

Fiscal Constitution and Public Spending in Italy

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Fiscal Constitutions and Public Spending in International Perspective

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THE ANALITYCAL FRAMEWORK

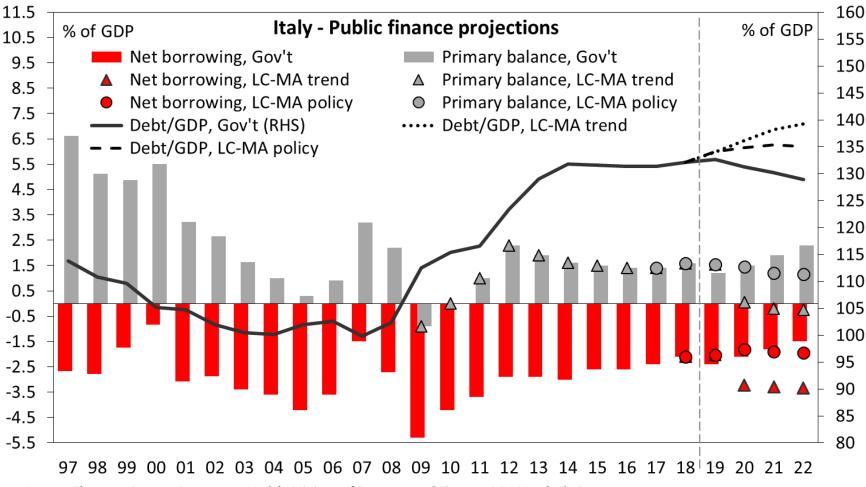
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	Rules and Conventions		
Arenas	Formal	Informal	
'Political'	(1)	(2)	
	Example: legal/statutory	Example: personal	
	procedures for	relationships (cooperative	
	Parliamentary or Cabinet	or otherwise) between	
	approval of budgets and	Prime Minister and	
	spending estimates	Chancellor (Finance	
		Minister) over public	
		spending	
'Bureaucratic'	(3)	(4)	
	Example: official	Example: personal	
	procedures for reporting,	relationships (cooperative	
	monitoring and approving	or otherwise) between	
	items of spending	budget monitors and	
		spending departments	

Fundamental design of fiscal Constitution: Italy and the EU

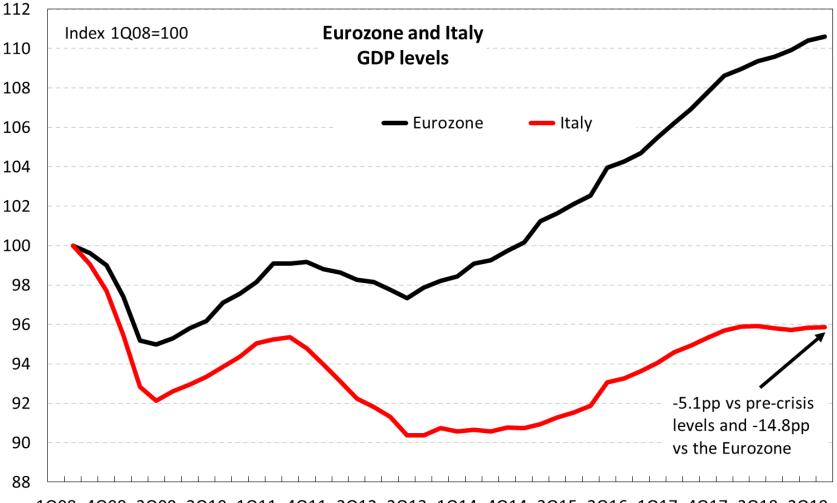
- Political and formal: Italy's fiscal constitution is embedded into the EU fiscal framework. Domestic rules and procedures relatively robust.
- Political and informal: Difficult to analyse and draw conclusions. Every spending item has its own interest group behind. Some evidence of electoral cycles. The role of tax expenditures.
 - Bureaucratic and formal: Overregulation, too detailed legislation, lack of budgetary responsibility at civil servant level. Tradeoffs between control and efficiency.
- Bureaucratic and informal: Very little evidence. Performance budgeting and benchmarking was introduced 10 years ago, but implementation is lacking.

