

# **Econ 230B – Graduate Public Economics**

## **The challenges of taxing capital in a globalized world**

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# Roadmap

Globalization raises three key challenges:

1. Artificial profit shifting → can lead to large corp tax revenue loss
2. Capital mobility and tax competition → can lead government to adopt sub-optimally low corporate tax rates
3. No or imperfect information sharing → can prevent enforcement of residence-based personal capital taxes

# 1 Artificial profit shifting

Reminder on source vs. residence based corporate taxes:

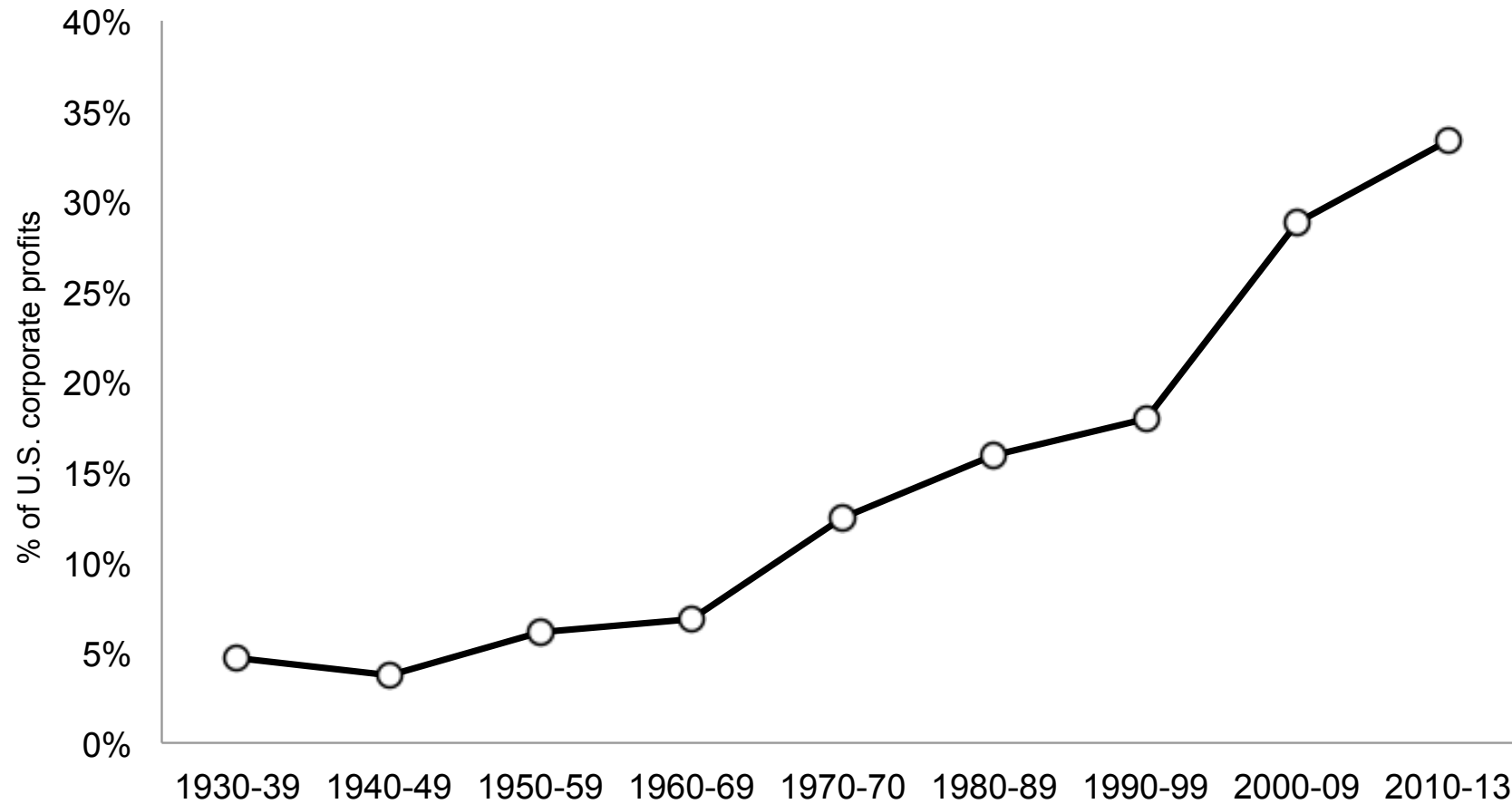
- Source (= *territorial*) taxation: profits taxed where prod. occurs
- Residence (= *worldwide*) taxation: profits taxed where owner lives
- Corporate taxes of most countries are source-based
- US is sometimes said to have a residence-based corporate tax, but in practice has close to source-based tax because of deferral
- Source-based taxation → incentives to shift profits to tax havens

