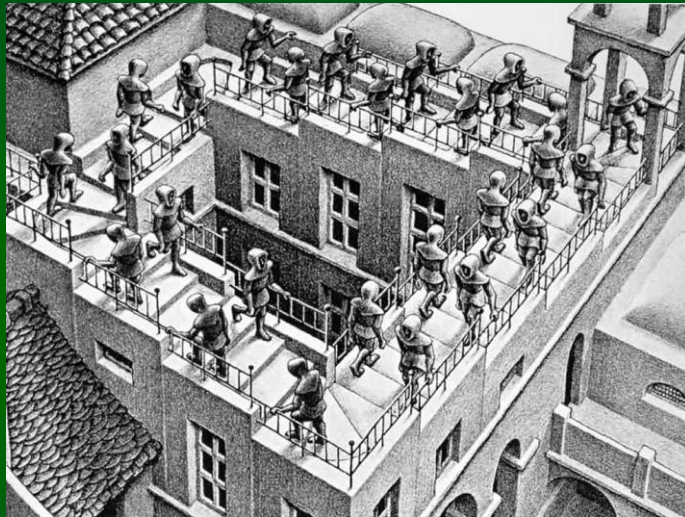




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## Still five more years of austerity to go?

Gemma Tetlow

# Big picture

- Forecast for borrowing this year revised up a bit
  - Tax receipts £8bn lower than expected in March
  - But lower inflation and lower interest rates reduce spending by £2bn
- Forecast for tax receipts revised down by £25bn by 2018–19
  - Largely because of weaker earnings growth, lower effective tax rates
- But spending has also been revised down by £24bn by 2018–19
  - About £5bn from lower welfare spending
  - About £16bn from lower debt interest spending
- Measures to raise money appear to offset measures that give money away
  - But... giveaways look more permanent (and more certain) than some of the takeaways
- An extra year's squeeze on spending in 2019–20...
  - Lower medium-term borrowing than aimed for in March



# Changes in borrowing forecasts since March 2014

Public sector net borrowing, £ billion

	2013– 14	2014– 15	2015– 16	2016– 17	2017– 18	2018– 19	2019– 20
<b>Budget 2014</b>	<b>99.3</b>	<b>86.4</b>	<b>68.3</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>–3.7</b>	
Forecasting changes							
Measures from the scorecard							
Spending cuts not on scorecard							
<b>AS 2014</b>	<b>97.5</b>	<b>91.3</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>–4.0</b>	<b>–23.1</b>

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

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Forecasting changes	–1.7	5.7	6.6	–0.1	0.8	1.8	
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<b>AS 2014</b>	<b>97.5</b>	<b>91.3</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>–4.0</b>	<b>–23.1</b>

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

# Forecasting changes reduce revenues but also reduce spending...

Effect of forecasting changes on public sector net borrowing, £ billion

	2013– 14	2014– 15	2015– 16	2016– 17	2017– 18	2018– 19
<b>Forecasting changes</b>	<b>-1.7</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>-0.1</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>1.8</b>
Changes to forecast receipts	-1.6	7.7	14.3	18.9	22.7	25.3
Changes to forecast spending	-0.1	-2.0	-7.7	-19.0	-21.9	-23.5

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

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Changes to forecast receipts	-1.6	7.7	14.3	18.9	22.7	25.3
Lower earnings	0.0	2.8	7.2	9.3	8.9	9.0
Lower effective PAYE/NICs tax rates	0.0	2.5	2.6	3.6	4.1	4.2
Lower savings income tax	0.0	0.3	1.2	1.9	2.4	2.9
Other	-1.6	2.1	3.3	4.1	7.3	9.2
Changes to forecast spending	-0.1	-2.0	-7.7	-19.0	-21.9	-23.5

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

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Changes to forecast spending	-0.1	-2.0	-7.7	-19.0	-21.9	-23.5
Lower inflation	0.0	-3.2	-5.0	-5.3	-4.8	-4.7
Lower unemployment	0.0	-0.6	-1.3	-1.2	-0.8	-0.6
Modelling changes to social security	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.5	1.3	0.8

