**HM Treasury - Business Rates Review: Call for Evidence**

**A joint response by London Councils and the Greater London Authority**

**16th September 2020**

**Introduction**

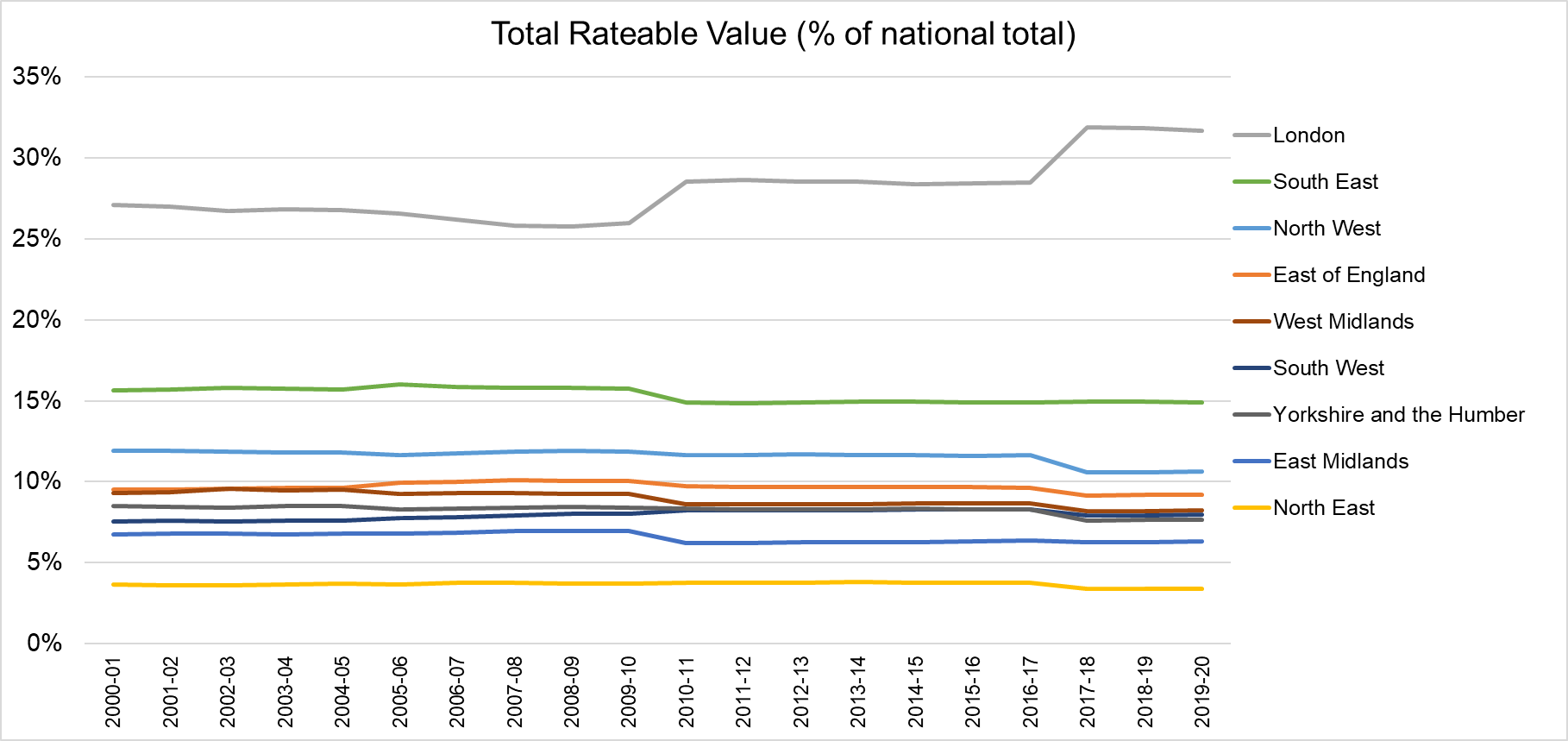
1. This is a joint response by “London Government” on behalf of London Councils (representing the 32 boroughs and the City of London) and the Greater London Authority (GLA). It has been agreed by the Leaders of London’s local authorities and the Mayor of London.
2. London Government has long held common ambitions regarding a greater role over the setting and retention of business rates and has worked closely together to put this case to government. In recent years we have repeatedly raised concerns regarding the sustainability of the tax, which is in desperate need of reform. The review is therefore very welcome.
3. However, it comes at a time of great economic uncertainty caused by the coronavirus pandemic, in which London businesses have been hit hard. While the grant support and temporary rate relief provided by Government so far has been very welcome, it is clear that substantial challenges will remain for the foreseeable future – particularly in the retail, hospitality and leisure sectors. Central London and its town centres – in common with the centre of cities across the country – face potentially far-reaching changes in business activity and property use, and it is too early to tell what the long-term impact will be on the commercial property market.
4. It is highly likely that some elements of the current support packages will need to continue into 2021-22, and we urge the Government to confirm its plans for business rates support for businesses beyond March as soon as possible.
5. Our response to the review, therefore, represents the fundamental reforms we think are required for business rates to be implemented once we are emerging from the pandemic; such reform could help to stabilise the economy and support future growth.
