

UK Economics Weekly

Why Is Investment So Weak?

- In contrast to the OBR and consensus forecasts for investment-led growth, investment spending is still 19% down from the peak reached five years ago, a far worse performance than at the same stage of prior recession/recovery cycles. The share of investment in GDP is among the lowest in Europe and the lowest in the G7. Net of depreciation, the ratio of investment to GDP is the lowest for more than 50 years.
- The OBR and consensus have assumed that the large corporate sector financial surplus and improving liquidity will produce a sharp rebound in business investment. We disagree. In our view, it would be better to regard the improvement in the corporate sector's finances as a side effect of the pressure on firms to cut investment spending in the UK and allocate the proceeds to repaying debt, accumulating cash and expanding investment overseas. With poor credit availability, sluggish demand and low capital allowances, business investment is likely to remain sluggish in the UK. Rather, with the price of labour falling relative to the price of capital goods (reversal of the precrisis trend), the UK is shifting to a labour-intensive and capital-light mix, that implies weakness in productivity and real wages. The economy needs more stimulus and we expect that, over time, the MPC will loosen further through a variety of channels.

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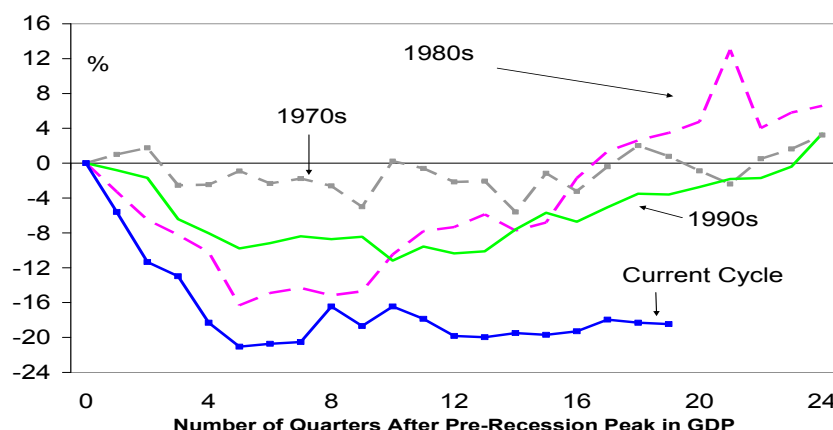


Figure 1. Citi Market Forecasts

	Base Rate	QE Target	10 Year Yield	Spread vs. Bunds	\$/£	£/€
End-2013	0.50	£450bn	2.40	86bp	1.42	0.91
Mid-2014	0.50	£450bn	2.45	92bp	1.47	0.88

Source: Citi Research

Figure 2. UK – Cumulative Change in Real Investment Spending From Pre-Recession Peak in GDP, 1970-2012



Sources: ONS and Citi Research

See Appendix A-1 for Analyst Certification, Important Disclosures and non-US research analyst disclosures.

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Why Is Investment So Weak?

Investment has remained weak since the financial crisis began, markedly undershooting previous recession/recovery cycles...

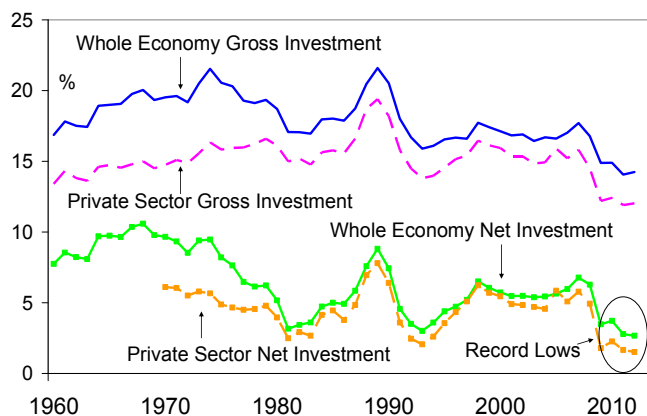
Remember the idea of rebalancing the economy away from consumption to export-led and investment-led growth? We have highlighted recently the UK's inability to achieve export-led growth¹. But the other part of the UK's hoped-for rebalancing also has failed to materialize, with repeated disappointment -- and deferred recovery hopes -- in investment spending.

