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Introducción

“Las instituciones políticas y económicas, que en última instancia son una elección de la sociedad, pueden ser inclusivas y fomentar el crecimiento económico. O pueden ser excluyentes y convertirse en impedimentos para el crecimiento económico.”

Los factores que determinan el crecimiento económico de los países y las causas del dispar desempeño de las economías en el mundo a lo largo del tiempo, constituyen una de las preocupaciones centrales de la investigación en Historia Económica.

En el libro *Why Nations Fail*, Daron Acemoglu y James A. Robinson presentaron con su teoría institucionalista la explicación de la desigualdad mundial y la pobreza. Dicha tesis sitúa el tipo de instituciones políticas, y como resultado de éstas las económicas, como responsables del desarrollo económico de un país y su nivel de riqueza.

Son las decisiones políticas las que marcan el destino de una nación. Los sistemas con instituciones inclusivas garantizan el cumplimiento de leyes que fomentan el desarrollo de cualquier individuo, premian su talento y salvaguardan la propiedad privada. Y el libre mercado conduce a una base económica propicia para un crecimiento estable y duradero. Además, crean una inercia positiva para que el sistema se mantenga y ninguna élite pretenda cambiarlo. En este sistema, la ley marca férreamente los límites de quienes sustentan el poder.

Según estos autores la teoría institucionalista es, la base más certera para explicar el desarrollo económico de los países. Dicha teoría se basa en la afirmación de que ni la geografía, ni la cultura, ni la ignorancia de los líderes son los responsables de que algunas naciones se declaren fallidas y otras no. Según la teoría institucionalista, la razón de la pobreza de los países reside en sus instituciones políticas, que a su vez diseñan las instituciones económicas. En este sentido, son los políticos los que, conscientemente, deciden adoptar instituciones no inclusivas que llevan a que sólo una élite pueda beneficiarse de la riqueza y las oportunidades que se presentan. Así, las instituciones económicas también serán excluyentes en un círculo vicioso que solo beneficia a unos pocos.

Las instituciones internas de cada nación y la manera en la que los líderes políticos consiguen que éstas sean inclusivas son para los autores la única variable del desarrollo o no de los países.

A diferencia de lo que ocurrió con el colonialismo español, por ejemplo, el cual se señala como causa de la pobreza actual en América Latina, donde los líderes post-revolucionarios mantuvieron el

mismo esquema institucional exclusivo de los colonos. En Norteamérica, sin embargo, la colonización se describe como un proceso más pacífico (debido entre otras cosas a que los indígenas no poseían, como ocurría en el sur, esas cantidades de oro y no pudieron ser forzados a trabajar). El intento de los británicos por establecer un sistema abusivo como el español en Latinoamérica fue aplazado por los colonos instalados en el territorio norteamericano. Éstos optaron en la independencia por un modelo político estable, aperturista e igualitario. En ambos casos, según los autores, la herencia de aquellos primeros años de colonización sigue hoy presente: en el caso del sur, se refleja en una élite social que sigue monopolizando la riqueza.

Las instituciones políticas son las que determinan que instituciones económicas tiene un país. Y en función de ellas se explica la desigualdad en el mundo. Así, las instituciones económicas inclusivas son aquellas que permiten y fomentan la participación de todos sus ciudadanos en actividades económicas en las que se aproveche su talento y sus conocimientos y que permiten a los individuos elegir lo que quieren hacer. Para ser inclusivas, las instituciones económicas tienen que asegurar la propiedad privada, un sistema legislativo seguro y servicios públicos en los que las personas puedan interactuar e intercambiar conocimientos. Así mismo, proporcionan mercados inclusivos en los que se premia el talento.

Este tipo de instituciones crea una inercia positiva que provoca que las élites, no beneficiadas por el sistema, no deseen volver a tomar las riendas de él al ver que la toma del poder, controlado ahora por instituciones políticas inclusivas, no les reportará ventajas frente al resto. Así, se crea un círculo virtuoso idóneo para el desarrollo del país.

Si se lleva a cabo una situación contraria, surgirán conflictos internos por alzarse como líder y acceder a los privilegios que guardan para unos pocos las instituciones excluyentes. Estas últimas conducen a un círculo vicioso de corrupción y pobreza de la que no es fácil salir. No es imposible, pero se necesitará un acontecimiento, un punto de inflexión donde la sociedad, que es la fuente primaria de las instituciones inclusivas, decida cambiar el futuro de sus países.

Las preguntas que han tratado de dar respuesta a interrogantes que intentaremos responder en este ensayo pueden resumirse en las siguientes: ¿Por qué importan las instituciones?, ¿Son las instituciones susceptibles de diseño?, ¿Se puede tomar al Estado argentino como un ejemplo para tomar como válida o para refutar la teoría de estos autores y su hipótesis de las instituciones?, ¿Qué sucedió con el desarrollo económico de este Estado después de la colonización?

Si bien los estudios de la política latinoamericana comenzaron a referirse al papel de las instituciones del Estado mucho antes de que estuviera en boga el “nuevo institucionalismo”, muchas de las investigaciones más recientes sobre la economía política de América concluyen que las diferencias en el crecimiento y el desarrollo de largo plazo entre países, que tienen en cuenta el tipo de colonización, son las que contribuyen a entender las relaciones entre el desarrollo de los países colonizados y los hechos históricos, políticos y económicos de cada región. El siguiente ensayo, intentará enmarcar esos aportes en el contexto del estado argentino considerando la acción de los países colonizadores.

Como se mencionó anteriormente, el enfoque institucional pone de relieve el papel de los funcionarios y de las estructuras organizativas en la determinación de los desenlaces políticos. Una vez establecidas, las instituciones estatales tienden a perdurar. Como este enfoque tiene fundamentos históricos, la secuencia y las fases históricas son decisivas.

En el presente ensayo examinaremos la evolución histórica sobre el atraso económico de América Latina, tomando como caso de estudio el Estado argentino con las características propias de sus estructuras, y el modo en que ellas contribuyeron a la adopción de políticas inclusivas o las obstaculizaron. E intentaremos situar el origen del subdesarrollo contemporáneo en las instituciones coloniales defectuosas ligadas a la desigualdad, indagando los procesos históricos que determinaron el desempeño económico de Argentina.

Las instituciones domésticas que condicionaron el desempeño de la economía, estuvieron asociadas a la distribución del poder político y económico, a los procesos históricos de formación y consolidación del Estado, y a las diferentes capacidades para el desarrollo de políticas públicas. Estos factores determinaron distintos patrones de distribución del ingreso, distintas trayectorias tecnológicas y distintos ritmos de crecimiento. Es por ello que el marco analítico desarrollado en esta investigación busca dar cuenta de la relación entre las instituciones, la distribución del ingreso y el crecimiento económico en este país. También busca considerar las complejas formas específicas que se asumen en los procesos históricos.

El marco analítico adoptado en esta investigación integra el enfoque institucionalista que procura explicar el crecimiento económico de los países, modelizando los procesos de cambio, a través de desarrollos analíticos históricos.

Palabras clave

Economía política, desarrollo económico, diferencias institucionales, sistemas políticos, instituciones económicas, instituciones políticas, poder político, gobiernos, democracia, dictadura, propiedad privada, instituciones coloniales, desigualdad, nuevo institucionalismo, Estado.

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