The New Conservatives' Tax Plan for families and small businesses

Miriam Cates MP
Nick Fletcher MP

thenewconservatives.co.uk

Contents

Introduction

Our tax system needs reform. Its complex rules, cliff-edges and loopholes undermine families and businesses. Although the Government has had to respond to unprecedented challenges in recent years such as the Covid-19 pandemic and record-high energy prices, we cannot become complacent with the current state of taxation. As Conservatives, we should work tirelessly to reverse the trend towards the highest tax burden since the Second World War.[1]

The Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak, is right to admire Nigel Lawson as his political hero, who did so much to simplify the tax system in his ambitious budgets.[2] The fight against inflation is essential and we must learn the right lessons from history on profligate spending. But Lawson set out to do more than just control spending. He believed passionately in the need for lower and simpler taxes. The recent death of this great reforming chancellor ought to make us reflect on how his principles continue to resonate today. We should aspire not only to restore Lawson's achievements but to build on them.

For years, the Bank of England used easy money and historically low interest rates to fuel economic growth based on asset inflation and household debt.[3] We are now witnessing deflationary pressure from the Bank of England through its recent interest rate hikes. The Government still has time to take the initiative and pursue tax reform to grow the economy, halve inflation, and get debt down. But action is needed quickly.

Some areas of reform will need years to take hold. We saw in September 2022 the risk of aiming for too much, too quickly, and we acknowledge the caution of the Treasury that determined last Autumn was "not the right time to proceed with a package of tax cuts."[4] But taxation levels are now stifling growth and, if the Prime Minister is to meet his pledge to grow the economy, we need more tax cuts before the next General Election and a manifesto in 2024 that reflects the full ambition of the Conservative Party's economic vision.[5]

The New Conservatives support lower, fairer, and simpler taxation. In particular, we are in favour of lower Income Tax and against prolonged tax threshold freezes. We believe that hard work should pay, and work should always be incentivised and rewarded. The tax system should encourage entrepreneurship and family life, helping people get ahead and build their lives. The British public should be trusted to spend their hard-earned money more wisely than the Government would – the more they keep of their own salary, the better.

We acknowledge that the Government needs to balance various spending priorities against tax cuts, but tax levels are now directly stifling growth and productivity and we urge the Government to make lower taxation a priority for the next manifesto. 70 percent of the public back some form of tax cuts.[6] And over the past three years, as more and more people have felt the increased cost of living, there has been a 14 percent decrease (from 47 percent to just 33 percent) in the number of people who think income tax is fair.[7] There is public support for lower taxation that must translate into policy change. Of course, the particular rates and thresholds will need to be determined in the context of broader budgetary priorities, but this should not stunt the ambitions set out.

We need to remind people whose side this government is on. Hardworking people who are striving for a better quality of life have long been natural Conservative voters. The Conservative Party should encourage their aspiration. Whether it be strivers in Doncaster or Stocksbridge, the Conservatives have to get on the side of working people to help them get ahead in life. This means delivering lower taxes.

As New Conservatives, we have identified some 'low hanging fruit' with regards to tax reform that the Government could introduce in the immediate term, reforms that would grow the economy and leave millions of people across the country better off. But this should just be the start. Further tax cuts promised in the 2024 manifesto should extend much further than those given here.

The first tax cut concerns working families. It is not just workers on below average wages who are in financial difficulties. The Treasury treats families where one parent earns £50,000 as rich, and yet these households are struggling, especially in areas with high house prices. Despite falling in the bottom third of the income distribution these families pay higher rate tax and lose their Child Benefit. Cliff-edges in the tax system are particularly damaging for families, and the complexities of tax policy lead to high marginal tax rates for certain households. In the long term we agree with our colleague Ranil Jayawardena MP and the Centre for Policy Studies that the UK should move to a system of household taxation, but in the short term, scrapping the High Income Child Benefit Charge would be one straightforward way to make the system fairer and ensure families are not penalised for working.

Secondly, we want to see entrepreneurship pay off for small and medium-sized businesses and the self-employed. IR35 reforms have previously been identified as a barrier to growth and need to be repealed.[8] And given the freedom gained from exiting the European Union, it is time we set our VAT registration threshold at a point that allows businesses to grow to a reasonable size before they are stymied by a considerable additional burden of tax.

The policy suggestions in this paper have been costed, with public spending cuts identified that could fund these reforms.

Our three priorities for tax reform are:

1. **Scrap the High Income Child Benefit Charge**
2. **Raise the VAT threshold to £250,000**
3. **Abolish the IR35 reforms**

Helping working families

There are 8.2 million families with dependent children in the UK.[9] This can be broken down into 3.6 million families with one child, 3.4 million with two children, and 1.2 million with three or more children.[10] Many of these families are severely affected by high marginal tax rates, particularly single earner families where one parent cares for dependents at home, whether it be children or elderly relatives. In some circumstances, families can be subject to marginal tax rates of up to 96 percent.[11] Quite simply, this is not fair on the hardworking families that strive to get ahead, as it makes it impossible for families to improve their standard of living or save for ordinary items such as a second hand car or a new boiler. Marginal tax rates need to be overhauled so that work always pays under the tax and benefits system.

As the cost of living continues to rise, many workers attempt to negotiate pay increases in the hope to ease the pinch. Many employers are meeting these demands, believing it will ease the pressures on families. But in reality, only a small amount of these raises will end up in the pockets of families across the UK. Interactions of different benefits, income, and family size mean that cases exist where a hypothetical earner with an income of £50,000 and two children could receive a £10,000 pay rise and yet only take home £800 more after various tax deductions – an effective tax rate on their additional earnings of 92 percent.[12] This means that even if workers are successful in obtaining pay rises that match the rise in the cost of living, or are rewarded for their hard work with a promotion, these changes will make very little difference to their household income.

It should not be the case that people become worse off by earning more. When pay rises make minimal difference to disposable income, the incentive to work or work harder is weakened. At a time when more growth and productivity are urgently needed, cliff edges in our tax system stifle the capacity of workers and businesses. Employees are turning down pay rises or reducing their hours to avoid being hit by these cliff edges. The disincentive to work is a contributing factor to stagnant growth and low productivity, especially when compared to international counterparts.

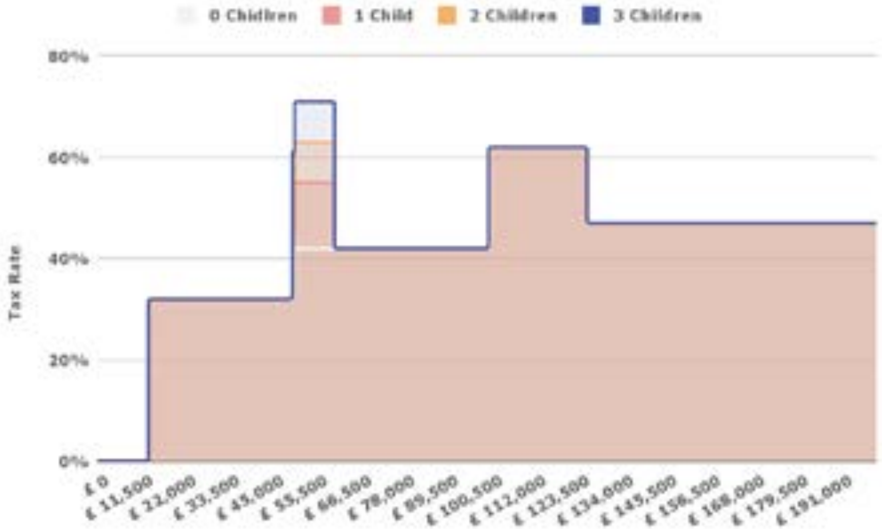
Addressing every cliff-edge is the work of many budgets, but we can start with what will help families the most.

