# Fiscal Policy in an Emerging Market Economy

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### Road Map

- Fiscal policy in emerging market economies:
   the issues
  - 1. Deficit bias and procyclicality
  - 2. Political economy
- 2. Chile's fiscal rule
  - 1. Initial conditions
  - 2. The rule at work
  - 3. Some results
- 3. Thinking about fiscal rules

- Fiscal policy in emerging markets: the problems
  - Deficit bias
  - Procylicality

#### **Deficit Bias**

- Drop in of government net assets on average: over the cycle
- Drop government net assets even when standard smoothing considerations suggest the opposite
- See Alesina and Perotti (1995)

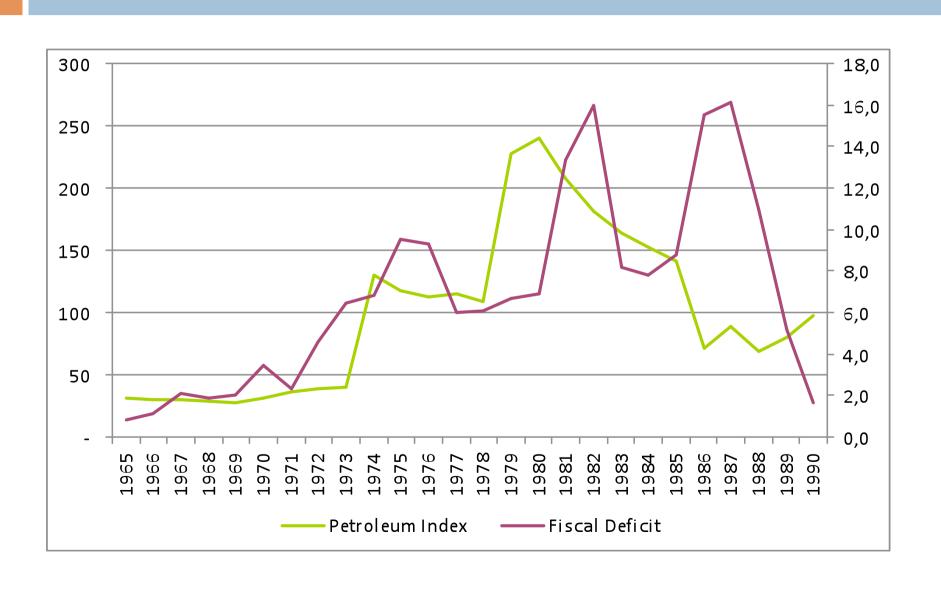
## Procyclicality

- Conventional wisdom: save in booms and disave in recessions
- Reality: save too little in booms or even disave
- See Cuddington (1989), Sinnott (2009), Talvi and Vegh (1995)
- Arezki and Brückner (2010a): commodity price booms lead to increased government spending, external debt and default risk in autocracies, and have smaller such effects in democracies

## Procyclicality is especially an issue for commodity exporters

- Commodity-linked revenues (taxes, royalties, profits) can be a large portion of government revenue. See Sinnott (2009)
- Commodity price volatility is large (see next slide)
- International capital flows are also procyclical: borrowing constraints are relaxed during booms. See Kaminsky, Reinhart, and Vegh (2005), Reinhart and Reinhart (2009), Gavin, Hausmann, Perotti and Talvi (1996), and Mendoza and Terrones (2008).
- Caballero (2002) and Gallego, Hernández, and Schmidt-Hebbel (2002): highly procyclical capital flows in Chile

### Mexico: an extreme example of procyclicality



## Why fiscal procyclicality?

- Economic story: borrowing constraints are relaxed in good times, bind in bad times
- Political story: the voracity effect
- In practice, both probably interact

## Deficit bias and procyclicality: political economy elements

- Key: fragmented fiscal policymaking. Tornell and Velasco (1991), Velasco (1998) & (2003), Lane and Tornell (1993)
- Imagine n symmetric groups. Ech can be thought of as a particular constituency or recipient of government resources.
- Public expenditure on group *i* can be interpreted as subsidies to its members or spending on a public good that only benefits those in group *i*.
- Expenditure can be financed out of a variable stream of revenue or by borrowing in the world capital market.
- Accumulated debts are a joint liability of all n groups, as would be the case with the national debt in any country.