...and as a share of nominal GDP, UK investment is below levels seen in any other G7 country in recent decades

- In real terms, investment is 19% down from the peak reached five years ago (2007-Q4), a far worse performance than at the same stage of prior recession/recovery cycles: investment was around its pre-recession peak at this stage of the cycles of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.
- The share of investment in GDP (14.2% in nominal terms) in 2012 is close to the record low (14.1%) seen in 2011. Investment has now been below 15% of GDP for four consecutive years. To put that in context, no other G7 country has recorded an investment/GDP ratio below 15% in any year in the last 30 years.
- In 1998, investment (£156.5bn, 17.8% of GDP) roughly matched government consumption in nominal terms (£156.7bn, also 17.8% of GDP). In 2012, government consumption (£341bn, 22.1% of GDP) was 56% bigger than investment spending (£218bn, 14.2% of GDP).
- Net of depreciation, investment in the whole UK economy equalled 2.7% of GDP in 2012 -- the lowest since data began in 1960 -- down from 6.8% of GDP in 2007 and the average of 5.3% of GDP in 1990-2008². Net private investment fell to just 1.5% of GDP in 2012, also a record low, from 5.8% of GDP in 2007: this measure averaged 4.6% of GDP in 1990-08.

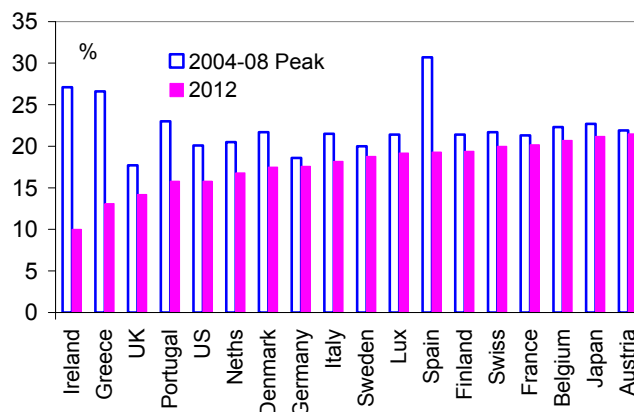
Net of depreciation, investment is the lowest for more than 50 years

Figure 3. UK – Gross and Net Investment as Pct GDP, Nominal Terms, 1960-2012



Sources: AMECO Database, ONS and Citi Research

Figure 4. Selected Countries – Investment as Pct of GDP, Nominal Terms, 2004-12



Note: We show all EU15 countries, plus the US and Japan.
Sources: Eurostat and Citi Research

The ratio of investment to GDP is among the lowest in Europe

- The UK is not unique in having weak investment, and the decline in investment (real terms) from the peak has been similar for the EU as a whole. However, the UK did not have such an excess over-investment surge in the boom. Eurostat data show that only four EU countries (Ireland, Malta, Cyprus and Greece) have a lower investment-GDP ratio than the UK. Of course, more investment is not

¹ See [The "Great Stagnation" Continues](#), Michael Saunders, UK Economics Weekly, 11 January 2013, Citi.

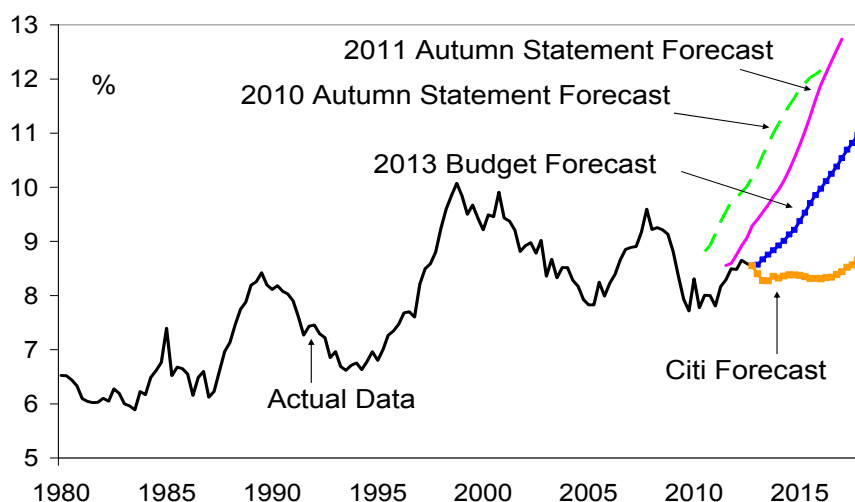
² Source: European Commission AMECO database.

