

# **Towards a Fair Tax Policy for Families**

Peter Saunders

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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*)
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## *Economic efficiency arguments (OECD/EU/etc):*

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

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Everyone taxed as autonomous individual

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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
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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*

	<b>Bottom</b>	<b>2nd</b>	<b>3rd</b>	
<b>4th</b>	<b>5th</b>	<b>6th</b>	<b>7th</b>	
<b>8th</b>	<b>9th</b>	<b>Top</b>		

*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

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