## Growth and Institutions I

Johannes Fedderke,

### University of the Witwatersrand

### ABSTRACT:

Alternative conceptions of the link between social and political institutions and economic growth are explored theoretically and empirically. A number of plausible hypotheses found in the literature are found to have distinct implications for social steady state, including the possibility of low income steady state institutional traps. Empirical evidence suggests considerable heterogeneity between countries in the nature of the link between institutions and economic activity, throwing doubt on the validity of standard cross-sectional growth equations. The application of cointegration techniques of analysis identi...es a number of countries that may prove fruitful as the object of more detailed clinical analysis.

Financial support from the South African Network of Economic Research is gratefully acknowledged. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1997 Economics Society of South Africa Conference. Hugh Hutcheson and Maciej Szymanski assisted in data collection and analysis. Raphael de Kadt and John Luiz provided useful comments and suggestions. Responsibility for the paper remains mine alone.

JEL Classi...cation: O4

### 1 Introduction

The reemergence of interest in the determinants of growth, has focused attention on the puzzle of the apparent non-convergence of per-capita income between low and high income countries (see Romer 1994). One response to this dilemma has been what has come to be known as endogenous growth theory: which in various forms drops the assumptions of the exogeneity of technological change, and the homogeneity of investment opportunities across countries (seminal examples are Romer 1986, 1990 and Lucas 1988)<sup>1</sup>.

The convergence prediction in Solow-Swan type growth models is of course conditional on homogeneity of the savings rate, the labour force growth rate, and the technology of production. The work of Romer and others has challenged the suggestion that the technology of production is homogenous across countries, either by positing the existence of knowledge spillover e¤ects, or by emphasizing that knowledge has private as well as public good characteristics (see for instance Romer 1986, 1990, Lucas 1988). An alternative dismissal of homogeneity of technology across countries has argued that both fundamental structural "capacities" and the opportunities for the use of the most e⊄cient technology may di¤er fundamentally between countries (see particularly Nelson and Wright 1992, but also Abramovitz 1986, 1993, and Fagerberg 1994).

Once the possibility of heterogeneity of countries in the relatively limited dimensions provided by Solow-Swan type growth models is recognized, the possibility that heterogeneity in other dimensions may be of signi...cance to growth follows readily. Thus di¤erences in the level of human capital (Barro 1991, Mankiw, Romer and Weil 1992), the depth of ...nancial development (King and Levine 1993, Levine 1997, Levine and Zervos 1996, 1998), the nature and quality of government intervention in economic processes (Barro 1990, Fischer 1991, King and Levine 1993), to cite a few examples, have all been controlled for in growth equations. Yet even after correcting for a wide variety of additional explanatory variables, many growth equations struggle to account for cross country variation in growth, particularly in Africa and

<sup>1</sup>Findings on convergence di¤er. Thus, for instance, Barro (1991) and Mankiw, Romer and Weil (1992) claim that once stocks of human capital are corrected for (Barro and Salai-Martin (1992) add government consumption expenditure), the convergence hypothesis is supported for a large sample of countries. However, Friedman (1992) and Quah (1993) have noted that the "Barro-regressions" on which such ...ndings are based are subject to Galton's fallacy, and do not constitute legitimate tests for convergence. Latin America (see for example Barro 1991, and Easterly and Levine 1997). Such limitations to growth models has resulted in greater emphasis being paid to the interaction of economic growth with the wider social or institutional setting within which economic growth takes place<sup>2</sup>.

Modernization theory postulates a link from economic development to democratization, such that "good things go together". Political freedom is exectively viewed as a luxury good whose high income elasticity ensures emergence of democratization only at high levels of per capita income. The development of strong forms of associational life with economic growth is further held to reinforce the emergence and sustainability of democratic institutions. However, since the postulated causality runs from economic to political development, and since the link is viewed as existing between the levels of economic and political development, modernization theory in its initial format has little to say concerning the impact of political and social institutions on economic growth<sup>3</sup>. An extension to modernization theory is thus an investigation of the possibility of a link from political and social institutions to economic growth. One possibility might be that political freedoms might have positive externalities in reinforcing economic freedoms, strengthening both the demand for and the defensibility of the latter<sup>4</sup>. An alternative proposition might be that externalities are not positive but negative, particularly at low levels of development, since democracy is subject to populist pressure for redistributive policies, with negative consequences for savings rates, relative price distortions and uncertainty<sup>5</sup>. If institutions do matter

<sup>2</sup>A brief overview of some of the literature follows. For a more detailed discussion see Fedderke (1997).

<sup>3</sup>The seminal contribution is Lipset (1959). For further suporting evidence see Bilson (1982), Bollen (1979), Bollen and Jackman (1985), Burkhart and Lewis-Beck (1994), Cutright (1963), Helliwell (1992), Inglehart (1995), Theil (1979). Bilson (1982) indicates the possibility of a non-linearity. Sirowny and Inkeles (1990) and even more comprehensively Diamond (1992) provide reviews of the empirical evidence. Both Diamond (1992) and Burkhart and Lewis-Beck (1994) reject the possibility of political institutions in‡uencing the level of economic development on the basis of empirical evidence.

<sup>4</sup>This might be termed the Hayek-Friedman perspective. Empirical evidence in support is provided by Grier and Tullock (1989) and Kormendi and Meguire (1985). The latter ...nd political institutions impact on growth not directly, but also indirectly via the investment rate. Scully (1988, 1992) notes a positive association between political rights and economic growth, though it is subject to a threshold exect.

<sup>5</sup>See the discussion in Landes (1990). Barro (1994) provides some evidence of a potential negative impact of democracy on economic development at low levels of per capita GDP, as does Marsh (1979) with quali...cation, and Weede (1983).

in the determination of economic growth, it follows as corollary that their e¢ciency will also in turn come to matter for economic growth<sup>6</sup>.

A crucial question concerns the reason for the existence of a link from political institutions to long run economic performance - i.e. just why we might expect externalities to be present. One suggestion has been that the credibility of political dispensations is critical if political institutions are to avoid time-inconsistency problems, and that credibility is vital to maintaining private sector and foreign investor con...dence (the argument is analogous to those surrounding the credibility of stabilization policy)<sup>7</sup>. Property rights are also frequently advanced as the institutions of greatest signi...cance to economic growth, lowering uncertainty and transactions costs associated with economic activity<sup>8</sup>. An analogous but broader conception is that of social capital, viewed as consisting of a range of formal and informal cultural practices which increase the probability of cooperative solutions to problems of collective action, and again viewed as lowering transactions costs and uncertainty, and hence as bene...cial to economic growth<sup>9</sup>.

The basic proposition of a possible link between economic and political development has also received a number of extensions. Thus for instance political instability has generally been viewed as lowering economic growth by raising uncertainty, and by reducing the quality of economic policy formulation<sup>10</sup>. However, where political instability disrupts rent-seeking activities it may have a positive impact on growth<sup>11</sup>, and some authors have suggested the presence of simultaneity between growth and stability by pointing to the possibility that growth may disrupt traditional social forms<sup>12</sup>. Some studies

<sup>6</sup>See Mauro (1995), but also Murphy, Schleifer and Vishny (1991, 1993), Rama (1993).

<sup>7</sup>See Borner, Brunetti and Weder (1995), who see credibility as of far greater signi...cance than the level of political rights.

<sup>8</sup>See Knack and Keefer (1995), North and Thomas (1970, 1973), North (1981, 1990), Scully (1988, 1992).

<sup>9</sup>See Coleman (1988, 1990), Putnam (1995), Fukuyama (1995a, 1995b), and Fedderke, De Kadt and Luiz (1998).

<sup>10</sup>Alesina and Perotti (1993), Barro (1991), Londregan and Poole (1990), Knack and Keefer (1995), Venieris and Gupta (1986) all report empirical ...ndings con...rming both a direct and indirect (via the investment or savings rate) impact of political instability on growth. See Olson (1993) on the link between political stability and the quality of economic policy formulation. On the link between instability and excessive foreign debt burdens and capital ‡ight see Alesina and Tabellini (1989) and Ozler and Tabellini (1991).

<sup>11</sup>Olson (1982), who argues that (severe) political instability may disrupt the hold of rent-seeking interest groups on the state, thereby raising economic growth rates.

<sup>12</sup>See Olson (1963). Londregan and Poole (1990) con...rm the presence of simultaneity

go further in identifying income inequality as a speci...c cause of the growth inhibiting political instability or redistributional policies noted in the preceding discussion<sup>13</sup>.

