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David Sturrock, IFS and UCL Drawing on work with Arun Advani

12th December 2023

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The economics of taxing wealth transfers



Economic and Social Research Council

Context and motivation



- Perennial discussion of inheritance tax reform
 - Rumoured cut/abolition did not materialise in Autumn Statement
 - Will it be a Budget or election issue?
- There is a strong case to reform IHT (and wealth transfer taxation)
 - A range of exemptions, unequal treatments in the system
 - As inheritances grow, more important to get taxation right



Inheritance tax without reform

Inheritance tax basics



Tax base:

- Estate left at death (excluding that left to spouse or civil partner)
- Gifts in the last 7 years before death
- Allowances:
 - 'Nil rate band' is £325,000
 - 'Residence nil rate band' is £175,000 (for house passed to 'direct descendants')
 - Unused portions of allowances can be passed to spouse or civil partner
- 40% tax rate above allowances

Currently inheritance tax is small

Around 5½% of people have inheritance tax due on their death

- Up from long run average of 4%
- 9% of people have IHT due on their or their partner's death
- It is fiscally small, raising £7bn (0.3% GDP)
 - Though set to grow rapidly and double by 2032-33

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Inheritance tax is set to grow rapidly



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Over 80% of IHT revenues come from "IIIFS the wealthiest fifth at death

Average inheritance tax paid (LHS) and share of revenues paid (RHS) by wealth ventile of donor



Source: Figure 1, of Arun Advani and David Sturrock (2023b)



Problems and recommendations

Problems with the current design of IHT

1. Special treatment of some assets:

- Business and agricultural reliefs
- Pension pots outside of estates
- Residence nil-rate band
- 2. Special treatment given to some transfers:
 - Giving that is 'normal expenditure out of income' is exempt
 - 'Taper relief' for gifts is oddly designed
 - Charity exemption and reduced rate if bequeath more than 10%

3. Spousal exemption:

May allow some wealthy individuals to avoid IHT

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Recommendations



- 1. Abolish (or else cap) business relief and agricultural relief
- 2. Treat defined contribution pension pots as taxable
- 3. Abolish the 'residence nil-rate band', and increase 'nil-rate band'
- 4. Rationalise the treatment of gifts

Related recommendations on taxation at death:

- 1. Don't wipe out capital gains at death
- 2. Charge income tax on withdrawals from inherited pension pots (regardless of age of deceased)



Revenue and distributional effects of reforms

Revenue effects of reforms



- **1.** Abolish business relief
 - £1.4bn revenue (higher than HMRC estimate)
 - Funds cut in rate to ~34% or NRB of £415k
 - 80% of benefit achieved by capping at £500k per person
- 2. Abolish agricultural relief
 - £400m revenue
- **3.** Bring pension pots into inheritance tax
 - £200m revenue now, rising over time
- 4. Abolish residence nil rate band and raise nil rate band to £500k
 - £700m cost

Combining 1+3+4 could fund NRB of £525k or rate of 25%

IHT paid as a percentage of wealth IIIFS bequeathed (ex first deaths in couples)



Source: Figure 7.10, 'Reforming inheritance tax' from IFS Green Budget 2023, Arun Advani and David Sturrock, IFS Report R275

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Summary

- Inheritances and IHT revenues are set to grow quickly over time
- Abolishing IHT would be £1m tax cut on average for wealthiest 1%
- Scrapping business and agricultural reliefs and bringing pensions into estates would raise taxes on the largest estates
 - Could fund public spending or raising tax-free threshold to £500k
- Treatment of gifts should be rationalised
- CGT step-up at death should be ended
- Wider questions about the structure of taxation of wealth transfers remain

Key questions in the design of wealth transfer taxes



- **1.** Which assets should be included?
 - Strong fairness and efficiency case for treating all assets equally
- 2. How should lifetime gifts be treated?
 - Strong case from anti-avoidance for taxing gifts near to death
- 3. Tax levied on giver or receiver?
 - If inequalities among receivers is motivation, suggests receiver
- 4. Transfers between whom?
 - Room for principled disagreement on spousal exemption
 - Should cohabiting partners be treated the same as spouses?
- 5. What should the rates and thresholds be?
 - Depends on view on inequalities vs impact on saving/avoidance
 - Saving not very sensitive to tax rate but avoidance probably is

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