



CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic
Policy Analysis

Capital Tax Reform in the Netherlands?

*Towards a more uniform taxation
of capital income*

CPB Policy Brief September 2015

Arjan Lejour, Maarten van 't Riet

EC seminar November 23, 2015



Summary

- Current taxation of capital income in the NL is a mixed bag:
it is complex, fragmented and unequal
- This leads to tax arbitrage and distortions of decisions
of households and firms concerning wealth and capital
- With a number of steps the divergent treatment
of different forms of capital income can be made more uniform
- This would curb tax arbitrage, contribute to economic welfare,
and reduce the sensitivity of households and firms
to the swings of the business cycle
- Six steps are identified – some of them are modest reforms
- others involve a more major overhaul of the tax system



Different forms of capital income:

- returns to savings – interest
 - pension income

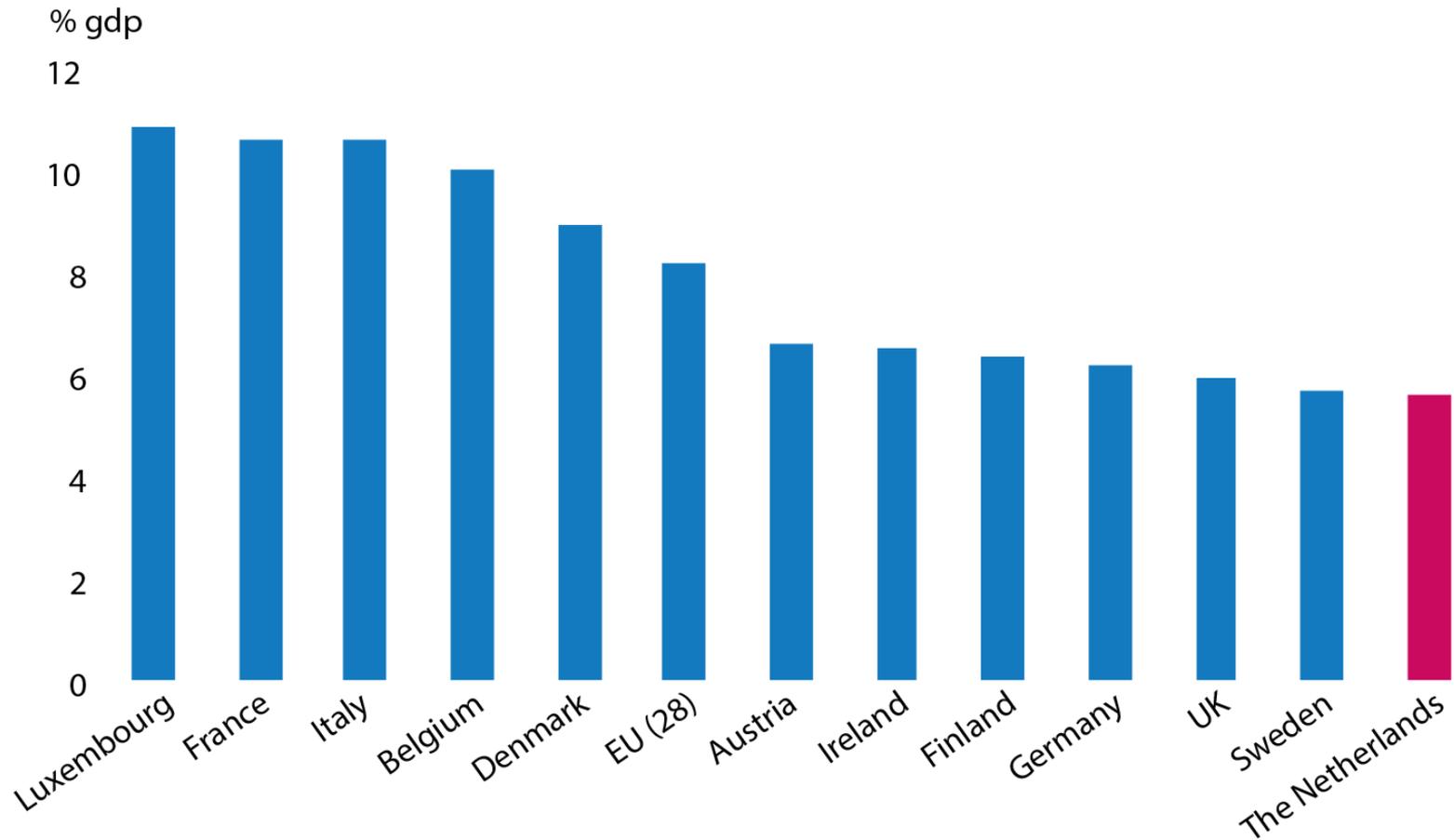
 - rents, royalties
 - owner-occupied housing*

