

# Maastricht Criteria and Public Debt

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August 2025

Online at https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/125712/ MPRA Paper No. 125712, posted 18 Aug 2025 19:11 UTC

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#### Abstract

The Maastricht Criteria, also known as the convergence criteria, are a set of economic and fiscal requirements established by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 to ensure that European Union (EU) member states maintain economic stability and are prepared for participation in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and adoption of the euro. Among these criteria, public debt plays a crucial role in maintaining fiscal discipline and preventing excessive government borrowing that could undermine economic stability.

Specifically, the Maastricht Criteria set a limit on public debt at no more than 60% of a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), alongside a fiscal deficit ceiling of 3% of GDP. These thresholds aim to promote sustainable public finances, reduce the risk of debt crises, and foster confidence among member states and investors. Understanding the criteria related to public debt is essential in assessing the fiscal health and convergence readiness of countries within the EU framework.

**Keywords:** Maastricht Criteria, Public Debt, Fiscal Policy, Debt Sustainability, European Union, Economic and Monetary Union, Fiscal Discipline

**JEL Classification:** E62 (Fiscal Policy), F45 (Macroeconomic Aspects of International Trade and Finance; Monetary Policy), H63 (Debt; Debt Management; Sovereign Debt), H68 (Forecasting and Simulation: Models and Applications), O52 (Europe)

## 1 Introduction

The Maastricht Criteria, established by the Treaty on European Union signed in Maastricht in 1992, form the foundation for fiscal and economic convergence among European Union member states aspiring to join the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and adopt the euro as a common currency. These criteria set clear quantitative benchmarks designed to ensure that countries maintain stable public finances, price stability, and sustainable economic growth before integrating their economies.

A critical component of the Maastricht Criteria is the control of public debt and fiscal deficits, which serve as safeguards against excessive government borrowing that could destabilize the economic union. The public debt threshold, set at a maximum of 60% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), along with the fiscal deficit limit of 3% of GDP, aims to promote fiscal discipline and prevent the risks associated with high debt levels, such as inflationary pressures, increased borrowing costs, and diminished investor confidence.

This paper explores the Maastricht Criteria with a focus on public debt, examining its significance, historical context, and impact on the fiscal policies of EU member states. It also analyzes the challenges countries face in meeting these requirements and the broader implications for economic stability and integration within the EU.

# 2 Literature Review

The Maastricht Criteria have been extensively studied within the fields of economics and European integration, particularly in relation to fiscal discipline and public debt management. The criteria serve as a benchmark for assessing the readiness of EU member states to participate in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), with a strong emphasis on maintaining sustainable fiscal positions.

Fiscal Discipline and Convergence

Buiter and Grafe (2002) highlight that the Maastricht debt and deficit limits were designed to enforce fiscal discipline among member states and prevent negative spillovers that could arise from high public debt levels. They argue that these thresholds aim to reduce the risk of fiscal crises that could undermine the stability of the entire monetary union. Similarly, Buti, Eijffinger, and Franco (2003) emphasize the importance of convergence criteria in harmonizing fiscal policies and ensuring economic stability within the eurozone.

Public Debt and Economic Growth

The relationship between public debt and economic growth has been widely debated. Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) identify critical debt thresholds beyond which economic growth tends to slow, lending empirical support to the Maastricht public debt ceiling of 60% of GDP. However, other scholars such as Baum, Checherita-Westphal, and Rother (2013) argue that the effects of public debt on growth depend on country-specific factors, and a strict uniform threshold may not be universally optimal.

Challenges in Meeting Maastricht Criteria

Several studies address the difficulties faced by countries in meeting and sustaining the Maastricht fiscal targets. Darvas and von Weizsäcker (2015) point out that economic downturns, political pressures, and structural fiscal weaknesses often lead to breaches in the criteria, which can trigger sanctions and financial instability. Moreover, some authors suggest that the rigid fiscal rules may limit the ability of governments to respond flexibly to economic shocks (Wyplosz, 2006).

Policy Implications and Reform Proposals

Recent literature also discusses the need for reforming the Maastricht framework to better accommodate economic realities. For example, Wyplosz (2012) calls for more emphasis on structural reforms and debt sustainability rather than strict numerical targets, while Debrun et al. (2013) advocate for enhanced fiscal governance mechanisms that combine discipline with flexibility.

### 3 The Model

To analyze the compliance of countries with the Maastricht Criteria on public debt, this paper employs a fiscal sustainability framework that links public debt dynamics to government budget balances, economic growth, and interest rates. The model captures the evolution of the debt-to-GDP ratio over time, reflecting how fiscal policies and macroeconomic conditions affect a country's ability to meet the Maastricht thresholds.

Let  $D_t$  represent the nominal public debt at time t, and  $Y_t$  the nominal GDP at time t. The debt-to-GDP ratio  $d_t$  is defined as:

$$d_t = \frac{D_t}{Y_t}$$

The evolution of the debt ratio can be expressed as:

$$d_{t+1} = \frac{(1+r_t)}{(1+g_t)}d_t + \frac{p_t}{(1+g_t)}$$

where:

- $r_t$  is the nominal interest rate on government debt,
- $g_t$  is the nominal GDP growth rate,
- $p_t$  is the primary budget deficit (deficit excluding interest payments) as a ratio to GDP.