While the literature has gone some way toward introducing a number of distinct links between social and political institutions and economic growth, empirical evidence is as yet inconclusive in the sense that a number of the postulated, but alternative and occasionally contradictory links have found empirical support. Fedderke and Klitgaard (1998)<sup>14</sup> demonstrate that the presence of strong webs of association amongst social indicators, makes an empirical distinction between the theoretical propositions outlined above dif-...cult. Moreover, it is shown that simultaneity between institutional dimensions and economic growth ...nds empirical support, and carries signi...cant implications for the reliability of standard statistical estimation results. The extent of our theoretical understanding of the link between institutions and economic growth is limited, such that the relative importance of the various institutional dimensions cited, their mutual interaction, the lags with which they may be said to operate, and the functional form in which they impact on growth are all as yet incompletely determined. Under such conditions both structural and reduced form statistical modeling is fraught with danger.

For this reason the present paper is concerned with the exploration of some simple propositions concerning the link between social and political institutions and economic growth. Our concern is the question of whether the process of institutional development can be endogenised into the economic growth process. In exploring the question we assume the link between social and political institutions and economic growth to be interactive, in the sense that while economic development may intuence institutional development, the reverse direction of intuence may be equally plausible.

The discussion will emphasise not only the possibility of endogenising institutional development into the process of economic growth, but also the impact of alternative conceptions of the link between growth and institutional

between economic growth and political instability, but ...nd growth lowering instability.

<sup>13</sup>See Alesina and Perotti (1993) and Persson and Tabellini (1994). Clarke (1995) ...nds not only indirect e¤ects of income inequality on economic growth (such as the investment channel noted above), but a direct negative e¤ect of inequality on growth, for both democratic and autocratic regimes. However, some studies ...nd no systematic relationship at all (see Papanek and Kyn 1986).

<sup>14</sup> For additional explorations of the link between social indicators and economic growth see Fedderke and Klitgaard (1996), and Klitgaard and Fedderke (1994, 1995).

development. We will see that alternative interpretations carry quite distinct implications for the nature of the endogeneity of institutional development. It is emphasised in advance that the links between institutional and economic development explored are not exhaustive. The objective here is ultimately methodological, in the sense of emphasising how "deep" the implications of relatively minor changes in speci...cation are for steady state characterstics of economies. Given the sensitivity of cross-country regression results to changes in speci...cation, this must add cautionary warnings to the usefulness of such results to those already known in the literature (Levine and Renelt 1992 for instance).

The discussion concludes with the presentation of some empirical results. We again add an important disclaimer at the outset. Data limitations prevent the exploration of institutions and their link to economic growth in general. Instead, the focus is on the Freedom House political rights measure frequently used in the growth literature. Inevitably, this limits the generality of conclusions that may be drawn from the discussion and of course we recognize that institutions are enormously varied and distinct across both time and space, and that di¤erent classes of institutions may have distinct impacts on economic growth. Fedderke and Klitgaard (1998) for instance identi...es three distinct groupings of institutions, the level of rights, the instability of political institutions, and the e¢ciency of institutions, which may be distinguished conceptually and statistically, and for which there is prima facie evidence of a link to economic growth. On the other hand, Fedderke and Klitgaard (1998) also points to very high levels of correlation (rank correlations of 0.7 and above) between the three institutional dimensions, suggesting that institutional in tuences on growth potentially show strong indivisibilities. Good property rights, for instance, may be possible only where an eccient judiciary for the enforcement of those rights exists, and e¢cient judiciaries in turn may depend on the presence of a separation of executive and judicial powers most likely to occur under liberal democratic political dispensations. This suggests that representing the totality of a set of institutional structures in a single dimension is at least an acceptable starting point of analysis.

## 2 Alternative Steady State Growth Paths incorporating Institutions

## 2.1 Case 1: The Modernization Hypothesis - Social Institutions determined by Economic Development a Bench-Mark

By way of providing a bench-mark for subsequent analysis, we begin with the proposition that institutional development depends on the level of economic development. The fundamental hypothesis here is that the level of economic development of a society carries implications for its social and political institutions - in line with original modernization theory. This might be justi...ed on the grounds that the income elasticity of demand for political and social representation exceeds unity. Individual agents come to develop aspirations and demand possibilities for self-realization and expression which go beyond those oxered by access to economic resources alone. Thus only after agents realize economic well-being, will their demand for additional civil liberty and political rights ... nd expression. The view implies that there is a Maslowian hierarchy of human aspirations, such that once certain (basic) needs of survival are met, higher order needs such as political and social expression are pursued (see for instance Diamond, 1992:486-7). The point is that it is higher levels of individual economic well-being (rather than the systems requirements posed by eccient organization of economic activity), that drives aspirations for greater social and political rights, and hence institutional developments. It is the level of individual economic development that determines the aspirations for rights, thus a ecting social institutions, rather than the absolute productive potential of the society<sup>15</sup>.

We represent the level of economic development by means of per capita

<sup>15</sup>Romer (1986) identi...es a scale e¤ect in labour in developing his model endogenising technological change through "learning by doing" e¤ects. Similarly, Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1995:265-81) identify the possibility of scale e¤ects in labour in a model of technological di¤usion. Similar arguments might be advanced in connection with institutional development. For instance, if the absolute productive potential of the economy carries with it institutional requirements, which will have to be met if economic activity is to grow beyond certain threshold levels, rights might depend on the scale of absolute production rather than on per capita magnitudes. This issue is not further explored in the present paper - though see Kuznets (1965:181-2).

GDP<sup>16</sup>, and collapse social and political institutional development into a single dimension, which we will henceforth term "rights", denoted R. For the sake of analytical convenience we further assume technology to be Cobb-Douglas, such that where Y denotes output, K capital stock, and L labour hours, we have:

$$Y = K^{\mathbb{E}}L^{-}$$
(1)

and assuming homogeneity of degree 1, such that  $\bar{} = 1_{i}$  <sup>®</sup>, in labour intensive form the production function becomes  $y = k^{\text{e}}$  (lower case notation denotes per-capita magnitudes throughout)<sup>17</sup>. On present speci...cation of output, the economy's growth path is una¤ected by rights. Adding the assumption that savings and investment be proportional to output, we obtain the standard Solow-Swan type steady state growth path. Allowing s to denote the proportional savings rate,  $g_L$  the proportional growth rate of the labour force adjusted for the depreciation of the capital stock, and  $x^2$  the proportional growth rate of x, we have the standard result that:

$$k^{2} = sk^{\circledast_{i} 1} g_{L}$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{g_{k}}{g_{k}} = s(\circledast_{i} 1)k^{\circledast_{i} 2}$$
(2)

and since  $y = k^{\circ}$  the implication is of convergence to steady state values of k and y.

Again to aid analytical tractability we link rights to output in exponential form. Thus we have:

$$\mathsf{R} = \mathsf{y}^{\circ} = \mathsf{k}^{\circledast^{\circ}} \tag{3}$$

Given the presence of a steady state growth path under the technology of production assumed under equation 1, in the event of  $^{\circ} > 0$  rights will come to assume a steady state value determined by the steady state value of y.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup>We will allow rights to be indivisible throughout, precluding the meaningfulness of per capita magnitudes in the rights dimension.

<sup>18</sup>Had rights depended instead on the absolute level of output, since output grows without bound in steady state, history would have been open-ended.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Of course, this assumes away the impact of unequal distributions of income. The fact that income inequality appears to be deleterious to growth prospects (see for instance Lindert and Williamson 1985, Persson and Tabellini 1994, and Clarke 1995), might be taken to imply that the link between economic and institutional development is weakened. This becomes of particular importance in the context of Case 2 below.

Where  $^{\circ}$  < 0, rights come to be eroded over time, which might capture the experience of societies or polities which are sustainable only under ever increasing levels of repression (an example might be apartheid South Africa). Under  $^{\circ}$  = 0 rights are not associated with economic development<sup>19</sup>.

Where institutional development is driven by the aspirations of individual agents, and such aspirations emerge from the consequences of improving economic welfare,

It now follows from equation 3 that:

$$\stackrel{2}{\mathsf{R}}=\stackrel{\circ}{}\stackrel{\mathcal{I}}{\mathsf{y}}$$
(4)

which in steady state reduces to 0, such that rights will change only when the economy moves onto a new growth path. Transitional dynamics in the capital labour ratio for the growth rate of rights follows from equation 4:

$$\frac{\overset{\circ}{\otimes} \overset{\circ}{\mathsf{R}}}{\overset{\circ}{\otimes} \mathsf{k}} = \overset{\otimes}{\otimes} \operatorname{s} \left( \overset{\otimes}{\mathsf{s}} \overset{\circ}{\mathsf{l}} 1 \right) \overset{\circ}{\mathsf{k}}^{\overset{\otimes}{\mathsf{s}}} \overset{2}{\mathsf{l}}$$

$$< 0 \text{ if } \overset{\circ}{\mathsf{s}} > 0$$
(5)

Declining growth rates of rights under  $^{\circ} > 0$  re‡ects the impact of the declining marginal product of capital and the declining growth rates of k, y in the approach to steady state. Where  $^{\circ} < 0$  the growth rate of rights is negative, though rising as y! 0 in the approach to steady state. The two cases of  $^{\circ} > 0$ ,  $^{\circ} < 0$ , are depicted in Figure 1.

