

Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze

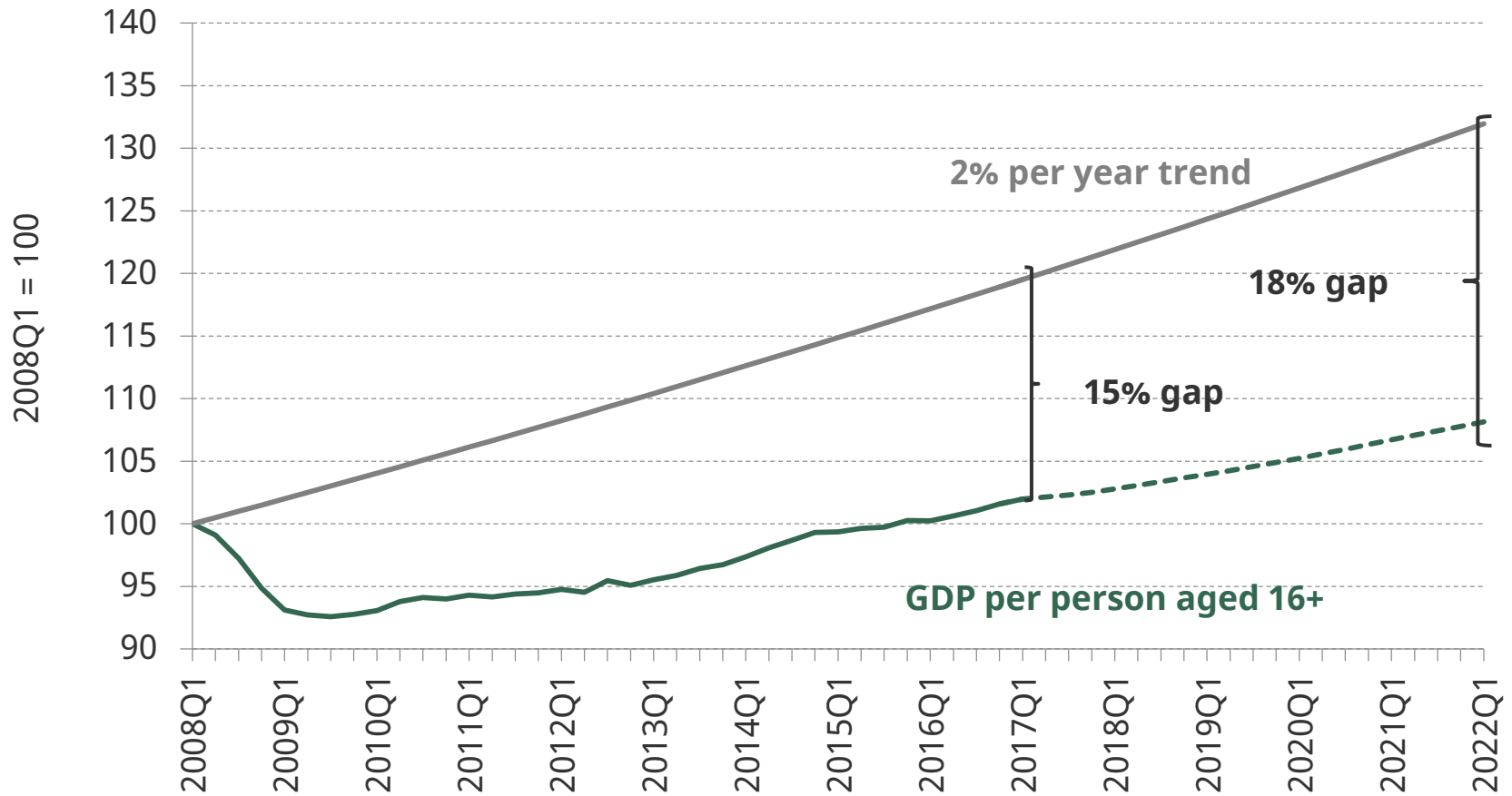
Carl Emmerson and Thomas Pope

Presentation at the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales
London, 30th October 2017

The March Budget plan

Terrible economic performance is important backdrop

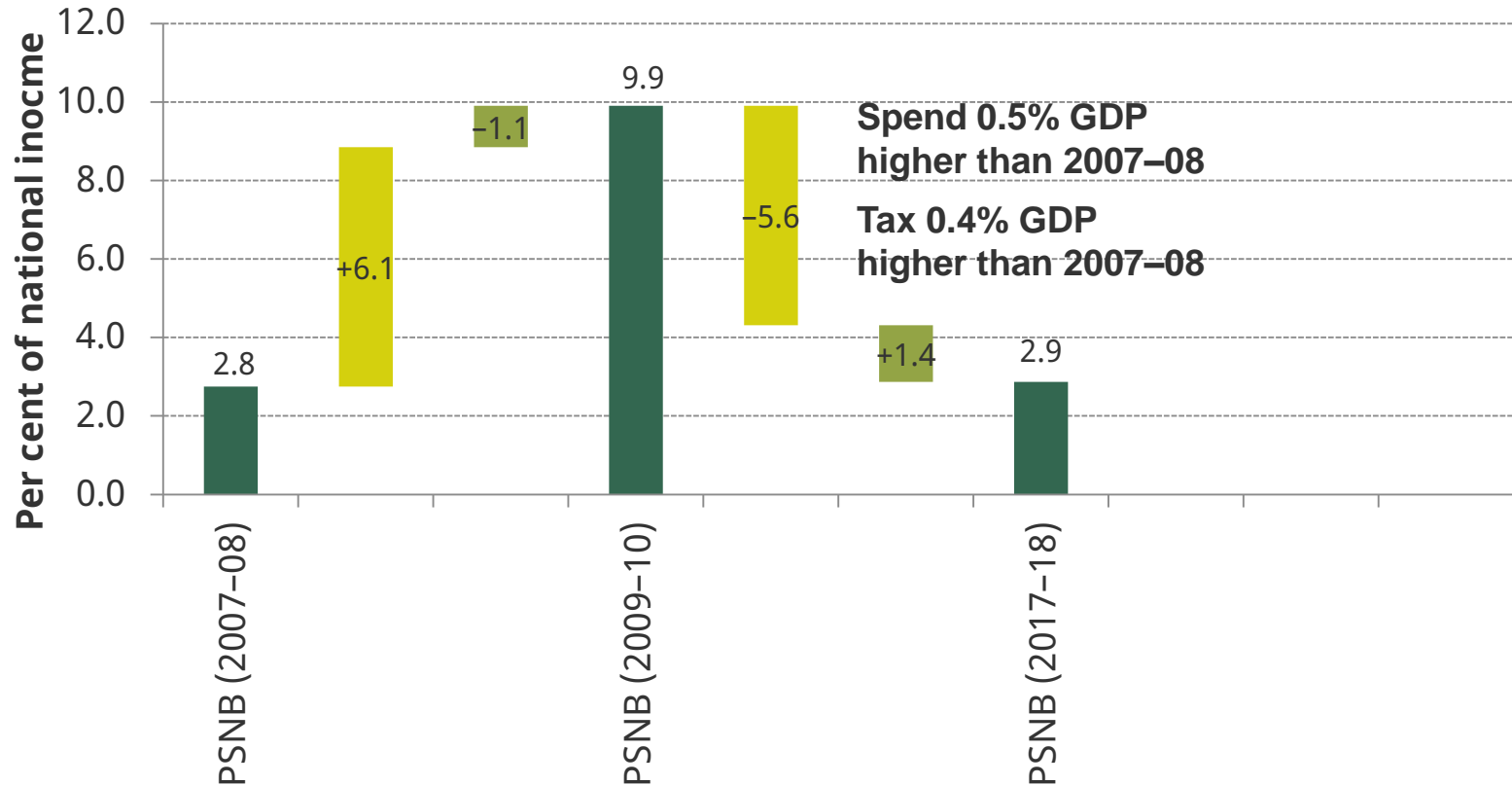
GDP per adult since 2008 Q1 (at time of March 2017 Budget)



Notes and sources: see Figure 2.1 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

The rise and fall of the deficit

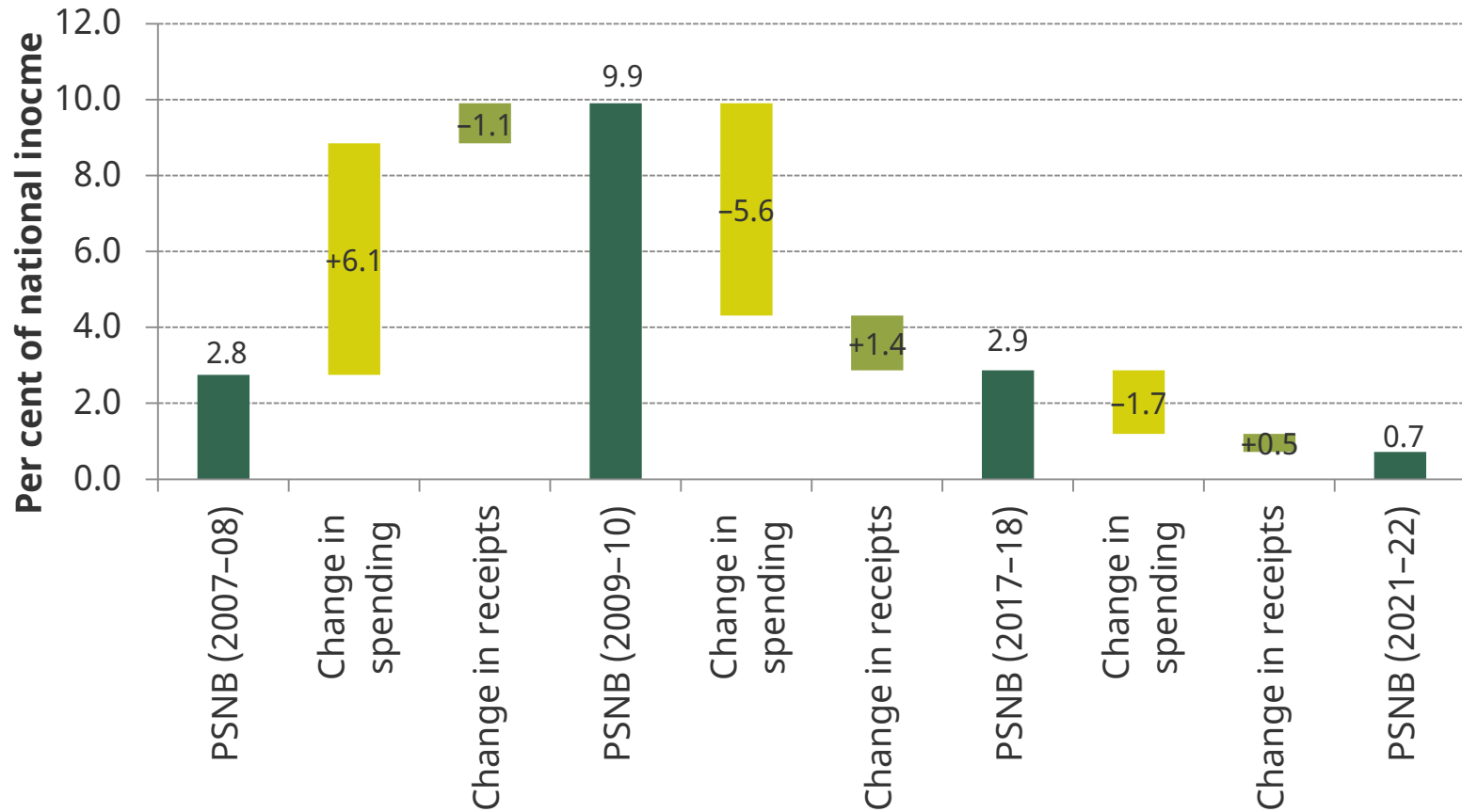
Latest out-turns and March 2017 Budget forecasts for taxing, spending and borrowing



Notes and sources: see Figure 2.2 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Further deficit reduction to come

Latest out-turns and March 2017 Budget forecasts for taxing, spending and borrowing



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Policy changes doing most of the work

Net tax rise of £6 billion in 2021–22 relative to 2017–18

- Largest new tax measure is reduction in dividend allowance

Benefit cuts worth £12 billion saving in 2021–22

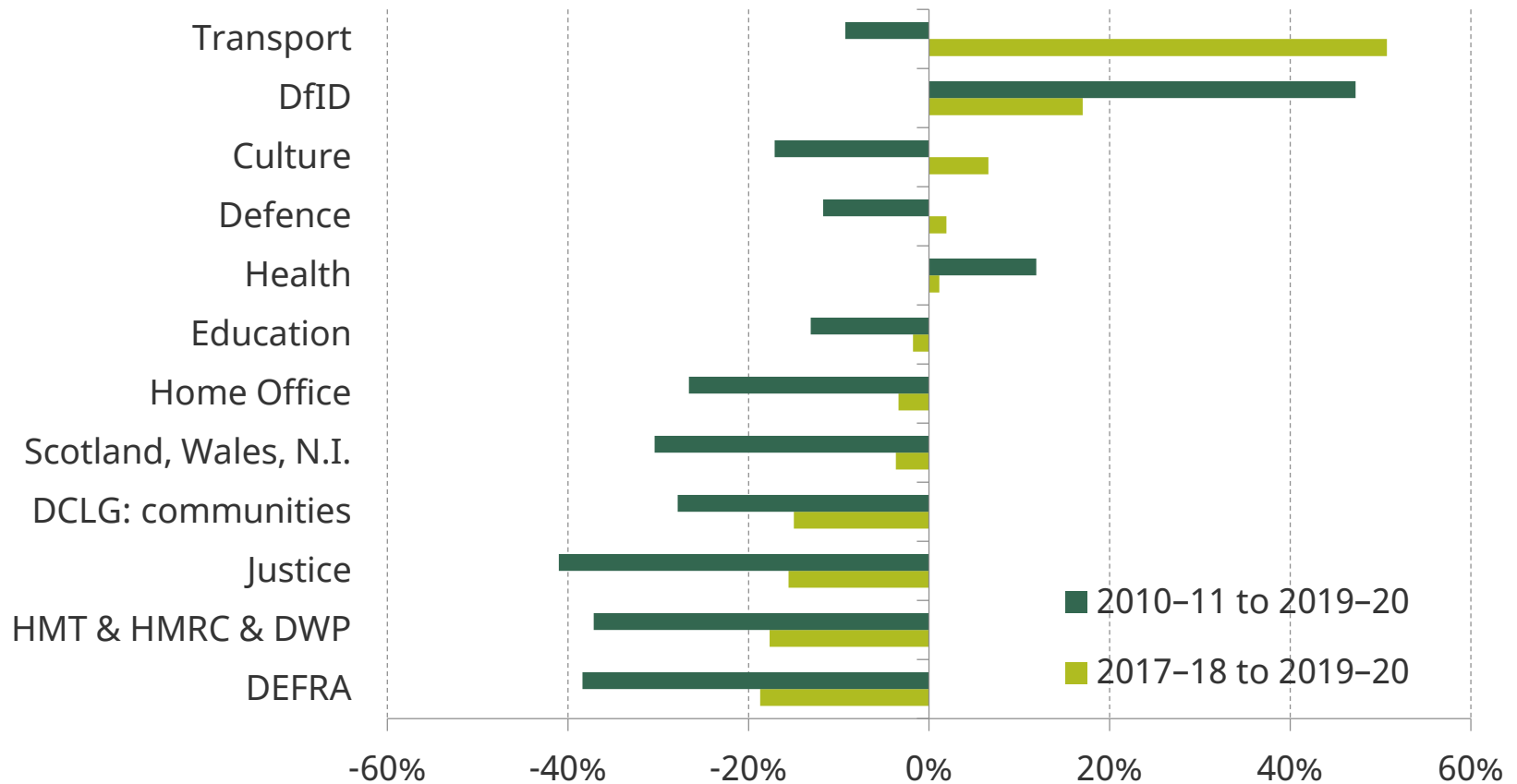
- Mostly from measures already in place
- Largest cut to come is benefits freeze

