

Poverty and poverty reduction (among children) by T/B-systems across countries

best-practices and mutual learning

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instituut gak

Jaarcongres Schulden & Armoede
20 september 2019
Amersfoort

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Introduction

Koen Caminada, professor Empirical analysis of social and tax policy, Leiden University

Academic Director Institute of Tax Law and Economics (Leiden)



Vice-Dean Faculty Governance & Global Affairs (The Hague)

Topics

- Distribution tax-benefits social security and pensions
- Tax policy
- Reforming social and tax regulations
- Poverty reduction EU and OECD / Lisbon Agenda / Europe 2020

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Empirics: global research team & data



Kees
Goudswaard
Leiden

Marike
Knoef
Leiden

Olaf
van Vliet
Leiden

Jim
Been
Leiden

Jinxian
Wang
Beijing

Chen
Wang
Shanghai

Stefan
Thewissen
Oxford

Koen
Caminada
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Assembled Datasets (URL: www.economie.leidenuniv.nl)

- [Budget Incidence Fiscal Redistribution Dataset on Income Inequality](#) (2017)
- [Idem, on Relative Income Poverty Rates](#) (2019)
- [Social Assistance and Replacement Rates Dataset](#)
- [Unemployment Replacement Rates Dataset](#)
- [Sectoral Income Inequality Dataset](#)

Luxembourg Income Study
World Wealth & Income Database
ECHP-EU-Silc
Dutch Income Statistics

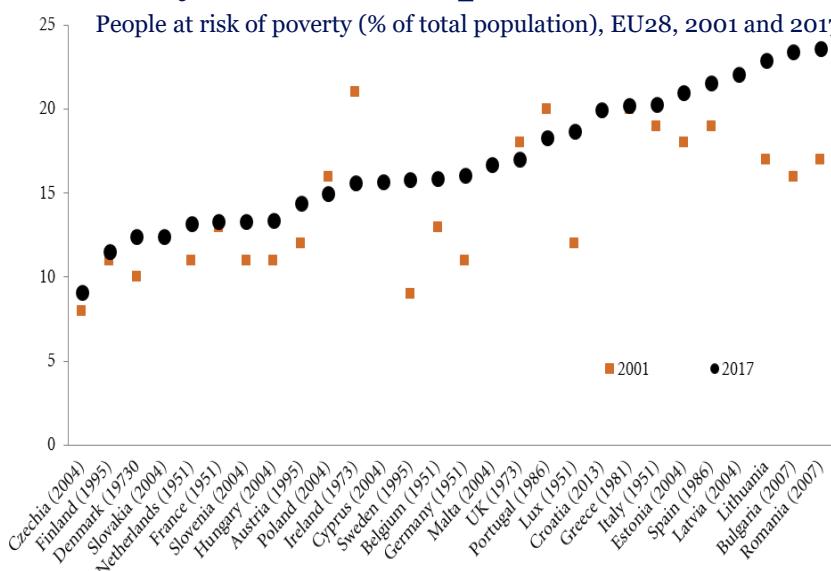


Megan
Martin
USA

Ferry
Koster
EUR

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Poverty in the European Union on the rise (definition EU = PL60)



- Year joining EU within brackets
- Poverty rose in most countries (= 19 out 23)
- On average: 2.3%-points
- Disappointing:
combating poverty is an explicit EU objective (= part Lisbon Agenda & Europe 2020 strategy)

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Source: Eurostat ECHP/EU-SILC (2019)

Agenda: Evidence for policy



- I. Setting the scene: why income inequality and poverty matters?
- II. Effectiveness of poverty alleviation by T/B-systems: *best-practices* across countries (OMC).
And the winner is ...?
- III. Familiar claim income transfer policy:
Social expenditure goes along with lower poverty levels and higher antipoverty effects across countries. **True or false?**
However: Target social spending at immigrant kids!
- IV. Tax Allowances: Targeting or Universalism?
- V. Concluding remarks – policy recommendations

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Part I: Why inequality and poverty rise?

Many possible factors, including:

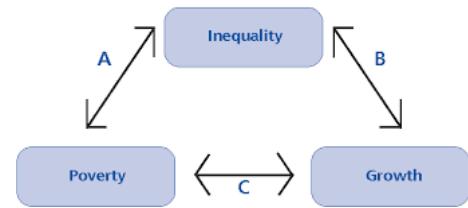
- Technological progress and a resulting rise in the skill premium for labor
- Globalization: highly educated workers profit, low skilled labor not (as much)
- Good education may not be reachable for lower income groups
- Demographic factors: ageing (more pensioners who have relatively low incomes)
- Several institutional factors, which vary from country to country, are important. E.g. for China the urban-rural gap is important.
- Developments at the sectoral level
- **Government redistribution - became T/B-systems less redistributive?**



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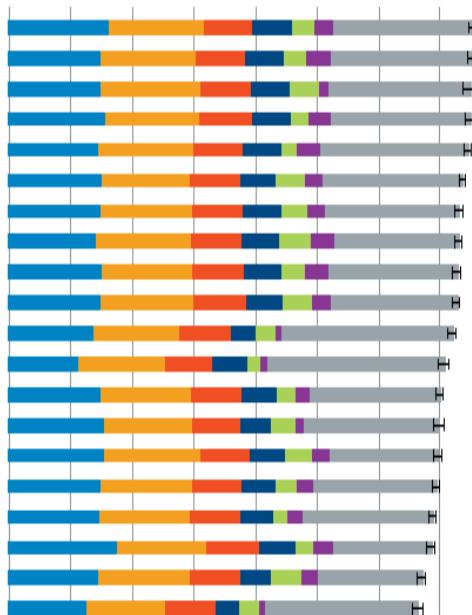
Why inequality and poverty matter?