Worrying debt dynamics following the crisis



Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream, Italy's Ministry of Economy and Finance, LC-MA calculations. Notes: Gov't = April's DEF, policy = policy scenario, trend = no policy change scenario, Debt/GDP on the right-hand scale.

Debt dynamics boosted by lower GDP growth, not spending



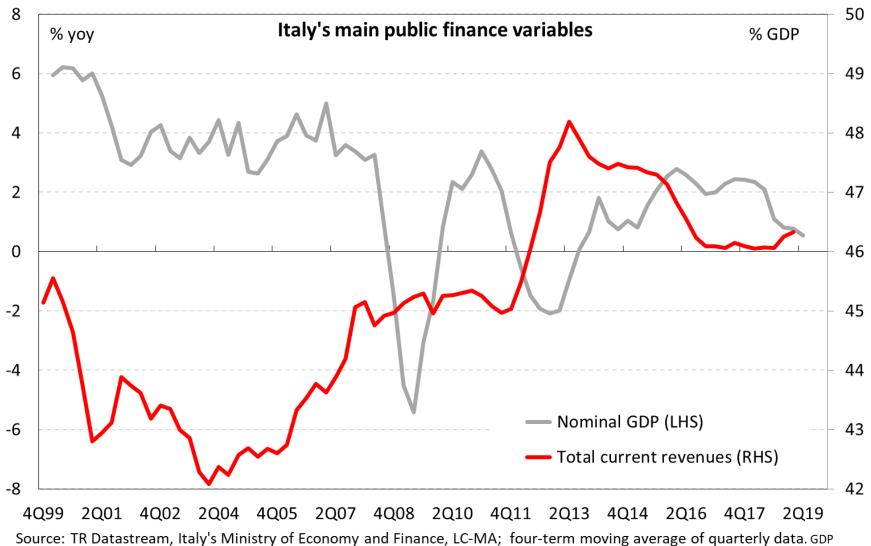
1Q08 4Q08 3Q09 2Q10 1Q11 4Q11 3Q12 2Q13 1Q14 4Q14 3Q15 2Q16 1Q17 4Q17 3Q18 2Q19

Source: Eurostat, ISTAT, Thomson Reuters Datastream, LC-MA calculations.

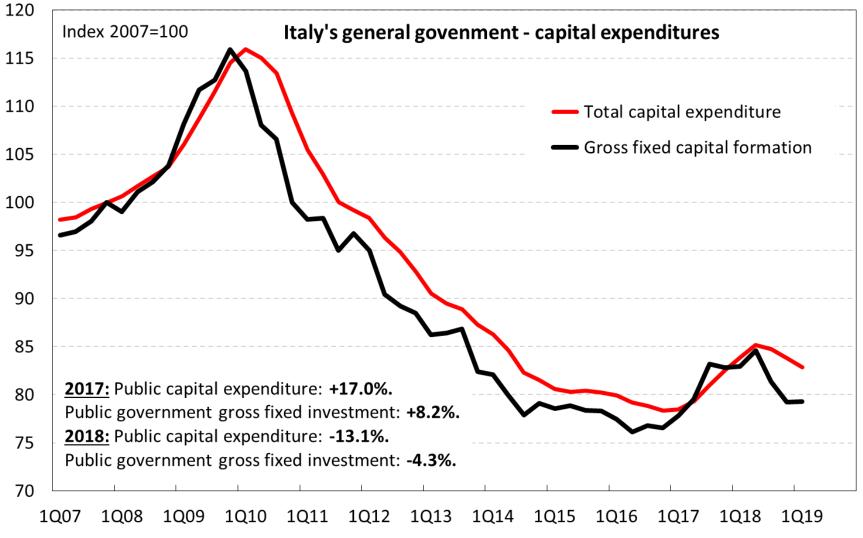
Key features of public spending in Italy

- Primary spending level is average by Eurozone standards, but it is heavily biased towards social benefits, especially pension spending.
 Wide divergence in regional spending and efficiency (Title V).
- A sizeable chuck of overall spending is sucked by the large debt servicing burden, despite the low interest rate environment.
- Underspending is particularly significant in education, making for the highest elderly bias in the EU (after Greece).
- Large divergence in wages among public sector workers. Significant reduction in public employment and total wage expenditure (postcrisis wage freeze lasted 8 years) over the years.
- The past rapid increase in current spending and constraints in cutting expenditure during the crisis has crowed capital spending.