1. Scrap the High Income Child Benefit Charge

One of the most damaging cliff-edges for families is the High Income Child Benefit Charge (HICBC). Households where one earner has an income above £50,000 become subject to the HICBC, which effectively withdraws Child Benefit from the family. The detrimental impact of this increases with the number of children in the household, with effective marginal tax increases for higher rate taxpayers of 13 percent for families with one child, 21 percent for families with two children, and an additional 8 percent for each further child. The HICBC creates an unusual and undesirable hump in marginal tax rates for hardworking families.

Current rates of Child Benefit are £24 per week for the first child, and £15.90 for subsequent children.[13] The HICBC was introduced in 2013 to taper this support away from higher earners.[14] It reduces the amount of Child Benefit by 1 percent for every £100 earned above £50,000, tapering entitlement to nil when earnings hit £60,000.[15] To add to the unfairness, dual earner couples aren't affected if they each earn below £50,000, even if their combined income exceeds £60,000. Indeed, dual income couples can earn £100,000 before they face any Child Benefit withdrawal at all. Child Benefit exists to help families with the additional costs of raising children, but the HICBC results in some families with one earner being less well off than a couple with the same income.

Chart 1: Marginal tax rates and the impact of HICBC (excluding Scotland)[16]



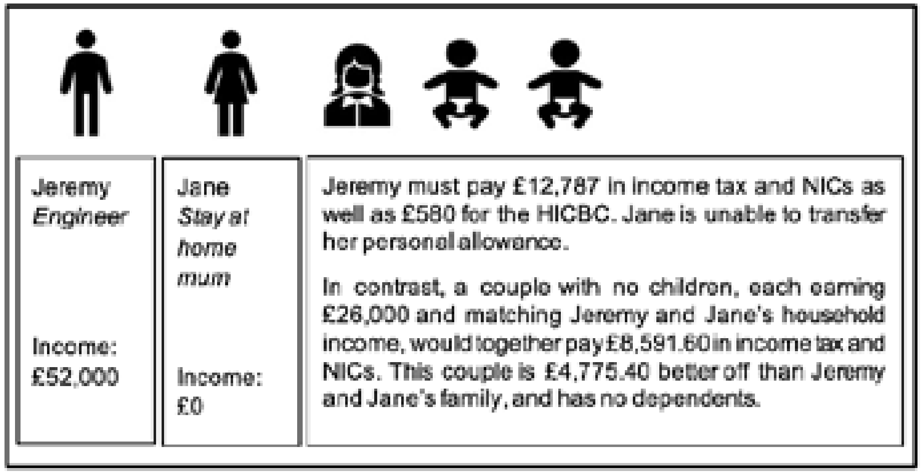
George Osborne claimed that HICBC would only affect the 'top 15% of earners' but in reality it now applies to many households in the lower half of the income distribution. As the threshold has been frozen since its introduction, an increasing number of families have been hit by this charge – impacting ordinary working families who are struggling to make ends meet. Initially, it impacted around 13 percent of families with children (1 million), but it now impacts 26 percent of families (2 million).[17] By 2025/26, 31 percent of families are estimated to be hit by this charge.[18] Wage inflation is leading to many more families crossing the threshold due to a nominal increase in salary, despite price inflation limiting the benefits felt by pay rises.

The HICBC fails to ensure that those with the broadest shoulders pay their fair share, as it only ever impacts families with children rather than other high-income taxpayers.[19] As Fran Bennett, Associate Fellow at the Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford, submitted to the Treasury Select Committee's call for evidence on cliff-edges in the tax and benefits system, "Child Benefit is our only fiscal instrument to bring about horizontal and life-course redistribution related to having children – i.e. it recognizes that those with children incur additional costs whatever their income".[20] To negate this aim by imposing a higher marginal tax rate on only those with children stands out as an injustice in our tax system.

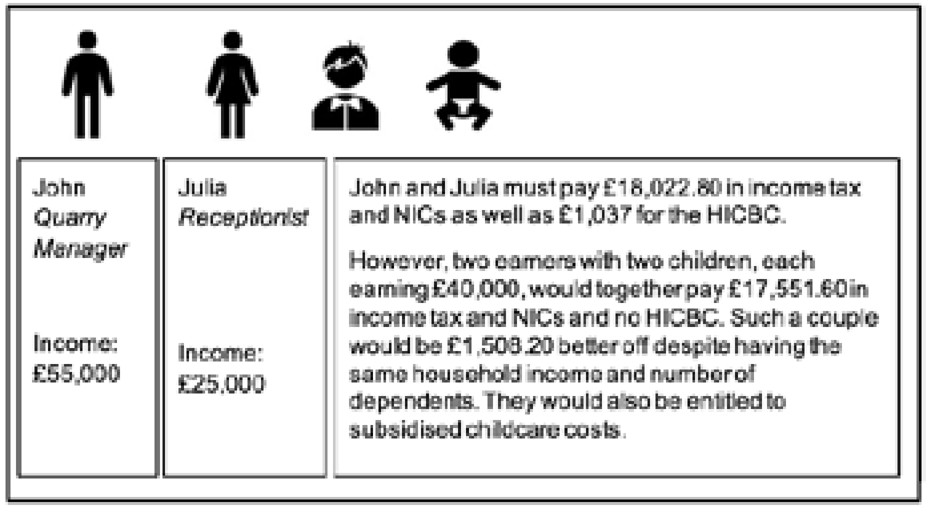
For parents in their thirties with several years of experience in the workplace, a salary in excess of £50,000 is not the rarity it once was. But more significantly, it does not mean that a household is wealthy. A family earning a single income of £60,000 with three children is not as wealthy as a childless couple each earning the average salary of £33,280. A family with three children taking home £50,000 a year has an income in the bottom 25 percent of households.[21] In contrast, a single adult on £50,000 is in the top 13 percent of households.[22] Although a £50,000 salary may mark the former family as seemingly high-income, that salary must meet the needs of more dependents – making them comparatively worse off. It is ordinary working families that get hit by the HICBC, not just brain surgeons and investment bankers.

The following case studies intend to illustrate the unintended negative consequences of the HICBC. They are fictional scenarios but typify the many cases of unfairness that get raised by constituents subject to the HICBC.

