The Missing Profits of Nations

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Introduction

Why are corporate tax rates falling globally?

- ightharpoonup Standard explanation: globalization ightharpoonup competition to attract real capital ightharpoonup race to the bottom
- ▷ But today's largest multinationals don't move much K across borders (don't even have much tangible K)
- ▷ Instead they shift accounting profits, including...
- > Tax competition model cannot explain this pattern
- \rightarrow Need to study **profit shifting**, why it rose and persists

This paper: New data and explanations

First contribution is empirical: produce new series of global profit shifting using macro data. Key novelties:

- New database: profits of local v foreign corp in each ctry → Complete map of where profits booked globally → Direct estimate of size of profits shifted to havens
- Forensic analysis of tax haven data → show out of which countries profits are shifted
- ▶ Improved macro stats: we provide estimates of GDP, profits, & factor shares corrected for shifting

Second contribution is theoretical: provide new explanation for persistence of profit shifting

Our results

Main empirical results:

- ▶ 40% of multinationals' profits shifted to tax havens
- ▷ EU is the main loser; US firms are the main shifters

Policy failure explains persistence of shifting:

- → High-tax countries focus enforcement on transactions that shift profits to other high-tax places
- ▷ They ignore tax havens, where bulk of shifting occurs
- → In effect, high-tax countries are stealing from each other while letting tax havens flourish

Implications for future of taxes and inequality

Tax competition model: corporate tax rate \rightarrow 0

- ightharpoonup Capital moves ightharpoonup race to bottom inevitable
- ▷ Progressive income tax will disappear (impossible to enforce with low corp. tax rate: the rich incorporate)
- ▷ Globalization fuels inequality

Our results: corporate tax may rise in the future

- ▷ Capital does not move; paper profits do
 - ▷ Policy failures explain this shifting
 - ightharpoonup Can be fixed ightharpoonup corp tax could \uparrow even if no coordinat o

Domestic policies, more than globalization, are key

The size of

global profit-shifting

Key challenge in the literature: Little data on profits in tax havens

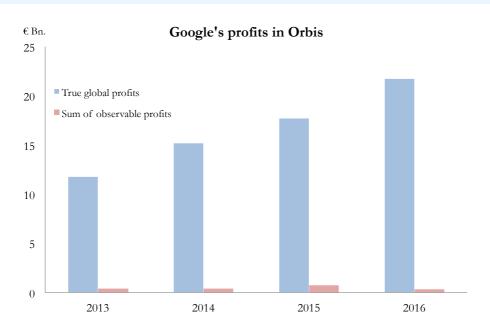
No reference estimate of size of global profit shifting

Widely-used source (eg, by OECD 2015 for its official estimate): financial accounts micro-data (Orbis)

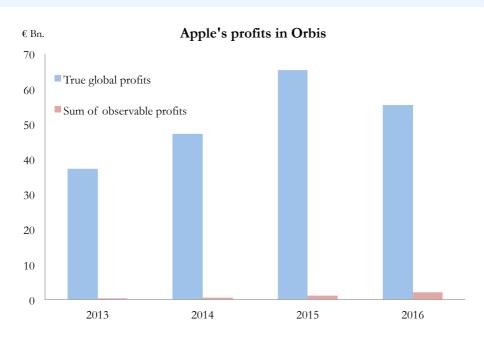
$$\triangleright log(\pi_{ict}) = \alpha + \beta(1 - \tau_{ct}) + \delta Firm_{it} + \gamma Country_{ct} + \epsilon_{ict}$$

- ightharpoonup Extrapolate global shifting from \hat{eta}
- ▶ Problem: limited reporting in tax havens → most shifted profits not visible in financial accounts
- \rightarrow (i) $\hat{\beta}$ downward biased (ii) biased inferences about size and location of shifted profits