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

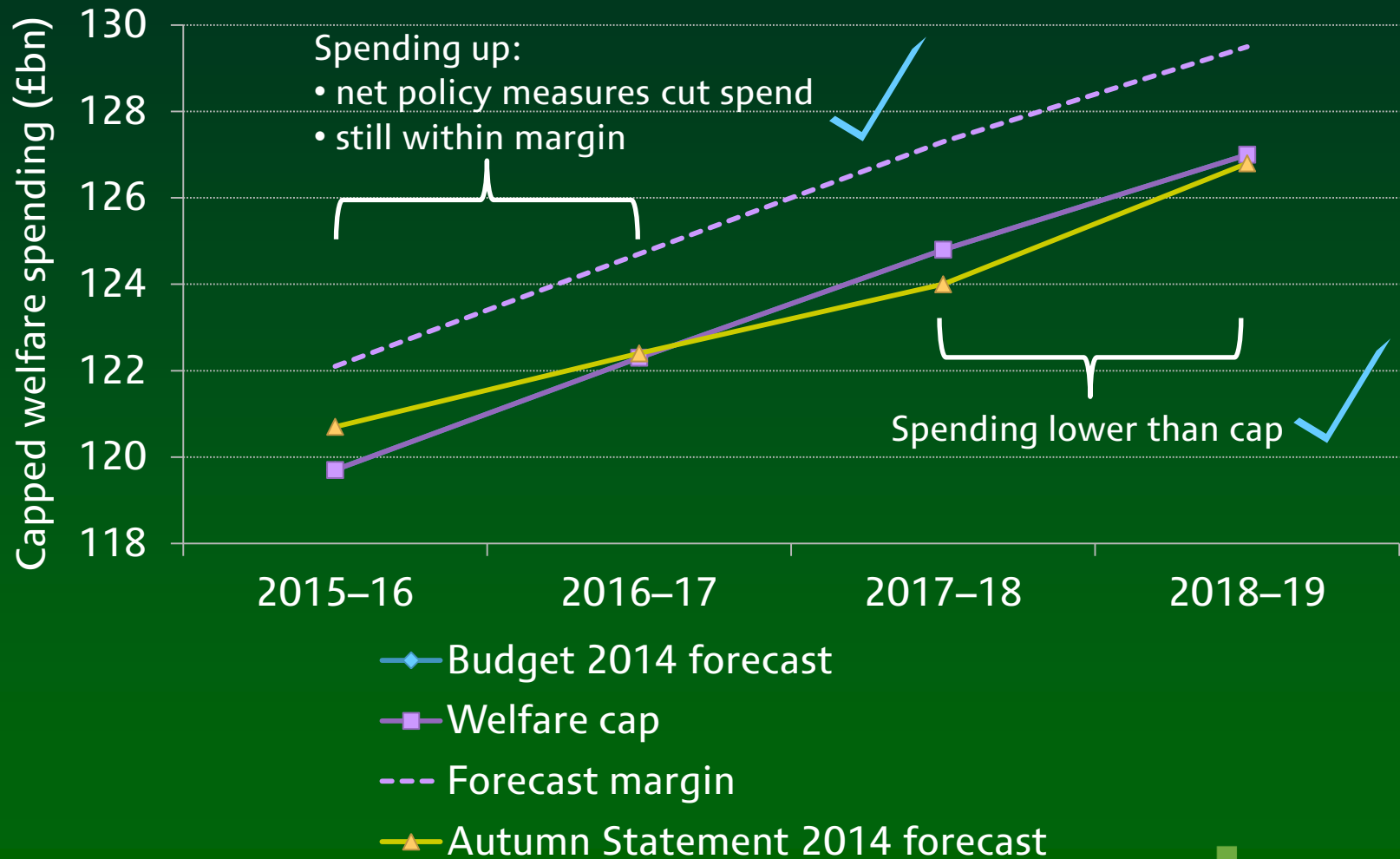
Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