In terms of transitional dynamics with respect to the growth rate of the labour force, we have:

$$\frac{\overset{\circ}{@} \overset{2}{\mathsf{R}}}{\overset{\circ}{@} \mathsf{g}_{\mathsf{L}}} = i \overset{\otimes}{@} \circ$$

$$< 0 \text{ if } \circ > 0$$

$$> 0 \text{ if } \circ < 0$$
(7)

<sup>19</sup>It is probable that the association between rights and the level of economic development is more complex than here postulated. By way of example, instead of the monotonic association employed for the discussion, it is plausible that with economic development rights ...rst decrease, and transform into "take-o¤" only after some intermediate level of development. This would render ° dependent on Y by some non-linear association. For the purposes of the present analysis we abstract from such complexity.



Figure 1: Modernization Theory: existence of steady state.

since higher labour force growth rates generate lower steady state equilibrium growth paths.

For modernizaton theory history is thus a closed process, in the sense that the economy will move to a steady state level of rights consistent with its level of economic development. Without economic development, institutions cannot evolve further. The growth rate of rights is determined by savings rates, technology of production, as well as the demographic characteristics of society.

## 2.2 Case 2: Interdependence between Institutional and Economic Development

The scenario investigated under Case 1 is a restrictive one. The suggestion is that economic development leads to institutional development. This accords an extraordinary primacy to economic activity, all the more so if one considers economic activity as only one (admittedly vital) of many social activities and functions, which come to shape and in‡uence the civil, political and indeed economic institutions of a society. It would seem at least equally plausible to suggest that while economic development may indeed inform and in‡uence institutional change, institutional settings may themselves come to impact upon economic activity in various and diverse ways. Certainly at least some empirical evidence would seem to support such a hypothesis (see Fedderke and Klitgaard 1997), and modernization theory in its more sophisticated variants has accepted that it is not simply economic development which underlies institutional progress, but that the interaction is likely to be more complex (see Diamond 1992:488).

The introduction to the paper noted a number of alternative hypothesized impacts of institutions on economic activity. Property rights<sup>20</sup>, the in‡uence of special interest groupings (see Olson 1982), political instability<sup>21</sup>, deep seated values and cultural predispositions<sup>22</sup>, political credibility<sup>23</sup>, political corruption and e¢ciency<sup>24</sup>, and social capital<sup>25</sup> have all been identi...ed as being of potential importance to economic performance.

While Case 1 thus examined the possibility that rights were dependent on the level of economic development, but that there existed no reverse in‡uence, the second possibility is the case where rights and the level of economic development mutually determine one another. Consider:

$$Y = R(^2)Q(^2) \tag{8}$$

where  $R(^2)$  denotes the impact of rights on output,  $Q(^2)$  the impact of the technology of production on output. Again for the sake of analytical tractability, assume that the technology of production is Cobb-Douglas, and homogenous of degree 1, such that:

$$Q(^2) = K^{\mathbb{R}}L^{1_i \mathbb{R}}$$
(9)

<sup>20</sup>See North and Thomas (1973:1), Knack and Keefer (1995:207), and Scully (1988:653) as a limited sample.

<sup>21</sup>See Barro (1991), Londregan and Poole (1990) and Olson (1982).

<sup>22</sup>The celebrated case is Weber's protestant work ethic, but note also Kuznets (1965a:104).

<sup>23</sup>See Borner, Brunetti and Weder (1995).

<sup>24</sup>See Mauro (1995).

<sup>25</sup>See Putnam (1995), Coleman (1990), Fukuyama (1995a,b) and the World Development Report 1997.

There is a further distinction to be drawn. To specify that rights depend on the level of economic development could mean either that rights depend on the degree of development of the technology of production (that is, that rights depend on Q(<sup>2</sup>) in equation 8 above), or that rights depend on the level of economic development as measured by the output generated by the society (i.e. on Y in equation 8 above). In the latter case it is the actual or realized level of economic development which drives institutional development. In the former case, it is the productive potential inherent in the technology of production which is the determining factor. An impetus to such a formulation might come from the suggestion that the development of information technology makes the maintenance of repressive regimes increasingly di¢cult - ease of international information transfer simply lowers the cost of information su¢ciently to render its control, and hence control of political aspirations increasingly di¢cult. The rival suggestion that improved information technology makes the control of populations easier for repressive regimes similarly posits a link between institutions and technology. Similarly, the industrial revolution might perhaps be argued to have produced a concentration of populations to a degree which rendered popular aspirations of control over political power inevitable, given the lowering of organizational and information costs of political organization in an urban environment, when compared with a dispersed rural population. It may also enable us to capture the intuition that developments such as Silicon Valley perhaps best thrive under conditions which allow space for unconventional patterns of behaviour, as a stimulus to the creative energy which appears to characterize such bursts of innovation. Once such patterns of production prove successful, they may well induce wider institutional change as other industries attempt to replicate the elements underlying the success.

Such intuitions are clearly of a di¤erent order from that which suggests that it is the realized level of economic a- uence which generates aspirations to greater social and political means of self-expression. Case2.A will explore the suggestion that rights interact with the technology of production, while Case2.B allow rights to interact with the realized productive potential of society. It will become clear from our discussion that the distinction carries signi...cant implications.

## 2.2.1 Case 2.A: Rights dependent on the per capita productive potential of the technology of production

The ...rst possibility we examine is that the development of rights is determined by the per capita productive potential of the technology of production. The distinction from Case 1 is that output and rights are interdependent. Thus:

$$\mathsf{R} = \mathsf{q}^{\circ} = \mathsf{k}^{\circledast^{\circ}} \tag{10}$$

so that per capita output is given by:

$$\mathbf{y} = \mathbf{k}^{\otimes (1+^{\circ})} \tag{11}$$

and the growth rate of per capita output would now be:

$$y^{2} = (1 + c) k^{2}$$
 (12)

which increases in ° as long as the economy is not is steady state, and is capital deepening, since  $\frac{e\hat{y}}{e^\circ} = \frac{e}{k} > 0$  if k > 0. Moreover the prospect for unbounded growth arises despite a technology of production which is not of increasing scale, since from:

$$k^{*} = sk^{(0(1+\circ))_{i} 1} j g_{L}$$
(13)

such that:

$$\hat{y} = {}^{\text{\tiny (1+°)}} sk^{{}^{\text{\tiny (1+°)}}i} {}^{1}i {}^{\text{\tiny (R)}}(1+{}^{\circ})g_{\text{\tiny L}}$$
(14)

implying the possibility of unbounded growth as long as rights increase in the technology of production su¢ciently strongly<sup>26</sup>. In particular, we have:

$$\frac{@ y^{2}}{@k} = [@ (1 + °) ; 1] @ (1 + °) sk^{@(1 + °); 2}$$

$$> 0 iff ° > \frac{1}{@}; 1$$
(15)

<sup>26</sup>This is the standard requirement that the increase in the capital stock is su¢cient for capital deepening to occur. From (14), y > 0 if sk<sup>®(1+°)</sup>i <sup>1</sup> > g<sub>L</sub>; or y >  $\frac{i_{g_L}}{s}$  k, i.e. that actual per capita putput exceed that required to maintain a constant capital-labour ratio.

The requirement is demanding. Unbounded growth in per capita output will follow only if the positive impact of improving rights outweighs the negative impact of the declining marginal product of capital on output. If  $^{\mbox{\ \ empty}}$  ' 0:3, the requirement is for ° ' 2 or greater.