## Macro evidence on profit shifting (Zucman 2014 JEP)

Idea: decompose location of foreign profits made by U.S.-owned firms

- US-owned firms = U.S. direct investment abroad ( $> 10\%$  ownership) + U.S. portfolio investment abroad ( $< 10\%$  ownership)
- Profits = dividends + reinvested earnings + corporate taxes paid
- Balance of payments provides country-by-country decomposition of dividends and reinvested earnings for DI, and dividends for PI

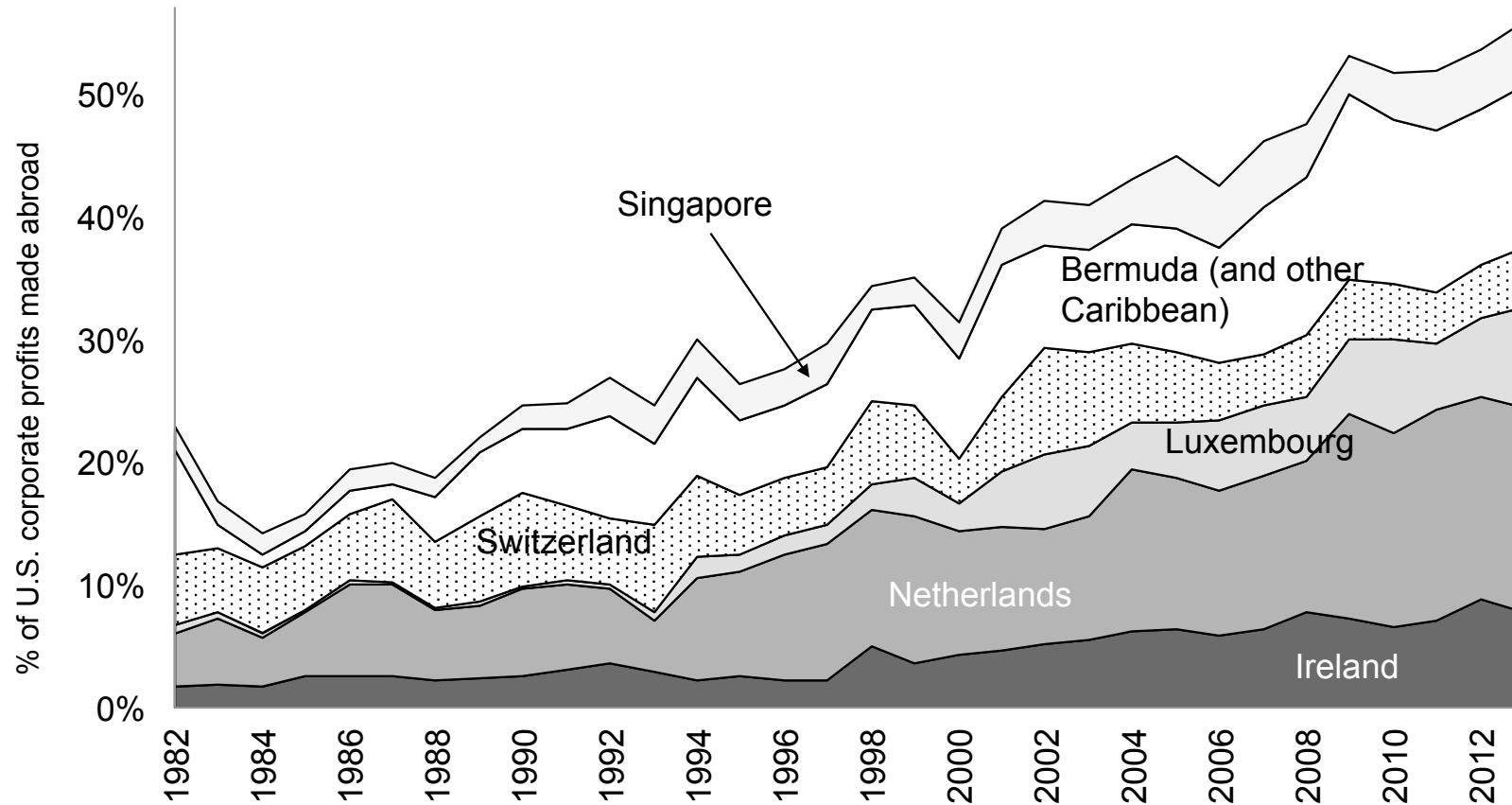
## The share of profits made abroad in U.S. corporate profits