Case Study 1: How the HICBC penalises single earner households



Case Study 2: How the HICBC disincentivises high wages



Career	Average Salary
Aldi Store Manager with four years' experience in the role	£62,850[23]
Newly appointed Police Inspector	£54,600[24]
Assistant Company Secretary	£56,000 - £82,000[25]
Senior Facilities Manager	£60,000+[26]
Experienced Site Engineer	£35,000 - £55,000+[27]
Experienced Quarry Manager	£50,000+[28]
Self-employed Plumber	£60,000[29]

The OBR found that there has been "unexpectedly strong growth in the number of claimants affected by the high income child benefit charge".[30] While the effective marginal tax rates for households impacted by the HICBC already reach punitive levels, the combined impact is even worse for larger families on Universal Credit. Policy in Practice found that the combined effects of Tax and Universal Credit withdrawal alongside the HICBC could lead to marginal deduction rates of over 100 percent (and higher still if we include student loan repayments or pension contributions).[31]

A straightforward move to help working families would be to scrap the HICBC which, since being frozen, has pulled more and more families over the threshold to pay back their Child Benefit.

This complexity and diminished work incentive effect leaves people wanting to find ways to avoid the charge.

Reversing the HICBC has the potential to simplify an overly complex system and boost the economy by encouraging people to increase their earnings. It would tackle an injustice that leaves families with children working hard and being penalised for doing so.

The number of families affected by the HICBC has risen from one in eight families with children to more than one in five.[32] Those declaring a HICBC liability raised the treasury £416 million in 2019/20.[33] In addition to this, 683,000 families opted out of Child Benefit in 2022.[34] If the HICBC were scrapped, it would cost the Treasury the amount raised by the HICBC, as well as a potential increase in the number of families making a Child Benefit claim. As such, scrapping the HICBC would cost up to £1.6 billion. But the true cost of the present more complex tax system is that it leaves more and more families with children being penalised for working hard.

RECOMMENDATION: Scrap the High Income Child Benefit Charge

Backing small business owners

A guiding Conservative principle should be that 'work should pay'. The Conservatives are the Party of aspiration and should always ensure that hard work is rewarded. The Conservative Party acknowledges and seeks to reward the risks that business owners must take in order to create wealth. The tax system should therefore encourage entrepreneurship and incentivise good business sense.

Cutting the right taxes for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) and the self-employed is central to raising productivity. By improving productivity, our country will have the increased revenue needed to fund our public services and cut taxes elsewhere. There are simple and effective options available in the short-term that can help, especially now that we have left the European Union and taken back control of our tax system.

Longer term, the Government should focus on cutting corporation tax and overhauling business rates. But in the short term, focussing on raising the VAT registration threshold and scrapping IR35 reforms will help businesses and the self-employed increase their revenue, in turn boosting the economy.

2. Raise the VAT threshold to £250,000

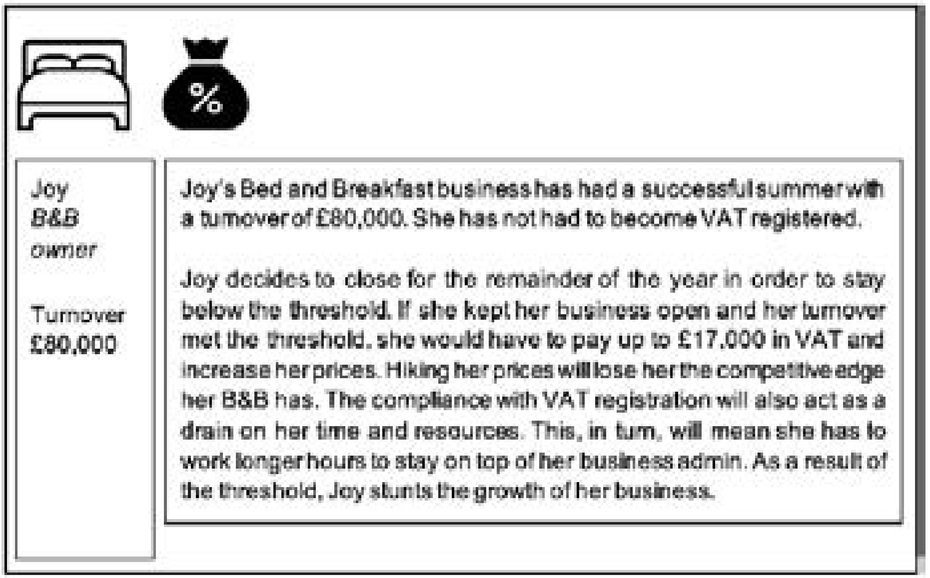
Businesses currently have to register for VAT if their VAT taxable turnover exceeds £85,000.[35] This places a significant responsibility on businesses, including a requirement to include VAT in the price of all goods and services at the correct rate, keeping a record of how much VAT is paid for things bought for the business, and accounting for VAT on any goods imported to the UK.[36] More significantly, it means that businesses have to raise their prices by 20 percent in order to avoid a comparative loss – immediately making them less competitive with those businesses that keep their turnover below the registration threshold. The VAT threshold of £85,000 imposes the full burden of VAT compliance on some very small businesses, with the £85,000 threshold set at turnover, not profit.

The VAT registration threshold previously increased in line with inflation but it has been frozen at £85,000 since 2017, and is expected to remain frozen until 2026.[37] Yet had the threshold increased with inflation during this time, the threshold would now be around £103,000 – over 20 percent higher.[38] As such, more and more businesses find themselves coming up against the threshold.

For context, becoming VAT registered at a turnover of £85,000 impacts 47 percent of florists.[39] Around half of hair and beauty businesses have an annual turnover in excess of £85,000.[40] Crossing the threshold requires these businesses to hike their prices by 20 percent in order to meet the demands of VAT compliance, diminishing the competitive edge they have against businesses with significantly larger turnovers.

The following case study is a fictional example designed to illustrate the challenges some businesses face when approaching the VAT threshold.

Case Study 3: How the VAT registration threshold incentivises capping turnover below £85,000

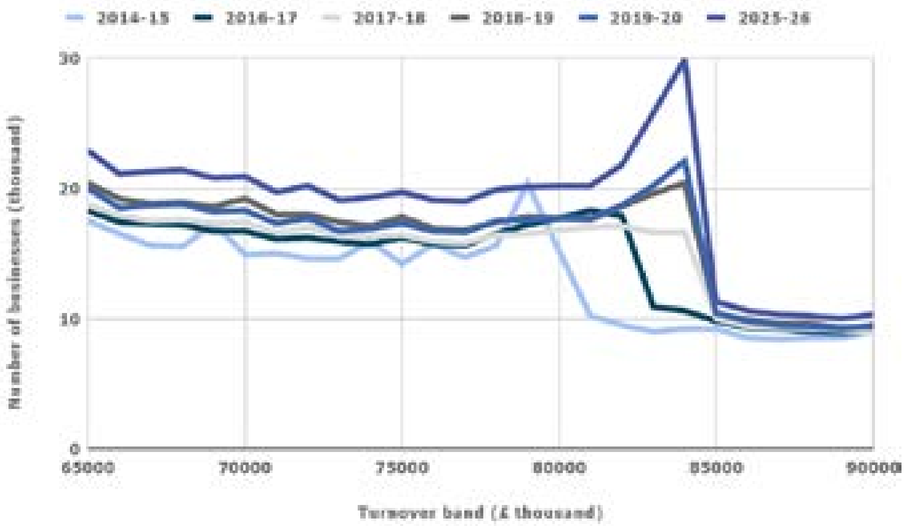


When the Office of Tax Simplification conducted a review into the impacts of raising or lowering the VAT registration threshold, they found that the current VAT threshold has a "distortionary impact on business growth".[41] They attributed this to "the phenomenon of 'bunching', where small businesses deliberately limit their turnover to remain below the threshold."[42] This 'bunching' effect leads to stunted productivity, with inflation pulling more businesses up to the threshold.

