

Political budget cycles: manipulation of leaders *VS* manipulation of researchers

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Motivation

What are political budget cycles?

Literature findings – 40 years later, where do we stand?

Conflicting results about existence and magnitude of PbC

Data collection

Key words:

“political budget cycle”, “political business cycle”, “electoral cycle”

Search engines:

EconLit, Science Direct, Ideas Repec, Springer, Wiley, Google Scholar

Manual cross-checking

Criteria:

pre-electoral effects, national elections, cross-country evidence, Y =budget, expenditures, revenues

Dataset

1,331 effect size estimates from 58 studies:

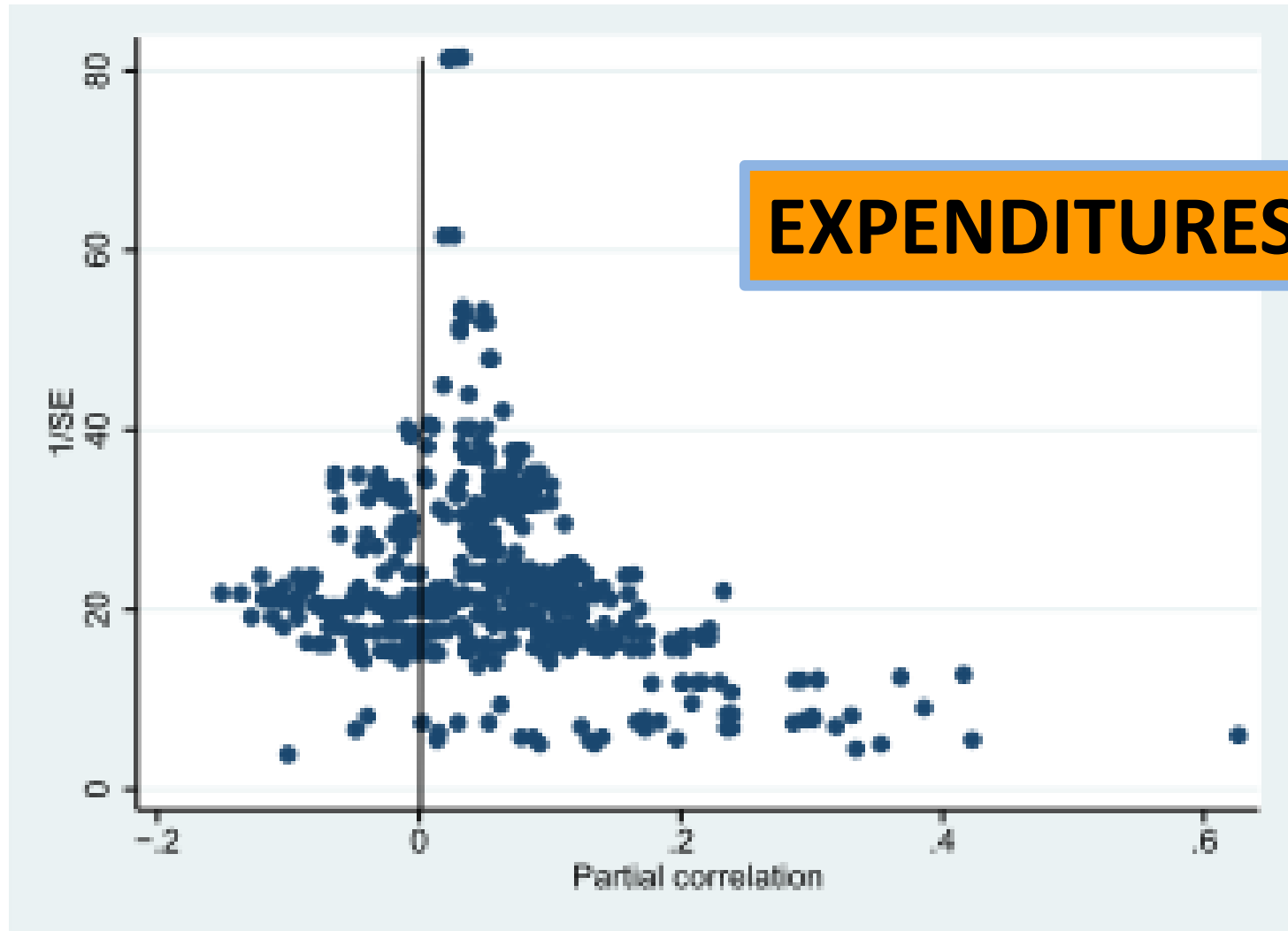
- 535 (276) for expenditures
- 354 (196) for revenues
- 442 for surplus