2011-12 fiscal adjustment mostly through higher revenues

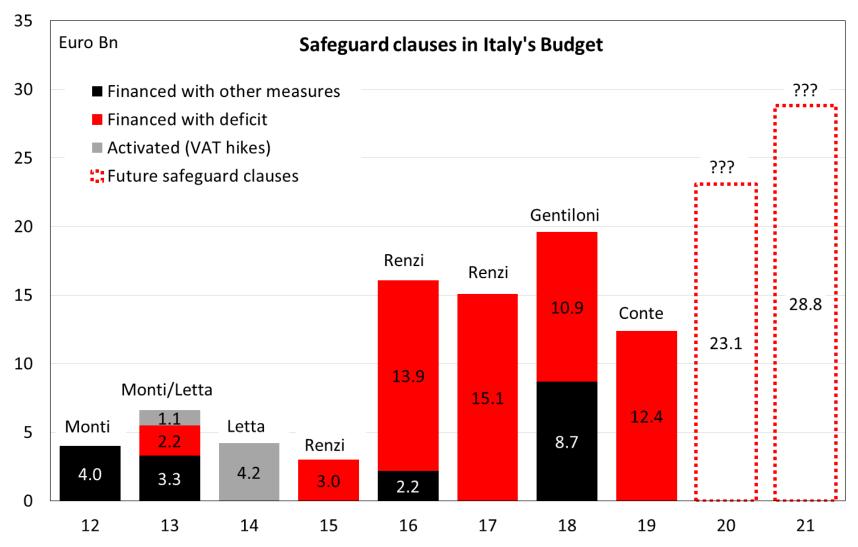


Public investment collapsed



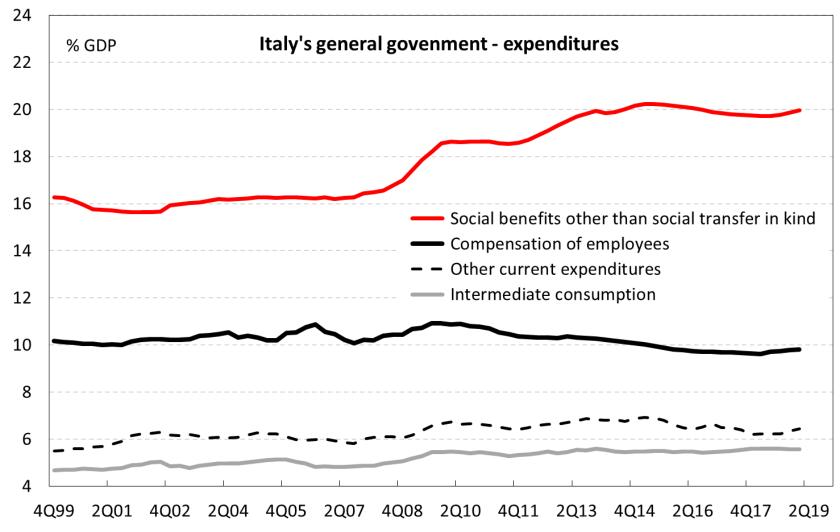
Source: TR Datastream, ISTAT, Italy's Ministry of Economy and Finance, LC-MA; four-term moving average of quarterly data.