32% of US corporate profits are made abroad in 2013. Foreign profits include dividends on foreign portfolio equities and income on US direct investment abroad (distributed & retained). Profits are net of interest payments, gross of US but net of foreign income taxes. Source: author's computations using BEA data.

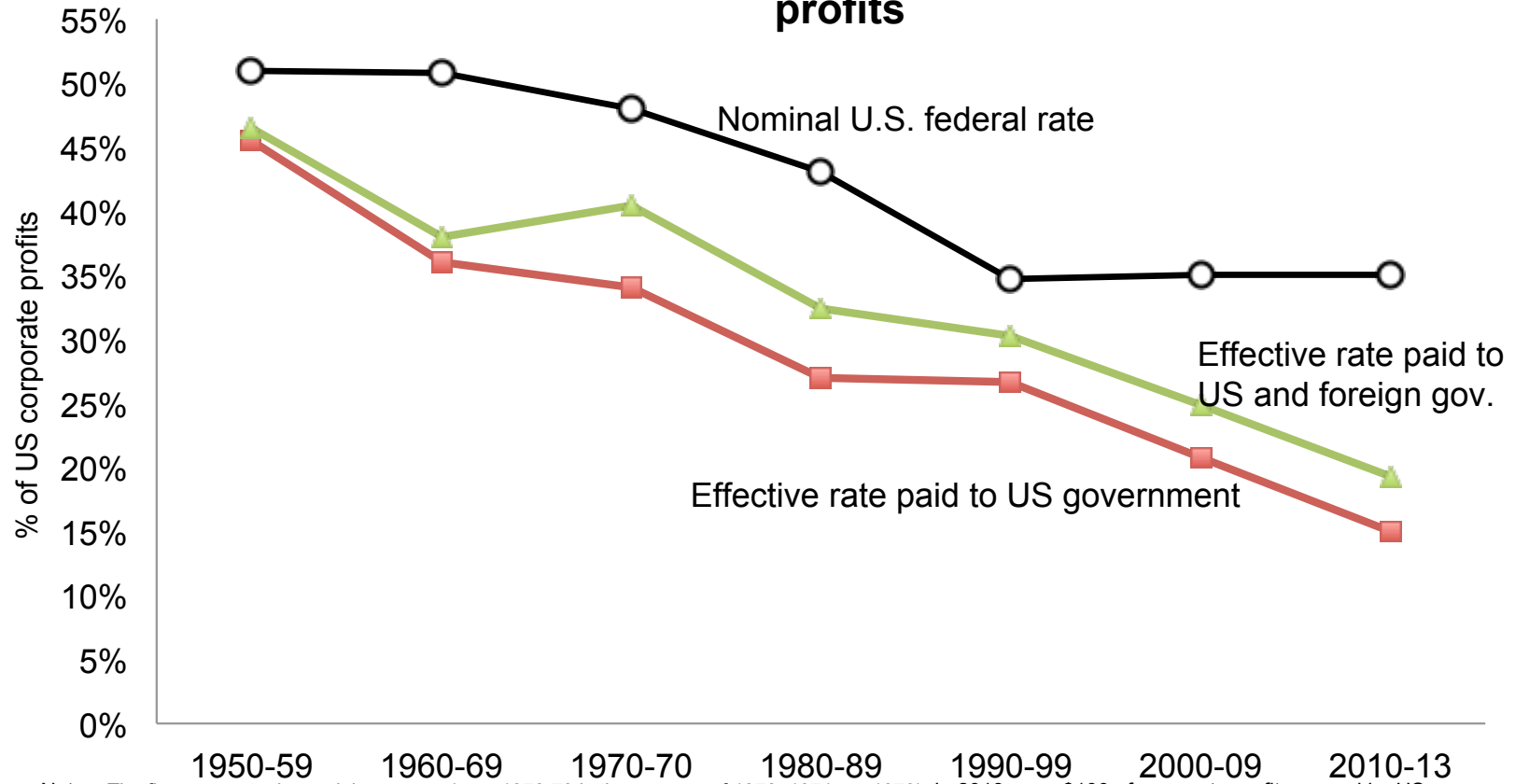
Source: Zucman (2014).

