



MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND INCOME INEQUALITY
EVIDENCE FROM A PANEL OF TRANSITION
COUNTRIES (1990-2015)

Raul Caruso, Antonella Biscione

CESPIC WORKING PAPER
2018/01

MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND INCOME INEQUALITY

EVIDENCE FROM A PANEL OF TRANSITION COUNTRIES (1990-2015)

Raul Caruso*

Department of Economic Policy and CSEA, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart
CESPIC, Catholic University “Our Lady of Good Counsel”

Antonella Biscione

CESPIC, Catholic University “Our Lady of Good Counsel”

***Abstract:** This paper contributes to the literature on military spending by analyzing the relationship between military spending and income inequality in a panel of transition economies over the period 1990-2015. In particular, we exploit three different measures of military expenditures: (i) the military spending in absolute terms; (ii) the military expenditures per capita; (iii) the military burden, namely the ratio between military expenditure and GDP. Findings highlight a positive relationship between military expenditures and income inequality captured by means of three different measures of inequality. Results are also confirmed after we performed a variety of robustness tests. However, other results are worth noting and contradictory. For example military conscription appears to have a redistributive effect and when considering a non-linearity the results show that there could be a concave relationship between military spending and income inequality. In addition, when testing for the ‘crowding-out argument’ results show that expenditures for subsidies are negatively influenced by military spending so confirming the crowding-out argument but there is no significant evidence when considering education and health expenditures.*

Keywords: military expenditures, income inequality, political regime

Jel Codes: J24, I24, H5

*corresponding author, email: raul.caruso@unicatt.it; Previous versions of this paper have been presented at the 2017 meeting of SIE (Società italiana degli economisti), at the 2018 meeting of the European Public Choice Society at the 18th Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference, at the 15th STOREP conference, at the 27th Silvaplana Workshop on Political Economy and in a seminar at the Université de Sherbrooke. The authors thank the participants in the mentioned meetings for their valuable comments. In particular, the authors thank Dorothée Boccanfuso, Vincenzo Bove, Johannes Blum, Roberto Ciccone, Momi Dahan, Klaus Gründler, Christos Kollias, Daniel Meierrieks, Glenn Palmer, Panu Poutvaara and Marco Sanfilippo for their comments.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years the attention paid to the issue of income inequality has increased dramatically among scholars and policy-makers. Several channels have been highlighted to explain the rising inequality within societies (see among others Milanovic, 1998; Held and Kaya, 2007; Galbraith, 2012; Piketty, 2014; Lindert and Williamson, 2016). This paper focuses on the relationship between military spending and income inequality in a panel of Eastern and transition countries over the period 1990-2015. The relationship between military spending and income inequality is a topic rather unexplored in literature. In fact, when analyzing military expenditure, most studies analyze its determinants whereas another wide strand of literature focuses on the impact of military spending on economic growth and development highlighting in most cases a negative relationship [see the survey presented in Dunne and Tian (2013) and among others Kollias et al. (2017); Kollias C., Paleologou S. (2015); Kollias et al. (2007)]. A minor literature focuses on the relationship between military spending and public debt [see among others Caruso and Di Domizio, (2017); Paleologou (2013), Smyth and Narayan, (2009), Dunne et al. (2004)]. The role of military spending as a factor of income inequality has received little attention from the theoretical and empirical point of view.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to contribute to the literature on military spending by enriching this particular strand. In particular, we analyze the relationship between military expenditure and income inequality in a panel of twenty-six European transition countries. All the countries involved in our analysis are transition economies and most of them have undergone a considerable increase in inequality income and poverty in the aftermath of the Cold War. In particular, in earlier years of transition towards democracy a major recession took place in several countries. In fact, in spite of the differences between the countries one of the most significant consequences of transition was an increase in income inequality. Due to the privatization process, the shift of workers from the dismantled state sector to the growing private sector or unemployment led to a growing disparity in wages between the different sectors (Milanovic, 1998; 1999).

In such a context, it is worth investigating whether military spending also played a role in worsening income inequality or rather mitigating it. There are several competing explanations. If considering an increase of inequality due to military

expenditure, the common interpretation descends the trade-off between military spending and some welfare expenditures which would reduce income inequality. A contrasting hypothesis would be based upon the distributional effect descending from hiring military personnel so *de facto* also implying a redistribution to low-income youth. In this respect, it is worth noting that in most Eastern countries military conscription has been kept even after the end of the socialist system. Between 2003 and 2010, about half of the countries considered in our analysis have abolished mandatory military service. Currently, the mandatory military service still exists in half of these countries. This is why it is also likely that military spending can be interpreted as counter-cyclical economic policy to mitigate negative effects of economic downturns. Another possible channel of impact would be the stimulus given to military industry so triggering economic growth and so reducing income inequality. However, in this respect an opposite outcome could take shape. If military industry hires more productive workers, finally an increase in military spending could enlarge the inter-sectorial wage gaps.

Therefore, in order to investigate in depth this potential relationship, we have a dataset for 26 transition economies in the period 1990-2015. We first exploit a baseline regression and eventually we present some robustness tests before analyzing the classical trade-off argument with respect to welfare expenditures. For sake of robustness, we employ three different of measures of income inequality, namely two Gini indexes computed by different sources and a Theil index. In the same vein we employ three different measures of military expenditures: (i) the military spending in levels; (ii) the military spending per capita; (iii) the military burden, namely the ratio between military spending and GDP. A set of control variables is drawn from the established literature.

In sum, results show that military expenditures are positively and significantly associated with income inequality. In simpler words, military spending appears to increase income inequality. This result appears to be robust across different specifications. However, other results are worth noting and contradictory. For example military conscription appears to have a redistributional effect since it is negatively associated with income inequality. In addition, when considering a non-linearity results show that there could be a concave relationship between military spending and income inequality. That is, beyond some level any additional spending in military

would reduce inequality. The latter results therefore, partly contradict the general result. However, plausibly this could be a short-term effect. The possible explanation is that an increase in military spending – in particular for military personnel – may perhaps reduce income inequality in the short-run. In the long-run such redistributive impact can be expected to disappear because of the detrimental impact on human capital and eventually on the wage-differentials. Among other results, it is worth noting that armed conflict appears to be a ‘leveller’ since it appears to reduce inequality. Therefore, the latter result suggests that there could be a significantly different impact on income inequality in wartime.

Another interesting result descends from the test of the ‘crowding-out argument’. In the light of data availability, we focused on three types of welfare expenditures namely (i) subsidies and transfers; (ii) health expenditures and (iii) education expenditures. Results highlight that expenditures for subsidies are negatively influenced by military spending so confirming the crowding-out argument. Instead, there is no evidence when considering education and health expenditures. However, since both education and health expenditures may descend from mandatory norms, it is likely that the crowding out effect in the short-run takes the shape of a reduction in subsidies and transfers which are discretionary. In this perspective the crowding-out effect appears to be confirmed.

In fact, this work has several limitations. First, because of lack of data military spending is not disaggregated. This could be crucial while analyzing this topic. In fact, military personnel spending would reasonably have an impact on income inequality which differs heavily from spending in military equipment. Secondly, results appear to be sensitive to the inequality measures employed. In particular magnitude of coefficients differs so implying that any quantitative interpretation of the results has to be handled with care.

