



Australian
Chamber of Commerce
and Industry

PAYROLL TAX

A HANDBRAKE ON JOBS & INVESTMENT



ISSUES PAPER: JULY 2021

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INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the COVID-19 crisis, it is more important than ever Australia pursues tax reforms that will strengthen the economy's recovery and lift its rate of growth over the long term.

The Australian economy needs a tax system that better incentivises investment and workforce participation, and better rewards the risk taking and entrepreneurship that are fundamental to improving the nation's competitiveness and productivity.

The Australian Government has called for a strong business led recovery out of the pandemic. Surveys of businesses across ACCI's member state and territory chambers consistently show that state taxes are among the most important of all tax issues for businesses, particularly payroll tax.

To support the growth in both businesses and wages that the economy needs, the time has come for governments to tackle the vexed issue of payroll tax. Governments need to reduce the burden of payroll tax on businesses leading to its abolition.

Over a decade ago, the review into Australia's Future Tax System found payroll tax as applied by the states and territories was one of the nation's most inefficient taxes. Despite efforts by governments to improve its efficiency, payroll tax continues to be a handbrake on both business and wages growth.

This paper contributes to the emerging policy discussion about reforming or abolishing payroll tax to support economic growth as the economy recovers from the pandemic.¹

Drawing on a recent ACCI survey on the impact of payroll tax on businesses,² the paper highlights the main concerns and related issues held by businesses about the tax.



1. PwC (2021) and Chartered Accountants Australia and New Zealand (2020).
2. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021).

SUMMARY

EMPLOYEES

ACCI'S Survey of Australian businesses shows:

- Businesses rank payroll tax reform the highest reform priority relative to other government taxes, fees and charges, workplace relations and regulation.
- Payroll tax greatly reduces a business' profitability, particularly for businesses operating under relatively low margins or when under financial stress.
- Payroll tax influences the willingness or ability of the vast majority of businesses (over 90%) to employ staff and invest.
- Abolishing payroll tax would lead to over half of businesses to increase the number of employees and a fifth to increase the wages of their employees.
- Almost all businesses (about 90%) consider that payroll tax places them at a competitive disadvantage relative to businesses that either don't pay the tax or pay it at a different rate.
- Overall, the administrative burden of payroll tax is large, with three quarters of businesses spending more than one hour per month (about \$3,000 per year) on payroll tax compliance.

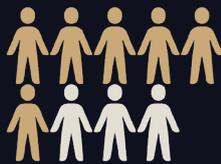
Although the major concerns businesses have with payroll tax are long standing, they need to be again brought to the attention of policy makers:

- Payroll tax is neither an efficient nor equitable means of raising state and territory revenue.
- Payroll tax adversely impacts on the profitability and competitiveness of businesses.
- Payroll tax is a tax on jobs resulting in reduced employment and lower wages.
- Payroll tax imposes a significant compliance burden on businesses.

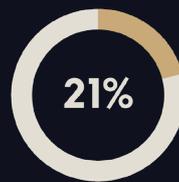
To achieve a strong, sustainable business led recovery for the Australian economy in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, governments need to agree on how to reduce the burden of payroll tax on businesses leading to its abolition. This requires a strategic national approach to the development and implementation of the reforms.



Said payroll tax puts business at a competitive disadvantage



Two thirds said waiving payroll tax was a factor in COVID survival



Said they would increase wages if payroll tax was scrapped



Half said they would employ more people without payroll tax



"It makes sense to keep staff levels low... and use subcontractors to fill labour shortages when things are busy."

Manufacturing business, 20-49 employees, \$5m - \$10m turnover



PAYROLL TAX IN AUSTRALIA: A BRIEF HISTORY

In 1941, the Commonwealth Government introduced a 2.5% flat rate tax on wages (payroll tax) to fund the Child Endowment, which was a welfare payment to children of fallen servicemen.

Control of payroll tax passed to the state and territory governments in 1971 as means of providing jurisdictions with a growth tax, at which time the flat rate was increased to 3.5%.

Since then, payroll tax has evolved into a general-purpose tax levied on employee remuneration to meet a significant part of each jurisdiction's expenditure, including spending on services and infrastructure.³

Payroll tax is levied on the wages paid by a business when its total wage expense exceeds a given threshold amount. This payment can have a material impact on a business' cash flow and net revenue, as highlighted by state government initiatives to either waive or defer payroll tax payments in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Over time, significant differences have arisen across the jurisdictions in the application of payroll tax due to the need to raise revenue and the ability to compete with other states for business activity. These differences relate to features such as scaling, marginal rates and regional discounts, and tax-free thresholds, exemptions, allowances, deductions and definitions.