## The share of tax havens in U.S. corporate profits made abroad



Notes: This figure charts the share of income on U.S. direct investment abroad made in the main tax havens. In 2013, total income on U.S. DI abroad was about \$500bn. 17% came from the Netherlands, 8% from Luxembourg, etc. Source: author's computations using balance of payments data, see Online Appendix.

## Nominal and effective corporate tax rates on US corporate profits



Notes: The figure reports decennial averages (e.g., 1970-79 is the average of 1970, 1971, ..., 1979). In 2013, over \$100 of corporate profits earned by US residents, on average \$16 is paid in corporate taxes to the U.S. government (federal and States) and \$4 to foreign governments. Source: author's computations using NIPA data, see Online Appendix.

## How artificial profit-shifting works

Three ways to shift profits to low-tax countries:

- Manipulating intra-group import and export prices (*transfer prices*)
- Intra-group borrowing
- Locating intangibles in tax havens

Heckemeyer & Overesch (2013): transfer price most important

But limited data on intangibles

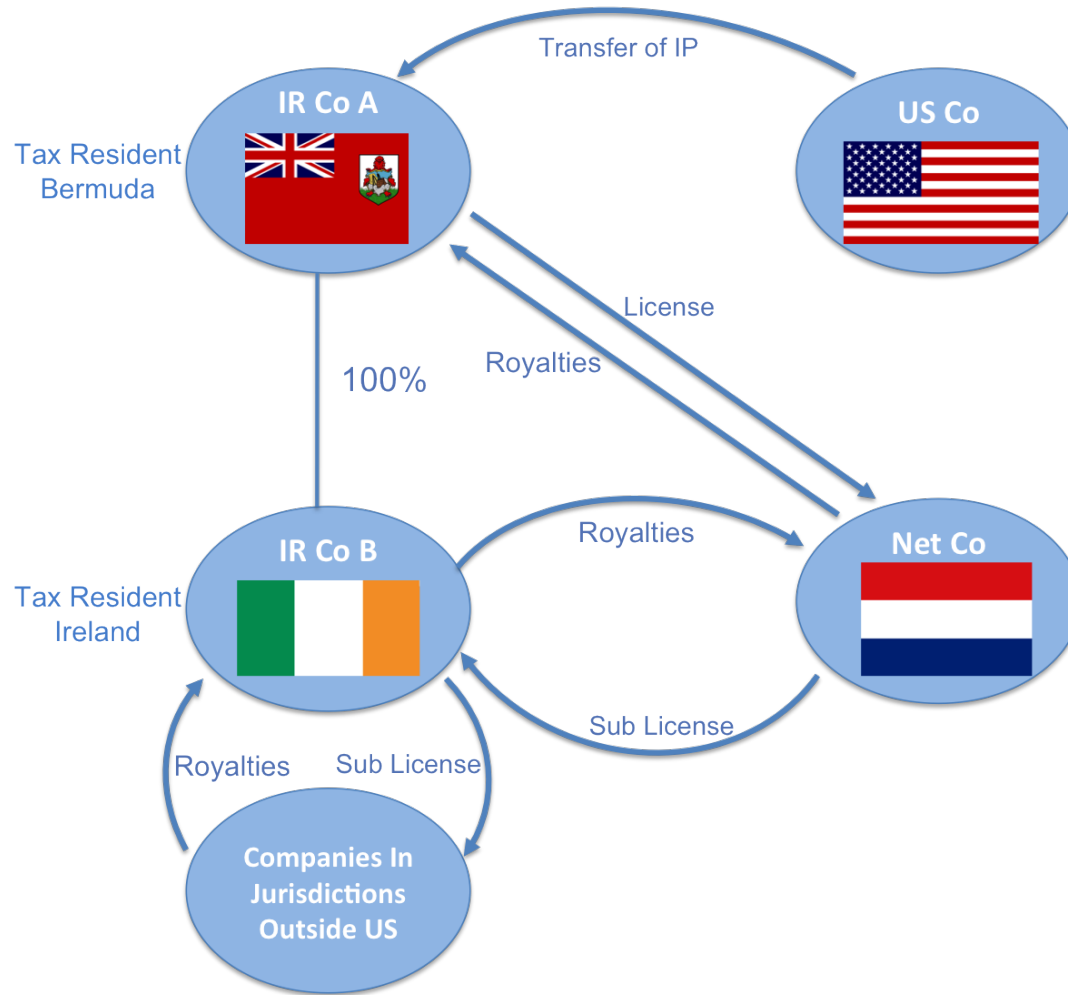


## Transfer price manipulations

- Subsidiaries of a same group are supposed to compute their profits as if unrelated (*arm's length pricing*)
- In practice, relatively easy to manipulate transfer prices, and reference prices sometimes do not exist
- Sizable evidence that intra-group prices differs from arm's length prices (Clausing NTJ 2003)