An online questionnaire launched by the Treasury found that around half of businesses had limited their turnover so as to remain under the VAT threshold.[43] Businesses achieved this by turning down work for a couple of months, closing their business for a short time, or taking holidays as turnover began to approach the threshold.[44] The majority of these businesses also reported that "reluctance to cross the threshold affected their ability to generally improve the profitability of the business."[45] They knew that crossing the threshold would require them to hike their prices in order to remain as profitable, as well as necessitate navigating the administrative burden that comes with becoming VAT registered.

It is estimated that the current VAT threshold acts as a barrier to growth for 24 percent of small businesses.[46] The Office for Budget Responsibility found that businesses 'bunch up' according to the VAT threshold, and this effect has worsened in recent years. Since 2017-18, when the VAT threshold was first set at £85,000 and has since been frozen, the level of 'bunching' up against the threshold has increased.[47] The number of firms capping their turnover as a result of the frozen threshold is expected to have almost doubled from 23,000 to 44,000.[48] The loss of turnover associated with this bunching is estimated to have risen from £110 million to £350 million.[49]

Chart 2: Bunching effect from the frozen VAT registration threshold[50]



The VAT registration threshold hinders the growth of businesses in a range of sectors. In particular, those businesses that are business to consumer (B2C) traders suffer disproportionately from the threshold.[51] Similarly, those businesses operating in tourism and hospitality, or other sectors that typically trade at low margins with high levels of payroll costs, might be more incentivised to operate below the VAT threshold.[52] Such businesses struggle to pass on the cost of VAT to their customers, leaving them without incentive to operate above the VAT threshold.

The Federation of Small Businesses advocates for raising the threshold to £100,000.[53] They claim that 1.4 million small businesses view the current VAT threshold as a barrier to growth.[54] Increasing the threshold would mean that businesses are in a stronger position by the time they have to process tax compliance procedures, which poses an administrative, as well as financial, burden. Others advocate for raising the threshold to £250,000, with John Redwood MP being a leading voice for such a reform. In The Power of Ownership he makes the case for raising the VAT threshold to £250,000 so as to boost the capacity and growth potential of the small business sector.[55]

Previously, when the UK formed part of the European Union, raising the VAT threshold would not have been possible without permission from the European Commission and consent of all EU Member States.[56] Even as part of the EU, it was clear that the UK was sceptical of low VAT thresholds, with the UK's the highest of all Member States.[57] Having now left the EU, it is time our country's tax policies reflect the full benefit of the Brexit freedoms the British public voted for back in 2016. A higher VAT threshold could pave the way for significant economic growth led by local businesses.

Although the UK's VAT registration threshold is high compared with EU Member States, it is dwarfed by the threshold of some states in the USA and that of Singapore's. California, New York, and Texas each have thresholds set at $500,000.[58] And Singapore has one of the highest VAT registration limits globally, at around £500,000 in UK currency.[59] This high threshold brings the added benefit of minimising the hidden economy as small businesses are not liable to paying VAT and so are not incentivised to conceal their turnover.[60]

The OBR forecasted that freezing the VAT registration threshold would raise an extra £1.4 billion a year by 2027-28 as it would lead to 169,000 more companies registered than if it had been lifted in line with RPI inflation.[61] As mentioned above, had it risen in line with inflation, the threshold would currently stand at £103,000.[62]

Although lifting the threshold to £100,000 would be fairer to businesses than maintaining a freeze, an even higher lift in the threshold will help more small businesses and prevent more 'bunching' in a few years' time.

Increasing the threshold to £250,000 would have implications for around 800,000 businesses, significantly increasing the competitive edge these smaller businesses have with their larger counterparts and allowing them to grow.[63]

It is estimated to cost below £3 billion to raise the threshold to £250,000.[64] But raising the threshold would, in time, lead to growth, as fewer businesses are incentivised to cap turnover below the £85,000 threshold. The bunching effect outlined above implies that businesses will expand if the threshold is lifted. The measure would help businesses expand their capacity and hire more staff, leading to more taxable employment, which will lead to increased revenue for the Treasury from increased Income Tax, PAYE, and National Insurance Contributions. Similarly, growing businesses will lead to more purchases of VATable items and increased profits tax on the successful businesses.[65] There will also be fewer costs incurred by HMRC due to them managing fewer registered businesses.[66] The supply side reform of the tax system should not be overlooked as a key tool in achieving the Prime Minister's priorities of growing the economy, halving inflation, and reducing national debt.[67]

Raising the VAT registration threshold is also a deflationary measure that will help drive down prices for consumers. Fewer businesses will be required to pass on the 20 percent VAT charge to consumers, allowing them to expand without hiking prices.

RECOMMENDATION: Raise the VAT threshold from £85,000 to £250,000

3. Abolish the IR35 reforms

IR35 refers to the rules that concern off-payroll workers, designed to ensure that they pay broadly the same Income Tax and National Insurance as an employee would. Reforms were introduced in 2017 and 2021 to crackdown on IR35 non-compliance, with 2017 reforms targeting public bodies and 2019 reforms extending similar responsibilities to medium and large organisations in the private and third sectors.[68] The reforms place the onus for determining a worker's employment status on the company engaging them. This means that if a company makes an error in the assessment of this status, the employer is liable for the National Insurance and Income Tax contributions that should have been deducted from what was paid to the off-payroll worker.[69]

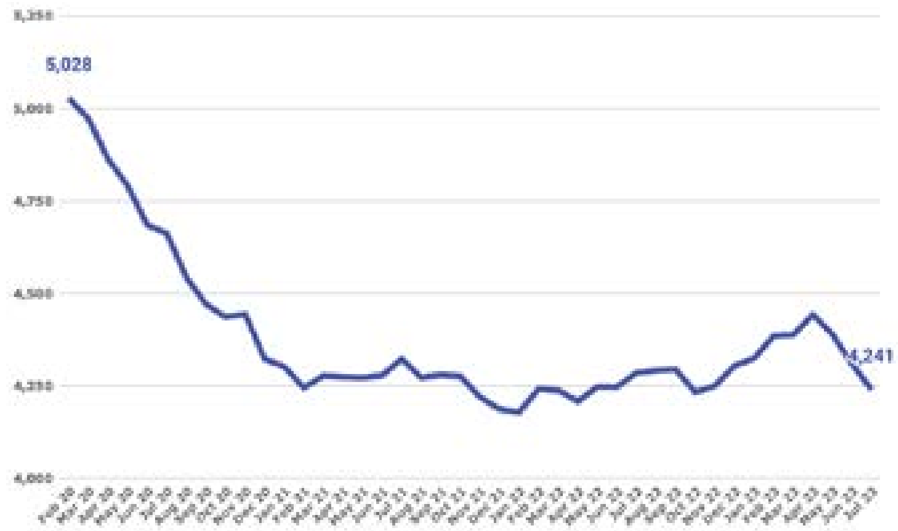
Although the reforms have reduced tax non-compliance since their introduction, and thereby raised revenue for the Treasury, they have posed bureaucratic challenges to businesses and the self-employed.