## Deficit bias and procyclicality: political economy elements (2)

 Each group maximizes utility from expenditure subject to a shared budget constraint

$$b_t = (1 + r)b_{t-1} + \tau + \varepsilon_t - \sum_{i=1}^n g_{it}$$

- Find sub-game perfect equilibrium of the game among the N groups (simple state-dependent strategies)
- Results
  - Deficit bias: net government assets fall even without shocks and then rate of discount equals rate of interest
  - Procyclicality: too little saving during good revenue shocks and too much disaving during bad revenue shocks

## Deficit bias and procyclicality: what can you do?

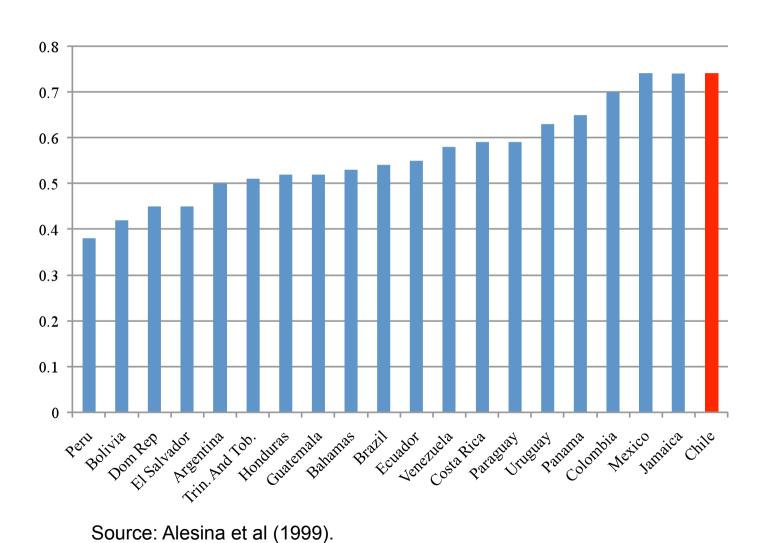
- Reduce policy-making fragmentation: give more power to
  - Finance Minister vis à vis spending ministers
  - Central government vis à vis sub-national governments
  - Executive versus legislature
- Adopt fiscal rule that guides expenditure over long horizons, and constraints its over the cycle
- Chile did both

## Hierarchical budget institutions: they make a difference

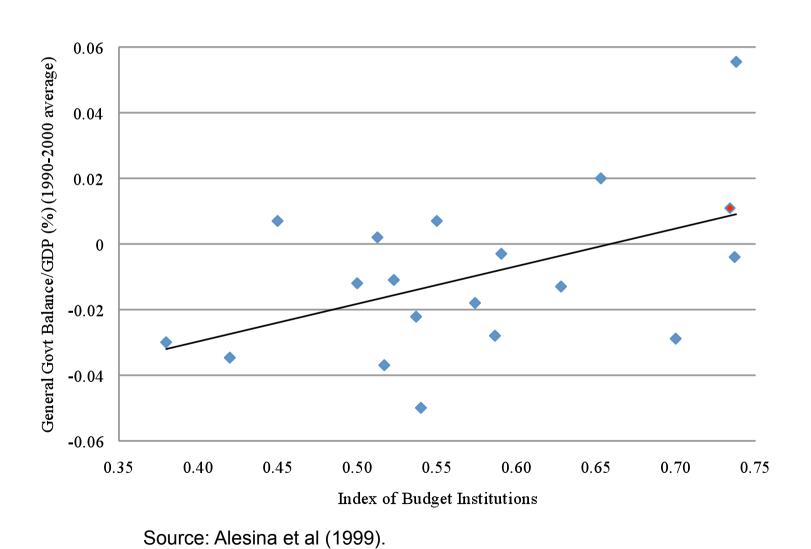
#### Examples

- Limit "initiative" for spending rules to Executive
- Set spending ceilings before setting allocation
- Place strict deadlines for parliamentary approval of budget
- Set costly "status quo" or "default" rules in case of parliamentary non-approval: revert to Executive's proposal or to previous year's budget
- □ This all matters for fiscal performance: Von Hagen and Harden (1995), Alesina et al (1999)

