



Spending up is hard to do

Budget responsibility rules are not the main constraint

- The new Government's first Budget will be subject to a set of self-imposed fiscal responsibility rules, effectively ensuring that it won't be a radical departure from recent Budgets.
- Questions have been raised as to whether the Government will be able to meet its target of reducing net debt to 20% of GDP.
- We think that the Government will hit this target, though perhaps not for the desired reasons.
- Limited capacity in the construction sector means that capital spending is already falling short of what was planned.
- Delayed spending also means delayed borrowing. Net debt has come in well below projections, only some of which can be put down to a stronger tax take.
- Until the government finds a way around its capacity constraints, the net debt ratio is likely to continue tracking below forecasts.

The new Labour-led Government will present its first Budget on 17 May. We'll be releasing our full preview of what to expect from the Budget itself shortly. But we felt it would be useful to separately address an issue around the constraints that the Government faces in preparing the Budget.

During last year's election campaign the Labour Party committed itself to a set of Budget Responsibility Rules, which were later affirmed in the coalition agreement. These rules include:

- Running sustainable operating surpluses across the economic cycle;
- Maintain operating spending as a share of GDP within the range of recent years; and
- Reducing net core Crown debt to 20% of GDP within five years of taking office.

The rules are similar to the principles that guided recent Budgets under the previous Government. The aim appears to have been to ward off any fears that a shift to a centre-left government would lead to a big spend-up and a worsening of the country's credit quality.

But these rules have been criticised from other angles. Some have questioned whether the net debt target is achievable given the demands on government spending – particularly around the nation's infrastructure, which is creaking under the weight of rapid population growth and past under-investment. Indeed, some argue that the government shouldn't be trying to reduce net debt, but should borrow more while interest rates are historically low. New Zealand's government debt-to-GDP ratio is already low by developed country standards, and investors and credit rating agencies would not balk at a modest increase in debt.

Regardless of the merits of this view, an infrastructure spend-up is much easier said than done.

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Firstly, we note it's not strictly true that the government is reducing debt. The projections in the Half-Year Fiscal and Economic Update (HYEFU), released last December, show net core Crown debt rising to \$69bn by June 2020, a \$10bn increase over three years (see the first chart). But since net debt would grow at a slightly slower pace than nominal GDP, the debt-to-GDP ratio falls in the projections.

Why is the government borrowing at all, if it's running a surplus? The answer is that the 'surplus' refers only to the operating balance, which covers recurring items – ongoing expenses such as providing healthcare, education and social welfare, against ongoing sources of revenue such as tax. But this is far from the full story of the fiscal accounts.

The other major aspect is capital spending, which includes investment in long-lived assets such as buildings and infrastructure. While the capital budget is only a fraction of the size of the operating budget, it's large enough to be significant – the HYEFU included \$34bn of capital spending over five years (excluding contributions to the Super Fund). That's well in excess of the projected operating surpluses over that time, so part of it will have to be funded through borrowing.

Projected spending is one thing, reality is another. From around 2015 the government began to recognise the need for a lift in capital spending, to support the rapid growth in the population. But we've yet to see actual spending rise beyond the levels seen over the last decade (see the second chart). At one point, net capital spending was projected to rise to \$6bn in the June 2017 year; it actually slowed in that year to \$3.7bn.

The Treasury has cited delays and capacity constraints in the construction sector as reasons for the shortfall. In this case, the spending shortfall is added back into the following years' projections. This backlog of delayed spending, plus the additions to spending plans in the last few Budgets, mean that the projections for capital spending over the next few years have ballooned out rapidly.

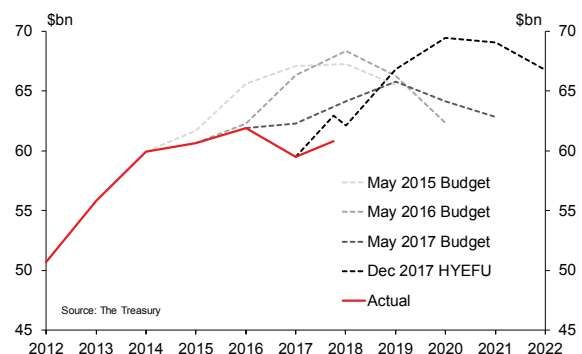
The HYEFU suggested that capital spending would reach \$8bn in the June 2019 year – roughly a doubling from the pace of recent years, when capacity constraints were already holding it back. We find this implausible. It's likely that some portion of this spending will continue to be delayed.

The side effect of delayed spending is delayed borrowing. Net core Crown debt has fallen well below what was forecast in recent Budgets. Some of that can be put down to a stronger than expected tax take. But it's also the case that the government hasn't had to borrow for projects that have yet to begin.

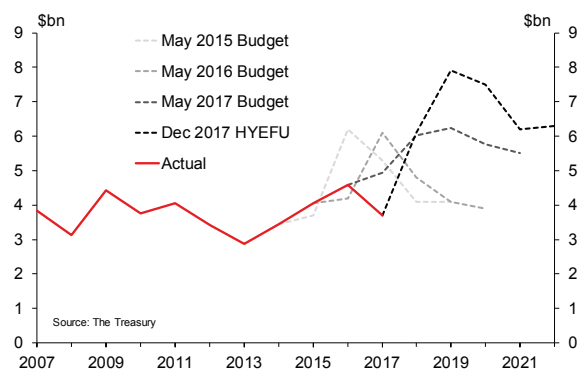
The new Government will need to find a way around the construction sector's capacity constraints just to achieve what was already in the HYEFU plans, let alone adding more to the pile. Unfortunately, the signs are that little has improved on this front. We'll have to wait for next week's Budget for an update on how capital spending is tracking, but the fiscal accounts for March show that net debt is already running \$2.2bn (equal to 0.8% of GDP) below what was projected in December. Only half of that can be put down to a stronger tax take.

There's no doubt that the government could find ways to spend more money if it had to. But the critics of the Budget Responsibility Rules aren't calling for spending for spending's sake. They argue for more spending in areas that will produce a long-lasting return to the nation, such as investing in classrooms, hospitals and transport infrastructure. But these are the very same areas where the government is already struggling to spend as quickly as it would like. And while we think that the Government could meet its net debt target quite comfortably, it may not be for the reasons they intended.

Net core Crown debt



Government net capital spending



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