

Towards a Fair Tax Policy for Families

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Home and Work'

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Taxing families

Any tax/welfare transfer affects behaviour –
no neutral tax policy for families

Tax impact on families should attempt to:

- **Strengthen 'horizontal equity'** (i.e. Tax varies by how many people depend on an income)
- **Reinforce family self-reliance** (i.e. Family

Traditional tax policy delivered all three

The Norm

Married parents, rare divorce, one income

The Government's role

- support widows and children who lose breadwinner
- ensure earnings are sufficient to support family

Core family policy

Based on the horizontal equity principle

The more people who depend on a wage, the less tax should be deducted from it. Hence:

- A personal tax allowance to cover the worker's own subsistence;
- A married man's allowance to cover his wife's subsistence;
- Child tax allowances to cover subsistence costs of children

Any top-up payments were flat rate because all children have some basic needs (also avoids work disincentives)

Horizontal equity (a) Why should we help with costs of dependent children?

- Prevent child poverty (adults can fend for themselves; children cannot) – but should be done thru welfare
- Compensate parents for ‘public goods’ benefit of producing children (stop free-riding) – but they are a private good too
- **Key point:** Parents are required by law to

Horizontal equity (b): Why should we help with costs of dependent spouse?

- Every adult has a right to tax-free subsistence allowance
- An adult who stops working to raise a child loses this 'income', but must still be supported
- A married couple's allowance recognises this: married couples can opt for separate or joint taxation

The 'Great Disruption' (Fukuyama)

- Decline of marriage, increased cohabitation, increased divorce and separation
- Increased ex-nuptial births (UK=40%, mainly different addresses)
- Result: 27 % families with children have only one parent

Reduced family self-reliance as sole parenting is rarely sustainable:

- 40% lone parents do no work, few work FT: those with children under 5: 10% FT, 19% PT, 70% none (cf 7% couples)
- 63% lone parents with 2 children rely on government for ½+ of income, c.f. 8% of couple parents with 2 children
- % of household income sourced from own efforts (averages):
couples with children= 90%; sole parents = 42%

Great Disruption > attack on trad family policy

Economic (vertical) equality arguments:

- Tax breaks 'unfair' on single parents and welfare families (*but they get welfare*)
- Tax breaks 'unfairly' help higher rate taxpayers more (*but they pay more too*)

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Gender equality (feminist) arguments:

- Married allowance 'demeans women' (*but it's voluntary, and can be claimed by either spouse*) and discriminates against cohabitees (*but no proof of sustained mutual support for cohabitees; marry to qualify*)
- Tax allowances claimed mainly by men – relies on intra-family redistribn (*but strong families = autonomous decision-making*)

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Economic efficiency arguments (OECD/EU/etc):

- Get more women into the labour force to solve ageing pop problem

New 'family policy' emphasises vertical, not horizontal, equity

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- 1975 Child allowance capitalised into Child Benefit
- 2000 Married couple's allowance scrapped

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Horizontal equity moves to the welfare system (so-called 'tax' credits)

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BUT

(1) welfare focus is **vertical, not horizontal**, equity:

Neglect of horizontal equity > blatant unfairness

- Family on £30K pa pays £100.66 tax pw if 1 earner, £74.40 if split between 2 (IFS 2007). Yet their needs are identical
- Shows up in cross-national comparisons:
 - One-earner family on average wage pays 25% more income tax in UK than EU average (40% more than OECD average)
- Shows up in historical comparisons:
 - Single person on average wage pays same % of

But didn't tax credits compensate for loss of tax allowances?

Tax 'credits' are really welfare benefits:

- Paid weekly/monthly
- Claimed by principal carer, not earner
- Paid even if nobody working (child tax credit)

So CTC is a means-tested additional Child Benefit

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The fact that it is *means-tested* is crucial:

- **Reduces horizontal equity** (similar families

The loss of horizontal equity:

International comparisons (single income couples with & without children)

*Earnings as % of
average wage*

0 50 100 150 200

**Strong horizontal
equity:**

Germany 9 9

The loss of self-reliance

(How new tax policy created 5.5m middle class welfare dependents)

Equivalised disposable income

decile

	Bottom	2nd	3rd	
4th	5th	6th	7th	
8th	9th	Top		

Average £ p.a.

<i>Original income</i>		5205	8608	
15708	21332	26599	33324	40922

How do other countries do it?

- **Radical individualist** (no family tax pooling): UK, Hungary, Mexico, Greece
- **Partially individualised** (separate taxation of spouses, but unused allowances can be transferred to partner): DK, Netherlands
- **Joint tax option** (married couples can file singly or jointly – couples get higher allowance): USA, Aus, Ire (+ UK pre 2000)
- **Pooled income schemes:**

Ger: Pool income, halve it, tax each half separately

Fr: Divide total h/hold income among all members (children = 0.5), then apply tax and multiple up

What should be done?

Restore family policy as distinct from welfare policy

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 - couples with dep kids only?
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- Maintain principle of universal, flat-rate child benefit for working families (possibly front load?)
- Reform tax credits
 - end couple penalty?