Safeguard clauses to gain time for cuts in current spending



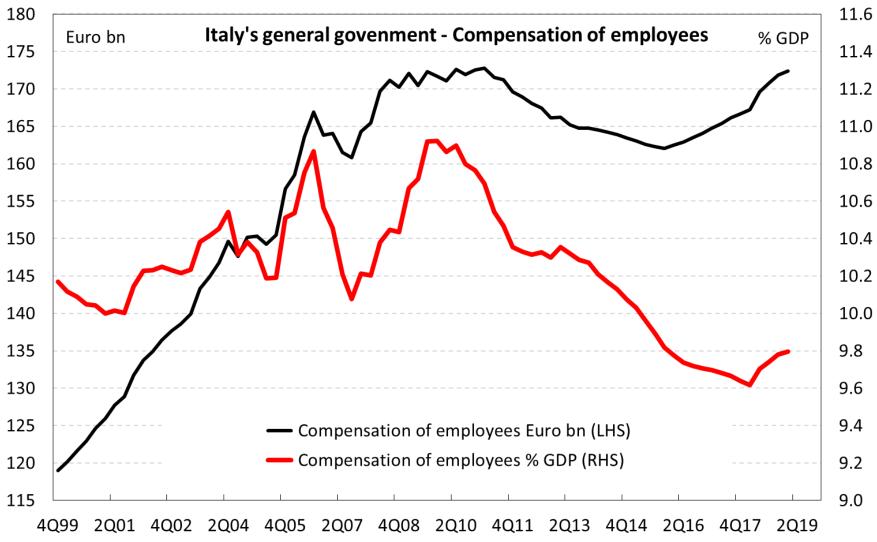
Source: Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance, Confindustria, LC-MA calculations.

Jump in pension spending as % of GDP



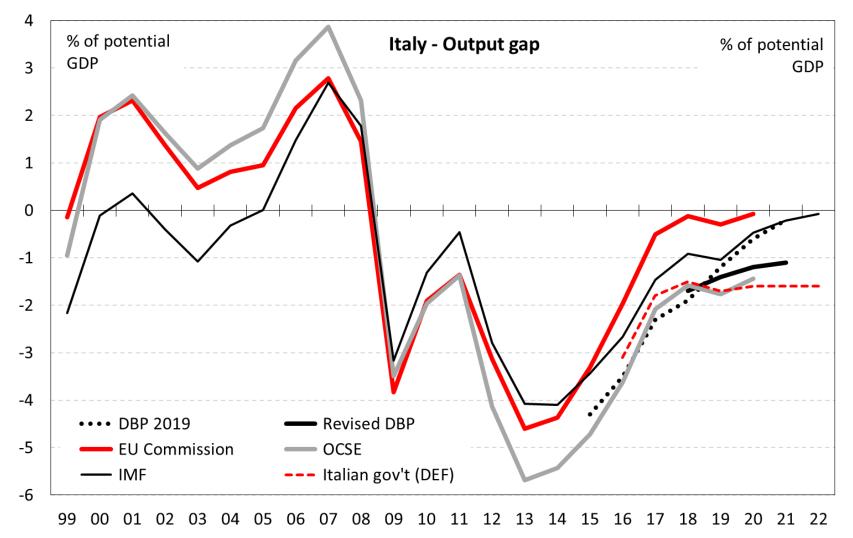
Source: TR Datastream, Italy's Ministry of Economy and Finance, LC-MA; four-term moving average of quarterly data.

Compensation to public sector employees declined



Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream, Italy's Ministry of Economy and Finance, LC-MA calculatons; 4-term moving average.

Spending trends affected by uncertainty on the output gap



Source: TR Datastream, Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance, IMF, OECD and EU Commission, LC-MA calculations.

The Stability and Growth Pact and the Six-Pack

- The Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) is a set of rules for the coordination of national fiscal policies in the EU. It contains two arms: the preventive and the corrective arm.
- The preventive arm seeks to ensure sustainable fiscal policies over the economic cycle through the achievement of the medium-term budgetary objective, which is individual for each member state.
- The corrective arm seeks to ensure that EU countries take corrective action if their national budget deficit or public debt exceeds the Treaty reference values of 3% and 60% of GDP respectively.
- The 'Six-pack' (2011) strengthened the rules of the SGP and their application. It added the expenditure benchmark in the assessment of countries' fiscal positions and required new minimum standards for national budgetary frameworks.

The preventive arm of the SGP is based on two pillars

- The first one is the country-specific Medium-Term Objectives (MTO) defined in terms of structural deficit, so as to take into account economic cyclical fluctuations (lower fiscal correction in bad times and higher efforts in good times). Member States should ensure an yearly adjustment of at least 0.5pp of GDP towards their MTO.
 - The second pillar is the expenditure rule, introduced by the Six Pact, which limits planned growth rates of public expenditure to the country-specific benchmark set at European level.

