## FISCAL RULE STRETCHING DURING FINANCIAL MARKET STRESS AND CRISIS

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ELECTIONS & FISCAL STATISTICS

#### **ELECTIONS AND FISCAL STATISTICS**

Governments create opportunistic political business and budget cycles around elections.

These can be both **real** (e.g. Nordhaus 1975 and Clark 2003) and by **manipulating the data** (e.g. Alt, Lassen, and Wehner 2014 and De Castro et al. 2013).

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So...

Second best: manipulate the data.

#### DO VOTERS CARE?

The media and **voters** typically **don't observe** data revisions/don't use revisions in voting decision-making (Kayser and Leininger 2015, Kayser and Peress 2015).

## FISCAL ACCOUNTING IN EUROPE

#### STABILITY & GROWTH PACT

Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) sets deficit and debt limits.

Created an enforceable European government finance accounting regime, with **common rules** (European System of Accounts) and a **common monitoring institution** (Eurostat) (Savage 2005).

#### **IMPLICATIONS**

Comparable fiscal statistics.

**Difficult** to simply **fabricate** the government's fiscal position.

However ...

### FISCAL RULE STRETCHING IN EU

#### MEMBER STATES

Member states have first mover advantage.

Debt and deficit figures are **first published by member states**. They have first crack at **classifying** a policy with **seemingly ambiguous** budgetary effects.

Eurostat scrutinises and revises published figures post hoc.

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· ...governments have strong incentives to rule stretch.

#### DEFINITION

**Fiscal rule stretching:** if the fiscal implications of a policy are potentially ambiguous, then a decision is made to minimise its debt and/or debt implications.

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But too late for voters.

# ACCOUNTING POLICY RESPONSES TO FINANCIAL CRISES

#### FINANCIAL CRISES AND VOTERS

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Restoring stability is **expensive**, which **voters dislike**.

#### AMBIGUITIES AND POLICY RESPONSES TO CRISES

At the same time, policy responses to financial market stress and crisis are:

- · rarely used (before 2008)
- · often have ambiguous debt and deficit implications,
  - · E.g. bad banks, liquidity assistance.
  - · Are they contingent or immediately realised liabilities? Are they purchase or financial transactions?



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- *H*<sub>2</sub>: Debt revisions will be greater for years when there are endogenous elections.
- ·  $H_3$ : The effects predicted by  $H_1$  and  $H_2$  will be stronger when a country also has high financial market stress.



#### **DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

**Dependent variable**: cumulative revisions made by **Eurostat** to government debt and deficit statistics (% of GDP) over the 3 years from initial publication. Revisions occur bi-annually (April & October).

Revisions to data for 2003-2013.

Cumulative **debt** revisions: [-1.1, 12.7] % of GDP

Cumulative **deficit** revisions: [-4.5, 1.1] % of GDP

#### **DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

Unit of analysis: Eurostat revision for a given year.

• There are typically 7 observations per publication year. The first in October of the publication year + twice a year for the subsequent 3.

#### **DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

Note: Changes due to GDP revisions are not included.

#### **RIGHT-HAND SIDE**

- · Years to election (Gandrud 2015)
- · Election type: no election, predetermined election, endogenous election (Hallerberg and Wehner)
- · FinStress (Gandrud & Hallerberg, in development)

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- · binary, no indication of intensity,
- · created post hoc, not real-time. Policy-makers might perceive something different in real-time.

Kernel Principal Component Analysis of > 12,000 Economist Intelligence Unit monthly country reports on financial markets.

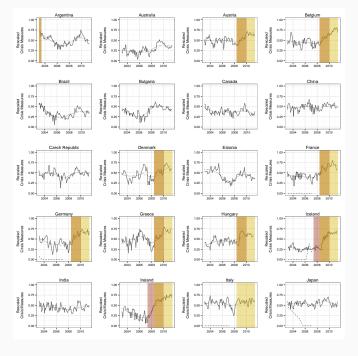
- $\cdot > 180$  countries
- · 2003-2011

creating ...

**FinStress**: continuous [0, 1] indicator of real-time perceived credit provision stress.

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Here, we use country-year means.



#### CREDIT PROVISION VS. FINANCIAL MARKET STRESS

Why credit provision stress, not financial market stress more broadly?

In general, **politicians care** about financial market stress to the extent that it **hits credit provision to the real economy**.

### **INTERACTIONS**

Hypothesise that election variables have a **larger impact** on revisions during **high stress**.

SO

Focus on interactions between election variables and FinStress.

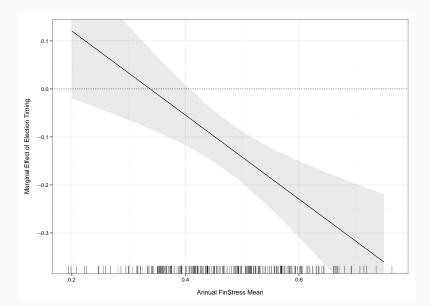
### **RIGHT-HAND SIDE**

# Also:

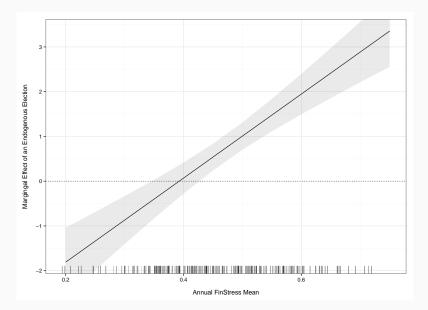
- · Years since publication
- · Eurozone membership
- · Exchange rate (vs. USD)
- · Absolute gross debt & deficit levels (2015 vintage)
- · Country-varying intercepts

EMPIRICS: (PRELIMINARY) RESULTS

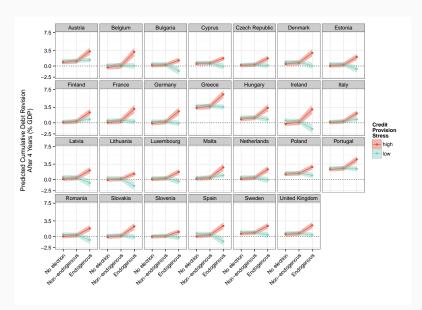
**Figure:** Marginal Effect of Election Timing (years to election) at Various Levels of Financial Market Stress on **Debt** Revisions



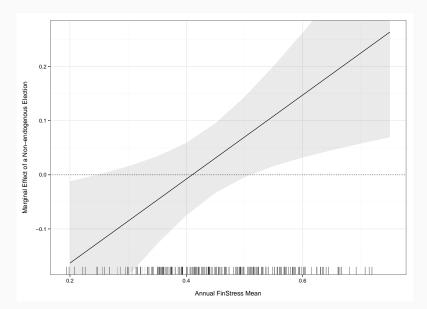
**Figure:** Marginal Effect of an Endogenous Election at Various Levels of Financial Market Stress on **Debt** Revisions



**Figure:** Predicted **Debt** Revisions in Four Years After Publication for Years with Different Election Types/Non-election Years



**Figure:** Marginal Effect of a Non-Endogenous Election at Various Levels of Financial Market Stress on **Deficit** Revisions





### TO-DO: EMPIRICAL

### Omitted variables?:

- · independence of national accounting agency.
- · SGP enforcement actions (not just eurozone membership)
- · Others?

Model choice: normal linear regression with many 0s?

## TO-DO: THEORETICAL

· Understand interaction between scheduled elections and FinStress on deficit revisions.