

#### **Reforming Council Tax Benefit**

Stuart Adam, IFS

Yorkshire & Humber Finance Directors' Network meeting The Orangery, Wakefield, 2 July 2012

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## Council Tax Benefit – the key facts

- 5.9 million recipients
  - More than any other means-tested benefit or tax credit
  - But only two-thirds of those entitled to it
- £4.9 billion total cost
  - 2.4% of total benefit and tax credit expenditure
  - £15.69 per claimant per week is not large relative to other benefits
- 85% of CTB goes to the lower-income half of households
  - And half goes to the lowest-income fifth of households
- Maximum entitlement is the household's council tax bill
  - Reduced by 20p per £1 of net income above a threshold
  - Two thirds of claimants 'passported' to full entitlement by receipt of another benefit
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# The policy

- CTB will be abolished from April 2013
- LAs in England, and the Scottish and Welsh governments, given grants to run their own rebate schemes instead
  - But pensioners in England will get current, nationally set, entitlements
- Grants based on 90% of what unreformed CTB would have cost in each area
- Free to spend more or less than these grants on rebate schemes



## **Consequences of localisation**

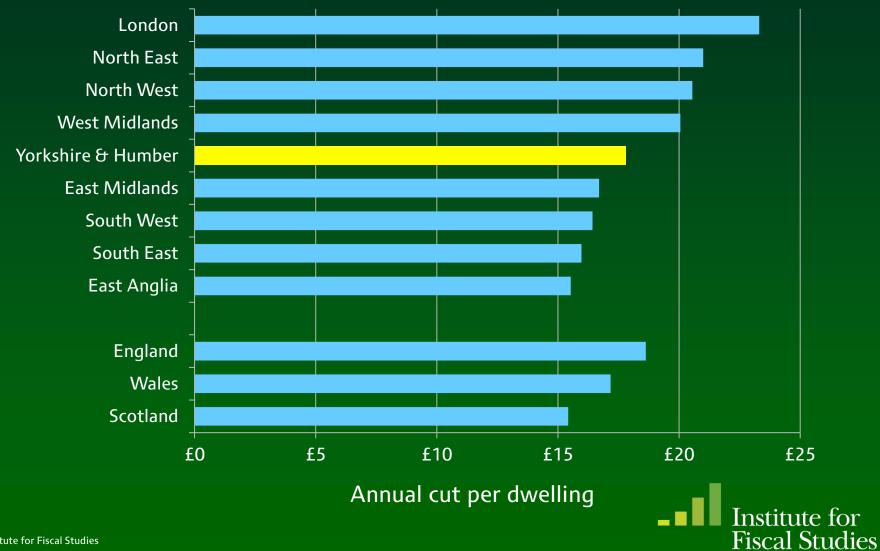
- 1. Variation in schemes across areas
  - Allows LAs to pursue local priorities and to learn from each other
  - But increases bureaucracy and reduces transparency
- 2. LAs will receive fixed grants instead of having actual costs refunded
  - Adds risk to LA finances
  - An incentive for LAs to reduce the cost of rebates whether by promoting employment more, promoting take-up less, or discouraging claimants from living in the area
- 3. In two-tier areas, an incentive for district councils to focus disproportionately on minimising admin costs



## Scale of the cuts

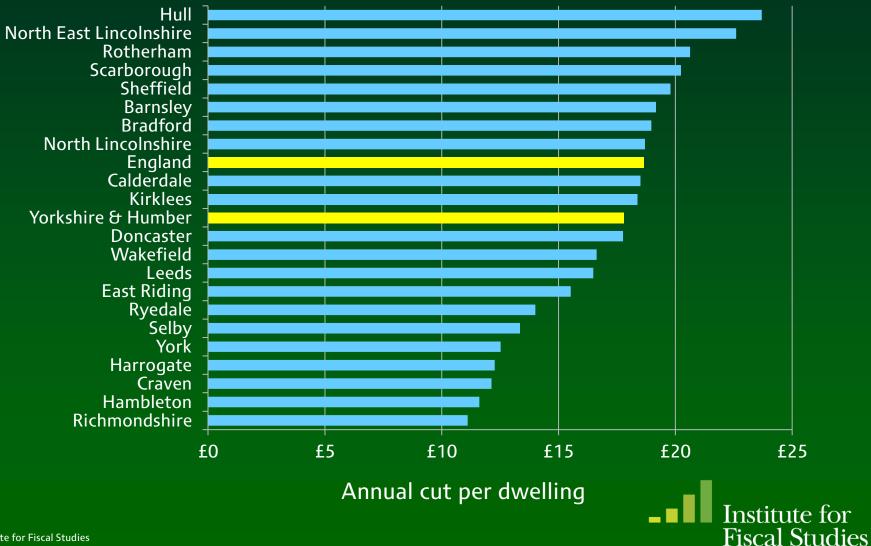
- Funding being cut by £480m per year: £19 per household
- But not £19 per household everywhere
  - Cut proportional to spending on CTB

