### The Costs and Consequences of Sovereign Borrowing

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# In honor of Ken Rogoff

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▶ The Eras Tour...today I'll mention

- (i) Debt overhang on growth
- (ii) Political economy
- (iii) Why countries repay
- (iv) Costs of default
- (v) Debt buybacks

# Lending to Poorer Countries

- Sample from WDI from 1970 to 2021
- ▶ Focus on countries with 1970 GDP per capita < \$10,000 (in 2015 dollars)
  - Argentina is in, Greece is out
  - ▶ Up to 52 countries
- ▶ Debt is "External debt stocks, public and publicly guaranteed (PPG)"
  - Excludes domestic debt

### Average External Public Debt to GDP



# **Motivation of Talk**

- Fifty years since the (latest) explosion of lending to emerging and developing economies
- Draw some insights and lessons from data and theory
  - What sovereign borrowing does and doesn't do
  - Contrast with neoclassical Conventional Wisdom (CW)
- Implications for policy and future research
  - ▶ Increase the joint surplus of government and lender  $\Rightarrow$  Private welfare  $\uparrow\downarrow$ ?
  - Should we make markets more or less efficient?

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  - Should we make markets more or less efficient?
- Make a case using data and theory that arguably correcting inefficiencies may be welfare reducing

# **Conventional Wisdom on Debt**

- Benefits...
  - ▶ Relaxing S = I constraint on investment
  - Smoothing shocks
- ► Inefficiencies. . .
  - Limited commitment
  - Limited state contingency
  - Rollover risk
  - Default Costs (reputation, trade/output, inequality)
- ▶ Solving the latter would improve the former (?)

# **Debt and Capital as Complements**

The Neoclassical Conventional Wisdom

- Key constraint:  $B \leq \nu K$
- ▶ e.g. Cohen and Sachs (1986), Barro, Mankiw, Sala-i-Martin (1995)
- Key prediction: K and B both increase along transition
- No distinction between public and private debt
- Dynamics driven by adjustment costs or complementary inputs
- Speed of transition driven by technology (and fast)

# **Debt and Capital as Complements**

The Neoclassical Conventional Wisdom

- Conventional Wisdom "retired" by Gourinchas and Jeanne (2013)'s "Allocation Puzzle"
- Faster growth associated with net outflows

### Allocation Puzzle 1970-2004

Total Flows



Change in Total NFA/Y

# Debt and Capital as Substitutes

- Key constraint:  $W^G(B) \ge W^D(K)$
- ▶ With  $W^{G'}(B) < 0$  and  $W^{D'}(K) > 0$
- ▶ e.g. Thomas & Worrall (1994), AAG (2009), AA(2011)
- Two interpretations
  - Deviation/default more attractive with large K
  - ► Taxation of capital more likely with large B
- Key prediciton: As  $B \uparrow \Rightarrow K \downarrow$

# **Debt and Capital as Substitutes**

- Key variable is public debt
  - Tradeoff between government borrowing and private investment
  - Private capital flows move in reverse direction of public flows
- Countries differ in political-economy distortions
- Speed of transition driven by speed of debt accumulation/repayment

### Allocation Puzzle 1970-2004: Public Flows



Change in Public NFA/Y

### Allocation Puzzle 1970-2004: Private Flows



Change in Private NFA/Y

# Debt and Average Investment Rate 1970-2004



# **Taking Stock**

- Government borrowing negatively correlated with investment
- Government borrowing negatively correlated with growth
- Public Debt and Capital are Substitutes
- Private flows have reverse correlations
- Long-run correlation
  - Business Cycle frequencies government borrowing pro-cyclical

A Caveat: Updating the Sample



# Public Flows 1970-2021



### Public Flows 1970-2021



### Public Flows over Two Periods



# Taking Stock

- No evidence of complementarity in longer sample
- Weaker evidence of crowding out
- ▶ But . . .
  - Deepening of domestic debt markets
  - Debt forgiveness not exogenous
  - Never borrowed different than debt forgiveness or restructured
    - Model is "too Markovian"
    - Histories matter

### What does sovereign debt do?

- Not an engine of growth
- ▶ Not a path to higher investment

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- Volatility generator

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#### Volatility generator

- Compute standard deviation of annual  $\Delta \ln(GDP)$ ,  $\Delta \ln(G)$ , and  $\Delta \ln(C)$
- Correlate with change in Public Debt

# Debt and Volatility 1970-2004

**GDP** Growth



# Debt and Volatility 1970-2004

G Growth



# Debt and Relative Volatility 1970-2004

G Growth rel to Income Growth



# Debt and Relative Volatility 1970-2004

Cons Growth rel to Income Growth



Change in Public Debt/Y

# Taking Stock

- Debt associated with higher volatility
- Debt associated with higher <u>relative</u> volatility
- $\blacktriangleright$  Particularly strong for G
- Opposite of "smoothing" expenditure
- ► Tax Smoothing?
  - Long time frame
  - Theory predicts savings in long run (buffer stock)
- Volatility to some extent a choice/consequence

# Implications

- Sovereign debt generates slower growth and more volatility
- Opposite of Conventional Wisdom
- Potential responses:
  - (i) Double down on neoclassical paradigm
    - Correct inefficiencies in debt markets
    - Provide debt/fiscal guidelines to governments
    - Recover original promise
  - (ii) View inefficiencies as positive
    - Poorly working debt markets help correct Pol. Econ. frictions
    - More limits on government borrowing the better