# What happened to forecast welfare spending?

- Third fiscal target: welfare spending ‘in scope’ must not exceed the cap set out in Budget 2014
  - 2% margin for forecasting changes
- Total welfare spending £1.1bn higher in 2014–15 than thought back in March, but lower in all years after that
- Spending on incapacity and disability benefits £1.6bn a year higher on average...
  - government saving less than expected from structural reforms
- ...but in the long run this is outweighed by macroeconomic factors
  - lower unemployment reduces spending
  - lower CPI inflation feeds through to lower uprating
  - lower earnings growth reduces the “triple lock” for state pensions



# What does this mean for the welfare cap?



# Forecasting changes reduce revenues but also reduce spending...

Effect of forecasting changes on public sector net borrowing, £ billion

	2013– 14	2014– 15	2015– 16	2016– 17	2017– 18	2018– 19
<b>Forecasting changes</b>	<b>-1.7</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>-0.1</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>1.8</b>
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Lower inflation	0.0	-3.2	-5.0	-5.3	-4.8	-4.7
Lower unemployment	0.0	-0.6	-1.3	-1.2	-0.8	-0.6
Modelling changes to social security	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.5	1.3	0.8
Lower gilt rates and short rates	0.0	-0.6	-2.3	-4.3	-5.9	-7.0
Other debt interest changes	0.0	-1.6	-3.8	-6.0	-5.9	-5.9
Later unwinding of APF	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	-0.9	-1.5

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

# Forecasting changes reduce revenues but also reduce spending...

Effect of forecasting changes on public sector net borrowing, £ billion

	2013– 14	2014– 15	2015– 16	2016– 17	2017– 18	2018– 19
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Later unwinding of APF	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	-0.9	-1.5
‘Forecasting’ changes to DEL	2.4	-0.7	1.6	-7.1	-6.0	-4.3

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Forecasting changes	–1.7	5.7	6.6	–0.1	0.8	1.8	
Measures from the scorecard		–0.9	1.0	–0.1	–0.4	–0.5	–0.4
Spending cuts not on scorecard							
<b>AS 2014</b>	<b>97.5</b>	<b>91.3</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>–4.0</b>	<b>–23.1</b>

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Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

# The scorecard: giveaways paid for by takeaways

Effect on public sector net borrowing, £ billion

	2013– 14	2014– 15	2015– 16	2016– 17	2017– 18	2018– 19	2019– 20
<b>Measures from the scorecard</b>		<b>-0.9</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>-0.1</b>	<b>-0.4</b>	<b>-0.5</b>	<b>-0.4</b>
Tax giveaway		0.4	2.1	2.3	2.0	1.9	2.0
Tax takeaway		-1.1	-1.5	-2.1	-2.2	-2.2	-1.9
Spend giveaway							
Spend takeaway							

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

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Tax giveaway		0.4	2.1	2.3	2.0	1.9	2.0
Tax takeaway		-1.1	-1.5	-2.1	-2.2	-2.2	-1.9
Spend giveaway		0.1	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0
Spend takeaway		-0.3	-0.7	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6

Notes: Numbers might not sum due to rounding. All figures for borrowing are on a basis that excludes public sector banks.

Source: HM Treasury; Office for Budget Responsibility; IFS calculations.