The paper is organized as follows: paragraph 1 of the paper focuses on the literature review and conceptual background of the relationship between military spending and income inequality; paragraph 2 deals with the data and the methodology, while paragraph 3 displays and discusses the findings of a baseline model. In the following section some robustness checks are presented and in the paragraph 5 the crowding out argument is empirically presented. Eventually, the last section summarizes and concludes the paper.

I. LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

In what follows we expound the conceptual background of this work by surveying the existing literature on the linkage between military spending and income inequality. In particular, the survey is organized following the alternative plausible hypotheses simply labeled as: (i) the inequality-narrowing, (ii) the inequality-widening.

The common explanation of the inequality-narrowing hypothesis is based upon the idea that higher military expenditure boosts aggregate demand so increasing the employment level in the economy. In particular, if the military industry is labor-intensive and if military production is mainly domestic, military spending could be expected to become a driver of economic growth so increasing income of the poorer population. Yet, this effect would be enlarged if a large share of military spending is allocated particularly to wages and salaries of military personnel. Empirical findings that corroborate this hypothesis come from Ali (2012), who focuses on Middle East and North African countries over the period 1987–2005. The author employs the Theil index as a measure of income inequality, while the military burden is the main explanatory variable. The author finds that military expenditure has an important and negative effect on income inequality. In other words, in these countries it seems that an increase in military burden has led to a reduction in income inequality.

In fact, there is little evidence on the validity of the inequality-narrowing hypothesis. Instead, the inequality-widening hypothesis has been validated in a larger number of studies. Vadlammanati et al. (2008) analyzed four South Asian economies, i.e. India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, through a panel regression fixed effect analysis for the period 1975-2005 finding a positive effect of military spending on income inequality. Interestingly, the authors found a direct relationship between wartime military spending and income inequality and an opposite linkage between peacetime military expenditure and income inequality. In fact, when they introduce in the equation the number of war years, they find a significant and positive relationship with military expense. On the contrary, when they replaced it with the number of peacetime years, the findings are negative and statistically significant at one percent confidence level. However, the coefficient values are different since the peace years are slightly higher than the years of war, suggesting that peace brings to a reduction in

excess military spending, which could be used for the implementation of social programs.

Ali (2007) analyzed a panel data of more than 150 countries for the period 1987-1997. He notes that the military expenditure and the inequality variables are both endogenous, therefore, these two variables may run both ways. As for the economic inequality measure, the author focuses on the Theil index while with reference to the military expenditure he introduces the two most important indicators of military institutions: per capita military spending and the size of armed forces. The empirical results of a two-stage least squares regression indicate a positive relationship between military spending and income inequality. Elveren (2012) explores the long-run causality between military spending and income inequality in Turkey by means of a Granger cointegration and VECM causality tests using the data for the period 1963-2007. The results show that military expenditure and income inequality are cointegrated and there is a unidirectional causality between said variables establishing that military spending exacerbates the income inequality. The analysis carried out by Meng et al. (2015) by using the data of the Chinese economy for the period 1989-2012 indicates cointegration and unidirectional causality between military spending and income inequality showing that defence expenditures and inequality are associated.

Wolde-Rufael (2014) examined the long-run relationship between military expenditure and income inequality in Taiwan over the period 1976-2011 by using the bounds test approach for cointegration and causality to observe the relationship between cointegration and causality. The empirical evidences indicate a positive and significant effect of defense spending on income inequality in Taiwan and the unidirectional causal relationship runs from military spending to income distribution. The same results are obtained by Wolde-Rufael (2016) analyzing the case of the South Korea for the period 1965-2011. In a recent analysis, Shahbaz et al. (2015) investigated the relationship between military spending and income inequality in Iran between 1969 and 2011 also by means of a cointegration analysis. The findings confirm a negative relationship between military spending and income inequality, even suggesting that military expenditure Granger produces income inequality in Iran. Tongur and Elveren (2015) employed the Generalized Method of Moment (GMM) to explore the effect of defense expense on pay and income inequality with respect to

the welfare regime. Considering a panel data of 37 countries from 1988 to 2003, they show a positive and significant effect of military spending on income inequality.

Most studies highlight empirically a positive relationship between income inequality and military spending. A smaller number of studies highlight specific mechanisms to explain such evidence. The (a) the crowding-out of welfare expenditures; (b) the increase in the inter-sectorial wage gap between military and civilian sectors; (c) the long-run deterioration of human capital; (d) the internal regime of a polity. According to the first explanation a larger military spending crowds out other government spending which could be allocated to welfare spending. Lin et al. (2015) for example, show empirically that such idea holds for a panel of 29 OECD countries from 1988 to 2005 finding that there is a positive trade-off between military spending and two types of social welfare expenditures (i.e. education and health spending). In fact, the authors do not investigate punctually the relationship between inequality and military spending but their study corroborates the evidence about the crowding out-argument which is often mentioned as plausible determinant of an increase in inequality. Abell (1994) investigates the relationship between military spending and income inequality in the United States in the period 1972-1992 finding that military spending increases income inequality because of the gap in wages between military and civilian employees. Moreover, the disparity between skilled and unskilled labour can be exacerbated if the military industry chooses to hire skilled workers rather than unskilled workers. In the same vein, Kentor et al. (2012) examined the relationship between military spending and income inequality by using the panel data of 82 developed and less developed countries in the period 1970-2000. Their starting assumption was that high-tech weaponry defined as “new” military cannot be considered as the means to create employment for uneducated, unskilled and unemployed people so generating effects for the whole society. They found that “new” capital-intensive military worsens income distribution.

In fact, there could be another long-run driver of the inequality-widening hypothesis. In fact, massive military spending does determine a loss of accumulation of human capital. In several studies Keller et al. (2010, 2009) show that military conscription reduces significantly the accumulation of human capital. Such evidence is produced for OECD countries. Since the veterans have lower productivity and wages than non-veterans [see on this point Griliches and Mason (1972), Rosen and Taubman

(1982) and Angrist (1990)] this would worsen income inequality in favor of civilian employees.

The inequality-widening hypothesis also finds some evidence and draw insights from the Nazi Germany. The objective of Nazi economic policy was to build up a powerful army. To carry out the rearmament, the government carried a large-scale privatization policy which on the one hand increased the support of industrialists for NSDAP and on the other turned out to be beneficial for top-income earners: as reported by Dell (2005), between 1933 and 1938 the share of earnings for top incomes grew amazingly: more than 50 percent growth for the top percentile and more than 150 percent for the top 0.01 percent.