- A perfectly equal society is not desirable (no incentives). However, high inequality may undermine social stability.
- It deprives people of educational opportunities, human and physical capital accumulation.
- OECD (2014): Rising inequality is estimated to have knocked down growth since 1990 by 9 points in the UK and by 6-7 points in the US, Italy and Sweden.
- IMF (2015): if the income share of the top 20 percent increases by 1 percentage point, GDP growth is 0.08 percentage points lower. A 1 percentage point increase in the share of the bottom 20 percent is associated with 0.38 percentage point higher growth.



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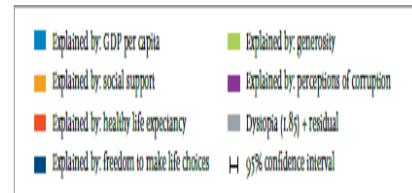
1. Norway (7.537)
2. Denmark (7.522)
3. Iceland (7.504)
4. Switzerland (7.494)
5. Finland (7.469)
6. Netherlands (7.377)
7. Canada (7.316)
8. New Zealand (7.314)
9. Australia (7.284)
10. Sweden (7.284)
11. Israel (7.213)
12. Costa Rica (7.079)
13. Austria (7.006)
14. United States (6.993)
15. Ireland (6.977)
16. Germany (6.951)
17. Belgium (6.891)
18. Luxembourg (6.863)
19. United Kingdom (6.714)
20. Chile (6.652)



WORLD HAPPINESS REPORT 2017

Explained by social support

→ tax/benefit-systems and fiscal redistribution



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WE CAN
END POVERTY
2015 MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS



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... while superrich (income & wealth)



Superrich

Donald Trump

Jack Ma (Ma Yun)

John de Mol

Bill Gates

Similarities

Top incomes

Male (gender)

Family (inheritance)

Mediocratic

Political power?

Influence tax policy?

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The tax/benefit-system and fiscal redistribution

Income components

Labor income + capital income + private transfers =

Market income

+ Social benefits and transfers

= Gross income

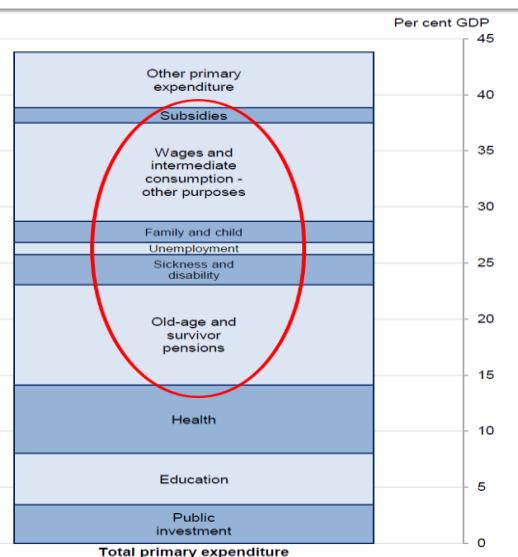
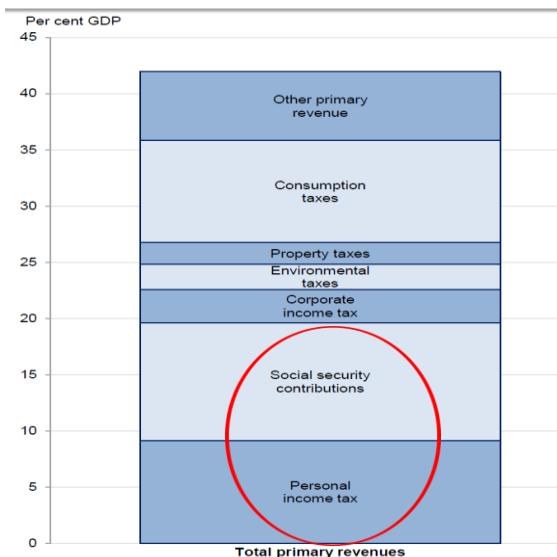
-/- Income taxes and social security contributions

= Disposable income



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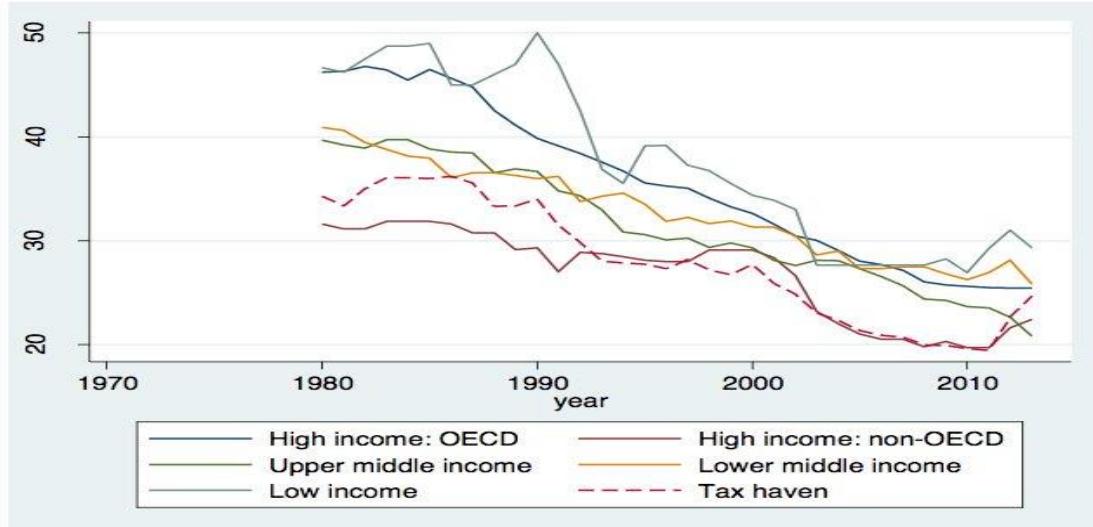
Snapshot of OECD-wide spending and revenue composition



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Tax race to the bottom: CIT rates over time across the globe

