## Spotlight

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## Best From Both Budgets

Applying a "reverse logrolling" method to government spending and savings


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## In 2015-16...



JLF Reverse Logrolling Surplus \$383 million Surplus
\$43 million

Senate Budget Surplus
$\$ 246$ million

## Leaving more money for...



Child Tax Credits

Rainy Day Fund

When Governor McCrory released his 2015-17 biennial budget proposal in March 2015, NC General Assembly budget analysts projected a revenue shortfall of $\$ 271$ million. Shortly after the release of the Governor's budget recommendations, there was a remarkable change in the revenue picture - a true 'April surprise'. By the time House budget writers released their proposal in May, higher income tax payments and lower refunds from the 2014 tax year, as well as promising economic growth, prompted analysts to revise their General Fund revenue consensus forecast and project a surplus of $\$ 400$ million.

As one would expect,there were few similarities between the House and Senate budget proposals and even less agreement about what to do with the projected budget surplus. While legislative leaders continued to place a high priority on funding for education, transportation, public safety, and social welfare programs, Medicaid and economic development have become key drivers in each of the proposals put forth by the Governor, Senate and House. The House followed the Governor's lead by recommending that the state spend tens of millions of dollars for various economic development programs. The Senate addressed Medicaid reform and bolstered the state's rainy day fund. The conference committee assigned to reconcile these conflicting plans will have no easy task finding a compromise between the two.

For years, "logrolling" has been a tried-and-true tactic used by conferees in budget negotiations. Lawmakers, otherwise predisposed not to favor an expenditure or piece of legislation, agree to support it because fellow lawmakers agree to do the same for other items. Unfortunately, this budgetary practice too often results in poor outcomes for average citizens, as lower-
priority or so-called "pork-barrel" items are funded and mediocre legislation enacted. In North Carolina's appropriations process, logrolling typically results in a final budget agreement that spends more than previous versions. As such, the use of logrolling should be avoided.

An alternative approach, proposed in past John Locke Foundation publications, is called "reverse logrolling." Rather than each chamber accepting programs or higher expenditures from the other, legislators agree to use lower spending numbers for each departmental budget. After all, a majority in at least one chamber has already decided that the expenditure in question will satisfy the needs of the citizens and current budgetary constraints. This study reverses the logrolling practice by accepting the lower of the two chambers' previously approved figures for each department, as well as the higher of the two chambers' previously approved fund transfers.

A reverse logroll for the 2015-17 biennium budget would greatly benefit taxpayers. Although some would continue to disagree with specific policy elements of the resulting plan, if applied to the current state budget, reverse logrolling would result in a General Fund budget of $\$ 21.5$ billion in the first year and $\$ 21.4$ in the second, leaving surpluses of approximately $\$ 383$ million in the first year and $\$ 639$ million in the second year. This allows lawmakers more flexibility if they choose to further reduce taxes, increase the per-child tax credit, or simply leave the remaining money as a credit balance, providing extra savings on top of the rainy-day fund deposit. If budget conferees use the reverse logroll method and leave their chambers' pride at the door, then everyone will benefit from the large surplus -- taxpayers and state government alike.

