

The Anarchy of Numbers: Aid, Development, and Cross-Country Empirics

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The recent literature contains many stories of how foreign aid affects economic growth. Aid raises growth in countries with good policies, or with difficult economic environments, or outside the tropics, or on average but with diminishing returns. The diversity of the results suggests that many are fragile. Seven important aid-growth papers are tested for robustness, using 14 minimally arbitrary tests deriving mainly from differences among the studies themselves. This approach investigates the importance of potentially arbitrary specification choices while minimizing the arbitrariness in testing choices. All of the results appear fragile, especially to sample expansion. JEL Codes: F35, O23, O40

In early 1981, economist Edward Leamer gave a lecture at the University of Toronto, in which he bemoaned the state of econometrics. Econometrics sought the status of a science, with regressions as its analog for the reproducible experiments of chemistry or physics. Yet an essential part of econometric “experimentation” was too often arbitrary, opaque, and unrepeatable. “The econometric art as it is practiced at the computer terminal involves fitting many, perhaps thousands, of statistical models. . . . This search for a model is often well intentioned, but there can be no doubt that such a specification search invalidates the traditional theories of inference” (Leamer 1983, p. 36). The way out of the quagmire, he argued, was for econometricians to explore larger regions of “specification space,” systematically analyzing the relationship between assumptions and conclusions.

One econometric debate with hallmarks of the syndrome Leamer describes is that on the effectiveness of foreign aid in developing countries. Since Griffin and Enos (1970), econometricians have parried over the question of how aid affects economic growth. Prominent in contemporary work, Burnside and

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Dollar (2000, p. 847) conclude that “aid has a positive effect on growth in a good policy environment.” Their evidence: the statistical significance in cross-country panel growth regressions of an interaction term of total aid received and an indicator of the quality of recipient economic policies (*aid* × *policy*). But Burnside and Dollar are just one voice among many. Collier and Dehn (2001), Collier and Dollar (2002, 2004), and Collier and Hoeffler (2004) corroborate their finding, whereas others challenge it.

From the ongoing debate emerge several stories of the relationship between aid and growth, each turning on a particular quadratic or interaction term involving aid. The stories are not incompatible, but most of the papers support only one. Hansen and Tarp (2001) find that entering the square of aid drives out *aid* × *policy* and makes the simple *aid* term significant too: aid works on average, but with diminishing returns. Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) also fail to find significance for *aid* × *policy* and instead offer evidence that aid works best in countries with difficult economic environments, characterized by volatile and declining terms of trade, low population, and natural disasters. In the same vein Collier and Dehn (2001) find that increasing aid cushions countries against negative export price shocks. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) offer a triple-interaction term: aid works particularly well in countries that are recovering from civil war and that have good policies. Last, Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) say that aid raises growth outside the tropics but not in them.

These papers differ not only in their conclusions but in their specifications as well. Within the group there are two choices of period length in the panel data sets, three definitions of *policy*, three of *aid*, and four choices of control variable sets. Although probably none of the choices is made on a whim, these differences appear to be examples of what Leamer called “whimsy.” From Leamer’s point of view the studies together represent a small sampling of specification space. And few include much robustness testing. Without further analysis, it is hard to know whether the results reveal solid underlying regularities in the data or are fragile artifacts of particular specification choices.

This article examines the possibility of fragility systematically. Since by the laws of chance any regression can be broken with enough experimentation, it is essential for credibility that the testing suite itself be minimally arbitrary. The tests derive from two sources: the choices present in the original specifications, and the passage of time, which allows expansion of data sets (as in Easterly, Levine, and Roodman 2004). In all, regressions from seven of the most prominent studies are subjected to this systematic test suite.

Section I reviews the approaches and conclusions of the studies that are tested for robustness, section II describes the tests, and section III reports the results.

I. HISTORY OF AID AND GROWTH STUDIES

The hope has often arisen that a turn to the numbers would shed light on the questions of whether and when foreign aid works. In the view of Hansen and

Tarp (2000) the aid effectiveness literature has gone through three generations. The first generation essentially spans 1970–72 and mainly investigates the aid-savings link. Influenced by the Harrod-Domar model, in which savings is the binding constraint on growth, aid-induced saving is assumed to lead directly to investment and then to growth through a fixed incremental capital-output ratio. The second generation runs from the early 1970s to the early 1990s and directly investigates whether aid affects investment and growth.

Hansen and Tarp argue that the preponderance of the evidence from these first two generations shows that aid increases total savings, but less than one for one, and that aid increases investment and growth. They suggest that studies with more pessimistic results, such as Mosley, Hudson, and Horrell (1987), gained disproportionate attention precisely because they are contrarian.

The third generation, which began with Boone (1994) and continues to this day, is the focus of this article. It brought several innovations. The data sets cover more countries and years. Reflecting the influence of the new growth theory, regressors are typically included to represent the economic and institutional environment (sometimes together called the “policy environment”). The potential endogeneity of aid is addressed through instrumenting. And the marginal aid-growth slope is allowed to vary, through the incorporation of such regressors as aid^2 and $aid \times policy$. The data sets are almost always panels.

Burnside and Dollar (2000) test whether an interaction term of aid and an index of recipient country economic policies are significantly associated with growth. Their panel is drawn from developing countries outside the former Eastern bloc, covering the six four-year periods in 1970–93. They incorporate some controls found to be significant in the general growth literature: initial income (log real GDP per capita) to capture convergence; ethno-linguistic fractionalization (Easterly and Levine 1997), assassinations per capita (Banks 2002), and the product of the two; the Knack-Keefer (1995) institutional quality variable, the International Country Risk Guide Economic rating (ICRGE); the ratio of M2 to GDP, to indicate financial depth, lagged one period to avoid endogeneity (King and Levine 1993); and dummy variables for Sub-Saharan Africa and fast-growing East Asia.