Under the 2007 COAG National Partnership Agreement, states and territories aimed to undertake reforms to achieve greater legislative and administrative harmonisation of their payroll tax arrangements consistent with a nationally coordinated approach by 2012.⁴

While this objective failed to be substantially realised with differences remaining in the application of payroll tax across the jurisdictions, progress has been made towards harmonising the tax base.⁵

Despite the COAG reform efforts, businesses still face significant complexity in complying with payroll tax obligations. In addition to tax rebates to attract investment, regional discounts and apprentice and trainee discounts, all jurisdictions have raised their tax-free threshold, NSW, VIC and NT have lowered their headline rates, and SA and TAS have introduced concessional rates for small businesses above the tax-free threshold.

Australia is an outlier among OECD countries in its heavy reliance on payroll tax for general revenue rather than for directly funding social security contributions (for example, unemployment insurance and pensions).

3. Freebairn J., Stewart M. and Liu P.X. (2015).
4. Payroll Tax Australia, 2010 Harmonisation Joint Protocol.
5. Tax and Transfer Policy Institute (2020).

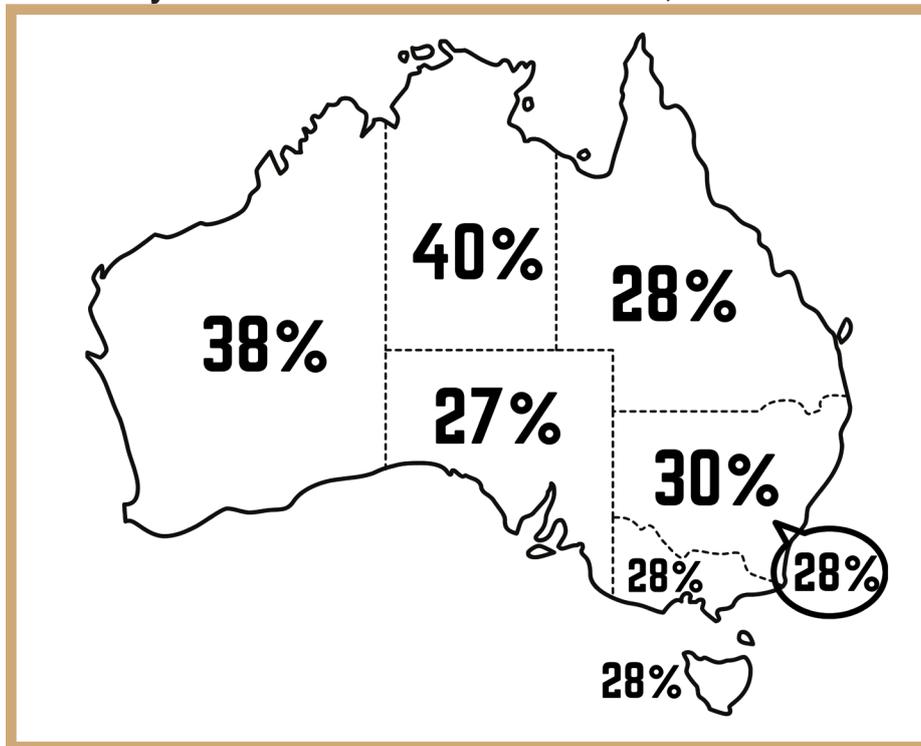
CURRENT PAYROLL TAX ARRANGEMENTS

Compared to other state-based taxes and charges (for example, stamp duties on property), payroll tax is regarded as a relatively stable and reliable form of own-source revenue.

In 2018-19, the states and territories collected almost \$27 billion from payroll tax, representing between 27% and 40% of total revenue (figure 1).

Australia ranks 3rd among the 36 OECD countries (behind Sweden and Austria) in the share of government revenue contributed by payroll tax, raising 4.8% of total tax revenue this way, compared to the 2020 OECD average of 1.1%.

Payroll tax as a share of total revenue, 2018-2019



Payroll tax revenue 2018-2019

STATE	REVENUE	SHARE
ACT	\$0.58 billion	27.5%
NT	\$0.28 billion	39.8%
NSW	\$9.37 billion	30.0%
QLD	\$4.16 billion	28.3%
SA	\$1.25 billion	27.1%
TAS	\$0.37 billion	28.4%
VIC	\$6.88 billion	28.4%
WA	\$3.56 billion	38.4%

The following table presents the payroll tax rates and thresholds rates for the states and territories. The rate of payroll tax varies from a low of 2.02% in regional Victoria to 6.85% in the ACT. Similarly, tax-free thresholds based on the total wages paid by a business vary between a low of \$700,000 in Victoria and high of \$2 million in the ACT.

