Distributional Tax Analysis in Theory and Practice Emmanuel Saez, Gabriel Zucman

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Overview

Introduction: Relevant Questions

- Classical Tax Incidence Analysis and its Drawbacks
- Proposed Distributional Tax Analysis
 - Method for current-tax and tax-reform analysis
 - Illustration with a two-sector model, and optimal tax analysis

• The Model in Practice

- US Tax History
- Tax reforms: Corporate and Individual Tax Increase
- Non Standard Behavioural Effects
- Discussion

Introduction

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Important Questions about Taxation

- High income countries collect **30 50% national income** in taxes
- Who pays these taxes? How would they affect the different socioeconomic groups? - crucial for policymakers to have a way to allocate taxes and analyse effects
- Conventional taxation models do not satisfactorily answer, but
 - used by bodies such as **Government Agencies** inform public debate, legislative processes, policies, etc.
- Paper proposes a methodology that overcomes the shortcomings of the conventional models

Classical Tax Incidence Analysis and its Drawbacks

- **Internal inconsistency**: assignment based on counterfactual incomes (income under alternative or no taxes) as opposed to actual pre-tax income
- **Biased trends** in tax progressivity and inequality: ex. legal shift from C to S corporation
- Does not allow for individual-level analysis
- Requires assumptions about **behavioural responses** to taxes, or **counterfactuals**

General Aims of the Framework

- provide information on current distribution of income and tax payments by income groups = distributional current-tax analysis
- simulate how a change to the tax system would affect different socioeconomic groups = *distributional tax-reform analysis*
- two separate methodologies for each

Key Findings

- effective tax rate for the top 1% significantly declined over the past century (from 50% to 32%) underestimated by conventional methods
- importance of **corporate taxes** in tax progressivity especially for top groups
- for **evaluating** tax reforms, only **two main statistics** are required: the *mechanical tax changes* by income group (ignoring behavioral responses) and the *aggregate revenue effect* due to behavioral responses. Pre-tax price effects can be ignored

Distributional Tax Analysis

Method

Current-tax analysis aims at **allocating taxes to the effectively affected agents:**

- Labour taxes to corresponding workers (including payroll taxes paid by employers!)
- Consumption taxes to corresponding consumers
- Capital taxes to the owners of corresponding assets

Taxes = "wedges between pre-tax prices and post-tax prices" (will come back later)

Why?

- Workers' labour supply decisions depend on their *after-tax* earnings
- Employers' decision on *pre-tax* cost of labor
- Similar idea for capital and consumption

 \rightarrow It is a very general and easy-to-use setting, measuring what is effectively paid by people

How does it compare with conventional analysis?

- Does not depend on income classification
 - Whether a consultant decides to report income as salaried worker, a self-employed individual incorporated or not in a company, income tax is allocated the same way
- Does not rely on counterfactual income
- No need to specify behavioural responses
- Offers consistent trends in tax progressivity

Distributional tax-reform analysis

If interested in distributional **tax-reform** analysis, one would now need to understand the income and welfare effects of such a reform and therefore the response(s) of tax base

- Need to account for equity / efficiency trade-off
- Requires a model of behaviour

Distributional tax-reform analysis Tax incidence

Tax incidence theory focuses on effect of taxes on pre-tax prices (e.g. corporate tax increase \rightarrow wage decrease). Should we care?

- Distributional tax analysis only focuses on the welfare effect of tax reforms
- Any pre-tax price effect following tax change can be neutralized by adjusting other taxes, at zero budgetary cost
- \rightarrow Pre-tax price effects can be ignored

Equity side

- mechanical impact of tax changes (ignoring behavioral responses)
- weighted across group by marginal social welfare weights

Efficiency side

• aggregate revenue effect due to behavioral responses

Key point of the paper: Price effects turn out to be normatively irrelevant for distributional tax-reform analysis!