#### An index of fiscal institutions



## Fiscal institutions & fiscal performance



#### Fiscal rules: some definitions

- "..Legislated quantitative constraints on fiscal policy. These limits take a variety of forms: restrictions on deficit financing, including balanced budget laws; expenditure ceilings; numerical targets for fiscal variables; borrowing rules; and restrictions on the issuance of debt..." (Drazen, 2004)
- "A fiscal rule is defined as a permanent constraint on fiscal policy through simple numerical limits on budgetary aggregates. Each of the elements in the definition is important: a rule delineates a numerical target over a longlasting time period with a view to guiding fiscal policy; it specifies a summary operational fiscal indicator to which it is applicable; and it is simple so that it can be readily operationalized, communicated to the public, and monitored." (IMF, 2009)

#### Fiscal rules: new fashion

- According to the IMF (200), by 2009 exactly 80 countries had some kind of fiscal rule in place
- However... only 8 of those rules involved "cyclical" or "structural" adjustments
- Prominent example in Europe: Sweden
- Ireland is now supposed to get one

- 2. Chile's fiscal rule
  - Initial conditions
  - The rule in operation
  - Some consequences
    - Fiscal
    - Otherwise

#### Chile: initial conditions

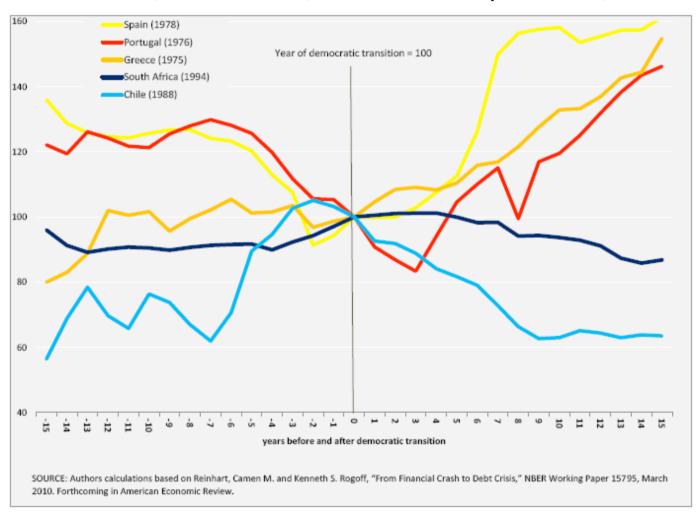
- Strong budget institutions
- Good fiscal performance since 1990
  - More surpluses than deficits in 1990-2000
  - By 2000, gross public debt only 35% of GDP
- So why did Chile need rule?
  - Economic concerns
    - No longer-term framework for fiscal policy
    - Contingent liabilities: pensions, infrastructure
  - Political concerns
    - Inefficient negotiation inside Executive and in Congress
    - Subnational governments

### Chile: macro results

- Output volatility
- The real exchange rate
- Room for countercyclical policy during the crisis

# Chile: fiscal performance after the return of democracy

#### Chile: comparative public debt/GDP performance



Source: Sachs (2011)

### Chile: the rule in operation

- Dealing with flows: the structural balance approach
- Dealing with stocks: creation of SWFs

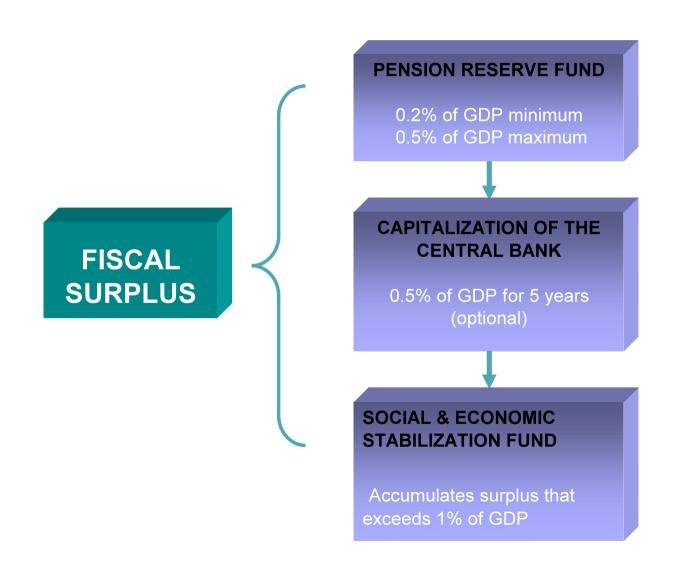
## Dealing with flows: the structural balance approach

- Come up with parameters for cyclical adjustment using independent committees
  - Copper
  - Trend GDP growth
- Apply cyclical adjustment methodology: close to OECD procedure
- Arrive at estimate of "structural" or long term income
- Spend X% of GDP less than long term income

