

# APAC Economic Perspectives

## ASEAN: Will policymakers pull fiscal levers next?

### Economics

#### Asia

#### ASEAN's fiscal trajectory: more sense than sensibility thus far

In recent years, most ASEAN governments have pursued more fiscal 'sense' than 'sensibility', i.e. they have chosen restraint and gradual reform over excessive populism. In 2024, government debt-to-GDP ratios were mostly stable (except for Thailand and Philippines to a smaller extent), and remain lower than the global average. Primary deficits have also mostly narrowed to below debt-stabilizing thresholds. The average fiscal impulse has been negative over 2021-24, at about -0.8% of GDP in the post-pandemic years, ranging from -0.9% in Indonesia/Thailand/Singapore, followed by Philippines (-0.6%) and Malaysia (-0.5%).

#### Fiscal budget plans signal limited growth boost

We think that the fiscal impulse in 2025 is likely to be contractionary in Malaysia, neutral for Indonesia/Philippines, and slightly expansionary in Thailand/Singapore. Budget plans for 2025 show that many governments are targeting social spending and lower income groups this year (especially in Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia). No major acceleration is planned for public infrastructure spending. We think Thailand's stimulus plans are likely to be front-loaded in FY25. We don't see a major risk of fiscal slippage at this juncture, with VAT hikes likely at some point. In Indonesia's case, the cancellation of the VAT hike poses downside risks to revenues. However, we believe that the government will likely manage spending carefully to keep to its 2.5% deficit plan. Philippines has been able to steadily put in place a series of tax measures to shore up revenues, but its fiscal room will be increasingly limited by higher interest burdens. Its recently approved budget breaks a consecutive three-year trend of gradual fiscal consolidation. Meanwhile, Singapore's stronger-than-expected growth and revenues in 2024 opens up the possibility of an expansionary budget. That said, its fiscal impulse over 2024-25 is likely to be neutral.

#### Why not? The "sense" of fiscal policy probably takes precedence for now

Governments face several fiscal challenges and detractions, and fiscal room is not that ample. First, structural expenditure drags have increased, partly due to increasing subsidy bills and interest burdens. Second, revenue mobilisation remains limited. Third, debt-to-GDP levels have risen much faster in Thailand and Philippines (>20% of GDP), albeit from a low base, with weak nominal GDP growth a significant challenge for the former. Fourth, debt financing conditions could be increasingly challenged by higher for longer rates, currency pressures, and slower growth. Demand for government debt is increasingly domestic, largely reflecting less attractive yield differentials. That also means that government bonds are a smaller recurring source of foreign exchange, and basic balance trends are not as supportive of FX as before. Indonesia and Philippines could still be more constrained by market discipline considerations, in our view.

#### Should fiscal policy break barriers and go for growth?

Fiscal policy serves multiple purposes: redistribution, public goods provision, business cycle management, capacity building. It is also a political economy tool. As asset prices take into account expectations of fiscal solvency over the long term, maintaining credibility is crucial. The effect of fiscal policy would be diluted in the absence of a coherent fiscal plan. Market discipline aside, this also reflects Ricardian equivalence, i.e. firms and households adjust their behaviours without being convinced of a future growth dividend. Still, we don't think governments should always stick to the straight and narrow. In times of deflation, recession, and if policies are truly growth-enhancing, a judicious fiscal expansion could kick-start growth momentum and increase long-run debt-carrying capacity. Absent a crisis, when growth is weak relative to other exceptional economies and global financial conditions are not conducive, past patterns and current signals suggest governments would rather err on the side of fiscal prudence.

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We structure this note along the lines of five key questions.

## 1. How expansionary or contractionary is fiscal policy in 2025?

## 2. Where do deficits most need to narrow further in the medium term?

## 3. Fiscal reform is needed. How will this play out differently in the region?

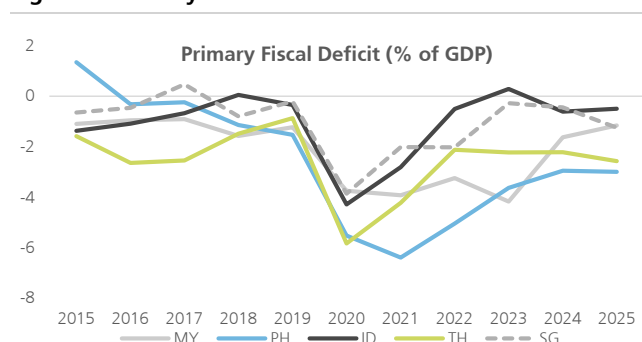
## 4. Why did debt to GDP rise faster in ASEAN?

## 5. Where and how might market discipline come in to constrain fiscal choices?

# 1. How expansionary or contractionary is fiscal policy in 2025?

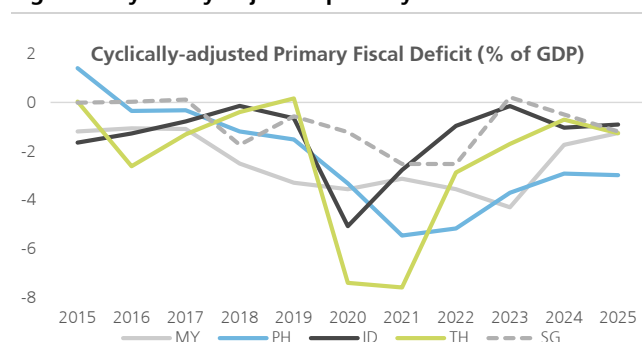
A simple indicator of the current fiscal stance of a government is the primary fiscal deficit, which excludes interest payments from expenditure. Cyclically adjusted primary balances can also be used, as this adjusts for the impact on revenues and expenditure when an economy is operating at a negative/positive output gap.

**Figure 1: Primary balance trends in ASEAN-5**



Source: UBS estimates. For 2025 estimates, we use budget plans (except for Singapore, which are UBS expectations)

**Figure 2: Cyclically adjusted primary balance trends**

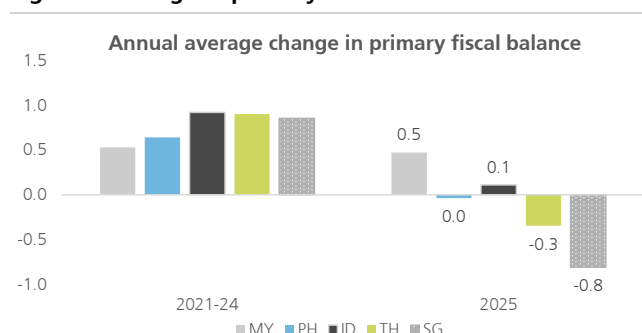


Source: UBS estimates. For 2025 estimates, we use budget plans (except for Singapore, which are UBS expectations).