Figure 2: Corporate income tax rates, 1980–2013



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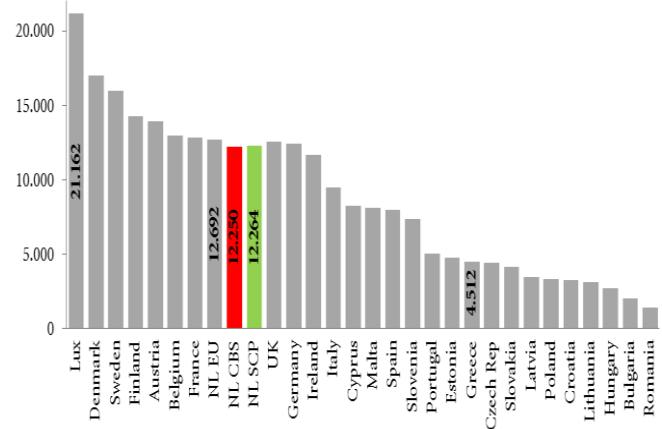
Poverty: international perspective

Monetary poverty in an international setting : no agreed-upon definition

- World Bank: \$ 1 dollar a day (\$1.90)
- USA: Absolute – Orshansky (basket)
- EU: Relative → poverty line (PL) 60 percent of median income (AROP)

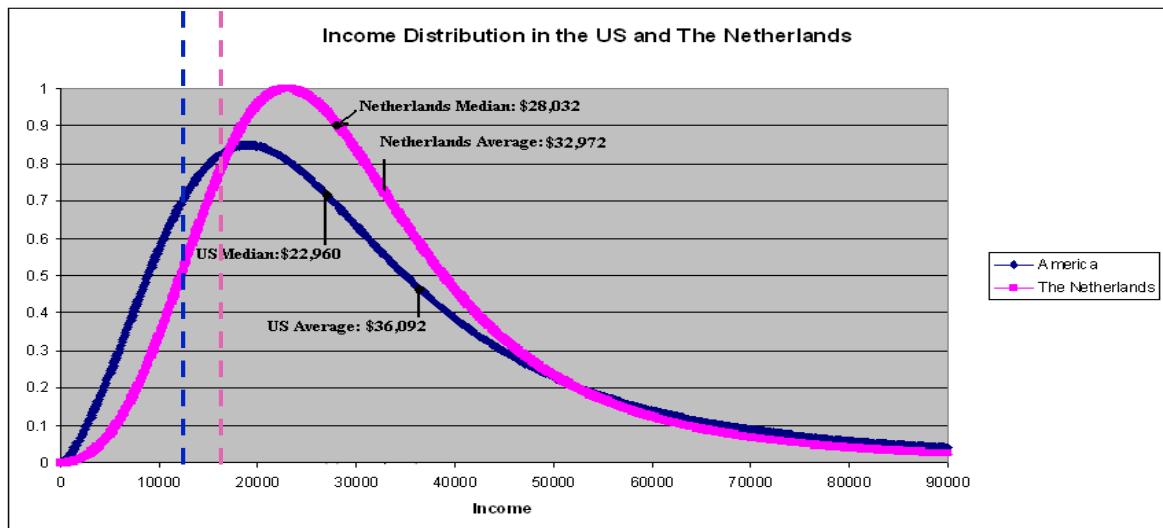
Thresholds single person (PPS) 2015

- CBS: lage inkomensgrens → € 12.250
- SCP: budgetgrens → € 12.264
- EU: 60 % median income → € 12.629



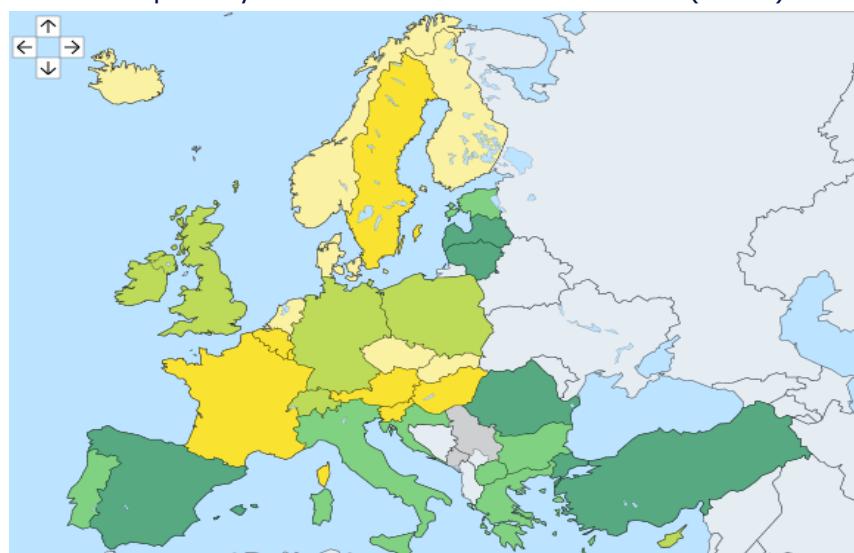
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AROP: below 60% of median income



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At-risk-of-poverty rate after social transfers 2015 (PL 60)



Poverty rate EU28:

PL 40 = 6

PL 50 = 11

PL 60 = 17

PL EU60 = 23

Poverty line:

PL EU = 60

PL USA = 30

PL China = ??