The OBR has had to repeatedly postpone its forecast for a strong recovery in business investment

always a good thing. There certainly have been cases of over-exuberant investment in recent years that left economies and companies weaker, not stronger. But the UK is at the other end of the spectrum, with persistent under-investment rather than over-investment.

The weakness in investment partly reflects declines in housebuilding and public investment: private housebuilding in Q4-12 was 38% below the mid-07 peak, while real general government investment is down by 21% over the last three years. But, the main problem is the failure of business investment to match the OBR and consensus expectations. The OBR has repeatedly forecast that business investment is about to rebound strongly and rise to a record high as a share of GDP in real terms – repeatedly rolling that forecast forward while the actual data remain sluggish. Indeed, in nominal terms, business investment was only 7.9% of GDP in Q4-12, versus 10.1% a decade earlier and near the record low of 7.4% in Q4-09.

Figure 5. UK – Real Business Investment as Pct Real GDP, 1980-2017F



F Forecasts. Sources: OBR, ONS and Citi Research

The corporate sector is running a large financial surplus and has strong liquidity...

To be sure, the OBR and consensus view of a rapid move to investment-led growth does have some foundations. The non-financial corporate sector is running a large surplus of £41.1bn, 2.7% of GDP in 2012), and has a colossal cashpile of £708bn (45.6%) in sterling and FX deposits at banks, up from £272bn (22.5% of GDP) ten years ago. Debt of the non-financial corporate sector has fallen from 121% of GDP in Q4-08 to 108% of GDP in Q4-12. The sterling corporate liquidity ratio (ratio of non-financial companies' sterling bank deposits to their sterling debts) rose to 63.6% in Q4-12 (highest since 1987) and (using monthly data) hit 66.2% in Feb-13.

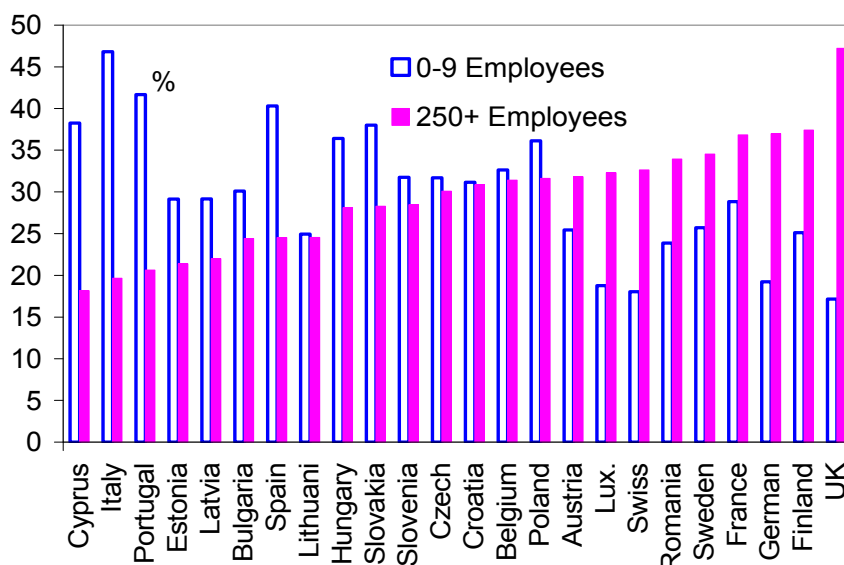
...but a lot of this financial improvement reflects the allocation of investment overseas