- Intra-group price manipulation also a problem in purely domestic context (*tunneling*): Bertrand, Mehta and Mullainhathan (QJE'02)

## Strategic location of debt and intangibles

- Booking assets in low-tax countries enables firms to deduct income in high-tax countries and earn interest & royalties in tax havens
- Problem is growing in importance with rise of intangible capital
- Anti-avoidance rules: thin capitalization, controlled foreign corporations
- Routinely avoided by exploiting inconsistency in tax laws across countries (*treaty shopping*)



The Double Irish Dutch Sandwich

## Dharmapala and Riedel (JpubE 2013)

- Estimates extent of profit-shifting among sample of European multinationals (Amadeus)
- Strategy: measure reaction to a parent's earnings' shocks of the earnings of subsidiaries in other countries
- Earnings in low-tax countries respond more than earnings in high-tax jurisdictions → suggests shifting to low-tax countries
- Key channel of profit shifting: choice of borrowing location

## Policies to prevent profit shifting

- Strengthening arm's length rules (OECD BEPS), monitoring transfer prices, increasing reporting requirements, hiring auditors...
- Theoretically, unclear whether this is useful: risk of wasteful expenditure of resources on both sides. Limited evidence.
- Eliminating tax havens can be welfare improving (Slemrod and Wilson, JpubE'09)
- Can be done by trade tariffs or cross-border withholding taxes (Zucman 2015)

## 2 Tax competition

How does tax policies in one country affect the options in other countries, and in turn their policies?