## Annual funding cut per dwelling, by region



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## Annual funding cut per dwelling in Y&H, by LA



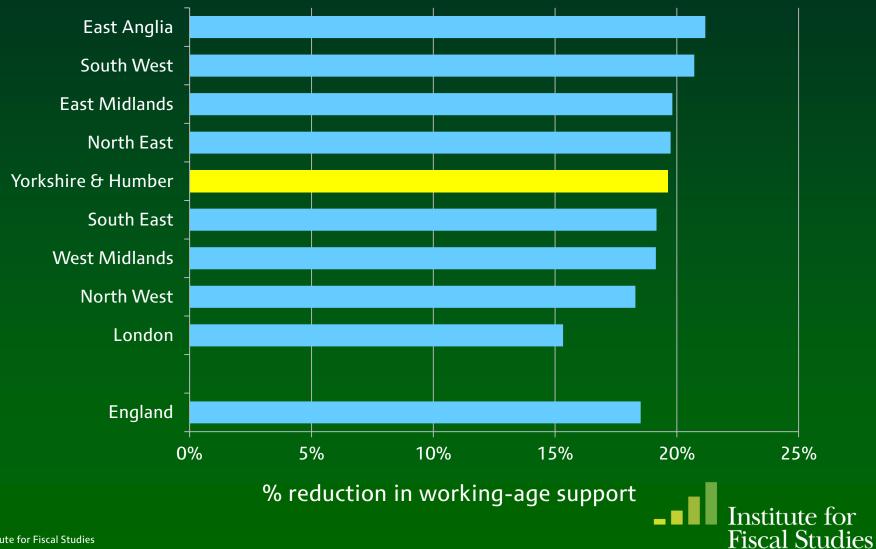
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#### Scale of the cuts

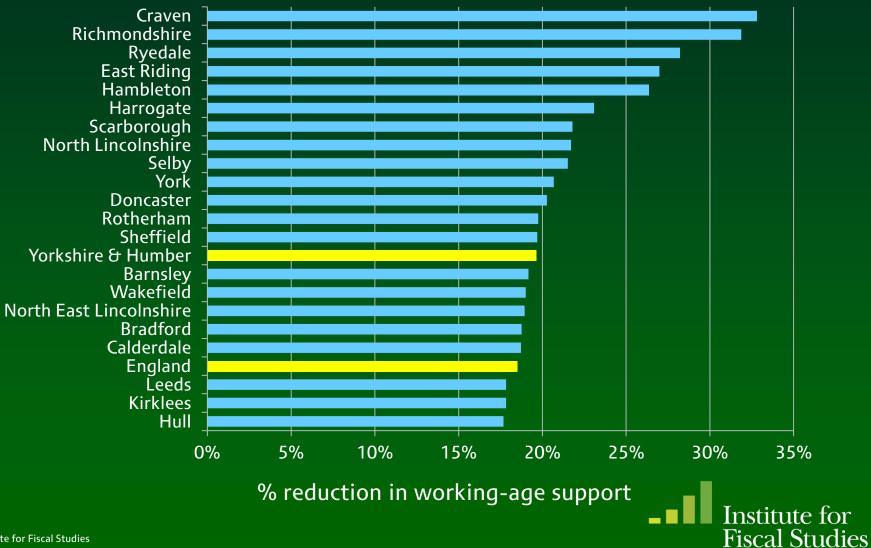
- Funding being cut by £480m per year: £19 per household
- But not £19 per household everywhere
  - Cut proportional to spending on CTB
- No obligation to spend exactly the amount of the grant on rebates
- If protect all entitlements, would require savings elsewhere:
  - 1.9% increase in council tax rates or 0.4% cut in local service spending
- If don't find any savings elsewhere:
  - 19% cut in support for working-age claimants on average
  - Higher where pensioners account for a larger share of CTB



#### Cuts in working-age support, by region Assuming cuts fully passed on to claimants



#### Cuts in working-age support in Y&H, by LA Assuming cuts fully passed on to claimants



## The challenge for local authorities

- The timescale for introduction is very tight
  - Agreeing on draft proposals
  - Two separate consultations
  - Technical implementation issues
  - Schemes must be finalised by 31 January 2013
- LAs have little experience or expertise in designing means tests
- Government hopes new rebate schemes will protect the vulnerable, support work incentives and fit alongside Universal Credit