6. The review sits alongside the Comprehensive Spending Review, due in the autumn, that will set the overall level and priorities for public spending for the next three years. It also comes at an important crossroads for local government finance, with fundamental decisions to be taken soon regarding the overall quantum of funding (CSR), adult social care reform, and further reforms to the business rates retention scheme and Fair Funding Review, which have been pushed back a year due to the virus. We strongly urge the government to take a joined-up approach and view these events in the round rather than considering them in isolation.
7. These decisions, alongside a view about the future role of local government as captured in the forthcoming Devolution and Recovery White Paper, point to the need for a new settlement to underpin the funding of local government going forward, including the potential for new sources of revenue and greater fiscal devolution.
8. Business rates currently fund over 40% of local government spending. Any reforms that reduce the overall tax will reduce funding for local public services unless equivalent alternative revenue sources are identified. We therefore welcome the recognition that the “impact on the local government funding system will be an important consideration in reviewing the tax”, but are concerned that this issue is not addressed in the call for evidence.
9. More broadly, any reforms that reduce the tax yield raises questions about the potential for new taxes to replace or supplement business rates and, importantly, who controls them, including whether they can be easily collected and allocated on a local or geographical basis. It is clear that business rates cannot, in their current form, bear the strain required of them, and that a broader range of taxes is required to reflect the modern economy.
10. However, if those alternative taxes are introduced in a blanket manner across the country, they will once again fail to reflect the needs and aspirations of local communities and hamper those communities’ efforts to rebuild their local economies. We believe local government should play a central role in designing and controlling such alternatives and will set out fuller views on this and the broader themes of the review in our second submission for the 31st October deadline.
11. This response firstly sets out London Government’s general comments on the review, and overarching views regarding the reform of reliefs and the multiplier, before answering the detailed questions in the call for evidence.