However, we do not regard the improvements in these financial guides as reliable triggers for an investment recovery in the UK. Rather, in our view, it would be better to regard the improvement in the corporate sector's finances as a side effect of the desire among firms to cut investment in the UK and allocate the proceeds to repaying debt, accumulating liquidity and expanding investment overseas. The level of outward FDI has increased from £232bn (27% of annual GDP) at end-97 to £637bn (58% of annual GDP) at end-02 and to £1146bn (74% of GDP) at end-12. Alongside that, the stock of inward FDI in the UK has surged from £174bn (20% of GDP) at end-97 to £837bn (54% of GDP) at end-12. UK firms have been on an investment spree, but not in the UK. The UK has become something of a cash cow to generate funds for corporate expansion overseas.

The UK is a highly globalised economy, with very high levels of inward and outward FDI and a high share of employment at large firms

As a result, the UK corporate sector has become far more global in ownership and business operations, and is one of the most globalised economies among major countries, with exceptionally high levels of foreign ownership and employment in large firms. The levels of both inward FDI and outward FDI, relative to UK GDP, are by far the highest among the G7 countries. Moreover, 47% of aggregate employment in the UK business sector (ie outside the public sector) is in firms with more than 250 employees, by far the highest share among the EU27 countries³. We suspect that larger firms are more likely to be more global in structure, outlook and ownership.

Figure 6. Selected Countries – Pct of Aggregate Employment That Is In Firms With Less Than 10 Employees (Including Sole Traders) and More Than 250 Employees, 2010



Sources: Eurostat and Citi Research

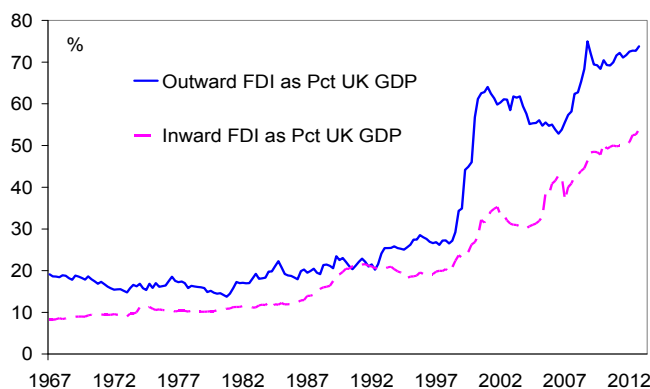
The link from the corporate sector financial balance and liquidity to investment in the UK is much weaker than it used to be

With such a highly globalised corporate sector, the link from the overall corporate sector financial balance and liquidity to investment in the UK is much looser than 10 or 20 years ago. If UK firms accumulate liquidity, it may well continue to flow overseas. Indeed, a substantial part of the corporate sector financial surplus is directly accounted for by profits earned overseas. Profits on outward FDI (net of earnings on FDI in the UK) for UK non-financial companies have totalled £321bn over the last 15 years, accounting for 84% of the aggregate non-financial corporate sector surplus in that period (£384bn). And most of these profits earned overseas are reallocated to external investment, either as M&A or FDI loans to foreign subsidiaries. Similarly, most of the rise in corporate deposits reflects FX deposits and deposits held outside the UK, which probably also are destined for overseas use⁴. Aggregate bank deposits held by non-financial companies have risen by £463bn over the last 10 years: of this, £69bn reflects FX deposits held at UK banks, £284bn reflects deposits held outside the UK banking system and just £110bn (a quarter of the total rise) reflects sterling deposits held at UK banks – ie funds that appear destined to support business operations in the UK.

³ Data are available for all EU countries apart from Ireland, Denmark and the Netherlands.