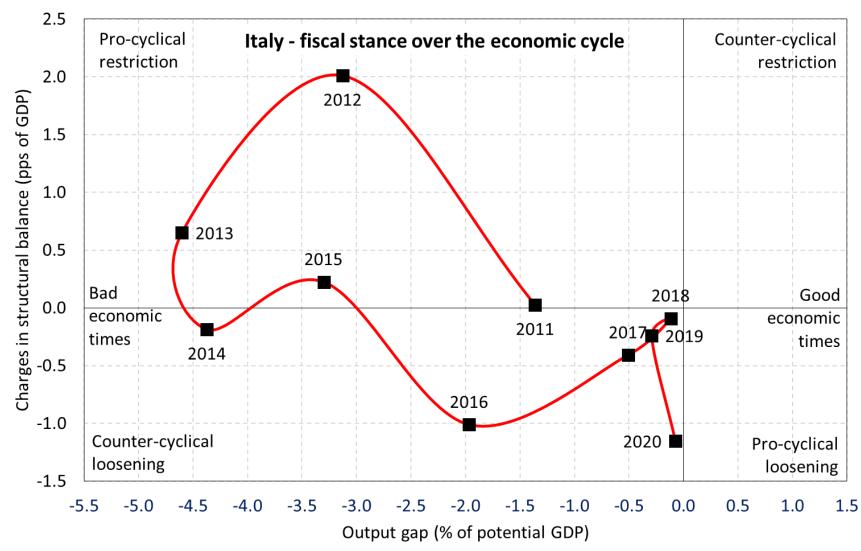
Expenditure rule as a way to reach the MTO

- The reference expense aggregate excludes the component of the expenditure most linked to the economic cycle, the interest expense as not directly controllable by governments, and considers smoothed gross fixed capital formation. It should avoid pro-cyclical spending behavior.
 - For countries that have reached the MTO, real growth of the reference expenditure aggregate must be aligned with that of the **potential output**. Compliance with the spending rule implies that the country continues to remain on its MTO.

Issues with the EU fiscal framework

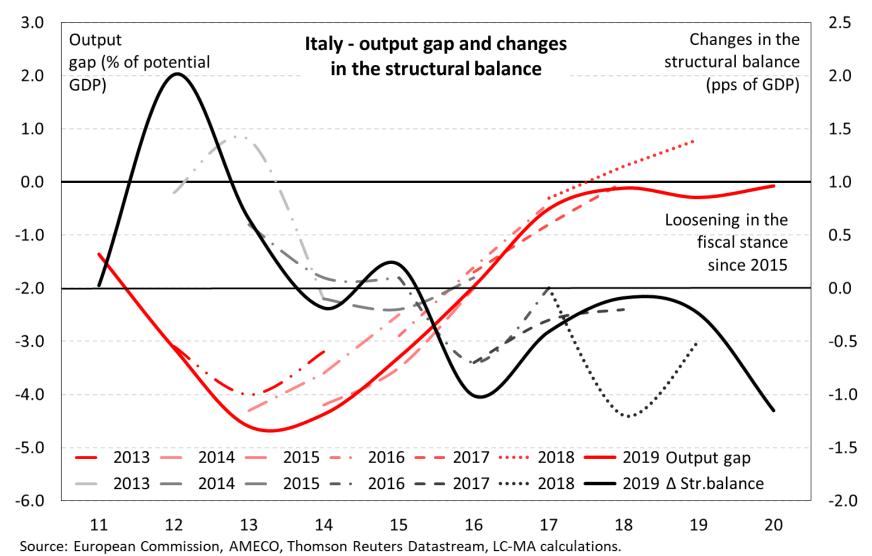
- Structural balances: Well-identified drawbacks mainly due to potential output and output gap measurement, volatility and deep revisions. Risk of excessively tight pro-cyclical policies.
- Flexibility for reforms: Structural reforms increase potential growth and thus lower the structural part of the deficit, often imply either near-term recessionary effects or need to compensate losers.
- **Public investments:** More flexibility for public investment.
- Pro-cyclicality: Fiscal policy has turned pro-cyclical no matter the "true" level of the output gap. Are rules really working?
- Sanctions are proposed by the Commission and approved by Council (reverse majority rule). (Remunerated) deposit of 0.2% of GDP to be converted into a fine in case of non compliance. Never applied.