Finally, it is also plausible that there is no effect of military expenditure on income inequality for two main reasons: (i) the defense spending represents only a small portion of the total government spending and (ii) the labour force employed in the military industrial sector is only a negligible part of the overall labour force. Therefore, if the government chooses to allocate the resources to the welfare system and not to the defense sector, the effect of military expenditure on income inequality would be negligible. Empirically the effect would be statistically insignificant. Hirnissa et al. (2009) used the bounds test approach for cointegration in order to examine the linkage between military spending and income inequality in the ASEAN countries. They applied this approach to observe the direction of causal relation by using the data for the period 1970-2005. Their findings show that the variables are cointegrated for long-run relationships. Furthermore, Granger causality test to check defense spending generates income inequality in Malaysia but the rest of the countries (Indonesia, Singapore, Indonesia Philippines, India and South Korea) are characterized by no meaningful relationship between military expenditure and income distribution. Lin and Ali (2009) applied the panel Granger non-causality tests and also found no substantial findings to confirm any causal relationship between defense expenditure and income inequality in both directions. The latter study is particularly robust since it analyzes the relationship between military spending and income inequality across 58 countries from 1987 to 1999 by using different measures of inequality as well as alternative sources of military spending.

II. DATA AND EMPIRICAL METHODOLOGY

We employ three alternative dependent variables to capture income inequality. In particular we employ both a Gini and a Theil Index taken from the Global Income Dataset (GID)¹ included within the Global Consumption and Income Project (GCIP). This data set provides the estimates of monthly real consumption and income for various quintiles of the population. Data are available for most countries in the world covering the period that goes from 1960 to 2015. A different measure of Gini is taken from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID, version 6.2). It is computed through coefficients of equalized household disposable income (post taxes and post transfer). The SWIID dataset offers Gini coefficients for a set of 192 countries and for the period 1960-2015. SWIID data allow the comparison across countries because it standardize observations collected from several sources by using a Bayesian approach (Solt, 2016). The Gini index ranges between 0 and 1, where 0 means perfectly egalitarian distribution and 1 would denote perfect concentration. For sake of tractability, in the empirical estimation we are to multiply both Gini and Theil indexes by one hundred.

In order to give some metrics of inequality in the sampled countries we have computed the mean values of the Gini index (that computed by GID) for some sub-periods (see table A4 in the appendix). After 2007, in most countries of our panel the Gini coefficient is greater than 0.40. Most countries have experienced an increase in the Gini index between 1990 and 2015. In particular, we have computed the average values for Gini in five years periods since 1990². The worst performance has been recorded in Belarus where the five-year average Gini increased by 83.5% between 1990-1995 and 2011-2015. Instead only Russia and Estonia seem to have decreased the Gini score (-2.5% and -4.9% between the same periods). In particular, in the same periods, only six out of twenty-six countries exhibit a very slight change in inequality (between -5% and 5% of Gini) whereas eight countries exhibit an increase which is between 6% and 25% and ten countries have recorded an increase between 26% and 50%.

As main explanatory variables we employ three different measures of military expenditures: (i) military expenditure in levels; (ii) military expenditure per capita;

¹See <http://gcip.info/about>

² Please see the table A3 in appendix.

(iii) the military burden, namely the ration between military expenditures and GDP. Data on military spending are drawn from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Eventually we employ a set of covariates which are commonly used in the literature on inequality.

Economic openness is equal to exports and imports divided by GDP. Greater openness can impact domestic inequality between and within countries. However, there are undoubtedly several channels and mechanisms – often country specific - that shape such impact and therefore there is no clear-cut prediction on the sign of the coefficient. A reduction in inequality is explained in White and Anderson (2001), Dollar and Kray (2002), Edwards (1997) Higgins and Williamson (1999) and Jaumotte, et al. (2013). Instead, a positive impact of economic openness is explained in Goldberg et al. (2007), Verhoogen (2008), Helpman et al. (2010), Amiti and Davis (2012) among others.

The democracy scores are taken from the Polity IV data set (Marshall et al., 2017). This variable ranges from 10 (the most democratic regime) to -10 (the most autocratic regime). Usually democracy is expected to decrease inequality and increase redistribution whereas autocracies are expected to increase inequality. (see among many others Lee 2003, Reuveny and Li, 2003; Acemolgu et al. 2015; Schwuchow, 2018).

Due to the distributional impact of inflation (Ivaschenko, 2002; Ferreira,1999) and considering that the early years of transition were characterized by high level of inflation we included this indicator into the model. An increase in inflation rate generates an erosion of purchasing power so impoverishing the share of population that is in the last part on the left of income distribution, thus increasing inequality. The data about inflation rate, real GDP per employee (as a proxy for labour productivity), unemployment rate and urbanization degree are all available from the World Bank's World Development Indicator. Furthermore, we include five dummy variables. The conflict dummy equals 1 if countries are engaged in a conflict and 0 otherwise. Data on conflict come from the 1946-2016 UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset Codebook Version 2-2017³ (Gleditsch et al., 2002). Scheidel (2017) explains

³ The dataset and the codebook are accessible following the link: <http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/UCDP-PRIO/>

carefully how in history large scale violence has been in some cases a ‘leveler’. That is, wars, state collapses and great transformations can trigger a process of ‘leveling down’. The UE dummy is equal to 1 for countries belonging to the European Union while 0 and three dummies are about the political system. Military conscription is a dummy that equals 1 if the country has conscription in place in the year of observation. Table 1 summarizes data description and shows summary statistics (see Appendix 1 for the list of countries) and Table 2 shows correlation matrix.

Table 1. Definitions and sources of variables

Variables	Definition	Source
Inequality	Gini coefficient	The Global Consumption and Income Project (GCIP) – Global Income adataset (GID)
	Gini Coefficient	The Standardized World Income inequality Database (SWIID)
	Theil Index	The Global Consumption and Income Project (GCIP) – Global Income Dataset (GID).
Milex	1 Military Expenditure (Constant 2014 US Dollar)	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
Milex per Capita	Military Expenditure per capita (Constant 2014 US Dollar)	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
Military Burden	Military expenditure as a share of GDP	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
Openness	Trade as a share of GDP	World Development Indicators of the World Bank
Productivity	GDP per employed person	World Development Indicators of the World Bank
Unemployment	Unemployment Rate	World Development Indicators of the World Bank
Inflation	Inflation Rate	World Development Indicators of the

Democracy	Democracy score is calculated by subtracting the institutional democracy score from autocracy score. Polity index ranges from -10 (perfect autocracy) to +10 (perfect democracy)	Polity IV Database
Conflict	Country in an armed conflict	Armed Conflict Dataset UCDP/PRIO
Military Conscription	Country with military conscription	The World Factbook CIA
EU	For non-EU members EU=0 and for EU members, EU=1	Author's computation

Table 2- Descriptive statistics

Variables	Number of Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Inequality - Gini Index (GCIP) (x100)	646	36.804	8.130	18.210	57.747
Inequality - Gini Index (SWIID)(x100)	605	31.865	5.698	18.60	43.70
Inequality - Theil Index (x100)	648	23.603	10.742	5.136	68.10
Milex	674	212.913	164.820	1	514
Milex per Capita	674	61.271	111.347	0.019	774.915
Military Burden	648	0.006	.0100	3.73e-07	0.083
Openness	676	91.337	37.375	11.7	206.34
Productivity	650	28357.12	16192.94	0.045	75039.87
Unemployment	676	5.255	1.29	0.693	6.413
Inflation	676	207.800	160.190	1	509
Democracy	600	2.598	15.59	-88	10
Conflict	676	0.114	0.318	0	1
Military Conscription	676	0.797	0.402	0	1
EU	676	0.173	0.379	0	1

III. THE EMPIRICAL MODEL AND THE RESULTS

The relationship between military expenditure and income inequality is analyzed by relying on a panel data model. In particular, we use the following specification:

$$\ln inequality_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln milex_{it-1} + \beta_2 X_{it-1} + \beta_3 W_{it} + \mu_i + v_{it}$$

The dependent variable is $\ln inequality_{it}$ representing the level of income inequality in country i at time t and it is ; $\ln milex_{it-1}$ is the one-year lagged military expenditure. As noted above, inequality is captured alternatively by (i) the Gini computed by GID; (ii)

the Gini computed by SWIID and (iii) the Theil index computed in GID. In the same vein, military spending is alternatively captured through (i) military spending; (ii) military spending per capita; (iii) military burden.