Illustration: Two-sector capital and labor model

- Aggregate production function Y = F(K, L)
- *w* = economy-wide pre-tax wage rate, *r* = pre-tax rate of return on capital
- Profits maximization $\rightarrow w = F_L$ and $r = F_K$
- Assume labor is fixed, labor income taxed at rate $\tau_{\scriptscriptstyle L}$
- Capital supply depends on the net-of-tax return $\bar{r} = r \cdot (1 \tau_K)$ where τ_K is tax rate on capital income

▶ More in Appendix

Equilibrium:

$$r = f'(k), w = f(k) - kf'(k) = \int_{0}^{k} f'(k) dk - rk, k = k(r \cdot (1 - \tau_{K}))$$



Figure: Capital tax

Tax-reform analysis

Now we consider small tax change, i.e small increase in τ_{K} , study its effects *dk*, *dw* and *dr*. Differentiating the equilibrium equations and re-arranging :

$$\frac{dr}{r} = \frac{(1-\alpha)e_K}{(1-\alpha)e_K + \sigma} \cdot \frac{d\tau_K}{1-\tau_K}$$
$$\frac{dk}{k} = -e_K \cdot \frac{\sigma}{(1-\alpha)e_K + \sigma} \cdot \frac{d\tau_K}{1-\tau_K}$$
$$\frac{dw = -kdr}{dw}$$



Figure: Capital tax reform

Optimal tax analysis

Suppose marginal welfare weight on capitalists is 0 :

- Government sets τ_K to maximise $w + (r \bar{r})k$
- Maximising over τ_K yields optimal tax rate $\tau_K^* = 1/(1 + e_K)$
- Optimal rate only depends on supply elasticity e_K !

 \rightarrow Effect of capital tax increase on wages = irrelevant to assess whether this reform is desirable

Model in Practice

US Tax History

- How does the current level of tax progressivity compare historically?
- Have we ever seen high effective tax rates on the rich imposed in the US? If so, which were more important?
- Apply distributional analysis: goal is to **compute evolution of effective tax rates by income groups**

US Tax Progressivity

- using: PSZ 2018 US distributional accounts (controversies regarding this dataset outside the scope of the presentation)
- looking at: **effective tax rate** (= total taxes paid divided by pre-tax income)
- goal: constructing a **homogeneous** series of said taxes paid by top income groups



Importance of **Corporate Tax**



Figure: Corporate Tax Revenue and National Income

Does it matter how corporate tax is allocated?

 PRELIMINARIES
 PROPOSED DISTRIBUTIONAL TAX ANALYSIS
 MODEL IN PRACTICE
 Incorporating non-standard incidence
 Discussion

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- **Important:** in the conventional framework, <u>C-corporation</u> taxes are only attributed to **owners** at **75%**, as corporate tax. Labour takes the other 25% (because of assumed behavioural effects)
 - <u>S-corp</u> taxes attributed 100% to owners, through **individual** income tax
- one way to understand this: a tax cut in corporate income would also be thought to benefit workers



- sharp contrast between methodologies in pre-50s period
- importance of pension funds post-50s
- CBO does not account for non-taxable income (pension funds...)
- progressivity bias introduced by S-corps
- CBO underestimates decline in the top effective tax rate

Tax Reforms

In practice:

- estimate how pre-tax income, post-tax income, taxes paid and income-equivalent welfare would change after a tax reform
- Sufficient statistics to evaluate the reform:
- mechanical change in tax liability by income groups (ass. no behavioural response and no price effects!)
- aggregate revenue effect due to supply side responses (ignoring price effects!)
- social marginal welfare weights

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		Tax reform analysis						
	Pretax income	All corporate taxes	Federal corporate tax Share Taxes. (\$ billion)		Consider a 10% increase in the federal corporate income tax rate, from 21% to 23.1%			
Income groups	Share	Share			Mechanical tax increase (\$ billion)	Tax loss supply side (\$ billion)	Social welfare weights	Social welfare cost (\$ billion) = -(5) x (7)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
P0-50	12%	4%	3%	\$7	\$0.7	-\$0.1	1.38	-\$1.0
P50-90	38%	29%	18%	\$50	\$5.0	-\$0.7	0.69	-\$3.4
P90-99	26%	30%	18%	\$50	\$5.0	-\$0.7	0.35	-\$1.7
P99-99.9	12%	16%	9%	\$26	\$2.6	-\$0.4	0.17	-\$0.5
top 0.1%	12%	21%	13%	\$36	\$3.6	-\$0.5	0.09	-\$0.3
Non-US residents	0%	0%	39%	\$109	\$10.9	-\$1.5	0	\$0.0
All	100%	100%	100%	\$279	\$27.9	-\$3.7	1.00	-\$6.9
					Net revenue: Net value of reform:		\$24.1 billion \$17.2 billion	

A. Reform of the US federal corporate income tax

Note: Desirable for elasticity up to 3, raises net revenue for elasticity up to 4.