# A View from the Standard Quantitative Model

- Ingredients of standard sovereign debt model:
  - Business cycle fluctuations
  - No investment
  - Default costly and strategic
  - ▶ Impatient decision maker relative to international  $R^{\star}$

# Is this a good laboratory?

- ▶ No investment: Gourinchas & Jeanne (2006,2013), AA(2011)
- Default costs are key
  - Hébert and Schreger (2017); Farah-Yacoub, Graf von Luckner, Ramalho, and Reinhart (2022)
- ▶ Impatience is key: PE distortion
  - Not why countries repay, but why do they borrow
- Strategic default: Is this realistic?
- Generates extra volatility
  - ▶ Pro-cyclical bond prices  $\Rightarrow$  Pro-cyclical borrowing
  - Consistent with data

# **Some Predicted Moments**

Benchmark Long-Term Debt Model

Outcome	Ergodic Mean	
$\frac{B}{Y}$	17.5%	
Mean $r - r^*$	8.4 %	
StDev $r - r^{\star}$	4.6%	
$\frac{\sigma(\ln c)}{\sigma(\ln y)}$	1.11	
ho(TB/Y,Y)	-0.66	

### Lessons from the Model

- Is access to debt markets a good thing?
  - Extends Aguiar, Amador, and Fourakis IMF Review (2020)
- What is the source of the welfare wedge?
  - Impatient government
    - Political turnover
  - Risk averse citizenry
    - Incumbent does not bear full downside risk of default
    - Incentive to gamble for re-election by borrowing

### Value of Credit Markets

Welfare Gain from Debt Acess

- Solve model under assumed government's preferences
- Compute private welfare gain from access to debt markets

$$\frac{V(y,b=0)}{V^A(y)}$$

- V embeds private HH's preferences
- Express in consumption equivalents
- Compares equilibrium with debt to extreme of never borrowing
- Ask for what private preference parameters does autarky dominate?

# Value of Credit Markets

 $\wedge$ 

More Risk Averse



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### Sources of Welfare Losses

- HH's prefer Autarky if rel. patient or risk averse
- Bringing consumption forward
- Volatility of consumption
- Costs of default (very important)
  - Early consumption in exchange for risk of default a bad gamble for reasonable discount rates and risk aversion

### **Rollover Risk**

- Move away from purely strategic default
- Evidence in the data for self-fulfilling runs
  - Suggestive cases like Europe 2012
  - ▶ AA(2023) use cleaner identification from debt swaps in DR
  - Exploits buyback boondoggle insight
- ► Value of lender of last resort (LoLR)?

# The Logic of Rollover Crises

- If government indebted enough...
  - If creditors are willing to lend, government does not default
  - If creditors "run", government forced to default
- Pure coordination failure
- LoLR corrects failure
  - ► No money spent in equilibrium
- With perfect information, LoLR ideal policy response
  - Perfectly discriminate between fundamental and rollover crises
  - Stack deck in favor of LoLR

# Value of Credit Markets

Welfare Gain from LoLR

- Compare welfare with and without LoLR in a model of runs
- ► Focus on model with one-period debt
  - Absent runs, ST debt close to efficiency
  - Equilibrium maximizes joint welfare of lenders and government ... but not citizens
- Caveat: Need extreme impatience on part of the government

# **Some Predicted Moments**

Short-Term Debt Model

	Rollover	LoLR
	Model	Model
_		
$\frac{B}{Y}$	7%	16%
Default Frequency	1.9%	1.4% per annum
Mean $r - r^{\star}$	2.0 %	1.5%
StDev $r - r^{\star}$	1.2%	1.0%
$\frac{\sigma(\ln c)}{\sigma(\ln y)}$	1.07	1.20
$\rho(TB/Y, Y)$	-0.19	-0.16
Share Defaults from Runs	100%	0%

# **Some Predicted Moments**

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# Value of Credit Markets

Welfare Gain from LoLR

- Government borrows more with LoLR
  - Prices are very different
  - Seems like moral hazard, but...
  - No money from LoLR on path
  - Efficient if government and citizenry agree
- Generates more consumption volatility
- Generates modest decline in default
  - ▶ Note: All defaults in Rollover Crisis model are due to runs
  - LoLR does not eliminate all defaults in equilibrium

# Value of LoLR

 $\wedge$ 

More Risk Averse



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# Value of LoLR

▶ Market price of rollover risk provides some discipline ....

- But, at a heightened cost of default
- ► Caveats...
  - Quantitative Run Models not well developed
  - Ex ante welfare
- If most defaults are due to lack of LoLR, then imperative to understand welfare consequences

# **Policy Implications**

- Plausibly ex ante better off without access to debt markets or even LoLR
- Different than value of LoLR in midst of crisis
- Key policy takeaways:
  - Understand broader welfare implications of debt markets
  - Correctly sign welfare response to market innovations and interventions
  - Lessons for exit of default state and re-entry to debt markets

# Summing Up

- Hard to identify positive value of sovereign borrowing
- Clear patterns of negative outcomes both before and after default
- Maybe examples like Covid are best case . . .
  - Shock relatively persistent in EMs
  - Calls more for insurance than self-insurance
  - See how plays out
- Rethink value of access to debt markets
- Rethink value of mitigating inefficiencies
  - Lack an enforceable public debt counterpart to MacroPru
  - Case for market-based discipline

# Thank You