 - returns to equity – dividends
 - returns to debt – interest
 - profits of closely-held business

 - capital gains
 - wealth transfers – bequests and inheritances
- * other real estate, and objects of art and jewelry – *not discussed*



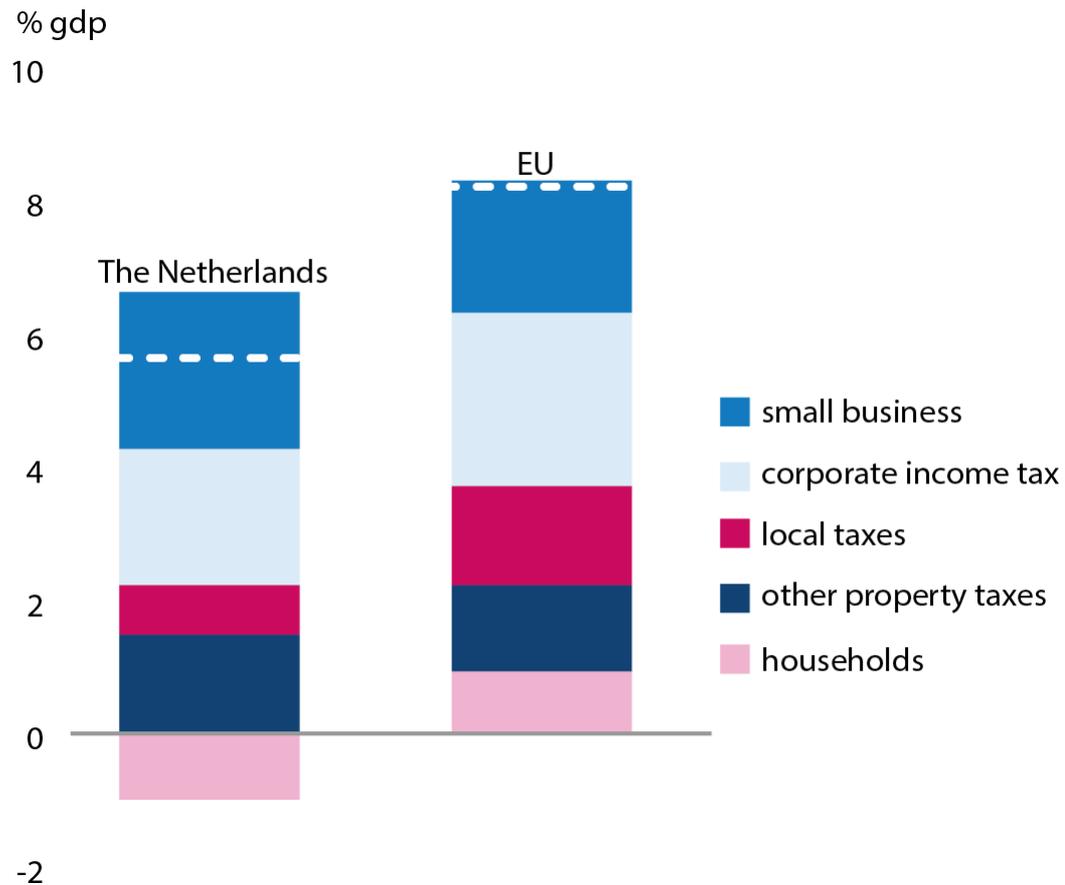
Low revenues of capital taxes in NL compared to EU