The vector \mathbf{X}_{it-1} is a vector of economic variables such as economic globalization, unemployment rate, inflation rate and labour productivity, the vector \mathbf{W}_{it} includes a set of dummy variables described above (conflict, military conscription and EU). In order to find a punctual elasticity, continuous explanatory variables are logged (to minimize the skewness). At the same time, all the explanatory variables have been one-year lagged in order to mitigate the issue of endogeneity. Finally, μ_i is a country fixed effect, and v_{it} represents the error term. In particular, the Hausman specification test indicates that the fixed-effect model is to be preferred to the random effect model. The fixed-effect model eliminates the possibility of time invariant unobserved effects. Table 3 reports the main results.

The main result we would claim is that one-year lagged values of the different measures of military expenditure are significantly and positively associated with current values of income inequality. The magnitude of the effect of military spending on income inequality is quite substantial. If using the Gini index computed by GID the estimated coefficient on military expenditure in equation five shows that a one-point percent change in military expenditure in the previous year leads to a change slightly greater than 0.02% in the income inequality in the current year. The impact appears to be even greater when using the Theil index: a one-point percent change in military expenditure in the previous year leads to a change close to 0.05% of the Theil measure. Interestingly, when using the Gini index computed by SWIID the coefficients appear to be lower. Consider that the latter takes into account the disposable income whereas there is no clear-cut information in this respect for the GID dataset.

Besides the magnitude of the coefficients it is worth noting that the linkage between military expenditures and income inequality is robust across different estimations. Therefore, this result fully confirms the inequality-widening hypothesis. Interestingly, military conscription appears to be negatively associated with income inequality. In brief, military conscription have had a re-distributional effect in transition countries in the period considered. In this respect, the plausible interpretation is that military conscription served also as a form of redistribution particularly in favour of low-educated and low-skill youth. Yet, the relationship

between involvement in an armed conflict and the inequality measures is generally negative and statistically significant. It seems that income inequality declines when a country is involved in an armed conflict. There is a confirmation on the 'leveling down' effect of armed conflict.

Most control variables exhibit the expected signs. The lagged value of GDP per employee, as proxy of labour productivity, exhibits a negative effect on the current level of inequality. In other words, when aggregate labour productivity increases income inequality seems to decrease. Trade openness exhibits a robust and statistically significant positive association with income inequality only when using the Gini index computed by SWIID. Above all, unemployment and inflation show a predictably a robust positive association with income inequality.

Table 3 - Military spending and income inequality - Main Results

	dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Milex (t-1)	0.02***			0.01**			0.05***		
	(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.01)		
Milex per capita (t-1)		0.02***			0.01**			0.05***	
		(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.01)	
Milex/GDP (t-1)			0.02***			0.01**			0.05***
			(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.01)
Productivity (t-1)	0.01	0.01	0.03	-0.04**	-0.04**	-0.03	0.03	0.03	0.07
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.4)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Inflation (t-1)	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Democracy (t-1)	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Openness (t-1)	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05**	0.05**	0.05**	0.10	0.10	0.10
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Unemployment (t-1)	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
EU (dummy)	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	0.04*	0.04*	0.04*	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Conflict (dummy)	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.10*	-0.10*	-0.10*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Military Conscription (dummy)	-0.06*	-0.06*	-0.06*	-0.03**	-0.03**	-0.03**	-0.13*	-0.13*	-0.13*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Constant	3.11***	3.16***	3.15***	8.16***	8.17***	8.17***	2.00**	2.10**	2.10**
	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.76)	(0.76)	(0.76)
Observations	619	619	619	582	582	582	621	621	621
Number of countries	25	25	25	26	26	26	25	25	25
R-squared	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.37	0.37	0.38	0.26	0.25	0.256

Robust Standard errors in brackets. Statistical significance *** p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.1

IV. ALTERNATIVE ESTIMATIONS AND ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

(i) *Alternative samples of countries*

As robustness check, we eventually examined the relationship between military expenditure and income inequality in sub- samples of countries. For sake of clarity, coefficients of control variables are not displayed because all control variables confirm the expected signs. Also in the following estimations the Hausman test has been performed and so the fixed effect model is always preferred. First in table 4 below we show the estimations excluding Russia that could be considered an outlier. Main results are confirmed. Eventually table 5 show the findings obtained excluding alternatively the countries with a population below 40% (in panel 5.1), below 60% (in panel 5.2), below 80% (in panel 5.3) of median of population. Eventually in table 6 we report the results when excluding former Jugoslavian countries (panel 6.1) and when excluding Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia (panel 6.2). The latter table in particular excludes those countries which have been involved in very severe armed conflicts. That is, by excluding these countries we are willing to mitigate the impact of warfare as ‘leveller’ which could have driven the general results.

In sum, in general, with respect with the main estimation presented in the previous paragraph the main results do not change. The impact of lagged military spending on current inequality is always positive and significant thus confirming the baseline results.

Table 4 - Military spending and income inequality - Excluding Russia

	dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Milex (t-1)	0.02***			0.01**			0.04***		
	(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.01)		
Milex per capita (t-1)		0.02***			0.01**			0.04***	
		(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.01)	
Milex/GDP (t-1)			0.02***			0.01**			0.04***
			(0.00)			(0.00)			(0.01)
CONTROL VARIABLES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	3.54***	3.58**	3.58**	3.60***	3.60***	3.61***	2.94***	3.02***	3.02***
	(0.32)	(0.35)	(0.33)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.76)	(0.77)	(0.77)

Observations	594	594	594	557	557	557	596	596	596
Number of ID	24	24	24	25	25	25	24	24	24
R-squared within	0.34	0.34	0.34	0.37	0.37	0.37	0.33	0.33	0.33
R-squared between	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.04	0.03
R-squared overall	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.06

Robust Standard errors in brackets; statistical significance *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.10

