# The Welfare Implications of Tax Competition

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## It's all about the pie.

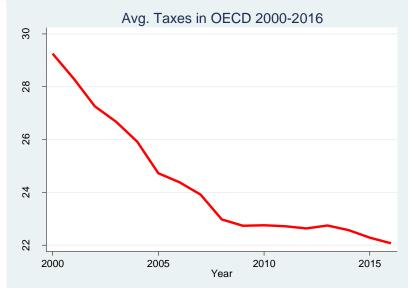


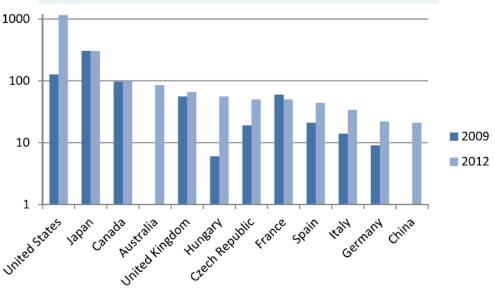
## How does tax competition affect welfare?

- What is welfare? It's all about pie.
  - How big is the pie:
    - Income, jobs, growth
  - Who gets what share
    - Across countries, public/private, groups (different tax bases, firms, consumers, etc.)
- To answer the question, we need to ask what tax competition does to policy and what policy change does to the size and distribution of the pie.
- My argument: the main debate is over the distribution of pie across countries

## What does competition do to policy?

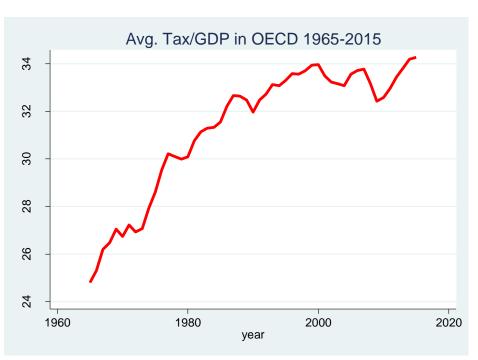
- Lowers tax rates
  - 1pp fall in other taxes leads to .7pp fall here
    - Devereux, Lockwood, Redoano (2008, JPubE)
- Other tax-reducing policies
  - Patent/knowledge box
  - APAs
    - Becker, Davies, Jakob (2017, JEBO)
- Tax Environment, not just rates





## Tax competition and distribution

- Mix between public and private
  - Fairly steady share of revenues to GDP





## Tax competition and distribution

- Likewise, no clear shift of tax burden from firms to consumers
  - Within group shifts?
  - Apple tax case and APAs:
    - Preferential treatment
    - APA affecting the market (other firms and consumers)
- Allocation across nations
  - Impact on where the benefits (not just investment) of FDI go

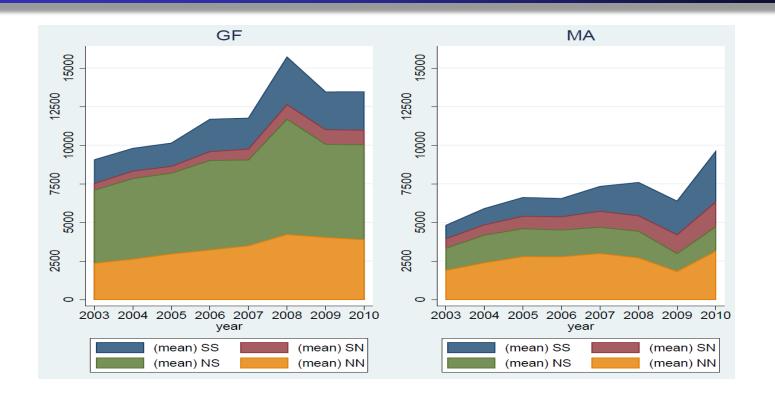
#### Allocation of FDI across countries

- How to measure FDI?
  - FDI: Profits, number of investments, capital, employment, patents
    - Competition: Number of firms
- Either way, taxes deter FDI
  - Host tax: Literally thousands of papers
  - Home tax: Barrios, et al (2012, JPubE); Davies,
     Siedschlag, Studnicka (2016); Davies, Desbordes,
     Ray (2015)

## Competition for investment or firms?

- Studies examine location or size
- Davies, Siedschlag, Studnicka (2016)
  - Intra-EU FDI, 2004-2013
  - Examines extensive (location) and intensive (size) in a single framework
  - Long-run home and host taxes reduce FDI
    - Host: 84% of aggregate changes in extensive
    - Home: 64% of aggregate changes in extensive
    - Bulk of reduction in investment is fewer not smaller firms
    - Implications for competition (Apple)
- Competition for firms, not investment

#### Greenfield vs. M&A



- GF is 63% of projects, 20% of investment
- Taxes only affect GF (host: 1%; home: .7%)
  - Becker and Fuest (2010, IER); Davies, Desbordes, Ray (2016)

#### Greenfield vs. M&A

- GF seems to have more economic impacts in labour markets and on growth
  - Davies and Desbordes (2015, CJE)
  - Harms and Meon (2014)
- Increases Local investment (Borenzstein, De Gregorio, Lee, 1998, JIE)
  - Crowding-in
- Outbound FDI has positive productivity effects
  - van Pottelsberghe de la Potterie and Lichtenberg (2001, REStat)

#### Patent boxes

- Not much evidence (yet)
  - Bradley, Dauchy, Robinson (2015): 1 pp fall in tax results in 3% increase in patent applications; no impact on location
- Effects on innovation type
  - Patent boxes reward successful and profitable innovations
  - Ernst, Richter, and Riedel (2014, ITAX): subsidize cost increases quantity, subsidize income stream increases quality (not profitability)

#### **APAs**

- No evidence on the impacts of these
  - Theory points to efficiency gains (BDJ, 2017);
     empirics stymied by confidential information
  - But: firms have to ask for an APA and APAs are costly so might just apply to the already big players (Apple)

## Tax competition and welfare

- So if tax competition lowers the tax burden:
  - The pie gets bigger, potentially at home and in the host
    - Leaves out non-hosts
  - Can shift benefits across hosts, especially for valuable greenfield
    - This should be the primary conversation

## Distribution of pie across countries

- OECD and EU discussion:
  - Not about tax rates, but about taxing where rents are generated; "Fair" tax competition
- "Level playing field" on an uneven pitch
  - FDI responds to a lot more than taxes
    - Access to consumers
    - Worker quality, wages, and energy costs
    - Trade and cultural barriers
    - Shadow banks (Davies and Killeen, 2015)
  - Is tax competition unfair when some countries have "unfair" natural advantages?

## Second-best competition?

- Reducing tax competition doesn't eliminate competition
  - Labour Standards: A 1 point cut in collective bargaining rights everywhere else reduces local rights by .7 (de facto, not de jeur)
    - Davies and Vadlammanati (2013, JDevE)
  - Environmental Standards: Size of effect varies according to the policy
    - Eliste and Fredriksson (2004, *JEEM*), Levinson (2003, *NTJ*), Davies and Naughton (2014, *ITAX*)
  - Tax competition may increase the pie, these might have very different impacts

#### Conclusion

- Tax competition lowers tax burdens
- This increases the size of the pie but shifts the share to low-tax hosts
- This shifts the debate to "fair competition" but on an uneven field
  - How to distribute the benefits as well as revenues when distribution is a concern
- Awareness of limited tax competition creating second best competition

Thank you

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