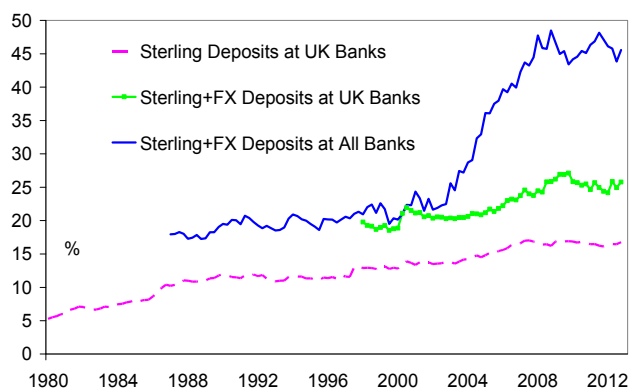
⁴ It is also possible that some of the rise in deposits really reflects funds held by financial companies and incorrectly labeled as deposits of non-financial companies.

Figure 7. UK – Stock of Inward and Outward FDI as Pct Annual GDP, 1967-2012



Sources: ONS and Citi Research

Figure 8. UK – Bank Deposits Held By Non-Financial Companies, Pct of Annual GDP, 1980-2012



Sources: ONS and Citi Research

Several structural factors probably lie behind this reluctance to invest in the UK, and the shift of investment overseas:

Credit availability is poor in the UK...

- In the UK, demand is sluggish and credit availability remains poor, a typical pattern for the aftermath of boom-bust credit cycles. As a result, UK firms probably see little reason to expand capacity for domestic markets, and have good reasons to repay debt and hold more cash as a buffer in case banks will not lend when they need funds. The BCC survey shows that cashflow continues to worsen among micro firms (less than 20 employees) in both the manufacturing and services sector, and these micro firms report much weaker investment intentions than large firms (and the larger firms are more likely to have non-UK operations which may be the destination for new investment).

...while many emerging markets offer faster growth and/or lower costs

- Many overseas countries, especially in emerging markets, offer faster growth and lower costs as investment locations than the UK. Whereas investment is weak in the UK and many other advanced economies, globally the ratio of investment to GDP (23.9% on the IMF data) is the highest for more than 20 years.

Capital allowances have been cut markedly in the UK...

- With cutbacks to UK capital allowances in the Budgets of 2008 and 2010, the present value of capital allowances in the UK is now the lowest among the G20 countries⁵. The government has repeatedly cut the UK's headline corporation tax rate and, on current plans, the UK in 2015 will have the lowest corporation tax rate among the G20 countries. However, with the erosion of capital allowances in the UK, the effective marginal tax rate on new investment has not fallen in recent years, whereas it has fallen elsewhere – and this structure will tend to encourage internationally mobile companies to allocate new investment-intensive projects outside the UK.

...and the weak fiscal position probably creates fears of future tax hikes

- The UK's large fiscal deficit probably creates some fear of future tax hikes or windfall taxes that, at the margin, may discourage extra investment in the UK.

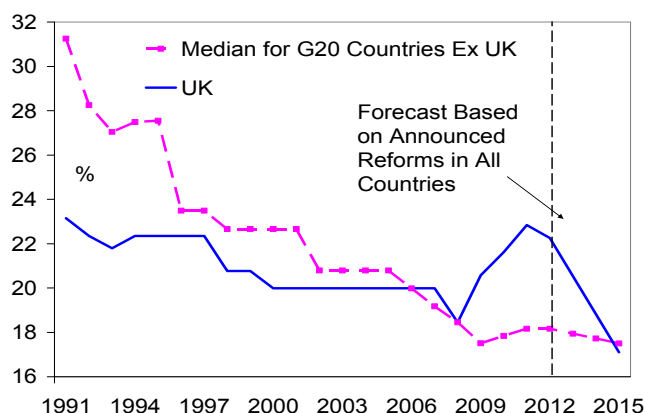
The relative cost of capital has risen, in contrast to the precrisis trend, encouraging firms to expand via jobs rather than investment

- The combination of currency-induced gains in prices of capital goods and weakness in wage costs has tilted the relative costs of labour and capital, encouraging firms to hire people rather than invest. From Q1-1998 to Q1-2007, the strong pound caused prices of imported capital goods to fall by 35%, whereas nominal weekly earnings rose by 52% over that period. This sharp

⁵ Source: Oxford University Centre for Business Taxation.