Table 5 - Military spending and income inequality - Different samples

5.1 Excluding countries with a population < 40% of the median population									
	Dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Milex	0.025*** (0.006)			0.005* (0.003)			0.052*** (0.013)		
Milex per capita		0.024*** (0.006)			0.005* (0.003)			0.051*** (0.013)	
Milex/GDP			0.024*** (0.006)			0.005* (0.003)			0.050*** (0.012)
CONTROL VARIABLES	YES								
Constant	3.232*** (0.349)	3.287*** (0.346)	3.280*** (0.348)	8.134*** (0.256)	8.147*** (0.256)	8.147*** (0.255)	2.253*** (0.769)	2.368*** (0.762)	2.353*** (0.765)
Observations	497	497	497	452	452	452	499	499	499
Number of ID	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
R-squared within	0.297	0.295	0.296	0.367	0.367	0.369	0.282	0.280	0.281
R-squared between	0.193	0.14	0.147	0.065	0.029	0.028	0.212	0.155	0.162
R-squared overall	0.007	0.011	0.009	0.002	0.007	0.006	0.006	0.01	0.008
5.2 Excluding countries with a population < 60% of the median population									
	Dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Milex	0.026*** (0.006)			0.005* (0.003)			0.055*** (0.013)		
Milex per capita		0.026*** (0.006)			0.005* (0.003)			0.054*** (0.013)	
Milex/GDP			0.026*** (0.006)			0.006* (0.003)			0.054*** (0.013)
CONTROL VARIABLES	YES								
Constant	2.812*** (0.337)	2.872*** (0.334)	2.863*** (0.334)	7.977*** (0.312)	7.991*** (0.311)	7.989*** (0.310)	1.317* (0.731)	1.443* (0.724)	1.423* (0.724)

Observations	422	422	422	385	385	385	424	424	424
Number of ID	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
R-squared within	0.339	0.338	0.340	0.383	0.383	0.386	0.327	0.326	0.328
R-squared between	0.282	0.28	0.303	0.179	0.119	0.115	0.302	0.298	0.322
R-squared overall	0.003	0.003	0.001	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.002	0.001

5.3 Excluding countries with a population < 80% of the median population

	Dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
Milex	0.025***			0.004			0.053***		
	(0.008)			(0.003)			(0.017)		
Milex per capita		0.025***			0.004			0.053**	
		(0.008)			(0.003)			(0.018)	
Milex/GDP			0.025***			0.004			0.053***
			(0.008)			(0.003)			(0.018)
CONTROL VARIABLES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	2.812***	2.872***	2.863***	7.977***	7.991***	7.989***	1.317*	1.443*	1.423*
	(0.337)	(0.334)	(0.334)	(0.312)	(0.311)	(0.310)	(0.731)	(0.724)	(0.724)
Observations	347	347	347	320	320	320	349	349	349
Number of ID	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
R-squared within	0.295	0.295	0.296	0.413	0.413	0.415	0.284	0.283	0.285
R-squared between	0.233	0.283	0.325	0.285	0.261	0.273	0.249	0.300	0.339
R-squared overall	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.010	0.01	0.015	0.000	0.001	0.002

Robust Standard errors in brackets; statistical significance *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.10

Table 6 - Military spending and income inequality - Different samples

	6.1 excluding former Yugoslavian countries								
	Dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Milex (t-1)	0.02***			0.01*			0.04***		
	(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.01)		
Milex per capita (t-1)		0.02***			0.01*			0.04***	
		(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.01)	
Milex/GDP (t-1)			0.02***			0.01**			0.04***
			(0.01)			(0.00)			(0.01)
CONTROL VARIABLES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	3.61***	3.66***	3.65***	3.52***	3.53***	3.53***	3.06***	3.15***	3.14***
	(0.37)	-0.36	(0.37)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.82)	-0.81	(0.81)

Observations	498	498	498	473	473	473	500	500	500
Number of ID	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
R-squared within	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.37	0.37	0.38	0.25	0.25	0.25
R-squared between	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02
R-squared overall	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03

6.2 Excluding Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia

	Dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Milex (t-1)	0.02*** (0.01)			0.01** (0.00)			0.05*** (0.01)		
Milex per capita (t-1)		0.02*** (0.01)			0.01* (0.01)			0.05*** (0.01)	
Milex/GDP (t-1)			0.02*** (0.00)			0.01** (0.00)			0.05*** (0.01)
CONTROL VARIABLES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Constant	2.72*** (0.43)	2.77*** (0.43)	2.77*** (0.43)	3.52*** (0.28)	3.53*** (0.28)	3.53*** (0.28)	1.15*** (0.90)	1.26*** (0.90)	1.25*** (0.90)
Observations	544	544	544	514	514	514	546	546	546
Number of ID	22	22	22	23	23	23	22	22	22
R-squared within	0.29	0.28	0.29	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.28	0.27	0.28
R-squared between	0.35	0.31	0.33	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.37	0.33	0.35
R-squared overall	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Robust Standard errors in brackets; statistical significance *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.10

(ii) Non-linearities

In what follows we employ another simple robustness test seeking for a non-linear relationship between military spending and the inequality measures. In fact, we add to the regressions the quadratic term of the different measures of military spending. Table 7 reports the findings. First, results suggest the existence of non-linearities in the relationship we are investigating. At the same time results are puzzled and deliver a more nuanced evidence. Above all, the relevant finding is a non-linear relationship between military spending and income inequality. In other words, as the military spending increases beyond some level the income inequality appears to decrease. In this respect the plausible interpretation is that an increase in military

spending is likely to be determined through either an increase in military compensation or an increase in the military personnel. If this is the case, it would be plausible that income inequality decreases. It ought to be noted that such evidence is robust in particular when we employ the lagged military spending in levels as explanatory variable. That is, the lagged level of military spending exhibits a positive coefficient so confirming the main results of this work but the coefficient of its squared term is negative so indicating a negative relationship with the inequality measures. No significant results emerge when we employ the ratio between military spending and GDP. A different result takes shape when we employ the military spending per capita. In fact, in one model both military spending per capita and its squared term appear to be negatively associated with income inequality. In other words, military spending appears to reduce income inequality and such relationship is linear. This contrasts with the main results expounded above. However, this takes shape only when we employ the Gini index computed by SWIID. To some extent this suggests that results can be sensitive to the different measures of inequality used.

Table 7 - Military spending and income inequality - non-linearity

	dependent variables								
	Gini (source GID)			Gini (source SWIID)			Theil (source GID)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Milex (t-1)	0.09***			0.03***			0.20***		
	(0.018)			(0.011)			(0.038)		
Milex per capita (t-1)		-0.021		-0.024**				-0.051	
		(0.029)		(0.010)				(0.062)	
Milex/GDP (t-1)			-0.018			-0.018*			-0.019
			(0.030)			(0.010)			(0.01)
Productivity (t-1)	0.01	0.05	0.03	-0.03**	-0.01	-0.03*	0.03	0.12	0.07
	(0.033)	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.072)	(0.084)	(0.08)
Inflation (t-1)	0.015*	0.02**	0.02**	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.031*	0.038**	0.04**
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.02)
Democracy (t-1)	-0.043	-0.035	-0.035	-0.014	-0.012	-0.013	-0.089	-0.071	-0.073
	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.069)	(0.074)	(0.08)
Openness (t-1)	0.047	0.040	0.042	0.046*	0.043*	0.049	0.094	0.079	0.084
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.033)	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.07)
Unemployment (t-1)	0.02**	0.02**	0.02***	0.002	0.02**	0.02**	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
EU (dummy)	-0.027	-0.039	-0.039	0.038*	0.036*	0.035*	-0.066	-0.092	-0.094
	(0.045)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.095)	(0.104)	(0.104)