The change in primary balance is a measure of the fiscal impulse, or how much fiscal policy is adding to or subtracting from growth in that year. Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore had narrowed their deficits at a relatively faster pace up until 2023, whereas Malaysia's fiscal consolidation accelerated in 2024. Philippines' fiscal consolidation had been steady and gradual through 2021-24. On average over 2021-24, the fiscal impulse has been negative, ranging from -0.9% in Indonesia/Thailand/Singapore, followed by Philippines (-0.6%) and Malaysia (-0.5%). We think the aggregate 2025 fiscal impulse is likely to be the most contractionary in Malaysia, neutral for Indonesia/Philippines, and modestly expansionary in Thailand/Singapore.

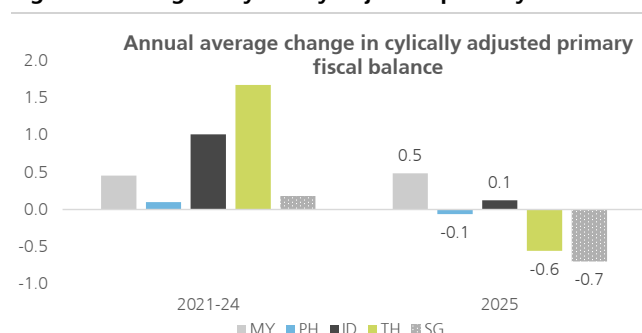
**The 2025 fiscal impulse is likely to be the most contractionary in Malaysia, neutral for Indonesia/Philippines, and modestly expansionary in Thailand/Singapore.**

**Figure 3: Change in primary balance**



Source: UBS estimates. A positive (negative) change in the primary balance indicates efforts towards fiscal consolidation (expansion) in that year.

**Figure 4: Change in cyclically adjusted primary balance**



Source: UBS estimates. A positive (negative) change in the primary balance indicates efforts towards fiscal consolidation (expansion) in that year.

Figure 5: Summary of fiscal policies in 2025

	Budget deficit '24	Budget deficit '25	Social support / fiscal reform	Infrastructure spending
Indonesia	2.3%	2.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Free lunch program (Rp71tn, 0.3% of GDP)</li> <li>Social assistance budget decreased to 0.6% of GDP in '25 from 0.7% in '24</li> <li>Teacher and civil servant wage hikes requiring additional budget of Rp38tn, 0.2% of GDP</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infrastructure budget is reduced to 0.8% of GDP in '25 from 1.1% in '24</li> </ul>
Malaysia	4.3%	3.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subsidy and social assistance allocation is scaled back to 2.5% of GDP in '25 from 3.2% in '24, reflecting the electricity subsidies rationalization and targeted fuel subsidy programs (in mid-2025; foreigners and top 15% of earners affected)</li> <li><a href="#">Monthly minimum wages increase</a> to MYR1,700 from MYR1,500, effective from Feb 1, 2025</li> <li><a href="#">Civil servants' wages increased</a> by 8% in phase 1 starting Dec'24 and 7% in phase 2 starting Jan'26</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Development expenditure falls to 4.1% of GDP in '25 from 4.4% in '24</li> <li>No mega projects announced</li> </ul>
Philippines	5.7%	5.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><a href="#">Impose PHP100 excise tax on every kg of single-use plastics</a>, expected to generate PHP31.5bn revenue over 2025-28</li> <li><a href="#">Enhance fiscal regime for the mining industry</a>, imposing a four-tier, margin-based royalty ranging from 1.5-5% on income from mining operations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infrastructure spending is stable at ~4.8% of GDP in '25 vs an estimated 4.9% in '24</li> </ul>
Singapore	0.5% (surplus)	0.8% (deficit)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We expect the govt to continue to give cash handouts, tax rebates, and productivity-enhancing subsidies in the election year</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not available now. Fiscal year starting from March</li> </ul>
Thailand	3.6%	4.4%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cash handout phase 1: the govt gave Bt10,000 cash to 14mn people in the lowest income group, totalling Bt140bn (0.7% of GDP)</li> <li>Cash handout phase 2: starting on 27 Jan '25, the govt will give Bt10,000 cash to around 4 mn seniors totalling Bt40bn (0.2% of GDP)</li> <li><a href="#">Cash handout phase 3</a>: starting in Q2'25, govt will give Bt14mn recipients Bt10,000 cash, totalling Bt140bn</li> <li>Social protection spending falls to 2.1% of GDP in '25 from 2.3% in '24</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Capital expenditure jumps to 4.7% of GDP in '25 from 3.8% in '24</li> </ul>

Source: MoF

With the exception of Thailand (and we think Singapore), most governments have planned fiscal deficits that are either stable or narrower than last year's. We have written about Malaysia ([link](#)) and Indonesia's 2025 budgets ([link](#)) previously. Malaysia's 2025 budget deficit is projected to narrow 0.5ppt to 3.8% of GDP. The government announced an explicit commitment to diesel and RON95 subsidy retargeting which could save RM15.5bn (0.8% of GDP) annually based on government estimates. The development expenditure will only focus on essential infrastructure with no mega projects announced. Meanwhile, the government will impose higher minimum wages and increase civil servants' wages and pensions to lift income level and support consumption. Indonesia's 2025 budget deficit target was set at 2.53% of GDP, well below the 3% deficit ceiling. The government expects the free meal program (Rp71tn or 0.3% of GDP) to have a small multiplier effect on growth and employment in 2025. As a trade-off, the social assistance budget was scaled back to 0.6% of GDP in 2025 (vs 0.7% in 2024), and the infrastructure budget was reduced to 0.8% of GDP in 2025 (vs 1.1% in 2024). The Philippines government on 30 December approved a P6.33tn budget that was >10% higher than the P6.18tn draft announced in early December. This likely implies a stalling of the fiscal consolidation that was in place since 2022 and a budget deficit of 5.8% of GDP, by our estimates. There were some cuts to the proposed education and health budget, and a larger budget allocated to the Department of Public Works, although the government had recently said that it would review some of the priority projects and proposed appropriations. Singapore's FY25 budget will be announced on 18 February. Given better-than-expected revenue trends, there could be S\$8-9bn upside to FY24 revenues (implying a fiscal surplus) versus the S\$108bn projected. That could go into a more expansionary budget in the last year of this term of government.

Most governments plan either a stable or narrower deficit for 2025, except for Thailand. Still, the general thrust of the budgets (for Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia) is towards more progressive fiscal priorities.