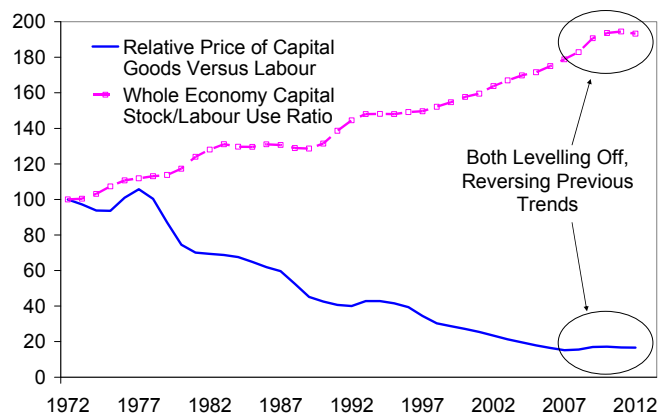
decline in the relative price of capital goods versus labour prompted firms to shift to capital-intensive and labour-saving structures, reflected in buoyant investment, rising productivity and sizeable real wage gains. By contrast, from Q1-07 to Q4-12, prices of imported capital goods rose by 30% whereas (with strong labour supply and widespread fears of unemployment) nominal private sector weekly earnings rose by just 9%. In addition, decisions to hire people are more easily reversible than decisions to invest – and hence may be preferable when (as now) demand prospects are very uncertain. Hence, in aggregate, the UK economy is shifting to a capital-light and labour-intensive mix of inputs, reflected in weak investment, resilient employment, falling labour productivity and declines in real wages. Data from the European Commission's AMECO database shows that the growth of the net UK capital stock slowed from an average of 2.5% YoY in 1998-2008 to 1.1% YoY in 2012, the lowest growth since 1993. By contrast, total hours worked (ie labour use) rose by 1.7% YoY, the highest growth since 1989 and, also for the first time since 1989, outpacing capital stock growth.

Figure 9. UK and G20 – Effective Marginal Tax Rate on New Business Investment, 1991-2015F



Sources: Oxford University Centre for Business Taxation and Citi Research

Figure 10. UK – Relative Price of Capital Goods Versus Labour, and Whole Economy Capital/Labour Use Ratio, Indexed to 100 in 1972, 1972-2012



Note: We compare capital goods import prices with private sector earnings (whole economy earnings pre-1990). Net capital stock is in real terms, labour use measured by total hours worked. Sources: European Commission, ONS and Citi Research

We expect that business investment will again undershoot the OBR forecasts...

With these longterm drivers still intact, we doubt that business investment in the UK will recover as spectacularly as the OBR assume. Demand is sluggish, credit availability remains poor (especially among small firms), capacity use is stable, and surveys suggest that investment intentions have not changed much over the last year. In many business surveys, it is hard to distinguish between general investment intentions (including expansion overseas) and investment intentions in the UK. But, the Deloitte's CFO survey suggests that UK-focused firms are far more defensive in their balance sheet policies and plans than international companies.

...with overall investment remaining sluggish for an extended period

We expect that aggregate investment spending will fall by about 2% this year, dragged down by declines in business investment and housebuilding, with little change to public investment, followed by only modest gains (averaging about 1½% YoY) in 2014-15. In our base case, overall investment will not regain the precrisis peak until around the very end of this decade; even then, real investment per head will probably still be below the precrisis peak. Rather than simply assume the economy will recover significantly, in our view the MPC should – and, we expect, eventually will – loosen further through a variety of channels (QE, credit easing, forward guidance).