The IR35 reforms pose problems in three key areas. The first is that the reforms have led to an increased chance of double taxation.[70] Both contractors and firms can end up paying tax on the same money as a result of a structural flaw with the system. In some cases, this has led to firms receiving tax bills four times higher than expected.[71] Issues also arise around matters of appeal. Currently, there is not a clear legal route for appealing tax status determinations when workers disagree with their status assessment.[72] Although the Government has said they are working to rectify this, little progress has been made. And finally, a loophole exists where recruitment agencies can be charged with another company's tax bill – making it harder for contractors to win business.[73]

Combined, these flaws in the IR35 reforms make businesses hesitant to expand and take on new contractors for fear that they will misassess a contractor's employment status. Indeed, the Department for Work and Pensions has been accused of taking a "risk-averse approach to hiring contractors" after it paid £87.9 million to HMRC when a review of its own IR35 compliance procedures revealed it had incorrectly assessed the employment status of its contractors across a number of years.[74] This has led to contractors departing the industry by relocating abroad or retiring early due to closed opportunities.[75] It also disincentivises self-employment as it makes winning contracts harder and closes the door to certain contracts being even remotely obtainable.

Since 2020, the number of people registered as self-employed has fallen by 790,000.[76] Although the Covid-19 lockdowns played a significant role in this, the toughened tax regime concerning IR35 is also in part to blame as contractors struggle to win contracts from companies worried about tax status. Although IR35 reforms may have prevented some tax avoidance or safeguarded against employers forcing employees into self-employment against their wishes, the wider implications of IR35 reforms have failed the self-employed. Scrapping IR35 reforms would increase certainty around contract transactions in the market economy, in turn leading to growth. In particular, this would help the self-employed.

Chart 3: Number of self-employed workers in the UK (thousands)[77]



It is important that the Conservative Party retains the trust of the self-employed. The self-employed form Britain's flexible workforce, bringing entrepreneurship and innovation to the economy. The self-employed work without the safety net of paid holiday, company sick pay, or other on pay-roll benefits. It is right that this extra risk is reflected – and to some extent compensated for – by the tax system.

The Government estimated that repealing the IR35 reforms would cost £2 billion per year by 2026/27.[78,79] But repealing the IR35 reforms will also lead to growth due to reduced red tape on contractors and businesses thanks to a simplification of the tax system.

RECOMMENDATION: Abolish the IR35 reforms

Funding

In August, inflation was down to 6.7 percent.[80] Public sector net borrowing was also down by £11.3 billion in July.[81] The Government's efforts to improve the nation's fiscal and economic health are working. The Chancellor was right to prioritise spending restraint over cutting taxes but now there is room for properly funded tax cuts and reforms that can support the overarching mission to grow the economy while getting national debt and inflation down too.

We need fiscal realism to deliver tax reform. This means we cannot deliver unfunded tax cuts. In the current economic climate, such costing is even more vital.

The combined cost of the proposals outlined in this paper totals £6.6 billion.

Recommendation	Cost
Scrap the High Income Child Benefit Charge	£1.6 billion
Raise the VAT registration threshold to £250,000	£3 billion
Abolish the IR35 reforms	£2 billion

How will these tax cuts be paid for?

We propose that the Government cuts wasteful spending on quangos, diversity training schemes, and other divisive political initiatives. Pressure group Conservative Way Forward (CWF) reports that over £7 billion could be saved by cutting wasteful spending in these areas.[82] This will fund the proposals outlined above, while also ensuring an end to taxpayers' money being wasted on programmes that are not fit for purpose.

CWF assert that £5.5 billion of this could come from cutting spending on quangos alone, with the rest coming from reduced spending on divisive 'Equality, Diversity and Inclusion' (EDI) public procurement contracts, EDI training, and grants to charities that push controversial or politically charged campaigns.[83] It is time that taxpayers' money is directed away from such wasteful areas.

Some quangos could be abolished altogether, and others could be taken under the control of government departments.[84] Too often these organisations are established without adequate consideration of whether they are needed, and whether they provide good value for taxpayers' money.[85]

The steps outlined in the £7 billion saving plan, along with general improvement in Government efficiency, will lead to considerable savings that can be directed to help families and businesses through tax cuts.

The efficiency measures of 2010-2015 highlight the potential for savings if done thoroughly – £50 billion was saved during those years due to increased efficiency and reform.[86] There is still room for more to be done now.

Thanks to the work of the Minister for Brexit Opportunities and Government Efficiency, the Cabinet Office saved over £3.5 billion for the taxpayer in 2020/21 by means of tighter controls on spending and a reduction in fraud.[87] With the formation of the Efficiency and Value for Money Cabinet Committee in 2022, it was estimated that a further £5.5 billion could be cut from public spending by focussing on reducing waste and inefficiency.[88] But this tool has been underutilised thus far, with much greater use needed to realise such savings and trim the "bureaucratic bloat of Whitehall".[89]

The War on Waste investigation conducted by The TaxPayers' Alliance and the Daily Mail found that £5.6 billion of taxpayers' money had been wasted in 2019.[90] Going further, John O'Connell, Chief Executive of the TaxPayers' Alliance commented that such findings were "just the tip of the iceberg" given that "tens of billions of pounds are still squandered each year".[91] Former Treasury minister Lord Agnew thinks even more could be saved, claiming government inefficiency costs around £35 billion a year.[92]

Policy Exchange found that "it is always possible to introduce efficiency savings across Whitehall."[93] The £3.5 billion the Cabinet Office saved for the taxpayer in 2020/21 can be built on and saved year after year. £1.8 billion of the savings came from cutting losses from fraud and debt, and £1.4 billion came from improved buying decisions.[94] Continual focus on renegotiating contracts across Whitehall will be just one other way of improving value for money.

Policy Exchange suggests various other ways for increasing Government efficiency and reducing waste. Hiring freezes across more Departments, for instance, could help avoid the cost of compulsory redundancy payments, which currently cost around £6-7 billion a year, and reducing the civil service to pre-pandemic levels would result in a structural saving of £3.5 billion.[95] Relatedly, cutting consultancy contract spending to pre-pandemic levels will return a saving of £1.6 billion, after it hit a record high of £2.8 billion in 2022.[96]

Fortunately, there is no shortage of opportunities to reduce unnecessary expenditure in Government. Although we think we should start by cutting back on overgrown quangos and stopping spending on politically motivated campaigns, other efficiency measures could be pursued in tandem.