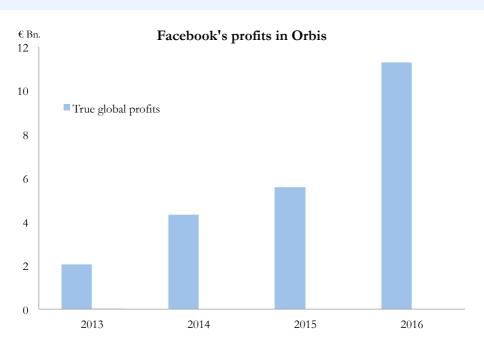
Most of Google's profits are invisible in available financial accounts data



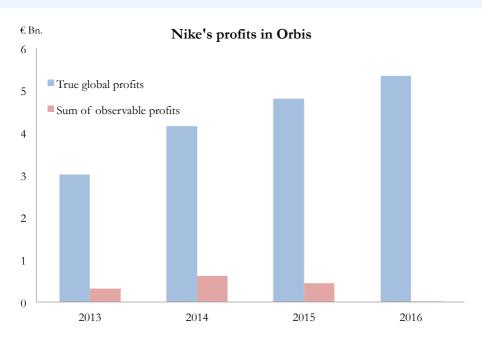
Most of Apple's profits are invisible in available financial accounts data



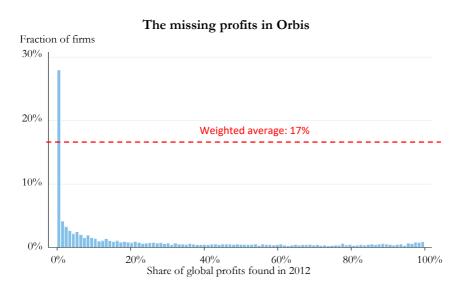
None of Facebook's profits are visible in available financial accounts data



Most of Nike's profits are invisible in available financial accounts data



Only 17% of multinationals' profits are visible in financial accounts micro-data



Our appraoch: we combine and analyze global macro data in a systematic way

New national accounts data:

- ▶ Key novelty: exploit new foreign affiliates statistics to decompose profits into local vs. foreign firms
- ▷ Better than Orbis because relies on much more info. (including tax returns & census-like surveys)

Improved balance of payments data:

- \triangleright Bilateral trade & intra-group payments \rightarrow shows out of which countries profits are shifted
- \triangleright Ultimate-owner direct investment statistics \rightarrow shows which multinationals shift profits

A new global database on profits (2015)

	Trillions of current US\$	% of net corporate profits
Global gross output (GDP)	75,038	
Depreciation	11,940	
Net output	63,098	
Net corporate output	34,083	296%
Net corporate profits	11,515	100%
Net profits of foreign-controlled corp.	1,703	15%
Of which: shifted to tax havens	616	5%
Net profits of local corporations	9,812	85%
Corporate income taxes paid	2,154	19%

Methodology to estimate amount of profits shifted to tax havens

How multinationals shift profits offshore

Three ways to shift profits to low-tax countries:

- Manipulation of intra-group export and import prices (= transfer prices)
- ▷ Intra-group interest payments (tax deductible)
- ▷ Strategic location of intangibles
- → We construct a macro indicator of profit-shifting that captures all channels of shifting

Conceptual framework

Macro indicator of profit-shifting π

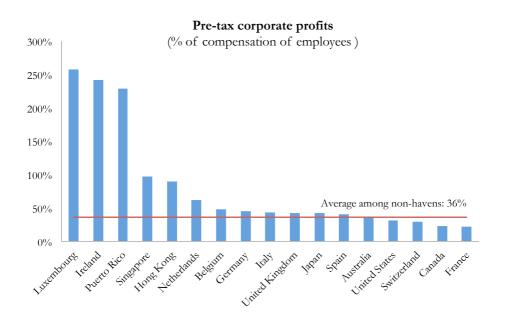
- \triangleright Country's corporate output Y = F(K, AL) = rK + wL
- \triangleright 2 types of corp: f (foreign) vs. I (local)
- \triangleright Capital share $\alpha = rK/Y$
- \triangleright Net interest paid = p% of rK
- \triangleright Pre-tax profits/wage ratio: $\pi = (1-p) \cdot \alpha/(1-\alpha)$
- \rightarrow We analyze π for f vs. / firms in each country