Conflict (dummy)	-0.043	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.013	-0.015	-0.016	-0.10*	-0.11**	-0.11**
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.052)
Military Conscription (dummy)	-0.06**	-0.07*	-0.07*	-0.03**	-0.03**	-0.03**	-0.13**	-0.15*	-0.15*
	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.060)	(0.074)	(0.073)
Milex squared	-0.01***			-0.01***			-0.02***		
	(0.003)			(0.001)			(0.006)		
Milex per capita squared		-0.003			-0.002***			-0.006	
		(0.002)			(0.001)			(0.004)	
Milex/GDP squared			-0.003			-0.002**			-0.006
			(0.002)			(0.001)			(0.004)
Constant	3.16***	3.06***	3.07***	3.55***	3.50***	3.52***	2.10***	1.88**	1.90**
	(0.328)	(0.341)	(0.343)	(0.213)	(0.222)	(0.220)	(0.717)	(0.746)	(0.751)
Observations	619	619	619	582	582	582	621	621	621
Number of countries	25	25	25	26	26	26	25	25	25
R-squared within	0.295	0.272	0.272	0.409	0.401	0.394	0.287	0.264	0.264
R-squared between	0.221	0.283	0.284	0.064	0.037	0.064	0.24	0.312	0.318
R-squared overall	0.006	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.005	0.000	0.000
Robust Standard errors in brackets; statistical significance *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.10									

VI. THE CROWDING OUT ARGUMENT

The evidence produced in the previous sections highlights the negative relationship between income inequality and military spending. As noted above, among the plausible interpretations, one of the most common arguments is the crowding-out effect on welfare expenditures. In brief, to complement the previous evidence we also try to highlight whether such trade-off does exist in our panel countries. In the light of data availability, we focus on three types of welfare expenditures namely (i) subsidies and transfers; (ii) health expenditures and (iii) education expenditures.

That is, in order to test the crowding out effect, we use the following empirical model:

$$\ln y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \left(\frac{\text{milex}}{\text{total GE}} \right)_{it-1} + \beta_2 X_{it} + \mu_i + \tau + v_{it}$$

Where y_{it} denotes alternatively (i), (ii) and (iii), X_{it-1} is the vector of control variables, μ_i is the country fixed effect, τ is a time trend and v_{it} represents the error term. In the model variables are logged. Table 8 reports the results. The crowding-out argument is only partly confirmed. It is clear that the expenditures for subsidies are negatively influenced by one-year lagged military spending so confirming the crowding-out argument. Instead, there is no evidence when considering education and health expenditures. In other words, there is no compelling evidence on the crowding out effect of military expenditures. However, since both education and health expenditures may descend from mandatory norms, it is likely that the crowding out effect in the short-run takes the shape of a reduction in subsidies and transfers which are discretionary. In this perspective the crowding-out effect appears to be confirmed.

Table 8 - The Crowding Out Argument

	(8.1)	(8.2)	(8.3)	(8.4)	(8.5)	(8.6)
Dependent variables	Subsidies and Transfers	Subsidies and Transfers	Health Expenditure	Health Expenditure	Education Expenditure	Education Expenditure
Milex/GE t-1	-0.724*** (0.069)	-0.713*** (0.050)	-0.000 (0.006)	0.006 (0.007)	0.014 (0.011)	0.009 (0.010)
GDP t-1	0.494*** (0.115)	0.972*** (0.262)	0.966*** (0.043)	0.885*** (0.053)	0.980*** (0.058)	0.914*** (0.074)
Population	-5.178*** (1.640)	-6.312*** (2.123)	0.600 (0.389)	1.513*** (0.535)	0.135 (0.927)	1.046 (1.018)
Unemployment	0.065* (0.032)		0.010 (0.027)		0.055*** (0.020)	
Unemployment t-1		0.020 (0.038)		0.035* (0.018)		0.043** (0.017)
Openness t-1		0.158 (0.262)		0.309** (0.140)		0.395** (0.170)
EU		0.084 (0.125)		0.084 (0.058)		-0.071 (0.055)
Time Trend		-0.061** (0.025)		-0.001 (0.005)		-0.001 (0.009)
Constant	88.396*** (27.003)	95.021*** (30.973)	-11.255* (6.290)	-25.041*** (8.399)	-4.986 (15.324)	-19.393 (16.189)
Observations	369	369	379	379	306	306
Number of countries	23	23	26	26	23	23
R-squared within	0.670	0.680	0.874	0.884	0.882	0.889
R-squared between	0.250	0.216	0.879	0.715	0.956	0.807

CONCLUSION

This paper attempted to investigate the relationship between military spending and inequality in a panel of European transition countries in the period from 1990 to 2015. In order to observe the relationship between military expenditure and income inequality, we have employed an OLS- fixed effect model. In sum, the general result to be claimed is that military expenditures are positively and significantly associated with income inequality. In other words, military expenditures contribute to increase inequality so confirming the prevailing literature.

For sake of robustness, we have employed three different of measures of income inequality, namely two Gini indexes computed by different sources and a Theil index. Yet, In the same vein we have employed three different measures of military expenditures. we exploit three different measures of military expenditures: (i) the military spending in absolute terms; (ii) the military expenditures per capita; (iii) the military burden, namely the ratio between military expenditure and GDP. The main results are robust when employing different measures of both income inequality and military expenditures. The magnitude of the effect of military spending on income inequality appears to be relevant. If using the Gini index computed by GID the estimated coefficient on military expenditure shows that a one-point percent change in military expenditure in the previous year leads to a change slightly greater than 0.02% in the income inequality in the current year. The impact appears to be even greater when using the Theil index: a one-point percent change in military expenditure in the previous year leads to a change close to 0.05% of the Theil measure. The control variables exhibit the expected signs. Among them it is worth noting that armed conflict appears to be a 'leveller' since it appears to reduce inequality. Instead, military conscription appears to have a redistributive effect because its coefficient is negative. General results are also confirmed after we performed a variety of robustness tests. In sum, it is possible to maintain that military spending increases income inequality.

However, as said above, other results are worth noting and contradictory. For example military conscription appears to have a redistributive effect and when considering a non-linearity the results show that there could be a concave relationship between military spending and income inequality. There is plausibly a time effect to be taken into account. In fact, it is likely that any increase in military spending – in particular for military personnel – may perhaps reduce income inequality in the short-run. In the long-run such contradictory impact can be expected to disappear because of the detrimental impact on human capital and eventually on the wage-differentials.

In addition, when testing for the ‘crowding-out argument’ results show that expenditures for subsidies are negatively influenced by military spending so confirming the crowding-out argument but there is no significant evidence when considering education and health expenditures.

In sum, the latter results confirm that this is nothing but a start in this strand of research. At this stage, it is also worth noting that military expenditures contributed to income inequality in transition economies in a quite long period (1990-2015).