NSW

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
>\$1.2 mill	4.85%	

VIC

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
>\$700,000	4.85% (Regional 1.2125%)	Regional employer classification adds complexity

QLD

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
\$1.3 – \$6.5 mill	4.75% (Regional 3.75% plus deductions)	Deduction makes it difficult for businesses to calculate tax liability
> \$6.5 mill	4.95% (Regional 3.95%)	Regional classification adds complexity

ACT

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
>\$2 mill	6.85%	

SA

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
\$1.5 – \$1.7 mill	0 – 4.95%	Scaling tax rate makes it difficult for businesses to calculate tax liability
>\$1.7 mill	4.95%	

WA

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
\$1.0 – \$7.5 mill	5.5%; plus deductions	Deduction makes it difficult for businesses to calculate tax liability
\$7.5 – 100 mill (a)	(a) 5.5% #	
\$100 m – \$1.5 bill (b)	(b) 6% #	Four different thresholds # Applied marginally
>\$1.5 bill (c)	(c) 6.5% #	

NT

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
>\$1.5 mill	5.5%	

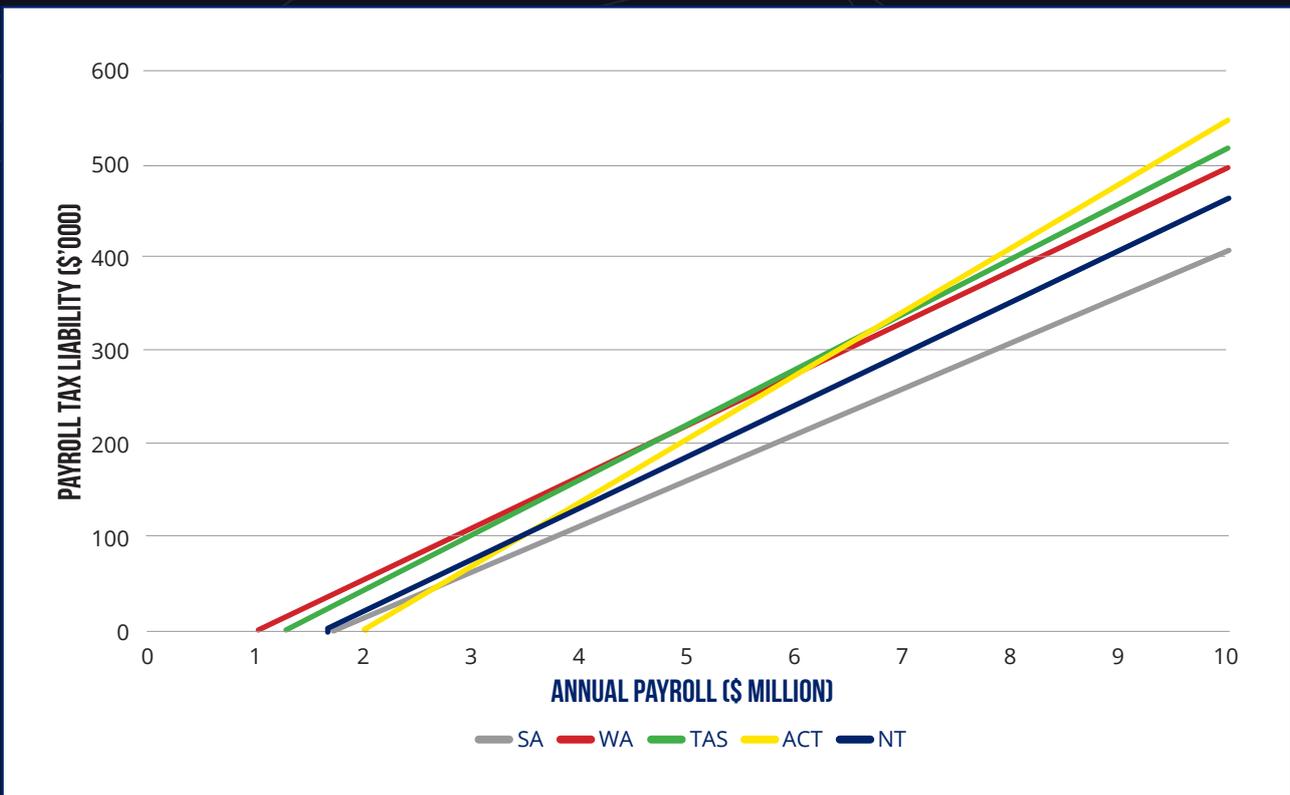
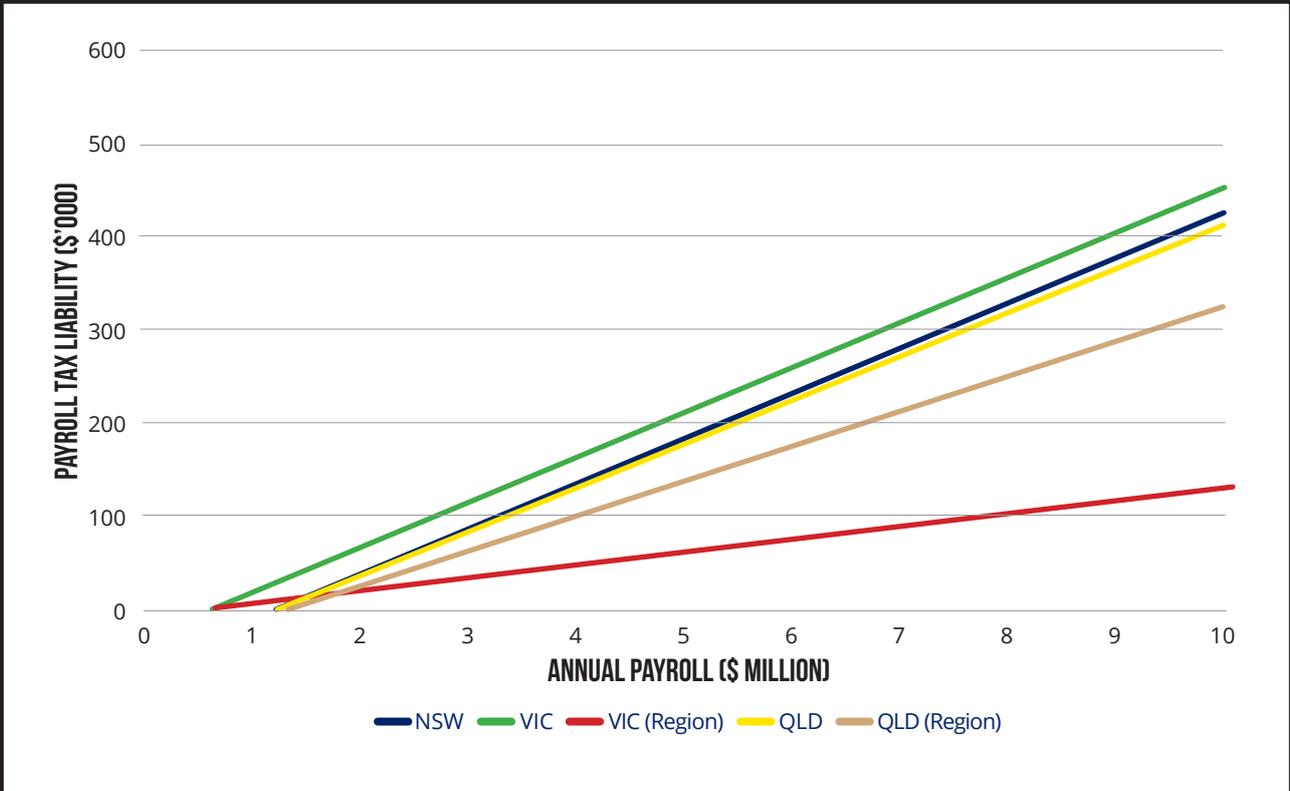
TAS

Threshold	Tax Rate	Comments
\$1.25 – \$2 mill	4%	
>\$2 mill	6.1%	

Source: Payroll Tax Australia website: <https://www.payrolltax.gov.au/harmonisation/payroll-tax-rates-and-thresholds>

As shown below, the wide range of thresholds and rates results in very different costs to businesses dependent on their location. For a business with payroll of \$10 million the payroll tax liability ranges between \$113,000 in regional Victoria and \$550,000 in the ACT.

Payroll tax liability by location



PAYROLL TAX: THE ISSUES

Over many years, ACCI and its member chambers have strongly advocated for reforms to reduce the burden of payroll tax on businesses leading to its eventual abolishment.