Moreover, we should not ignore the fiscal headroom that the Chancellor has to play with. Government borrowing remains comfortably under official forecasts – by more than £11 billion as of July this year.[97] Although interest rates and inflation will continue to impede the tax cuts that can be achieved without spending restraint, we should expect the Chancellor to be as ambitious as possible with his tax cuts. Tax cuts lead to growth and are needed to aid the recovery of the economy.[98] An overly cautious approach will only hamper growth.

Although we believe our proposals fall within the fiscal headroom the Chancellor has, and we note that raising the VAT registration threshold and abolishing IR35 reforms will, in time, lead to economic growth and increased revenues, we acknowledge that the Treasury prefers spending cuts to match cuts in taxes.[99] Nor can we safely rely on the stimulus of cuts to generate tax revenue quickly enough to cover the shortfall within the immediate budget cycle. Therefore alternative savings will have to be made in government spending, and that is why we propose a cut back on wasteful Government spending.

By eradicating waste we can ensure proper funding for lower taxes that help families and boost economic growth.

Conclusion

Conservatism needs to return to its belief in low and simple taxation that trusts working people with the management of their own money. This report has suggested modest and straightforward policy wins to edge us towards that goal.

A thorough shake-up of our tax system that would more fully reflect Conservative guiding principles will take time and the right economic conditions to make it viable. It will also require serious examination of the role of the OBR and the Bank of England, whose forecasts have frequently been inaccurate, downplaying the UK's economic position and wrongly inhibiting the Government from pursuing much needed tax cuts. But we should not lose sight of our end goal. Work should always pay, and the people of places like Doncaster and Stocksbridge should always be trusted to spend their money more effectively than the State.

The Conservatives must be the Party of low Income Tax and low Corporation Tax, and we need to put an end to tax structures that penalise couples with children.

We should be deeply uncomfortable with the tax burden as it currently stands. We owe it to those who voted for us in 2019 to lower taxes and grow the economy.

Making life better for hard-working people on ordinary incomes across the country will preserve the national coalition that emerged from the realignment of British politics after 2016, and help make Britain a fairer and more prosperous place. Helping Britain's tradespeople, entrepreneurs and hard-working families should be the guiding principle for our tax policies so that, under a Conservative government, hard work *always* pays.

Endnotes

1 Shaw, V. (2023) "UK's tax burden on course to hit highest level since Second World War". Evening Standard, 16th March. Available at: https://www.standard.co.uk/business/money/uk-s-tax-burden-on-course-to-hit-highest-level-since-second-world-war-b1067810.html

2 Sunak, R. (2023) "What I learned from Nigel Lawson". The Spectator, 8th April. Available at: https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/rishi-sunak-nigel-lawson-tribute/

3 House of Lords Economics Affairs Committee (2021). Quantitative easing: a dangerous addiction? 16th July, p.5. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/6725/documents/71894/default/

4 HM Treasury (2022). Autumn Statement. p.17. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1118417/CCS1022065440-001_SECURE_HMT_Autumn_Statement_November_2022_Web_accessible__1_.pdf

5 Gov UK (2023). Prime Minister outlines his five key priorities for 2023. 4th January. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-outlines-his-five-key-priorities-for-2023

6 Wells, A. (2020) "Budget 2020: what tax changes would be popular?". YouGov, 10th March. Available at: https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2020/03/10/budget-2020-what-tax-changes-would-be-popular

7 YouGov (2023). How fair is income tax? Available at: https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/trackers/how-fair-is-income-tax

8 Gov UK (2022). The Growth Plan 2022 speech. 23rd September. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-growth-plan-2022-speech

9 ONS (2023). Families and households in the UK: 2022. 18th May. Available At: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/families/bulletins/familiesandhouseholds/2022#:~:text=Families%20with%20no%20children%20made%20up%20the%20largest%20 proportion%20

10 ONS (2023). Families and households in the UK: 2022. 18th May. Available At: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/families/bulletins/familiesandhouseholds/2022#:~:text=Families%20with%20no%20children%20made%20up%20the%20largest%20 proportion%20

11 Resolution Foundation (2022). "'Children's benefits mess' leaves families facing effective tax rates of 80 to 96 percent". 28th December. Available at: https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/press-releases/childrens-benefits-mess-leaves-families-facing-effective-tax-rates-of-80-to-96-per-cent/#:~:text=The%20collision%20of%20these%20two,per%20cent%20for%20three%20children.

12 Resolution Foundation (2022). "'Children's benefits mess' leaves families facing effective tax rates of 80 to 96 percent". 28th December. Available at: https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/press-releases/childrens-benefits-mess-leaves-families-facing-effective-tax-rates-of-80-to-96-per-cent/#:~:text=The%20collision%20of%20these%20two,per%20cent%20for%20three%20children.

13 Gov UK (2023). Child Benefit: What you'll get. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/child-benefit/what-youll-get

14 Gov UK (2022). High Income Child Benefit Charge. 15th December. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/high-income-child-benefit-charge-data/high-income-child-benefit-charge#:~:text=The%20High%20Income%20Child%20Benefit%20Charge%20(%20HICBC%20)%20was%20introduced%20in,or%20whose%20partner%20gets%20it

15 Gov UK (2023). Child Benefit Statistics: annual release, data at August 2022. 12th April. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/child-benefit-statistics-annual-release-august-2022/child-benefit-statistics-annual-release-data-at-august-2022

16 This combines the 2023/24 rates and thresholds for Income Tax, employee National Insurance Contributions, HICBC, and Personal Allowance withdrawal.

17 Treasury Select Committee (2023). Written evidence submitted by Helen Miller, Institute for Fiscal Studies. May, p.2. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/121045/pdf/

18 Treasury Select Committee (2023). Written evidence submitted by Helen Miller, Institute for Fiscal Studies. May, p.2. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/121045/pdf/

19 Treasury Select Committee (2023). Written evidence submitted by Fran Bennett, Associate Fellow, Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford). May, p.3. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/121161/pdf/

20 Treasury Select Committee (2023). Written evidence submitted by Fran Bennett, Associate Fellow, Department of Social Policy and Intervention, University of Oxford). May, p.3. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/121161/pdf/

21 IFS (2022). Your household's income : Where do you fit in?. 22nd August. Available at:

https://ifs.org.uk/tools_and_resources/where_do_you_fit_in?income=3700&-form%5Bperiod%5D=yearly#tool-results-section

22 IFS (2022). Your household's income : Where do you fit in?. 22nd August. Available at:

https://ifs.org.uk/tools_and_resources/where_do_you_fit_in?income=3700&-form%5Bperiod%5D=yearly#tool-results-section

23 Aldi (2023). Store Manager. Available at: https://www.aldirecruitment.co.uk/stores/store-manager

24 Norfolk Police Federation (2023). Rank Pay Scales. Available at: https://www.polfed.org/norfolk/information/rank-pay-scales/

25 Prospects (2023). Company Secretary. Available at: https://www.prospects.ac.uk/job-profiles/company-secretary

26 Prospects (2023). Facilities Manager. Available at: https://www.prospects.ac.uk/job-profiles/facilities-manager#salary