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# Bad habits 1: Permanent giveaways funded by temporary revenue raisers

- Budget 2013:
  - Personal allowance increase and fuel duty freeze “funded” by ending contracting out for defined benefit schemes
  - Latter policy raises money in short-term but matched by similar liabilities in the longer-term
- AS 2013:
  - New student loans “financed by selling the old student loan book”
  - Economically nonsense as selling an asset for what it is worth does not strengthen the public finances
- Budget 2014:
  - Personal allowance increase, changes to savings taxation, alcohol duty cuts “funded” by voluntary NICs, DC pension reforms, accelerated payments
- AS 2014:
  - Personal allowance increase, stamp duty cut, employers’ NICs cut partly “paid for” by bank losses restriction



# Bad habits 2: Permanent spending commitments, but with no (or only temporary) additional money

- Budget 2013:
  - Ending contracting out into DB pensions increases public sector employer NICs (£3.7bn a year)
  - Dilnot social care funding (£1.0bn a year)
  - Tax-free childcare scheme (£0.8bn a year)
- AS 2013:
  - Free school meals extension (£0.8bn a year)
  - Scrapping cap on HE student numbers (£0.7bn a year from 2018–19)
  - Energy prices and efficiency measures (£0.4bn a year)
- Budget 2014:
  - Higher contributions to public service pension schemes (£1bn a year)
- AS 2014:
  - Higher contributions to public service pension schemes (£0.4bn a year)



# Changes in borrowing forecasts since March 2014

Public sector net borrowing, £ billion

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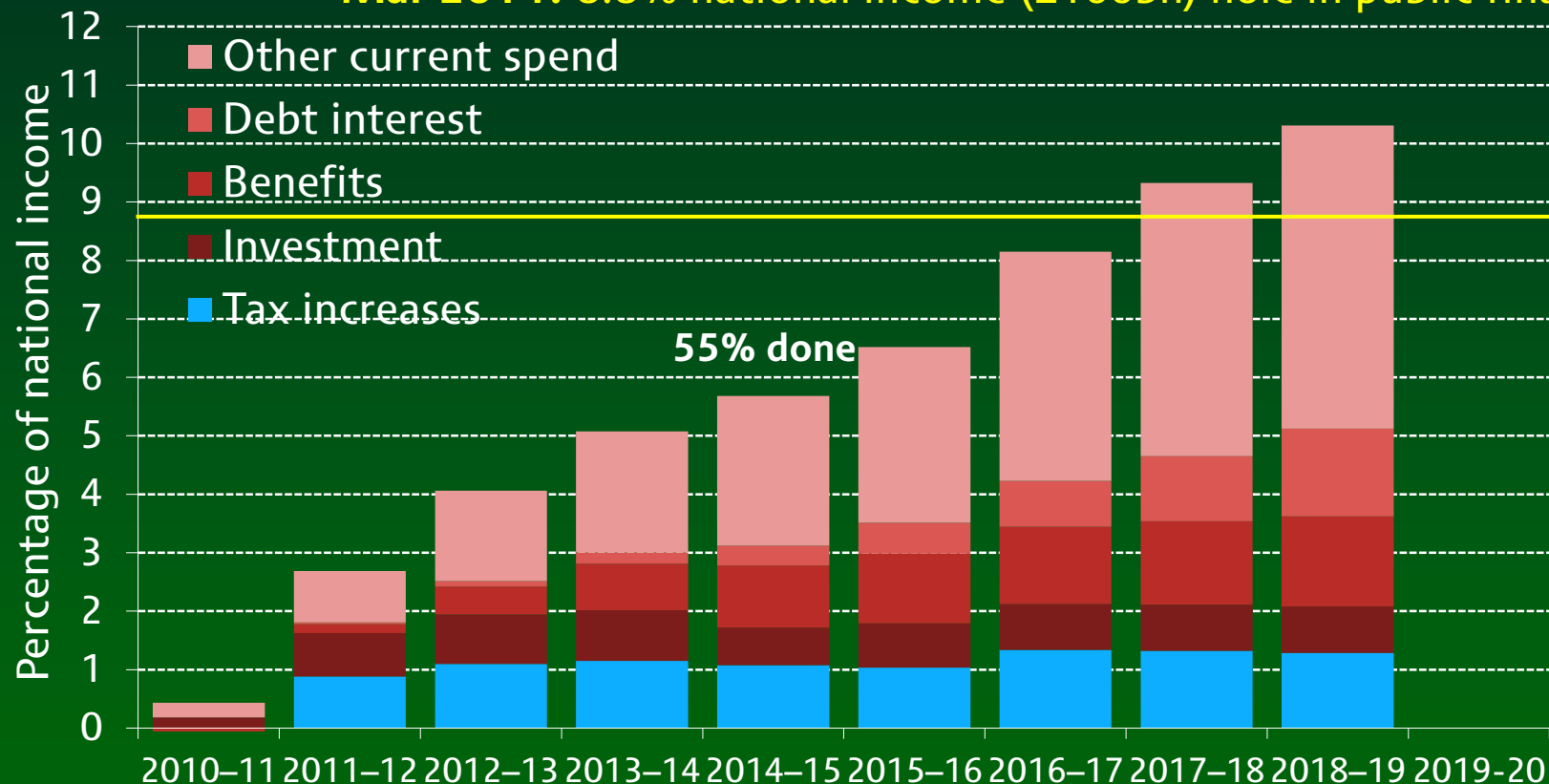
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Spending cuts not on scorecard				–0.4	–1.6	–1.7	–16.2
<b>AS 2014</b>	<b>97.5</b>	<b>91.3</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>–4.0</b>	<b>–23.1</b>