Burnside and Dollar use a measure of aid called effective development assistance (EDA; Chang, Fernandez-Arias, and Serven 1998). EDA differs in two major respects from the usual net official development assistance (ODA) measure tabulated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development–Development Assistance Committee (OECD–DAC 2002). First, EDA excludes technical assistance, on the grounds that it funds not so much recipient governments as consultants. Second, it differs in its treatment of loans. Net ODA counts disbursements of concessional (low-interest) loans only, but at full face value.¹ As a capital flow concept, it nets out principal but

1. The DAC considers a loan concessional if it has a grant element of at least 25 percent of the loan value, using a 10 percent discount rate.

not interest payments on old loans. In contrast, EDA includes development loans, regardless of how concessional (for example, it includes loans on near-commercial terms by the World Bank to middle-income countries such as Brazil), but counts only their grant element—that is, their net present value.

Concerned about limited statistical power, Burnside and Dollar combine their economic policy indicators into a single variable. They first run a growth regression without aid terms, but with all controls and three indicators of economic policy— $\log(1 + \text{inflation})$, budget balance as a percentage of GDP, and the Sachs-Warner (1995) openness variable. All three policy variables are significantly different from zero at the 0.05 level, so Burnside and Dollar form a linear combination of the three using their coefficients as weights.²

When Burnside and Dollar run their base specification including *aid* and *aid* \times *policy*, the term of central interest, *aid* \times *policy* does not enter significantly. However, it becomes significant after either of two possible changes. Five outlier observations can be excluded (giving Burnside and Dollar's preferred specification). Or a quadratic interaction term can be added—*aid*² \times *policy*, in which case both *aid* \times *policy* and *aid*² \times *policy* appear significantly different from zero, the first with a positive sign and the second with a negative. Burnside and Dollar famously conclude that aid raises growth in a good policy environment, but with diminishing returns.

Burnside and Dollar's work has triggered responses, some critical, some supportive. Hansen and Tarp (2001) make one prominent attack. They modify the Burnside and Dollar two-stage least-squares (2SLS) regressions in several ways, most importantly by adding *aid*². *Aid* \times *policy* is not significant in their results, but *aid* and *aid*² are, the first with a positive sign and the second with a negative. The implication is that aid is effective on average, but with diminishing returns—regardless of recipients' policies as far as the evidence goes. Hansen and Tarp then criticize both the Burnside and Dollar regressions and their own for failing to handle several standard concerns. There may be country-level fixed effects that correlate with both policies and growth. Failing to purge or control for all such effects could give spurious explanatory power to *policy* and *aid* \times *policy*. Also, variables other than aid and its interaction terms, such as *fiscal balance*, could be endogenous and need instrumenting too. They deploy the Arellano-Bond (1991) generalized method of moments (GMM) estimator, which is designed to handle these problems in short panels. Hansen and Tarp also add the change in aid (Δaid) and Δaid^2 as regressors.³ Their 2SLS results on *aid* and *aid*² hold. And Δaid and Δaid^2 are significant too, again, the first with a positive sign and the second with a negative.

2. They also add a constant term to the index, but this has no effect on the regression results of interest here.

3. This is equivalent to adding lagged *aid* and lagged *aid*² since the regressions also control for *aid* and *aid*².

Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) tell a third story. They hypothesize that the economic vulnerability of a country influences aid effectiveness. They call economic vulnerability the “environment,” not to be confused with Burnside and Dollar’s “policy environment.” In this story, aid flows stabilize countries that are particularly buffeted by terms of trade difficulties, other sorts of external shocks, or natural disasters. Guillaumont and Chauvet build an environment index out of four variables: volatility of agricultural value added (to proxy for natural disasters), volatility of export earnings, long-term terms of trade trend, and log of population (small countries being more vulnerable to external forces). Their specification is distinctive in using 12-year periods, and in its controls, which include population growth, mean years of secondary school education among adults (Barro and Lee 2000); the Barro-Lee (1994) measure of political instability, based on assassinations and revolutions; ethno-linguistic fractionalization; and lagged M2/GDP. In their OLS and 2SLS regressions, $aid \times environment$ appears with the predicted negative sign, indicating that aid works better in countries with worse environments. The term also drives out $aid \times policy$.

Collier and Dollar (2002) corroborate Burnside and Dollar with a quite different data set and specification. Unlike Burnside and Dollar, they perform OLS estimations only. They include former Eastern bloc countries, the Bahamas, and Singapore. They use net ODA rather than EDA. They study 1974–97 instead of 1970–93. They drop all Burnside and Dollar controls except log initial GDP per capita, ICRGE, and period dummy variables. But they add region dummy variables.⁴ And they define policy as the overall score from the World Bank’s Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), a composite rating of countries on some 20 aspects of policies and institutions.⁵ They add aid^2 but then drop the linear aid term from their preferred specification as insignificant. After all the changes $aid \times policy$ is again significant, as is aid^2 , with a negative sign.

Starting from the Collier and Dollar core regression, Collier and Hoeffler (2004) analyze how recent emergence from civil war influences aid effectiveness. Sticking to the four-year panel, they create three dummy variables to indicate how recently civil war ended. *Peace onset* is one in the period when a country goes from civil war to peace. *Post-conflict 1* is one in the following period and *post-conflict 2* is one in the period after that—assuming that civil war does not recur. $Aid \times policy \times post-conflict 1$ is significant in Collier and Hoeffler’s preferred (OLS) specification: aid works particularly well in a good policy environment a few years after civil conflict.

Also corroborating Burnside and Dollar, Collier and Dehn (2001) hew closely to the Burnside and Dollar specification and data set and tell a story

4. The regions are Europe and Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa, Southern Asia, East Asia and Pacific, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean, as defined by the World Bank.

5. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) make a small correction to the Collier and Dollar data set, excluding five observations where a missing value had been treated as zero. The Collier and Hoeffler version of the Collier and Dollar regression is tested here.

that incorporates elements from Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001). They find that adding variables incorporating information on export shocks renders Burnside and Dollar's preferred specification—the one with $aid \times policy$ but not $aid^2 \times policy$ —more robust to the inclusion of Burnside and Dollar's five outliers. First, they add two variables indicating the magnitude of any positive or negative commodity export price shocks. They report that $aid \times policy$ is then significant at 0.01 for a regression on the full data set. The negative-shock variable is significant too, with the expected minus sign.⁶ Then Collier and Dehn add four aid–shock interaction terms: lagged $aid \times positive\ shock$, lagged $aid \times negative\ shock$, $\Delta aid \times positive\ shock$, and $\Delta aid \times negative\ shock$. The first and last prove positive and significant in OLS, and the last, $\Delta aid \times negative\ shock$, proves particularly robust in their testing. The study buttresses Burnside and Dollar while suggesting that well-timed aid increases ameliorate negative export shocks. This matches the Guillaumont and Chauvet result in spirit. But where Guillaumont and Chauvet interact the *amount* of aid with the *standard deviation* of an index of export *volume* and other variables, Collier and Dehn's significant term involves the *change* in aid and the *change* in export *prices*.

Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) tell a novel aid-growth story. They focus on the share of a country's area that is in the tropics as a determinant of both growth and the influence of aid on growth. This variable surfaces as a growth determinant in Bloom and Sachs (1998), Gallup and Sachs (1999), and Sachs (2001, 2003). The causal links may include institutions and economic policies (Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson 2001; Easterly and Levine 2003). Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp thus see tropical area as an exogenous “deep determinant” of growth. In the regressions, aid and $aid \times tropical\ area\ fraction$ are significant, the first with a positive sign and the second with a negative sign and similar magnitude. For countries situated completely in the tropics, the derivative of growth with respect to aid (the sum of the two coefficients) is indistinguishable from zero. Thus, on average, aid seems to work outside the tropics but not inside them. The authors report that their new interaction term drives out both $aid \times policy$ and aid^2 .

There are other third-generation studies (Hadjimichael and others 1995; Durbarray, Gemmell, and Greenaway 1998; Svensson 1999; Lensink and White 2001; Chauvet and Guillaumont 2002; Burnside and Dollar 2004). This article focuses on those already highlighted as being among the most influential and, with one exception, having been published. The exception is Collier and Dehn (2001), which is a pillar of the published Collier and Dollar (2004).

The testing here applies to what appear to be the authors' preferred regressions (table 1). Country by country the tested regressions generate a

6. However, the reproduction using their data gives a t statistic of only 0.42 to $aid \times policy$ despite having the same R^2 and sample size, so their result may be an error. But the same negative sign does appear in the reproduction on the negative-shock variable.

TABLE 1. Regressions Tested

Regression	Estimator	Former east bloc?	Definition of					Outliers out?	Key significant term(s)
			Controls	Study period	Years/period	Aid	Policy		
Burnside and Dollar (2000) 5/OLS	OLS	No	LGDP, ETHNF, ASSAS, ETHNF × ASSAS, ICRGE, M2, SSA, EASIA, period dummy variables	1970–93	4	EDA/real GDP	BB, INFL, SACW	Yes	$Aid \times policy$
Collier and Dehn (2001) 3.4	OLS	No	LGDP, ETHNF, ASSAS, ETHNF × ASSAS, ICRGE, M2, SSA, EASIA, period dummy variables	1974–93	4	EDA/real GDP	BB, INFL, SACW	No	$Aid \times policy$, $\Delta aid \times negative shock$
Collier and Dollar (2002) 1.2 ^a	OLS	Yes	LGDP, ICRGE, policy, period and region dummy variables	1974–97	4	ODA/real GDP	CPIA	No	$Aid \times policy$, aid^2
Collier and Hoeffler (2004) 3.4	OLS	Yes	LGDP, ICRGE, policy, period and region dummy variables	1974–97	4	ODA/real GDP	CPIA	No	$Aid \times policy \times post-conflict 1$
Hansen and Tarp (2001) 3.2	Difference GMM	No	LGDP, ASSAS, ETHNF × ASSAS, ICRGE, M2, period dummy variables	1978–93	4	ODA/exchange rate GDP	INFL, SACW	No	Aid , aid^2 , Δaid , Δaid^2

(Continued)

TABLE 1. Continued

Regression	Estimator	Former east bloc?	Definition of					Outliers out?	Key significant term(s)
			Controls	Study period	Years/period	Aid	Policy		
Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) 3.5	System GMM	Yes	LGDP, policy, period dummy variables	1970–97	4	EDA/real GDP ^b	BB, INFL, SACW	No	<i>Aid, aid × tropical area fraction</i>
Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) 5.2	2SLS	No	LGDP, ENV, SYR, POPG, M2, PINSTAB, ETHNF, period dummy variables	1970–93	12	ODA/exchange rate GDP	BB, INFL, SACW	No	<i>Aid, aid × environment</i>

LGDP, log initial real GDP per capita; ETHNF, ethnolinguistic fractionalization, 1960; ASSAS, assassinations per capita; ICRGE, composite of International Country Risk Guide Economic governance indicators; M2, M2/GDP, lagged; SSA, Sub-Saharan Africa dummy variable; EASIA, fast-growing East Asia dummy variable; ENV, Guillaumont and Chauvet “environment” variable; SYR, mean years of secondary schooling among adults; PINSTAB, average of ASSAS and revolutions per year; BB, budget balance/GDP; INFL, log(1 + inflation); SACW, Sachs-Warner openness; EDA, effective development assistance; ODA, net official development assistance.

^aAs revised in Collier and Hoeffler (2004).

^bAs extrapolated to 1970–74 and 1996–97 in Easterly, Levine, and Roodman (2004).

Source: Author’s analysis based on sources shown in the table.

TABLE 2. Marginal Impact of Aid According to Preferred Regression, Various Studies, for 20 Largest Aid Recipients of 1998