Heterogeneity regarding sample, estimators, measures...:

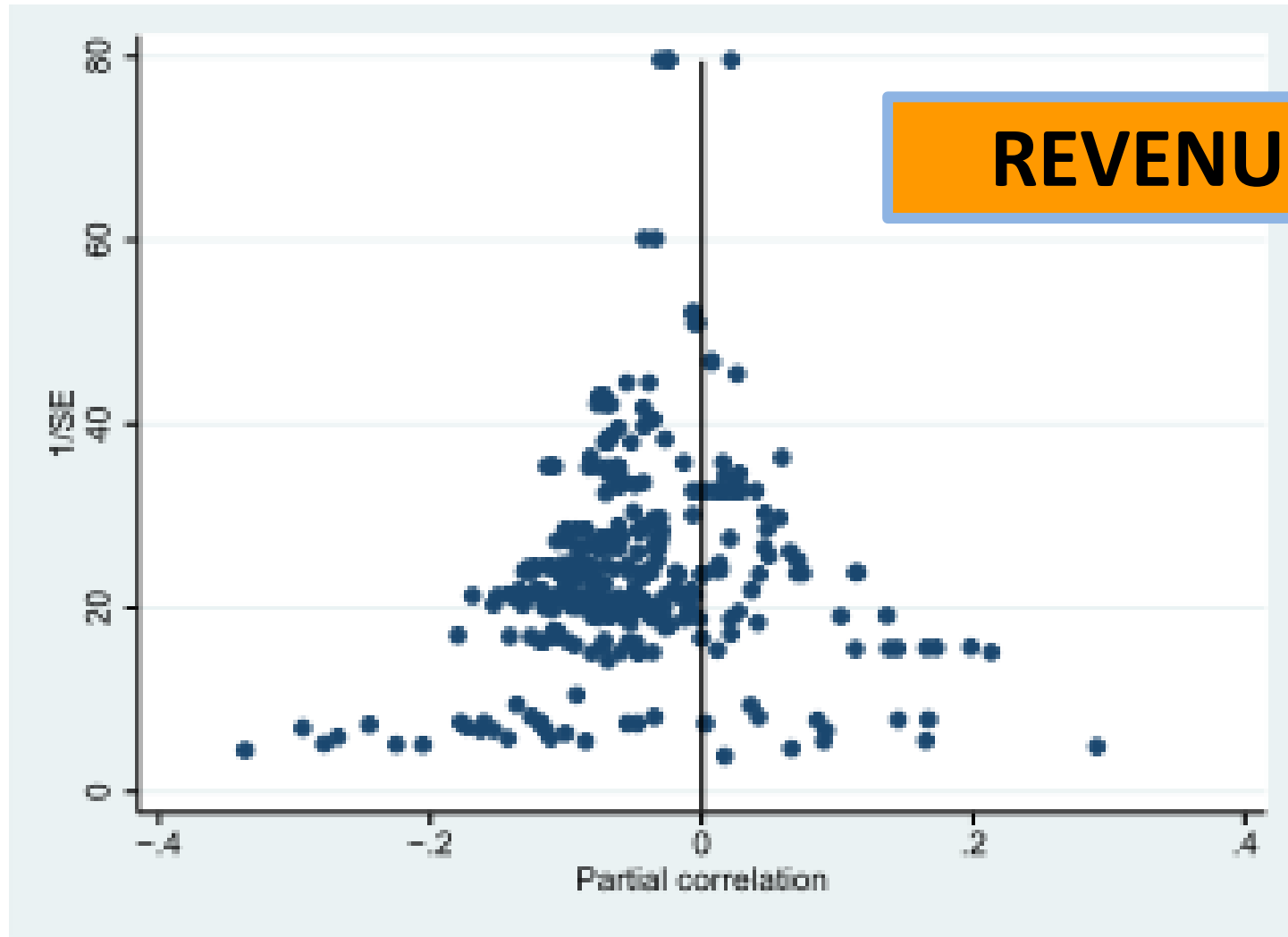
- ELEC: dummy vs ratios
- Budget: Overall, Total expenditures/revenues, sub-components...