Cuts to departmental spending as a share of national income save £24 billion by 2021–22

- Investment spending to increase
- Large cuts to day-to-day spending

Spending cuts not shared equally across departments

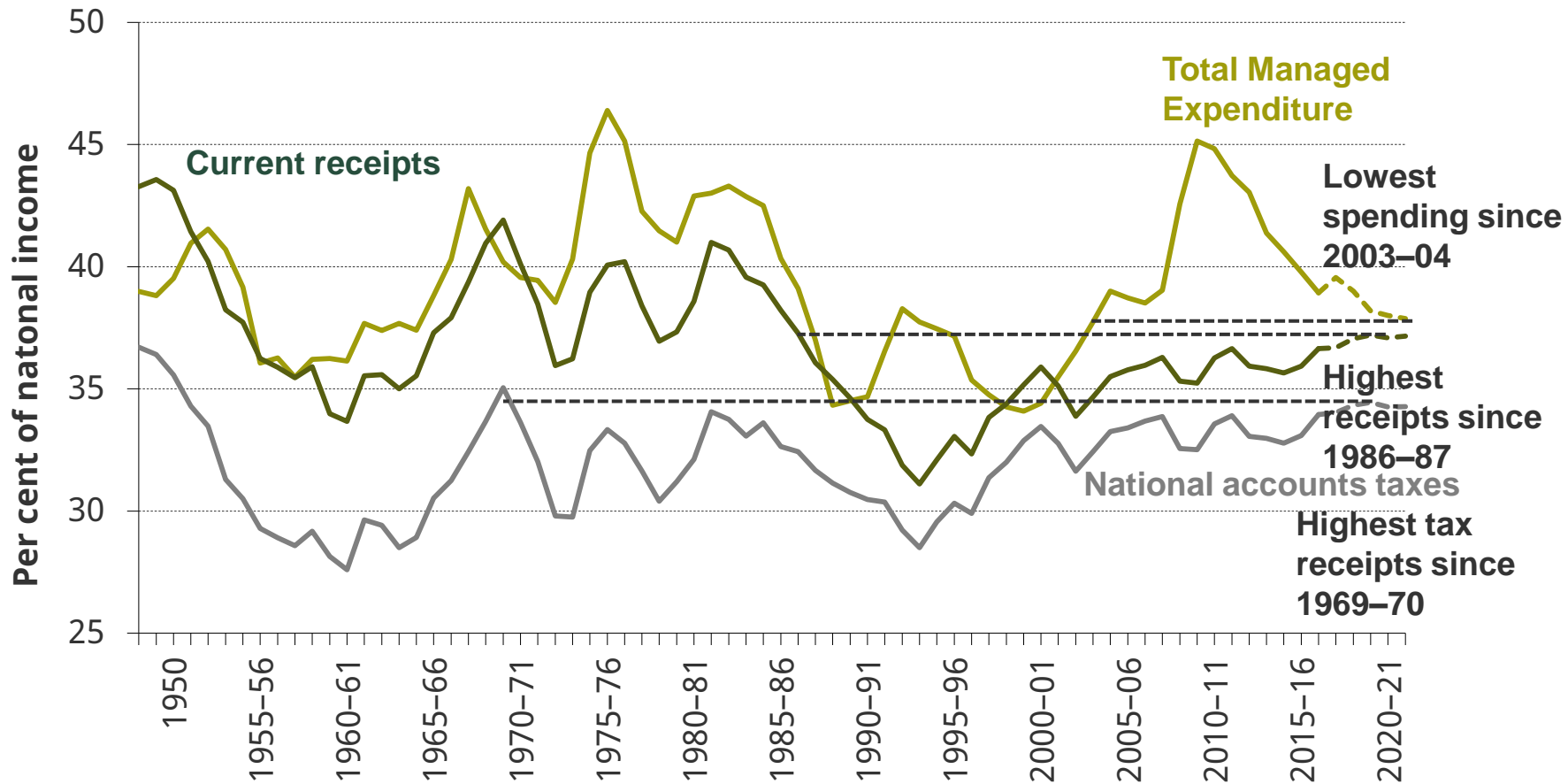
Real terms departmental budget cuts, 2010–11 to 2019–20



Notes and sources: see Figure 2.10 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Where would this leave tax and spend?

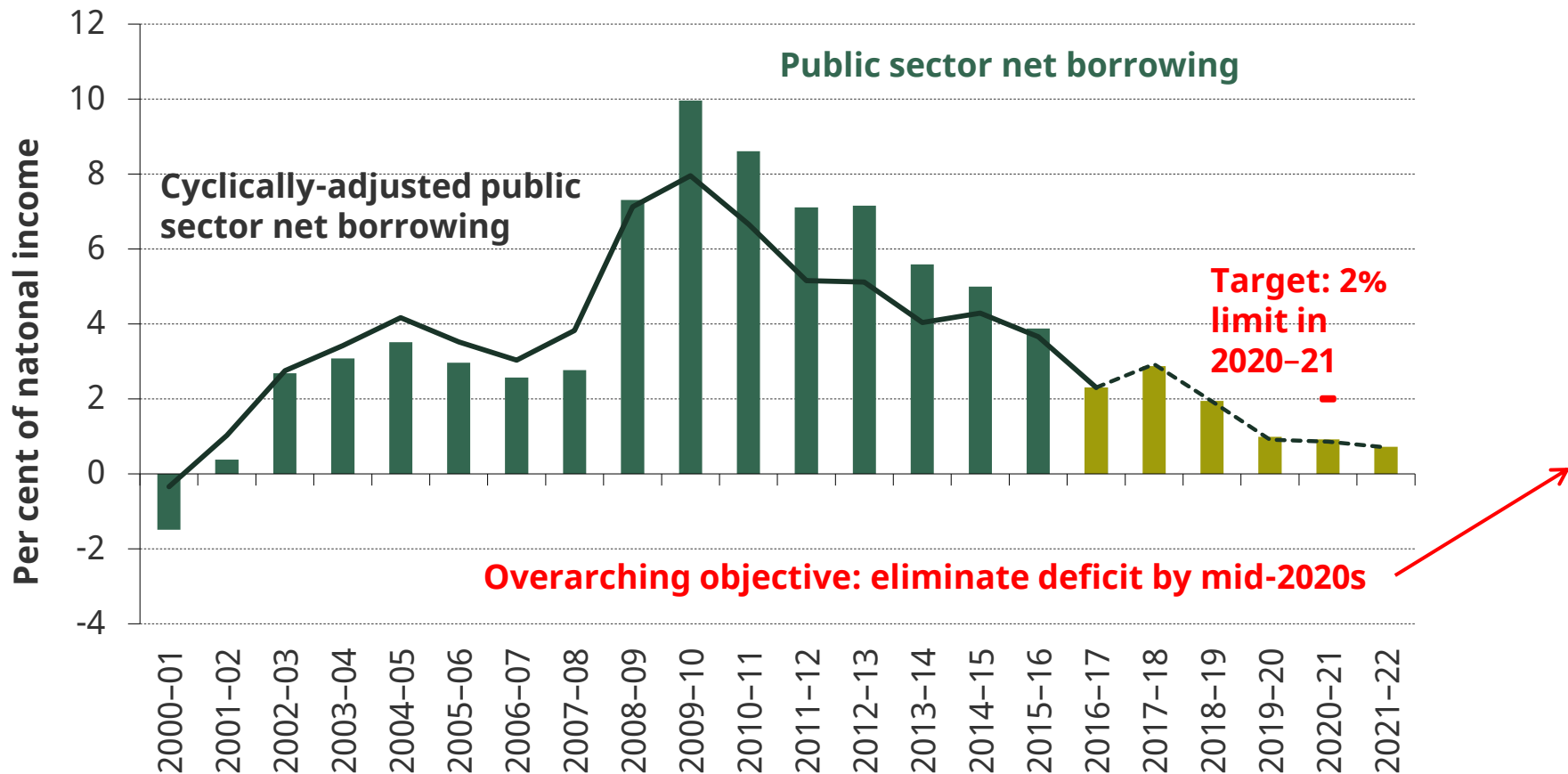
Tax and spend since 1948, latest outturns and March Budget forecast



Notes and sources: see Figure 2.2 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Where would this leave the deficit?

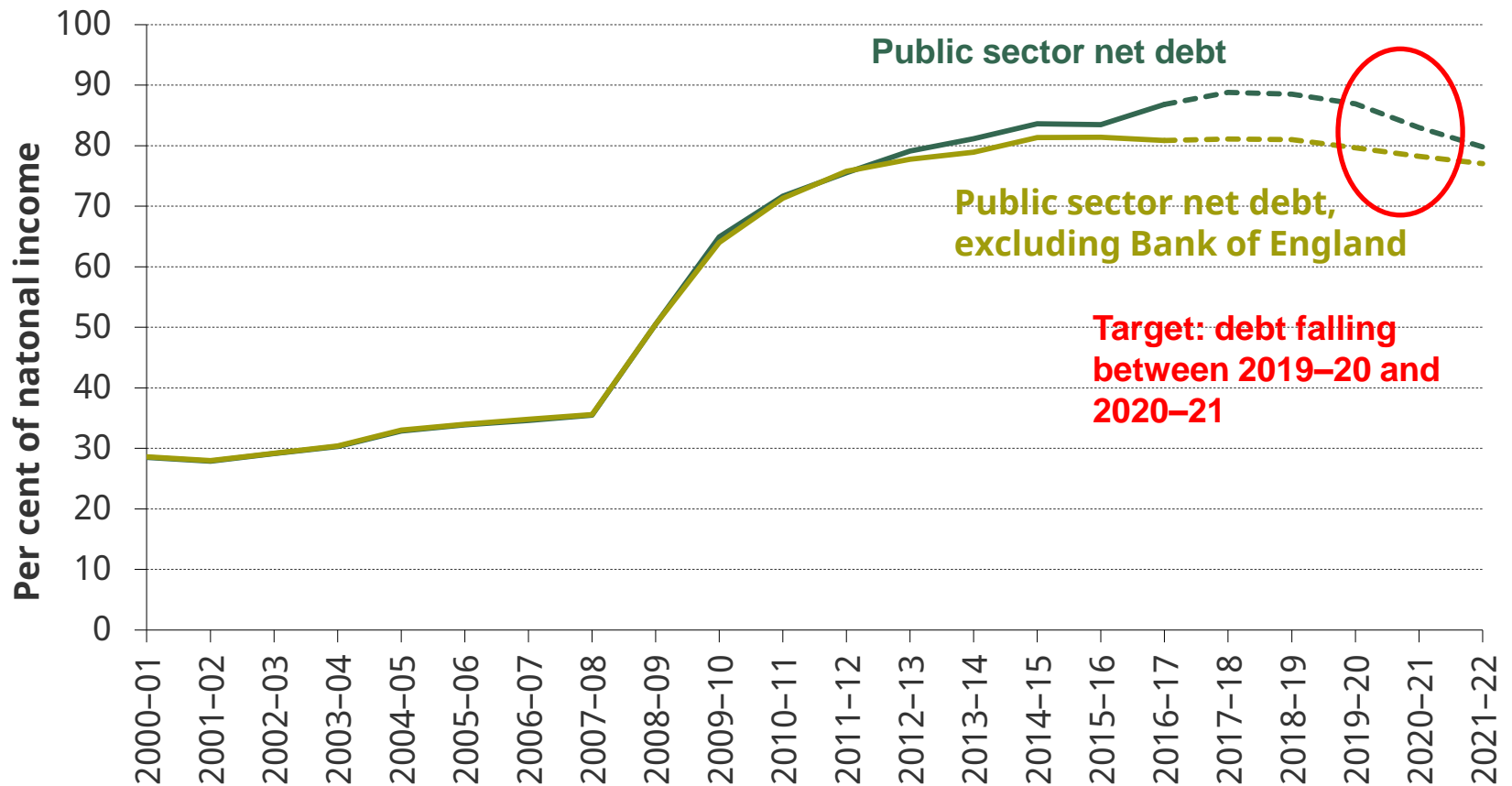
Public sector net borrowing since 2000–01



Notes and sources: see Figure 2.6 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Where would this leave debt?