**General comments**

1. London Government welcomes the opportunity to respond to this call for evidence and to participate more widely in the fundamental review of business rates. Prior to the pandemic, London was due to generate over £10 billion gross in business rates before reliefs - a third of the national yield. London’s economic recovery following the pandemic will be vital to that of the country overall. Any reformed system must, therefore, take into account the views of Londoners, London’s rate payers, and its democratically elected politicians.
2. London Government has a strong history of working together in the pursuit of greater devolution of business rates. Both London Finance Commission (LFC) reports (2013 and 2017), supported by London Councils and the GLA, presented clear arguments for full control and retention of the proceeds of business rates. Of particular relevance, the latter called for:

* devolution of the full suite of property taxes including business rates;
* devolution of the operation and setting of business rates, including setting the multiplier; and
* London Government to be granted full control of business rates reliefs, including the flexibility to introduce a more effective small business relief scheme to reflect London’s higher rental values.

1. Our joint response to the Government’s proposals for 100% retention in 2016 represents the most detailed and worked out proposals to date[[1]](#footnote-1). It called for the decoupling of London’s business rates from the rest of the country’s and for London Government to have full control over both the setting and distribution of the proceeds of the tax, and a separate London regional arm of the Valuation Office accountable to London Government similar to the arrangements introduced in Wales in 2015.
2. While the extent of the Government’s reforms was less ambitious than this, London Government has demonstrated, through the London business rates pool, continued appetite for further devolution. We have shown that we can work collaboratively and are willing to take on more responsibilities and resources to deliver stronger outcomes for Londoners. The business rates pilot pools in 2018-19 and 2019-20 delivered over £250 million of direct strategic investment – and leveraged a further £700 million that would not have happened otherwise – in housing, regeneration, skills, transport and digital infrastructure across the capital. The fact that London continued to pool in 2020-21 despite a large part of the financial incentive being removed, again shows commitment to collaboration for the benefit of Londoners.
3. The pilots and the current pool are, in our view, a small but important stepping stone towards greater business rates retention and further fiscal devolution of the level set out in the LFC reports, and we remain committed to the long-term goal of full local control over the setting and distribution of business rates in the capital.
4. However, the tax remains flawed and is in desperate need of reform. It has three major pitfalls. Firstly, it is overly complex for ratepayers and local authorities with a multitude of reliefs and exemptions and qualifying thresholds which can vary from year to year. Secondly, it has been eroded across much of England in recent years, such that it is overly concentrated on particular sectors and geographies. Finally, as it is centrally controlled, it is not responsive enough to local economic conditions or the needs of local businesses and communities that local authorities serve.
5. **Complexity** – the tax has been repeatedly altered at fiscal events in recent years as successive Chancellors have added more complexity by creating further reliefs for different sectors. Many of which have often been temporary (such as retail, new build empty relief and retail reoccupation retail which applied in 2014-15 and 2015-16 only or pub relief in 2017-18 and 2018-19 with more comprehensive schemes to support those sectors introduced in 2019-20 prior to the current pandemic). Whilst the Government has set out the justification and purpose of these reliefs, the constant change has made it difficult for ratepayers to understand which reliefs they are eligible for or not and undermines the transparency of the tax. Some high street service businesses have been excluded from eligibility for retail relief and grants this year (e.g. those providing medical or health services or car repairs), whereas other service businesses have qualified even though they have not been adversely affected. Similarly, many supply-side firms and small businesses occupying offices in London above the small business rate relief threshold have received no rates relief or grants at all: the £51,000 rateable value threshold excludes 24% of businesses in London, compared to only 9% elsewhere.
6. The series of additional reliefs has also added further complexity for local authorities in administering the tax and in understanding how these reliefs impact local government funding through the rates retention system. It also weakens the relationship between local economic success and retained revenues – thereby undermining both accountability and incentives without significantly increasing equality of outcome.
7. **Distortion** – the tax has become more concentrated on particular sectors and geographies over the last 20 years. The national multiplier is set to ensure that, at each revaluation, the total yield does not exceed a Treasury-determined level. In practice this means that London (particularly central London) – where property prices have been rising faster than the rest of the country – bears an increasing share of the overall burden. Following the 2017 revaluation, London now accounts for around a third of the total rates yield in England (see chart below). Indeed in 2019-20 one London billing authority - Westminster City Council - alone collected £200 million more in business rates than Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield City Councils combined. One Oxford Street department store paid more business rates than was collected in 2019-20 by around twenty district councils. This is inherently unstable. It also reduces the incentives for local authorities outside London – whose tax bases are thereby suppressed - to deliver additional growth in the way envisaged by the business rate retention system.