Global patterns in corporate profitability

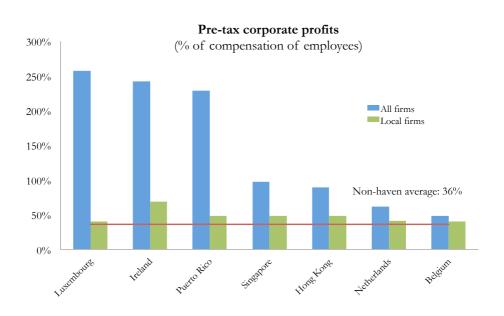
Recorded profitability varies systematically across countries:

- > Tax havens have abnormally high profits/wage ratios
- \triangleright In tax havens: foreign firms are much more profitable than local firms $(\pi_f >> \pi_I)$
- \triangleright In non-haven countries: foreign firms are less profitable than local firms $(\pi_f < \pi_I)$
- ightarrow Clear evidence in macro statistics of shifting from high- to low-tax places

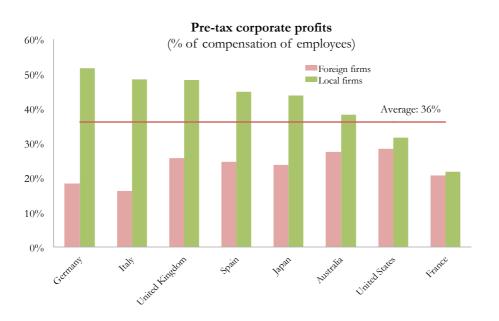
Firms in tax havens are abnormally profitable



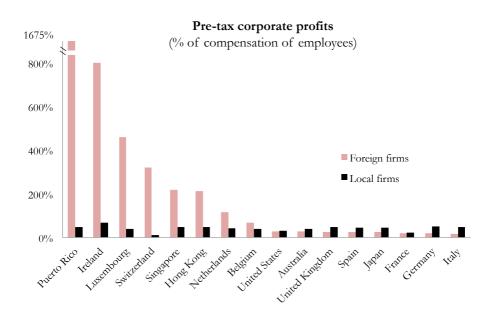
High profits in tax havens stem from high profits of foreign firms



In non-havens, foreign firms are always less profitable than local firms



Profits are offshore, losses onshore



Our method to estimate the amount of profits shifted to tax havens

Set π_f in havens equal to profitability local firms π_I Advantages:

- > Simple and transparent
- Controls for country-level determinants of profitability in tax havens (e.g., anti-labor policies)
- ▷ Easy to track over time & space (~ debt/GDP): could be monitored by policymakers to implement sanctions

Potential concern:

▶ High capital intensity of foreign firms in tax havens?

Do machines move to low-tax places?

Testing the hypothesis that machines move to low-tax places

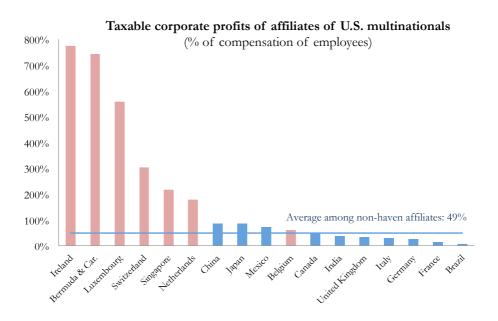
Maybe tax havens attract highly capital-intensive industries from abroad:

- \triangleright With Cobb-Douglas production, this does not affect π
- \triangleright With CES production and $\sigma > 1$, high K/L \rightarrow high π

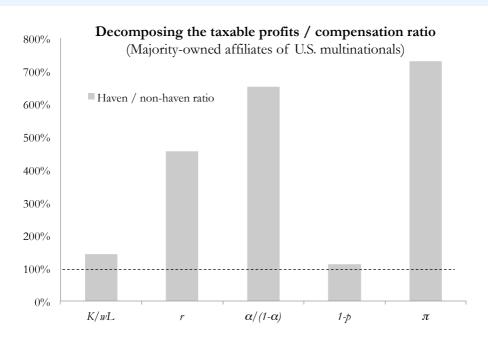
Test using data on affiliates of US multinationals:

- ► Large sample of US multinationals surveyed annually, universe every 5 years back to 1966

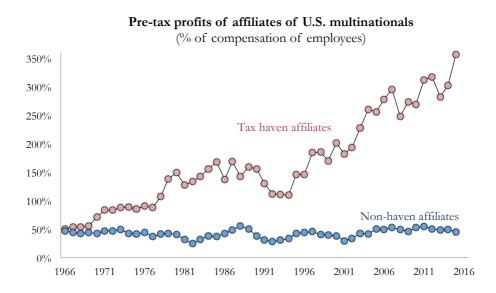
Tax haven affiliates of U.S. multinationals are abnormally profitable



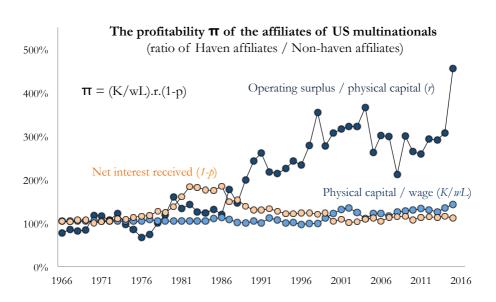
Paper profits move to tax havens. Machines don't.



Tax haven affiliates of US multinationals have been increasingly profitable



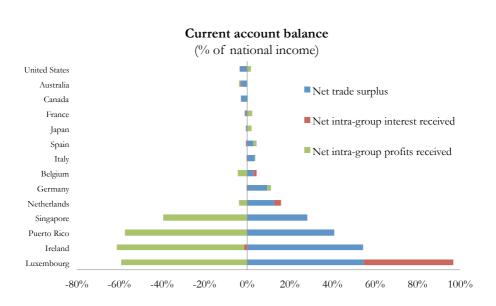
Globalization has been paper profits—not machines—moving to low-tax places



Who Loses?

Allocating the Shifted Profits

Tax havens run large trade and interest surpluses, all paid back to foreign parents

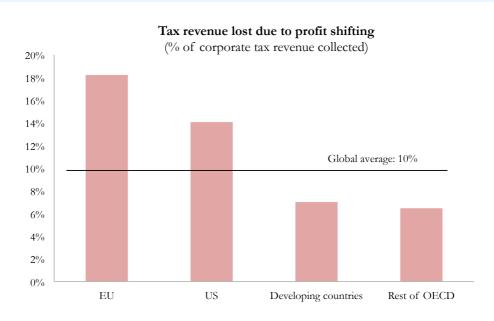


How we allocate the shifted profits

We follow destination of tax havens' service exports and intra-group interest receipts

- \triangleright Services: focus on royalties, management fees, ICT, fin. services \rightarrow most conducive of shifting
- \triangleright Advantage of using tax haven data: capture services better than importers' data ($\approx 30\%$ gap)
- \triangleright The excess profitability $(\pi_f \pi_I)$ in havens match the amount of excess high-risk transaction with them
- Distribute excess profits prop. to these transactions
- \rightarrow E.U. countries are the main losers

The EU loses $\approx 20\%$ of its corporate tax revenue, the US $\approx 15\%$



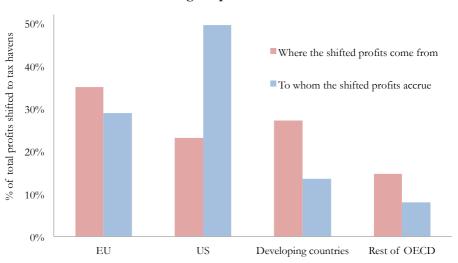
Which multinationals shift profits offshore?