Country	Burnside and Dollar (2000) 5-OLS	Collier and Dehn (2001)	Collier and Dollar (2002)	Collier and Hoeffler (2004)	Hansen and Tarp (2001)	Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004)	Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)
Bangladesh	0.20 (0.15)	-0.04 (0.15)	0.43 (0.20)	0.37 (0.20)	0.14 (0.13)	0.29 (0.18)	-0.72 (0.37)
Bolivia	0.56 (0.22)	0.15 (0.22)	0.29 (0.16)	0.24 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.33 (0.17)
China	0.16 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.14)	0.53 (0.25)	0.46 (0.24)	0.20 (0.15)	0.66 (0.14)	
Côte d'Ivoire	0.56 (0.22)	0.15 (0.22)	0.11 (0.10)	0.07 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.23 (0.13)
Egypt	0.59 (0.23)	0.16 (0.22)	0.30 (0.15)	0.25 (0.14)	0.13 (0.13)	0.53 (0.14)	-0.55 (0.28)
Ethiopia	0.30 (0.16)	0.01 (0.16)	0.20 (0.12)	0.71 (0.15)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.29 (0.33)	0.04 (0.12)
Haiti	0.15 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.14)	-0.23 (0.13)	-0.25 (0.12)	-0.28 (0.10)	-0.29 (0.33)	
India	0.13 (0.15)	-0.08 (0.14)	0.48 (0.22)	0.41 (0.22)	0.20 (0.15)	0.19 (0.20)	-0.97 (0.51)
Indonesia	0.61 (0.23)	0.17 (0.23)	0.51 (0.24)	0.44 (0.24)	0.19 (0.15)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.68 (0.35)
Kenya	0.46 (0.19)	0.09 (0.19)	0.33 (0.16)	0.28 (0.16)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.48 (0.25)
Mozambique			0.06 (0.08)	0.53 (0.12)	-1.04 (0.39)	-0.20 (0.30)	-0.26 (0.14)
Nicaragua	0.57 (0.22)	0.64 (0.45)	-0.09 (0.12)	0.51 (0.18)	-0.65 (0.24)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.18 (0.11)
Philippines	0.61 (0.23)	0.17 (0.23)	0.43 (0.20)	0.37 (0.20)	0.18 (0.14)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.86 (0.45)
Poland	0.54 (0.21)	0.13 (0.21)	0.42 (0.20)	0.36 (0.20)	0.17 (0.14)	0.69 (0.14)	
Russia	-0.03 (0.17)	-0.17 (0.13)	0.36 (0.17)	0.32 (0.17)	0.20 (0.15)	0.69 (0.14)	
Tanzania	0.44 (0.19)	0.99 (0.78)	0.09 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.21 (0.09)	-0.29 (0.33)	
Thailand	0.62 (0.23)	0.18 (0.23)	0.57 (0.27)	0.49 (0.26)	0.20 (0.15)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.80 (0.42)
Uganda	0.50 (0.20)	1.56 (1.24)	0.16 (0.11)	0.11 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.13 (0.10)
Vietnam	0.19 (0.15)	-0.05 (0.14)	0.45 (0.21)	0.39 (0.21)	0.12 (0.12)	-0.29 (0.33)	0.00 (0.00)
Zambia	0.08 (0.15)	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.38 (0.21)	-0.40 (0.19)	-0.43 (0.15)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.32 (0.17)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are robust standard errors. All figures are based on reproductions of the original regressions. All pertain to 1994–97, except the Guillaumont and Chauvet regression, which pertains to 1982–93. Aid is taken as a share of exchange rate GDP in the Hansen and Tarp and Guillaumont and Chauvet regressions and of purchasing power parity GDP in the rest. Blank cells are caused by missing observations of underlying indicators.

Source: Author's analysis based on sources shown in the table.

diversity of conclusions about the slope of growth with respect to aid at the margin (table 2 illustrates these conclusions for the 20 largest aid recipients in 1998). As an example of the calculations here, the Burnside and Dollar (2000) structural equation is

$$\Delta Y = \alpha A + \beta A \times P + \gamma P + \mathbf{x}\delta + \varepsilon,$$

where Y is GDP per capita, A is aid, P is policy, \mathbf{x} is a vector of controls, including initial GDP/capita, and ε is the error term. So the implied slope of growth with respect to aid is $d(\Delta Y)/dA = \alpha + \beta P$, which depends on the recipient's policy level. Applying such formulas to 1998 data, the Burnside and Dollar regression generally predicts benefits from increasing aid while, at the other extreme, the Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) and Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) regressions express pessimism. The question is what to make of such conclusions.

II. THE TEST SUITE

There is some robustness testing in the recent literature on aid-growth connections, albeit focusing on Burnside and Dollar (2000). Lu and Ram (2001) introduce fixed effects into the Burnside and Dollar regressions. Ram (2004) splits the aid variable into the components coming from bilateral and multilateral donors and also tests alternative definitions of policy. Dalgaard and Hansen (2001) modify the choice of excluded outliers. Easterly, Levine, and Roodman (2004) extend the Burnside and Dollar data set to additional countries and an additional period, 1994–97. All these tests eliminate the key Burnside and Dollar result. The present study expands Easterly, Levine, and Roodman (2004) along two dimensions. It tests more studies. And it applies more tests.

In addition to fragility, the other bugaboo of econometrics is misspecification. Important questions can be raised about the validity of the regressions tested here. Some exhibit serial correlation in the errors.⁷ The excludability and relevance of instruments are legitimate concerns. Regressors treated as exogenous may not be. And term pairs such as *aid* and *aid*² may be multicollinear. But for the sake of concision, this article focuses on the problem of fragility.

The Tests

The tests applied to these third-generation aid-growth regressions constitute a more systematic sampling of “specification space” than has hitherto been done.

7. An earlier version of this article attempted to address autocorrelation by further modifying the tested specifications, at the expense of complexity in presentation and, arguably, “whimsy.” In particular, most of the test regressions included the log of population as a control since Sargan-type tests suggested it was an improperly excluded instrument. This explains the difference in results between this and the earlier version.

To limit complexity and minimize arbitrariness, each test involves changing just one aspect of the estimations at a time (the tests are summarized in table 3). The first four groups of tests—relating to the controls, the definition of aid and policy, and period length—transfer one specification’s choices to the others.⁸ Last are tests that modify the sample by dropping outliers or expanding to new countries and periods.

There are six groups of tests:

- (1) *Changing the control set.* In Leamer’s worries about whimsy, the specification choice that concerns him is that of regressors. The studies examined use four different control sets, which give rise to four robustness tests (detailed in table 3). Each substitutes an alternative control set for the original one and examines the effect on the significance of key terms.

Like the authors of the original regressions, and in the spirit of avoiding arbitrariness, the robustness tests here use all the complete observations available for developing countries (including the countries of Eastern Europe). Because different variables are available for different subsets of countries, changing the regressor set changes the regression sample. One could perform variants of the tests that are restricted to the intersections of the old and new samples in an attempt to distinguish the effects of changing samples and changing variables. This course is not taken here because it would add to the complexity, would still cause sample changes, and would not answer the hypothetical question, “What would the results have been if the original authors had used alternative controls?” The authors almost certainly would have used all available observations.