References

- Abell, J. D.**, (1994). Military Spending and Income Inequality. *Journal of Peace Research*, **31**(1):35–43.
- Acemoglu, D., Naidu, S., Restrepo P., Robinson, J.A.**, (2015). *Democracy, Redistribution and Inequality*, in Handbook of Income Distribution edited by Atkinson A.B., and Bourguignon F., Elsevier.
- Ali, H.E.**, (2012), Military expenditures and Inequality in the Middle East and North Africa: Panel Analysis, *Defence and Peace Economics*, **23** (6): 575-589.
- Ali, H. E.**, (2007) Military Expenditures and Inequality: Empirical Evidence from Global Data. *Defence and Peace Economics*, **18** (6):519-535.
- Amiti, M., Davis, D.R.**, (2012), Trade, Firms and Wages: Theory and Evidence, *The Review of Economic Studies*, vol. 79, n.1, pp. 1-36.
- Angrist, J.D.**, (1990) Lifetime earnings and the Vietnam-era draft Lottery: Evidence from Social Security Administrative records, *American Economic Review*, **80** (3):313-336
- Caruso, R., Di Domizio, M.**, (2017), Military Spending and Budget Deficits: The Impact of US Military Spending on Public Debt in Europe (1988-2013), *Defence and Peace Economics*, **28** (5): 534-549.
- Caruso, R., Di Domizio, M.**, (2016), Interdependence Between US and European Military Spending: A Panel Cointegration Analysis (1988-2013), *Applied Economics Letters*, **23** (4):302-305.
- Deininger, K., Squire, L.** (1996). A New Data Set Measuring Income Inequality. *World Bank Economic Review* **10** (3):565–591.
- Dell, F.**, (2005). “Top Incomes in Germany and Switzerland Over the Twentieth Century.” *Journal of the European Economic Association, Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Congress of the EEA* 3(2/3):412-421.
- Dunne, J.P., Tian, N.**, (2013), Military Expenditure and Economic Growth: A Survey, *The Economics of Peace and Security Journal*, **8**, 1.
- Dunne, J.P, Perlo-Freeman, S., Soydan A.**, (2004), Military Expenditure and Debt in Small Industrialized Countries: A Panel Analysis, *Defence and Peace Economics*, **15** (2):125-132.

- Edwards, S.**, (1997). Trade Policy, Growth and Income Distribution, *The American Economic Review*, **87** (2):205-210.
- Elveren, A.Y.**, (2012). Military Spending and Income Inequality: Evidence on Cointegration and Causality for Turkey, 1963-2007. *Defence and Peace Economics*, **23** (3): 289-301.
- Ferreira, F.H.G.**, (1999). Economic Transition and the Distributions of Income and Wealth. *Economic of Transition*, **7** (2):377-410.
- Galbraith J.K.**, (2012), *Inequality and Instability*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Gleditsch, N.P., Wallensteen, P., Eriksson, M., Sollenberg, M., Strand, H.** (2002). Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, **39**(5): 615-637.
- Golderg, P.K., Pavcnik, N.**, (2007). Distributional Effects of Globalization in Developing Countries. *Journal of Economic Literature*, **45**(1): 39-82.
- Griliches, Z., Mason, M.W.**, (1972), Education, Income and Ability, *The Journal of Political Economy*, **80** (3):74-103
- Held, D., Kaya A., (eds.)** (2007), *Global Inequality, Patterns and Explanations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Helpman, E., Itskhoki O., Redding S., (2010)**, Inequality and Unemployment in a Global Economy, *Econometrica*, vol. 78, n.4, pp. 1239-1283.
- Higgins, M., Williamson J.G.**, (2002). Explaining Inequality: The World Round: Cohort Size, Kuznets Curves, and Openness, *Southeast Asian Studies*, **40** (3): 268-302
- Hirnissa, M.T., Habibullah, M.Z., Baharom A.H.**, (2009). Defense Spending and Income Inequality: Evidence from Selected Asia Countries. *International Journal of Economic and Finance*, **1**(2):149-155.
- Ivaschenko, A.** (2002). Growth and Inequality: Evidence from Transitional Economies, in T.S. Eicher and S.J. Turnovsky (eds), *Inequality and Growth: Theory and Policy Implications*, MIT Press: Cambridge, MA and London.
- Jaumotte, F., Lall S., and Papageorgiou, C., (2013)**. Rising Income Inequality: Technology or Trade Financial Globalization? *IMF Economic Review*, **61** (2):271-309.

- Keller, K., Poutvaara, P., Wagener A.**, (2010), Does a Military Draft Discourage Enrollment in Higher Education, *FinanzArchiv: Public Finance Analysis*, vol. 66, n.2, pp. 97-120
- Keller, K., Poutvaara P., Wagener, A.**, (2009), Military Draft and Economic Growth In OECD Countries, vol. 20, n.5, pp. 373-393.
- Kentor, J., Jorgenson, A., Kick, E.** (2012). The “new” military and income inequality: A cross national analysis, *Social Science Research* 41(3):514-526.
- Kollias, C.** (2010). Growth, investment and military expenditure in the European Union-15, *Journal of Economic Studies*, 37(2): 228-240.
- Kollias, C., Mylonidis, N., Paleologou S.**, (2007). A Panel Data Analysis of the Nexus Between Defence Spending and Growth in the European Union, *Defence and Peace Economics*, 18(1): 75-85.
- Kollias, C., Paleologou, S., TzeremesP., Tzeremes N.**, (2017). Defence expenditure and economic growth in Latin American countries: evidence from linear and nonlinear causality tests, *Latin American Economic Review*, 26 (1):1-25
- Kollias, C., Paleologou, S.**, (2015). Defence and Non-Defence Spending in the USA: Stimuli to Economic Growth? Comparative Findings from A Semiparametric Approach, *Bulletin of Economic Research*, 67(4): 359-370.
- Lee, W.**, (2003), Is Democracy more Expropriative than Dictatorship? Tocquevillian Wisdom Revisited, *Journal of Development Economics*, 71(1): pp. 155-198.
- Lin, E.S, Ali, H.E., Yu-Lung. L.**, (2015), Does military Spending Crowd Out Social Welfare expenditures? Evidence from a panel of OECD countries, *Defence and Peace Economics*, vol. 26, n.1, pp. 33-48.
- Lin, E. S. and Ali, H. E.** (2009). Military Spending and Inequality: Panel Granger Causality Test, *Journal of Peace Research* 46 (5):671-685.
- Lindert P.H., Williamson J.G.**, (2016), *Unequal Gains: American Growth and Inequality since 1700*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Meng, B., Lucyshyn, W. and Li, X.**, (2015). Defense Expenditure and Income Inequality: Evidence on Co-Integration and Causality for China, *Defence and Peace Economics*. 26 (3):327–339.
- Milanovic, B.** (1999). Explaining the Increase of Inequality during the Transition. *Economic of Transition*, 7(2): 299-341.
- Milanovic, B.**, (1998), *Income Inequality and Poverty during the Transition from*

Planned to Market Economy, World Bank Regional and Sectoral Studies, Washington D.C.