The rationale for abolishing payroll tax is that it is a punitive tax on businesses and a regressive tax on employees as they ultimately bear most of the burden. The insidious and blunt nature of payroll tax means that as a revenue raising instrument it lacks transparency in terms of who it affects and is unable to deal with equity considerations. Put simply, revenue raising through a consumption tax is more efficient and more equitable.

Although the major concerns of business regarding payroll tax are not new and can be broadly categorised under the areas of efficiency and equity, business profitability and competitiveness, employment and wages, and administrative burden, policy makers need to be aware of and better understand the impacts on businesses.⁶

The following discussion revisits the long-standing views of businesses on payroll tax and, where relevant, provides contemporary insights from an ACCI survey of a broad cross-section of small to medium-sized businesses across Australia.⁷



6. For example, PwC (2021) highlights and discusses common misconceptions of payroll tax.

7. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021).

- EFFICIENCY & EQUALITY

EMPLOYEES

When applied as a broad-based tax to the payrolls of all businesses, payroll tax is regarded as an efficient tax. Theoretically, in its pure form, it can be shown that there is very little difference in efficiency between a tax on income and a consumption tax such as the Goods and Services Tax (GST).⁸ Although the legal incidence for paying payroll tax falls on the employer, if the economic incidence is passed forward to consumers through higher prices, then its effect is similar to the GST. If it is passed on to employees in the form of lower wages, then its impact is broadly equivalent to an income tax.

The potential for payroll tax to be an efficient tax underpins calls from the Commonwealth Government for states to broaden their payroll tax bases. For example, in 2014, Martin Parkinson criticised the states and territories for becoming too reliant on revenue from the Commonwealth and that a payroll tax with no exemptions was effectively no more a tax on labour as is the GST.⁹ In 2016, Malcolm Turnbull reiterated the need for states and territories to look at payroll tax rather than an increase in GST as an efficient source of revenue to meet rising expenditure.¹⁰

However, the equivalence between a tax on labour and a consumption tax rests on rather restrictive assumptions. The equivalence argument breaks down under more realistic assumptions, such that it can be shown that payroll tax has relatively greater upstream impacts on production and prices, hence employment, arising from it being a narrower based tax on domestic labour.¹¹ Payroll tax is only applied to one input into production, impacting far more heavily on labour intensive businesses than capital intensive businesses. Further, it places domestic producers at a significant competitive disadvantage relative to importers that do not bear this additional cost of production.

Furthermore, in practice payroll tax is not applied in a pure form and despite attempts to harmonise it across the eight jurisdictions through the 2010 Harmonisation Joint Protocol, progress has been slow.

In addition to the states and territories different tax rates, other distortions include:

- Scaling
- Marginal rates
- Regional discounts
- Allowances
- Inconsistent deductions and definitions

Deductions and definitions clash with those of other employee arrangements (for example, other taxes, workers compensation, superannuation and state insurance regulations).

“Payroll tax is not only one of the most damaging taxes in terms of its impact on economic activity, but it is also one of the most insidious given its low level of visibility. Few employees are aware that they bear the economic incidence of a ‘hidden income tax’ and unlike Australia’s progressive tax system little is known about the distributional impact of payroll tax” - ACCI, 2014.¹²

The review into Australia’s Future Tax System (Henry Tax Review) found payroll tax as applied by the states and territories was one of the nation’s most inefficient taxes¹³. In other words, relative to other forms of taxation, an additional dollar raised through payroll tax creates a greater economic loss to the economy.



“The main issue with Payroll Tax is the grouping provisions which essentially make it a tax on business owners, not the business; secondarily it is a significant impost which works against employment.”
Information Technology business, 1-9 employees, \$2m - \$5m turnover

8. Treasury (2008): pp.331-337.

9. ABC News, 20 May 2014.

10. The Guardian Australian Edition, 5 February 2016.

11. Prosper Australia’s submission to the 2011 Treasury Tax Forum

12. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2014): pp.4-5.

13. Treasury (2009): p.13.

The Henry Review showed that every dollar raised from payroll tax caused a welfare loss to the broader economy of 40 cents. Given the lack of progress on reducing the complexities and differences of payroll tax regimes across the jurisdictions, it remains an inefficient instrument for raising revenue.

Even where the cost impact of payroll tax is passed forward in higher prices or backward in lower wages, this again

takes place with no regard to the capacity of consumers or employees to bear the burden.

In cases where the employees of smaller businesses tend to be paid less than those working for larger businesses, an expanded payroll tax that is passed back in lower wages is highly likely to be regressive. If passed forward in higher prices, the distributional impact is not clearly determinable.