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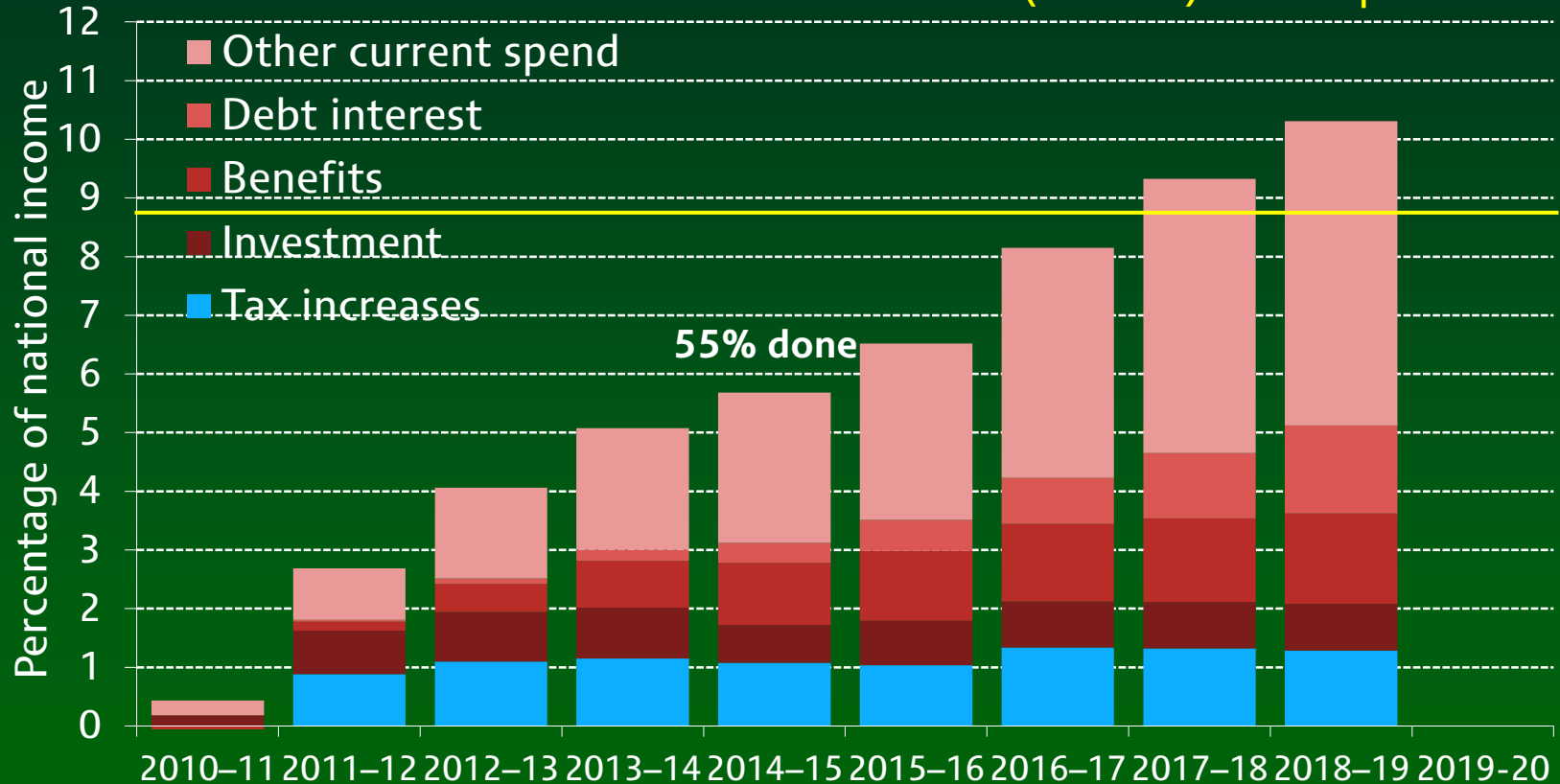
# The cure (March 2014): 10.3% national income consolidation over 9 years (£194bn)