Idiosyncrasies of the Dutch tax system I

mortgage interest tax reduction makes net capital tax revenue on households negative





Idiosyncrasies of the Dutch Tax System II

- System of Boxes since Tax Reform of 2001
- Box 1: labour and pension income
progressively taxed, top rate = 52%
- Box 2: dividend income of owners (>5%) of corporations
flat tax of 25% (on top of CIT)
- Box 3: “capital gains tax”
flat tax of 30% on a fixed, fictitious, return of 4%
therefore *de facto* a wealth tax of 1.2%

with low realized returns effective tax rates may exceed 100%
- Higher realized returns to larger capitals make Box 3 a regressive tax (CPB, 2015)



Divergent treatment of different forms of capital income I

Who?	Components	Profit	Interest	Dividend	Capital gains	Transfer	Property
Households	Savings		0	15 ¹	0	10-40	1.2 box 3
	House		-42; -51	42; 52	0	2; 10-40	0.13
	Pension		0	-17	0		0
	> 100k		0	0 ⁶	0		0
Small business owners (sbo)	Equity	42; 52	0		42; 52	*	1.2
	Debt	42; 52 box 1	-42; -52				
	Pension		0	-17			0
Sbo-corporated			0	25	25 box 2	*	1.2
	Pension		0	..			0
Corporations	Equity	20; 25	0		0		0
	Debt	20; 25 CIT	-20; -25				



Divergent treatment of different forms of capital income II

- savings: box 3 – fictitious return
- owner-occupied housing: mortgage interest tax deductible (*HRA*), imputed rental income is taxed (*EFW*), net remains a huge subsidy
- pension savings: Exempt-Exempt-Taxed but also subsidy
- no taxation of capital gains (but for *DGA's*)
- interest payments deductible (debt is tax favoured over equity)
- retained profits not taxed: lock-in effect
- double taxation of owners of small corporations (*DGA's*) CIT and PIT



Tax all capital income – as uniform as possible

- alternative based on Optimal Tax Theory and Mirrlees Review (UK, 2010/11)?
- one view: capital income tax is double taxation = inefficient
 - Atkinson & Stiglitz (1978), Chamley, Judd, ..
- recent: some taxation of capital income is optimal given objective of income redistribution and distortionary effect of labour taxation
 - Diamond & Saez (2011), Jacobs (2013), ..
- different forms of capital are transferable, e.g. personal savings (of *DGA*) can be made equity in closely held corporation, etc.
- avoid tax arbitrage:
 - i) tax all capital income
 - ii) as uniform as possible



Six steps towards a more uniform taxation of capital income

- i. tax savings and capital gains based on actual returns
- ii. reduce fiscal subsidy on pension savings
- iii. tax owner-occupied housing as a capital component
- iv. tax equity and debt more equal
- v. tax distributed and retained profits more equal
- vi. reduce double taxation of profit income



i. tax savings and capital gains based on actual returns

- eventually tax actual returns – equitable, not pro-cyclical
- a tax on interest, dividend and capital gains, not a wealth tax
- administratively difficult?
 - most countries have a form capital gains tax (see Jacobs, 2015)
 - banks etc. can provide most information
 - some areas remain difficult
- Dutch political context: (*belastingplan*) 5 billion Euro cut in labour taxes
 - but progressive wealth tax? (3 fixed fictitious rates of return)



ii. reduce fiscal subsidy on pension savings

- pension savings tax favoured: EET and *AOW*-exemption for pensioners
- leads to substantial personal wealth in illiquid savings
- leave EET – treatment in tact but ‘fiscalise’ *AOW*,
 - i.e. let pensioners also pay *AOW* – contributions
 - (speed up the pace of the ‘fiscalisation’)
 - and lower the threshold of the EET - treatment