- Increasingly important question with globalization, increased factor mobility, more perfect international capital market
- See Lane and Milesi-Ferretti (2003, 2007) on rise of cross-border investment
- Similar issues between sub-national govts. (such as US states). Key difference: Federal gov. can help coordinate

## Zodrow and Mieszkowski (1986) and Wilson (1986)

- $n$  countries  $i = 1, \dots, n$  with output per unit of labor  $y_i = f_i(k_i)$
- Labor supplied inelastically by population  $h_i$  (immobile)
- Source taxes on capital at rate  $t_i$ , generating  $t_i k_i$  in revenue
- Capital-owners can invest wherever they want  $\rightarrow$  after-tax return to capital has to be the same everywhere:  $f'_i(k_i) - t_i = \rho \quad \forall i$
- Consumer has preferences over private good ( $x$ ) & public good ( $r$ )
- Consumer welfare in  $i$ :  $W_i = f_i(k_i) - f'_i(k_i)k_i + \rho \bar{k}_i + G_i(t_i k_i)$

- Government chooses tax rate to maximize welfare, taking tax rates of all other countries as given.
- Assume  $t_i$  increases. Then capital moves out of  $i$  to other countries until we're back to  $f'_i(k_i) - t_i = \rho$  for all  $i$
- So domestic capital falls in  $i$ , rises elsewhere and  $\rho$  falls
- FOC is: 
$$\frac{\partial W_i}{\partial t_i} = -f''_i(k_i)k_i \frac{\partial k_i}{\partial t_i} + G'_i(t_i k_i) \left( k_i + t_i \frac{\partial k_i}{\partial t_i} \right) + \frac{\partial \rho}{\partial t_i} \bar{k}_i = 0$$
- Gov weighs the reduction in wage, increase in revenue, and reduced net income on wealth



Symmetric Nash equilibrium in pure strategies:

- FOC defines a best response function  $t_i(t_{-i})$  relating gov maximizing tax rate to the tax rates  $t_{-i}$  set by all others
- The intersection of the best responses  $t_i(t_{-i})$  characterizes an interior Nash equilibrium in pure strategies (when it exists)
- Is the equilibrium socially optimum?
- Consider how small increases in tax rate  $dt_i = dt$  by all countries would affect welfare in country  $i$  at the Nash equilibrium

- This reduces  $\rho$  by  $dt$  and leaves total capital and its allocation unchanged, so  $dW_i = [(k_i - \bar{k}_i) f_i''(k_i) - G_i'(t_i k_i) t_i] \frac{\partial k_i}{\partial t_i} dt$
- If countries are identical (same population, production function, same preferences) then in equilibrium  $k_i = \bar{k}_i = \bar{k}$  and:

$$dW_i = -G_i'(t_i k_i) t_i \frac{\partial k_i}{\partial t_i} dt > 0$$

- All countries would benefit from a small uniform increase in all tax rates: the Nash equilibrium is not Pareto efficient

→ Core argument against international tax competition

## Asymmetric equilibrium

- Country  $i$  gains from  $dt$  iff  $(k_i - \bar{k}_i)f_i'' - G_i'(t_i k_i)t_i < 0$ .
- This is always the case when  $k_i > \bar{k}_i \rightarrow$  for capital importers , it's always good to have a coordinated increase in corporate taxes
- For capital exporters, it's unclear
- Depends, e.g., on how far they are from optimal provision of public goods
- See Keen and Konrad (HPE, 2013)

## Empirical evidence on capital mobility

- A number of studies regress FDI on taxes, find elasticities close to or above 1 (see Zodrow 2010 for survey)
- Identification relies on orthogonality of tax rates to other factors (e.g., bureaucracy). No natural quasi-experimental variation
- Main response to differentials in  $\tau_K$  seems to be artificial profit shifting rather than changes in  $K$
- If policies successful at curbing profit shifting, mobility could  $\nearrow$ , pushing  $\tau_K$  further toward 0 (Hong & Smart '10; Johannesen '10)

## Formula apportionment

- Tax base in country  $i$  based on shares of global sales, assets, and/or payroll made in  $i$  (Gordon and Wilson *Econometrica* '86)
- Used by US states for their own corporate taxes (Clausing '14)
- Key attraction: eliminates the opportunity for companies to engage in profit shifting
- Sales only apportionment removes incentives to move K abroad
- Potential problem of sales through low-tax resellers