#### Chile: institutional issues

- The rule was self-imposed (no legal constraint) in 2001-2006
- Fiscal Responsibility Law (2006) made it legal
- However, law did not specify
  - Details of cyclical adjustment methodology
  - Target for structural surplus or deficit
- Over time, government updated to methodology: eg, correcting for moly prices
- Over time, government changed surplus target: from
   1% of GDP to 0.5% to 0 when crisis hit

## Dealing with stocks

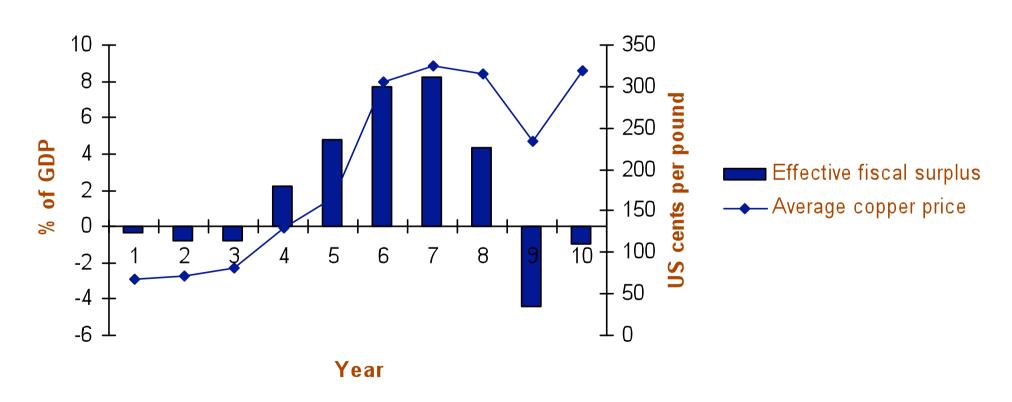


#### Chile: fiscal results

- Fiscal surpluses and the price of copper
- Falling public debt
- Rising financial savings

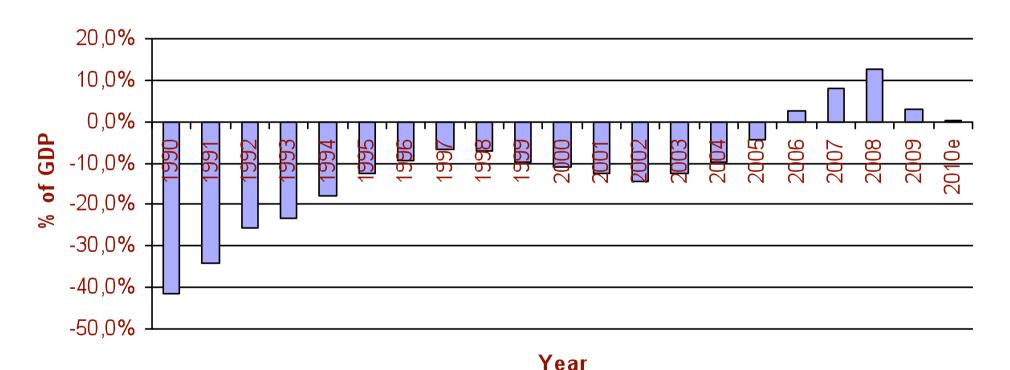
## The end of procyclicality?