1. At the same time, growth in online sales has meant that tax increases have been felt harder by retailers with a physical presence (particularly on the high street) who have struggled in recent years. This longer-term impact on retail shopping habits and commercial office use, particularly in the centre of cities, further highlights the fragility of the tax.
2. **Centralisation** - A single national multiplier covers a huge variety of local economies – in England. Northern Ireland, by contrast, has a regional rate supplemented by locally set rates in each of 11 districts, each with a population comparable to that of a London Borough and much lower business rates tax bases. England’s centralised approach is inflexible and results in central government attempting to support particular sectors by using the blunt instruments of nationally set thresholds which fail to take into account variations in rental values and local economies. These include the national multiplier, the system of centrally prescribed mandatory reliefs, and many of the Government funded discretionary relief and grant schemes with rateable value qualifying thresholds ranging from £15,000 to £51,000 to £100,000 depending on the scheme.
3. These issues were apparent before COVID-19, but the pandemic has exacerbated them. The short-term measures to support businesses – the guarantee of £10 billion of business rates bills through emergency reliefs and shoring up businesses with a further £12 billion through various grant schemes – means the Government is now guaranteeing more than one third of the rates income (rising to nearly two thirds in some London boroughs) and the future of the tax beyond this year is uncertain. We urge the Government to confirm as soon as possible how it intends to support business rates for businesses still affected by the pandemic after the current financial year. This will not only provide certainty for businesses but for local authority financial planning.
4. Given these issues, we welcome the stated aims of the review to improve the current business rates system to make it more sustainable; and to consider more fundamental changes in the medium-to-long term.
5. In essence, London Government believes the tax must be made simpler and more responsive to local circumstances. A new single business rate system applied to all local economies risks repeating and reinforcing the problems of the current system: reformed business rates in London should reflect the particular circumstances of the capital’s economy and commercial property market. A greater local role in the operation of business rates is needed now more than ever if authorities are to have the necessary tools and levers to drive the local economic and social recovery in their areas. In particular, the government should start by reforming the system of reliefs and the national multiplier.

Reliefs

1. London Government has long called for greater local control over reliefs to enable local authorities to better address the needs of their local economies and communities. Even prior to COVID-19 mandatory reliefs awarded in London amounted to around £1.1 billion in 2020-21[[2]](#footnote-2). Four mandatory reliefs account for 95% of all reliefs in 2020-21: the Small Business Rates relief, Empty Property relief, Charitable relief and the retail relief. The parameters around these reliefs are currently set by central government. London Government believes these could be used more constructively to improve local economies - and support local economic recovery - if devolved to London Government.
2. We believe London Government should have the collective ability to set the qualification criteria and thresholds of the existing mandatory reliefs currently set by central government (and the discretionary elements of those schemes), as well as determining new relief schemes periodically when deemed necessary.
3. Locally determined reliefs and discounts would encourage greater dialogue and engagement between London Government and businesses and empower local authorities to respond to the specific needs of their local economies, for example supporting the regeneration of high streets and town centres by incentivising cafes, arts and culture spaces, workspace or civic uses. Collective control over reliefs would also facilitate more strategic planning to meet other statutory duties; for example, by tailoring reliefs to incentivise the provision of healthy food retailers (rather than fast food outlets) they could help promote better public health outcomes.
4. These reforms could create a far stronger platform on which to increase incentives to support economic growth, promote broader policy objectives and link councils more closely to their business communities.
5. Prior to COVID-19, the largest of these reliefs in scale was **charitable relief** (£2 billion nationally in 2020-21). We believe there should ultimately be full local discretion over the mandatory percentage discount (currently 80%) or, failing that, the ability to vary the threshold within certain centrally prescribed parameters (e.g. between 50% and 80%). The current relief is applied to all properties occupied by charities – whether head office or high street retail - and are applied inflexibly across the country. Arguably this both subsidises charity shops - which may be desirable in its own right, but may also contradict and inhibit local economic development plans - and incentivizes avoidance tactics whereby landlords let large empty buildings coming to the end of their relief period to charities. In London, the particular prevalence of charities in some high streets may be keeping rents artificially high.
6. Similarly, **empty property relief** (accounting for almost £900 million in 2020-21), has centrally fixed parameters (regarding the length of time they are vacant and are applied to most sectors equally (with longer time period for industrial property). Were these parameters under local control, authorities could make much more targeted and responsive local actions to address vacancies in high streets, business and industrial parks and other areas. We believe this would also help to reduce rates avoidance.
7. With regard to **small business rates relief**, we believe the current national one size fits all approach works particularly badly in London, where many businesses that, by any other measure (the number of people they employ, their turnover or profitability) would be defined as small, do not qualify for 100% relief due to their RV being higher than the £12,000 threshold with tapered relief offered up to £15,000. London has over 1 million SME businesses, many of which will need to be in high rental value properties due to the nature of their business, access to clients and access to talent, and will sit above the threshold.
8. A 2019 survey by the Federation of Small Businesses of their London members showed 72% of their members did not qualify for rate relief; and 74% of their members cited Business Rates as a major issue, with 23% saying that the impact could mean them shutting their business, and only 15% saying it will have no impact.
9. The qualifying threshold to receive a 100% exemption from business rates under the small business rates relief scheme is only £12,000 in England – compared to £15,000 in Scotland under the Scottish government’s equivalent small business bonus scheme. The taper for partial relief is also £3,000 higher north of the border and ratepayers retain eligibility if the combined rateable value of their properties is up to £35,000 compared to only £20,000 in England. As a result, fewer than 4 per cent of businesses in Westminster, for example, based on their original 2020-21 estimates submitted in January 2020, qualify for small business rate relief.
10. Finally, the targeted **retail relief** introduced in recent years, prior to the COVID-19 retail relief, is reflective of the broader issues around increasing online sales and the decline of the high street. Again, it has a national RV threshold of £51,000, which may not make sense for retail businesses in London, which are small by all other definitions, but would not qualify for this relief.