- (2) *Redefining aid.* All the studies take total aid received as a share of recipient GDP. But there are differences in defining both the numerator and denominator of the ratio. Burnside and Dollar (2000), Collier and Dehn (2001), and Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) use EDA in the numerator, whereas the rest use net ODA. On the choice of denominator, there is also a split. Hansen and Tarp (2001) and Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) use GDP converted to dollars at market exchange rates, whereas the others use real GDP from the Penn World Tables (Summers and Heston 1991). A country’s relative price level strongly correlates with income per capita, with the poorest countries having price levels 20–25 percent that of the United States. Thus, using purchasing power parities instead of exchange rates will result in relatively larger GDPs and relatively smaller ratios of aid to GDP for the poorest countries.

8. Papers that instrument the variables of interest also differ in their choice of instruments. But since different variables ($aid \times policy$ in one regression, say, and aid^2 in another) ought to be instrumented differently, the various instrument sets are less interchangeable and of less use for the approach in this article.

TABLE 3. Robustness Tests

Test	Description
Changing controls	
Burnside and Dollar (2000) controls	Control for LGDP, ETHNF, ASSAS, ETHNF \times ASSAS, ICRGE, M2, SSA, EASIA, period effects, as in Burnside and Dollar (2000), Collier and Dehn (2001), and Hansen and Tarp (2001)
Collier and Dollar (2002) controls	Control for LGDP, ICRGE, period and region effects, as in Collier and Dollar (2002) and Collier and Hoeffler (2004)
Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) controls	Control for LGDP, ENV, SYR, POPG, M2, PINSTAB, ETHNF, period effects, as in Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)
Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) controls	Control for LGDP, ICRGE, SSA, EASIA, period effects, as in Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004)
Changing aid definition	
EDA/real GDP	Effective development assistance/real GDP, as in Burnside and Dollar (2000), Collier and Dehn (2001), and Hansen and Tarp (2001)
ODA/real GDP	ODA/real GDP, as in Collier and Dollar (2002) and Collier and Hoeffler (2004)
ODA/exchange rate GDP	ODA/exchange rate GDP, as in Hansen and Tarp (2000) and Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)
Changing policy definition	
INFL, BB, SACW	Inflation, budget balance, and Sachs-Warner openness, as in Burnside and Dollar (2000) and Collier and Dehn (2001)
INFL, SACW	Inflation and Sachs-Warner, as in Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004)
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment, as in Collier and Dollar (2002) and Collier and Hoeffler (2004)
Changing period length	
12-year	Aggregate over 12-year periods, as in Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)
Changing sample and data set	
No outliers	Remove Hadi outliers in the partial scatter of the dependent variable and the independent variable of greatest interest
Expanded sample	New data set. Carried to 2001, except shocks data end in 1997 and Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) environment variable not updated
Expanded sample, no outliers	Combine above two changes

LGDP, log initial real GDP per capita; ETHNF, ethnolinguistic fractionalization, 1960; ASSAS, assassinations per capita; ICRGE, composite of International Country Risk Guide Economic governance indicators; M2, M2/GDP, lagged; SSA, Sub-Saharan Africa dummy variable; EASIA, fast-growing East Asia dummy variable; ENV, Guillaumont and Chauvet "environment" variable; SYR, mean years of secondary schooling among adults; PINSTAB, average of ASSAS and revolutions per year; BB, budget balance/GDP; INFL, $\log(1 + \text{inflation})$; SACW, Sachs-Warner openness; EDA, effective development assistance; ODA, net official development assistance.

Source: Author's analysis based on sources described in the text.

TABLE 4. Simple Correlations of Aid and Good Policy Measures, Four-Year Periods, on Available Observations

	EDA/real GDP	ODA/real GDP	ODA/exchange rate GDP
EDA/real GDP	1.00		
ODA/real GDP	0.97	1.00	
ODA/exchange rate GDP	0.78	0.82	1.00
	Inflation, budget balance, Sachs-Warner	Inflation, Sachs-Warner	CPIA
Inflation, budget balance, Sachs-Warner	1.00		
Inflation, Sachs-Warner	0.98	1.00	
CPIA	0.53	0.52	1.00

EDA, effective development assistance; ODA, net official development assistance; CPIA, World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment.

Source: Author's analysis based on sources described in the text.

This could have a significant effect on coefficient estimates for aid and its interactions.

With two options each for measuring aid and GDP, there are four possible combinations for the aid to GDP ratio. The literature includes all but EDA/exchange rate GDP, and these are the bases for three tests.⁹ In fact, EDA/real GDP and ODA/real GDP are highly correlated (Dalgaard and Hansen 2001), so switching from one to the other may not stress results much (table 4).

- (3) *Redefining good policy.* Three sets of “good policy” variables appear among the tested regressions. One is Burnside and Dollar's combination of budget balance, inflation, and Sachs-Warner openness. A second is inflation and Sachs-Warner only (Hansen and Tarp 2001). And a third is CPIA alone (Collier and Dollar 2002; Collier and Hoeffler 2004). These generate three robustness tests. With Burnside and Dollar's coefficients used to form policy indexes (6.85 for budget balance, -1.40 for inflation, and 2.16 for Sachs-Warner), the first two policy definitions are highly correlated, at 0.98, but the third varies more distinctly (see table 4). But in actual application of the tests, the Burnside-Dollar-style index-forming regression is rerun each time; it includes all regressors except aid and its interaction terms, and the coefficients on the policy

9. The published EDA data (Chang, Fernandez-Arias, and Serven 1998) cover only 1975–95. EDA as used here is extrapolated to the rest of 1970–2001 through a regression of EDA on net ODA.

variables are used to make the index, regardless of statistical significance.¹⁰

- (4) *Changing periodization.* All but Guillaumont and Chauvet use four-year periods. The lack of higher frequency observations of the Guillaumont and Chauvet environment variable prevents adapting their 12-year regressions to a 4-year-period panel. But the other regressions can be tested on 12-year panels. Notably, key cross-section studies in the growth literature use periods of 10–25 years despite the small samples that result (Barro 1991; Mankiw, Romer, and Weil 1992; Sachs and Warner 1995).
- (5) *Removing outliers.* The tested Burnside and Dollar specification excludes five observations that are outliers in *aid* × *policy* and highly influential on the coefficient on that term. This raises a general question about the importance of outliers. To investigate, one robustness test reruns the reproductions of the original regressions after excluding outliers. Another does the same for the expanded-sample versions (see subsequently). Following Easterly, Levine, and Roodman (2004), outliers are chosen by applying the Hadi (1992) procedure for identifying multiple outliers to the partial scatter of growth and a regressor of interest, using 0.05 as the cut-off significance level.¹¹ In 2SLS estimations, regressors are first projected onto instruments.¹² Since the two-dimensional partial scatter plot is not well defined for GMM regressions, in those cases, analogous 2SLS regressions are run to identify outliers.