## 2. Where do deficits most need to narrow further in the medium term?

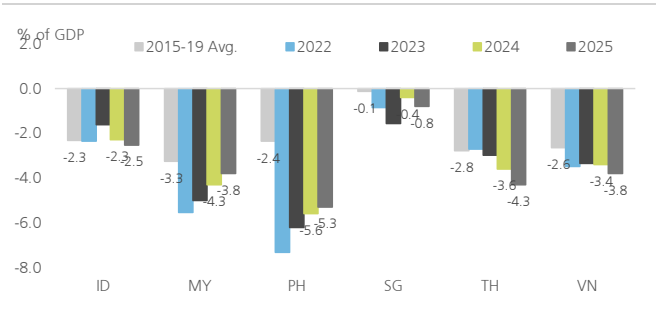
Based on announced government budget plans for 2024-25, ASEAN will run wider fiscal deficits compared to a five-year average over 2015-19. The biggest change is in Philippines, whereby the budget balance projected over 2024-25 of 5.8% of GDP is ~3ppt higher than the average 2.1% budget deficit in 2015-19. For Thailand, the fiscal deficit is expected to average 4% of GDP over 2024-25, around 1ppt higher than the 2015-19 average. Malaysia's budget deficit is expected to average 4% of GDP in 2024-25 vs. 3.3% of GDP in 2015-19, and Indonesia's budget deficit is expected to be about 0.2% of GDP wider at 2.5% of GDP in 2024-25, vs. 2.3% of GDP in 2015-19.

Despite having consolidated, fiscal deficits in 2024-25 are still running wider than the pre-COVID average in 2015-19.

The debt-stabilizing primary deficit for each of the economies is estimated to be between 1% and 2.6% of GDP. Assuming that the debt servicing cost remains broadly the same, then Thailand and Philippines may need to narrow the primary deficit further. This implies the high possibility of tax hikes and/or further expenditure consolidation in these economies. Medium-term fiscal frameworks in Malaysia, Thailand and Philippines have projected between 1% and 2% points of fiscal consolidation over the next five years.

Thailand and Philippines will likely still need to narrow the primary deficit further to keep debt to GDP trajectories unchanged, under current baseline assumptions.

Figure 6: Fiscal deficits for ASEAN-5



Source: Haver, UBS estimates

Figure 7: Fiscal deficit forecasts under Medium-Term Fiscal Framework

% of GDP	2024	2025	2025-27	2026-28
Malaysia	-4.3	-3.8	-3.5	
Thailand	-4.4	-4.5		-3.3
Philippines	-5.6	-5.2		-4.2

Source: Philippines Department of Budget and Management, Malaysia Ministry of Finance, Thailand Ministry of Finance

**Figure 8: Indonesia - Estimates of debt-stabilizing primary deficit under various assumptions**

		Nominal GDP growth								
		5.5%	6.0%	6.5%	7.0%	7.5%	8.0%	8.5%	9.0%	9.5%
Interest payment on govt debt (% of GDP)	1.6%	0.5%	0.7%	0.8%	1.0%	1.2%	1.4%	1.5%	1.7%	1.9%
	1.8%	0.4%	0.6%	0.8%	0.9%	1.1%	1.3%	1.5%	1.6%	1.8%
	2.0%	0.3%	0.5%	0.7%	0.9%	1.0%	1.2%	1.4%	1.6%	1.7%
	2.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.6%	0.8%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%	1.5%	1.7%
	2.4%	0.2%	0.4%	0.5%	0.7%	0.9%	1.1%	1.2%	1.4%	1.6%
	2.6%	0.1%	0.3%	0.5%	0.6%	0.8%	1.0%	1.2%	1.3%	1.5%
	2.8%	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.7%	0.9%	1.1%	1.3%	1.4%
	3.0%	-0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.5%	0.7%	0.9%	1.0%	1.2%	1.4%
	3.2%	-0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.8%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%

Source: UBS calculations. The red number corresponds to the current nominal GDP growth forecasts for 2025-27, and the latest debt service costs as a % of GDP.

**Figure 9: Malaysia - Estimates of debt-stabilizing primary deficit under various assumptions**

		Nominal growth								
		4.5%	5.0%	5.5%	6.0%	6.5%	7.0%	7.5%	8.0%	8.5%
Interest payment on govt debt (% of GDP)	1.7%	1.7%	2.0%	2.3%	2.6%	2.9%	3.2%	3.5%	3.7%	4.0%
	1.9%	1.6%	1.9%	2.2%	2.5%	2.8%	3.1%	3.3%	3.6%	3.9%
	2.1%	1.5%	1.8%	2.1%	2.4%	2.6%	2.9%	3.2%	3.5%	3.8%
	2.3%	1.3%	1.6%	1.9%	2.2%	2.5%	2.8%	3.1%	3.4%	3.7%
	2.5%	1.2%	1.5%	1.8%	2.1%	2.4%	2.7%	3.0%	3.3%	3.5%
	2.7%	1.1%	1.4%	1.7%	2.0%	2.3%	2.6%	2.9%	3.1%	3.4%
	2.9%	1.0%	1.3%	1.6%	1.9%	2.2%	2.5%	2.7%	3.0%	3.3%
	3.1%	0.9%	1.2%	1.5%	1.8%	2.0%	2.3%	2.6%	2.9%	3.2%
	3.3%	0.7%	1.0%	1.3%	1.6%	1.9%	2.2%	2.5%	2.8%	3.1%

Source: UBS calculations. The red number corresponds to the current nominal GDP growth forecasts for 2025-27, and the latest debt service costs as a % of GDP.

**Figure 10: Philippines - Estimates of debt-stabilizing primary deficit under various assumptions**

		Nominal GDP growth								
		6.5%	7.0%	7.5%	8.0%	8.5%	9.0%	9.5%	10.0%	10.5%
Interest payment on govt debt (% of GDP)	1.8%	2.0%	2.3%	2.6%	2.8%	3.1%	3.4%	3.6%	3.9%	4.1%
	2.0%	1.9%	2.2%	2.5%	2.7%	3.0%	3.3%	3.5%	3.8%	4.0%
	2.2%	1.8%	2.1%	2.4%	2.6%	2.9%	3.1%	3.4%	3.7%	3.9%
	2.4%	1.7%	2.0%	2.2%	2.5%	2.8%	3.0%	3.3%	3.5%	3.8%
	2.6%	1.6%	1.9%	2.1%	2.4%	2.7%	2.9%	3.2%	3.4%	3.7%
	2.8%	1.5%	1.8%	2.0%	2.3%	2.6%	2.8%	3.1%	3.3%	3.6%
	3.0%	1.4%	1.6%	1.9%	2.2%	2.4%	2.7%	3.0%	3.2%	3.5%
	3.2%	1.3%	1.5%	1.8%	2.1%	2.3%	2.6%	2.9%	3.1%	3.4%
	3.4%	1.1%	1.4%	1.7%	2.0%	2.2%	2.5%	2.7%	3.0%	3.3%

Source: UBS calculations. The red number corresponds to the current nominal GDP growth forecasts for 2025-26, and the latest debt service costs as a % of GDP.