The multiplier

1. Given the urgent need for a sustainable system, and the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the current economic climate, London Government reiterates its previous call for local control over the business rates multiplier within a reformed tax system to enable greater local accountability over and responsibility for local economies. We believe that towns, cities and local councils that are more responsible for their own destiny and more accountable for their own success, would design better taxes and provide better services.
2. London Government would wish to explore options for locally determined multipliers, with the Mayor of London being granted the ability to set a proportion of the rate on a London wide basis, and boroughs setting the rest of the multiplier, with those respective proportions to be determined by London Government. As suggested by the LFC, the rate of any increase could potentially be pegged to that of Council Tax increases.
3. There is precedent from the devolved administrations for this, with the multiplier and valuation arrangements being devolved to the Welsh Assembly in Wales in 2015, and a two-tier multiplier implemented between Northern Irish districts and the Northern Ireland Assembly, which has been in place for a number of years. Both of these options are worth exploration in English regions. Scotland has also essentially operated its own separate devolved arrangements, supplemented by the Scottish Assessor valuation model for business rates, since 1854. Many of the recommendations of the independent Barclay review of business rates, relating to reliefs, tax setting, exemptions and tackling avoidance which concluded in 2017 and were subsequently implemented relatively swiftly by the Scottish government, have equal applicability to England. If such arrangements can work in the devolved administrations, resulting in a more dynamic tax which can respond more speedily to emerging developments, there is surely no logical reason why they cannot be made to work in London and in the other regions and cities of England.
4. In the short term, as a way of piloting or transitioning to this more ambitious scheme, London Government would at least wish to have the ability to vary the change to the national multipliers set annually by central government.

**Detailed response to consultation questions**

**Reliefs**

**Q1 - How well do current reliefs and exemptions deliver their intended outcomes and satisfy the principles of good tax design? What changes would you suggest to the system?**

1. London Government does not believe the current reliefs and exemptions deliver their intended outcomes and satisfy the principles of good tax design. As outlined in paragraph 15, the growing number of centrally determined reliefs has created a complex system of compensation arrangements through a series of section 31 grants, each with their own individual methodology. This creates uncertainty in medium- and long-term financial planning, for both businesses and local government, and undermines the transparency of the tax. Simplification should be a priority as part of this review.
2. The current suite of centrally prescribed reliefs is a blunt instrument to effect policy outcomes. As set out above (paragraphs 26-35), London Government believes the system of reliefs should be substantially reformed to enable local authorities to respond better to their local economies. We believe local areas should have the ability to set the qualification criteria and thresholds of the existing mandatory reliefs currently set by central government, as well as determining new mandatory relief schemes periodically where there is local support to do so.