Public sector net debt since 2000–01



Notes and sources: see Figure 2.7 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Developments since March

Data so far this year paints a rosier picture

Borrowing last year now thought to have been £45.7 billion, £6 billion lower than forecast in March

Borrowing running behind the March forecast this year too

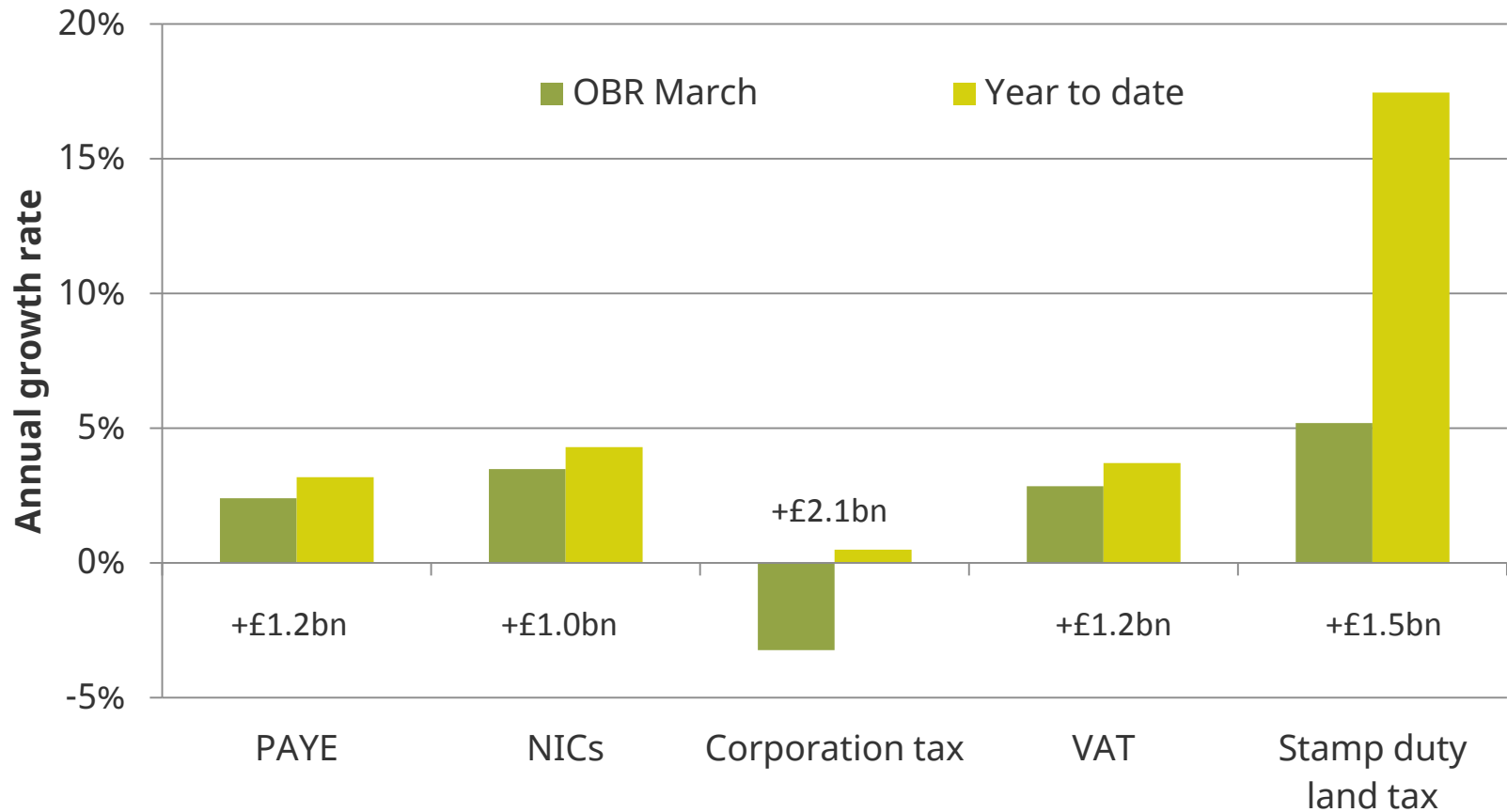
Not all of this improvement is likely to persist for the whole year

- Self-assessment receipts expected to be much weaker than last year

But a number of taxes are performing better than expected so far

Data so far this year paints a rosier picture

Growth in tax receipts: OBR March forecast for year as a whole and year to date



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.6 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Data so far this year paints a rosier picture

A number of taxes are performing better than expected so far

- Could lead to improvement of around £6 billion

Spending on benefits and contributions to the EU also lower than expected

- Could save around £2¾ billion

Improvements come in spite of weaker-than-expected growth

If strength persists, would lead to lower medium-term borrowing

- Worth around £12 billion by 2021–22

Policy changes since March will increase borrowing slightly

Reversal of self-employed National Insurance contributions (NICs) measure costs £500 million per year

- May have a bigger effect in the long-run

Confidence and supply deal: £450 million per year for two years

- On Health, Education and Infrastructure in Northern Ireland

Policy changes since March will increase borrowing slightly

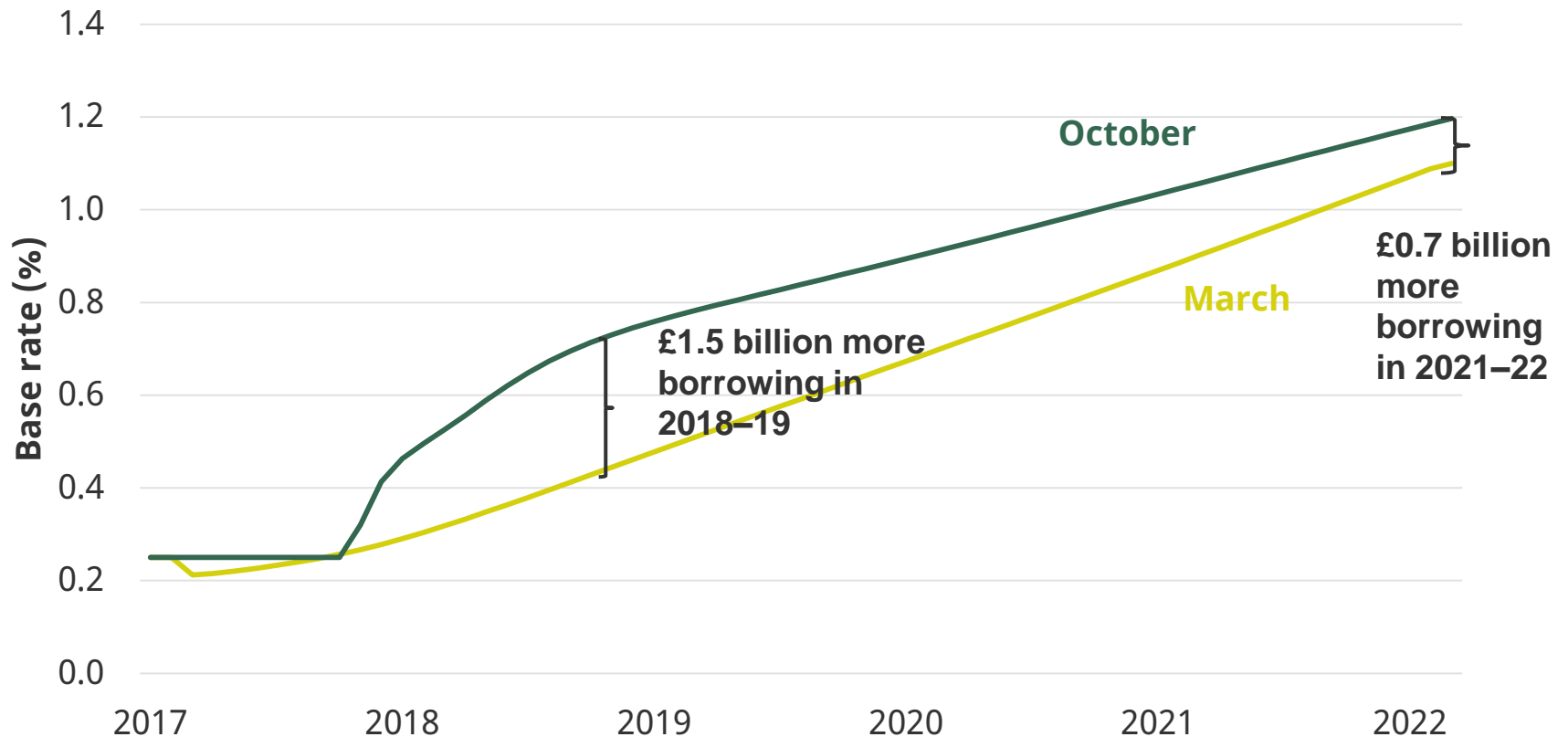
Changes to student loan system a considerable long-term cost, but little effect on short run measures

- Freezing fees at £9,250 small cut to University funding in short-run
- Repayment threshold to £25,000 means more debt written off
- Long-run cost of £2 billion a year, but not until 2046

Total effect of policy measures already announced increases borrowing in 2019–20 by £1.5 billion

Higher interest rates likely to mean higher borrowing in the short term

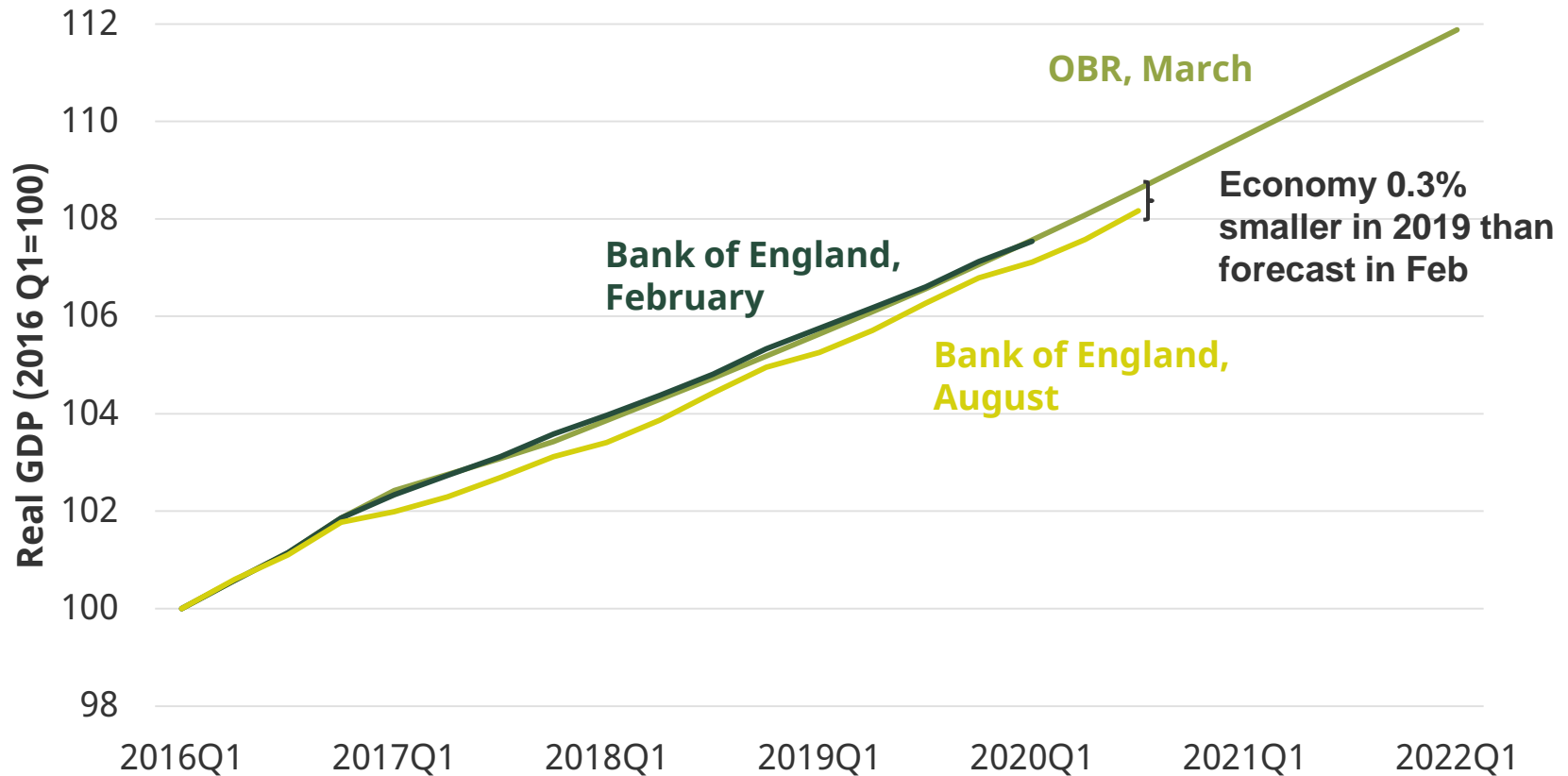
Market expectations over the base rate: March and now



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.5 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Independent forecasters have downgraded growth forecasts slightly

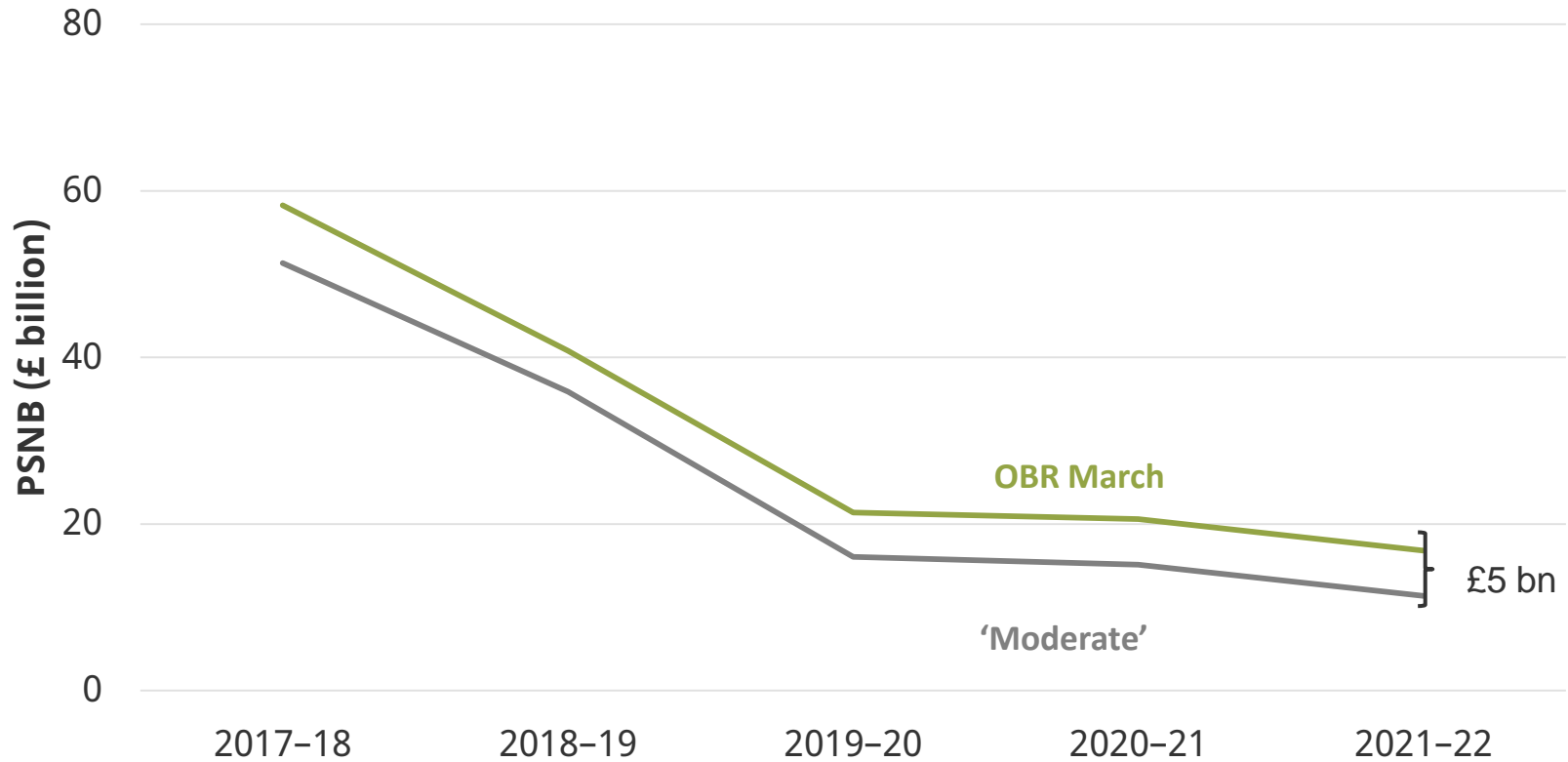
Real GDP: Bank of England and OBR forecasts since February



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.1 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Taking these changes together, borrowing could be slightly down on the March forecast

Public sector net borrowing under different growth scenarios



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.7 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