We track to which countries the profits booked in tax havens ultimately accrue:

- ▷ Allocate shifted profits prop. to direct investment equity income paid (dividends + retained earnings)
- ▶ Using new ultimate beneficial owner direct investment statistics
- ▷ Shows where the big shifters are headquartered
- ightarrow U.S. multinationals are the biggest users of tax havens

Who shifts most? The US. Who loses most? EU & developing ctries

Allocating the profits shifted to tax havens



Explaining the rise of

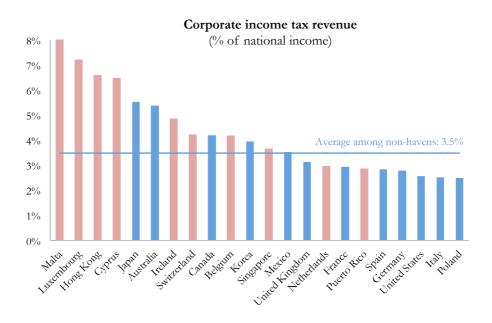
profit-shifting

Beggar-thy-neighbor pays off

Incentives of havens can explain the rise of shifting:

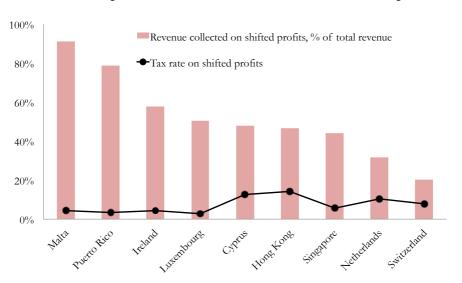
- With source taxation & no coordinat^o or sanction, havens can earn revenue by attracting artificial bases
- ho Key result: revenue-max. rate $0< au^*<5\%$: havens with $aupprox au^*$ generate very large tax revenue
- Can explain the rise of the supply of tax avoidance schemes (e.g., tax rulings: Apple − Ireland)
- \rightarrow Some countries have won and others lost from financial globalization (\neq textbook free-trade model)

Many havens collect a lot of tax revenue...

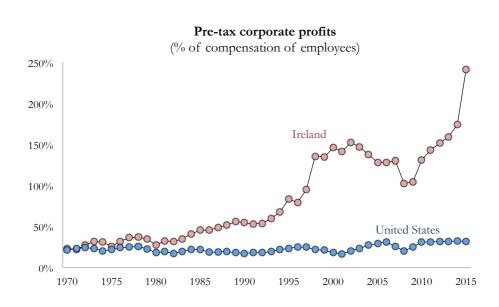


... By applying very low rates to the huge artificial tax base they attract

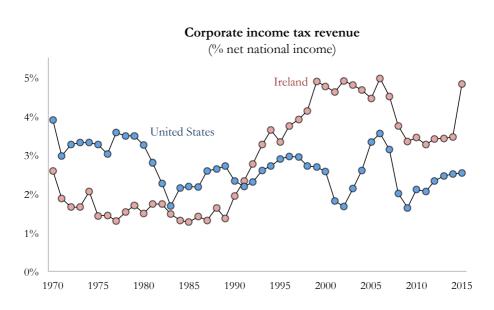
Corporate tax revenue collected & tax rate on shifted profits



As profit shifting skyrocketed...

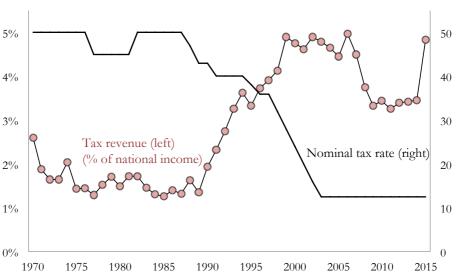


...Tax revenue rose in many havens, while they \downarrow or stagnated in high-tax countries



The lower the rate, the higher the revenue

Corporate income tax revenue vs. tax rate in Ireland



Explaining the persistence of

profit-shifting

The policy failure of high-tax countries

Why have high-tax countries failed to protect their tax base?