Outliers are not synonymous with influential observations. But even outliers that do not greatly influence coefficients of interest can substantially affect reported standard errors. In addition, outliers are the observations most likely to signal measurement problems or structural breaks beyond which the core model does not hold—both of which seem better reasons for exclusion than high influence. That said, outliers do not necessarily signal measurement problems or structural breaks. This is especially possible when the variable of interest is highly non-normal, such as the Collier and Dehn (2001) export price shock variable. In such cases, outliers may contain valuable information about the development process under rare circumstances.

10. The constant term in the policy index is computed in the same manner as in Burnside and Dollar. It is the predicted growth rate in the model when the policy variables and the period dummy variables are zero, and all other variables take their sample-average values.

11. Applying the Hadi procedure directly to a full, many-dimensional data set typically identified 20 percent or more of observations as outliers.

12. This test is even run on the Burnside and Dollar 5/OLS regressions, from which one set of outliers is already excluded. Regardless of the genesis of these regressions' results, it is interesting whether they are driven by a few observations in the remaining sample.

- (6) *Expanding the sample.* Easterly, Levine, and Roodman (2004) develop a data set that extends that of Burnside and Dollar from 1970–93 to 1970–97 and adds six countries. For the current study that data set has been extended to 2001 and improved in other respects. (See supplemental appendix S.1, available at <http://wber.oxfordjournals.org/>.) This allows a net expansion in both years and countries for all but the Guillaumont and Chauvet regression, whose 12-year periods and unusual environment variable hinder expansion.

Issues in Interpreting Results

If Leamer's (1983) extreme-bounds analysis is applied to the results of this testing, then a coefficient will be deemed robustly different from zero only if it is significantly different from zero in every test. However, as Sala-i-Martin (1997) argues, this definition of robustness indeed seems extreme. For example, one could test robustness by averaging together all observations for each global region, generating samples of some six observations. Almost no regression would pass this test. One could argue that this test would be "unfair," in that it would be too weak to generate meaningful results. But there is no sharp division between fair and unfair tests. Indeed, in this test suite the 12-year-period test destroys every regression it can be applied to. It is not obvious whether the test is too strong or the regressions too weak. Thus, robustness should be a continuous rather than a dichotomous concept.

Sala-i-Martin offers his own procedure for assessing robustness. In essence, he estimates the cumulative distribution function for a coefficient of interest by running a large number of variants of the regression it comes from. The robustness of a coefficient is then the fraction of the density that is on one or the other side of zero. The validity of this concept is based on the assumption, however informal, that the set of regressions actually run is a representative of all possible variants of the original regression. For the collection of tests assembled here, however, that assumption is not valid. For example, one important subset of tests, those expanding the sample, cannot be applied to the Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001) regression. It does not seem plausible that the test results are representative both with and without this important subset of tests.

The sampling of specification space that is made here is minimally arbitrary, but cannot be assumed to be representative of all possible tests. Thus, while Leamer's definition of robustness may be too harsh for this context, Sala-i-Martin's has its own limitations. This will be true even if one performs every possible combination of tests in the suite rather than just one at a time. In the end it seems that human judgment applied to the full set of results must substitute for mechanical definitions of robustness. This in turn means there is some value in keeping the tests few enough for the human mind to embrace.

TABLE 5. Coefficients on Key Terms under Specification-Modifying Tests (Original Data Sets)

Specification	Key term	Changing controls				Changing aid			Changing policy			Changing periods
		Original	Burmside and Dollar	Collier and Dollar	Guillaumont and Chauvet	Dalgaard, Hansen, and Chauvet	EDA/ real GDP	ODA/ real GDP	ODA/ exchange rate GDP	INFL, BB, SACW	INFL, SACW	
Burnside and Dollar (2000)	$Aid \times policy$	0.19*** (2.61)	0.15** (2.09)	0.15** (2.09)	0.06 (1.07)	0.20** (2.31)	0.16** (2.07)	0.05* (1.96)	0.29*** (3.12)	0.29*** (3.12)	-0.03 (-0.25)	0.06 (0.60)
	Observations	270	279	279	263	276	275	275	296	296	264	96
Collier and Dehn (2001)	$Aid \times policy$	0.10* (1.70)	0.03 (0.47)	0.03 (0.47)	0.02 (0.43)	0.05 (0.84)	0.07 (1.19)	0.02 (1.39)	0.12** (2.02)	0.12** (2.02)	0.11 (0.83)	
	$\Delta aid \times negative shock$	0.04*** (3.17)	0.02 (1.12)	0.02 (1.12)	0.03 (1.53)	0.02 (1.06)	0.04*** (2.67)	0.01*** (4.27)	0.03** (2.04)	0.03** (2.04)	0.02 (0.82)	
Observations	234	242	242	227	242	234	234	234	256	268		
Collier and Dollar (2002)	$Aid \times policy$	0.14** (2.15)	0.12* (1.84)	0.12* (1.84)	-0.07* (-1.91)	0.12* (1.87)	0.17* (1.70)	0.03 (1.50)	0.06 (1.10)	0.06 (1.10)	0.14 (1.49)	
	Observations	344	337	337	374	349	349	347	365	388	119	
Collier and Hoeffler (2004)	$Post-coefficient 1 \times Aid \times policy$	0.18*** (3.92)	0.18*** (3.89)	0.18*** (3.89)	0.13*** (2.82)	0.18*** (3.81)	0.29*** (3.75)	0.04*** (4.07)	0.18*** (3.97)	0.18*** (4.23)		
	Observations	344	337	337	374	349	349	347	365	388		
Hansen and Tarp (2001)	Aid	0.90*** (4.22)	1.10 (1.56)	1.10 (1.56)	1.00** (2.57)	1.10 (1.56)	-0.36 (-0.25)	1.85 (1.30)	0.94** (2.02)	0.94** (2.02)	0.69 (1.53)	
	Aid^2	-0.02*** (-3.83)	-0.02 (-1.19)	-0.02 (-1.19)	-0.03*** (-2.81)	-0.02 (-1.19)	-0.04 (-0.18)	-0.17** (-2.48)	-0.02 (-1.81)	-0.02 (-1.81)	-0.02* (-1.76)	
Δaid	Δaid	-0.70*** (-4.91)	-0.47 (-1.42)	-0.47 (-1.42)	-0.58 (-1.56)	-0.47 (-1.42)	-0.47 (-0.70)	-1.46* (-1.74)	-0.71** (-2.63)	-0.71** (-2.63)	-0.69** (-2.48)	
	$\Delta(aid^2)$	0.01*** (3.64)	0.01 (1.10)	0.01 (1.10)	0.02 (1.66)	0.01 (1.10)	0.07 (0.53)	0.12** (2.24)	0.01* (1.86)	0.01* (1.86)	0.01** (2.11)	
Observations	213	213	213	181	213	214	214	214	213	215		