Poverty rate USA 2013 (LIS):

PL 40 = 11

PL 50 = 17

PL 60 = 24

China PL60 = 27

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Part II - Antipoverty effectiveness of T/B-system

Standard budget incidence approach:

- Market income versus disposable income
- Antipoverty effect social transfers and taxes = **people lifted out of poverty** =
 - (a) pre-tax-transfer poverty -/-
 - (b) post-tax-transfer poverty
- **Public policy indicator on targeting** = targeting effect = antipoverty effectiveness: poverty reduction per percentage point social spending GDP = $[(a) - (b)] / \text{social spending \% GDP}$

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Leiden LIS Budget Incidence Fiscal Redistribution Dataset

– data & methods on Gini's and relative income poverty rates

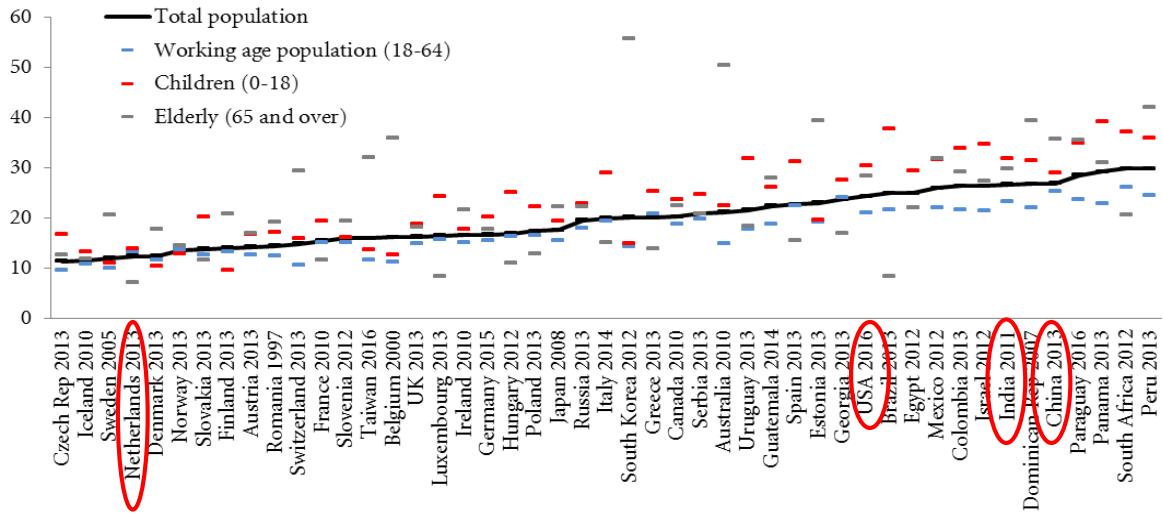
- **Poverty rates**
 - AROP market income = Pov (mi)
 - AROP Disposable income = Pov (dhi)
- **Redistribution** = % of people lifted out of poverty
 - Overall redistribution = Pov (mi) – Pov (dhi)
 - Decomposition: social benefits vs income taxes
 - Further decomposition by social programs (13)
- **Target groups**: total population, working-age population, children & elderly
- **Countries**: 49
- **Time-series**: 1967-2016



We provide data and codebooks

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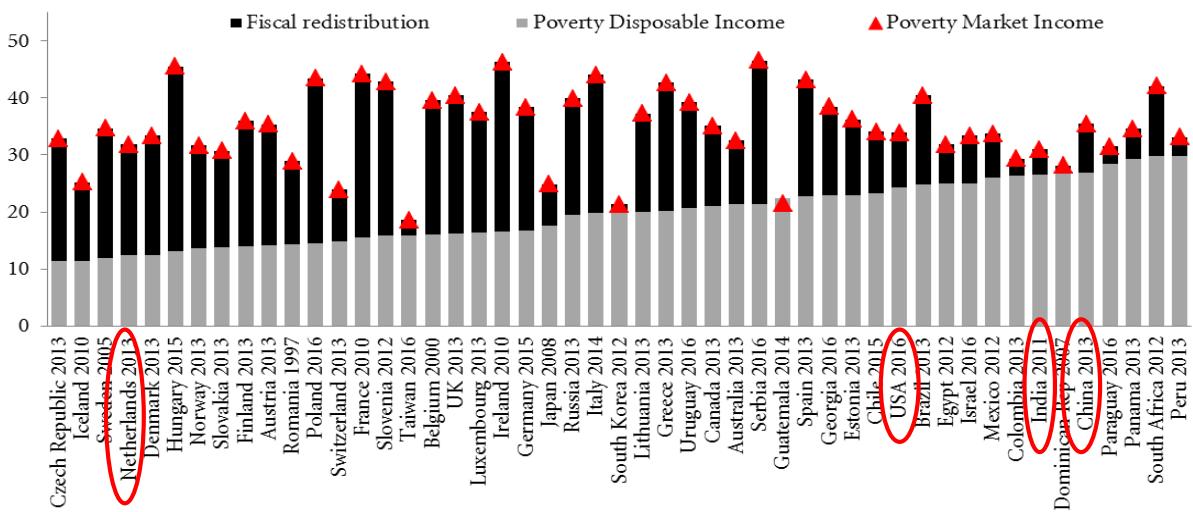
Disposable income poverty (PL60) across countries among different age groups (most recent data year)



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Source: Caminada & Wang (2019)

Disposable and market income poverty rates (PL60) across LIS countries (most recent data year)



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Source: Caminada & Wang (2019)

Deeltijd
zzp

Poverty alleviation in LIS countries (PL60)

Lift out of poverty = Poverty market income -/- Poverty disposable income

= Fiscal redistribution social benefits and income taxes = Lift out of poverty by T/B-system

	China 2013	India 2011	USA 2016	Netherlands 2013	Mean 49 countries
Poverty mi	36%	31%	34%	32%	33%
Poverty dpi	27%	27%	24%	12%	18%
Reduction	9%-p	4%-p	10%-p	20%-p	15%-p
<i>Partial effects</i>					
Social benefits	-	4	13	26	17
Income taxes	-	-	-3	-6	-2