iii. tax owner-occupied housing as capital component

- house is consumption and investment
- favourable fiscal treatment: mortgage interest deduction
- has led to substantial household debt (mortgage) and high housing prices
- households vulnerable to shocks in the economy
- reform: value of house minus debt to be treated as savings, i.e. box 3
- accompanying reforms of rental market and end of transaction tax
- combined a considerable welfare gain (CPB, **: 8.7 billion euro)
- in most plans some tax deduction for own house
probably an important detail



iv. tax equity and debt more equal

- most countries have favourable tax treatment of debt over equity:
interest payments deductible, firms more debt financed
- also firms more vulnerable to economic shocks
- more stringent thin capitalization rules
- more symmetric treatment of debt and equity:
ACE = allowance for corporate equity
CBIT = comprehensive business income tax

latter option still taxes the normal return to capital

consequences in the international arena – mobility of capital



v. tax distributed and retained profits more equal

- distributed profits (and sales of equity) are taxed in box 2 (*DGA's*)
- retained profits are not: tax deferral / lock-in effect

- avoiding taxation all together? emigration, business transfers to children?
- waiting for a tax holiday? (2007 and 2014, from 25% to 22%)

- three possible reforms
 - *Van Dijkhuizen*: yearly tax on fictitious return, then upon distribution (or sales) settle with realized return
 - Final withholding tax: no tax at personal level, i.e. PIT
[several European countries]
 - Dual Income Tax (DIT): reverse tax order [Nordic countries]
first tax capital income (flat) then labour income (progressive)



Possible reforms of taxing *DGA* - income

	Current situation	Van Dijkhuizen	End of box 2	Dual income tax
Owner salary	Box 1 PIT	Box 1 PIT	Box 1 PIT	
Profit	CIT	CIT	CIT	CIT
Retained profit		Withholding	Final withholding	Withholding
Distributed profit	Box 2 PIT	Box 2 PIT (- withholding)		Box 1 PIT (- withholding / CIT)



vi. reduce double taxation of profit income

- profit income is taxed twice: CIT and Box 2 (PIT)
- when routes for tax avoidance all together are closed
- and when distributed and retained profits are taxed more equal
- then double taxation could be reduced
- for instance with a lower rate in Box 2
- needs careful examination ...



Outline of a more uniform taxation of capital income

Who?	Components	Profit	Interest	Dividend	Capital gains	Transfer	Property
Households	Savings		30	15	30	10-40	0
	House		-30	30	30	10-40	0.13
	Pension		0	0	0		0
	<i>above treshold</i>		30	15	30		0
Small business owners (sbo)	Equity	42; 52	0		30	*	0
	Debt	42; 52 box 1	0				
	Pension		30	15	30		0
Sbo-corporated			0	15	15 box 2	*	0
	Pension		30	15	30		0
Coporations	Equity	25	0				0
	Debt	25 CIT	0				



Current divergent treatment of different forms – compare!

Who?	Components	Profit	Interest	Dividend	Capital gains	Transfer	Property
Households	Savings		0	15 ¹	0	10-40	1.2 box 3
	House		-42; -51	42; 52	0	2; 10-40	0.13
	Pension		0	-17	0		0
	> 100k		0	0 ⁶	0		0
Small business owners (sbo)	Equity	42; 52	0		42; 52	*	1.2
	Debt	42; 52 box 1	-42; -52				
	Pension		0	-17			0
Sbo-corporated			0	25	25 box 2	*	1.2
	Pension		0	..			0
Corporations	Equity	20; 25	0		0		0
	Debt	20; 25 CIT	-20; -25				



CPB Policy Brief 2015/16 on Capital Tax Reform in the NL?

- Concluding:
- With a number of steps the divergent treatment of different forms of capital income can be made more uniform
- This would curb tax arbitrage, contribute to economic welfare, and reduce the sensitivity of households and firms to the swings of the business cycle
- Six steps are identified – some of them are modest reforms
 - others involve a more major overhaul of the tax system
- The CPB Policy Brief presents an outline, a vista of a possible reform (*vergezicht*)
 - with tax reform however the devil will be in the detail
 - moreover budgetary consequences would need to be assessed