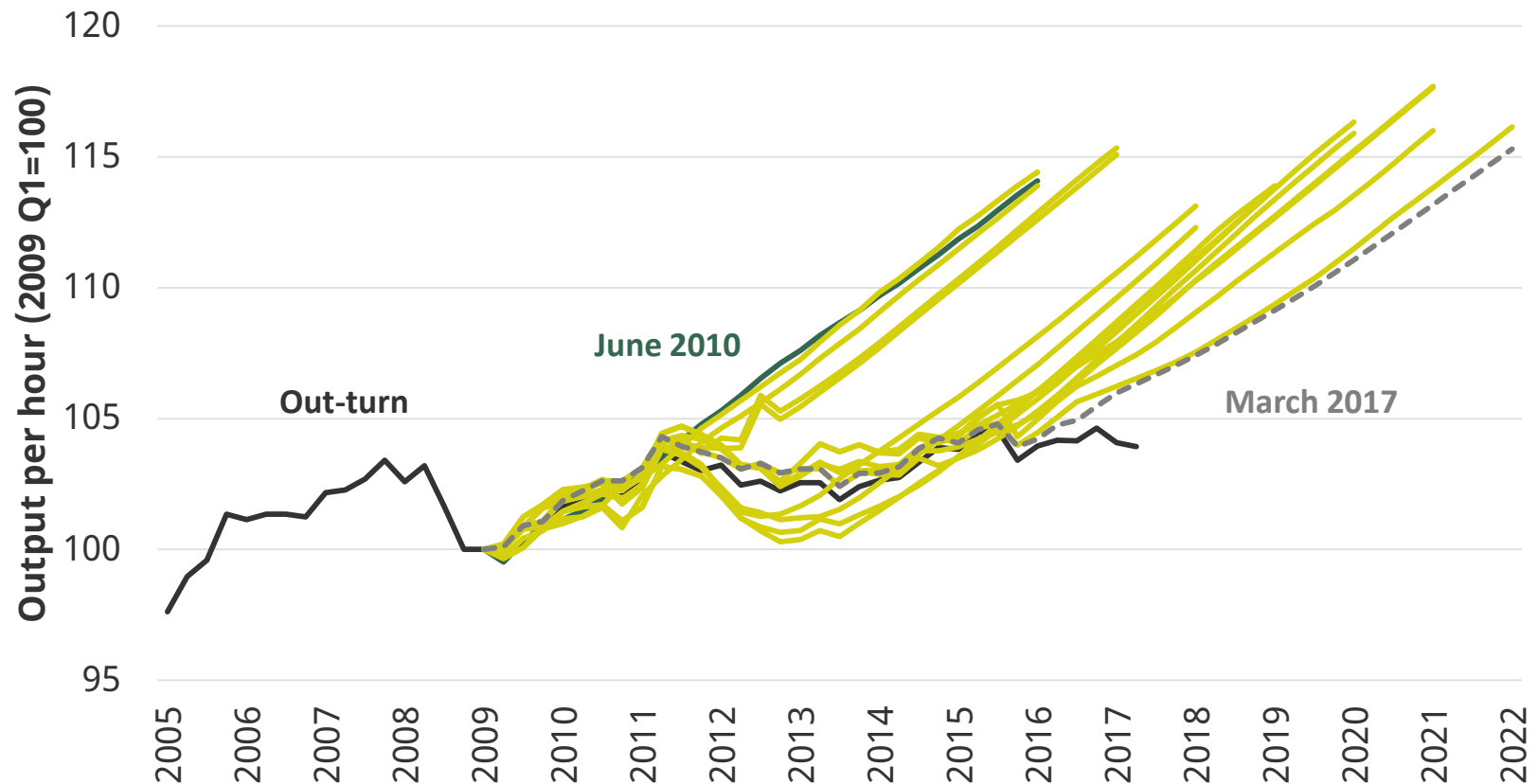
But a substantial productivity downgrade seems likely

OBR have stated a productivity growth downgrade is likely

- Robert Chote: “for now we are minded to revise down potential productivity growth significantly”

Productivity forecasts have been consistently optimistic

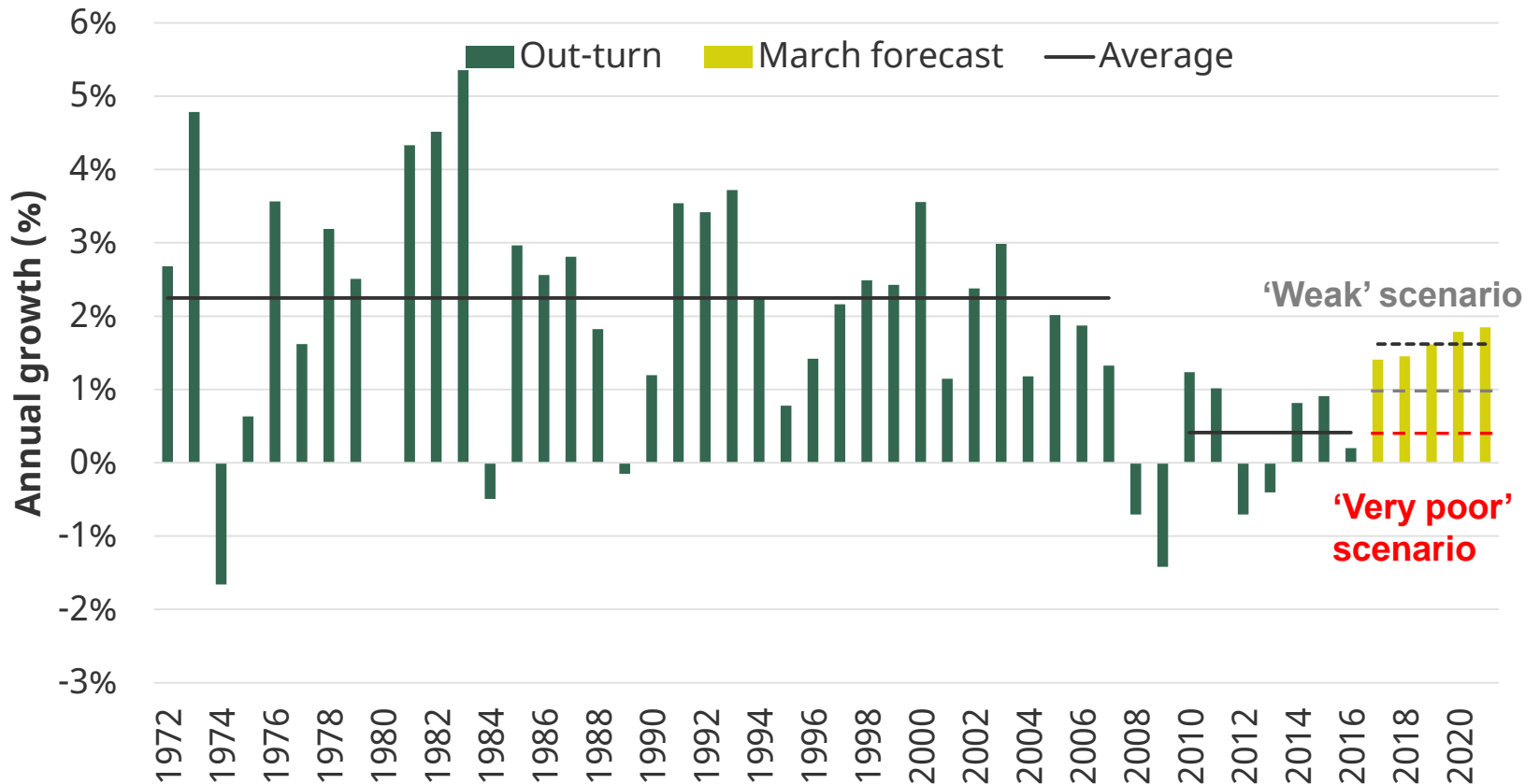
Successive forecasts for productivity growth since June 2010



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.3 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

Recent productivity performance has been historically terrible

Productivity growth since 1972: Out-turns and the March forecast



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.4 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

A substantial productivity downgrade seems likely

OBR have stated a productivity growth downgrade is likely

- Robert Chote: “for now we are minded to revise down potential productivity growth significantly”
- Only slightly offset by an expected increase in hours and employment forecasts

‘Very poor’ productivity scenario

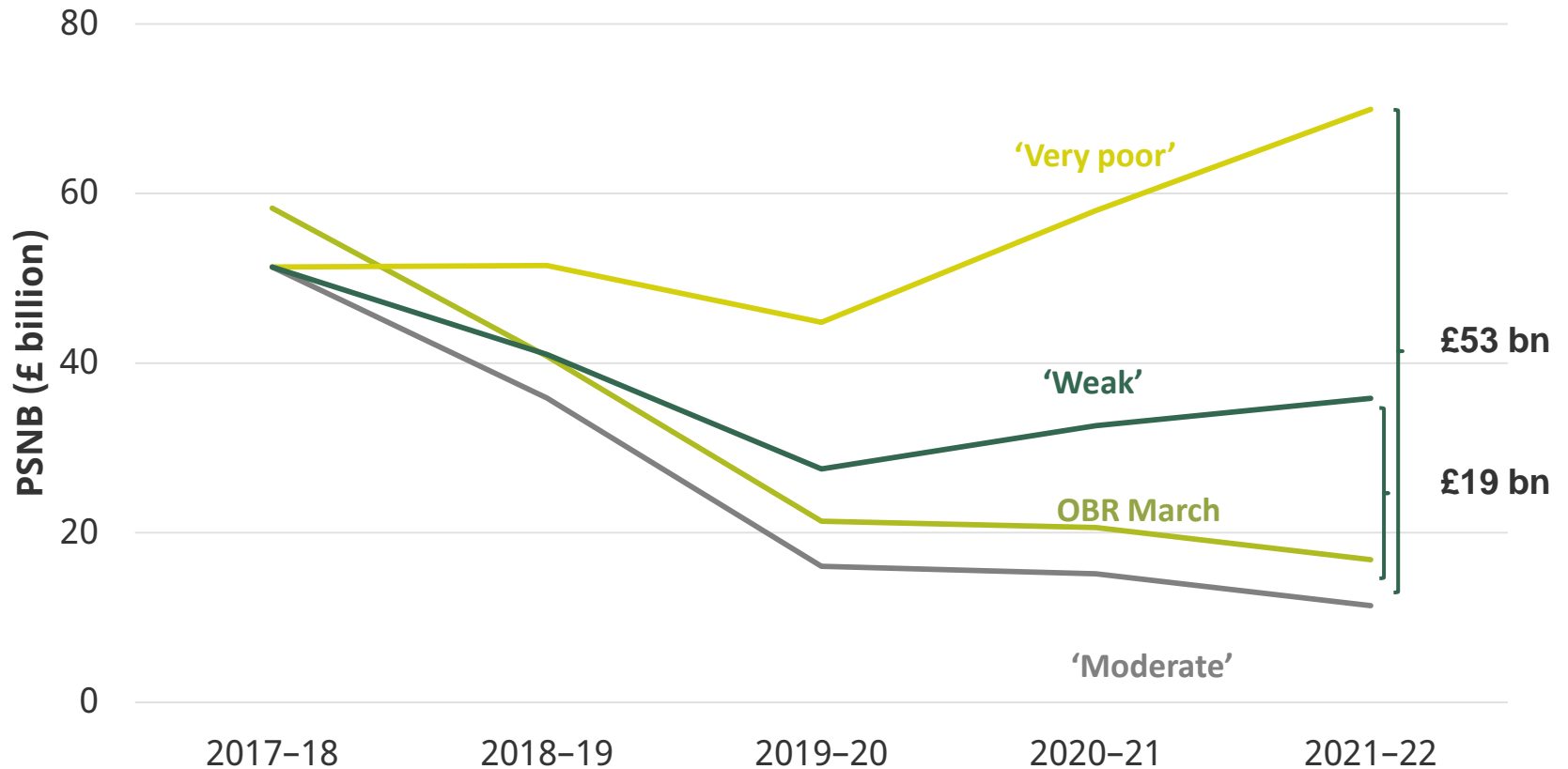
- 0.4% annual growth considered new normal
- Average real growth 2017-2021: 0.7% (1.8% in March)

‘Weak’ productivity scenario

- Downgrade halfway towards average of last seven years
- Average real growth 2017-2021: 1.3% (1.8% in March)

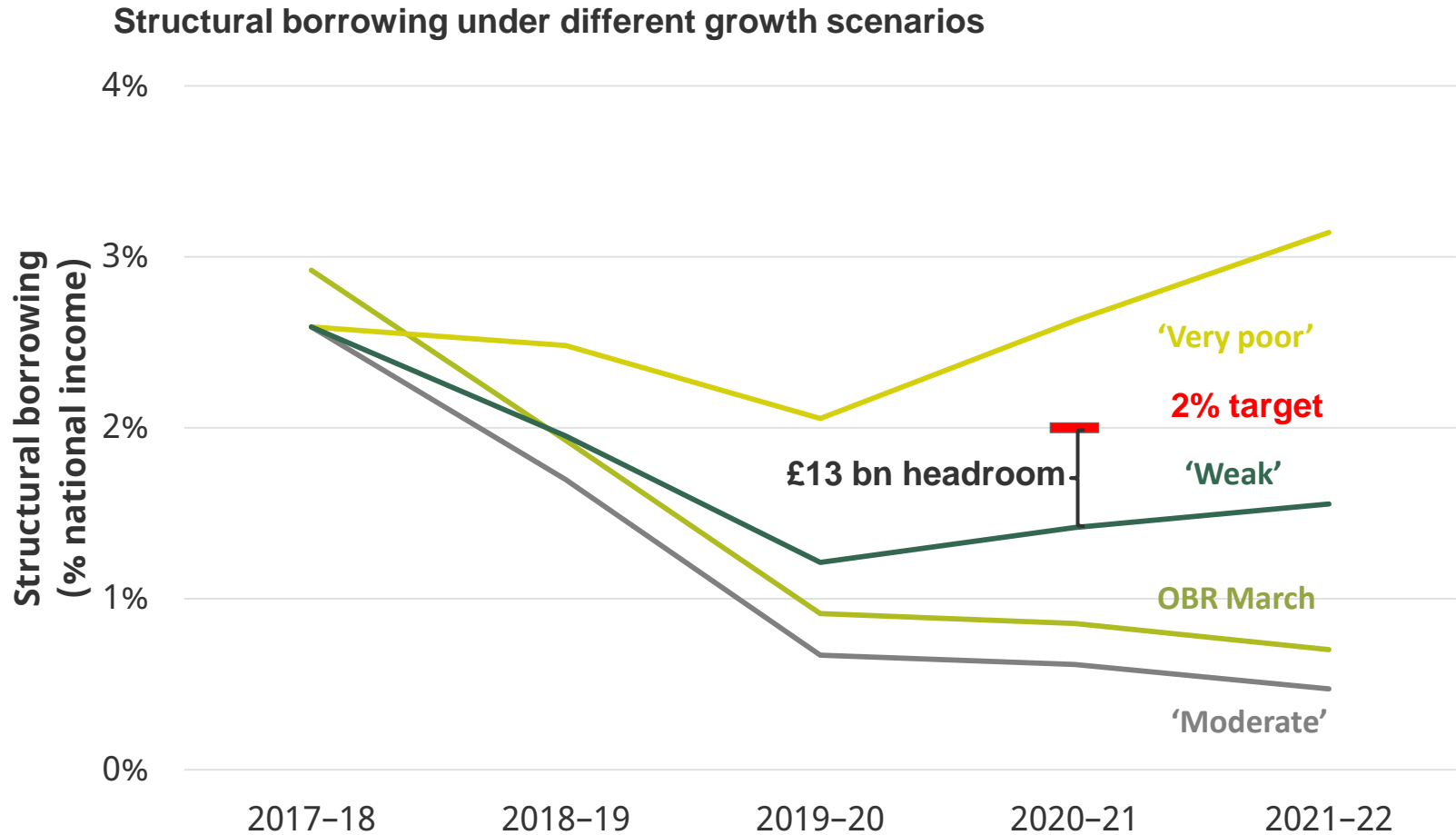
Weaker productivity would mean higher borrowing