## Constructing a "Reverse Logroll" from House \& Senate Budgets

|  | House Budget 2015-16 | Senate Budget 2015-16 | Reverse Logroll | House Budget 2016-17 | Senate Budget 2016-17 | Reverse Logrolling |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Community Colleges | 1,087,671,150 | 1,051,528,672 | 1,051,528,672 | 1,086,801,912 | 1,050,528,672 | 1,050,528,672 |
| Public Instruction | 8,624,998,796 | 8,282,418,560 | 8,282,418,560 | 8,700,370,220 | 8,382,532,357 | 8,382,532,357 |
| The University System | 2,786,478,423 | 2,715,040,926 | 2,715,040,926 | 2,776,682,229 | 2,739,150,553 | 2,739,150,553 |
| Total Education | 12,499,148,369 | 12,048,988,158 | 12,048,988,158 | 12,563,854,361 | 12,172,211,582 | 12,172,211,582 |
| Health and Human Services |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Central Management and Support | 141,722,868 | 116,500,781 | 116,500,781 | 128,220,376 | 130,139,186 | 128,220,376 |
| Aging and Adult Services | 43,815,337 | 42,845,788 | 42,845,788 | 43,815,337 | 42,845,788 | 42,845,788 |
| Blind, Deaf/Hard of Hearing Services | 8,173,207 | 8,098,207 | 8,098,207 | 8,173,207 | 8,098,207 | 8,098,207 |
| Child Development, Early Education | 224,537,700 | 233,900,693 | 224,537,700 | 229,784,413 | 237,476,515 | 229,784,413 |
| Health Service Regulation | 16,105,247 | 15,462,135 | 15,462,135 | 16,110,674 | 14,902,628 | 14,902,628 |
| Medicaid | 3,773,402,778 | 3,761,598,331 | 3,761,598,331 | 3,936,096,888 | 3,910,621,818 | 3,910,621,818 |
| Mental Health, Developmenal Disability, \& Substance Abuse Svcs. | 710,264,283 | 519,096,709 | 519,096,709 | 703,387,508 | 502,439,890 | 502,439,890 |
| NC Health Choice | 14,397,579 | 13,373,219 | 13,373,219 | 2,105,042 | 1,590,592 | 1,590,592 |
| Public Health | 138,718,720 | 137,337,977 | 137,337,977 | 143,579,928 | 139,261,609 | 139,261,609 |
| Social Services | 182,258,263 | 181,783,263 | 181,783,263 | 184,708,263 | 184,883,263 | 184,708,263 |
| Vocational Rehabilitation | 37,752,132 | 37,752,132 | 37,752,132 | 37,752,132 | 37,752,132 | 37,752,132 |
| Total Health \& Human Services | 5,291,148,114 | 5,067,749,235 | 5,058,386,242 | 5,433,733,768 | 5,210,011,628 | 5,200,225,716 |
| Justice and Public Safety |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Public Safety | 1,854,334,987 | 1,828,196,520 | 1,828,196,520 | 1,867,792,745 | 1,840,640,544 | 1,840,640,544 |
| Judicial | 502,303,019 | 480,029,282 | 480,029,282 | 501,289,873 | 479,474,050 | 479,474,050 |
| Judicial - Indigent Defense | 118,103,415 | 115,738,069 | 115,738,069 | 118,077,045 | 115,748,013 | 115,748,013 |
| Justice | 53,772,016 | 52,295,684 | 52,295,684 | 53,794,233 | 51,405,759 | 51,405,759 |
| Total Justice and Public Safety | 2,528,513,437 | 2,476,259,555 | 2,476,259,555 | 2,540,953,896 | 2,487,268,366 | 2,487,268,366 |
| Natural and Economic Resources |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agriculture and Consumer Services | 118,002,713 | 112,339,862 | 112,339,862 | 114,997,785 | 114,625,261 | 114,625,261 |
| Commerce | 70,536,118 | 58,030,891 | 58,030,891 | 72,241,619 | 57,512,842 | 57,512,842 |
| Commerce - State Aid | 21,412,620 | 3,405,472 | 3,405,472 | 20,862,620 | 1,155,472 | 1,155,472 |
| Environment and Natural Resources | 205,092,763 | 111,377,775 | 111,377,775 | 178,041,069 | 100,246,626 | 100,246,626 |
| Labor | 16,032,378 | 15,472,917 | 15,472,917 | 16,020,142 | 15,472,917 | 15,472,917 |
| Wildlife Resources Commission | 10,499,561 | 10,501,493 | 10,499,561 | 10,490,876 | 10,426,493 | 10,426,493 |
| Total Natural \& Economic Resources | 441,576,153 | 311,128,410 | 311,126,478 | 412,654,111 | 299,439,611 | 299,439,611 |