TABLE 5. Continued

Specification	Key term	Changing controls				Changing aid			Changing policy			Changing periods
		Original	Burnside and Dollar	Collier and Dollar	Guillaumont and Chauvet	Dalgaard, Hansen, and Chauvet	EDA/ real GDP	ODA/ real GDP	ODA/ exchange rate GDP	INFL, BB, SACW	INFL, SACW	
Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004)	<i>Aid</i>	0.69*** (5.09)	1.17*** (6.44)	1.34*** (6.62)	1.33*** (5.72)		1.10*** (5.23)	0.46*** (4.04)				0.46 (0.42)
	<i>Aid × tropical Area %</i>	-0.98*** (-3.16)	-1.49*** (-8.58)	-1.79*** (-8.26)	-1.66*** (-6.72)		-1.17*** (-5.09)	-0.45*** (-3.79)				-1.35 (-1.08)
	Observations	371	354	371	315		371	365				116
Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)	<i>Aid × Environment</i>	-0.115* (-1.79)	-0.12* (-1.68)	-0.07 (-1.35)		-0.09 (-1.51)	-0.41* (-1.70)	-0.28 (-1.54)		-0.115** (-2.13)		-0.13** (-2.01)
	Observations	68	71	73		73	66	66		68		69

*Significant at the 10 percent level; **Significant at the 5 percent level; ***Significant at the 1 percent level.

EDA, effective development assistance; ODA, net official development assistance; INFL, log(1 + inflation); BB, budget balance/GDP; SACW, Sachs-Warner openness; CPIA, World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment.

Note: Numbers in parentheses are *t* statistics, and all are heteroskedasticity-robust; those for general method of moments (GMM) regressions are also autocorrelation-robust. Except for the original Hansen and Tarp regression, all GMM standard errors incorporate the Windmeijer (2005) finite-sample correction.

Source: Author's analysis based on sources described in the text.

TABLE 6. Coefficients on Key Terms under Data Set—Modifying Tests

Specification	Key term	Original data set			New data set		
		Full sample	No outliers	No outliers	Full sample	No outliers	No outliers
Burnside and Dollar (2000)	$Aid \times policy$	0.19*** (2.61)	-0.05 (-0.45)	-0.04 (-0.23)	-0.27 (-1.33)		
	Observations	270	263	436	426		
Collier and Dehn (2001)	$Aid \times policy$	0.10* (1.70)	0.11 (1.11)	0.06 (1.05)	0.10 (0.75)		
	$\Delta Aid \times negative\ shock$	0.04*** (3.17)	-0.06 (-1.33)	0.03*** (3.01)	-0.10 (-1.15)		
Collier and Dollar (2002)	Observations	234	224	391	372		
	$Aid \times policy$	0.14** (2.15)	0.07 (1.06)	-0.01 (-0.19)	-0.04 (-0.81)		
Collier and Hoeffler (2004)	Observations	344	341	520	508		
	$Post-conflict \times aid \times policy$	0.18*** (3.92)	1.18** (2.12)	0.08* (1.91)	-0.06 (-0.19)		
Hansen and Tarp (2001)	Observations	344	333	520	494		
	Aid	0.90*** (4.22)	0.96** (2.19)	0.08 (0.41)	0.03 (0.16)		
Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004)	Aid^2	-0.02*** (-3.83)	-0.02* (-1.95)	-0.001 (-0.57)	-0.001 (-0.42)		
	ΔAid	-0.70*** (-4.91)	-0.70*** (-2.73)	-0.13 (-0.92)	-0.07 (-0.53)		
Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)	ΔAid^2	0.01*** (3.64)	0.01* (1.86)	0.002 (1.03)	0.001 (0.71)		
	Observations	213	212	517	514		
Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)	Aid	0.69*** (5.09)	0.34 (0.20)	0.94*** (4.60)	-0.11 (-0.09)		
	$Aid \times tropical\ area\ %$	-0.98*** (-3.16)	-0.41 (-0.25)	-0.95*** (-3.01)	-0.02 (-0.02)		
Guillaumont and Chauvet (2001)	Observations	371	362	463	451		
	$Aid \times environment$	-0.15* (-1.79)	-0.11* (-1.96)				
	Observations	68	67				

* Significant at the 10 percent level; ** Significant at the 5 percent level; *** Significant at the 1 percent level.

Note: Numbers in parentheses are t statistics; all are heteroskedasticity-robust; those for general method of moments (GMM) regressions also autocorrelation-robust. Except for original Hansen and Tarp regression, all GMM standard errors incorporate the Windmeijer (2005) finite-sample correction.

Source: Author's analysis based on sources described in the text.