#### Copper and fiscal surpluses

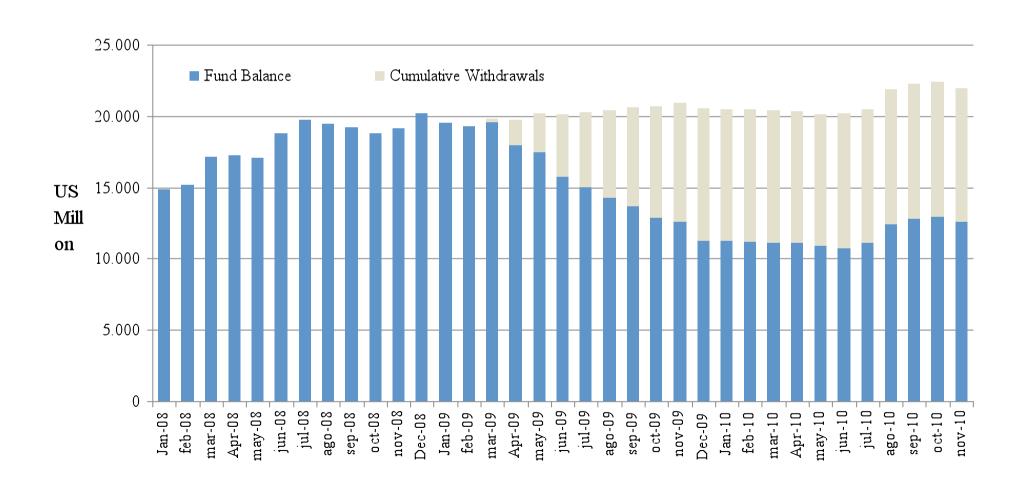


## Public debt: far away from Europe

#### Net public debt



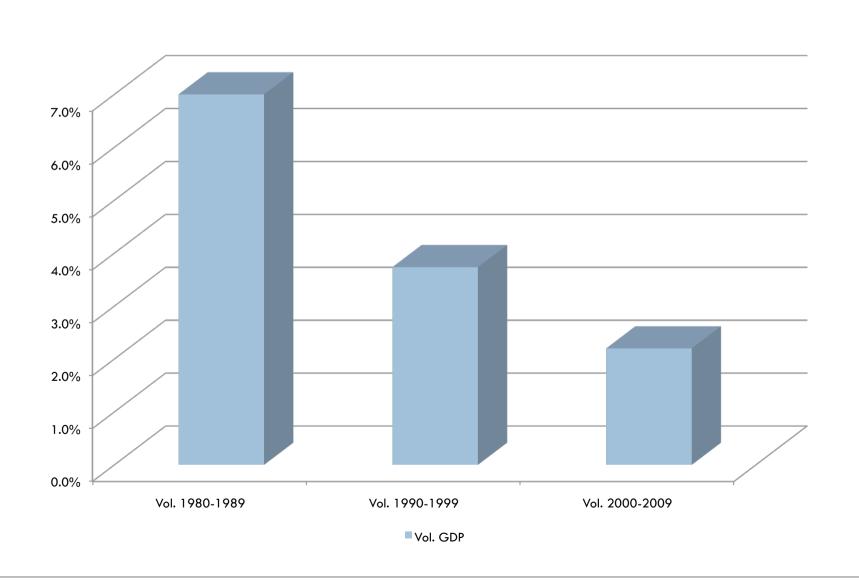
#### A stabilization fund that stabilizes



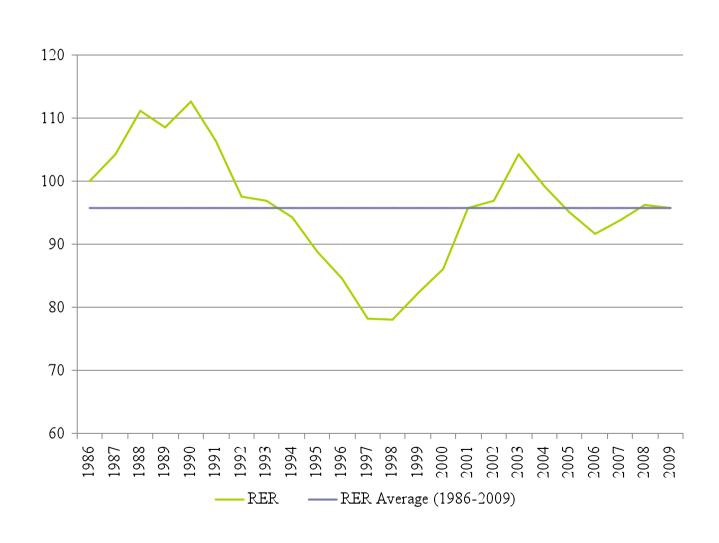
### Chile: macro results

- Output volatility
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### Falling output volatility: a consequence?