27 Prospects (2023). Site Engineer.

Available at: https://www.prospects.ac.uk/job-profiles/site-engineer#salary

28 Prospects (2023). Quarry Manager. Available at: https://www.prospects.ac.uk/job-profiles/quarry-manager

29 Full Fact (2023). "Average annual income of UK plumbers is not between £150,000 and £1 million". 31st July. Available at: https://fullfact.org/online/plumbers-income-uk-average/

30 OBR (2021). Welfare Trends Report. March, p.7. Available at: https://obr.uk/docs/dlm_uploads/Welfare_trends_report_March_2021.pdf

31 Policy in Practice (2023). Putting the 'Universal' into Universal Credit. March, p.12. Available at: https://policyinpractice.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/Putting-the-Universal-into-Universal-Credit-report-by-Policy-in-Practice.pdf

32 IFS (2019). "Stealthy changes mean that soon one in five families with children will be losing some Child Benefit". 7th January. Available at: https://ifs.org.uk/articles/stealthy-changes-mean-soon-one-five-families-children-will-be-losing-some-child-benefit

33 Gov UK (2023). Child Benefit Statistics: annual release, data at August 2022. 12th April. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/child-benefit-statistics-annual-release-august-2022/child-benefit-statistics-annual-release-data-at-august-2022

34 Gov UK (2023). Child Benefit Statistics: annual release, data at August 2022. 12th April. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/child-benefit-statistics-annual-release-august-2022/child-benefit-statistics-annual-release-data-at-august-2022

35 Gov UK (2023). How VAT works. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/how-vat-works

36 Gov UK (2023). How VAT works. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/how-vat-works

37 Chartered Institute of Taxation (2022). "Cruel dilemmas for small businesses over frozen VAT threshold". 18th November. Available at: https://www.tax.org.uk/cruel-dilemmas-for-small-businesses-over-frozen-vat-threshold

38 Chartered Institute of Taxation (2022). "Cruel dilemmas for small businesses over frozen VAT threshold". 18th November. Available at: https://www.tax.org.uk/cruel-dilemmas-for-small-businesses-over-frozen-vat-threshold

39 The British Florists Association (2019). BFA Florist Survey Results. 1st January. Available at: https://britishfloristassociation.org/for-the-industry/industry-brexit/bfa-florist-survey-results/

40 NHBF (2017). The NHBF Hair and Beauty Industry Statistics poster. 23rd March. Available at: https://www.nhbf.co.uk/documents/hair-and-beauty-industry-statistics/

41 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.2. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

42 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.2. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

43 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.3. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

44 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.3. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

45 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.3. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

46 FSB (2021). A Duty to Reform. October, p10. Available at: https://www.fsb.org.uk/resource-report/a-duty-to-reform.html

47 OBR (2023). Economic and fiscal outlook, March 2023. p.68. Available at: https://obr.uk/docs/dlm_uploads/OBR-EFO-March-2023_Web_Accessible.pdf

48 OBR (2023). Economic and fiscal outlook, March 2023. p.68. Available at: https://obr.uk/docs/dlm_uploads/OBR-EFO-March-2023_Web_Accessible.pdf

49 OBR (2023). Economic and fiscal outlook, March 2023. p.68. Available at: https://obr.uk/docs/dlm_uploads/OBR-EFO-March-2023_Web_Accessible.pdf

50 OBR (2023). The impact of the frozen VAT registration threshold. March. Available at: https://obr.uk/box/the-impact-of-the-frozen-vat-registration-threshold/

51 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.11. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

52 HM Treasury (2018). VAT registration threshold: Summary of responses. October, p.11. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/752042/VAT_Threshold_Call_for_Evidence_Summary_of_Responses_digi-comms.pdf

53 FSB (2023). "FSB calls on Government to announce Christmas strategy after latest Small Business Index (SBI)". 31st August. Available at: https://www.fsb.org.uk/resources-page/fsb-calls-on-government-to-announce-christmas-strategy-after-latest-small-business-index-sbi.html

54 FSB (2021). A Duty to Reform. October, p3. Available at: https://www.fsb.org.uk/resource-report/a-duty-to-reform.html

55 Redwood, J. (2023) The Power of Ownership. Centre for Policy Studies. Available at: https://cps.org.uk/media/post/2023/unleash-power-of-ownership-to-boost-security-and-wellbeing-says-redwood/

56 Seely, A. (2019) VAT registration. House of Commons Library, 3rd January, p.14. Available at: https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN00963/SN00963.pdf

57 Seely, A. (2019) VAT registration. House of Commons Library, 3rd January, p.4. Available at: https://research-briefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN00963/SN00963.pdf

58 Avalara (2023). “Economic Nexus: Find out where you’re on the hook to collect and file sales tax”. Available at: https://www.avalara.com/us/en/learn/guides/state-by-state-guide-economic-nexus-laws.html

59 Seely, A. (2019) VAT registration. House of Commons Library, 3rd January, p.23. Available at: https://research-briefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN00963/SN00963.pdf

60 AAT (2018). Association of Accounting Technicians response to HM Treasury Call for Evidence on the Value Added Tax (VAT) Registration Threshold. 13th March, p.4. Available at: https://www.aat.org.uk/prod/s3fs-public/assets/VAT-Registration-Threshold-FINAL.pdf

61 Tapsfield, J (2023). “A Budget for growth, Jeremy? OBR warns 44,000 small firms will deliberately cut annual revenue by £350m to avoid having to register for VAT amid EIGHT-YEAR freeze in threshold.” Daily Mail, 17th March. Available at: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11871791/44-000-small-firms-cut-revenue-EIGHT-YEAR-VAT-threshold-freeze.html#:~:text=The%20threshold%20at%20which%20companies,in%20line%20with%20RPI%20inflation.

62 Chartered Institute of Taxation (2022). “Cruel dilemmas for small businesses over frozen VAT threshold”. 18th November. Available at: https://www.tax.org.uk/cruel-dilemmas-for-small-businesses-over-frozen-vat-threshold

63 ONS (2022). UK business: activity, size and location. 28th September. Available at:

https://www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/activitysizeandlocation/datasets/ukbusinessactivitysizeandlocation

64 Seely, A. (2019) VAT registration. House of Commons Library, 3rd January, p.23. Available at: https://research-briefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN00963/SN00963.pdf

65 Redwoof, J. (2023) Raising the VAT threshold. 28th February. Available at: http://johnredwoodsdiary.com/2023/02/28/raising-the-vat-threshold/

66 Seely, A. (2019) VAT registration. House of Commons Library, 3rd January, p.4. Available at: https://research-briefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN00963/SN00963.pdf

67 Gov UK (2023). Prime Minister outlines his five key priorities for 2023. 4th January. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-outlines-his-five-key-priorities-for-2023

68 NAO (2022). Investigation into the implementation of IR35 tax reforms. 10th February. Available at: https://www.nao.org.uk/reports/investigation-in-to-the-implementation-of-ir35-tax-reforms/

69 Hickey, S. (2023) “HMRC considers ‘game changing’ IR35 tax reform”. FT Adviser, 28th April. Available at: https://www.ftadviser.com/companies/2023/04/28/hmrc-considers-game-changing-ir35-tax-reform/