| Constructing a "Reverse Logroll" from House \& Senate Budgets |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | House Budget 2015-16 | Senate Budget 2015-16 | Reverse Logroll | House Budget 2016-17 | Senate Budget 2016-17 | Reverse Logrolling |
| General Government |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Administration | 61,129,481 | 60,353,742 | 60,353,742 | 59,849,655 | 58,381,592 | 58,381,592 |
| Auditor | 11,779,660 | 11,739,374 | 11,739,374 | 11,769,811 | 11,891,894 | 11,769,811 |
| Cultural Resources | 77,725,808 | 134,129,484 | 77,725,808 | 66,066,919 | 140,169,029 | 66,066,919 |
| Cultural Resources - <br> Roanoke Island | 517,384 | 517,384 | 517,384 | 517,384 | 517,384 | 517,384 |
| General Assembly | 53,869,370 | 53,019,670 | 53,019,670 | 53,841,575 | 53,019,670 | 53,019,670 |
| Governor's Office | 5,660,905 | 5,580,229 | 5,580,229 | 5,657,222 | 5,580,229 | 5,580,229 |
| Governor, Special Projects | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 |
| Housing Finance Agency | 29,118,739 | 9,118,739 | 9,118,739 | 29,118,739 | 9,818,739 | 9,818,739 |
| Insurance | 38,999,265 | 38,381,581 | 38,381,581 | 38,974,189 | 38,381,581 | 38,381,581 |
| Lieutenant Governor | 691,788 | 676,874 | 676,874 | 691,249 | 676,874 | 676,874 |
| Military and Veterans Affairs | 7,368,298 | 9,525,132 | 7,368,298 | 7,312,298 | 7,815,123 | 7,312,298 |
| Office of Administrative Hearings | 5,229,808 | 5,117,214 | 5,117,214 | 5,226,437 | 5,117,214 | 5,117,214 |
| Revenue | 81,046,874 | 79,810,071 | 79,810,071 | 81,032,764 | 79,952,920 | 79,952,920 |
| Secretary of State | 11,968,959 | 11,713,470 | 11,713,470 | 11,960,475 | 11,713,470 | 11,713,470 |
| State Board of Elections | 6,616,136 | 6,603,243 | 6,603,243 | 6,612,129 | 6,503,243 | 6,503,243 |
| State Budget \& Management | 7,828,228 | 7,242,104 | 7,242,104 | 7,822,468 | 7,242,104 | 7,242,104 |
| State Budget \& Management, Special | 2,000,000 | 1,550,000 | 1,550,000 | 2,000,000 | 1,500,000 | 1,500,000 |
| State Controller | 23,037,383 | 22,700,620 | 22,700,620 | 23,025,245 | 22,700,620 | 22,700,620 |
| Treasurer - Operations | 9,655,372 | 11,045,175 | 9,655,372 | 9,651,435 | 10,699,175 | 9,651,435 |
| Fire Rescue, National Guard Pensions \& LDD Benefits | 21,691,299 | 20,664,274 | 20,664,274 | 21,691,299 | 20,664,274 | 20,664,274 |
| Total General Government | 457,934,757 | 491,488,380 | 431,538,067 | 444,821,293 | 494,345,135 | 418,570,377 |
| Subtotal Agency Budgets | 21,218,320,830 | 20,395,613,738 | 20,326,298,500 | 21,396,017,429 | 20,663,276,322 | 20,577,715,652 |
| Debt Service | 714,776,023 | 714,776,023 | 714,776,023 | 739,403,095 | 678,465,595 | 678,465,595 |
| Statewide Reserves | 173,753,012 | 164,779,832 | 164,779,832 | 265,970,564 | 163,340,663 | 163,340,663 |
| Total Capital Improvements | 48,507,000 | 174,895,100 | 48,507,000 | 5,087,500 | 5,087,500 | 5,087,500 |
| Film and Entertainment Grant Fund | 40,000,000 | 10,000,000 | 10,000,000 | 0 | 10,000,000 | 0 |
| Repairs and Rennovations* | 200,000,000 | 155,110,900 | 200,000,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total GF Appropriations | 22,395,356,865 | 21,615,175,593 | 21,464,361,355 | 22,406,478,588 | 21,520,170,080 | 21,424,609,410 |