**Figure 11: Thailand - Estimates of debt-stabilizing primary deficit under various assumptions**

		Nominal growth								
		2.00%	2.50%	3.00%	3.50%	4.00%	4.50%	5.00%	5.50%	6.00%
Interest payment on govt debt (% of GDP)	0.20%	0.8%	1.0%	1.3%	1.5%	1.8%	2.0%	2.3%	2.5%	2.8%
	0.40%	0.6%	0.9%	1.2%	1.4%	1.7%	1.9%	2.2%	2.4%	2.7%
	0.60%	0.5%	0.8%	1.1%	1.3%	1.6%	1.8%	2.1%	2.3%	2.6%
	0.80%	0.4%	0.7%	1.0%	1.2%	1.5%	1.7%	2.0%	2.2%	2.4%
	1.00%	0.3%	0.6%	0.8%	1.1%	1.4%	1.6%	1.9%	2.1%	2.3%
	1.20%	0.2%	0.5%	0.7%	1.0%	1.3%	1.5%	1.8%	2.0%	2.2%
	1.40%	0.1%	0.4%	0.6%	0.9%	1.2%	1.4%	1.7%	1.9%	2.1%
	1.60%	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%	0.8%	1.0%	1.3%	1.5%	1.8%	2.0%
	1.80%	-0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.7%	0.9%	1.2%	1.4%	1.7%	1.9%

Source: UBS calculations. The red number corresponds to the current nominal GDP growth forecasts for 2025-26, and the latest debt service costs as a % of GDP.

### 3. Fiscal reform is needed. How will this play out differently in the region?

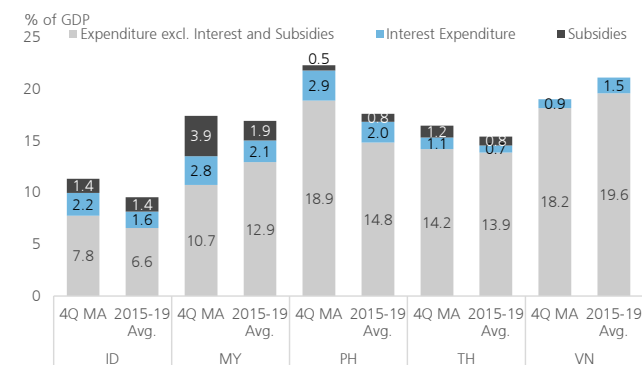
Fiscal balances deteriorated due to both higher expenditure and limited revenue mobilisation. Taking a simple average across ASEAN-5, expenditure to GDP ratios have risen about 1.2ppt compared to the 2015-19 average, whereas revenues fell about -0.1ppt compared to the 2015-19 average. In comparison, in 38 economies under UBS coverage, expenditure to GDP ratios have risen about 1.6ppt, and revenues to GDP rose by 0.6ppt on average.

Revenue mobilisation has improved in Philippines and Singapore due to tax reform, e.g. GST hikes in Singapore's case. Philippines introduced a tax on digital services, single-use plastics, a motor vehicle road user's tax, and enhanced the fiscal regime for the mining industry, which is expected to add about 0.2ppt of GDP to revenues. Malaysia and Thailand's revenue base has narrowed. For Malaysia, this was due to the removal of GST in 2019. For Thailand, weaker tax collections reflect a slower growth recovery, and some excise tax reductions (e.g. diesel). Indonesia's revenue base is the lowest in ASEAN, at about 13% of GDP, likely because of extensive exemptions and/or relatively weaker tax administration. Non-tax revenues, which largely comprise oil and coal related income, contribute about 22% of Indonesia's revenue, slightly higher than 19% in the 2015-19 period. Meanwhile, the largest increase in spending was in the Philippines, which went up to 22% of GDP from 18% in 2015-19, mainly due to higher interest and maintenance operation expenses. Interest expenses have gone up more in Philippines and Indonesia, while subsidy spending has gone up most sharply in Malaysia. Infrastructure spending was kept broadly stable or declining.

**On average, ASEAN-5 expenditure to GDP ratios have risen compared to their pre-pandemic trend. However, revenues to GDP have not.**

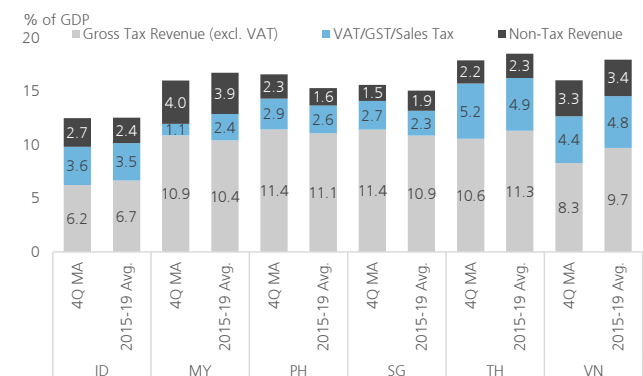
**Various factors weigh on revenues. Weaker growth is one. Tax exemptions and tax cuts is another.**

**Figure 12: Composition of expenditures**



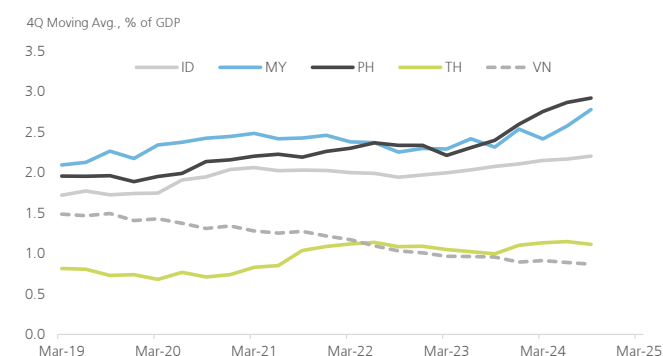
Source: Haver, UBS

**Figure 13: Composition of revenues**



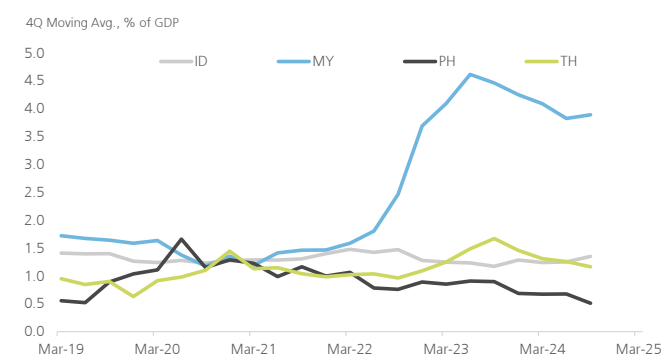
Source: Haver, UBS

**Figure 14: Interest expenses as a % of GDP**



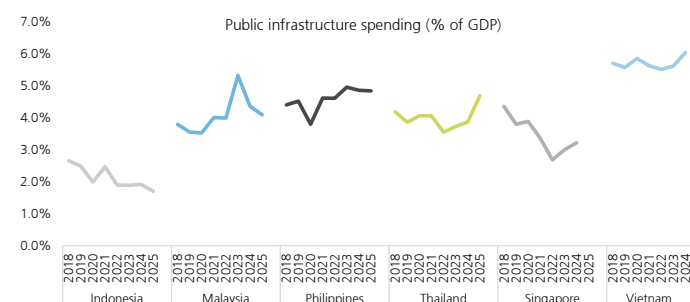
Source: Haver, UBS

**Figure 15: Subsidies as a % of GDP**



Source: Haver, UBS

**Figure 16: Public infra spending trends in ASEAN**



Source: Haver, Ministry of Finance of ASEAN governments. Where infrastructure spending is not available, we use capital expenditure or development expenditure as a proxy.