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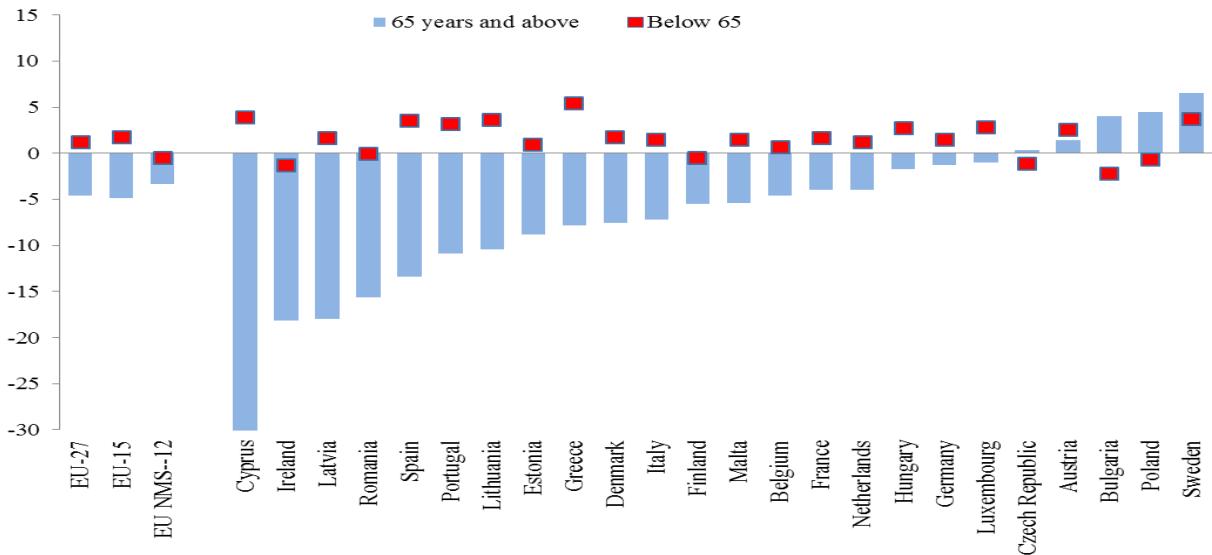
Poverty alleviation in LIS countries

Lift out of poverty by T/B-system

	China 2013	India 2011	USA 2016	Netherlands 2013	Mean 49 countries
Total population	9%	4%	10%	20%	15%
WA population	7%	4%	4%	9%	9%
Children	5%	4%	4%	1% Foei	9%
Elderly	31%	8%	39%	84%	48%

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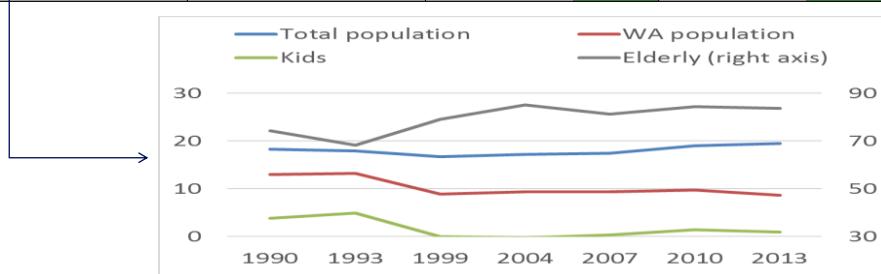
Great Recession: At risk of poverty shifted from elderly to the young (change AROP 2007-2013)



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The Netherlands: poverty of market income and disposable income and fiscal redistribution since 1990

	Total population			Working-age			Children			Elderly		
	1990	2013	change	1990	2013	change	1990	2013	change	1990	2013	change
Poverty mi	30	32	1	23	22	-1	18	15	-3	94	90	-3
Poverty dpi	12	12	0	10	13	+3	14	14	0	19	7	-12
<i>Lifted out of poverty</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>-4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>-3</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>9</i>



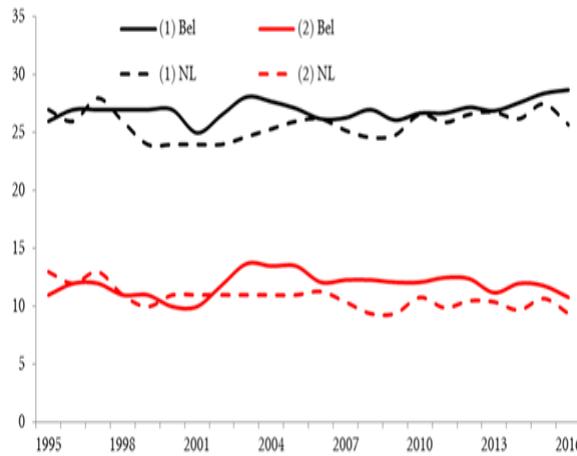
- Policy focus:
- Working age
 - Kids
 - Elderly

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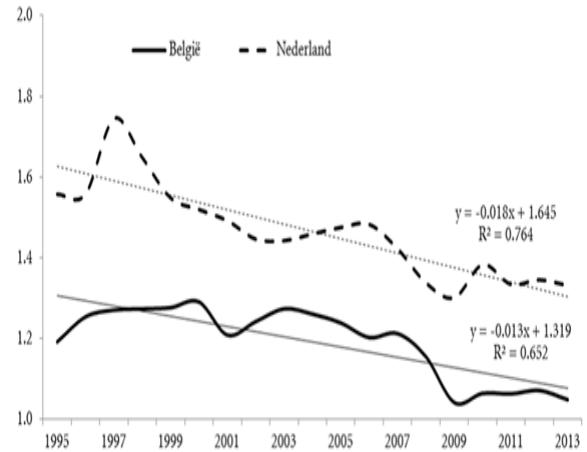
Source: Caminada (not be quoted)

Trend The Netherlands and Belgium: Increasing net social expenditures as % GDP, however

Armoedereductie door sociale uitkeringen en directe belastingen



Armoedereductie door sociale uitkeringen en directe belastingen per 1% bbp netto sociale uitgaven, 1995-2013



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Source: Caminada, Goudswaard, Van Vliet & Bakker (2018)