The growth rate of rights follows as:

$${\stackrel{{}^{2}}{\mathsf{R}}} = {\stackrel{{}^{\otimes}}{\mathsf{e}}} {\stackrel{{}^{2}}{\mathsf{k}}} = {\stackrel{{}^{\otimes}}{\mathsf{e}}} s {\stackrel{{}^{\otimes}}{\mathsf{k}}} {\stackrel{{}^{\otimes}}{\mathsf{e}}} {\stackrel{{}^{\otimes}}{\mathsf{g}}} {\stackrel{{}^{\otimes}}{\mathsf{L}}}$$
(16)

and hence:

$$\frac{@ \stackrel{2}{R}}{@k} = {}^{\mathbb{R}} \circ s [{}^{\mathbb{R}} (1 + {}^{\circ})_{i} 1] k^{{}^{\mathbb{R}}(1 + {}^{\circ})_{i} 2}$$

$$> 0 \text{ if } {}^{\circ} > \frac{1}{{}^{\mathbb{R}}} i 1 \text{ or } {}^{\circ} < 0$$

$$< 0 \text{ else}$$
(17)

For  $\circ > \frac{1}{@}$  i 1 the positive impact of rights on output again outweighs the negative impact of the declining marginal product of capital. The growth rate of rights would be rising under such circumstances as per capita output increased inde...nitely. Where  $\circ < 0$  the growth rate of rights would be rising toward i  $\circ (1 i @) g_L$ . One possible interpretation of this possibility is that the political or social system is sustainable only under increasing erosion of rights, leading to higher levels of repression as output increases. Presumably there is some minimum level of rights beyond which the society or polity ceases to exist altogether if rights are decreased even further (say where agents no longer have a right to life), and rights can no longer change at all (and in this sense history would again be at an end point). Where  $0 < \circ < \frac{1}{@} i 1$  rights would be improving at a diminishing rate. These implications are represented in Figure 2.

# 2.2.2 Case 2.B: Rights dependent on the per capita level of output, or level of economic development

Consider the possibility that rights are determined by the per capita realized productive capacity of the economy, rather than the productive potential inherent in the technology of production. Thus:

$$R = y^{\circ}$$
(18)



Figure 2: Rights dependent on Technology of Production

so that given equation 8:

$$y = k^{\frac{\circledast}{1_i^{\circ}}}$$
(19)

and hence:

$$\overset{2}{y} = \frac{\mu_{\mathbb{R}}}{\frac{1}{1}} \overset{1}{k} \overset{2}{k}$$
(20)

Two important consequences follow on equation 20. The ...rst is that unbounded growth in per capita output will emerge where the capital-labour ratio grows without bound, and since:

$$k^{2} = sk^{\left(\frac{1}{1}\right)^{\circ}} i^{1} j^{2} g_{L}$$
(21)

it follows that:

$$\frac{\overset{2}{@k}}{\overset{2}{@k}} = s \frac{\overset{2}{\mu} \overset{R}{@k}}{1_{j}} \frac{1}{s} k^{\left(\frac{w}{1_{j}}\right)_{j} 2}$$
(22)

such that unbounded growth emerges where 1 i  $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$  1, which for the assumption of  $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$  0:3, implies 0:7  $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$  1, a considerably weaker requirement than under Case 2.A. Since from equation 18  $^{\circ}$  R<sup>2</sup> =  $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$ , history may be either open or closed for Case 2.B, corresponding to 1 i  $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$  1 and 1 i  $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$   $^{\circ}$  1 respectively.

The second consequence is the more intriguing. From equation 20 it follows immediately that for  $0 < \circ < 1$  the growth rate of per capita output is positive, as might be expected from the implied positive relationship between output and rights. However, where the association between output and rights becomes "strong", in the sense that  $^{\circ} > 1$  such that rights change more than proportionately with output, the growth rate of output becomes negative, an apparently counterintuitive result given the strong benevolent association implied by  $^{\circ}$  > 1. The explanation for this apparent anomaly lies in the existence of an unstable equilibrium for the society depicted in Figure 3. For  $^{\circ}$  > 1, the equilibrium point R<sub>e</sub>Y<sub>e</sub> is unstable<sup>27</sup>. For instance, with rights or institutions given by  $R_1$  realized output is given by  $Y_1^0$ , while output required to maintain that institutional capacity is given by  $Y_1$ . At very low levels of institutional development, institutional de...ciency may come to impair production. The consequence is that realized output is not su $\Box$ cient to maintain existing institutions, and the society experiences both institutional and economic collapse. By contrast with institutions or rights given by  $R_2$ , realized output  $Y_2^{0}$  exceeds that required for the maintenance of institutions  $Y_2$ , with the result that the society will experience both institutional and economic growth without bound. Exectively the strong association between economic and institutional development creates an institutional underdevelopment trap at low levels of institutional development. This may represent a particularly severe problem not only for countries at low levels of per capita GDP, but particularly for countries in which former colonial powers invested little in institutional development, simply superimposing administrative structures which came to subvert indigenous institutions. Withdrawal of the colonial power might then well issue in the sort of situation depicted by  $R_1$  above. The appropriate policy response to such a trap in continued investment in factor inputs, despite apparent initial decreases in equilibrium output, until

 $^{27 \circ} = 1$  results in singularity.



Figure 3: Low Equilibrium Institutional Trap

the society breaks the institutional underdevelopment trap.

Cases 2.A and 2.B thus di¤er profoundly in their implications. First, where it is realized productive potential, rather than the productive potential represented by the technology of production which determines rights, the possibility of a low level equilibrium institutional trap emerges. Second, the requirements for the emergence of endogenous growth are somewhat weaker under Case2.B than under Case 2.A.

### 3 Some Empirical Results

Neither Case 1 nor Case 2 commits us to modernization theory. The positive association between economic development and rights implied by modernization theory in either Case requires that  $^{\circ} > 0$ , such that economic development issues in greater political and civil rights of citizens. But it is of course possible that rights are simply not in the level of economic

development at all,  $\circ = 0$ , a proposition which is consistent with arguments that relatively authoritarian regimes have been capable of economic development without associated pressures for political and social liberalization. It is also logically feasible that there is a negative association between the state of economic and institutional development,  $\circ < 0$ . As already noted, this might capture cases of social and political forms which are sustainable only if they become increasingly repressive - which might represent the experience of polities of the apartheid South Africa variety. By implication then, it is conceivable that not all countries need be uniform, in the sense that the magnitude of  $\circ$ , and perhaps even its sign could well di¤er between countries. The consequence is that universally quanti...ed generalizations concerning the nature of socio-economic development may not be readily attainable. Instead more nuanced identi...cation of alternative paths to development is required.

## 3.1 The Data and Econometric Methodology

We explore these possibilities on a data set compiled from a number of distinct sources, covering the period 1973-95:

- <sup>2</sup> GDP at constant 1987 US\$ prices was obtained from World Bank national accounts data.
- <sup>2</sup> Total physical capital, obtained from Nehru and Dhareshwa (1998)<sup>28</sup>.
- <sup>2</sup> Population ...gures were obtained from International Moentary Fund data.
- <sup>2</sup> An index of political rights was obtained from the standard Freedom House Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties.

Data was collected for 86 countries - the list can be found in the appendix. The present study departs from previous sudies of the link between growth and institutions, in that estimation proceeds on a country-by-country approach, employing cointegration techniques of estimation.

 $^{28}$  The capital stock ...gures were available directly over the 1991-0 period. For 1991-5, the capital stock was imputed by  $K_t$  = (1  $_i$  ±)  $K_{t_i$  1 + GDFIt, where  $K_t$  denotes capital stock, ± the average depreciation rate of capital stock over 1985-90 imputed from Nehru and Dhareshwa (199x), and GDFI denotes gross domestic ...xed investment obtained from

Johansen<sup>29</sup> techniques of estimation are now standard, so that the discussion here can be brief. We employ a vector error-correction (VECM) framework, for which in the case of a set of k variables, we may have cointegrating relationships denoted r, such that  $0 \cdot r \cdot k_i$  1. This gives us a k-dimensional VAR:

$$z_{t} = A_{1}z_{t_{i} 1} + \dots + A_{m}z_{t_{i} m} + 1 + \pm_{t}$$
(23)

where m denotes lag length, and  $\pm$  a Gaussian error term. While in general  $z_t$  may contain I (0) elements, given our bivariate association, as long as non-stationary variables are present we are exclusively restricted to I (1) elements. Reparametrization provides the VECM speci...cation:

The existence of r cointegrating relationships amounts to the hypothesis that:

$$H_1(r): = \mathbb{R}^{-1}$$
 (25)

where | is  $p \pm p$ , and  $^{(R)}$ ;  $\overline{}$  are  $p \pm r$  matrices of full rank. H<sub>1</sub> (r) is thus the hypothesis of reduced rank of |. Where r > 1, issues of identi...cation arise<sup>30</sup>. In our case this may arise where rights and output may interact (equations 10, 11; equations 18, 19). In this case we expect r = 2, and for the long run parameters:

$${}^{2}_{k} {}^{8}_{11} {}^{8}_{12} {}^{2}_{11} {}^{8}_{22} {}^{5}_{21} {}^{11}_{21} {}^{12}_{22} {}^{13}_{23} {}^{4}_{k} {}^{5}_{k} {}^{5}_{11} {}^{12}_{21} {}^{22}_{23} {}^{23}_{r} {}^{1}_{t_{i} k+1} {}^{12}_{k+1} {}^{12}_$$