Public infrastructure spending has been coming down in Indonesia and Singapore. In Malaysia, the peak was in 2022. In Philippines, it has been kept at 5% of GDP. In Thailand, the 2025 budget bucks the recent trend by allocating more to the capital budget.

### Medium-term fiscal reform depends on political priorities and tax infrastructure

Most governments in ASEAN have taken steps towards improving fiscal sustainability. For instance, Malaysia removed blanket subsidies on diesel in mid-2024, and plans to reduce blanket subsidies for RON95 petrol in the middle of this year. Savings on the removal of blanket diesel and petroleum subsidies are expected to be RM7.5bn (link) and RM8bn (link) respectively, which is a meaningful 0.8ppt of GDP. Thailand has also announced that it is exploring plans to improve the country's tax structure, including differentiated VAT taxes (with luxury goods potentially subject to higher rates). We note that in Thailand, despite a generally low VAT tax rate (with VAT rate on most goods at 7%), strong tax administration has led to buoyant VAT collections of 4.9% of GDP, the highest in ASEAN). In Indonesia, the removal of the 1ppt hike in VAT from 11% to 12% for most items (excluding luxury goods) may have a fiscal impact this year of about 0.2ppt of GDP (UBSe).

Medium-term fiscal reform depends on political priorities and tax infrastructure. Thailand is likely to raise some taxes over the medium term (e.g. VAT), while Malaysia and the Philippines could lean more on expenditure rationalization.

Generally, we think infrastructure spending will be less public-driven, and more reliant on private partnerships (PPP) across the region. An additional source of uncertainty on tax revenues is the global minimum tax. Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand have started to implement the global minimum tax (GMT) of 15% from January 2025, higher than the current effective corporate tax rates for MNCs (see details in the text box below).

**Global Minimum Tax: Uncertainty over eventual fiscal impact**

[Singapore](#), [Thailand](#), [Malaysia](#) and [Indonesia](#) announced that the global minimum tax (GMT) rate of 15% would take effect for large multinational corporations (MNCs) from 1 January 2025 onwards, while [the Philippines](#) is engaging with the OECD to discuss the adoption and implementation of GMT. The GMT will be levied on MNCs operating within the jurisdictions with effective tax rate below 15% and whose ultimate parent entities report consolidated revenue of at least EUR750m in at least two out of the four financial years immediately preceding the targeted financial year. The low-taxed jurisdiction has the primary right to collect top-up tax from MNC subsidiaries under the Qualified Domestic Minimum Top-up Tax (QDMTT), otherwise the top-up tax will be levied on its parent entity under the Income Inclusion Rule (IIR). When the parent MNC is located in a low-tax jurisdiction, the top-up tax will be collected by the countries in which other group companies are located.

Although the current corporate income tax rates in the ASEAN-4 are higher than 15%, MNCs often receive tax benefits, thus resulting in the actual effective tax being lower than 15%. A great number of corporates will be affected by the GMT. However, no country in ASEAN has come up with estimates for GMT implications on tax in the medium term. Every country indicates that it will be revenue-neutral or at least that they are planning to offset the tax revenue increases with increased incentives.

[In Singapore, there are about 1,800 MNCs that will be affected by the GMT rules according to the MoF](#). MoF has updated the existing tax regulations to implement DTT (Domestic Top-up Tax or QDMTT) and IIR, but it remains unclear about its implications on the overall tax revenues. Similarly in Malaysia, the relevant rules have been incorporated into [Malaysian tax law](#). Meanwhile, a [new investment incentive framework](#) focused on high-value activities is expected to be implemented in Q3'25, which include tax deduction for MNCs. In Thailand, while the current corporate tax is at 20%, MNCs often receive tax benefits from the BOI. The BOI is currently in the process of issuing additional measures such as tax rebate for R&D of certain categories to compensate impacted companies. We do not expect governments to actively plan for GMT-related revenues to contribute to more expansionary policies, but for just offsetting incentives for investment. In Indonesia, companies in the preferred industries (upstream basic metals, oil and gas refining and chemicals) with investment of at least IDR500bn (USD32.3mn) could get 0% of corporate income tax for up to 20 years, from the normal rate of 22%. [Indonesia MoF suggested that it will extend tax holiday to ensure no disruption on investment](#).

**Figure 17: Major tax rates in ASEAN countries**

	Corporate income tax	Personal income tax*	Value-added tax
Indonesia	22%	35%	11%
Malaysia	24%	30%	Sales tax 10%; service tax 8%
Philippines	25%	35%	12%
Singapore	17%	24%	9%
Thailand	20%	35%	7%

Source: PwC, IRAS. Note: \*Top income bracket.

**4. Why did debt to GDP rise faster in ASEAN?**

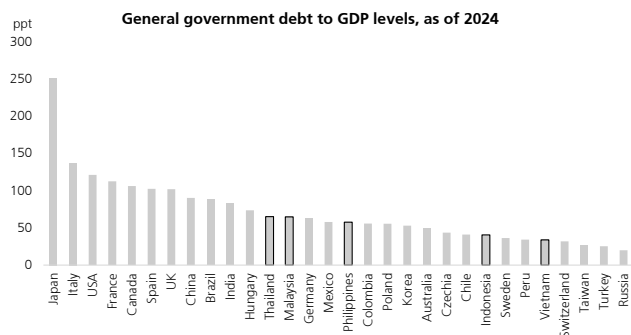
On an absolute basis, government debt to GDP levels are not especially high (averaging 57% in ASEAN-4 vs. the DM/EM average of 110%/70% respectively), but the 16ppt increase on average since 2019 is slightly higher than the EM average of 15%. Within ASEAN, general government debt-to-GDP levels have gone up by 10-20+ppt of GDP since 2019, with more than 95% of the increase during the pandemic years of 2020-22. Thailand (+24ppt) followed by Philippines (+20ppt) had the largest increases, whereas debt-to-GDP went up around 10ppt in Malaysia/Indonesia.

By 2024, debt-to-GDP levels had started to come down in Indonesia, stabilized in Malaysia, and continued to trend upwards in Thailand, and to a lesser extent Philippines. Weaker nominal GDP growth trends, especially in Thailand where it has taken longer to recoup the dent to GDP from tourism, contributed to the fast rise in debt to GDP.