Incentives of tax havens can explain \(\ \) avoidance schemes, but not why high-tax countries have let their base shrink

Our explanation: failure of tax enforcement

- ▷ In current current international tax system, tax authorities have perverse incentives
- ▶ They try to relocate base booked in other high-tax countries, not base shifted to havens

The incentive problem of tax authorities

€1 re-located to France is worth the same to France whether it comes from Germany or Bermuda

But much easier to relocate €1 booked in Germany:

- ▶ More likely to succeed: no push-back from firms
- → Analysis of transfer price corrections shows **most** enforcement is against other high-tax countries

Most transfer price enforcement is against other high-tax countries



Can more cooperation and better information solve the problem?

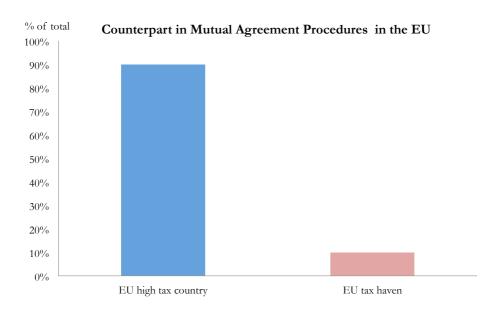
Facilitating dispute settlement can backfire:

- ▷ Ongoing initiative to ↑ cooperation among OECD countries
- ▶ Problem: crowds out enforcement on non-OECD havens, where bulk of shifting takes place

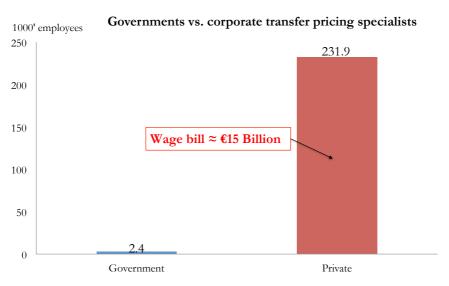
Better information can help, but not enough:

- ▷ Even with perfect info, firms will always fight more to protect profits they book in low-tax places
- ▷ Internalizing this, tax authorities will keep going after high-tax places

Even when tax havens cooperate, tax authorities do not target them



Multinationals outspend tax authorities



Source is LinkedIn, but the government count is corroborated by the EY Transfer Pricing Tax Authority Survey (2014). The wage bill is estimated by applying the average salary of an EY Transfer Pricing Specialist (Source: Glassdoor).

Conclusion

Main findings

Main results:

- ▶ 40% of multinationals' profits shifted to tax havens
- ▶ E.U. is the main loser; U.S. the main shifter
- → High losses for the EU can be explained by failure of enforcement due to perverse incentives
- riangleright Tax competition model not enough to explain \downarrow in $au_{\mathcal{K}}$
- → Policies are key to understand rise & persistence of shifting & in turn decline in corp tax rate

There is a policy solution to profit shifting

Apportionment of profits proportionally to where sales are made

- \triangleright Would increase corp tax revenue by \approx 20% in Europe and \approx 15% in U.S.

Improving international statistics

Our analysis highlights a number of statistical gaps:

- Foreign affiliates statistics: need to be compiled by more countries & broader (e.g., K, interest, tax)
- ▶ Missing national accounts of the Caribbean
- ▷ Corporate registry in the U.S. and havens
- ▷ Decline of the corporate labor share throughout the world is under-estimated

Supplementary slides

Previous macro approaches

A nascent literature takes a macro perspective:

- ▷ UNCTAD (2015) global estimate based on FDI data
- Clausing (2009), Zucman (2014), Guvenen et al. (2017) for U.S.
- ▷ Pro: does not suffer from Orbis limitations

Problems:

- → Need to open the black-box of tax havens

Foreign affiliates statistics

New data: foreign affiliates statistics (FATS)

- ▶ Main national accounts aggregates for affiliates of multinationals (inward and outward)
- Compiled for a long time in the US
- ▷ Introduced recently in a number of other countries, including EU havens