Partial correlation coefficients

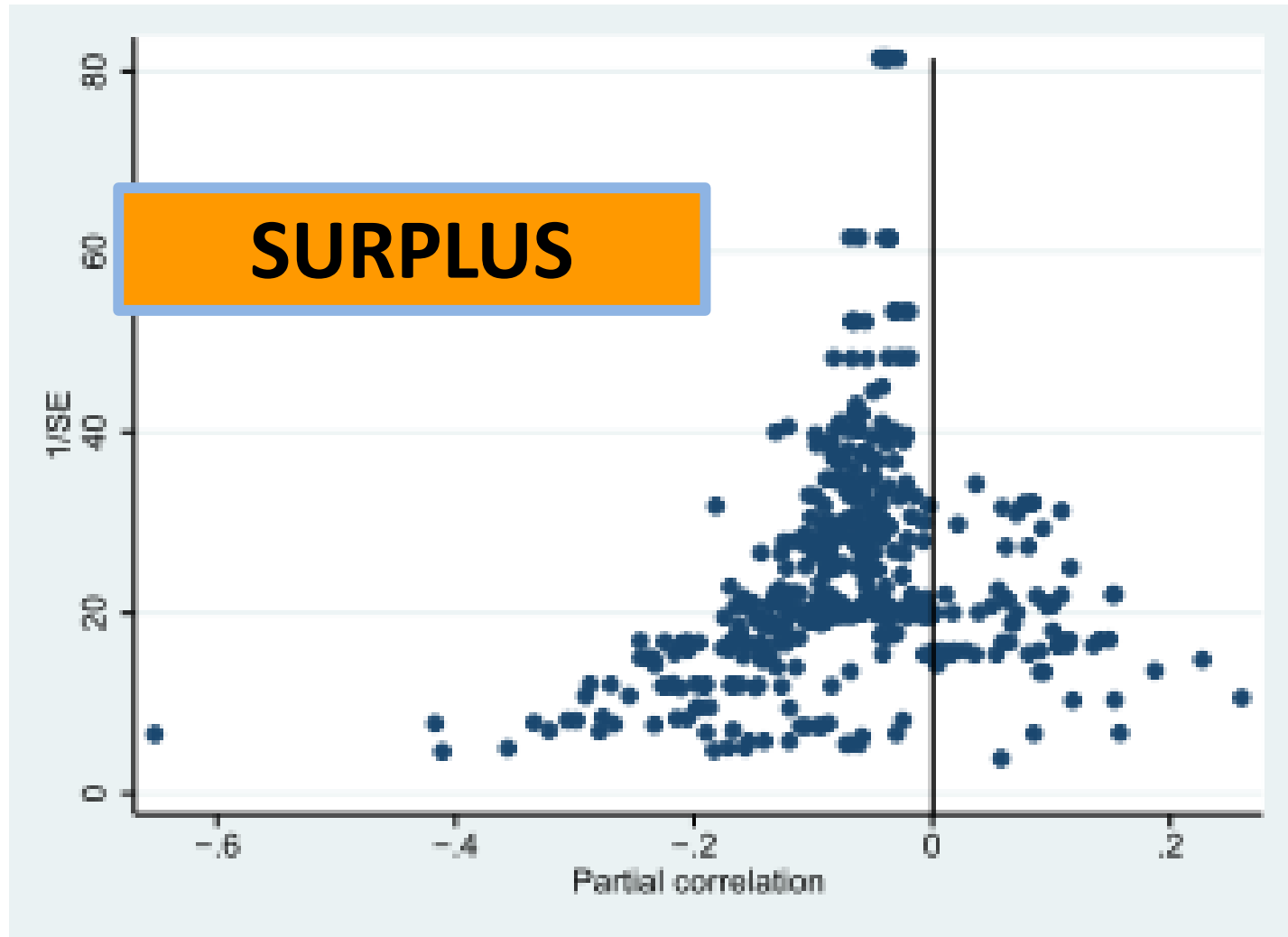
What does the distribution look like?