**Government debt to GDP levels have risen 16ppt since 2019, higher than the DM/EM average of 6ppt/15ppt. Weaker nominal GDP growth could have played a role.**

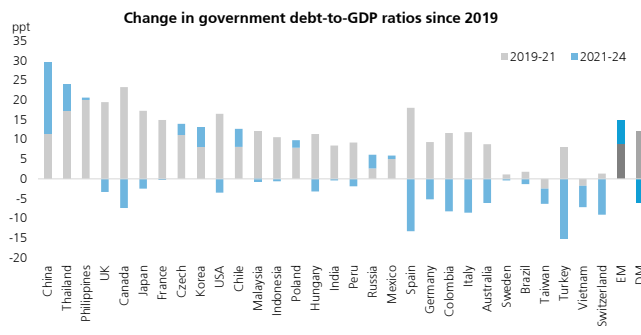


**Figure 18: ASEAN government debt-to-GDP ratios are lower than the global average**



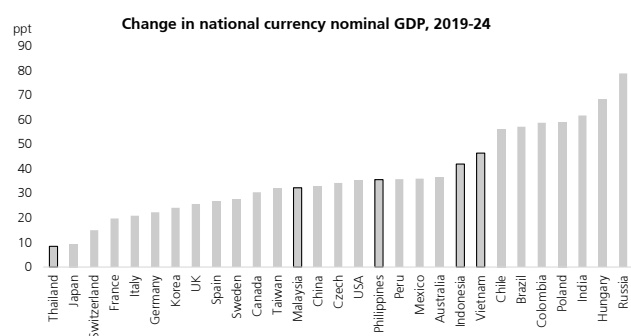
Source: IMF, Haver, UBS estimates. We use general government debt to GDP estimates, which excludes contingent liabilities, government debt guarantees, etc.

**Figure 19: But the increase in debt-to-GDP levels was higher than the global average...**



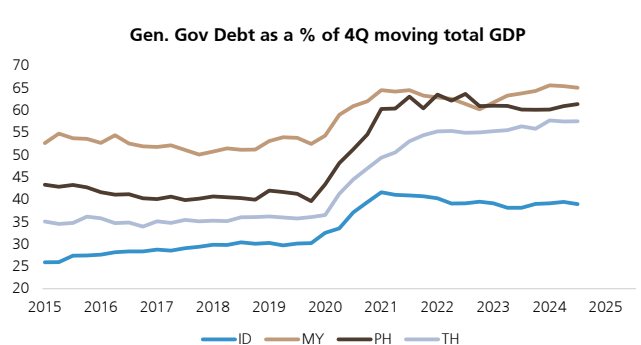
Source: IMF, Haver, UBS estimates

**Figure 20: Partly because of relatively slower nominal GDP growth**



Source: Haver

**Figure 21: Debt-to-GDP levels mostly stabilized or coming down, except in Thailand**

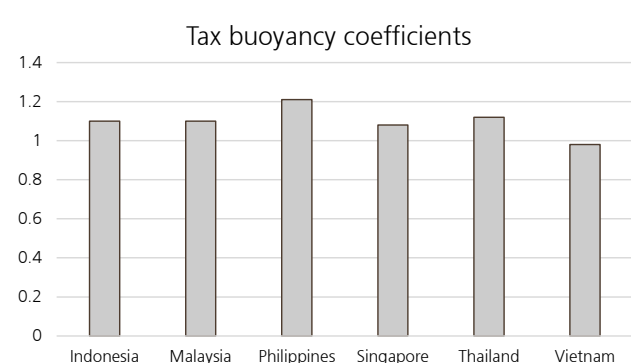


Source: Haver, UBS estimates. \*Excluding non-financial debt of SOEs.

### Lower nominal GDP growth is a challenge for keeping debt burdens low

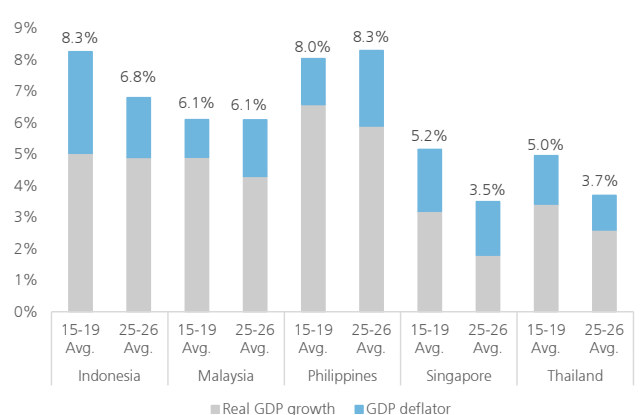
Tax mobilisation has not improved significantly in ASEAN, especially compared to the global average. This is not really a function of poor tax buoyancy, which is higher than 1, but weak nominal growth itself. In a progressive individual or corporate income tax system, effective tax rates rise as the nominal GDP deflator increases. But if inflation has been fairly muted (as was the case in parts of ASEAN, especially Indonesia), this affects tax mobilisation, and the GDP denominator that is a key driver of the economy's debt-carrying capacity.

**Figure 22: Tax buoyancy coefficients are mostly above 1 in ASEAN**



Source: ADB. We show coefficients estimated by ADB "Buoyant or Sinking? Tax Revenue Performance and Prospects in Developing Asia" (2022) using a autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) model.

**Figure 23: Nominal GDP growth is lower in ASEAN now**



Source: Haver, UBS. Note: 2025-26 average are UBS estimates.

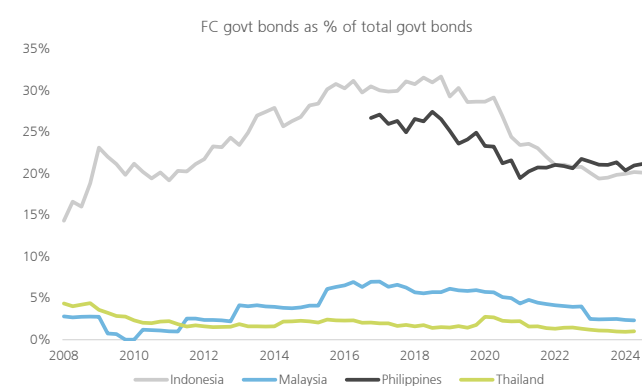


## 5. Where and how might market discipline come in to constrain fiscal choices?

Debt is increasingly issued in local currency and held by domestic investors. Historically, Indonesia and Philippines had issued a larger proportion (25-30%) of their government bonds in foreign currency, even though that proportion has come down from a peak of 30% for Indonesia in 2018, to about 20% today. Still, that means rapid currency depreciation could lead to a spike in debt burdens and refinancing ability in the Philippine and Indonesian economies.