Public sector net borrowing under different growth scenarios



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.7 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

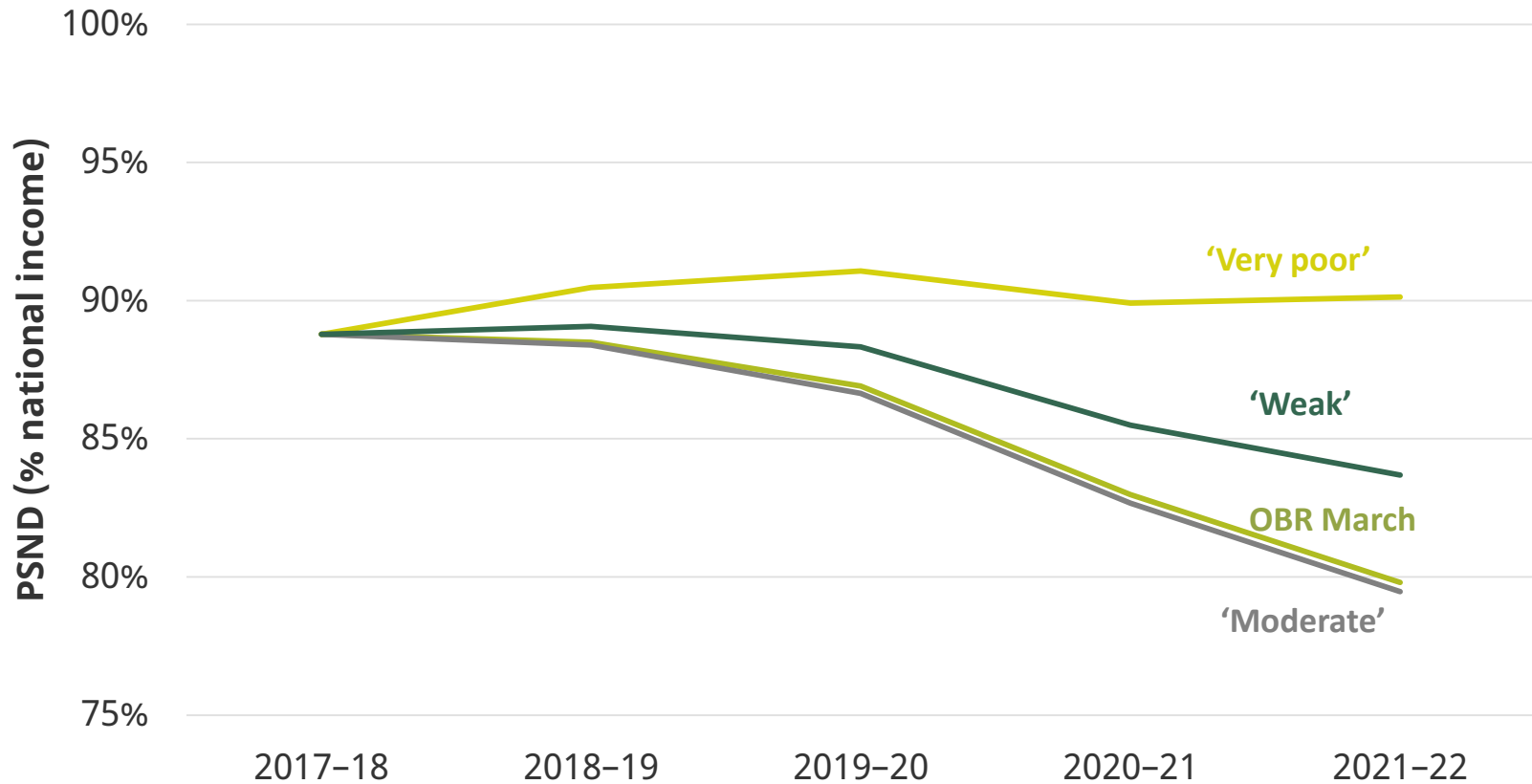
All of which would be structural



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.8 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

And the National Debt would rise as a result

Public sector net debt under different growth scenarios

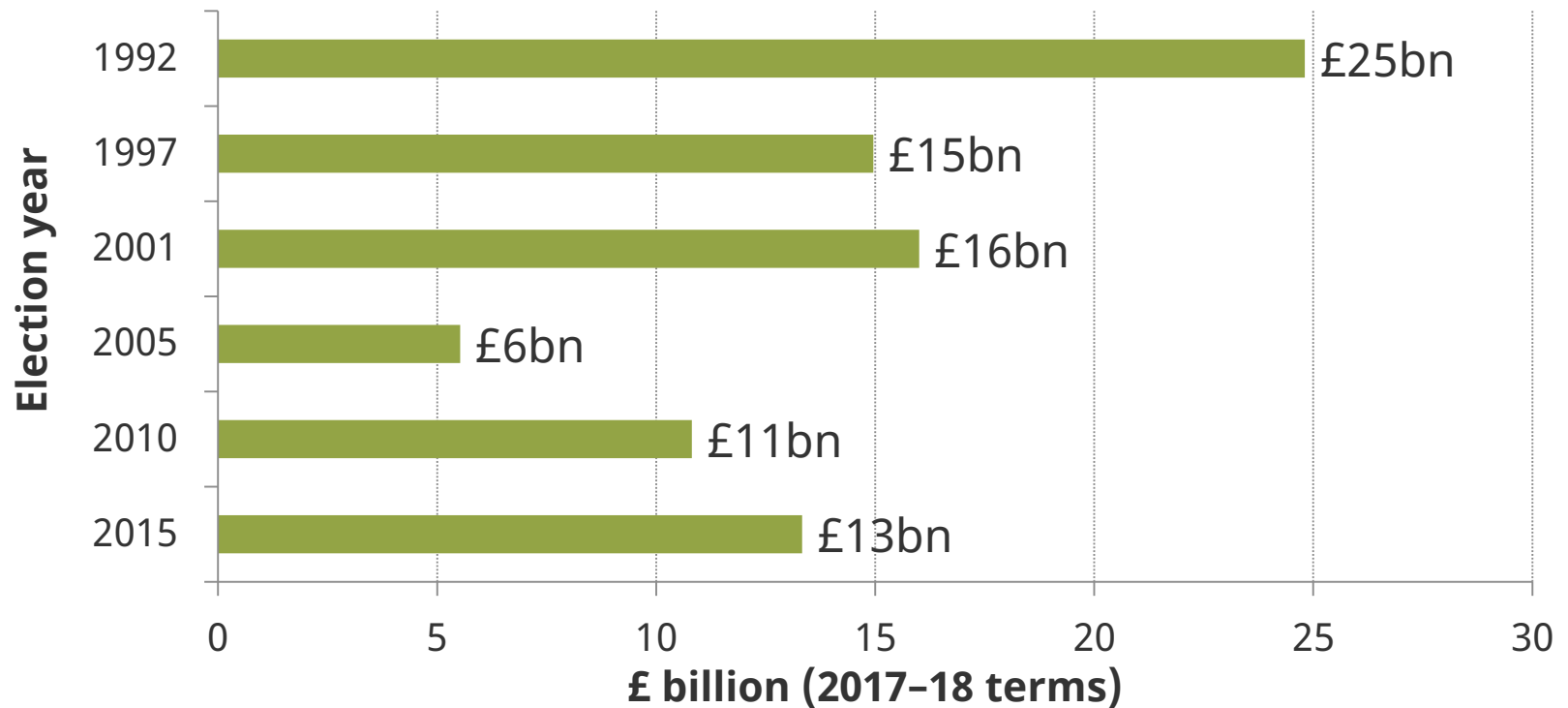


Notes and sources: see Figure 3.9 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*

So what's a Chancellor to do?

Elections tend to be followed by tax rises

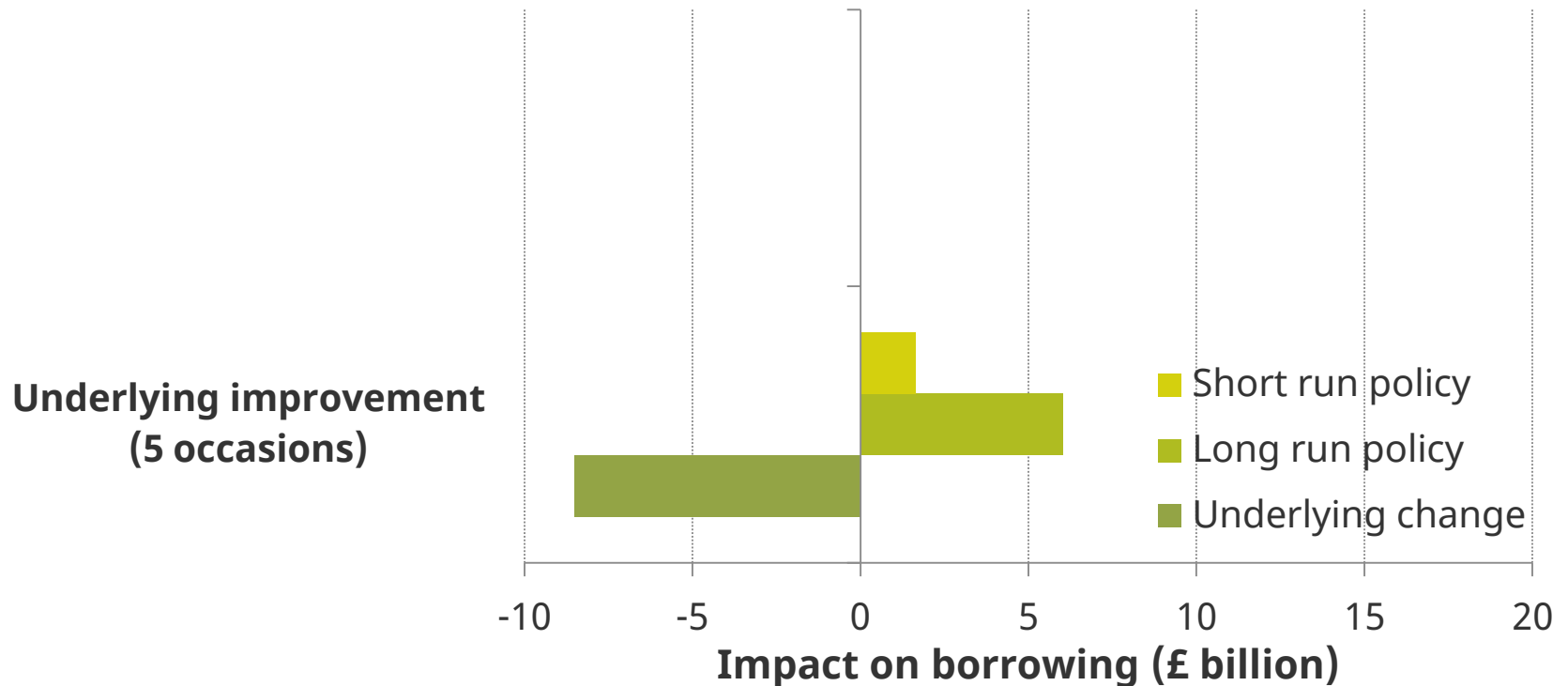
Long run net tax rise from measures announced in the year following general elections



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.10 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

Asymmetric response to public finance news

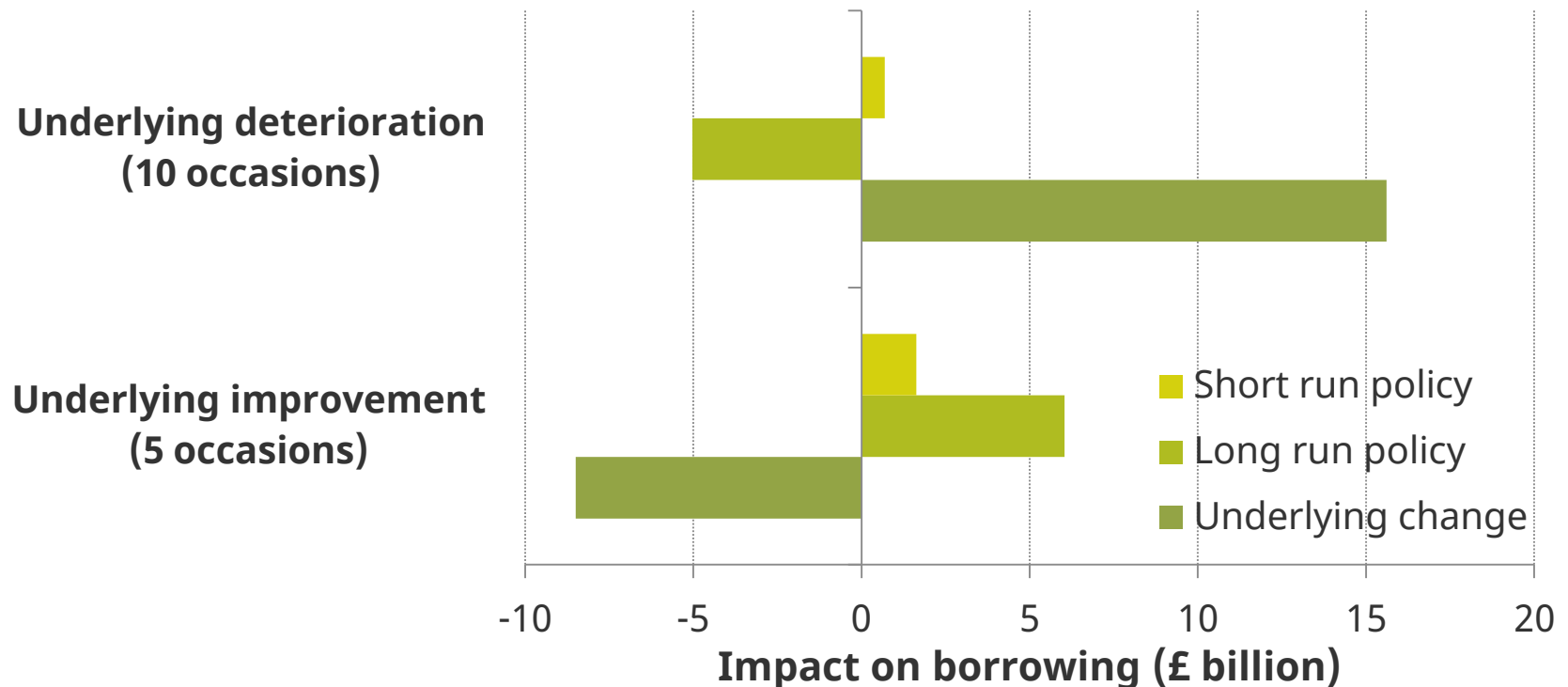
Average change in underlying borrowing and policy response since 2010



Notes and sources: see Figure 3.11 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

Asymmetric response to public finance news

Average change in underlying borrowing and policy response since 2010



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Options for tax rises

One option is to announce tax rises

- if so could do worse than increasing rate(s) of one of the main taxes
- NICs rates rose in early 1990s, early 2000s and early 2010s

Could decide not to cut rate of corporation tax from 19% to 17%

- boost revenues by around £5 billion
- require House of Commons vote and break manifesto commitment

Politics makes any significant tax takeaways difficult

- apart from the seemingly obligatory “tax avoidance” measures?