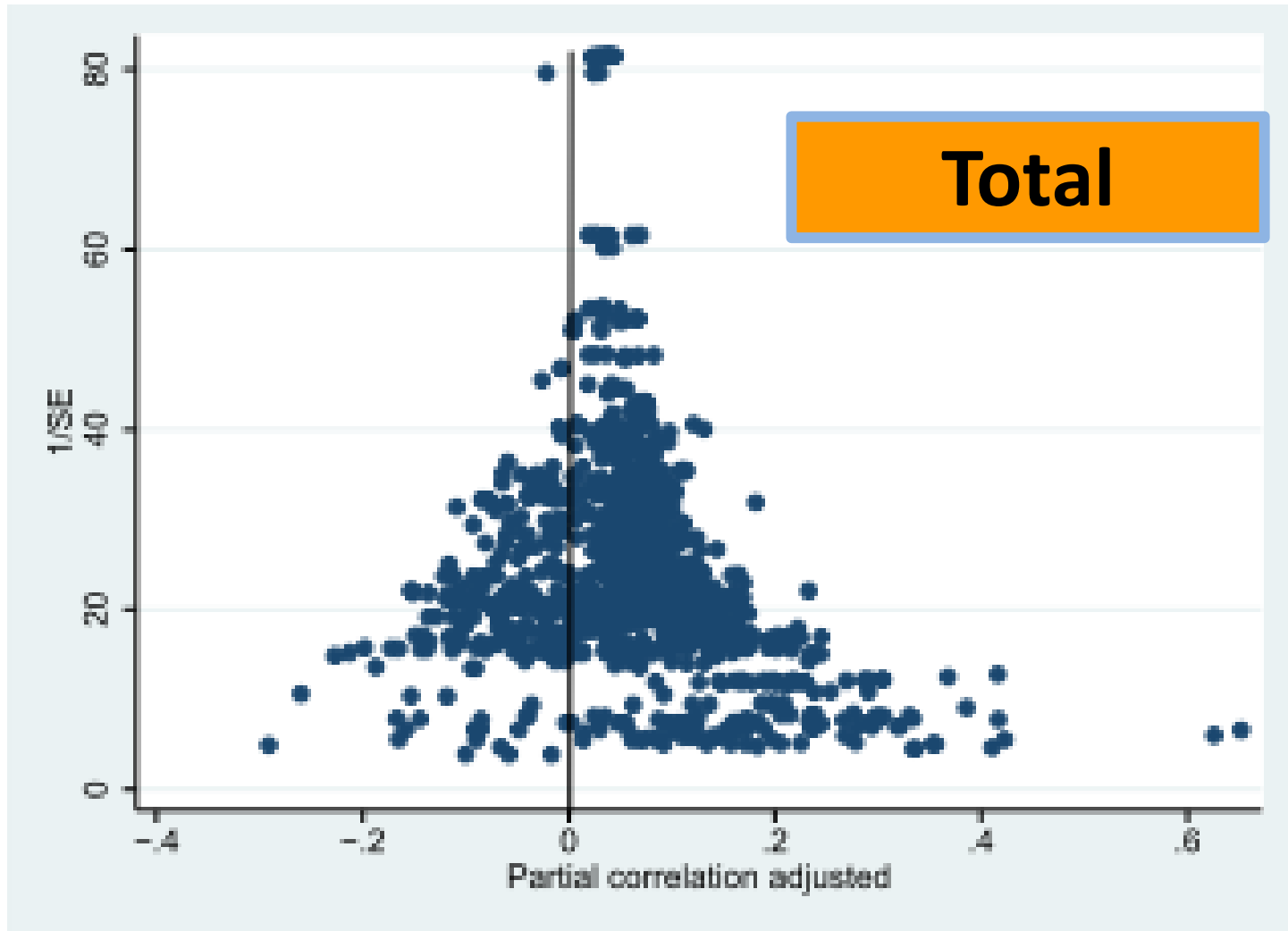
What does the distribution look like?