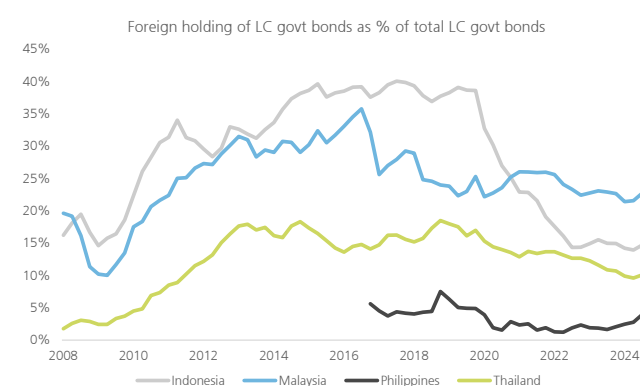
**Indonesia and Philippines more vulnerable to currency depreciation due to higher share of foreign currency denominated debt.**

**Figure 24: A declining proportion of foreign currency government bonds**



Source: ADB

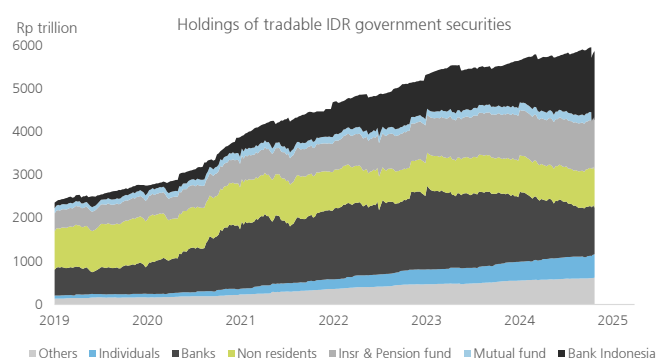
**Figure 25: Declining foreign holdings of total government bonds**



Source: ADB

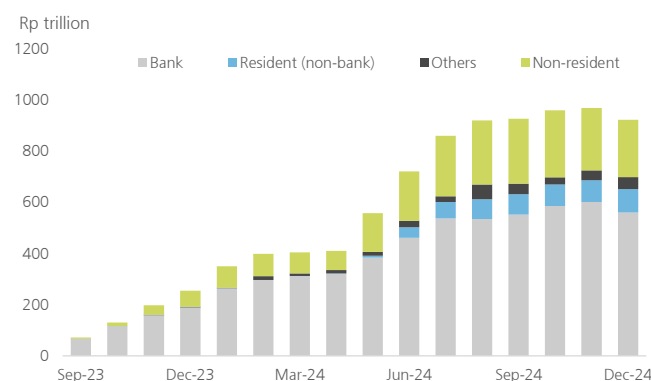
In terms of who owns the debt, across ASEAN, the share of outstanding government debt that is held by foreigners has fallen steadily. The biggest change was in Indonesia, reflecting pandemic bond financing by the central bank over 2020-22, when BI bought about Rp1.3 trillion (7% of 2019 GDP) worth of government bonds. Since 2023, BI has also bought government bonds as collateral for its issuance of SRBI, of which the outstanding stock is Rp560 trillion (2.5% of GDP). For the Philippines, even though most government bonds are held domestically, the share of foreign ownership has increased more sharply in recent years from a low base.

**Figure 26: Holdings of tradable IDR government securities**



Source: Haver

**Figure 27: Bank Indonesia Rupiah Securities (SRBI) by holder**

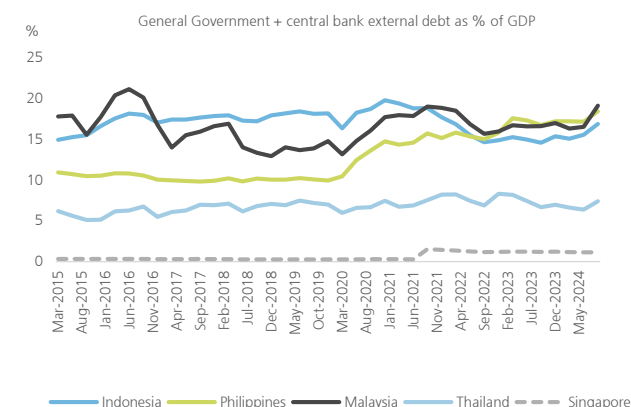


Source: Haver

Total external debt would be a more comprehensive gauge of external liability risks, as it includes the private sector as well. In this regard, Singapore's external debt level is extremely high (400% of GDP), although that is almost all held by the private sector. The Singapore government itself has zero external debt. The Philippines general government external debt has risen from 10% in 2019 to 18% of GDP as of 2024, which is higher than what the low foreign ownership ratios of government bonds would suggest. The

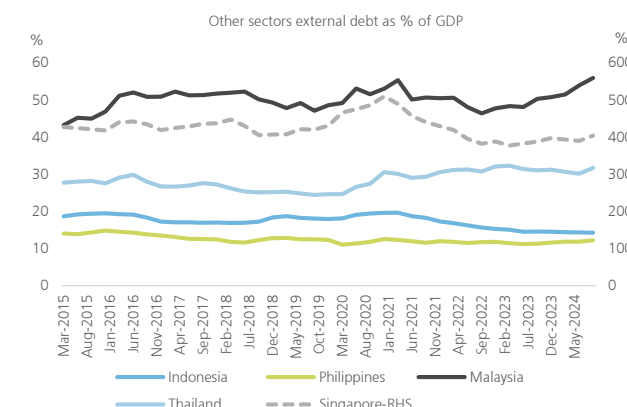
difference likely reflects government loans from multilateral organizations (e.g. ADB). Still, because of low private sector external debt, overall external vulnerabilities in the Philippines may not be that high. For Philippines and Indonesia, total external debt (government + private sector) is about 30% of GDP as of Q3 2024. Malaysia's private sector external debt tends to be higher than the rest of ASEAN (except Singapore), although that is partly due to intra-group lending from foreign parent institutions.

**Figure 28: General government and central bank external debt as % of GDP**



Source: Haver, World Bank

**Figure 29: Private sector external debt as % of GDP**



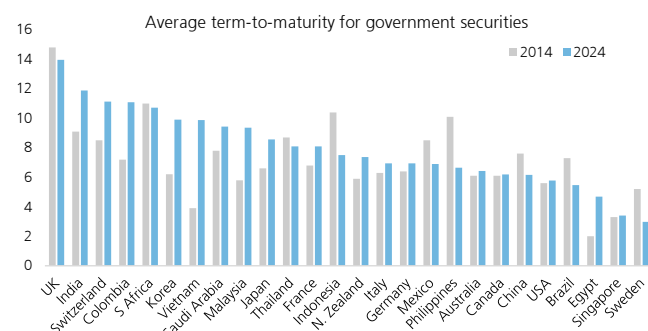
Source: Haver, World Bank

Since 2019, debt maturities have lengthened for Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam, but shortened for Indonesia, Philippines and Singapore. It is shortest for Singapore (3.4 years), followed by Philippines (6.7 years) and Indonesia (7.5 years). Debt maturities are longer in Thailand (8.1 years), Malaysia (9.4 years) and Vietnam (9.9 years). It would make sense for government debt maturities to lengthen slightly more in countries where interest rates have been relatively stable, possibly reflecting a desire to lock in rates at fairly low levels. Conversely, where rates have gone up particularly fast, it would make sense for governments to issue shorter maturity debt, if they expect rates to come down soon. That said, it is interesting that given Indonesia's relatively stable yield curve, that the term-to-maturity has come down. Bond yields in Indonesia have gone up far less than its policy rate, partly reflecting larger central bank bond purchases.