Economic Indicators

Tue 9 Apr	Trade Balance – Goods & Services (Feb)	Forecast: £-3.0 billion	Prior: £-2.4 billion
	The trade deficit has been roughly stable in recent months, with exports hit by the EMU crisis and imports capped by weak domestic demand. The 2012 trade deficit hit a record high of £36bn in 2012 and may well rise even a little further in 2013.		
Tue 9 Apr	Industrial Production (Feb)	Forecast: 0.5% MoM, -2.6% YoY	Prior: -1.2% MoM, -2.9% YoY
	Manufacturing Output (Feb)	Forecast: 0.5% MoM, -1.3% YoY	Prior: -1.5% MoM, -3.0% YoY
	Surveys suggest that manufacturing output is soft, but it is possible that the sharp drop in January exaggerated the underlying weakness in the sector and hence we look for a slight rebound in the February data. Even so, a figure in line with our forecast would leave the average level of IP in Jan-Feb 0.2% below the Q4 average – hence pointing to a soft overall Q1 GDP figure.		
Tue 16 Apr	Consumer Prices (Mar)	Forecast: 0.3% MoM, 2.8% YoY	Prior: 0.7% MoM, 2.8% YoY
	CPI Ex Food, Drink, Tobacco, Energy (Mar)	Forecast: 0.3% MoM, 2.3% YoY	Prior: 0.6% MoM, 2.3% YoY
	Retail Prices (Mar)	Forecast: 0.4% MoM, 3.2% YoY	Prior: 0.7% MoM, 3.3% YoY
	RPIX – Excludes Mortgages (Mar)	Forecast: 0.4% MoM, 3.2% YoY	Prior: 0.7% MoM, 3.2% YoY
	A further gain in petrol prices probably will keep CPI inflation roughly stable in March, with the AA reporting that prices rose by a further 2p/litre (1.5%), bringing the total rise over the last two months to about 6%. Food price inflation also may tick up slightly. Going forward, we expect that CPI inflation will edge above 3% YoY around midyear, with the June figure a particular candidate given adverse base effects from the weak reading a year ago.		
Tue 16 Apr	Producer Input Prices (Mar)	Forecast: 0.5% MoM, 1.4% YoY	Prior: 3.2% MoM, 2.5% YoY
	Base effects from the relatively large MoM rise in input prices a year ago (1.6% MoM in March 2012) may keep a lid on the YoY rate this month, but nevertheless we expect that these figures will mark the ninth consecutive monthly rise in input prices, with input prices up by a total of 8% since mid-2012. These cost pressures will continue to feed through to CPI inflation in coming months and quarters.		
Tue 16 Apr	Producer Output Prices (Mar)	Forecast: 0.3% MoM, 2.0% YoY	Prior: 0.8% MoM, 2.3% YoY
	Output Prices Ex Tax (Mar)	Forecast: 0.3% MoM, 1.9% YoY	Prior: 0.8% MoM, 2.1% YoY
	Excluding Food, Drink, Tobacco, Energy (Mar)	Forecast: 0.2% MoM, 1.4% YoY	Prior: 0.3% MoM, 1.3% YoY
	The CBI survey suggests that pricing intentions have picked up among manufacturing firms, probably because of some pass through from the rise in external costs, and we expect these figures to give further signs that the YoY rate for output prices excluding food, drink, tobacco and energy is stabilising and troughing at 1%-1.5% YoY.		
Wed 17 Apr	Claimant Count Unemployment (Mar)	Forecast: -5,000 MoM, 4.7% Rate	Prior: -1,500 MoM, 4.7% Rate
	LFS Unemployment (Dec-Feb)	Forecast: +90,000 QoQ, 8.0% Rate	Prior: +7,000 QoQ, 7.8% Rate
	The single month figures for the LFS unemployment total showed a sharp jump in January and we expect the 3-month average (which is the headline rate) to jump higher this month as the low November figure drops out. More broadly, both labour supply and employment have been rising exceptionally rapidly over the last year, leaving the jobless rate roughly stable and with real wages falling.		
Thu 18 Apr	Retail Sales Volumes (Mar)	Forecast: -1.0% MoM, -0.7% YoY	Prior: 2.1% MoM, 2.6% YoY
	We suspect that the retail sales in March were badly hit by the relatively cold weather: it was the coldest March since a matching figure in 1892, with an average temperature that was roughly 4 degrees centigrade below the March average – a very large undershoot. The correlation between MoM retail sales growth and the average temperature is positive in March and hence the markedly colder weather probably hit sales. A figure in line with our forecast would leave volumes in Q1 up by 0.3% QoQ.		