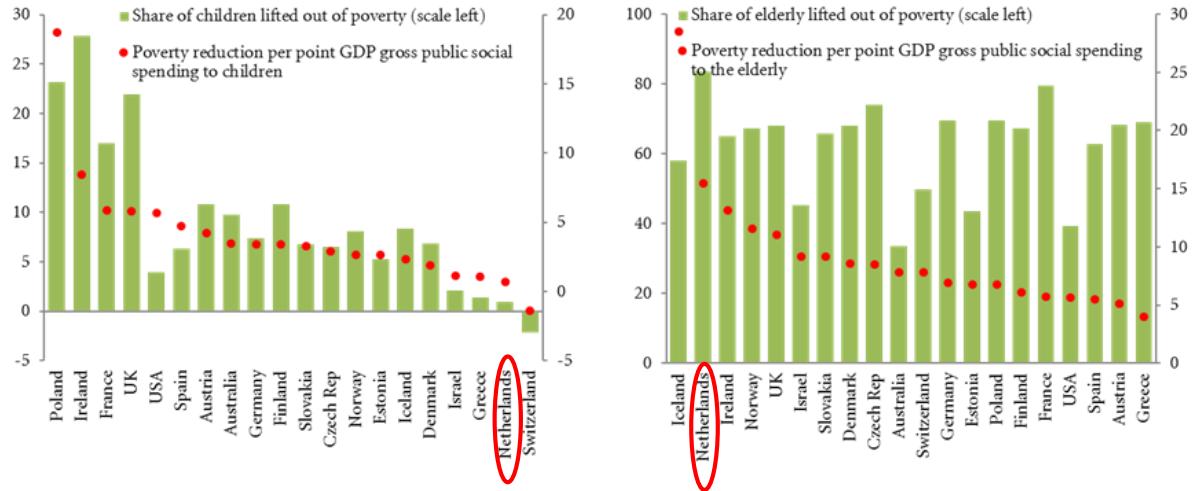
Public policy indicator on targeting Poverty alleviation via T/B-systems and social spending across 20 LIS/OECD-countries (most recent data year)



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Source: Caminada (unpublished work)

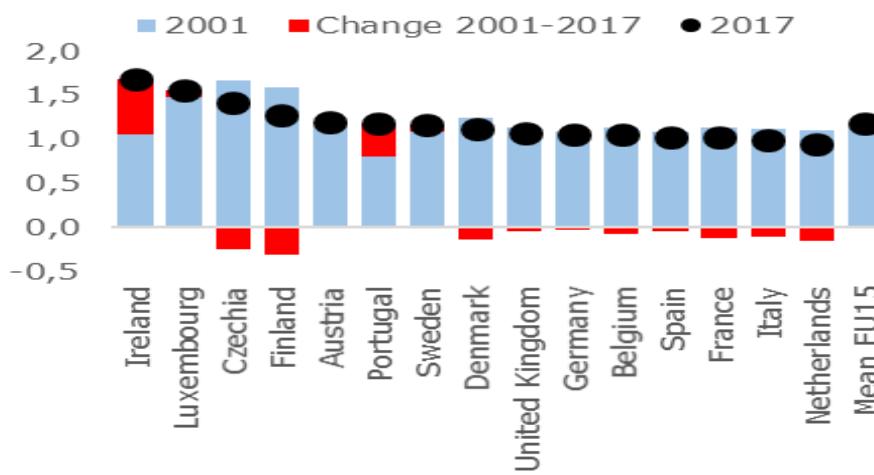
Public policy indicator on targeting Poverty alleviation via T/B-systems and social spending across 21 LIS/OECD-countries (most recent data year)



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Source: Caminada (unpublished work)

Targeting of net social expenditure on poverty reduction in the EU15 over time Pensions are excluded from social transfers



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Lesson 1: OMC – best-practices

- Each point GDP net social spending alleviates poverty in EU15 on average by 1.2 point.

Best practice	Low score
Ireland	Italy
Luxembourg	Netherlands

- OMC: Mutual learning and policy exchanges ...
- Over time → Dutch system: less targeting → universalism

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Part III - Effectiveness of income transfer policies in alleviating poverty

- Vast literature claims “strong negative relationship at country level between the level of social spending and the incidence of poverty” – “arguably one of the most robust findings in comparative poverty research”
- Behrendt (2002), European Commission (2009), Smeeding (2005, 2006), Nolan & Marx (2009), Kenworthy (1999), Kangas & Palme (2000), Kim (2000), Sainsbury & Morissens (2002), Cantillon et al (2003), Förster & Pearson (2002), Brady (2004), Scruggs & Allen (2005), Förster & Mira d’Ercole (2005), Pestieau (2006), OECD (2008, 2011, 2014).
- However, (Caminada et al)

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Exception: poverty among kids immigrants

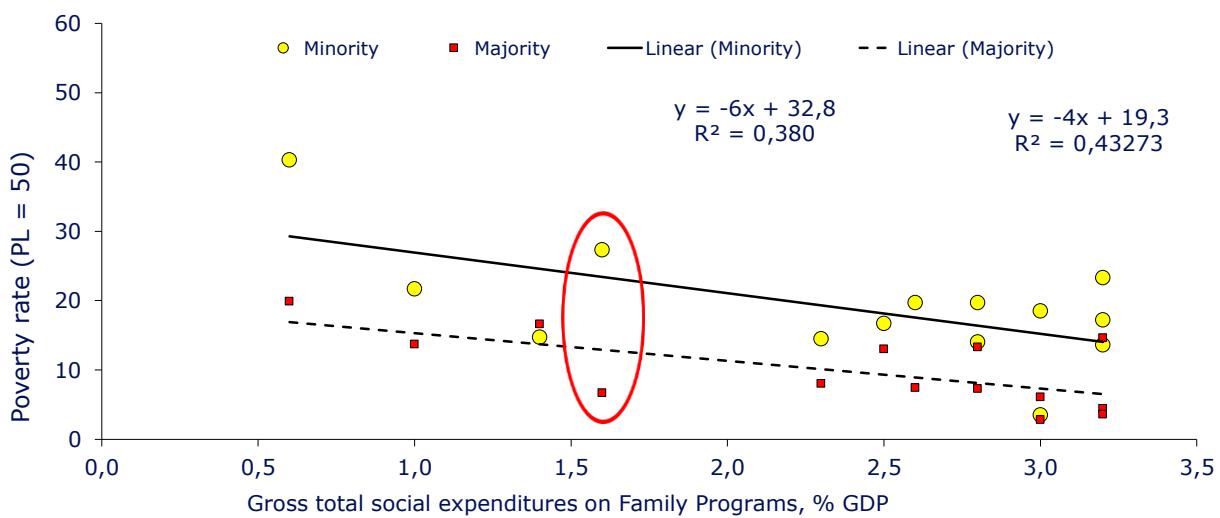
Poverty (PL50) among Immigrant Children across Countries