What does the distribution look like?



What does the distribution look like?



Do PbC exist?

Regression/s.e.	(1) FAT		(2) PET		N
	Funnel asymmetry		Meta-average		
(i) All Observations (Adjusted Partial Correlation)					
Double publication removed					
Robust s.e.	0.661***	(0.085)	0.024***	(0.003)	1,331
Clustered s.e.	0.661**	(0.250)	0.024***	(0.007)	1,331
Double clustered s.e.	0.661***	(0.232)	0.024***	(0.007)	1,331
Robust regression	0.767***	(0.091)	0.025***	(0.003)	1,331
(ii) Excluding "Pork-barrel" (Adjusted Partial Correlation)					
Robust s.e.	0.723***	(0.091)	0.022***	(0.003)	914
Clustered s.e.	0.723***	(0.229)	0.022***	(0.006)	914
Double clustered s.e.	0.723***	(0.259)	0.022***	(0.008)	914
Robust regression	0.779***	(0.094)	0.024***	(0.003)	914

Where does the PbC come from?

Regression/s.e.	(1) FAT		(2) PET		N
	Funnel asymmetry		Meta-average		
(i) Spending					
Robust s.e.	0.776***	(0.133)	0.014***	(0.005)	535
Clustered s.e.	0.776*	(0.401)	0.014	(0.011)	535
Double clustered s.e.	0.776**	(0.352)	0.014	(0.010)	535
Robust regression	0.793***	(0.166)	0.016**	(0.006)	535
(ii) Restrictive Measure of Spending					
Robust s.e.	0.657***	(0.158)	0.013**	(0.005)	276
Clustered s.e.	0.657	(0.448)	0.013	(0.013)	276
Robust regression	0.587***	(0.180)	0.016**	(0.007)	276
(iii) Revenues					
Robust s.e.	-0.617***	(0.178)	-0.021***	(0.007)	354
Clustered s.e.	-0.617*	(0.347)	-0.021	(0.015)	354
Double clustered s.e.	-0.617*	(0.356)	-0.021	(0.015)	354
Robust regression	-0.692***	(0.157)	-0.026***	(0.006)	354
(iv) Restrictive Measure of Revenues					
Robust s.e.	-0.883***	(0.166)	-0.011	(0.007)	196
Clustered s.e.	-0.883**	(0.307)	-0.011	(0.012)	196
Robust regression	-0.792***	(0.121)	-0.023***	(0.004)	196
(v) Fiscal surplus					
Robust s.e.	-0.704***	(0.136)	-0.032***	(0.004)	442
Clustered s.e.	-0.704*	(0.414)	-0.032***	(0.008)	442
Robust regression	-0.985***	(0.139)	-0.029***	(0.005)	442



EXPENDITURES

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REVENUES

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SURPLUS

Where does the PbC come from?

Variables	Revenues		Spending	
	WLS	FEML	WLS	FEML
<i>Direct Taxes</i>	-0.004	0.007	-	-
<i>External Taxes</i>	-0.006	-0.019	-	-
<i>Indirect Taxes</i>	-0.012	-0.003	-	-
<i>Non Tax Revenues</i>	0.073	-0.040*	-	-
<i>Current Spending</i>	-	-	0.040***	0.032***
<i>Capital Spending</i>	-	-	-0.088***	-0.097***
<i>Broad Public Good</i>	-	-	0.039**	0.048***
<i>Local Public Good</i>	-	-	0.040***	0.016
Missing Category	Total revenues		Total Spending	
RMSE	0.048	0.039	0.049	0.038
Adjusted R^2	0.095	0.649	0.317	0.735
Number of cluster	42	42	58	58
SE included	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Authors fixed effect	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	354	354	535	535

Sources of heterogeneity?