| Revenue Portion of "Reverse Logroll" from House \& Senate Budgets |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | House Budget 2015-16 | Senate Budget 2015-16 | Reverse Logroll | House Budget 2016-17 | Senate Budget 2016-17 | Reverse Logrolling |
| General Fund Baseline | 22,616,274,867 | 22,620,210,900 | 22,620,210,900 | 22,734,108,344 | 22,619,397,632 | 22,959,032,768 |
| Additional Highway Fund Transfer* | 3,700,000 | 0 | - | 3,700,000 | 0 |  |
| Adjustment of Transfer from Insurance Regulatory Fund | 0 | 85,217 | 85,217 | 0 | 85,217 | 85,217 |
| Adjustment of Transfer from Treasurer's Office | $(188,715)$ | 375,262 | 375,262 | $(188,715)$ | 369,262 | 369,262 |
| Department of Justice Tobacco Settlement | 2,194,000 | 2,194,000 | 2,194,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| End Highway Fund Transfer to General Fund* | 0 | $(215,900,000)$ | $(215,900,000)$ | 0 | $(215,900,000)$ | $(215,900,000)$ |
| Exempt Sales Tax for Nonprofit Agricultural Fairs* | $(330,000)$ | 0 | $(330,000)$ | $(330,000)$ | 0 | $(330,000)$ |
| Expand 1\%/\$80 Rate for Mill Machinery* | $(3,150,000)$ | 0 | $(3,150,000)$ | $(6,300,000)$ | 0 | $(6,300,000)$ |
| Extend Renewable Energy Credit | 0 | 0 | 0 | (10,300,000) | 0 | 0 |
| Extend Sales Tax <br> Preferences for <br> Motorsports Parts and Fuel* | 0 | 0 | 0 | $(1,900,000)$ | 0 | 0 |
| Historic Preservation Tax Credit | $(8,000,000)$ | 0 | 0 | (8,000,000) | 0 | 0 |
| MSA Funds to Golden L.E.A.F. | 0 | $(20,075,000)$ | 0 | 0 | $(20,075,000)$ | 0 |
| Potential proceeds from sale of Dorthea Dix property | 50,000,000 | 0 | 50,000,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Realign Judicial Fees | 25,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 25,000,000 |
| Renewable Energy Safe Harbor (S.L. 2015-11) | 0 | 0 | 0 | $(36,700,000)$ | $(36,700,000)$ | $(36,700,000)$ |
| Reserve for Passenger Air Carriers Refund (H.B.117) | 0 | 0 | 0 | $(5,500,000)$ | 0 | 0 |
| Restore Tax Deduction for Medical Expenses* | $(54,000,000)$ | 0 | $(54,000,000)$ | (52,400,000) | 0 | $(52,400,000)$ |
| Sales Tax Exemption on Electricity for Qualifying Datacenters* | $(3,000,000)$ | 0 | $(3,000,000)$ | $(4,000,000)$ | 0 | $(4,000,000)$ |
| Savings Reserve* | -200,000,000 | (500,000,000) | $(500,000,000)$ | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| State Emergency <br> Response Account* | -20,000,000 | $(10,000,000)$ | $(20,000,000)$ | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tax Reductions* | 0 | $(72,700,000)$ | $(72,700,000)$ | 0 | $(421,100,000)$ | $(421,100,000)$ |
| Transfer from DPS <br> Enterprise Resource <br> Planning System IT Fund | 0 | 9,000,000 | 9,000,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 |


| Revenue Portion of "Reverse Logroll" from House \& Senate Budgets |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | House Budget 2015-16 | Senate Budget 2015-16 | Reverse Logroll | House Budget 2016-17 | Senate Budget 2016-17 | Reverse Logrolling |
| Transfer from E-Commerce Fund | 1,296,803 | 1,257,140 | 1,296,803 | 641,628 | 641,628 | 641,628 |
| Transfer from Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA) Fund | 4,296,802 | 4296802 | 4,296,802 | 641,628 | 0 | 641,628 |
| Transfer from Statewide Automated Fingerprint Identification System Fund | 0 | 333,557 | 333,557 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Transfer from Statewide <br> Misdemeanant Confinement Fund | 2,898,779 | 0 | 2,898,779 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Transfer Medicaid Contingency Reserve Funds | 186,372,673 | 0 | 186,372,673 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Transfer to Medicaid Reserve* | $(50,000,000)$ | $(185,604,653)$ | $(185,604,653)$ | $(125,000,000)$ | $(185,604,653)$ | $(185,604,653)$ |
| Total General Fund Availability | 22,553,365,209 | 21,658,473,225 | 21,847,294,123 | 22,513,472,885 | 21,766,114,086 | 22,063,350,633 |
| Less: GF Appropriations | 22,395,356,865 | 21,615,175,593 | 21,464,361,355 | 22,406,478,588 | 21,520,170,080 | 21,424,609,410 |
| Surplus | 158,008,344 | 43,297,632 | 382,932,768 | 106,994,297 | 245,944,006 | 638,741,223 |