	% Immigrants Households	All	Majority	Minority	Index
Australia	27	15	13	20	1,5
Austria	17	9	7	14	1,9
Belgium	13	10	7	20	2,7
Canada	21	15	14	22	1,6
Denmark	6	6	4	17	3,9
Finland	6	3	3	4	1,3
France	8	8	6	19	3,0
Germany	8	9	8	15	1,8
Ireland	13	14	13	17	1,3
Italy	2	17	17	15	0,9
Netherlands	6,7	8,5	6,7	27,3	4,1
Sweden	4	4	4	14	3,8
UK	13	16	15	23	1,6
USA	13	22	20	40	2,0
Average	11	11	10	19	1,9

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Foei

Targeting social expenditure of family programs on (immigrants) children



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Lesson 2: Social spending and poverty

- Familiar claim (*higher social expenditures goes along with lower poverty levels*) must at least toned down.
- Universal social benefits are less effective compared to targeting at vulnerable / high at-risk-of-poverty groups.
- Targeting especially via social expenditures of family programs at (immigrants) children.

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Part IV: Targeting at Dutch low income families

Tax credits + allowances : **55** billion euro

Tax revenue + SSC: **92** billion euro



Instrumental tax policy → stop just pumping money around and simplify the tax code and allowances → less complex financial relationship households – treasury

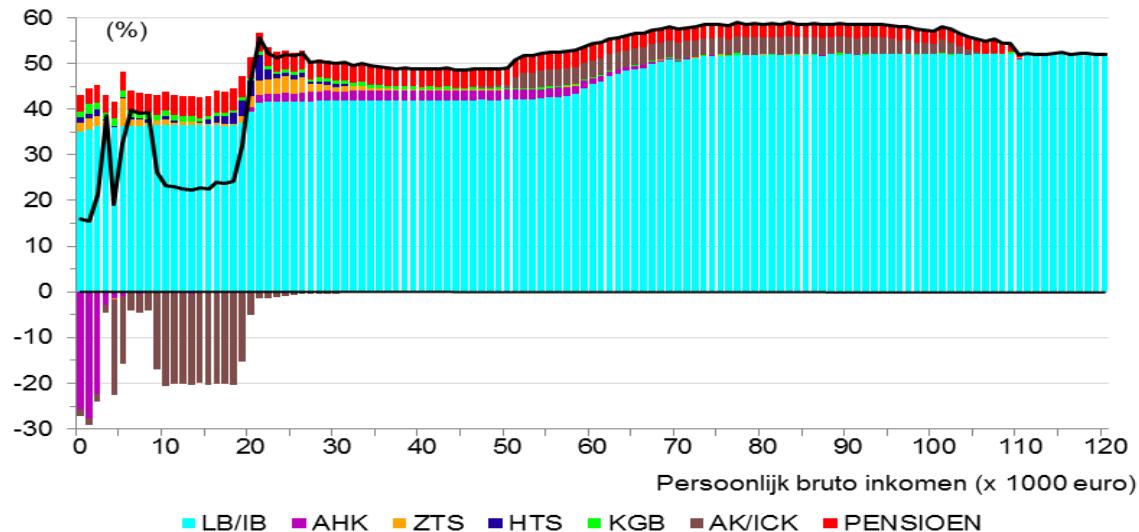
PIT rates almost double as high as they reasonably could be → shortening tax balance

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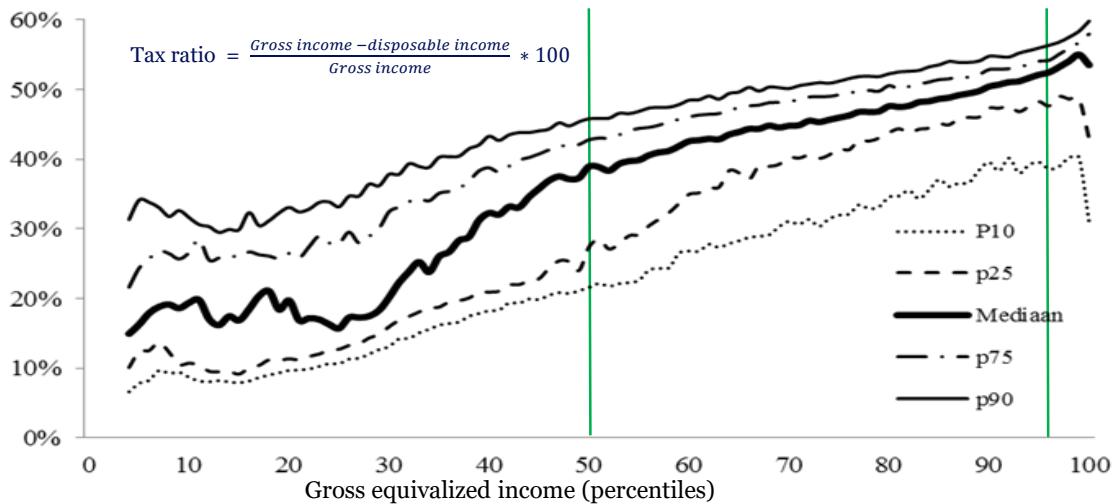
Cleaning: too much anomalies, 2016

	x billion	Per household
A: Tax expenditures (78)	18.9	2,444
-Indirect taxes (40)	9.6	
-Direct taxes (38)	9.3	
B: Tax credits (11)	42.3	5,483
C: Allowances (4)	12.4	1,600
D: Other	24.4	3,160
- Housing (mortgage interest)	8.1	
- Pensions (box 1 - box 3)	13.3	
-Lower rate PIT seniors	3.0	
E: Other (15)	17.2	
Correction for doubles	-3.2	
Total: 110 anomalies	112.0	14,502

Samenstelling marginale belastingdruk 2015



Heterogeneity tax ratios = results fiscal discrimination



Policy: To what extent will society take differences in income and other factors into account by determining tax ratios?