Economic Calendar, 1 April — 19 April 2013

1 April	2 April	3 April	4 April	5 April
Easter Monday holiday	British Chambers of Commerce Quarterly Economic Survey (00:01)	Deficit & Debt on Maastricht Basis (% of GDP) <div><div>Deficit</div><div>Debt</div></div> <div>20117.8%85.5%</div> <div>20126.3%90.0%</div>	Services PMI (Mar) Feb 51.8 Mar 52.4	Around Now Halifax House Prices (Mar, 08:00)
	Manufacturing PMI (Mar) Feb 47.9 Mar 48.3	Housing Equity Withdrawal, % of Post-Tax Income (Q4) Q3 -2.9% Q4 -3.1%	MPC Outcome: Rates Unchanged at 0.5% QE Unchanged at £375bn	Record of FPC Meeting Of 19 March 2013
	Mortgage Approvals for House Purchase (Feb) Jan 54,187 MoM, -5.6% YoY Feb 51,653 MoM, +4.5% YoY	BoE Credit Conditions Survey (Q1)	ECB Outcome: Rates Unchanged at 0.75%	
8 April	9 April	10 April	11 April	12 April
	RICS House Price Survey (Mar, 00:01)		Informal Eurogroup/EcoFin Meeting (Dublin, Apr 11-13)	
	Trade Balance – Goods & Services (Feb) Jan £-2.4bn FebE £-3.0bn			
	Industrial Production (Feb) Jan -1.2% MoM, -2.9% YoY FebE 0.5% MoM, -2.6% YoY Manufacturing Output (Feb) Jan -1.5% MoM, -3.0% YoY FebE 0.5% MoM, -1.3% YoY			
15 April	16 April	17 April	18 April	19 April
	Consumer Prices (Mar) Feb 0.7% MoM, 2.8% YoY MarE 0.3% MoM, 2.8% YoY CPI Ex Food, Drink, Tobacco, Energy (Mar) Feb 0.6% MoM, 2.3% YoY MarE 0.3% MoM, 2.3% YoY Retail Prices (Mar) Feb 0.7% MoM, 3.3% YoY MarE 0.4% MoM, 3.2% YoY RPIX – Ex Mortgages (Mar) Feb 0.7% MoM, 3.2% YoY MarE 0.4% MoM, 3.2% YoY Producer Input Prices (Mar) Feb 3.2% MoM, 2.5% YoY MarE 0.5% MoM, 1.4% YoY Prod. Output Prices (Mar) Feb 0.8% MoM, 2.3% YoY MarE 0.3% MoM, 2.0% YoY IMF's World Economic Outlook and Fiscal Monitor Report released	Claimant Count Unemployment (Mar) Feb -1,500 MoM, 4.7% Rate MarE -5,000 MoM, 4.7% Rate LFS Unemployment (Dec-Feb) Nov-Jan +7,000 QoQ Dec-FebE +90,000 QoQ LFS Unemploy'm't Rate Nov-Jan 7.8% Dec-FebE 8.0% MPC Minutes BoE Agents' Summary of Business Conditions (Apr) Riksbank MPC Outcome (08:30) Bank of Canada Outcome (15:00) IMF's Global Financial Stability Report released	Retail Sales Volumes (Mar) Feb 2.1% MoM, 2.6% YoY MarE -1.0% MoM, -0.7% YoY G-20 Meeting of Finance Ministers & Central Bank Governors (Washington DC, to Apr 19)	BoE Trends in Lending (Apr) IMF Spring Meeting (Washington DC, to Apr 21)

E Citi estimate. B Billion. P Provisional. R Revised. Note: All data are released at 9.30 a.m., except those marked otherwise.

Sources: BoE, CBI, CML, ONS, national sources and Citi Research.

Appendix A-1

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