THE FIRM AS TAX SHELTER

MICRO EVIDENCE AND AGGREGATE IMPLICATIONS OF CONSUMPTION THROUGH THE FIRM

David Leite

Paris School of Economics

NBER (from September 2025)

107th GEE/GPEARI Seminar

July 09, Lisbon, 2025

- Consumption through the firm prevents business income from being taxed as a distribution
 either as dividends or wages and inflates firm costs.
- It is a *margin of tax evasion* that circumvents CIT, PIT & VAT, regardless of differences in tax rates between L and K, and irrespective of how broadly the tax bases are designed.
- It does not require tax sophistication and it is almost impossible to enforce given the wide range of expenditures that lie on the border between business and personal consumption.
- Has important implications for the measurement of the scale of tax evasion and income
 inequality, and it might distort the measurement of household's final consumption and
 firms' intermediate consumption, and result in undervaluation of the GDP.

- Consumption through the firm prevents business income from being taxed as a distribution
 either as dividends or wages and inflates firm costs.
- It is a *margin of tax evasion* that circumvents CIT, PIT & VAT, regardless of differences in tax rates between L and K, and irrespective of how broadly the tax bases are designed.
- It does not require tax sophistication and it is almost impossible to enforce given the wide range of expenditures that lie on the border between business and personal consumption.
- Has important implications for the measurement of the scale of tax evasion and income inequality, and it might distort the measurement of household's final consumption and firms' intermediate consumption, and result in undervaluation of the GDP.

- Consumption through the firm prevents business income from being taxed as a distribution
 either as dividends or wages and inflates firm costs.
- It is a *margin of tax evasion* that circumvents CIT, PIT & VAT, regardless of differences in tax rates between L and K, and irrespective of how broadly the tax bases are designed.
- It does not require tax sophistication and it is almost impossible to enforce given the *wide* range of expenditures that lie on the border between business and personal consumption.
- Has important implications for the measurement of the scale of tax evasion and income inequality, and it might distort the measurement of household's final consumption and firms' intermediate consumption, and result in undervaluation of the GDP.

- Consumption through the firm prevents business income from being taxed as a distribution
 either as dividends or wages and inflates firm costs.
- It is a *margin of tax evasion* that circumvents CIT, PIT & VAT, regardless of differences in tax rates between L and K, and irrespective of how broadly the tax bases are designed.
- It does not require tax sophistication and it is almost impossible to enforce given the *wide* range of expenditures that lie on the border between business and personal consumption.
- Has important implications for the measurement of the scale of tax evasion and income inequality, and it might distort the measurement of household's final consumption and firms' intermediate consumption, and result in undervaluation of the GDP.

- Consumption through the firm prevents business income from being taxed as a distribution
 either as dividends or wages and inflates firm costs.
- It is a *margin of tax evasion* that <u>circumvents CIT, PIT & VAT</u>, regardless of differences in tax rates between L and K, and irrespective of how broadly the tax bases are designed.
- It does not require tax sophistication and it is almost impossible to enforce given the *wide* range of expenditures that lie on the border between business and personal consumption.
- Has important implications for the measurement of the scale of tax evasion and income inequality, and it might distort the measurement of household's final consumption and firms' intermediate consumption, and result in undervaluation of the GDP.

Despite these implications, **consumption through the firm has not been well studied**.

- The literature has focused on the flexibility of owner-managers to chose how to label business income to minimize taxes at payout and to use firms as tax-free saving vehicles through strategic earnings retention (Smith et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2020).
- Some authors have suggested it as a payout strategy among individuals who control firms (Kopczuk and Zwick, 2020; Alstadsæter et al., 2014; Clotfelter, 1983).
- For example, following a reform that increased dividend taxes in Norway in 2006: "While all categories of assets grow, the increase in durable asset categories that include company cars, planes, and boats is particularly striking" (Alstadsæter et al., 2014).

- The literature has focused on the flexibility of owner-managers to chose how to label business income to minimize taxes at payout and to use firms as tax-free saving vehicles through strategic earnings retention (Smith et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2020).
- Some authors have suggested it as a payout strategy among individuals who control firms (Kopczuk and Zwick, 2020; Alstadsæter et al., 2014; Clotfelter, 1983).
- For example, following a reform that increased dividend taxes in Norway in 2006: "While all categories of assets grow, the increase in durable asset categories that include company cars, planes, and boats is particularly striking" (Alstadsæter et al., 2014).