III. RESULTS

The first step in the testing is to use the authors' data sets to reproduce their original results (see column 1 of tables 5 and 6). All the reproductions exhibit the same pattern of results as the originals and all but one have the same sample size.¹³ The Burnside and Dollar (2000), Collier and Dehn (2001), and Hansen and Tarp (2001) reproductions are perfect, and the rest are close. Since the purpose is to test robustness, the inexact matches are not a concern. If the results from the tested regressions are robust, they should withstand whatever minor changes in data or specification cause the discrepancies in the reproductions.

Tables 5 and 6 report results on key terms in all tests.¹⁴ Blank cells indicate inapplicable tests. The test involving the definition of aid as the ratio of EDA to real GDP, for example, is not applicable to regressions that originally use it. Using 12-year periods does not work for the Collier and Hoeffler (2004) regression, because the definition of their *post-conflict 1* variable assumes four-year periods. Lack of higher frequency data for Guillaumont and Chauvet's (2001) environment variable prevents short-period tests. A total of 71 robustness checks are run.¹⁵

Results for tests inspired by differences among the original regressions are given in table 5. The Collier and Hoeffler result on *post-conflict 1* \times *aid* \times *policy* (or the collinear *post-conflict 1* \times *aid*) and the Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp results for *aid* and *aid* \times *tropical area fraction* do best. All of these center on sharply bimodal variables: the Collier and Hoeffler *post-conflict 1* dummy variable is one for only 13 of the 344 observations in their original sample, and there are negative shocks in 38 of the 234 Collier and Dehn observations. In the Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) sample, 233 of the 371 observations are 100 percent tropical and 68 are zero percent, leaving 70 in between. Evidently, regularities involving such variables are more resilient to specification changes.

Results from sample-modifying tests are shown in table 6. The first two result columns are based on regressions on the original authors' data sets—first

13. The Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp (2004) regression was executed with the DPD for Ox package (Doornik, Arellano, and Bond 2002). It turns out that a quirk in this software—incomplete observations that create gaps in the time series must always be included in the data file rather than deleted—led to a slight mishandling of the data. The *xtabond2* module for Stata (Roodman 2006), used here, handles gaps as users intend. This explains the difference in samples.

14. Full results are available on request.

15. Initial testing revealed multicollinearity in the Collier and Hoeffler regression. In their preliminary regression 3.1 (not regression 3.4, which is tested here), they include the variables *post-conflict 1*, *post-conflict 1* \times *policy*, and *post-conflict 1* \times *aid*², along with the favored *post-conflict 1* \times *aid* \times *policy*. In the reproduction of 3.1, *post-conflict 1* \times *aid* \times *policy* and *post-conflict 1* \times *aid* have a partial correlation of 0.985, making the two statistically indistinguishable. Thus the Collier and Hoeffler results ought to be interpreted as pertaining to either *post-conflict 1* \times *aid* \times *policy* or *post-conflict 1* \times *aid*. Occam's razor argues for the second.

for their full sample and second for the sample excluding outliers. The next pair of columns is analogous, for the expanded data set. The corresponding partial scatter plots in supplemental appendix S.2 (available at <http://wber.oxfordjournals.org/>) illustrate the sample-modifying results and are reminders of the importance of checking for outliers. Except for Guillaumont and Chauvet, all the original OLS and 2SLS results depend on outliers for some or all of their significance. The dependence is particularly heavy for the regressions involving *aid* \times *policy*. On the other hand, the *lack* of significance of most of the coefficients under the sample-expansion test is not driven by outliers. It is worth noting that the Collier and Dehn result on Δ *aid* \times *negative shock*, another interaction term involving a variable with a highly non-normal distribution, is arguably stronger than it looks. The coefficient is reversed by the exclusion of outliers from the original sample. But it is arguably fallacious to draw conclusions about the role of shocks having excluded many of the most dramatic examples.

The overall pattern is clear. The 12-year test is the toughest—probably because of the small samples—failing all regressions. The new-data test is not far behind, an important point given that the modification it involves—a moderate sample expansion—is much less radical. When the tables are read by rows (test subjects) instead of columns (tests), the Dalgaard, Hansen, and Tarp result on the aid-tropics link is the only one to come through the specification-modifying tests strongly. But it too falls down on the sample-modifying tests after outliers are removed. Four of the nine original-sample outliers are for Jordan, covering 1974–89, a period in which that non-tropical country experienced high growth and received considerable aid from its neighbors. This confirms the conclusion of Rajan and Subramanian (2005) that the *aid* \times *tropics* result is fragile too.

IV. CONCLUSION

The results reported here suggest that the fragility found in Easterly, Levine, and Roodman (2004) for Burnside and Dollar (2000) is the norm in the cross-country aid-growth literature. Indeed, in a counterpoint to the focus of Leamer (1983), Levine and Renelt (1992), and Sala-i-Martin (1997) on the choice of controls as a source of fragility, it turns out that modifying the sample generally affects results the most. For example, in the Collier and Dollar (2002) regression, half of the specification-modifying tests leave the *t* statistic at 1.49 or higher and two more lower it to near 1.00 (see table 5). But adding more years sends it to -0.19 —and, after dropping outliers, to -0.81 (see table 6).

Does this mean that the various stories of aid effectiveness should be summarily dismissed? Are recipient policies, exogenous economic factors, and post-conflict status irrelevant to aid effectiveness? Are there no diminishing returns to aid? Is helping the neediest countries a hopeless task? No. There can be no doubt that some aid finances investment and that domestic policies,

governance, external conditions, and other factors these authors study influence the productivity of investment.

Why then do such stories of aid effectiveness not shine through more clearly? Aid is probably not a fundamentally decisive factor for development, not as important, say, as domestic savings, inequality, or governance. Moreover, foreign assistance is not homogeneous. It consists of everything from food aid for famine-struck countries to technical advice on building judiciaries to loans for paving roads. And much aid is poorly used—or, like venture capital, is like good bets gone bad. Thus the statistical noise tends to drown out the signal.

Perhaps researchers will yet unearth more robust answers to the fundamental questions of aid policy. Or perhaps they have hit the limits of cross-country empirics. Either way, robust, valid generalizations have not and will not come easily. Despite decades of trying, cross-country growth empirics have yet to teach us much about whether and when aid works.

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