**Mar 2014: 8.8% national income (£166bn) hole in public finances**



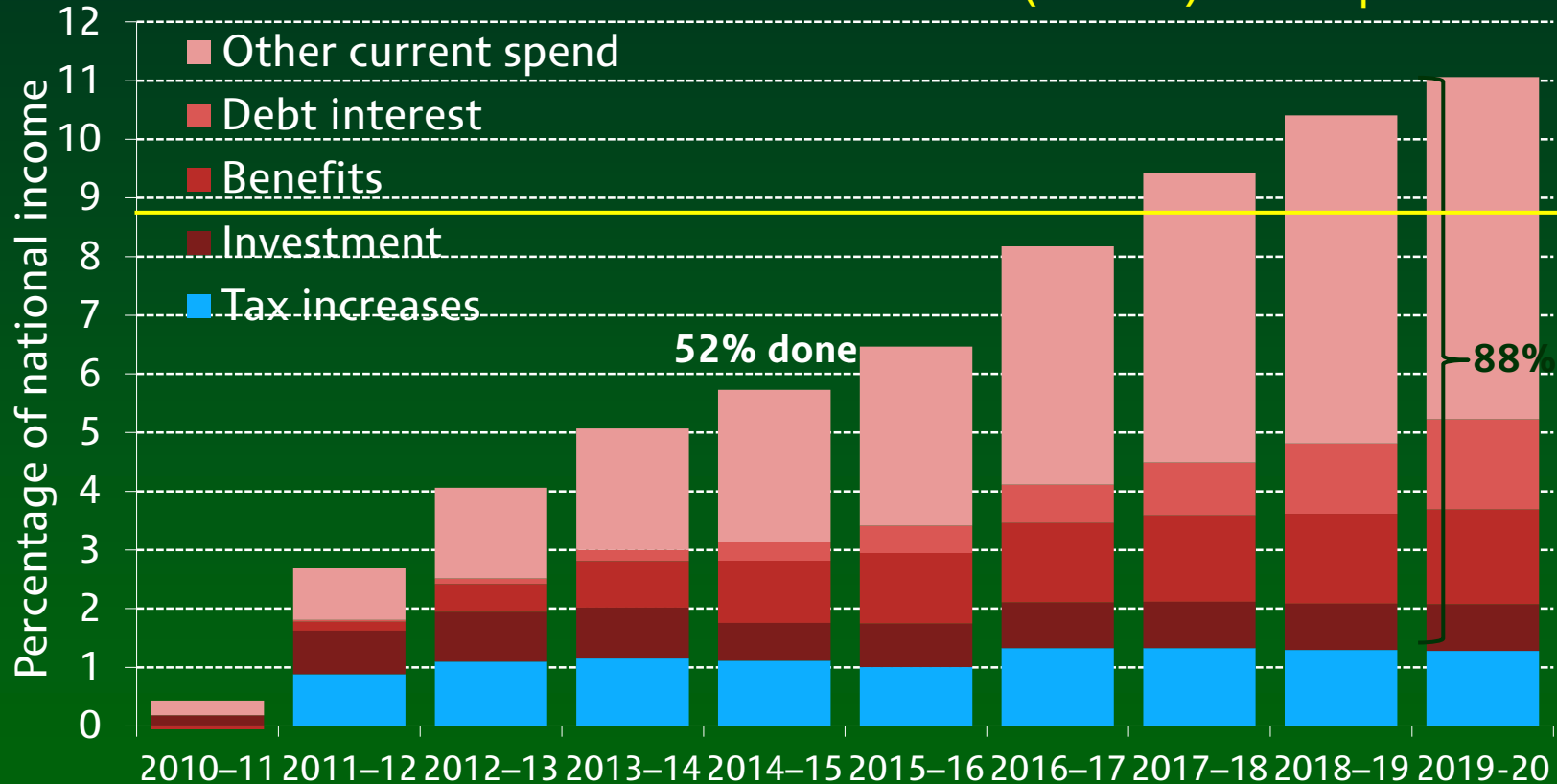
December ~~11.1%~~  
 The cure (March 2014): ~~10.3%~~ national income consolidation over ~~9~~ <sup>10</sup> years (£194bn) <sup>£209bn</sup>