Variable	meta-analysis			
	Overall	Adjusted Partial Correlation	VECM	VECM double cluster
	Publication bias			
Standard error	0.003***	0.003***	0.222	0.222
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
	Publication			
Public Choice	0.022*	0.025**	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Dependent	0.011	0.008	-0.172**	-0.172**
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Impact Factor	0.001	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
	Polarization			
Sample	-0.003*	-0.001	-0.004**	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Economic	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
YEurope	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
YFar	-0.014	-0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.014)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
YGov	-0.011	-0.011	-0.011	-0.011
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
YGov	-0.011	-0.011	-0.011	-0.011
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Economic	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Elect	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Adjust. Calendar	0.005	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Adjust. Weight	0.010	0.005	0.005	0.005
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Adjust. Size	-0.017**	-0.025***	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Economic	0.005**	0.005	0.002	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)
SE Correlation	-0.012	-0.009**	-0.009**	-0.009**
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Controlling	-0.005	-0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.013)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Fixed Effect	-0.005	-0.011**	-0.011**	-0.011**
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
	Applications			
Electoral Evidence	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.010
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Electoral Evidence	-0.012**	-0.024***	-0.013**	-0.013**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Electoral Evidence	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**	0.005**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Electoral Transparency	0.020	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.015)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Electoral Dept	-0.005	-0.015*	-0.015*	-0.015*
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Electoral Finance	-0.005	0.005*	0.005*	0.005**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Electoral Check	0.005	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Legal T	0.020**	0.020**	0.012	0.012
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.007)
GDP	0.005	-0.011	-0.011	-0.011
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Growth	-0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Partisan	0.005**	0.005**	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Trust	0.005	0.005**	0.005	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
	Time and region			
1980	0.023*	0.010	0.023***	0.023***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.010)
1990	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Event	0.005	0.005**	0.005	0.005
	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Eastern Europe & Central Asia	0.023***	0.020***	0.023***	0.023***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Latin America & Caribbean	0.018***	0.022**	0.018***	0.018**
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Middle East and North Africa	-0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
South Asia & Pacific	0.005	0.005	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-0.020***	-0.020***	-0.020	-0.020
	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Global	-0.022	0.015	0.015	0.015
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Central (Western & Eastern)	0.011	0.027*	0.027*	0.027*
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.007)
RSE	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.005)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Number of clusters	37	37	37	147
Number of covariates	41	35	41	41
Authors fixed effect	No	No	Yes	Yes
N	1,011	1,011	1,011	1,011

Sources of heterogeneity?

Variable	Adjusted Partial Correlation			
	General	Specific	FEML	FEML double cluster
<i>Publication bias</i>				
<i>Standard error</i>	0.865*** (0.324)	0.650*** (0.225)	0.232 (0.555)	0.232 (0.466)
<i>Publications</i>				
<i>Public Choice</i>	0.022* (0.012)	0.023** (0.009)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.008)
<i>Unpublished</i>	0.010 (0.011)		-0.173** (0.069)	-0.173** (0.080)
<i>Impact Factor</i>	0.000 (0.000)		0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)
<i>Data heterogeneity</i>				
<i>VCentral</i>	-0.010 (0.012)		0.089*** (0.010)	0.089*** (0.017)
<i>Specifications</i>				
<i>Election × Agedemocr</i>	-0.012** (0.005)	-0.024*** (0.008)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.013** (0.007)
<i>Time and region</i>				
<i>Eastern Europe & Central Asia</i>	0.033*** (0.006)	0.030*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.005)	0.027*** (0.009)
<i>Latin America & Caribbean</i>	0.019*** (0.007)	0.022** (0.009)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.018* (0.010)

Conclusion

PbC do exist! But their magnitude is very limited

PbC are fairly exaggerated by researchers

ie, the manipulation of researchers is even more important than the manipulation of leaders...

Leaders' strategies (expenditures vs revenues) differ

Limited magnitude but still worth consideration due to:

- adverse economic and “democratic” effects
- hidden phenomenon
- tip of the ice-berg

Thank you for your attention

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