		Current inc	ome and tax	(2021)	Tax reform analysis				
	Pretax Fiscal Federal individual income tax					Consider a 10% increase in the Federal individual income tax for the top 1% only			
Income groups	Share of total pretax income	as % of pretax income	Share of total individual income tax	Tax rate = Taxes / Pretax income	Taxes (\$ billion)	Mechanical tax increase (\$ billion)	Tax loss Socia supply side welfa (\$ billion) weigh		Social welfare cost (\$ billion) = -(5) x (8)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
P0-50	12%	53%	2%	1.7%	\$46	\$0.0	\$0.0	1.38	\$0.0
P50-90	38%	67%	26%	6.8%	\$552	\$0.0	\$0.0	0.69	\$0.0
P90-99	26%	68%	30%	11.6%	\$639	\$0.0	\$0.0	0.35	\$0.0
P99-99.9	12%	72%	19%	16.5%	\$404	\$40.4	-\$5.7	0.17	-\$7.0
top 0.1%	12%	74%	22%	18.1%	\$467	\$46.7	-\$6.3	0.09	-\$4.0
AII	100%	67%	100%	9.9%	\$2,108	\$87.1	-\$12.0	1.00	-\$11.0
						Net revenu	e:	\$75.1	l billion
						Net value o	f reform:	\$64.1	billion

B. Reform of the US federal individual income tax

Note: Desirable for top income elasticities up to 1.75. Estimated for elasticity of 0.25.

Incorporating non-standard incidence

Incorporating Non-Standard Behavioural Effects

- Recent literature identified evidence of non-standard behavioural responses to taxation
- These effects do not appear, and cannot be allowed for, in neo-classical models

Tax	Who bears the burden of a tax change	Notes and key references	Nature of main behavioural responses
Individual income Tax	Individuals 100%	Consistent with conventional incidence	Avoidance/evasion
maividual income fax			Real responses
	Profits 2/3*		Avoidance/evasion
Corporate income tax	Workers 1/3*	Fuest, Peichl, and Siegloch (2018) for Germany and Kennedy et al. (2022) for the US. Likely depends on bargaining power. Asymmetric effects?	Real responses
	Consumers 0%*		
Consumption taxes			
Value-added-tax or excise tax increase	Consumers 100%	Benzarti et al. (2020) on VAT in Europe	Evasion
Value-added-tax or excise tax decrease	Consumers 50%, Profits 37.5%*, Workers 12.5%*	Benzarti et al. (2020) on VAT in Europe Benzarti and Carloni (2019). Likely depends on bargaining power	Consumer demand
Sales taxes (not posted on prices)	Consumers 100%	Consistent with conventional incidence. Poterba (1996) and Besley and Rosen (1999) for local sales tax in the US	Evasion
Payroll taxes Employee side payroll tax	Workers 100%	Consistent with conventional incidence	Labor supply response
Employer side payroll tax	Corresponding workers 0%	Saez et al. (2012) for Greece, Bozio et al. (2022) for France, Saez et al. (2019) for Sweden	Employer labor demand responses
	Workers collectively 2/3* Profits 1/3*	Saez et al. (2019) for Sweden, Benzarti and Harju (2021) for Finland. Likely depends on bargaining power	

Table: Modern Literature on Non-Standard Tax Incidence

Replacing health insurance premiums by a payroll tax

INCORPORATING NON-STANDARD INCIDENCE

- In the US : health insurance (partly) provided by the employer
- Equivalent to a particular payroll tax on employers : Similar to a head tax per worker
- Look at a reform : replacing the head tax by a flat payroll tax

	Current system									
Income groups	Average pre- tax income	Current head tax (\$ per adult)	Current head tax (% pre-tax income)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)							
P0-50	\$20,889	\$1,440	6.9%							
P50-90	\$80,618	\$6,505	8.1%							
P90-99	\$243,587	\$7,826	3.2%							
P99-99.9	\$1,085,455	\$6,212	0.6%							
top 0.1%	\$10,288,542	\$5,841	0.1%							
All	\$84,672	\$4,259	5.0%							

