i + \left[1 - F\left(1; \mu_i(r_1, r_2, t), \sigma_i^2(r_1, r_2, t)\right)\right] \cdot \delta(R + \bar{r}) \\ \text{FOC:} \quad & 1 + \frac{\partial \left[1 - F\left(1; \mu_i(r_1, r_2, t), \sigma_i^2(r_1, r_2, t)\right)\right]}{\partial r_i} \cdot \delta(R + \bar{r}) = 0. \end{aligned}$$

# Symmetric equilibrium

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In a symmetric equilibrium with  $r_i = \tilde{r}_i$  for  $i = 1, 2$  in period 1 both incumbents take the rent

$$r = \bar{r} - \left( \frac{\sigma_\eta^2 + \sigma_\varepsilon^2 + [t/2(1-t)]^2 \sigma_\gamma^2}{(\sigma_\eta^2 + 2\sigma_\varepsilon^2) \cdot (\sigma_\eta^2 + 4[t/2(1-t)]^2 \sigma_\gamma^2) \cdot 2\pi} \right)^{1/2} \cdot \delta(R + \bar{r}).$$

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**Proposition 1.** *Starting from a positive equalization rate  $t > 0$ , a marginal increase in the equalization rate increases rents taken by incumbents in a symmetric equilibrium:*

$$\frac{\partial r}{\partial t} > 0.$$

## FOC in a symmetric equilibrium

$$1 = \left[ -\frac{\partial \mu_i(r, r, t)}{\partial r_i} \right] \cdot f(1; \mu(r, r, t), \sigma^2(r, r, t)) \cdot \delta(R + \bar{r})$$

marginal benefit of rent diversion	=	impact of additional rent on mean estimate of incumbent's ability	* loss in re-election * probability per unit of change in $\mu$	* value of re- election
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### effects of equalization

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Rent diversion is less likely to be interpreted as incompetence.

↑

Observations in period 1 are less informative.

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- From this effect, fiscal equalization is detrimental to citizens' welfare, but ...
  - ◇ ... equalization mitigates tax competition,
  - ◇ ... equalization provides insurance.
- A welfare analysis of fiscal equalization should trade off these benefits against the political cost treated in this paper.