Cointegrating relationships are provided by " $_i = -_{i1}y + -_{i2}k + -_{i3}r$  (where r denotes rights), with the  $@_{ij}$  providing the error correction terms. In the absence of a priori theory problems of identi...cation attach to equation 26, since any linear combination of " $_i$  will themselves be stationary and hence cointegrated. Exact identi...cation requires r<sup>2</sup> restrictions, for the expectation that r = 2 thus 4. On the basis of the discussion above we specify:

$$z_{t_{i} k+1} = 4 \begin{bmatrix} e_{11} & e_{12} & 0 & y \\ e_{21} & e_{22} & 5 & 1 & i \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 & 1 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & e_{32} & 0 & i & 22 \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & e_{32} & e_{33} \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & e_{32} & e_{33} \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & e_{33} & e_{33} \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & e_{33} & e_{33} \\ e_{31} & e_{32} & e_{33} \\ e_{31} & e_{33} \\ e_{31} & e_{33} & e_{33} \\ e$$

<sup>29</sup>See Johansen (1991) and Johansen and Juselius (1990).

<sup>30</sup>See Wickens (1996), Johansen and Juselius (1990, 1992), Pesaran and Shin (1995a, 1995b), Pesaran, Shin and Smith (1996).

for both Case 2.A though the ° parameter would have to be explicitly solved for from  $\mathbf{i} \cdot \mathbf{G}_2$  and  $\mathbf{i} \cdot \mathbf{G}_2$ . For Case 2.B, we specify:

$$\begin{array}{c} 2 & 2 & 2 \\ & & & \\ &$$

where  $\mathbf{C}_{21}$  provides a direct estimate of the ° parameter.

While our chief concern here is with the existence of cointegrating, hence the possibility of long-run equilibrium relationships contained in  ${}^{-0}z_t$ , we are also interested in the possibility of heterogeneity between countries in terms of the nature of the link between economic activity and rights (i.e. whether Case 1, Case 2.A or Case 2.B is most likely to apply), and in terms of the strength of that link (as measured by °).

In all instances we test for the presence of a link by means of the standard reduced rank Johansen procedure, and verify the presence of the relevant link(s) between rights and output by means of both overidentifying restrictions, and in terms of tests for weak exogeneity.

### 3.2 Results

Case 1 presents few di¢culties for estimation, with log transformation of equation 3 providing the means for direct estimation of °. Estimation of ° for Case 2.A again follows readily from equations 10 and 11. Estimation of ° for Case 2.B follows from equations 18 and 19.

Cointegration analysis proves useful in the current context. The bivariate associations implied by most of the the current relationships under investigation allows straightforward estimation where cointegration proves to be present. The one limitation to consider is that, given the simplicity of the relationship between economic activity and rights under consideration, the absence of cointegration cannot be held to be conclusive evidence of association between rights and economic activity, since the association may be subject to misspeci...cation. The requirement here imposed for the presence of a long run equilibrium relationship is demanding, given the simplicity of the models under investigation. The conclusions drawn are thus not to be understood as a de...nitive identi...cation of the nature of the link between economic activity and rights, but they do serve to support the methodological conclusions drawn in the text. These are strong and informative in their own right. No a priori considerations suggest that all countries should share the same °-parameter. Indeed, that the world contains countries at vastly di¤erent levels of development, with di¤erent institutions, di¤erent historical paths of development, and di¤erent cultures, makes the suggestion that there may exist classes of countries with quite distinct °-coe⊄cients, a natural one to explore.

Detailed results are provided in the appendix to the paper. Salient results are as follows:

- 1. There is signi...cant cross-country variation in the °-parameter regardless of which model is estimated (Case 1, Case 2.A or Case 2.B).
- There is signi...cant cross-country variation in terms of the preferred model speci...cation. Countries ar espread across the Case 1, Case 2.A, and Case 2.B speci...cations, while most countries do not provide support for any of the three formulations here explored<sup>31</sup>.
- 3. Not all countries have a positive °-parameter which we interpret as implying political structures sustainable only under conditions of increasing repression over time.
- For most countries included in the study evidence either dismisses, or at best proves inconclusive on the presence of a link between output and the Freedom House political rights measure.

The implied country classi...cation to emerge from estimation is as follows. For Case 1, we have the country classi...cation given in Table 1. Three countries have a statistically signi...cant but negative association between rights and output as outcome and independent variable respectively. Only three countries support the simple positive association between output and rights implied by early (Lipset) modernization theory. The Trinidad and Tobago classi...cation seems somewhat counterintuitive. However, Trinidad and Tobago is the one country that ful...Is the requirements of Case 1 that is also signi...cant under Case 2. In the latter, it has a more plausible  $^{\circ} > 0$  parameter for Case 2.A (for Case 2.B we again have  $^{\circ} < 0$ ).

<sup>31</sup>This is generally for countries that show little or no variation in the Freedom House rights index - predominantly the industrialised countries. The implication might well be that the Freedom House index shows too little sensitivity to variations in rights structure at high levels of development in rights culture. Technically, of course, the absence of

Case 1	
° < 0	° > 0
Algeria, El Salvador	Cameroon
Honduras, Nigeria	Italy
Trinidad & Tobago	Malta

Table 1: Case 1: Country Classi...cation

Case 2.A		
° < 0	$0 < \circ < \frac{1}{8}$ j 1	$^{\circ} > \frac{1}{\mathbb{R}}   1$
Malaysia	Cyprus, Dominican Republic,	Egypt
	Ecuador, Iran, Japan, Mauritius,	Turkey
	Trinidad & Tobago, Venezuela	

Table 2: Case 2.A: Country Classi...cation

The country classi...cation for Case 2.A is given by Table 2. The majority of countries fall into the  $0 < \circ < \frac{1}{6}$  i 1 category, suggesting a positive association between output and rights, but not strong enough to facilitate unbounded growth. Some countries continue to generate the  $\circ < 0$  parameter (suggesting political systems sustainable only under increasing repression), and three countries suggest that the association between rights and output is suCciently strong  $\circ > \frac{1}{6}$  i 1 to suggest the possibility of unbounded growth due to the link<sup>32</sup>.

The country classi...cation for Case 2.B is given in Table 3. Our discussion noted that unbounded growth is possible for the  $1_i \ @ < \circ < 1$  parameter values, while the  $\circ > 1$  parameter value generates the possibility of low-level poverty traps (though also of unbounded growth if the trap is escaped). The  $\circ < 0$  case carries the same interpretation as before, and  $0 < \circ < 1_i \ @$  represents the standard case of a positive association between per capita output and rights.

While some countries continue to have negative  $\degree$ -coe $\clubsuit$ cients, a number also have  $\degree$ -coe $\clubsuit$ cients consistent with institutional poverty-traps, and two, Iran and Japan have a  $\degree$ -coe $\clubsuit$ cient consistent with unbounded growth.

The majority of countries either conclusively show no statistical asso-

variation in the rights index renders the variable stationary, making cointegration with per capita income (integrated of order 1) impossible.

<sup>32</sup>The classi...cation is insensitive to variation in the <sup>®</sup> parameter over the 0.2 - 0.4 range.

#### Growth and Institutions I

Case 2.B			
° < 0	$0 < \circ < 1_{i}$ ®	1 <sub>i</sub> ® < ° < 1	° > 1
Dominican Republic, Egypt,		Iran	Cyprus, Ecuador,
Malaysia, Trinidad & Tobago,		Japan	Mauritius, Venezuela
Turkey			

Table 3: Case 2.B: Country Classi...cation

Conclusive Absence	Insu¢cient Evidence
Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil,	Bangladesh, Bolivia, Chile, China,
Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark,	Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Greece,
Finland, France, Iceland, Indonesia,	Guatemala, Haiti, India, Jordan,
Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Korea, Luxemburg,	Kenya, Bolivia, Malawi, Mali,
Madagascar, Mexico, Mozambique,	Morocco, Philippines, Portugal
Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua,	Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Spain
Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay,	Sudan, Zambia, Zimbabwe
Peru, Sierra Leone, South Africa,	Insu¢cient Data:
Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand	Angola, Ethiopia
Tunisia, Uganda, UK, USA, Uruguay, Zaire	

Table 4: Countries with no statistically provable association between rights and output

caition between output and rights, or show inconclusive evidence of an association. We provide a listing in Table 4.