Pro-cyclical policies since the crisis

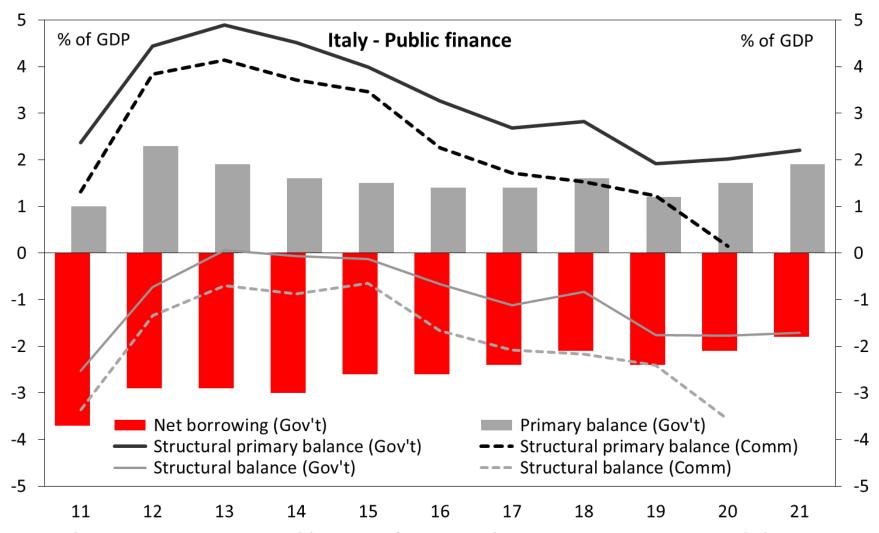


Source: European Commission, AMECO, Thomson Reuters Datastream, LC-MA calculations.

Loosening in the fiscal stance since 2015



Structural primary balance declining since 2014



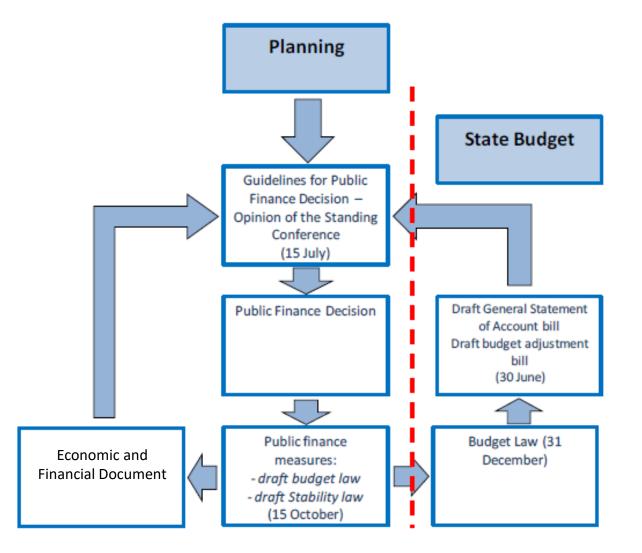
Source: Thomson Reuters Datastream, Italy's Ministry of Economy and Finance, EU Commission, LC-MA calculations.