#### Some options for local authorities

We look in detail at 8 reforms, of 4 types:

- Reducing support for all claimants
- Reducing support for those in higher-band properties
- Means-testing more aggressively
- Reducing the single-person discount in council tax
  - Not an option available to LAs, but one for central government to consider

Protecting groups beyond pensioners would reduce savings from these



#### Reducing support for all claimants

- 1) Reduce all entitlements by 17% *saves 9.8% in Y&H*
- 2) Only refund 85% of council tax liability *saves 9.3% in Y&H*
- The most regressive of the options we consider
- Requires LAs to collect some council tax from those with the lowest incomes
  - Poll tax experience suggests this might be difficult
- Strengthens work incentives, particularly for those with the weakest incentives at the moment



### Reducing support for those in high-band properties

- 3) Restrict support to that for Band B property saves 0.7% in Y&H
- 4) Remove entitlement from Bands D and above *saves 0.9% in Y&H*
- 'High-band properties' will mean different things in different areas!
- Affects those living in more expensive properties
  - Tend to be families with children
  - Less regressive than reducing support for all claimants
- Requires collecting council tax from some with very low incomes

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- Though living in expensive properties: how 'poor' are they?
- Strengthens work incentives for those affected
- Affects incentives to occupy bigger properties



## Means-testing more aggressively

- 5) Increase withdrawal rate to 30% *saves* 1.5% in Y&H
- 6) Support only passported claimants *saves 13.6% in Y&H*
- 7) Count Child Benefit as income for means test *saves 1.6% in Y&H*
- Protects the poorest claimants
  - Low-to-middle income lose the most, esp. working lone parents
- Ambiguous effects on work incentives
  - Unlike previous reforms which unambiguously strengthened them
- But saves full 10% only if so severe that some people made worse off by a pay rise



#### Reducing the single person discount in council tax

8) Reduce discount to 17.5% *raises equivalent of 8.0% in Y&H* 

- Most of the revenue comes from higher income groups
  - Those on CTB protected: rebate rises to cover additional liability
  - Though non-take-up  $\rightarrow$  lowest-income tenth lose most as % of income
- Slightly weakens incentive to work for single people
- Encourages more efficient use of housing stock
  - Discount encourages single people to live in more expensive properties



# **Universal Credit**

- Being phased in between October 2013 and December 2017
- Replacing six of the seven main means-tested benefits for those of working age
  - Income Support, income-based Jobseeker's Allowance, income-based Employment and Support Allowance, Housing Benefit, Child Tax Credit and Working Tax Credit
- CTB is the seventh
- Two key advantages are simplifying the system and rationalising work incentives
  - Keeping council tax rebates separate definitely undermines the first
  - How much it undermines the second depends on choices LAs make



# Integrating council tax rebates with Universal Credit

Universal Credit raises two key issues for designing council tax rebates:

- 1. Count Universal Credit as income in the means test?
- 2. What to do about passporting when separate out-of-work benefits disappear?



#### Should UC count as income for the means test?

- Some benefits being replaced by UC currently count as income while others do not, so some change is inevitable
- The choice will have several important implications
  - Simplicity
  - Work incentives
  - Treatment of unearned income and childcare
- Question irrelevant if rebates run out before UC withdrawal starts
  - i.e. withdraw rebates rapidly from first £1 of income...
  - ...and to avoid overlap completely, limit maximum entitlement a big cut for single people without children
  - This would save more than 10% on its own



#### Passporting under Universal Credit

- Currently two-thirds of CTB claimants are passported on to full CTB through receipt of an out-of-work means-tested benefit
  - Income Support or income-based JSA or ESA
- These benefits will be abolished when Universal Credit is introduced
  - No obvious 'yes/no' indicator to give some people maximum rebate
- Requiring all these claimants to go through a full means test would significantly increase burden for claimants and local authorities
- One way to mitigate this would be for DWP to share information from Universal Credit claims with local authorities
  - Contains the information needed to calculate council tax rebate entitlement
  - But transferring data to LAs would only add to the complexity of an already difficult IT project for DWP



## Conclusions

- Localisation has advantages but adds complexity to the system
  - And gives LAs undesirable incentives as well as desirable ones
- LAs must decide whether to pass on cut in funding to claimants or find savings elsewhere
  - Schemes that save full 10% tend to require collecting small amounts of council tax from those with very low incomes
  - To save full 10% while protecting poorest, means test must be so severe that some people would be worse off after a pay rise
- LAs also need to consider the complex question of how their rebate schemes will work alongside Universal Credit





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