70 Public Accounts Committee (2022). Oral evidence: Lessons from implementing IR35 reforms, HC 1051. 21st February, p.8. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/9898/default/

71 Contractor Calculator (2023). “‘Fix or ditch’ the Off-payroll IR35 Reforms, says ContractorCalculator”. 7th March. Available at: https://www.contractorcalculator.co.uk/fix_or_ditch_payroll_ir35_reforms_567410_news.aspx

72 NAO (2022). Investigation into the implementation of IR35 tax reforms. 10th February, p.33. Available at: https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Investigation-into-the-implementation-of-IR35-tax-reforms.pdf

73 Contractor Calculator (2023). “‘Fix or ditch’ the Off-payroll IR35 Reforms, says ContractorCalculator”. 7th March. Available at: https://www.contractorcalculator.co.uk/fix_or_ditch_payroll_ir35_reforms_567410_news.aspx

74 Donnelly, C. (2023) “DWP accounts highlight decline in outside IR35 workers in wake of department’s £87.9m tax bill”. Computer Weekly, 10th August. Available at: https://www.computerweekly.com/news/366547699/DWP-accounts-highlight-decline-in-outside-IR35-workers-in-wake-of-departments-879m-tax-bill

75 Jones, S (2023). “IR35 reversal scrapped as Hunt drops tax plans”. Business Insolvency Helpline. Available at: https://business-insolvency-helpline.co.uk/ir35-reversal-scrapped/

76 Redwoof, J. (2023) Self Employment Falls Again. 13th September. Available at: https://johnredwoodsdiary.com/2023/09/13/self-employment-falls-again/

77 Statista (2023). Number of self-employed workers in the United Kingdom from May 1992 to July 2023. Available at: https://www.statista.com/statistics/318234/united-kingdom-self-employed/

78 Gayne, D (2022). “Contractors ‘thrown under the bus’ by government’s IR35 flip-flop, say compliance firms”. Building, 17th October. Available at: https://www.building.co.uk/news/contractors-thrown-under-the-bus-by-governments-ir35-flip-flop-say-compliance-firms/5119977.article

79 HM Treasury (2022). The Growth Plan 2022. September, p.26. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1105989/CCS207_CCS0822746402-001_SECURE_HMT_Autumn_Statement_2022_BOOK_Web_Accessible.pdf

80 BBC News (2023). “UK inflation: Slowing food prices drive surprise fall”. 20th September. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-66844295

81 OBR (2023). Commentary on the Public Sector Finances: July. Available at: https://obr.uk/docs/dlm_uploads/July-PSF-commentary.pdf

82 Conservative Way Forward (2022). Defunding Politically Motivated Campaigns. 12th December. Available at: https://www.conservativewayforward.com/_files/ugd/acef4a_5b5ec1d9017f40b987a68110f70d276c.pdf

83 Conservative Way Forward (2022). Defunding Politically Motivated Campaigns. 12th December, p.3. Available at: https://www.conservativewayforward.com/_files/ugd/acef4a_5b5ec1d9017f40b987a68110f70d276c.pdf

84 The TaxPayers’ Alliance (2015). The Spending Plan. p. 56. Available at: https://assets.nationbuilder.com/taxpayersalliance/pages/16359/attachments/

original/1658225936/The_Spending_Plan_full_report.pdf?1658225936

85 The TaxPayers' Alliance (2015). The Spending Plan. p. 55. Available at: https://assets.nationbuilder.com/taxpayersalliance/pages/16359/attachments/original/1658225936/The_Spending_Plan_full_report.pdf?1658225936

86 Hansard (2015). Topical Questions, Volume 594: debated on Wednesday 25 March 2015. Available at: https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2015-03-25/debates/15032574000022/TopicalQuestions

87 Martin, D (2022). "Jacob Rees-Mogg's Whitehall efficiency drive has 'saved almost £4 billion'". The Telegraph, 17th August. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2022/08/17/jacob-rees-moggs-whitehall-efficiency-drive-has-saved-almost/

88 Martin, D (2022). "Jacob Rees-Mogg's Whitehall efficiency drive has 'saved almost £4 billion'". The Telegraph, 17th August. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2022/08/17/jacob-rees-moggs-whitehall-efficiency-drive-has-saved-almost/

89 Martin, D (2022). "Jacob Rees-Mogg's Whitehall efficiency drive has 'saved almost £4 billion'". The Telegraph, 17th August. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2022/08/17/jacob-rees-moggs-whitehall-efficiency-drive-has-saved-almost/

90 Boyle, S (2020). "SPECIAL INVESTIGATION: You've spent the year watching every penny, now hear how the public sector has squandered £5.6bn of taxpayer cash on everything from luxury travel to lavish bonuses, and fine dining". The Daily Mail, 23rd November. Available at: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8975691/Major-probe-reveals-public-sector-squanders-5-6bn-cash.html

91 Boyle, S (2020). "SPECIAL INVESTIGATION: You've spent the year watching every penny, now hear how the public sector has squandered £5.6bn of taxpayer cash on everything from luxury travel to lavish bonuses, and fine dining". The Daily Mail, 23rd November. Available at: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8975691/Major-probe-reveals-public-sector-squanders-5-6bn-cash.html

92 BBC News (2022). "Government inefficiency costs £35bn a year, says ex-minister". 4th October. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-63131393

93 Policy Exchange (2022). Balancing the Books: Charting a credible path to fiscal responsibility. p.43. Available at: https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Balancing-the-Books.pdf

94 Policy Exchange (2022). Balancing the Books: Charting a credible path to fiscal responsibility. p.43. Available at: https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Balancing-the-Books.pdf

95 Policy Exchange (2022). Balancing the Books: Charting a credible path to fiscal responsibility. p.43-5. Available at: https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Balancing-the-Books.pdf

96 Policy Exchange (2022). Balancing the Books: Charting a credible path to fiscal responsibility. p.43. Available at: https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Balancing-the-Books.pdf and Elgot, J (2023). "Ministers quietly scrap limits on Whitehall spending on consultants". The Guardian, 6th February. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2023/feb/06/ministers-quietly-scrap-limits-on-whitehall-spending-on-consultants

97 Jessop, J (2023). "Lower borrowing leaves room for tax cuts". IEA, 22nd August. Available at: https://iea.org.uk/media/lower-borrowing-leaves-room-for-tax-cuts/

98 McBride, W. (2012) What Is the Evidence on Taxes and Growth? Tax Foundation, 18th December, p.2. Available at: https://files.taxfoundation.org/legacy/docs/sr207.pdf?_gl=1*zugqgb*_ga*MTYxNzA4MTIzMi4xNjk1ODI2ODMz*_ga_FP7KWDV08V*MTY5NTgzMTM5OS4yLjEuMTY5NTgzMTU2My42MC4wLjA

99 Redwood, J. (2023) The Power of Ownership. Centre for Policy Studies. Available at: https://cps.org.uk/media/post/2023/unleash-power-of-ownership-to-boost-security-and-wellbeing-says-redwood/