For every \$1 raised



40c is lost for welfare



- BUSINESS PROFITABILITY & COMPETITIVENESS

“The burden of payroll tax also tends to fall most heavily on labour-intensive industries and businesses, and given its insensitive nature with respect to profits, those operating at low or negative profit margins. Payroll tax does not take into account a business’s ability to pay, making it an inequitable tax” - ACCI 2004.¹⁴

Unlike income tax, which is payable on the profits of a business, payroll tax is assessed on total eligible wages paid. Therefore, particularly for businesses operating under relatively low margins or when trading conditions place the business under financial stress, payroll tax can have a material impact on cash flow and profits.

Around 70% of businesses surveyed found that payroll tax either moderately reduced or greatly reduced their profitability.¹⁵ The impact of payroll tax on business profitability was highlighted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Over two-thirds of businesses indicated that the waiving or deferring payroll tax by state and territory governments was a factor in their survival.¹⁶

Complexity, disparities and non-neutralities in the payroll tax regimes across Australian jurisdictions can affect the locational decisions of businesses¹⁷ and the competitiveness of established businesses.

About 90% of businesses surveyed either agree or strongly agree that payroll tax puts their business at a competitive disadvantage relative to businesses that either do not pay payroll tax or pay it at a lower rate.¹⁸

In addition to lowering net revenue, payroll tax also influences a business’ decisions to invest in new capital equipment, buildings and structures. Over 90% of businesses surveyed either agree or strongly agree that payroll tax influenced their investment intentions.¹⁹

With respect to businesses paying payroll tax, 96% of those surveyed responded that if payroll tax was abolished they would reallocate the savings to employment costs and other expenditure.²⁰

These findings, which suggest payroll tax may negatively affect a business’ operating and investment decisions, contrast with frequently cited econometric studies finding payroll tax has no effect on business behaviour.^{21,22} The acknowledged limitations of the econometric studies should caution against dismissing the claims of businesses that the effect of the threshold for liability, together with the complexities and high costs in complying with their payroll tax obligations, impact on their size.

14. ACCI (2004); p.40

15. ACCI (2021); p5

16. Ibid; p.6.

17. The concept of tax neutrality is that economic agents should make their decisions based on economic factors and not for tax reasons.

18. ACCI (2004); p.8

19. Ibid; p.8.

20. Ibid; p.7.

21. Majeed O and Sinning MG (2019).

22. Ralston B (2018).

- EMPLOYMENT & WAGES



"Payroll taxes and other state taxes were supposed to be abolished with the introduction of the GST. It is ridiculous that business needs to pay nearly 5% of their wage cost... every year just for paying wages!"
Health & community business, 20-49 employees, \$2m - \$5m turnover

"Payroll tax is, in a direct sense, a tax on jobs - even though, in terms of ultimate incidence, it may end up largely being borne by employees. In practice, rigidities in the labour market mean that the imposition of a payroll tax increases the cost of hiring labour and hence reduces jobs. In Australia, the existence of inflexible labour market and wage arrangements increases the disemployment effects of payroll taxes levied on businesses"
 - ACCI 1998.²³

Payroll tax can affect the employment decisions of businesses depending on where the economic incidence of the tax falls.

The time taken for both businesses and labour markets to fully adjust is a critical factor in determining whether business bears the economic cost along with the administrative cost. If the economic impact falls on the business because there are constraints on passing costs on to consumers through higher prices or on to employees through lower wages, then less workers will be employed than otherwise.

Payroll tax is a significant factor affecting businesses' employment decisions. Of the businesses surveyed, 90% either agree or strongly agree that payroll tax comes at the cost of jobs. Furthermore, payroll tax has a sizable impact on the willingness of businesses to employ young people. Just over 75% of businesses either agree or strongly agree that payroll tax makes it difficult for young people to enter the job market.

Almost three-quarters of businesses indicated that removing payroll tax would lead to an increase in either the number or employees or wages.²⁴ Just over half of the businesses surveyed would employ more staff in the absence of payroll tax.²⁵ A further 21% of businesses identified that the removal of payroll tax would result in an increase in the wages of their employees.

23. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1998).

24. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021).

25. Were payroll tax to be removed, prompting half of the approximately 250,000 SMEs that paid payroll tax in 2020 to add an additional employee, this could result in an additional 125,000 additional jobs or an increase in the workforce of 1%.