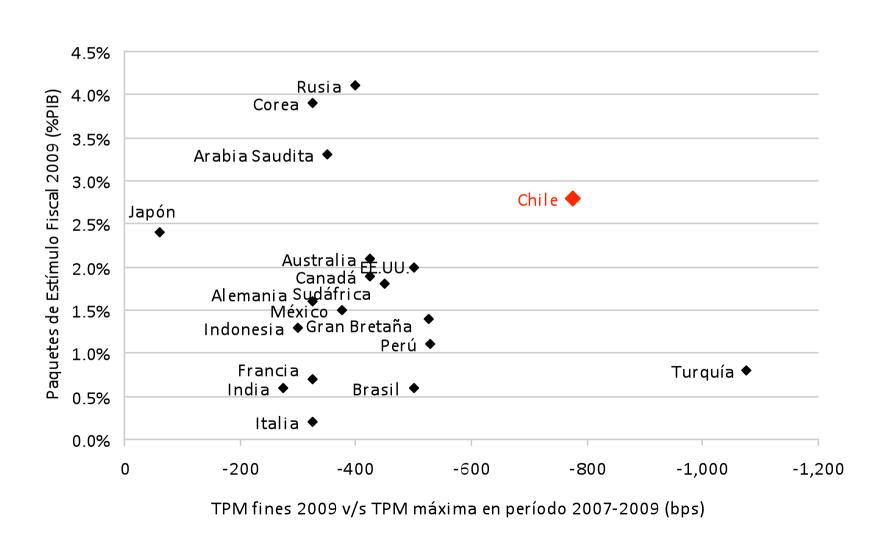
## Avoiding Dutch disease? The real exchange rate



### The January 2009 fiscal stimulus

- □ Overall: 2.8% of GDP
- Additional spending
  - Infrastructure
  - Transfers to poor households
- Temporary tax cuts
  - Stamp taxes
  - PPMs for SMEs
  - Individual tax rebates
- Capitalization of Codelco: state-owned copper producer

## Fiscal and monetary stimulus



- 3. Thinking of optimal rules
  - What to correct for?
  - Cyclical adjustment versus PIH
  - Degree of countercyclicality
  - Ex post v. ex ante rules

#### What to correct for?

- OECD and other standard adjustments only correct for GDP cycle
- Chile procedure includes copper prices and other metals prices
- Is this enough? Probably not (Lane, 2010)
- □ What are we leaving out?
  - Activity cycles that are linked to expenditure, not output: what do do with consumption booms and large current account deficits? Recall the Talvi effect.
  - Sectoral booms (real estate in Spain and Ireland)
  - Effects of movements in asset prices (again, land)
  - Effects of movements in the real exchange rate
  - Changes in the stock of government-held assets
- □ As usual...tradeoff between accuracy and simplicity

### Cyclical adjustment v. PIH

- Cyclical adjustment corrects for deviations of GDP, copper prices and other variables from their long term levels
- To this rule one must add PIH criteria
  - How much to spend of accumulated assets? The interest rate? Which interest rate?
  - Need to take a stance on temporary policy fluctuations
    - Temporary tax cuts (or increases)
    - Temporary spending (natural disasters)
- Current debate in Chile
  - With no stance on temporary policy, all temporary shocks are treated as permanent
  - With no stance on interest rate, one can consume too much (or too little) of accumulated assets

## Degree of countercyclicality

- Rule based on cyclical adjustment + PIH is largely acyclical
- Optimal to have decidedly countercyclical rules
- Engel, Neilson and Valdés (2010): need to have switching regime –different spending coefficients in different states (normal, good, bad)
- Challenges
  - Simplicity: the taxi driver test
  - Legitimacy: use of independent fiscal board?

## Ex ante versus ex post rules

- Whatever the rule –acyclical, countercyclical— it typically involves an ex ante committment
  - Spend according to criteria X and Y and get projected outcome Z
- Results ex post (outcomes) depend on a host of factors other than actions and committments
  - Actual economic prices and quantities
  - Varying elasticities of revenue to those Qs and Ps
  - Behavior of endogenous components of expenditure
- Conclusion: the probability that the ex-post result will be exactly equal to the ex-ante target is close to zero.

### Ex ante versus ex post rules (cont)

- Central banks recognized this problem long ago.
   Therefore..
  - They set ranges, not points, as targets
  - □ They set variable time spans for achieving targets: from 18 to 24 months....
- Fiscal authorities have to move in the same direction
- Alternatives:
  - □ The CB route: set target with band, longish time horizon
  - The Fiscal Board route: set tight target with escape clause, triggered by decision of independent board

#### A few last words...

- Fiscal rules, if designed and applied well, can do a great deal of good
  - Can help change the political economy of the budget process
  - Can reduce deficit bias and procyclicality
- But... the more we do the better we can hope to do
  - Recent experiences have taught us a lot
  - Great opportunity for a country like Ireland

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