- The literature has focused on the flexibility of owner-managers to chose how to label business income to minimize taxes at payout and to use firms as tax-free saving vehicles through strategic earnings retention (Smith et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2020).
- Some authors have suggested it as a payout strategy among individuals who control firms (Kopczuk and Zwick, 2020; Alstadsæter et al., 2014; Clotfelter, 1983).
- For example, following a reform that increased dividend taxes in Norway in 2006: "While all categories of assets grow, the increase in durable asset categories that include company cars, planes, and boats is particularly striking" (Alstadsæter et al., 2014).

- The literature has focused on the flexibility of owner-managers to chose how to label business income to minimize taxes at payout and to use firms as tax-free saving vehicles through strategic earnings retention (Smith et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2020).
- Some authors have suggested it as a payout strategy among individuals who control firms (Kopczuk and Zwick, 2020; Alstadsæter et al., 2014; Clotfelter, 1983).
- For example, following a reform that increased dividend taxes in Norway in 2006: "While all categories of assets grow, the increase in durable asset categories that include company cars, planes, and boats is particularly striking" (Alstadsæter et al., 2014).

However there is no direct empirical evidence so far.

- The literature has focused on the flexibility of owner-managers to chose how to label business income to minimize taxes at payout and to use firms as tax-free saving vehicles through strategic earnings retention (Smith et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2020).
- Some authors have suggested it as a payout strategy among individuals who control firms (Kopczuk and Zwick, 2020; Alstadsæter et al., 2014; Clotfelter, 1983).
- For example, following a reform that increased dividend taxes in Norway in 2006: "While all categories of assets grow, the increase in durable asset categories that include company cars, planes, and boats is particularly striking" (Alstadsæter et al., 2014).

However there is no direct empirical evidence so far.

Yet, the press is full of colorful anecdotal evidence... > Sources

Former Caja Madrid directors accused of misusing company credit card

Eighty-three executives collectively spent €15m over 10 years at sayings bank that merged to become Bankia before 2012 bailout



Ex-Bankia chair Rodrigo Rato, above, and former Caja Madrid CEO Miguel Blesa have been Summoned to appear before a judge over the scandal, Photograph: Dominique Faget/AFP/Getty Images Photograph: Dominique Faget/AFP/Getty Images

Fresh evidence is emerging of the spendthrift lifestyle of the directors of the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{E}}$ once-mighty Caja Madrid savings bank even as the 300-year-old institution drifted into crisis.

The 83 directors were each issued with a "black" credit card, with the collective bill reaching €15m (£12m) over a 10-year period. The money was spent on holidays and shopping trips, with €3m spent in restaurants.

Former Caja Madrid directors accused of misusing company credit card

Eighty-three executives collectively spent €15m over 10 years at sayings bank that merged to become Bankia before 2012 bailout



Ex-Bankia chair Rodrigo Rato, above, and former Caja Madrid CEO Miguel Blesa have been Summoned to appear before a judge over the scandal, Photograph: Dominique Faget/AFP/Getty Images Photograph: Dominique Faget/AFP/Getty Images

Fresh evidence is emerging of the spendthrift lifestyle of the directors of the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{E}}$ once-mighty Caja Madrid savings bank even as the 300-year-old institution drifted into crisis.

The 83 directors were each issued with a "black" credit card, with the collective bill reaching €15m (£12m) over a 10-year period. The money was spent on holidays and shopping trips, with €3m spent in restaurants.

CEOs, Bankers Used Corporate Credit Cards for Sex, Says New York Madam

Wall Street exposed as convicted escort boss reveals client list of 9.800.

By ABC News February 5, 2009, 9:37 PM









February 6, 2009— -- Wall street lawyers, investment bankers, CEOs and media executives often used corporate credit cards to pay for \$2,000 an hour prostitutes. according to the madam who ran one of New York's biggest and most expensive escort services until it was busted last year.

Former Caja Madrid directors accused of misusing company credit card

Eighty-three executives collectively spent €15m over 10 years at sayings bank that merged to become Bankia before 2012 bailout



🖎 Ex-Bankia chair Rodrigo Rato, above, and former Caja Madrid CEO Migue summoned to appear before a judge over the scandal. Photograph: Dominic Images Photograph: Dominique Faget/AFP/Getty Images

Fresh evidence is emerging of the spendthrift lifestyle of the once-mighty Caja Madrid savings bank even as the 300-year

collective bill reaching €15m (£12m) over a 10-year period. spent on holidays and shopping trips, with €3m spent in re

CEOs. Bankers Used Corporate Credit Cards for Sex, Says New York Madam

Wall Street exposed as convicted escort boss reveals client list of 9.800.

