# Growth in a Time of Debt (or a Workflow Gone Bad)

POSC 3410 - Quantitative Methods in Political Science

Steven V. Miller

Department of Political Science



## Goal for Today

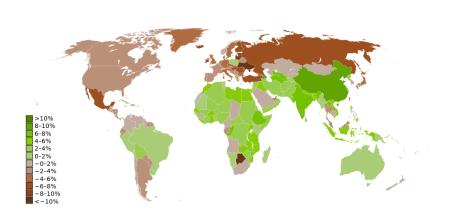
Discuss Reinhart and Rogoff's (2010) analysis of government debt and growth.

## Debt and Growth as Current Policy Issue

The financial crisis of 2007-08 was not kind to many countries.

- Overdetermined causes: housing bubble, bank insolvencies, predatory lending, deregulation since 1999, etc.
- The great recession followed in 2009.

## The Effect of the Great Recession



## The Effect of the Great Recession

#### USA:

- Unemployment doubled, rising to 10.1% (highest in 30+ years)
- GDP shrunk from 2008 to mid-2010.
- Debt rose from 2/3rds GDP to over 100% of GDP.

#### Greece:

- Unemployment rose from 6% to 21% in three years.
- GDP contracted by over 20%.

#### Ireland:

- Unemployment rose from 6% to 15% in four years.
- Stock exchange hit a 14-year low.

## Dealing with the Great Recession

Countries dealt with recession in the usual way: bailouts and deficit spending.

• Governments accrue debt to prevent further economic losses.

Reinart and Rogoff (RR) (2010) argue this is unwise.

 Debt accumulation like we're seeing now coincides with slowing growth (or, worse, further contraction).

## Reinhart and Rogoff's Method

Let's understand RR's research design.

• Hypothesis: as debt goes up, GDP growth goes down.

#### Variables:

- DV: GDP growth
- IV: public debt/GDP ratio
  - RR treat it as a series of fixed effects/factors.

## **Findings**

RR provide "stylized facts" to illustrate debt/GDP and growth.

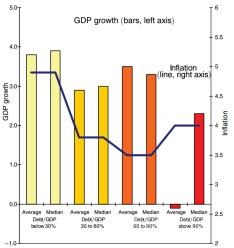


FIGURE 2. GOVERNMENT DEBT, GROWTH, AND INFLATION: SELECTED ADVANCED ECONOMIES, 1946–2009

## **Findings**

- No relationship between debt/GDP and growth for bottom three debt categories.
- However, >90% and above category shows average GDP loss.
- No relationship between debt/GDP and inflation (the line graph).

## **Findings**

Appendix Table 1. Real GDP Growth as the Level of Debt Varies: Summary (annual percent change)

Measure	Period	Below 30 percent	30 to 60 percent	60 to 90 percent	90 percent and above
Central (Federal) government debt/ GDP-					
Advanced economies					
Average	1946-2009	4.1	2.8	2.8	-0.1
Median	1946-2009	4.2	3.0	2.9	1.6

## Policy Impact

RR make one of the loudest claims of the negative debt-GDP relationship. Impact includes:

- Numerous well-placed op-eds.
- Testimony before Congress.
- Features on FOX, NPR, MSNBC
- It also became the basis for the Ryan budget and similar austerity measures in Europe.

## Policy Impact



Paul Krugman (not pictured): RR may have had more immediate influence than any paper in history of economics.

## Policy Impact

Fiscal priorities in the West still reflect RR's findings.

• Follow politics closely and you'll see it.

However, the policy implications follow only if RR's findings are robust.

## Replicating Reinhart and Rogoff

Question: did RR actually do their research well? How would we know?

• Fortunately, RR made their data publicly available.

## Read in the Data

library(RCurl)

```
library(Zelig)
library(countrycode)
library(ggplot2)
library(mgcv)

data <- getURL("https://raw.githubusercontent.com/svmiller/reinhart-rogoff/master/RR-proces
Data <- read.csv(text = data)</pre>
```

## Do Some Recoding/Cleaning

```
Data <- subset(Data, select=c("Country", "Year", "dRGDP", "debtgdp"))</pre>
Data$ccode <- countrycode(Data$Country, "country.name", "cown")
Data$dgcat <- NA
Data$dgcat[Data$debtgdp > 0 & Data$debtgdp < 30] <- "0-30%"
Data$dgcat[Data$debtgdp >= 30 & Data$debtgdp < 60] <- "30-60%"
Data$dgcat[Data$debtgdp >= 60 & Data$debtgdp < 90] <- "60-90%"
Data$dgcat[Data$debtgdp >= 90] <- "90% and above"
Data$dgcat2 <- NA
Data$dgcat2[Data$debtgdp > 0 & Data$debtgdp < 30] <- "0-30%"
Data$dgcat2[Data$debtgdp >= 30 & Data$debtgdp < 60] <- "30-60%"
Data$dgcat2[Data$debtgdp >= 60 & Data$debtgdp < 90] <- "60-90%"
Data$dgcat2[Data$debtgdp >= 90 & Data$debtgdp < 120] <- "90-120%"
Data$dgcat2[Data$debtgdp >= 120] <- "Above 120%"
```