**Q2 - How can reliefs be targeted more effectively? How can reliefs and their administration be simplified?**

1. As set out above (paragraphs 27-29), London Government believes greater local control of reliefs (at the regional and local level) would enable reliefs to be targeted more effectively. A one size fits all approach with nationally set qualifying rateable value thresholds which take little or no account or local economies or rental levels is simply no longer viable. Locally determined reliefs and discounts would encourage greater dialogue and engagement between London Government and businesses and empower local authorities to respond to the specific needs of their local economies, for example supporting the regeneration of high streets and town centres by incentivising cafes, arts and culture spaces, workspace or civic uses. Collective control over reliefs would also facilitate more strategic planning to meet other statutory duties for example, by tailoring reliefs to incentivise the provision of healthy food retailers (rather than fast food outlets) they could help promote better public health outcomes.
2. These reforms could create a far stronger platform on which to increase incentives to support economic growth, promote broader policy objectives and link councils more closely to their business communities.
3. With regard to simplifying administration, COVID-19 Small business grants scheme has exposed how limited the available information is regarding the businesses paying business rates. Any reforms should look at how this can be improved, for example through online registration systems, or potentially via information sharing with HMRC, and or Companies House.

**Q3 - What evidence is there on the capitalisation of business rates and business rates reliefs into rents over time? What does any evidence mean for the design of rates reliefs and business rates more broadly?**

1. We are aware of a study by Regeneris[[3]](#footnote-3) commissioned by British Property Federation (BPF), British Council of Shopping Centers (BCSC) and British Council for Offices (BCO) in 2015, which looked at the impact in urban centres. It suggested changes in rates paid are reflected in corresponding adjustments in rental values (at least up to 2008), but that this relationship is stronger in regional markets than in London.

**Q4 - What role should local authorities have in determining business rates reliefs and exemptions? Should reliefs and exemptions be set by central government or set locally?**

1. As set out above (paragraphs 26-35), London Government believes local areas should have the ability to set the qualification criteria and thresholds of the existing mandatory reliefs currently set by central government, as well as determining new mandatory relief schemes periodically where there is local support to do so.
2. In London, we would envisage that where individual boroughs or the Mayor wished to offer additional discounts over and above a collective scheme agreement, this could be achieved through adjustments to their retained rates. We therefore believe the power to offer business rates discounts directly should be extended to the Mayor of London, where these were more generous than those being offered by billing authorities, although these would be paid for from the GLA share of retained rates.
3. We also believe that the ability to determine which properties are exempt should be devolved to London Government. We are aware that the IFS advocates re-examining the justification for existing reliefs, such as those for vacant land, agricultural property and low-value properties, and would wish to explore further the rationale for the current exempt properties if business rates were devolved further.

**Q5 - Are you aware of ratepayers misusing tax reliefs or other means to avoid paying their full business rates liability? What could be done to tackle this?**

1. The main avoidance concerns regularly raised by London boroughs include:

* **gaming/abuse of empty property relief** - whereby a property is occupied for 6 weeks, then left empty for 3 months before a “sham” occupation (a few boxes, or a Wi-Fi box/Bluetooth broadcaster); or where a company transfers part of business to another to obtain small business rate relief.
* **gaming/abuse of charitable relief** - by bogus charities, or where a charity applies for mandatory relief but the property is later found to be unoccupied.
* **Basic fraud/avoidance** – by “Phoenix” companies that cease to trade, then reopen under a new name; or whereby properties that have continuous changes in the liable party and no rates are paid
* **Other Gaming –** for example, the use of building as Wi-Fi / Bluetooth broadcasting to obtain lower RV; vacant properties being let to companies who immediately become insolvent thereby passing debt to receivers; informing council/VOA of dividing building into different parts – used for different purposes; and de-activated communication stations.