Figure: Current system distributional analysis

Preliminaries 00000	Proposed Distributional Tax Analysis	Model in Practice	INCORPORATING NON-STANDARD INCIDENCE	

Income groups	Conventional incidence and directed incidence			Employee payroll tax with rigid wages			Employer payroll tax with rigid wages		
	New payroll tax	% change in	Change in	New payroll tax	% change in	Change in	New payroll tax	% change in	Change in
	(% pre-tax	pre-tax income	after-tax income	(% pre-tax	pre-tax income	after-tax income	(% pre-tax	pre-tax income	after-tax income
	income)		(% pre-tax income)	income)		(% pre-tax income)	income)		(% pre-tax income)
Po-50	4.5%	0.0%	2.4%	4.5%	-3.3%	-0.9%	4.5%	-2.4%	0.0%
P50-90	7.0%	0.0%	1.1%	7.0%	-2.1%	-1.0%	7.0%	-1.1%	0.0%
P90-99	3.2%	0.0%	-1.9%	5.2%	2.1%	0.2%	5.2%	1.9%	0.0%
P99-99.9	0.6%	0.0%	-2.1%	2.7%	3.5%	1.4%	2.7%	2.1%	0.0%
Top 0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	-1.3%	1.3%	3.8%	2.5%	1.3%	1.3%	0.0%
All	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Table: Reform effect, for three different scenarios

Discussion

- relies on the theoretical possibility of tax readjustment not very clear nor convincing response in case it is not possible
 crucial if we want to assume no pre-tax price effects!
- reliance on legislation
 - very country specific implementation is it even possible in most situations?
 - more importantly, switches focus from finding optimal tax strategy to other practical considerations
 - $\cdot \,$ would need to implement multiple other practical reforms
 - $\cdot \,$ call for more research on various other topics

Thank you for listening!

The End

Illustration: Two-sector capital and labor model

Production :

- Aggregate production function Y = F(K, L)
- Perfect competition
- *w* = economy-wide pre-tax wage rate, *r* = pre-tax rate of return on capital
- Profits maximization $\rightarrow w = F_L$ and $r = F_K$
- Assume CRS : no pure profits $\rightarrow F(K, L) = rK + wL$
- Denote by σ the elasticity of substitution between K and L and by $\alpha = rK/Y$ the share of capital income in the economy

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Supply side :

- Assume labor is fixed, labor income taxed at rate $\tau_{\rm L}$
- Capital depends on the net-of-tax return $\bar{r} = r \cdot (1 \tau_K)$ where τ_K is tax rate on capital income
- We can express everything in terms of capital per unit of labor k = K/L. As L is fixed, the supply of capital $k = k(\bar{r})$ depends solely on \bar{r} .
- Define f(k) = F(1, K/L) = F(K, L)/L as output per unit of labor $\rightarrow F_K = f'(k)$ and $F_L = f(k) kf'(k)$

Equilibrium:

$$r = f'(k), w = f(k) - kf'(k) = \int_{0}^{k} f'(k) dk - rk, k = k(r \cdot (1 - \tau_{K}))$$



Tax-reform analysis

Now we consider small tax change, i.e small increase in τ_K , study its effects dk, dw and dr. Differentiating the equilibrium equations and re-arranging :

$$\frac{dr}{r} = \frac{(1-\alpha)e_K}{(1-\alpha)e_K + \sigma} \cdot \frac{d\tau_K}{1-\tau_K}$$
$$\frac{dk}{k} = -e_K \cdot \frac{\sigma}{(1-\alpha)e_K + \sigma} \cdot \frac{d\tau_K}{1-\tau_K}$$
$$dw = -kdr$$





Figure: Capital tax reform

Optimal tax analysis

Suppose marginal welfare weight on capitalists is 0 :

- Government sets τ_K to maximise $w + (r \bar{r})k (= f(k(\bar{r})) \bar{r}k(\bar{r}))$
- Maximising over τ_K yields optimal tax rate $\tau_K^* = 1/(1 + e_K)$
- Optimal rate only depends on supply elasticity e_K !

 \rightarrow Effect of capital tax increase on wages = irrelevant to assess whether this reform is desirable



Figure: Capital Tax reform and Optimum