€ 33.551 →
P10=22%
P50=39%
P90= 50%

€ 88.865 →
P10=39%
P50=52%
P90= 56%

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Source: Caminada, Goudswaard & Knoef (2018)

Rethinking Allowances: Targeting at low incomes or Universalism?

	Budget (billion euro)	# Households (x 1,000)	Share of households
Housing rent	2.774	1,107	15%
Kids	1.047	824	11%
Healthcare	4.855	3,628	48%
Total	8.676	6,316	
(# households with allowances)		(4,589)	(61%)
Tax Committee (Family Allowance)		3,651	49%
Idem, compulsory pay-out via health insurances		1,405	19%

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Clear distinction: (individual) taxation and (family) income support



Concluding remarks - policy

Objective: Poverty reduction (kids). How?

- ✓ Requirement: rethinking anti-poverty policy - out of the box (system).
- ✓ Target instruments to vulnerable groups → kids of immigrants, working poor (self-employed); *not* elderly.
- ✓ Current social benefits, T/B-system and Allowances are less well suited to target (too many beneficiaries) → Target Family Allowance.
- ✓ Status quo T/B-system: social cost **225,000** jobs



Related work – downloads via

www.economie.leidenuniv.nl

1. Caminada & Goudswaard (2020), Combating poverty in the European Union, in: Ellian (eds.) *Reflections on democracy in the European Union*, Eleven International Publishing, forthcoming.
2. Vliet Van, Caminada, Goudswaard & Wang (2019), Poverty reduction among older people through pensions: a comparative analysis, in: Bent Greve (eds.), *Handbook of Poverty* (forthcoming).
3. Caminada , Goudswaard, Wang & Wang (2019), Has the redistributive effect of social transfers and taxes changed over time across countries?, *Int. Social Security Review* 72(1): 3-31.
4. Caminada, Wang, Goudswaard & Wang (2019), Relative income poverty rates and poverty alleviation via tax/benefit systems in 49 LIS-countries, 1967-2016, *LIS WP Series # 761*.
5. Caminada, Goudswaard, Wang & Wang (2019), Income inequality and fiscal redistribution in 31 countries after the crisis, *Comparative Economic Studies*: 1-30.
6. Caminada, Wang, Goudswaard & Wang (2017), Income inequality and fiscal redistribution in 47 LIS-countries, 1967-2014, *LIS WP Series #724*.
7. Been, Caminada, Goudswaard & Van Vliet (2017), Public/private pension mix, income inequality, and poverty among the elderly in Europe: an empirical analysis using new and revised OECD data, *Social Policy & Administration* 51(7).
8. Caminada & Martin (2016), A cross-Atlantic descriptive policy analysis of differences in anti-poverty approaches in Europe and the United States, in: MJ Skidmore (red.), *Poverty in America*, Westphalia Press: 278-297.
9. Caminada (2015), How strong are Pikettys trends?, *Leiden Law Blog*, 12 January 2015.
10. Caminada, Goudswaard & Koster (2012), Social income transfers and poverty: A cross-country analysis for OECD countries, *International Journal of Social Welfare* 21(2): 115-126.

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Related papers – downloads via

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1. Caminada & Goudswaard (2019), Fiscaal beleid leidt tot grote verschillen in lastendruk: oorzaken, maatvoering én ontwikkeling van fiscale discriminatie in Nederland, bijdrage voorbereid voor 2019 Crossen Forum: *Tax by Design for the Netherlands*, te verschijnen
2. Caminada, Goudswaard & Knoef (2018), Toenemende spreiding in de drukverdeling van inkomensheffingen, *Weekblad Fiscaal Recht* (7256), 4 oktober 2018.
3. Caminada, Goudswaard, Van Vliet & Bakker (2018), Verschillen in niveau en ontwikkeling van de inkomensongelijkheid, -herverdeling en -armoede in Nederland en België, *Department of Economics Research Memorandum 2018.02*, Universiteit Leiden.
4. Caminada & Stevens (2017), Instrumenteel fiscaal beleid: oorzaak van complexiteit en scheefgroei, *Weekblad Fiscaal Recht* (7181), 2 maart 2017.
5. Caminada & Stevens (2017), Blauwdruk voor belastinghervorming, *Weekblad Fiscaal Recht* (7191), 11 mei 2017.
6. Caminada (2015), Keuzes voor een beter belastingstelsel 2.0, *Tijdschrift voor Openbare Financiën* 47(1).
7. Caminada (2015), De tragiek van gefaalde ambities en gemiste kansen rond belastinghervorming, *Me Judice*, 23 september 2015.

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Databases & codebooks

1. [Leiden LIS Budget Incidence Fiscal Redistribution Dataset on Income Inequality \(2017\)](#)
2. [Idem, on Relative Income Poverty Rates \(2019\)](#)
3. [Social Assistance and Minimum Income Levels and Replacement Rates Dataset](#)
4. [Unemployment Replacement Rates Dataset](#)
5. [Sectoral Income Inequality Dataset](#)

Website: [Leiden Law School / Economics / Data](#)



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