**Dec 2014: 8.8% national income (£165bn) hole in public finances**

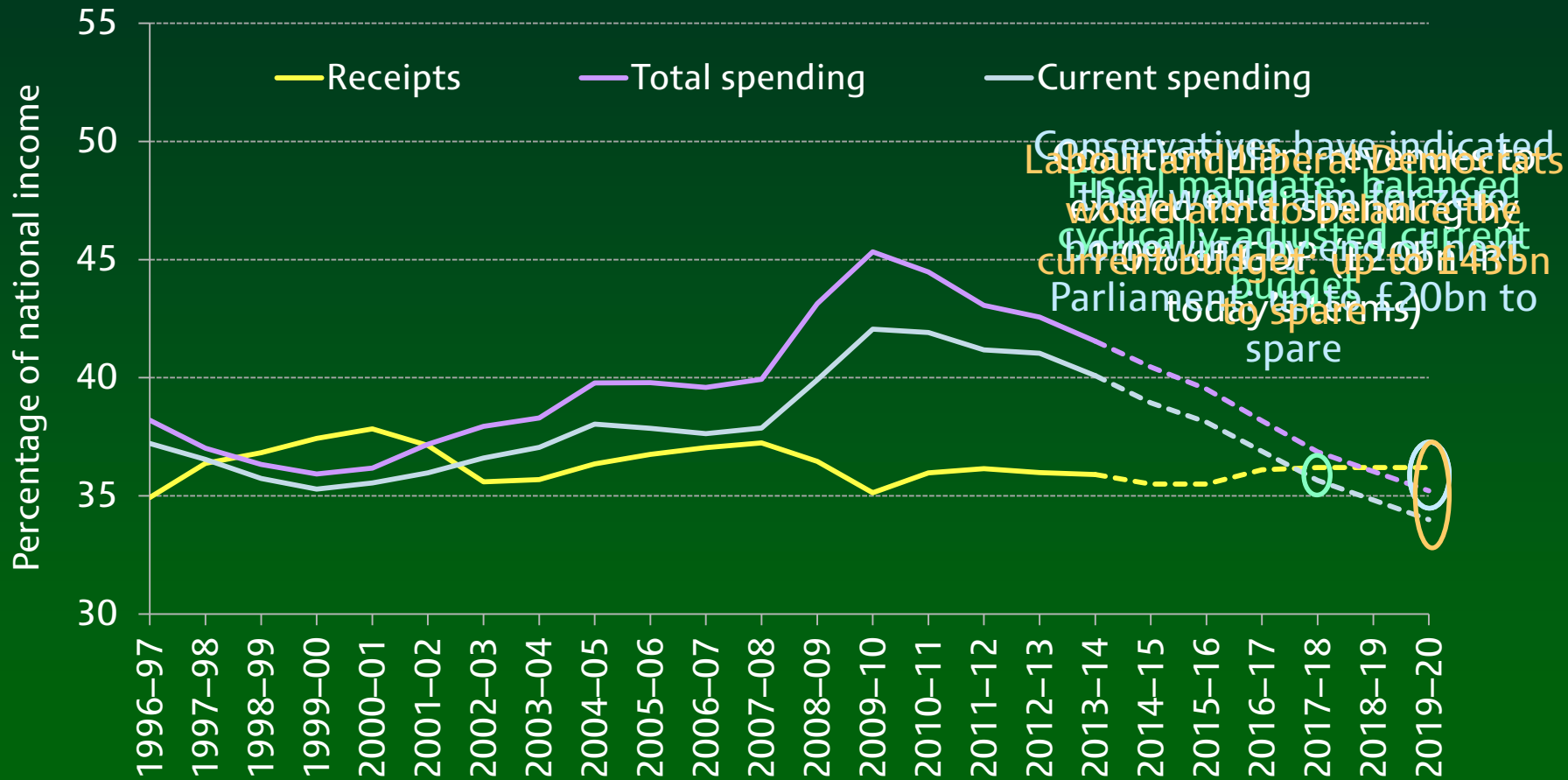


December ~~11.1%~~  
 The cure (March 2014): ~~10.3%~~ national income consolidation over ~~9~~ <sup>10</sup> years (£194bn) <sup>£209bn</sup>

**Dec 2014: 8.8% national income (£165bn) hole in public finances**



# Meeting fiscal targets?



Note: Figures exclude the Royal Mail Pension Plan transfer. All monetary figures are in 2015-16 terms.

Source: ONS; OBR; Author's calculations.

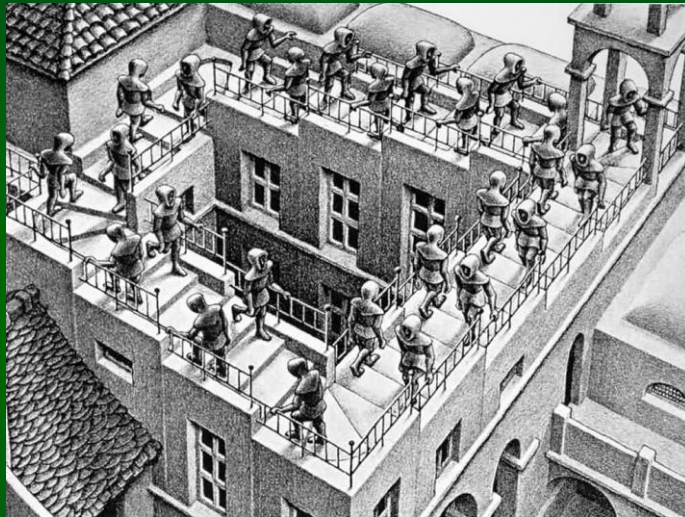


# Summary

- Underlying forecast for borrowing little changed since Budget
  - Large downward revision to expected revenues
  - Offset by similarly large downward revision to expected spending
- Scorecard measures revenue neutral over the next parliament
  - But permanent tax cuts have been partly paid for by temporary tax takeaways
  - Additional spending requirements placed on some departments without extra money
- Extra year of spending cuts in 2019–20
  - Now aiming for tighter fiscal position in the medium-run
  - But has increased cuts required to public services (or other tax rises or welfare cuts required)



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## Still five more years of austerity to go?

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