A number of important methodological implications follow from this evidence. First the evidence does not support the presence of a link between rights and economic activity for all countries - indeed the majority of countries report no systematic link for the simple cases here examined. Further, for those countries on which a systematic link emerges, the nature of the links established is diverse in terms of both their strength (magnitude of °) and the form of the link (i.e. which case applies). Last, but perhaps most important of all, changes in speci...cation (between the various cases), results in dramatic shifts in the value of the °-parameter for the same country. The implication is the same as that already suggested in Fedderke and Klitgaard (1998) - that clear theoretical understanding of the nature of the link between rights and output is a necessary precondition to further empirical investigation. The application of current time series techniques to this question has the advantage of o¤ering a clear suggestion as to the way ahead. The application of cointegration techniques has allowed the isolation of a relatively small range of countries for which at least a necessary condition for an equilibrium relationship between rights and output is satis...ed. In order to deepen our understanding of the general nature of this link, more detailed historical case studies may well be useful, in order to specify the reasons for the observed di¤erences in the magnitude of the °-parameter, and the speci...cation in which it is most appropriately to be applied.

### 4 Conclusion

As in many previous studies, the existence of a link between economic and political development ...nds support from ...ndings reported in this paper. Yet the main thrust of the argument emphasizes that even within the very simple hypothesized relationships between economic and political development here explored, many ambiguities lurk.

Even if one adheres to the simple modernization hypothesis, the suggestion that it is economic development that drives the development of social and political institutions, with no intuence of social and political institutions on long run economic performance, the nature of the social steady state nevertheless di¤ers depending on whether it is total or per capita economic development which drives political development. In one instance, we have an end-point to history in the sense that institutions cease to develop, in the other institutions continue to evolve even in steady state.

Where one accepts the possibility that social and political institutions may a¤ect economic performance, the situation further complicates. We distinguished between the possibility that a link may exist either between the realized output of the society and the institutions of society, or between the technology of production and institutions. The nature of social steady state, and the conditions under which unbounded growth may arise di¤er markedly between the two cases, and where it is realized output which in‡uences institutions, we noted the possibility of low-income institutional poverty traps, which may militate against the possibility of sustainable growth.

The implication is that the ambiguities implicit in even relatively simple hypothesized links between economic and institutional development of societies, potentially carry profoundly di¤erent implications both for our understanding of the link, and for the formulation of policy intervention. Given ...ndings such as those of Fedderke and Klitgaard (1998), pointing to the fragility of growth equations incorporating measures of political and social institutions to alternative speci...cation, the need for clari...cation of which link between institutional and economic development applies becomes all the more pressing.

Empirical results presented above suggest a further guideline to any examination of the link between institutions and economic growth. Time series results suggested that countries may well not share a single, common °-coe¢cient. The implication is that cross-sectional studies will lack robustness - given the absence of a homogenous underlying population. Indeed, it may well be the case that di¤erent countries may manifest di¤erent sorts of links between economic and institutional development - such that some adhere to Case 2.B, some to 2.A, others to Case 1, and some manifesting no link at all, say. Given the diversity of cultural, historical, and institutional settings to be found around the world, the suggestion that countries may form a heterogenous, rather than homogenous sample when it comes to the link between economic and institutional development, must surely be worthy of some credence.

In addition to further more detailed and general theoretical explorations of the link between economic and institutional development, more detailed clinical studies of individual country cases, paying due regard to the unique features of such countries, may well not be a fruitless line of further enquiry. By applying current time seires techniques of estimation the current paper has suggested a number of countries that might provide useful leads in this regard.

### 5 Appendix<sup>33</sup>

In all tests \* denotes signi...cance at the 5% level, z; y that tests for weak exogeneity con...rm the direction of intuence implied by the corresponding theoretical proposition at the 5% and 10% levels of signi...cance respectively. The requirement is for both signi...cance and appropriate weak exogeneity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Since the Gastil measures have low scores representing good, high scores representing poor rights, a negative sign on GDP implies a positive association with rights. To aid the reader, the implied value of ° corrected to re‡ect the intuitive sign of the association is reported.

We denote the absence of cointegration by  $_{i}$ , such that the case fails to ful...l a necessary condition for a long run equilibrium relationship, obviating the need for further investigation. Note that the absence of cointegration in Case 1 does not imply that cointegration cannot be present in either Case 2.A or 2.B.

The requirement here imposed for the presence of a long run equilibrium relationship is demanding, given the simplicity of the models under investigation. The conclusions drawn are thus not to be understood as a de...nitive identi...cation of the nature of the link between economic activity and rights, but they do serve to support the methodological conclusions drawn in the text. These are strong and informative in their own right.

The scope for distinguishing between Case 2.A and 2.B is limited, since for 2.A direct determination of sign...cance of the parameter is circumscribed. We therefore report countries for both cases in the text where weak exogeneity tests support the relevant link between rights and its determinants.

Growth and Institutions I

	JML <sub>Eq:3</sub> for r=1	° 1	JML Eqs:10; 11 Eqs:18; 19 for r=2	°2A	°2B
Algeria	16:75 <sup>¤</sup> 22:16 <sup>¤</sup>	-2.25 <sup>¤z</sup>	21:67 <sup>≞</sup> 21:70 <sup>¤</sup>	1.30	-4.33 <sup>¤</sup>
Angola	i	i	i	i	i
Argentina	i	i			
Australia	i	i	i	i	i
Austria	i	i	i	i	i
Bangladesh	16:92 <sup>¤</sup> 17:59 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.62 <sup>¤</sup>	34:61 <sup>∞</sup> 34:66 <sup>∞</sup>	+0.52	+1.09 <sup>¤</sup>
Belgium	i	i	i	i	i
Bolivia	25:02 <sup>¤</sup> 28:79 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.73 <sup>z</sup>	19:78¤ 23:23¤	+1.14	-8.15 <sup>¤</sup>
Brazil	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Cameroon	24:46 <sup>¤</sup> 34:54 <sup>¤</sup>	+7.73 <sup>¤z</sup>	r = 1	i	i
Canada	i	i	i	i	i
Chile	35:39 <sup>¤</sup> 35:87 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.40 <sup>¤</sup>	r = 1	i	i
China	17:91 <sup>¤</sup> 18:25 <sup>¤</sup>	-4.09 <sup>¤</sup>	27:64 <sup>¤</sup> 44:84 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.07 <sup>y</sup>	-0.06 <sup>y</sup>
Colombia	i	i	i	i	i
Costa Rica	i	i	i	i	i
Cote d'Ivoire	i	i	22:54 <sup>¤</sup> 24:71 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.10	+0.11 <sup>¤</sup>
Cyprus	i	i	23:01 <sup>¤</sup> 27:92 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.51 <sup>y</sup>	+1.02 <sup>¤y</sup>
Denmark	i	i	i	i	i
Dominican Rep.	i	i	16:49¤ 19:18¤	+1.18 <sup>z</sup>	-6.71 <sup>¤z</sup>
Ecuador	11:00 18:10 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.12	16:16 <sup>¤</sup> 17:07 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.90 <sup>z</sup>	+9.04 <sup>¤z</sup>
Egypt	20:11 <sup>¤</sup> 22:19 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.84 <sup>z</sup>	15:69¤ 16:33¤	+49.90 <sup>z</sup>	-1.02 <sup>¤z</sup>

	JML <sub>Eq:3</sub>	° 1	JML Eas:10:11	°2A	°2B
	r=1		Eqs:18; 19		
			for r=2		
El Salvador	46:81 <sup>∞</sup> 60:82 <sup>∞</sup>	-0.46 <sup>¤z</sup>	27:27 <sup>°</sup> 21:28 <sup>°</sup>	+0.77 <sup>z</sup>	+3.27 <sup>z</sup>
Ethiopia	i	i	i	i	i
Finland	i	i	27:30 <sup>¤</sup> 33:97 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.68	+2.15 <sup>¤</sup>
France	i	i	i	i	i
Ghana	17:73 <sup>¤</sup> 25:57 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.13 <sup>z</sup>	r = 1	i	i
Greece	i	i	16:98 <sup>¤</sup> 30:46 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.68 <sup>z</sup>	+2.19 <sup>z</sup>
Guatemala	15:70 <sup>≖</sup> 25:08 <sup>≖</sup>	-0.76 <sup>¤</sup>	31:02 <sup>¤</sup> 31:36 <sup>¤</sup>	-1.05	-0.51 <sup>¤</sup>
Haiti	23:15 <sup>≖</sup> 23:35 <sup>≖</sup>	-2.50 <sup>¤</sup>	i	i	i
Honduras	20:46 <sup>¤</sup> 26:51 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.07¤z	r = 1	+0.95	62.45
Iceland	i	i	i	i	i
India	i	i	17:18 <sup>¤</sup> 25:48 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.23	+0.30 <sup>¤</sup>
Indonesia	i	i	i	i	i
Iran	9:43 17:11 <sup>∞</sup>	-5.43	34:35 <sup>≞</sup> 36:21 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.41 <sup>z</sup>	+0.70 <sup>¤z</sup>
Ireland	i	i	i	i	i
Israel	i	i	i	i	i
Italy	18:03¤ 19:53¤	+0.54 <sup>¤z</sup>	r = 1	i	i
Jamaica	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Japan	i	i	15:96 <sup>¤</sup> 20:67 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.49 <sup>z</sup>	+0.97 <sup>¤z</sup>
Jordan	18:63 <sup>¤</sup> 19:57 <sup>¤</sup>	-10.05 <sup>¤</sup>	i	i	i
Kenya	i	i	21:30 <sup>∞</sup> 27:34 <sup>∞</sup>	+2.04	-1.97 <sup>¤</sup>
Korea	i	li	r = 1	l i	i