## Corporate tax integration

- Shareholders receive credits for previously paid corporate taxes
- Corporate tax becomes like a withholding pre-paid tax that is refunded when dividends are paid out to individuals
- Removes incentives to shift profits and move capital abroad
- Existed in Europe; still exists today in Canada, Mexico, Australia
- Can be combined with apportionment to ensure proper withholding at corporate level

## Border adjustment (Auerbach 2010)

- Include in corporate tax base value of all imports and deduct the value of all exports
- Similar to VAT border-adjustment (Auerbach & Holtz-Eakin '16)
- In theory, \$ FX must adjust leaving trade balance unchanged
- Like sales apportionment and integration, border adjustment removes incentives to shift profits or move capital abroad
- If combined with full expensing and no interest deduction: DBCFT

Economically DBCFT at  $\tau = 20\%$  is equivalent to:

1. Abolish corporate income tax
2. Introduce a value-added-tax on consumption at 20% rate
3. Subsidize labor earnings at 20% rate (like a giant payroll tax cut)

1. is regressive and makes US a corporate tax haven

2. + 3. is equivalent to a tax on existing wealth (progressive)

Uncertainties: FX adjustment, foreign business to consumers sales (problem also for VAT), WTO compatibility, long-term revenue effects

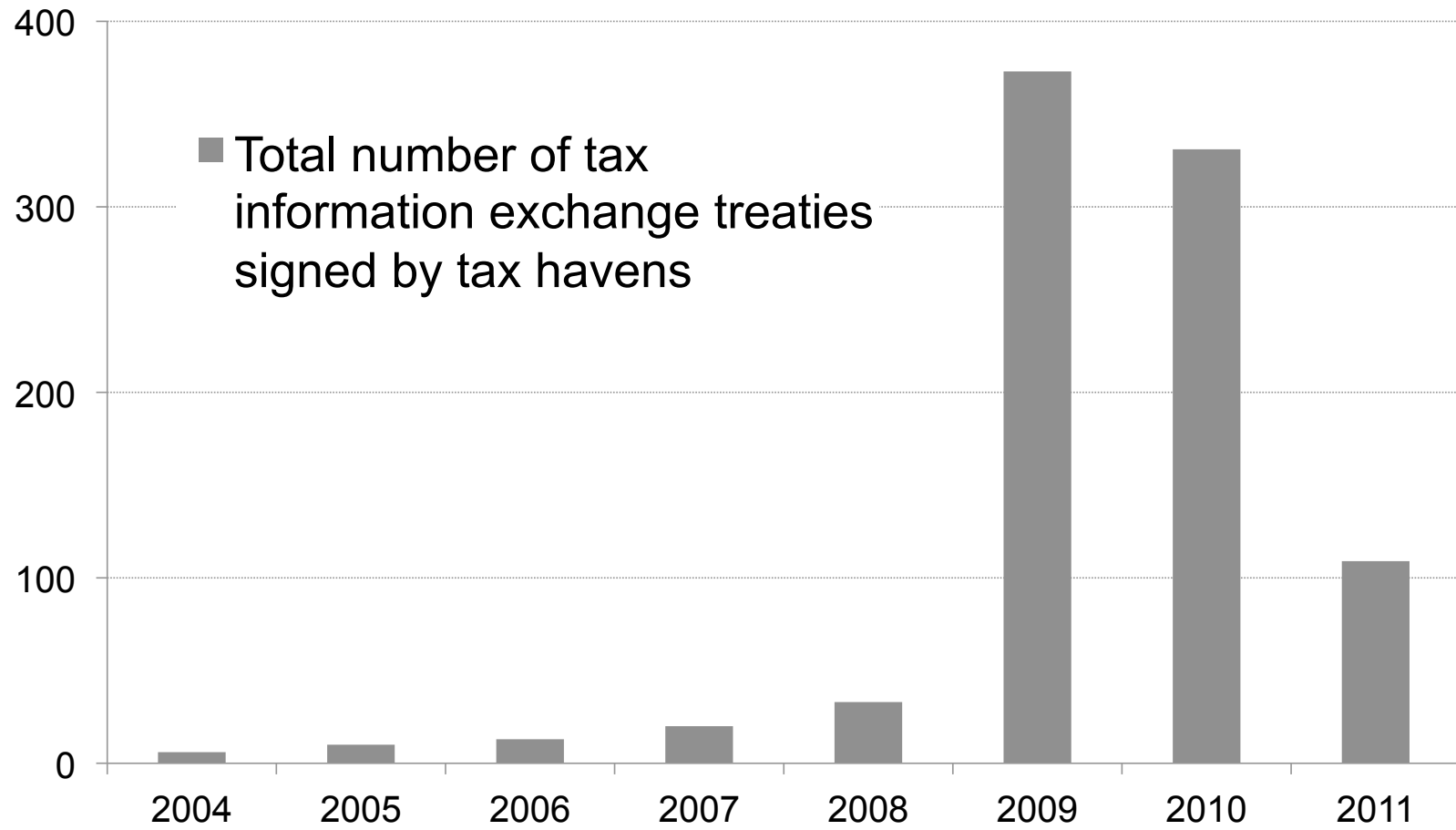


### 3 Cross-border information sharing

- Globalization makes it easy to own assets abroad. Offshore wealth  $\approx 8\%$  of world's household financial wealth (Zucman QJE 2013)
- Without third-party reporting on these assets, very easy to evade residence-based taxes (on personal capital income and wealth)
- Traditionally, tax havens exchanged no/very little information
- This is changing (Fatca and similar laws in other OECD countries)
- Two key limits: incomplete cooperation & incentives of tax havens

## **Pitfalls of incomplete coop. (Johannesen & Zucman '14)**

- April 2009: G20 countries force tax havens to sign bilateral information exchange treaties