Tax cuts more likely?

£6 billion net tax rise already still to come and tax burden forecast to rise to level not maintained since 1950s

Conservative manifesto commitment to increase income tax personal allowance to £12.5k and higher-rate threshold to £50k

- would now only cost £1.1 billion a year
- on top of £12 billion spent increasing personal allowance since 2010

Another freeze in fuel duties would cost £¾ billion a year

- on top of the £5.4 billion cost of freezing them since 2010
- would cost £¼ billion if frozen for petrol but not diesel

Possible benefit giveaways? (1/2)

£12 billion of cuts in benefits for working age families are still in the pipeline, on top of £29 billion implemented since 2010–11

Universal credit being rolled out nationwide

- rollout 8% complete in September, rising to 13% in March
- less generous than legacy system, cash terms protection for existing recipients

Concern with time taken before claimants receive first full payment

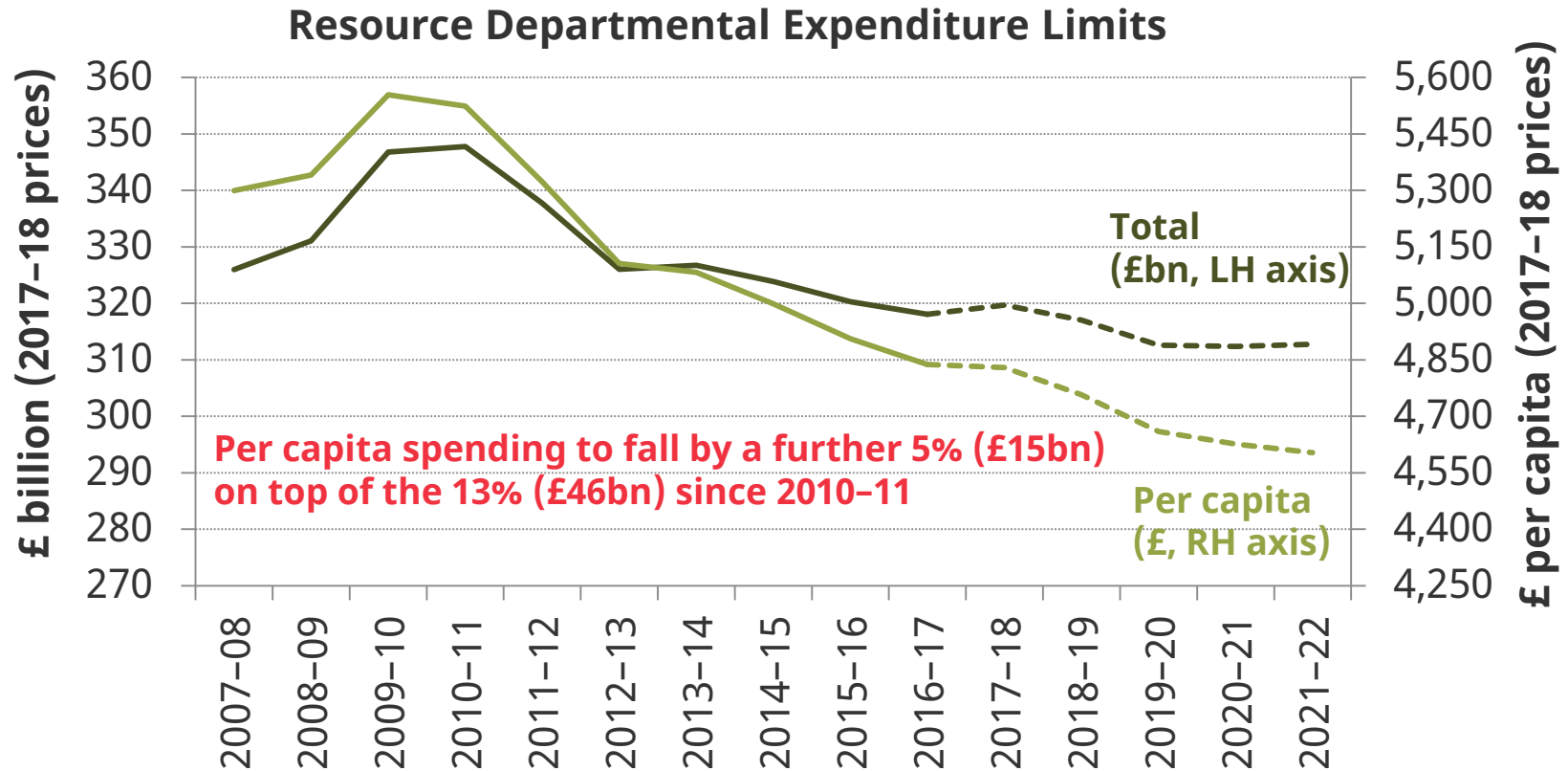
- paid monthly in arrears
- 7 waiting days before unemployed can claim: return to 3 waiting days would cost of £0.3 billion a year

Possible benefit giveaways? (2/2)

Most working age benefits to be frozen for next two years

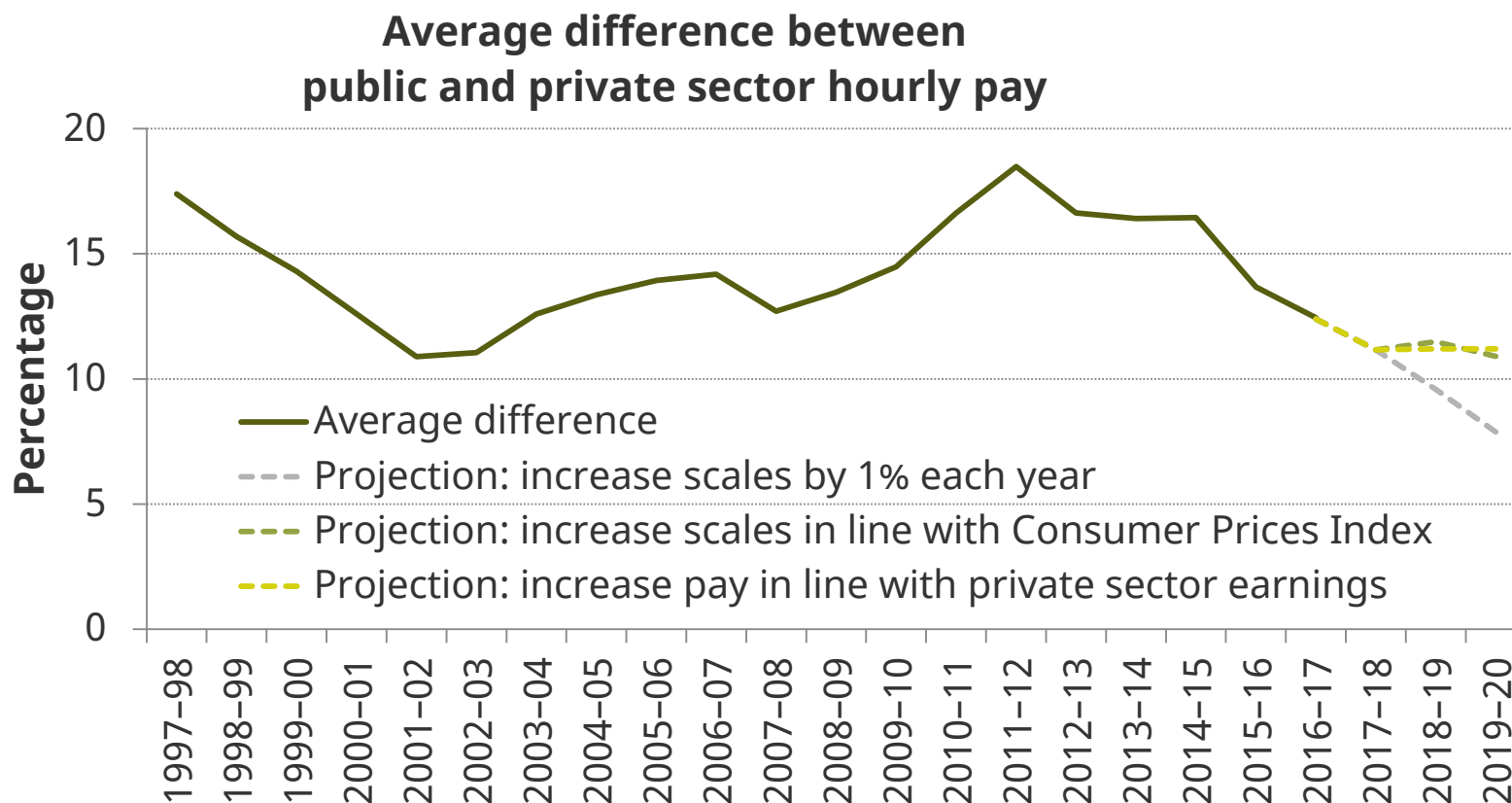
- 4 year freeze (2015–16 to 2019–20) initially expected to save £3.4 billion
- rising inflation means now on course to save £4.6 billion
- could move to 1% increase for two years, or cancel final year of freeze, and keep broadly to the original saving
- could scrap final two years at cost of around £4 billion

Day-to-day public service spending squeezed



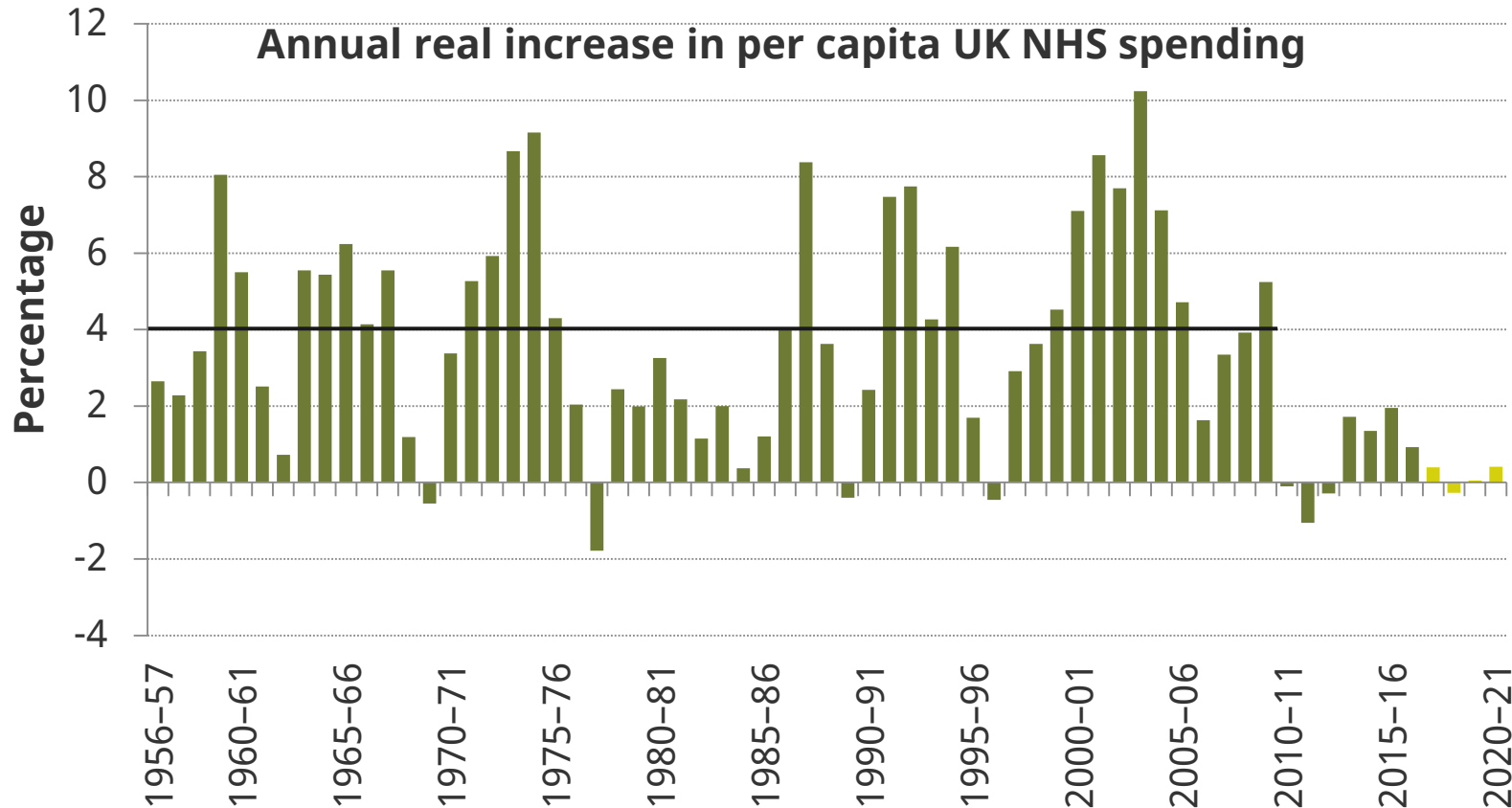
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Retaining public sector pay cap not risk free