For Indonesia and Philippines, shortened maturity could mean that debt repayment as a % of GDP will go up and is a bigger drag on fiscal than thought, as long as rates remain high. This constrains how much fiscal room there would be should rates remain high. We expect four rate cuts from both BI and BSP this year, and for 10Y bond yields to fall about 90bp from current levels by the end of 2025. Monetary policy has been tighter than low inflation and growth warrants in these two economies, as shown by their high real rates (91%/100% percentile of historical levels at present). Between Philippines and Indonesia, because of the higher starting point of debt to GDP, debt financing costs in the former could be more sensitive to bond yields.

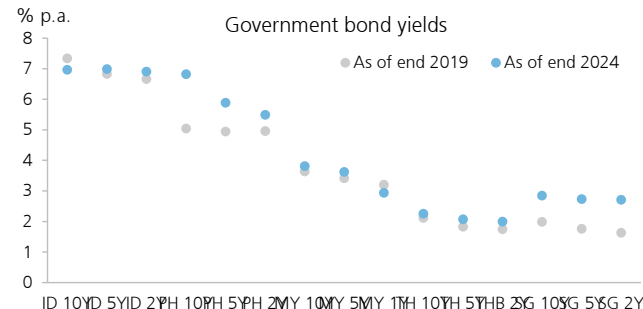
**Indonesia and Philippines might be more challenged by currency depreciation and higher rates, and greater reliance on external financing. Still, we don't see a sell-off as imminent.**

**Figure 30: Term-to-maturity for government securities**



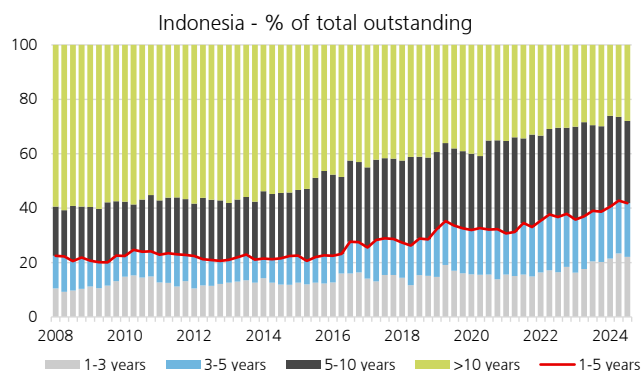
Source: IMF Fiscal Monitor database, Haver

**Figure 31: Bond yields in ASEAN-5**



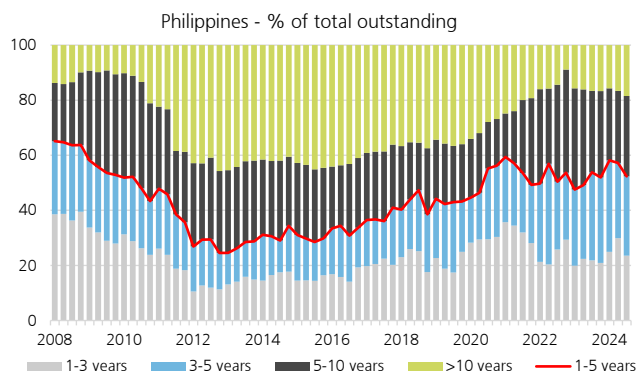
Source: Bloomberg

**Figure 32: Government bond maturity profile - Indonesia**



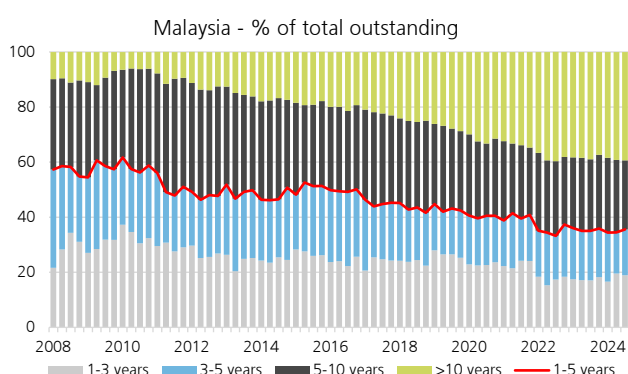
Source: ADB. Includes central and local governments, central bank and SOE bonds.

**Figure 33: Government bond maturity profile - Philippines**



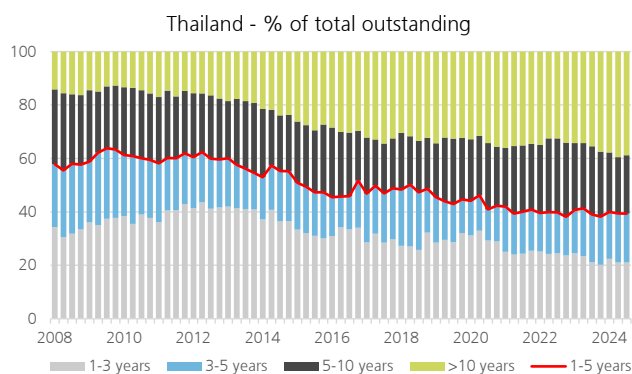
Source: ADB. Includes central and local governments, central bank and SOE bonds.

**Figure 34: Government bond maturity profile - Malaysia**



Source: ADB. Includes central and local governments, central bank and SOE bonds.

**Figure 35: Government bond maturity profile - Thailand**



Source: ADB. Includes central and local governments, central bank and SOE bonds.

### Fiscal credibility is important in order to maximise the impact of fiscal policy

Fiscal policy serves multiple functions. It is primarily a redistributive tool, with taxes used to provide public goods. It also serves a countercyclical role in smoothing business cycles. Many governments are incentivized to use fiscal policy as a medium-term capacity building tool, for example via industrial policy or to 'crowd in' private investments. Occasionally, the political economy rationale dominates, leading governments to focus on narrow political rather than broad economic/social objectives. Ultimately, fiscal policy's ability to achieve these goals depends on fiscal credibility. For instance, if firms and households anticipate future tax burdens resulting from government policy (Ricardian equivalence), this could limit the policy's impact on aggregate demand. Also, bond and FX markets price in market expectations of fiscal solvency over the long term, which means that fiscal reforms and willingness to keep to a reasonable deficit path would help keep risk premia low, and aids fiscal policy's ability to stimulate short or even medium-term growth.

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