	JML <sub>Eq:3</sub>	° 1	JML Eqs:10; 11	°2A	°2B
	1 – 1		Eqs:18; 19		
			for r=2		
Libya	25:75~ 34:06 <sup>¤</sup>	+4.99	i	i	i
Luxembourg	i	i	i	i	i
Madagascar	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Malawi	i	i	21:97 <sup>¤</sup> 28:38 <sup>¤</sup>	-1.89	-0.65 <sup>¤</sup>
Malaysia	34:63 <sup>¤</sup> 45:26 <sup>¤</sup>	+3.03	24:32¤ 24:49¤	-2.39 <sup>z</sup>	-0.70 <sup>¤z</sup>
Mali	24:39 <sup>¤</sup> 25:20 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.34 <sup>z</sup>	13:72 <sup>¤</sup> 16:27 <sup>¤</sup>	+4.02 <sup>z</sup>	-1.33 <sup>z</sup>
Malta	23:93 <sup>¤</sup> 24:26 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.79 <sup>¤z</sup>	19:14 <sup>¤</sup> 26:83 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.57	+1.38 <sup>¤</sup>
Mauritius	i	i	16:68 <sup>¤</sup> 16:84 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.64 <sup>z</sup>	+1.77 <sup>¤z</sup>
Mexico	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Morocco	12:82 <sup>¤</sup> 16:58 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.54	17:60¤ 21:60¤	+1.44 <sup>z</sup>	-3.26 <sup>z</sup>
Mozambique	i	i	i	i	i
Netherlands	i	i	i	i	i
New Zealand	i	i	i	i	i
Nicaragua	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Nigeria	13:29 <sup>¤</sup> 18:13 <sup>¤</sup>	-2.03¤z	17:11 <sup>¤</sup> 17:43 <sup>¤</sup>	+1.08	-13.66
Norway	i	i	i	i	i
Pakistan	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Panama	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Paraguay	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Peru	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Philippines	27:75 <sup>¤</sup> 33:86 <sup>¤</sup>	-12.42¤	30:27 <sup>¤</sup> 37:38 <sup>¤</sup>	+1.15	-7.82¤

	$JML_{Eq:3}$	° 1	JML Fas. 10. 11	°2A	° 2B
	r=1		Eqs:18; 19		
			for r=2		
Portugal	35:62 <sup>≖</sup> 50:04 <sup>≖</sup>	-0.25	r = 1	i	i
Rwanda	23:16 <sup>¤</sup> 31:79 <sup>¤</sup>	+2.65 <sup>¤</sup>	r = 1	i	i
Senegal	27:94 <sup>¤</sup> 32:22 <sup>¤</sup>	-39.65	r = 1	i	i
Sierra Leone	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Singapore	i	i	27:50 <sup>≖</sup> 27:75 <sup>≖</sup>	+0.15	+0.18 <sup>¤</sup>
South Africa	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Spain	i	i	18:35 <sup>≖</sup> 21:90 <sup>≖</sup>	+0.84	+5.22 <sup>¤</sup>
Sri Lanka	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Sudan	i	i	15:84 <sup>¤</sup> 24:99 <sup>¤</sup>	+1.67	-2.50 <sup>¤</sup>
Sweden	i	i	i	i	i
Switzerland	i		i	i	i
Thailand	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Trinidad&Tobago	13:83 <sup>¤</sup> 23:04 <sup>¤</sup>	-0.69 <sup>¤y</sup>	19:28 <sup>≖</sup> 19:70 <sup>≖</sup>	+1.25 <sup>z</sup>	-4.93 <sup>¤z</sup>
Tunisia	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Turkey	i	i	16:79¤ 16:79¤	+2.08 <sup>z</sup>	-1.93¤z
Uganda	i	i	i	i	i
UK	i	i		i	i
USA	i	i	i	i	i
Uruguay	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Venezuela	i	i	32:72 <sup>¤</sup> 33:48 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.89 <sup>z</sup>	+7.97 <sup>¤z</sup>
Zaire	i	i	r = 1	i	i
Zambia	i	i	16:59 <sup>¤</sup> 20:38 <sup>¤</sup>	-1.28	-0.56 <sup>¤</sup>
Zimbabwe	10:89 <sup>≖</sup> 19:62 <sup>¤</sup>	+0.12	r = 1	i	i

### References

Abramovitz, M., 1956, "Resource and Output Trends in the United States since 1870", American Economic Review, 46(2): 5-23.

Abramovitz, M., 1986, "Catching Up, Forging Ahead, and Falling Behind", Journal of Economic History, 46(2): 385-406.

Abramovitz, M., 1993, "The Search for the Sources of Growth: Areas of Ignorance, Old and New", Journal of Economic History, 53(2): 217-43.

Alesina, A., and Perotti, R., 1993, Income Distribution, Political Instability, and Investment, NBER Working Paper No.4486, Cambridge, MA.: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Alesina, A, and Tabellini, G., 1989, "External Debt, Capital ‡ight and Political Risk", Journal of International Economics, 27, 199-220.

Barro, R.J., 1990, "Government Spending in a Simple Model of Endogenous Growth", Journal of Political Economy, 98(5): 103-25.

Barro, R.J., 1991, "Economic Growth in a Cross Section of Countries", Quarterly Journal of Economics, 106: 407-43.

Barro, R.J., 1994, "Democracy and Growth", NBER Working Paper No. 4909, Cambridge, MA.: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Barro, R.J., and Sala-i-Martin, X., 1992, "Convergence", Journal of Political Economy, 100(2): 223-51.

Bilson, J.F.O., 1982, "Civil Liberty - an econometric investigation", Kyklos, 35, 94-114.

Bollen, K.A., 1979, "Political Democracy and the Timing of Development", American Sociological Review, 44, 572-87.

Bollen, K.A., and Jackman, R.W., 1985, "Political Democracy and the Size Distribution of Income", American Sociological Review, 50, 438-57.

Borner, S., Brunetti, A., and Weder, B., 1995, Political Credibility and Economic Development, New York: St. Martin's Press.

Burkhart, R.S., and Lewis-Beck, M.S., 1994, "Comparative Democracy: The Economic Development Thesis" American Political Science Review, 88(4), 903-910.

Clarke, G.R.G., 1995, "More evidence on income distribution and growth", Journal of Development Economics, 47: 403-27.

Coleman, J.S., 1988, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital", American Journal of Sociology, 94(Supplement), S95-S120.

Coleman, J.S., 1990, Foundations of Social Theory, Cambridge Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Cutright, P., 1963, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis", American Sociological Review, 28, 253-64.

Diamond, L., 1992, "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered", American Behavioural Scientist, 35(4/5): 450-99.

Easterly, W., and Levine, R., 1997, "Africa's Growth Tragedy". Quarterly Journal of Economics,

Fagerberg, J., 1994, "Technology and International Di¤erences in Growth Rates", Journal of Economic Literature, 32(3): 1147-75.

Fedderke, J.W., 1997, Political and Social Dimensions of Economic Growth, Theoria, 89, 1-42.

Fedderke, J.W., de Kadt, R.H.J., and Luiz, J., 1998, "Growth and Social Capital: A critical retection." Theory and Society, forthcoming.

Fedderke, J.W., and Klitgaard, R.E., 1996, "Economic Growth and Social Indicators: An Exploratory Analysis", City University: Department of Economics and Applied Econometrics Research Unit Discussion paper No. 45.