## Regression Analysis

```
summary(M1 <- lm(dRGDP ~ factor(dgcat), data=Data))</pre>
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = dRGDP ~ factor(dgcat), data = Data)
##
## Residuals:
##
       Min
                 10 Median
                                  30
                                         Max
## -13.1101 -1.5915 -0.0385 1.5203 24.2129
##
## Coefficients:
##
                            Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)
                             4.1735 0.1414 29.523 < 2e-16 ***
## factor(dgcat)30-60%
                            -1.0572 0.1988 -5.319 1.25e-07 ***
## factor(dgcat)60-90%
                          -0.9517 0.2505 -3.799 0.000153 ***
## factor(dgcat)90% and above -2.0055 0.3120 -6.427 1.89e-10 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 2.918 on 1167 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared: 0.04446, Adjusted R-squared: 0.042
## F-statistic: 18.1 on 3 and 1167 DF. p-value: 1.75e-11
```

## Regression Analysis

```
summary(M2 <- lm(dRGDP ~ factor(dgcat2), data=Data))</pre>
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = dRGDP ~ factor(dgcat2), data = Data)
##
## Residuals:
       Min
                 10 Median
##
                                  30
                                         Max
## -12.5037 -1.5688 -0.0462 1.5320 24.2129
##
## Coefficients:
##
                          Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)
                          4.1735
                                      0.1413 29.534 < 2e-16 ***
## factor(dgcat2)30-60%
                           -1.0572 0.1987 -5.321 1.24e-07 ***
## factor(dgcat2)60-90% -0.9517 0.2504 -3.800 0.000152 ***
## factor(dgcat2)90-120% -1.7676 0.3573 -4.947 8.63e-07 ***
## factor(dgcat2)Above 120% -2.6120 0.5426 -4.814 1.67e-06 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 2.917 on 1166 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared: 0.04599, Adjusted R-squared: 0.04271
## F-statistic: 14.05 on 4 and 1166 DF, p-value: 3.348e-11
```

## Be Mindful What Your Regression is Saying

#### Did anyone see something amiss?

• Let's use Zelig to show the problem here.

```
Data$dgcat <- as.factor(Data$dgcat)
summary(Z1 <- zelig(dRGDP ~ dgcat, data = Data, model="ls"))
Z1.low <- setx(Z1, dgcat = "90% and above")
summary(Z1.sim <-sim(Z1, x = Z1.low))</pre>
```

# Expected Values of GDP Growth for >90% Debt

```
## $`Expected Values: E(Y|X)`
## mean sd 50% 2.5% 97.5%
## 1 2.175847 0.2786447 2.17351 1.629431 2.71439
```

See the problem now?

## RR's Summary Statistics

##		RR.correct.mean	dgcat
##	0-30%	4.173520	0-30%
##	30-60%	3.116318	30-60%
##	60-90%	3.221804	60-90%
##	90% and above	2.167972 9	0% and above

The expected value of Y we got makes sense with the intercept (and these means), but it's not what RR reported.

So what happened?

## Why Can't We Replicate RR?

Why can't we replicate RR's Figure 2 (and Table 1 from the Appendix)?

- 1. RR make curious case exclusions of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand shortly after WWII.
  - Argument: they're unique because it's WWII (a sui generis event).
  - However: they include the U.S. during that time.
- RR also had a silly spreadsheet error that came from doing their work in Excel.
  - This omits Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, and Denmark from their analysis.
- 3. RR weight means equally by country rather than country year.
  - ullet i.e. the U.S. has four years in the highest debt category (growth: -2%)
  - the UK has 19 years in the highest debt category (growth: 2.4%)
  - However, the four U.S. observations are weighted equally with the U.K.'s 19 years.

# Correct Means per Debt Category

##		RR.correct.mean	dgcat
##	0-30%	4.173520	0-30%
##	30-60%	3.116318	30-60%
##	60-90%	3.221804	60-90%
##	90% and above	2.167972	90% and above

## What RR Reported

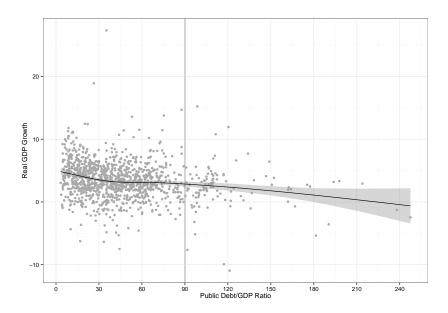
7	##		RR.published.mean	dgcat
ŧ	##	0-30%	4.08921971	0-30%
ŧ	##	30-60%	2.86594921	30-60%
ŧ	##	60-90%	3.39943999	60-90%
1	##	90% and above	-0.06206224	90% and above

## Look Familiar?

Appendix Table 1. Real GDP Growth as the Level of Debt Varies: Summary (annual percent change)

		60 to 90 percent	90 percent and above		
Central (Federal) government debt/ GDP-					
Adva	inced economies				
46-2009 4.1	2.8	2.8	-0.1		
46-2009 4.2	3.0	2.9	1.6		
	percer Central (Federa Adva 46-2009 4.1	percent         percent           Central (Federal) government debt/ Advanced economies           46-2009         4.1         2.8	percent         percent         percent           Central (Federal) government debt/ GDP- Advanced economies         46-2009         4.1         2.8         2.8		

# Another Look at the Debt/GDP Relationship



## Conclusion

RR still influence policy debates on debt and economic growth.

 However, their findings suffer from major inferential and workflow failures.

Don't make their mistakes when you do this yourself.

## Table of Contents

Introduction

Debt and Growth as Current Policy Issue

Reinhart and Rogoff's Argument Findings The Importance of These Findings

Replicating Reinhart and Rogoff

Conclusion