- ADMINISTRATIVE BURDEN

“Australian businesses face a number of complexities and high costs in complying with their payroll tax obligations, this is particularly the case for businesses operating across different jurisdictions, dealing with different definitions of wages for payroll tax purposes, direct rates of tax payable on wages and different small business exemptions”
 - ACCI ²⁶

The degree of complexity in the administration of payroll tax is an unavoidable consequence of the design and application of the tax across the states and territories, which greatly increases the cost of compliance. As stated above, this contributes to making what should be a relatively efficient tax very inefficient.

For businesses operating in more than one jurisdiction, differences in the administration of the tax can substantially increase the burden of compliance, including the requirement to lodge payment through multiple state portals.

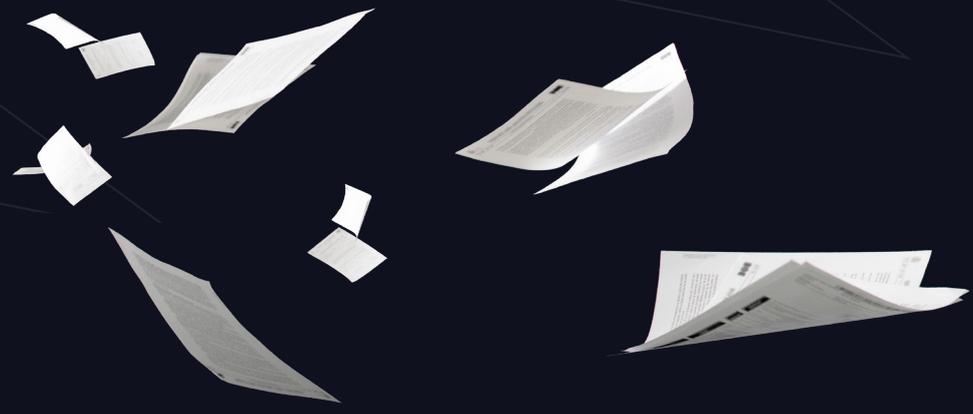
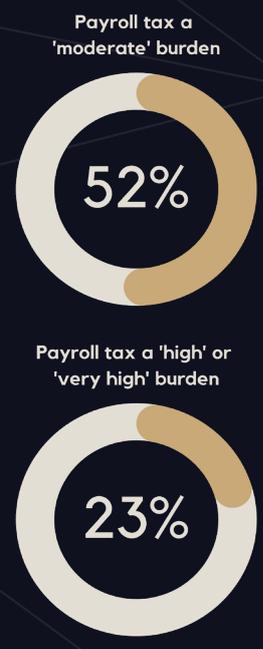
Unlike personal income tax, which is paid by the employer on behalf of the employee through the Single Touch Payroll system, there is no simplified digital system that the employer can use to make payroll tax payments. Nor does standard accounting software include functions to determine the amount of payroll tax a business owes on behalf of their employees.

Employers typically manually determine the amount payroll tax they owe, outside their normal accounting system, which can impose a significant administrative burden.

Most businesses surveyed found the administrative burden of payroll tax is significant. Just under three-quarters of businesses owners identified that either they or their accountant spend more than one hour per month preparing, calculating and lodging payroll tax to meet the compliance requirements.^{27,28}

There are a wide range of government fees, charges and taxes administered by businesses on behalf of employees, including personal income tax, fringe benefits tax, goods and services tax, superannuation guarantee and workers compensation levy. Compared to the collection of these other sources of government revenue, just over half of businesses surveyed (52%) assessed that the administrative burden of payroll tax was relatively moderate. Just under a quarter of businesses (23%) assessed the administrative burden to be high or very high.²⁹

Administrative differences across the jurisdictions also give way to loopholes which create the need for anti-avoidance measures and other integrity measures, such as those around contractor and grouping provisions to prevent businesses exploiting the tax-free thresholds and other exemptions.



26. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2014): p.5.
 27. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021): p.9.

28. NSW Business Chamber (2017) estimated that the additional annual administrative cost for NSW businesses liable for the tax is around \$10,000.
 29. ACCI (2021): p.10.

PAYROLL TAX REFORM

Businesses surveyed rank payroll tax as the highest of all priorities for tax reform.