Fiscal rules are just part of the story

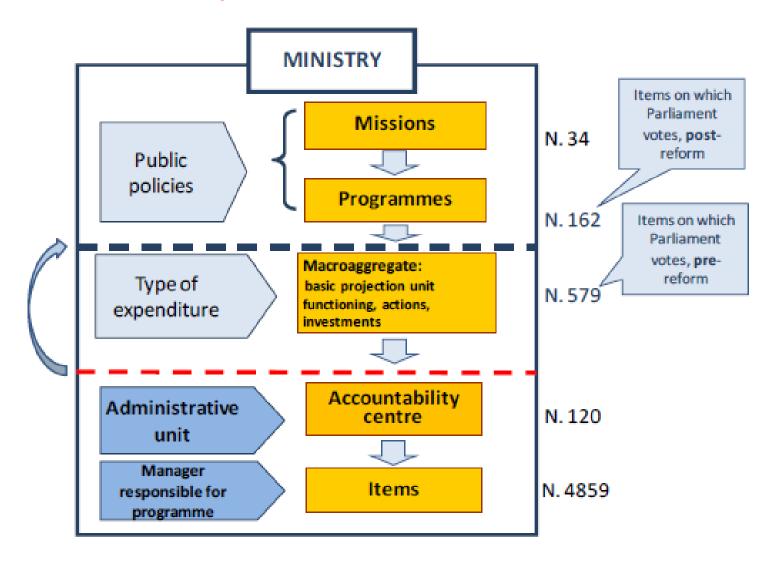
- Many other institutional features help strengthening the fiscal framework.
- Legislated broad principles that guide the formulation of fiscal policies.
- Effective budget mechanisms and procedures designed to minimise deficit biases.
- Strong **transparency requirements** and public oversight.
- The operation of independent fiscal agencies tasked with the monitoring and assessment of fiscal developments.

Last but not least, **politics** ...

How does the process work?



How does the process work?



How does the process work?

MINISTERO DELL'ECONOMIA E DELLE FINANZE				
Missione	Programma	Centro di Responsabilità	Azione	
Servizi istituzionali e generali 032 delle amministrazioni pubbliche	002 Indirizzo politico	GABINETTO E UFFICI DI DIRETTA 1 COLLABORAZIONE ALL'OPERA DEL MINISTRO	0001 Ministro e Sottosegretari di Stato	
			0002 Indirizzo politico-amministrativo	
			0003 Valutazione e controllo strategico (OIV)	
		DIPARTIMENTO 2 DELL'AMMINISTRAZIONE 3 GENERALE DEL PERSONALE E DEI SERVIZI	0001 Spese di personale per il programma	
	Servizi e affari generali per le 003 amministrazioni di		0002 Gestione del personale	
	competenza		0003 Gestione comune dei beni e servizi	
			0004 Gestione e sviluppo dei servizi e dei progetti informatici	
	Servizi generali delle strutture pubbliche preposte 004 ad attivita' formative e ad altre attivita' trasversali per le pubbliche amministrazioni	3 DIPARTIMENTO DEL TESORO	0001 Spese di personale per il programma	
			Approvvigionamento di carte valori, pubblicazioni ufficiali, Gazzetta ufficiale e altri prodotti carto-tecnici forniti dall'Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato e relative attività di vigilanza e controllo	
			0003 Contributo alla ristrutturazione industriale dell'Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato S.p.A.	
			0004 Sistema statistico nazionale (SISTAN)	
			0005 Rappresentanza negoziale delle pubbliche amministrazioni	
			0006 Formazione, ricerca e studi per le pubbliche amministrazioni	
			0007 Commissione per la valutazione, la trasparenza e l'integrità delle amministrazioni pubbliche	
			0008 Supporto alla gestione amministrativa dei servizi generali per le amministrazioni pubbliche	
			0009 Agenzia per l'Italia Digitale	

CONCLUSIONS

Benefits of expenditure rules

- Revisions in the growth rate of expenditure aggregates (linked to medium-term potential estimates) far smaller than revisions in potential output and output gap figures in specific years.
- Limited pro-cyclicality in the expenditure benchmark.
- Spending more directly under control of policymakers (and more accountability on their part).
- Possible linkage to **multiannual expenditure ceilings**.
- Direct link to medium-term **debt dynamics**.

CONCLUSIONS

Potential pitfalls of expenditure rules

- **Ratcheting up** or down: breaches get incorporated into the base.
- Treatment of investment is challenging: exclusions produce risks and potential distortions, inclusion risk producing pro-cyclicality.
- They miss the **turning points** in potential growth.
- Asymmetry in cycle (expansions longer than contractions) risk forcing sharp spending retrenchments in inappropriate times.
- Potential for cutting inefficient and wasteful spending. Most of the times, expenditure control only works if there is increase in efficiency and/or deep reforms of how public goods and services are delivered to citizens.



At the root of misallocation of resources are **political decisions.**