Imputation of profits in foreign firms when no FATS exist

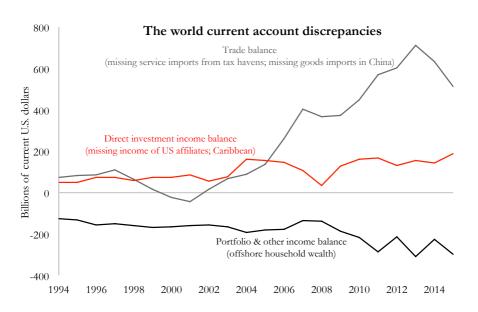
Compute profits in foreign firms using direct investment income flows

- \triangleright 10% vs. 50% ownership threshold; pre-tax vs. post-tax \rightarrow impute taxes
- ▷ Assume profits / wage same as for US affiliates

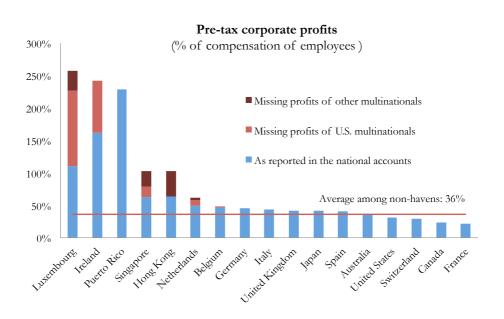
Imputation when no direct investment income data exist:

- ▷ Estimate direct investment income paid such that world DI income balances to 0
- \triangleright Two reasons why global DI income > 0: missing US profits in Ireland etc.; missing BoP \rightarrow we impute both

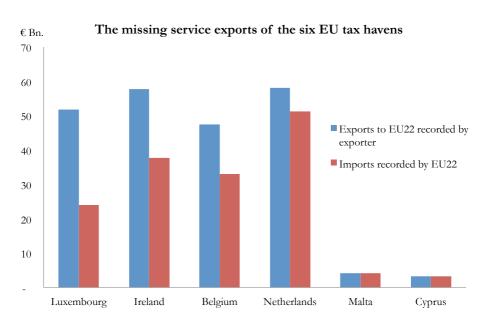
Anomalies in the world balance of payments



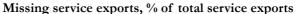
The unrecorded profits of U.S. affiliates in tax havens

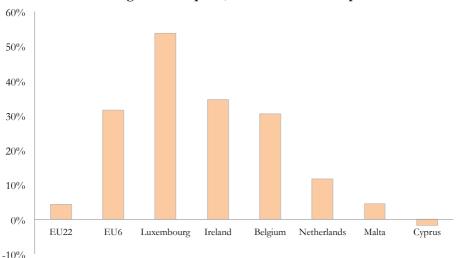


Service imports from tax havens are under-estimated by importers (B2C sales)



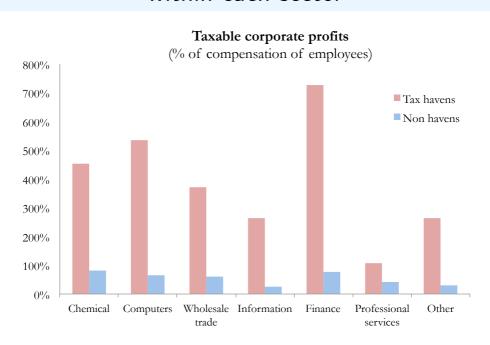
At least 30% of the services exported by EU havens go unreported by the importer



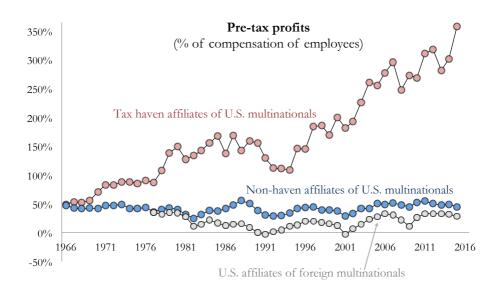


 $Note: Service\ exports\ include\ exports\ to\ all\ EU22\ countries\ (EU26\ minus\ Luxembourg,\ Ireland,\ Belgium,\ Netherlands,\ Malta,\ Cyprus).$

Tax haven firms are abnormally profitable within each sector



Profits are offshore, losses are onshore



As settlement is facilitated, high-tax to high-tax disputes are growing