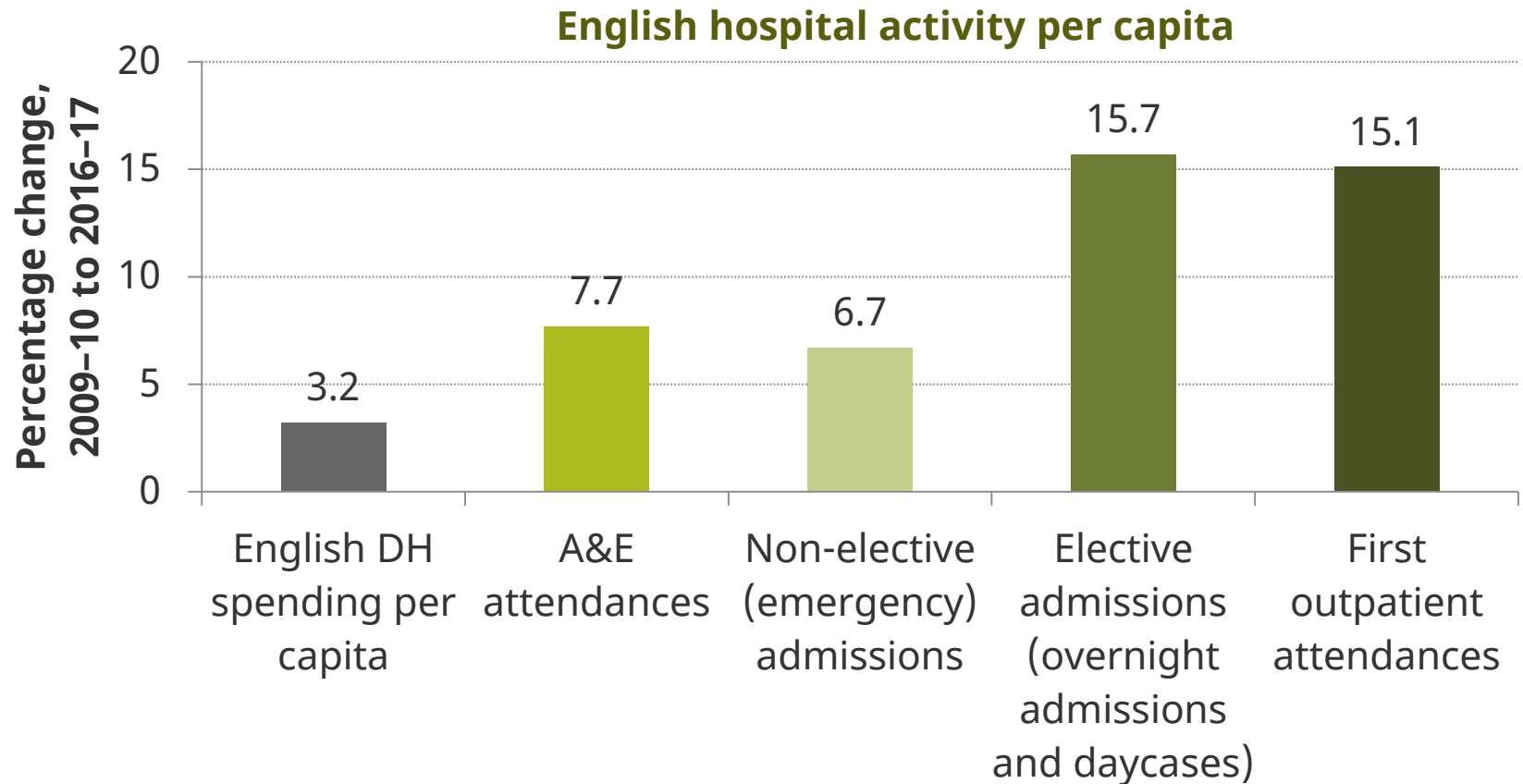
Notes and sources: see Figure 4.1 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

NHS: extremely tight spending settlement



Notes and sources: see Figure 4.2 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

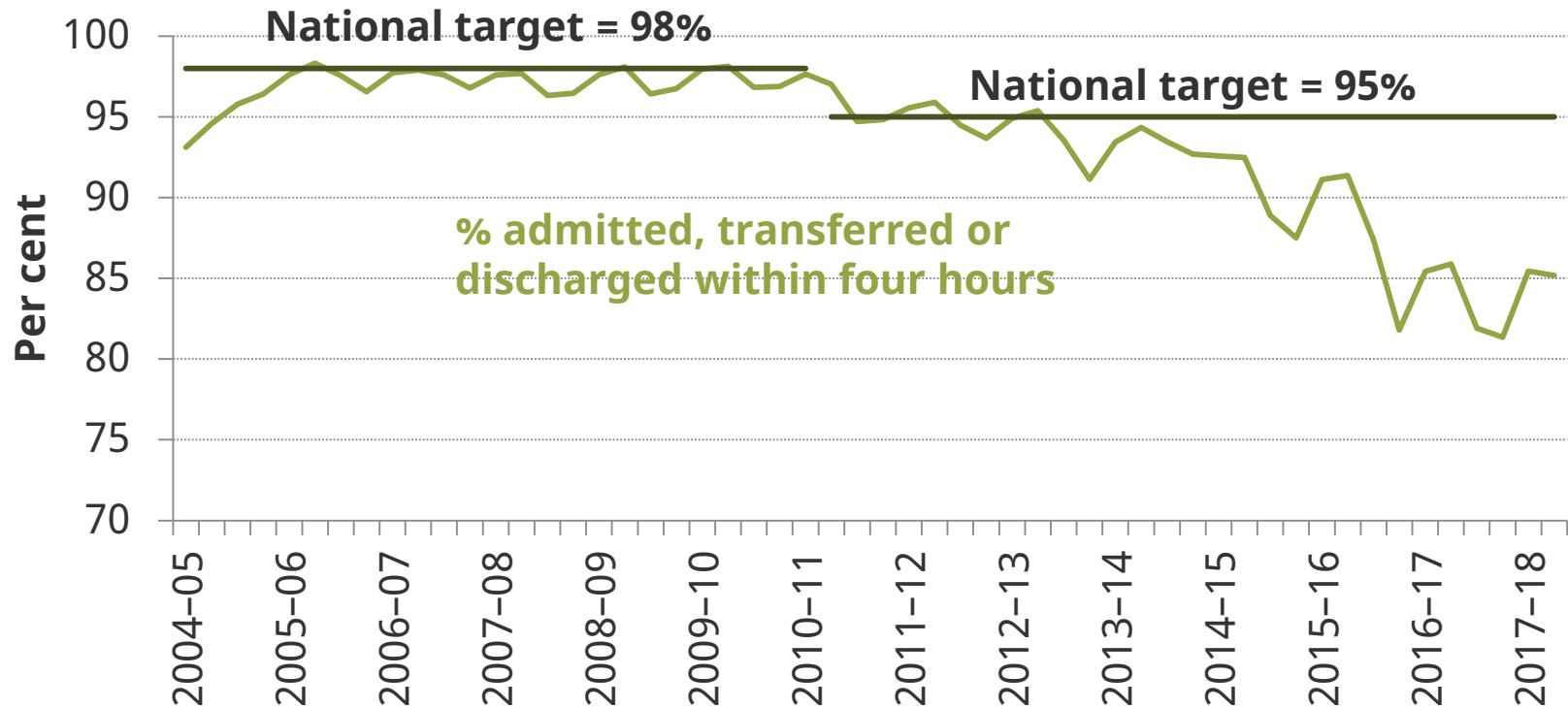
NHS: managing to do more



Notes and sources: see Figure 4.3 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

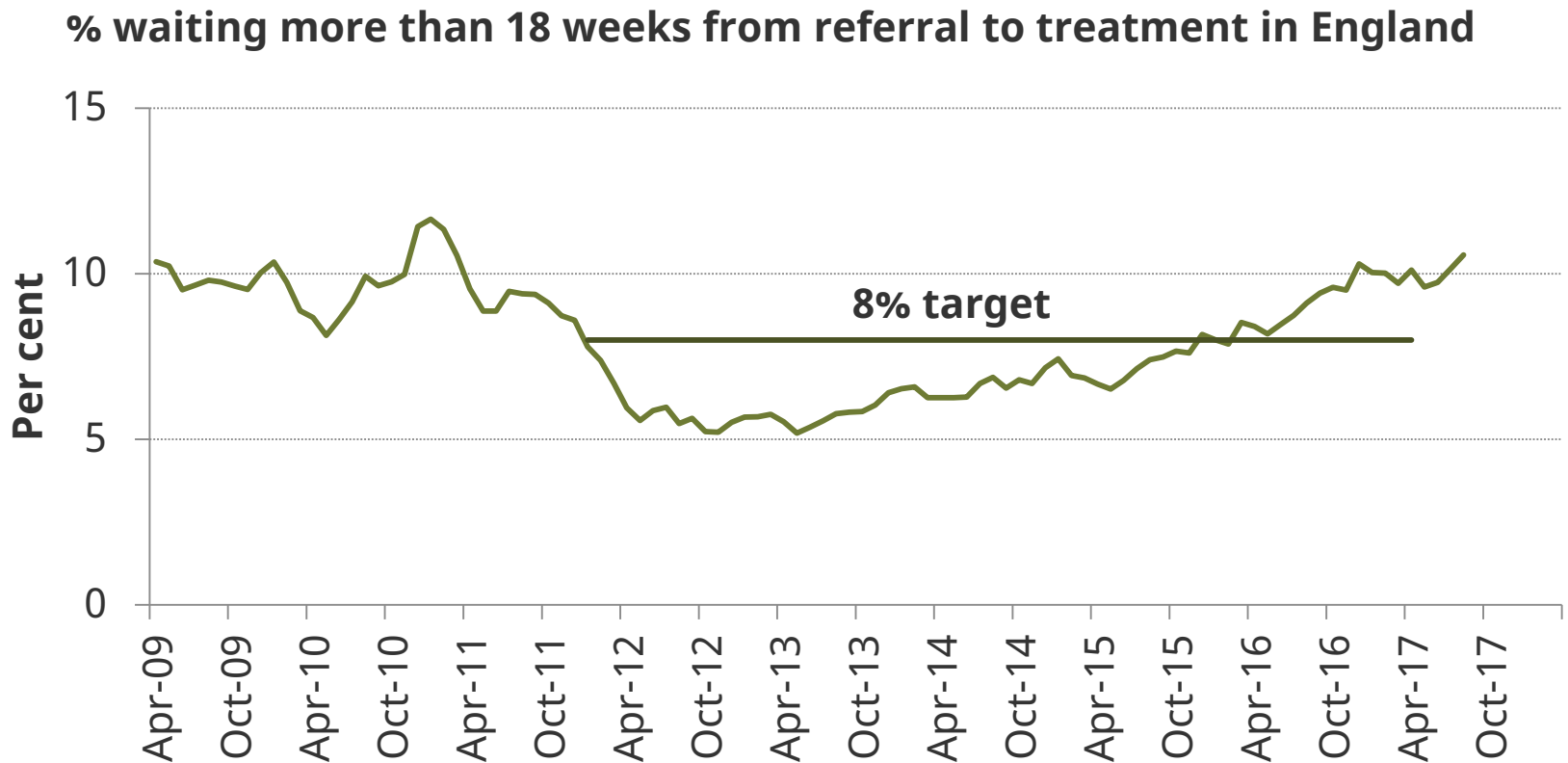
NHS: clear signs of strain (1/2)

A&E patients in England increasingly likely to wait more than 4 hours



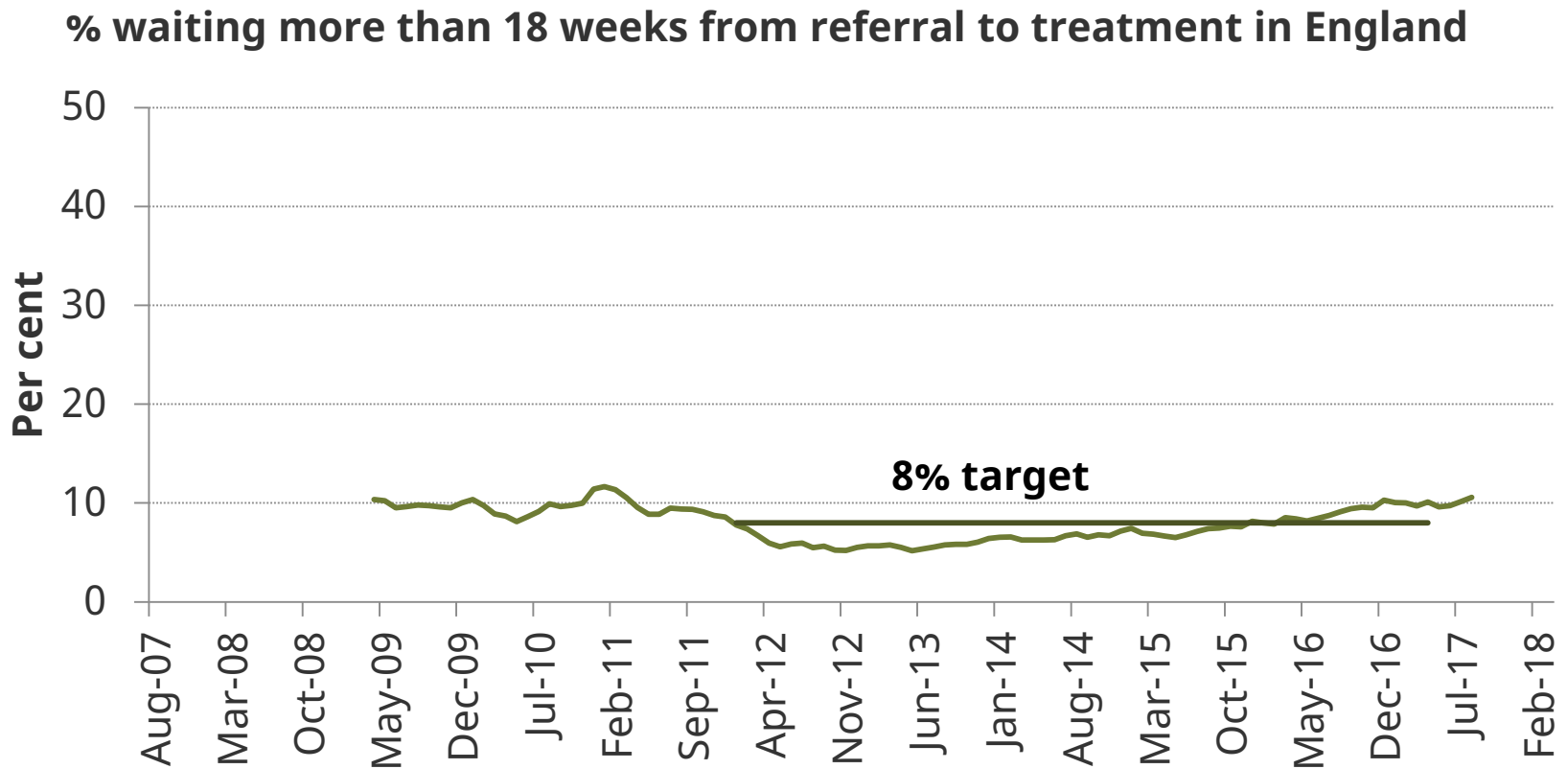
Notes and sources: see Figure 4.4 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

NHS: clear signs of strain (2/2)