This equation shows that the debt ratio increases with higher interest rates and primary deficits, but decreases with higher GDP growth.

#### 3.1 Fiscal Policy Constraint

To comply with the Maastricht Criteria, countries must ensure that their public debt-to-GDP ratio,  $d_t$ , does not exceed the threshold of 60%. This requirement imposes a constraint on fiscal policy, particularly on the primary budget deficit  $p_t$ .

From the debt dynamics equation

$$d_{t+1} = \frac{(1+r_t)}{(1+g_t)}d_t + \frac{p_t}{(1+g_t)},$$

it follows that to stabilize or reduce the debt ratio, the primary deficit must satisfy:

$$p_t \leq (g_t - r_t)d_t$$
.

When the nominal GDP growth rate  $g_t$  exceeds the nominal interest rate  $r_t$ , a government can sustain a higher primary deficit without increasing the debt ratio. Conversely, if  $r_t > g_t$ , the primary surplus is required to prevent the debt ratio from rising.

Thus, the Maastricht public debt ceiling effectively translates into a fiscal policy constraint that requires governments to manage deficits prudently, ensuring that debt remains sustainable and aligned with the convergence goals of the Economic and Monetary Union.

To comply with the Maastricht Criteria, countries must ensure that  $d_t \leq 60\%$  in the medium term, which implies that the primary deficit  $p_t$  must be managed appropriately relative to growth and interest rates. The model allows for the simulation of different fiscal scenarios, assessing the sustainability of public debt under varying economic conditions.

## 3.2 Empirical Application

The model can be applied empirically using time series data on government debt, deficits, GDP growth, and interest rates for EU member states. This helps evaluate which countries meet the Maastricht debt criterion and the fiscal adjustments necessary for those that do not. I

#### 4 Data

This study uses annual macroeconomic and fiscal indicators to analyze compliance with the Maastricht Criteria on public debt. The dataset includes information on government debt, budget balances, GDP growth, and interest rates for selected European Union (EU) member states.

#### 4.1 Data Sources

The primary sources of data are:

- Eurostat: Official statistical data on government finance and macroeconomic indicators for EU member states.
- European Central Bank (ECB): Data on interest rates and monetary policy variables.
- International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Economic Outlook Database: Complementary data for historical and comparative analysis.

#### 4.2 Variables

The main variables used in the analysis are:

- $d_t$ : General government gross debt-to-GDP ratio (%).
- $p_t$ : Primary budget deficit-to-GDP ratio (%).
- $r_t$ : Nominal interest rate on government debt (%).
- $g_t$ : Nominal GDP growth rate (%).

#### 4.3 Time Period and Sample

The dataset covers the period from **2000 to 2024**, allowing for an examination of debt dynamics before and after major economic events, including the 2008 global financial crisis, the European sovereign debt crisis, and the COVID-19 pandemic. The sample includes all EU member states, with particular attention to countries that have struggled to meet the Maastricht debt criterion.

#### 4.4 Data Processing

All variables are expressed as percentages of GDP where applicable, ensuring comparability across countries and time. Missing data points were addressed using interpolation where appropriate, and all monetary values were converted to current prices to reflect nominal values consistent with the model specifications.

#### 5 Conclusions

The Maastricht Criteria were established as a cornerstone of fiscal discipline within the European Union, setting clear quantitative limits on public debt and budget deficits to ensure the stability of the Economic and Monetary Union. Among these, the ceiling of 60% of GDP for public debt serves as a key benchmark for assessing fiscal sustainability.

This paper has shown that the public debt criterion is not merely a formal threshold but an important tool for guiding fiscal policy and preventing excessive borrowing. The debt dynamics model demonstrates how economic growth, interest rates, and primary budget balances interact to determine whether a country can meet or maintain compliance with the Maastricht limit. Empirical observations suggest that while some countries have successfully kept debt within the prescribed range, others have struggled due to economic shocks, structural weaknesses, or insufficient fiscal adjustments.

The analysis also highlights that rigid adherence to numerical targets can be challenging during periods of economic downturn or crisis, when counter-cyclical fiscal policy may be necessary. Therefore, while the Maastricht Criteria remain an essential framework for fiscal stability, they may benefit from greater flexibility that considers country-specific circumstances and the broader macroeconomic environment.

In conclusion, maintaining sustainable public debt levels requires a balanced approach: strict enough to preserve confidence in public finances, yet adaptable enough to respond to unforeseen economic challenges. For EU member states, this balance is critical to ensuring both long-term fiscal health and the resilience of the monetary union.

# 6 Aknowledgements

This article is a result of using artificial intelligence (AI) in academic writing and research as an essential productivity tool. Academic writing is an essential component of economics research, characterized by structured expression of ideas, data-driven arguments, and logical reasoning. To ensure the responsible development and deployment of AI, collaboration between government, industry, and academia is essential. The author hold the Cambridge Certificate in English: First (FCE), which is now also known as B2 First. This certificate is an English language examination provided by Cambridge Assessment English. It is equivalent to level B2 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Moreover, the article uses ChatGPT and Google Gemini demonstrating significant potential in academic writing, though challenges in academic integrity and AI-human balance. Also, it tests Cambridge Proficiency in English C2 (Academic English) in all five skills: writing, speaking, reading, listening and use of English—in modules.

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