- But to be compliant a tax haven needs to sign only 12 treaties
- Bilateral data from Bank for International Settlements show bank deposits shifted to havens with no treaty
- Key to have global cooperation (can be enforced with sanctions)



Research design: panel regressions with country-pair fixed effects

$$\log(\text{Deposits}_{ijq}) = \alpha + \beta \text{Treaty}_{ijq} + \gamma_{ij} + \theta_q + \epsilon_{ijq}$$

- $i$ : source country (e.g., France)
- $j$ : host country (e.g., Switzerland)
- Quarterly observations 2004-2011
- Time and country-pair fixed effects

Dependent variable: deposits of savers of country  $i$  in banks of country  $j$

VARIABLES	BANK: havens SAVER: non-havens	BANK: havens SAVER: non-havens
Treaty between $i$ and $j$	<b>-0.1156**</b> (0.0349)	
Treaty (Contemp)		0.0223 (0.6331)
Treaty (+1 quarter)		-0.0927 (0.1300)
Treaty (+2 quarters)		-0.1306** (0.0449)
Treaty (+3 quarters)		<b>-0.1724***</b> (0.0057)
Treaty (>3 quarters)		<b>-0.1818**</b> (0.0137)
Observations	30,960	30,960
Countrypair FE	YES	YES
Time FE	<sup>20</sup> YES	YES

Robust p-values in parentheses, clustered at the country-pair level

Dependent variable: deposits of savers of country  $i$  in banks of country  $j$

VARIABLES	BANK: havens SAVER: non-havens	BANK: havens SAVER: non-havens
Treaty between $i$ and $j$	-0.1659*** (0.0052)	-0.0498 (0.4286)
Saving tax directive (STD)	-0.2161*** (0.0004)	-0.2198*** (0.0003)
# of treaties signed by $i$ with havens other than $j$	<b>0.0059**</b> <b>(0.0402)</b>	
# of treaties signed by $i$ with havens other than $j \times \text{Treaty}_{ijq}$		0.0001 (0.9719)
# of treaties signed by $i$ with havens other than $j \times (1 - \text{Treaty}_{ijq})$		<b>0.0120***</b> <b>(0.0033)</b>
Observations	30,960	30,960
Countrypair fixed effects	YES	YES
Time fixed effects	YES	YES

Robust p-values in parentheses, clustered at the country-pair level

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