Support for reform of payroll tax has also come from within government. The Henry Review supported the introduction of a broad-based cash-flow tax that would raise enough revenue to cover that lost by states and territories abolishing payroll tax and other inefficient taxes.³⁰ It also considered whether payroll tax could be better aligned with the PAYG system to reduce administration costs.³¹

Payroll tax is a significant share of state and territory revenues, which makes any reduction on its reliance challenging. To replace the revenue, just over 85% of businesses surveyed support increases in Commonwealth taxes, with the majority (58%) supporting an increase in the GST.³²

In the absence of a willingness by governments to abolish payroll tax, reform is needed to increase its efficiency and to reduce the burden on business.³³

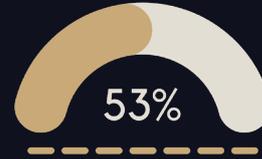
A staged approach to reforming payroll tax begins with reducing the complexity of complying with payroll tax obligations to reduce the administrative burden on businesses. Survey results show that businesses have a clear perspective of the specific areas of the payroll tax system that can be reformed to reduce the burden of compliance.³⁴

The highest of the top three priorities for reform (53% of business surveyed) is simplifying the payment of payroll tax through a single national platform that directly calculated the amount owing (such as the Single Touch Payroll).³⁵ This is followed by automating the calculation of payroll tax into standard accounting software (47% of businesses surveyed).³⁶

As shown on the right, the other main priority areas of reform identified by businesses surveyed include:³⁷

- Making the definition of employee and contractor provisions consistent with that of other employee arrangements (for example, other taxes, workers compensation, superannuation and state insurance regulations).
- Harmonising the tax-free threshold across the state and territories.
- Applying consistent interpretations of payroll tax legislation across the states and territories.

Simplifying tax liability calculation



Automating into accounting software



Definition of employee and contractor



Applying a uniform tax-free threshold



Consistent interpretation of language



Removal of exemptions/allowances



30. Treasury (2009a): p.91.

31. Treasury (2009b): p.302.

32. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021): p.14.

33. The need for reform was acknowledged in the Henry Tax Review and more recently in the NSW Review of Federal Financial Relations.

34. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021): p.12.

35. Business were asked to select their top 3 priorities for reform.

36. Of the businesses surveyed, 65% reported their accounting software did not automatically calculate their payroll tax liability.

37. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2021): p.12.

PAYROLL TAX: A PROBLEM THAT NEEDS A SOLUTION



As the economy recovers from the COVID-19 crisis, the overarching objective of all Australian governments must be to achieve a sustainable increase in the nation's long-term living standards through strong, inclusive, job-creating economic growth. Improving Australia's tax system through comprehensive tax reform will significantly contribute to achieving this outcome.

An important and necessary step in tax reform is for governments to agree on how to reduce the burden of payroll tax on businesses leading to its abolition.

Ideally, there needs to be a national approach involving both tiers of government to phasing out payroll tax and replacing it with a more efficient tax system for Australia. However, as history has shown, achieving reform that supports federal and state budgets over the long term, promotes economic growth, and is politically acceptable takes time.³⁸

From a purely economic perspective, it makes no sense to consider state and federal taxes separately – businesses and households do not care to which level of government they are paying their taxes. But given the vertical fiscal imbalances arising from our constitutional federation, politically it does matter. Therefore, tax reform needs to be viewed through the lens of political economy along with having pragmatic expectations on outcomes concerning how the functions, costs and revenues are shared between the Commonwealth and the states and territories.

In May 2014, ACCI stated in its submission to the Board of Taxation Review:

“Tax reform that takes as its objective reducing and ultimately abolishing payroll tax is necessary if Australian businesses are to remain competitive. Harmonisation of payroll tax rates and thresholds, annual indexation of payroll tax thresholds and alleviating unnecessary complexity are nevertheless important interim measures that could be adopted on the way toward realising this longterm objective.” - ACCI³⁹

It is fair to say that this statement is as relevant today as when it was made. The concerns of businesses about payroll tax are long standing. The tax as applied is inefficient, it harms business profitability and competitiveness, reduces employment and wages, and is administratively burdensome.

To improve the efficiency of payroll tax and reduce its adverse impacts on businesses and workers, both tiers of government must cooperate and collaborate on a strategic national approach to reforming the tax. These requirements give rise to three fundamental questions relating to the development and implementation of the reforms:

1. What is the appropriate body to engender the cooperation and collaboration between both tiers of government on payroll tax reform?
2. What are the principles on which this body should operate to develop a strategic national approach to progressively reduce the burden of payroll tax on businesses, ultimately leading to its abolition?
3. In the shorter-term, what options provide the greatest opportunity for state and territory governments to reduce the administrative burden on business?

In a subsequent paper, ACCI will provide answers to these questions that are informed through consultation with business, government and academia.

ACCI will continue to prosecute the case for comprehensive tax reform that provides businesses with the conditions they need to succeed and build the nation's prosperity.

38. Berger-Thomson, L., Breusch, J. and Lilley, L. (2018).

39. Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2014): p. 6.

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ISSUES PAPER: JULY 2021



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