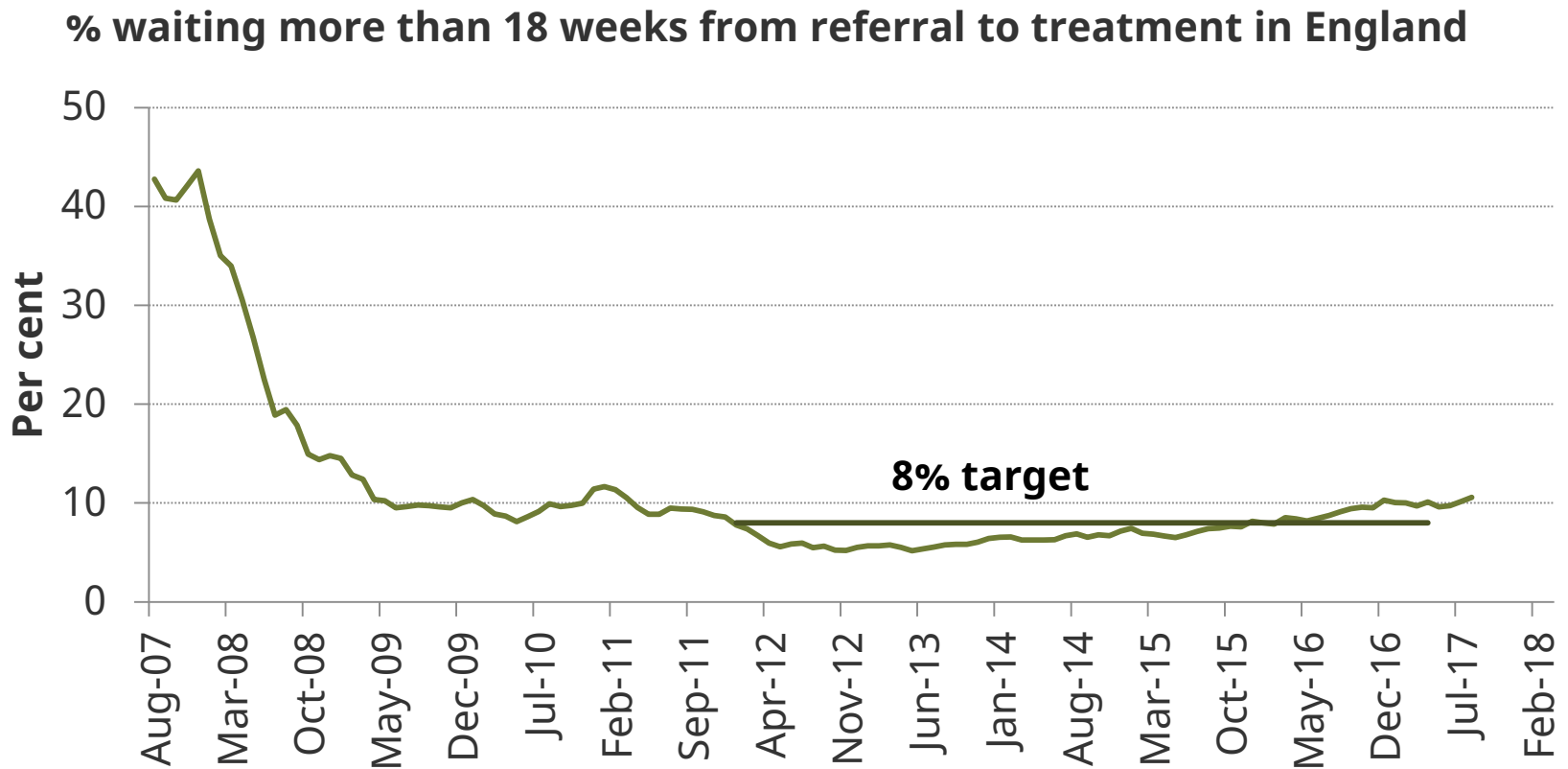
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NHS: clear signs of strain (2/2)



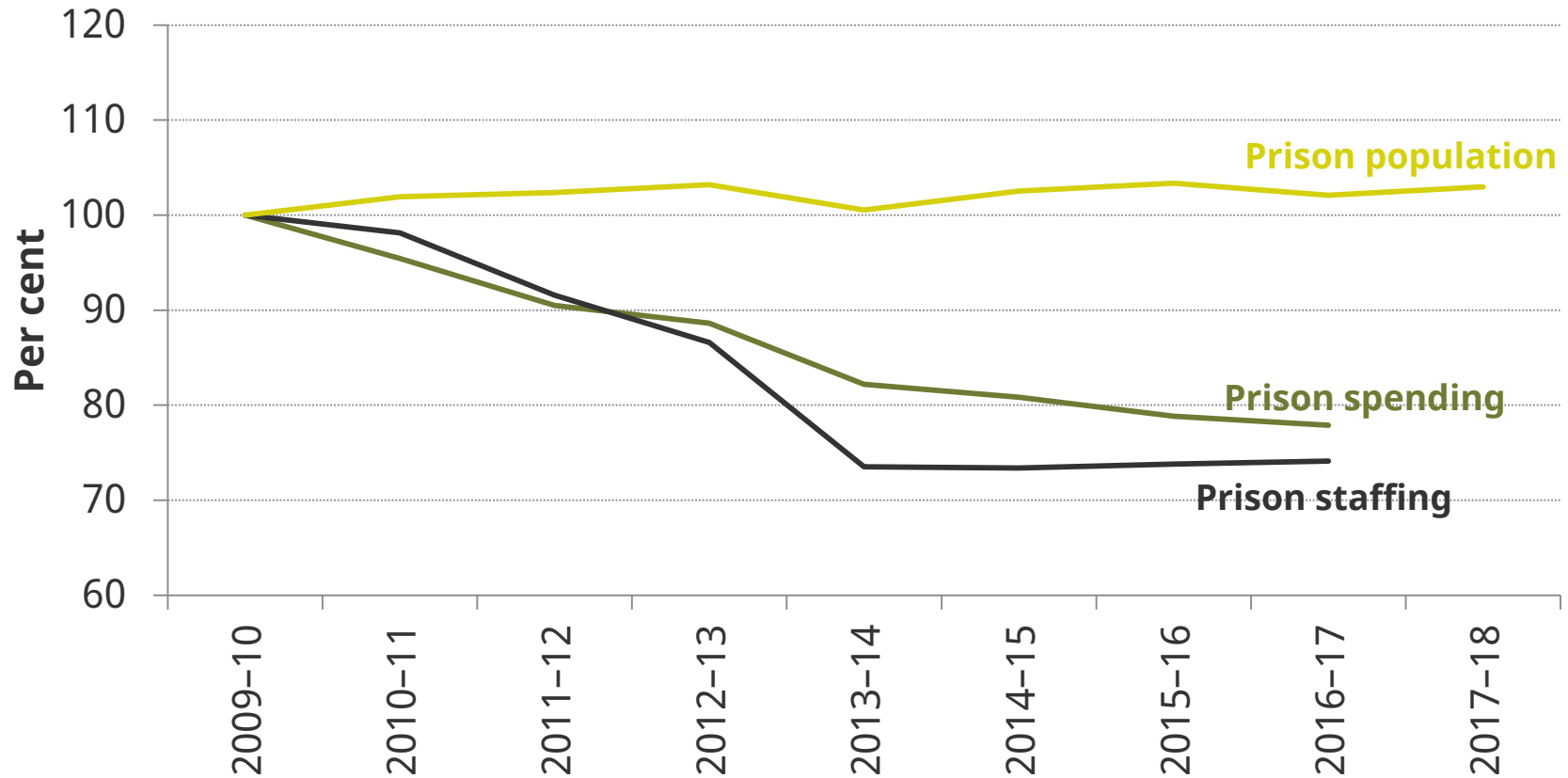
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NHS: clear signs of strain (2/2)



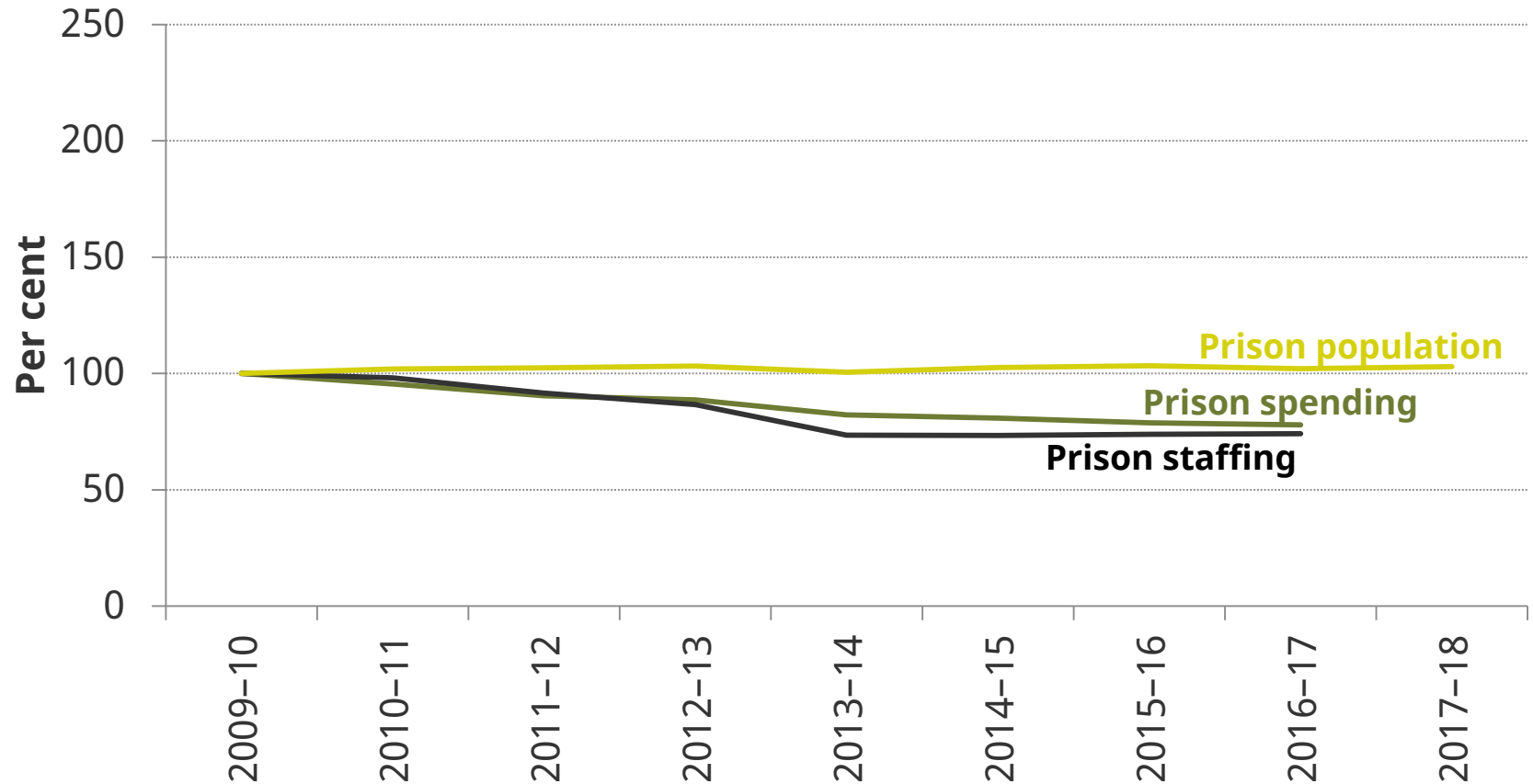
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Prisons: spending and staff cut



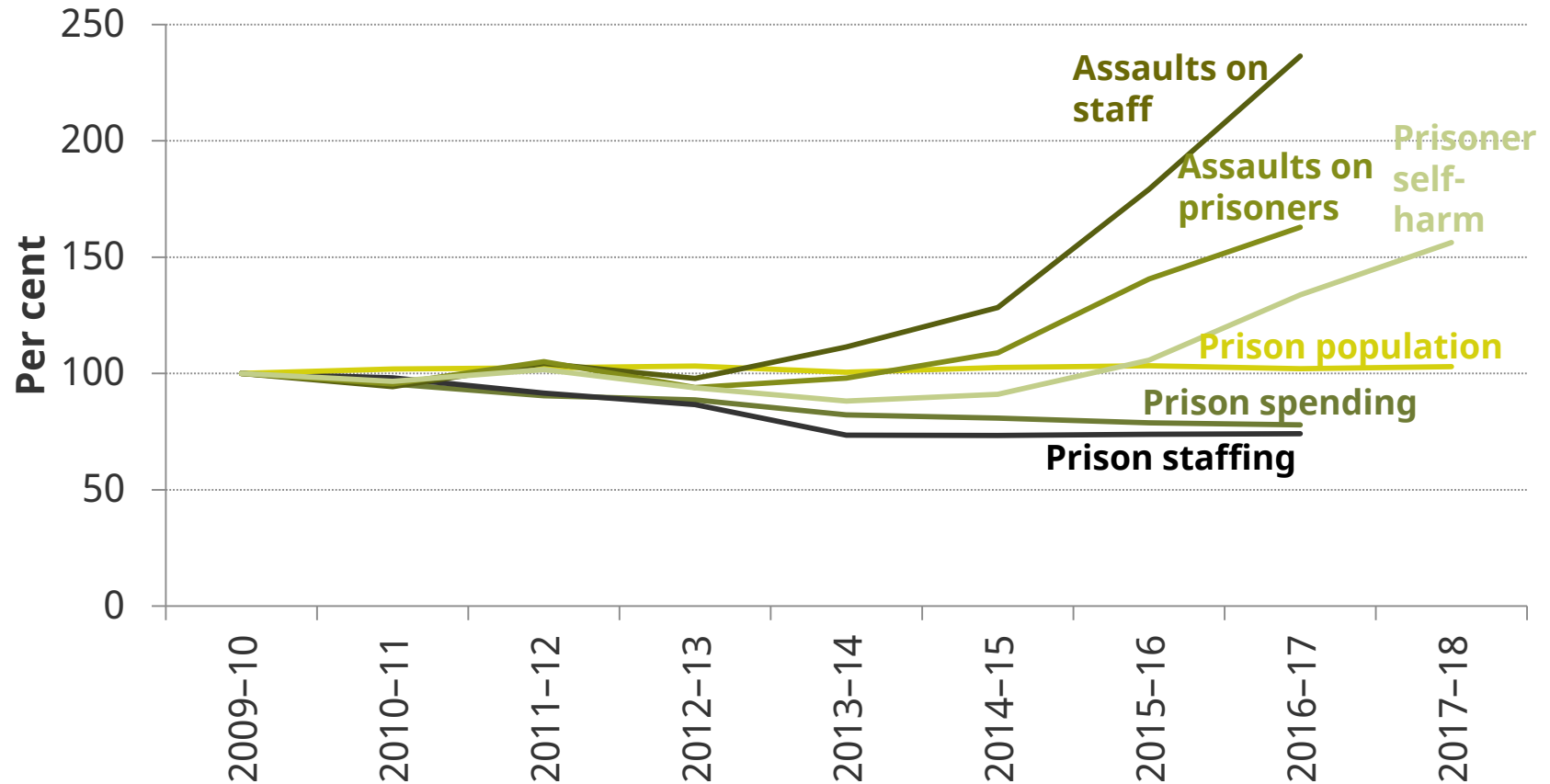
Notes and sources: see Figure 4.6 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

Prisons: spending and staff cut



Notes and sources: see Figure 4.6 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

Prisons: assaults on staff, assaults on prisoners and prisoner self-harm up



Notes and sources: see Figure 4.6 of *Autumn 2017 Budget: Options for easing the squeeze*.

So what's a Chancellor to do? (1/2)

Mr Hammond has been dealt a tricky hand

If forecast productivity growth were unchanged public finance outlook would be slightly stronger than in March

Likely productivity downgrade would, if significant, dominate

- downgrading halfway towards recent experience could increase forecast borrowing in 2021–22 from £17 billion to £36 billion
- fiscal targets for this parliament could still be met, albeit with much reduced headroom

So what's a Chancellor to do? (2/2)

Unlikely to announce a significant fiscal tightening

Budget giveaways seem likely, but an “end to austerity” unlikely

- choosing between competing spending demands difficult

Chances of eliminating the deficit anytime soon keep receding

- possible public finances will perform much better than expected
- but perhaps time to admit that a firm commitment to running a budget surplus from the mid-2020s onwards is no longer sensible

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