**The business rates multiplier**

**Q6 - What are your views on how the business rates multiplier is set annually and at revaluations?**

1. London Government has repeatedly raised concerns about the fixed yield valuation system which is making the tax ever more concentrated on – and sensitive to – the central London property market. The continuation of this principle will mean London accounting for ever more of the national business rates tax take (we estimate that, if current trends continue, it could be 40% by 2050). The impact of this is that a larger proportion of funding for the rest of the sector is being generated by London’s tariff – i.e. its surplus in business rates. This makes other parts of the country more reliant on top-up grant, undermines the growth incentive and, in a system that is supposed to incentivise councils to promote growth, makes no economic sense.
2. We believe the solution is to end the fixed yield system and allow true local devolution of the tax enabling London government to be accountable for London’s business rates by decoupling its tax base from that of the rest of the country, as part of the devolution of a wider suite of taxes and revenue raising powers that would make London government more accountable to local taxpayers and – we believe - more effective.
3. In the absence of local devolution of control over the multiplier, and in the absence of a business rates retention scheme that removes the risks of business rates appeals, we believe the way the multiplier is set needs to better build in the costs incurred through appeals.
4. We also find that the multiplier rate set each year is confirmed very late in the year, which delays budget setting for the following year and impacts on our business planning. At a time of great uncertainty, being able to plan further ahead is strongly recommended.

**Q7 - How could the multiplier be set in future to ensure the sustainability of public finances and support growth and productivity? What would the impact of any proposed changes be on the level of the multiplier and revenue from business rates over time**

1. As set out in paragraphs 36-39, London Government would wish to explore options for locally determined multipliers, with the Mayor of London being granted the ability to set a proportion of the rate on a London wide basis, and boroughs setting the rest of the multiplier. These two shares of the overall multiplier would be determined by the funding and retention split between the GLA and the boroughs. As suggested by the LFC, the rate of any increase could potentially be pegged to that of Council Tax increases.
2. There is precedent from the devolved administrations for this, with the multiplier and valuation arrangements being devolved to the Welsh Assembly in Wales in 2015, and a two-tier multiplier implemented between Northern Irish districts and the Northern Ireland Assembly, which has been in place for a number of years. Both of these options are worth exploration in English regions. Scotland has also essentially operated its own separate devolved arrangements, supplemented by the Scottish Assessor valuation model for business rates, since 1854. If such arrangements can work in the devolved administrations, there is surely no logical reason why they cannot be made to work in London and in the other regions and cities of England allowing the tax to be re-engineered in ways that are more suited to and responsive to England’s different local economies. It was of course a broadly locally set tax in England from 1603 to 1989.
3. In the short term, as a way of piloting or transitioning to this more ambitious scheme, London Government would at least wish to have the ability to vary the change to the national multipliers set annually by central government.

**Q8 - How should the multiplier and any supplements relate to business rates reliefs? Should these be discrete, or should supplements fund specific reliefs?**

1. We believe, within a devolved London system, there could be greater level of consistency over thresholds applied to business rate supplements and business rates reliefs. The definition of a small business, for example for the purposes of the Small business rates multiplier (£51,000), is different to the definition for SBRR (£12-15,000) and is different to the threshold for the London Crossrail Business Rates Supplement, which is £70,000. The 2017 revaluation transitional relief scheme also used three different thresholds for small (up to £20,000 RV or £28,000 in London), medium (£28,000 to £99,999) and large properties (over £100,000) which determined the speed at which ratepayers moved towards their underlying new liability. Local discretion over the setting of the multiplier, relief and supplements in London, linked to a set of rateable value thresholds reflecting London’s higher rental levels, could create more consistency in this respect.

**Q9 - What are your views on introducing additional multipliers that vary by geography, property value, or property type?**

1. Rather than additional multipliers, London Government calls for the transfer of the current multipliers to local government along with the ability to vary them. This would enable better adaptation to local business floorspace, variable by sector and type of organisation, to ensure local need is met and the diversity of the local economy is upheld. Lessons could also be learned from how business rates are operated and set across the devolved administrations including for example the Northern Ireland model where there is a province wide multiplier combined with a variable component at individual local authority level.

1. In particular see our joint response to the 2016 consultation on 100% retention: <https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/london-councils-and-gla-j-fde.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Including retail discount relief. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. <https://www.regeneris.co.uk/business-rates-who-pays/> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)