- Paleologlou, S.M.**, (2013). A Dynamic Panel Data Model for Analyzing the Relationship Between Military Expenditure and Government Debt in the EU, *Defence and Peace Economics*, **25** (5):419-428.
- Perotti, R.**, (2014). Defense Government Spending is Contractionary, Civilian Government Spending is Expansionary,1-46, NBER Working Paper Series, No. 20179.
- Piketty, T.**, (2014). *Capital in the 21st century*, Harvard University Press.
- Reuveny, R. and Li, Q.** (2003). Economic Openness, Democracy, and Income Inequality: An Empirical Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, **36**(5): 575-601.
- Rosen, S., Taubman, P.**, (1982). Changes in Life Cycle Earnings: What do Social Security Data show? *Journal of Human Resources*, **17**(3): 321-338.
- Scheidel, W.** (2017), *The Great Leveler*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Schwuchow, S.C.**, (2018), Military Spending and Inequality in Autocracies, A Simple model, *Peace Economics Peace Science and Public Policy*, (ahead of print)
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/peps-2018-0025>
- Smith, R., Nayaran P.K.**, (2009). A Panel Data Analysis of the Military Expenditure-External Debt Nexus: Evidence from Six Middle Eastern Countries, *Journal of Peace Research*, **46**(2): 235-250.
- Solt, F.** (2016), The Standardized World Income Inequality Database. *Social Science Quarterly* 97(5): 1267-1282
- Töngür, U., Elveren, A.J.**, (2015). Military Expenditures, Inequality, and Welfare and Political Regimes: A Dynamic Panel Data Analysis, *Defence and peace Economics*, **26**(1): 49-74.
- Töngür, U., Elveren, A.J.**, (2017). The Nexus of Economic Growth, Military Expenditure and Inequality Income. *Quality & Quantity*, **51**(4):1821-1842.
- Vadlamannati, K.C.**, (2008). *Exploring the Relationship Between Military Spending & Income Inequality in South Asia*. William Davidson Institute Working Paper No.918.
- Verhoogen, E.A.**, (2008), Trade, Quality Upgrading and Wage Inequality in the Mexican Manufacturing Sector, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 123, n.1, pp. 489-530.

- White, H., Anderson, E., (2001).** Growth versus Distribution: Does the Pattern of Growth Matter. *Development Policy Review*, 19 (3): 267-289.
- Wolde-Rufael, Y.W., (2014).** Defence Spending and Income Inequality in Taiwan. *Defence and Peace Economics*, **27** (6):871-884.
- Wolde-Rufael, Y.W., (2016).** Military expenditure and Income Distribution in South Korea. *Defence and Peace Economics*, **27** (4):571-581.

Appendix

Table A1- List of countries included in the analysis

Albania	Croatia	Latvia	Romania	Ukraine
Armenia	Czech Republic	Lithuania	Russia	Uzbekistan
Azerbaijan	Estonia	Macedonia	Serbia	
Belarus	Georgia	Moldova	Slovakia	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Hungary	Montenegro	Slovenia	
Bulgaria	Kazakhstan	Poland	Tajikistan	

Table A.2 – Military conscription

Countries	Military Conscription	Year of Abolition
Albania	NO	2010
Armenia	YES	
Azerbaijan	YES	
Belarus	YES	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	NO	2006
Bulgaria	NO	2008
Croatia	NO	2008
Czech Republic	NO	2004
Estonia	YES	
Georgia	YES	
Hungary	NO	2004
Kazakhstan	YES	
Latvia	NO	2004
Lithuania	YES	
Macedonia	NO	2006
Moldova	YES	
Montenegro	NO	2006
Poland	NO	2006
Romania	NO	2007
Russia	YES	
Serbia	NO	2011
Slovakia	NO	2006
Slovenia	NO	2003
Tajikistan	YES	

Ukraine	YES
Uzbekistan	YES

Source: CIA world factbook

Table A3- List of countries included in the first robustness check

> 40% of Median Population	> 60% of Median Population	> 80% of Median Population
Albania	Azerbaijan	Azerbaijan
Armenia	Belarus	Belarus
Azerbaijan	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bulgaria
Belarus	Bulgaria	Czech Republic
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Czech Republic	Hungary
Bulgaria	Georgia	Kazakhstan
Czech Republic	Hungary	Poland
Georgia	Kazakhstan	Romania
Hungary	Moldova	Russia
Kazakhstan	Poland	Serbia
Lithuania	Romania	Slovakia
Moldova	Russia	Tajikistan
Poland	Serbia	Ukraine
Romania	Slovakia	Uzbekistan
Russia	Tajikistan	
Serbia	Ukraine	
Slovakia	Uzbekistan	
Tajikistan		
Ukraine		
Uzbekistan		

Table A4- Gini Coefficients (source: GID) and military expenditure (average per period)

Country	1990-1995		1996-2000		2001-2005		2006-2010		2011-2015	
	Gini	Milex								
Albania	0.448	144.8	0.455	79.95	0.442	199.5	0.458	205.5	0.454	177.75
Armenia	0.44	115.33	0.523	156.5	0.46	195.25	0.452	391.5	0.449	450.75
Azerbaijan	0.387	256.8	0.402	339	0.388	1044.5	0.402	2535.25	0.402	3564.5
Belarus	0.236	384.5	0.268	241.25	0.29	399.5	0.446	738	0.433	979.25
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.301	.	0.282	.	0.419	311	0.429	230	0.435	195.25
Bulgaria	0.312	1273	0.326	858.25	0.329	1085	0.348	1070.5	0.358	837
Croatia	0.312	2882.25	0.391	2219.75	0.402	1122	0.39	1125.5	0.322	937.75
Czech Republic	0.234	2646.33	0.262	2731.75	0.269	3249.25	0.263	2726	0.263	2038.25
Estonia	0.349	79.87	0.42	150.5	0.42	324	0.324	481.5	0.332	499.75

Georgia	0.379	.	0.457	69.72	0.485	162.3	0.477	862.75	0.433	422.25
Hungary	0.275	1755.8	0.257	1500.5	0.273	2040.75	0.288	1586.75	0.304	1240.5
Kazakhstan	0.347	440.33	0.504	353.5	0.467	703	0.449	1543	0.447	2219.5
Latvia	0.271	107	0.319	108.4	0.374	361.5	0.378	455.5	0.358	297.75
Lithuania	0.321	123.43	0.335	263	0.364	399	0.352	472.25	0.346	422.75
Macedonia	.	.	.	131.75	.	179.75	.	168	.	126
Moldova	0.345	32	0.443	22.37	0.466	18.87	0.468	27.97	0.452	26
Montenegro	0.301	.	0.283	.	0.362	86.3	0.424	81.92	0.432	71.62
Poland	0.305	5300	0.334	6385.25	0.352	7020.5	0.342	8854	0.348	10408.8
Romania	0.269	3142	0.335	2448.5	0.354	2450.5	0.367	2570.5	0.348	2605.75
Russia	0.404	46751.8	0.473	25451.5	0.469	37896.75	0.43	57354.25	0.394	82543
Serbia	0.301	.	0.283	1292.75	0.425	1184.25	0.409	1046	0.357	907
Slovakia	0.202	1438.33	0.248	1296.75	0.295	1361.25	0.321	1399.75	0.261	1048.75
Slovenia	0.239	500.07	0.278	487.25	0.316	638.5	0.244	812.5	0.254	513.5
Tajikistan	0.339	73.9	0.425	24.2	0.462	54.8	0.447	58.1	0.457	92.8
Ukraine	0.321	1174.33	0.377	1707.25	0.439	2001	0.437	3166.75	0.437	3722.75
Uzbekistan	0.334	.	0.471	.	0.463	.	0.461	.	0.461	.