Fedderke, J.W., and Klitgaard, R.E., 1998, Economic Growth and Social Indicators, Economic Development and Cultural Change, 46(3), 455-90.

Fischer, S., 1991, "Growth, Macroeconomics and Development", NBER Macroeconomics Annual, Cambridge: MIT Press. Friedman, M., 1992, "Do Old Fallacies Never Die?", Journal of Economic Literature, 30(4): 2129-32.

Fukuyama, F., 1995a, "The Primacy of Culture", Journal of Democracy, 6(1), 7-14.

Fukuyama, F., 1995b, Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity, London: Hamish Hamilton.

Grier, K.B., and Tullock, G., 1989, "An Empirical Analysis of Cross-National Economic Growth, 1951-80", Journal of Monetary Economics, 24, 259-76.

Helliwell, J.F., 1992, "Empirical Linkages between Democracy and Economic Growth", NBER Working Paper No. 4066, Cambridge, MA.: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Inglehart, R., 1995, Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies, forthcoming.

Johansen, S., 1991, Estimation and Hypothesis Testing of Cointegration Vectors in Gaussian Vector Autoregressive Models, Econometrica, 59(6), 1551-80

Johansen, S., and Juselius, K., 1990, Maximum Likelyhood Estimation and Inference on Cointegration - with applications to the demand for money, Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, 52(2), 169-210.

Johansen, S., and Juselius, K., 1992, Testing structural hypotheses in a multivariate cointegrating analysis of the PPP and the UIP for UK, Journal of Econometrics, 53, 211-44.

Klitgaard, R.E., and Fedderke, J.W., 1994, "What is ?Social Integration?: An Exploratory Analysis of Cross-Country Data", Background Paper for the World Bank contribution to the Social Summit. September.

Klitgaard, R.E., and Fedderke, J.W., 1995, "Social Integration and Disintegration: An Exploratory Analysis of Cross-Country Data", World Development, 23(3). King, R.G., and Levine, R., 1993, "Finance and Growth: Schumpeter Might Be Right", Quarterly Journal of Economics, : 717-37.

Kormendi, R.C., and Meguire, P.G., 1985, "Macroeconomic Determinants of Growth: Cross-Country Evidence", Journal of Monetary Economics, 16, 141-63.

Knack, S., and Keefer, P., 1995, "Institutions and Economic Performance: Cross-Country Tests Using Alternative Institutional Measures", Economics and Politics, 7(3), 207-27.

Kuznets, S., 1965a, "Re‡ections on the Economic Growth of Modern Nations", in S.Kuznets, Economic Growth and Structure, London: Heinemann, 82-122, translated and reprinted from "Sur la Croissance Economique des Nations Modernes" Economie Applique, 10(2-3), 211-59.

Kuznets, S., 1965b, "Present Underdeveloped Countries and Past Growth Patterns", in S.Kuznets, Economic Growth and Structure, London: Heinemann, 176-93, reprinted from E.Nelson (ed.), Economic Growth: Rationale, Problems, Cases, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960.

Landes, D.S., 1990, "Why Are We So Rich and They So Poor?", American Economic Review, 80(2), May, 1-13.

Levine, R., "Financial Development and Economic Growth: Views and Agenda" Journal of Economic Literature, 35(2), 688-726.

Levine, R., and Zervos, S., 1996, Stock Market Development and Long-Run Growth, World Bank Economic Review, 10(2), 323-40.

Levine, R., and Zervos, S., 1998, Stock Markets, Banks and Growth, American Economic Review, 88(3), 537-58.

Lipset, S.M., 1959, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy", American Political Science Review, 53, 69-105.

Lindert, P.H., and Williamson, J.G., 1985, "Growth, Equality and History", Explorations in Economic History, 22, 341-77.

Londregan, J.B., and Poole, .T., 1990, "Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power", World Politics, 42, 151-83.

Lucas, R.E.Jr., 1988, "On the Mechanics of Economic Development", Journal of Monetary Economics, 22(1): 3-42.

Mankiw, N. Gregory, Romer, D., and Weil, D.N., 1992, "A Contribution to the Empirics of Growth", Quarterly Journal of Economics, : 407-37.

Marsh, R.M., 1979, "Does Democracy Hinder Economic Development in the Latecomer Developing nations?" Comparative Social Research, 2, 215-48.

Mauro, P., 1995, "Corruption and Growth", Quarterly Journal of Economics, : 681-711.

Murphy, K.M., Schleifer, A., and Vishny, R.W., 1991, "The Allocation of Talent: Implications for Growth", Quarterly Journal of Economics, 503-30.

Murphy, K.M., Schleifer, A., and Vishny, R.W., 1993, "Why Is Rent-Seeking So Costly to Growth?", American Economic Review, 83(2), May, 409-14.

Nehru, and Dahreshwa, 1998, A New Database on Physical Capital Stock: Sources, Methodology and Results, World Bank Data Set, http://www.worldbank.org/html/prdmg/grthweb/ddnehdha.htm.

Nelson, R.R., and Wright, G., 1992, "The Rise and Fall of American Technological Leadership: The Postwar Era in Historical Perspective", Journal of Economic Literature, 33, 1931-64.

North, D.C., and Thomas, R.P., 1970, "An Economic Theory of the Growth of the Western World", The Economic History Review, 23(1), 1-17.

North, D.C., and Thomas, R.P., 1973, The Rise of the Western World, Cambridge: University Press.

North, D.C, 1981, Structure and Change in Economic History, New York: Norton.

North, D.C., 1990, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance, Cambridge: University Press.

Olson, M., 1963, "Rapid Growth as a Destabilizing Force", Journal of Economic History, 23, 529-52.

Olson, M., 1982, The Rise and Decline of Nations, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Olson, M., 1993, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development", American Political Science Review, 87(3), 567-76.

Ozler, S., and Tabellini, G., 1991, "External Debt and Political Instability", NBER Working Paper No. 3772, Cambridge, MA.: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Papanek, G.F., and Kyn, O., 1986, "The Exect on Income Distribution of Development, the Growth Rate and Economic Development", Journal of Development Economics, 23, 55-65.

Persson, T., and Tabellini, G., 1994, "Is Inequality Harmful for Growth?", American Economic Review, 84(3), 600-21.

Pesaran, M.H., and Shin, Y., 1995a, Long run structural modelling, Unpublished manuscript, University of Cambridge.

Pesaran, M.H., and Shin, Y., 1995b, An autoregressive distributed lag modelling approach to cointegration analysis, DAE Working Paper no 9514, Department of Applied Economics, University of Cambridge.

Pesaran, M.H., Shin, Y. and Smith, R.J., 1996, Testing for the existence of a long run relationship. University of Cambridge.

Putnam, R.D., 1995, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital", Journal of Democracy, 6(1), 65-78.

Quah, D., 1993, "Galton?s Fallacy and Tests of the Convergence Hypothesis", in T.M.Andersen and K.O.Moene (eds), Endogenous Growth, Oxford: Blackwell: 37-54.

Rama, M., 1993, "Rent seeking and economic growth: A theoretical model and some empirical evidence", Journal of Development Economics, 42, 35-50.

Romer, P.M., 1986, "Increasing Returns and Long-Run Growth", Journal of Political Economy, 95(5):1002-37.

Romer, P.M., 1990, "Endogenous Technological Change", Journal of Political Economy, 98(5): 71-102.

Romer, P.M., 1994, "The Origins of Endogenous Growth", Journal of Economic Perspectives, 8(1), 3-22.

Scully, G.W., 1988, "The Institutional Framework and Economic Development", Journal of Political Economy, 96(3), 652-662.

Scully, G.W., 1992, Constitutional Environments and Economic Growth, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sirowny, L. and Inkeles, A., 1990, "The E¤ects of Democracy on Economic Growth and Inequality: A Review", Studies in Comparative International Development, 25(1), 126-57.

Srinivasan, T,N, 1994, "Data base for development analysis: An overview", Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 44, No 1.

Theil, H., 1979, "The Positive Correlation of A– uence and Freedom", Economics Letters, 2, 295-7.

Venieris, Y.P., and Gupta, D.K., 1986, "Income Distribution and Sociopolitical Instability as Determinants of Savings: A Cross-sectional Model", Journal of Political Economy, 94(4), 873-83.

Weede, E., 1983, "The Impact of Democracy on Economic Growth: Some Evidence from Cross-National Analysis", Kyklos, 36, 21-39.

Wickens, M.R., 1996, Interpreting cointegrating vecotrs and common stochastic trends, Journal of Econometrics, 74, 255-71.

World Bank, 1991, World Development Report. New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

World Bank, 1997, World Development Report. New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.