By ABC News

February 5, 2009, 9:37 PM



February 6, 2009—: -- Wall street lawyers, investment bankers, CEOs and media executives often used corporate credit cards to pay for \$2,000 an hour prostitutes. according to the madam who ran one of New York's biggest and most expensive escort services until it was busted last year.

Enquête

Carlos Ghosn: quand le patron de droit divin revient sur la réunion de sa cour à Versailles

Dans son audition au Liban que révèle «Libération», le magnat de l'automobile, interrogé pour la première fois sur ses «dépenses personnelles» prises en charge par Renault-Nissan, a tenté de justifier The 83 directors were each issued with a "black" credit care maladroitement les fastes d'une soirée payée par l'alliance le jour de son anniversaire.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting:
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting:
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting:
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition.
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting:
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition.
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting:
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition.
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- This paper uses data from social security records and electronic invoices in Portugal:
 - Monthly consumption expenditures covering ≈ 70-75% of the net-of-VAT final consumption expenditures of resident households recorded in National Accounts.
 - Monthly business expenditures covering all business-to-business transactions.
 - Social security records capturing transitions from employee to business manager.
- Use panel event studies exploiting:
 - The variation in the flexibility to treat some forms of personal consumption as business expenditures that accompanies the employee-to-manager transition.
 - The impact of personal events of owner-managers on business expenditures.
- Estimates the proportion of personal expenditures shifted to firms and the impacts on government revenue loss and income inequality.

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Background and data
- 3 Consumption through the firm: Micro evidence
- 4 Aggregate implications
- 5 Conclusion



- e-Fatura is an electronic invoicing software adopted in 2013 to fight VAT fraud.
- For firms and other legal entities, electronic invoicing is mandatory, so e–Fatura cover the universe of business-to-business transactions.
- For final consumers, the government provides a set of incentives for them to ask for an invoice with their taxpayer number at the time of the purchase:
 - Weekly lotteries with a prize of 35,000 euros each
 - Rebate on personal income tax of 15% of the VAT supported on restaurants, hairdressers, vets, car repair.
 - Deduction to personal income tax of 35% of all expenditures (up to 500 euros), plus
 15% of the expenditures on health, education and transport expenditures.
- From 2016 to 2019, the data generated by e-Fatura cover ≈ 70-75% of household final consumption recorded in National Accounts.

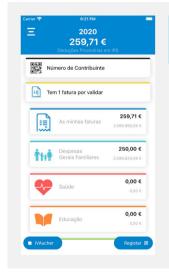
- e-Fatura is an electronic invoicing software adopted in 2013 to fight VAT fraud.
- For firms and other legal entities, electronic invoicing is mandatory, so e–Fatura cover the universe of business-to-business transactions.
- For final consumers, the government provides a set of incentives for them to ask for an invoice with their taxpayer number at the time of the purchase:
 - Weekly lotteries with a prize of 35,000 euros each
 - Rebate on personal income tax of 15% of the VAT supported on restaurants
 - hairdressers, vets, car repair.
 - Deduction to personal income tax of 35% of all expenditures (up to 500 euros), plus
 15% of the expenditures on health, education and transport expenditures.
- From 2016 to 2019, the data generated by e-Fatura cover ≈ 70-75% of household final consumption recorded in National Accounts.

- e-Fatura is an electronic invoicing software adopted in 2013 to fight VAT fraud.
- For firms and other legal entities, electronic invoicing is mandatory, so e-Fatura cover the universe of business-to-business transactions.
- For final consumers, the government provides a set of incentives for them to ask for an invoice with their taxpayer number at the time of the purchase:
 - Weekly lotteries with a prize of 35,000 euros each.
 - Rebate on personal income tax of 15% of the VAT supported on restaurants,
 hairdressers, vets, car repair.
 - Deduction to personal income tax of 35% of all expenditures (up to 500 euros), plus
 15% of the expenditures on health, education and transport expenditures.
- From 2016 to 2019, the data generated by e-Fatura cover ≈ 70-75% of household final consumption recorded in National Accounts.

- e-Fatura is an electronic invoicing software adopted in 2013 to fight VAT fraud.
- For firms and other legal entities, electronic invoicing is mandatory, so e-Fatura cover the universe of business-to-business transactions.
- For final consumers, the government provides a set of incentives for them to ask for an invoice with their taxpayer number at the time of the purchase:
 - Weekly lotteries with a prize of 35,000 euros each.
 - Rebate on personal income tax of 15% of the VAT supported on restaurants, hairdressers, vets, car repair.
 - Deduction to personal income tax of 35% of all expenditures (up to 500 euros), plus
 15% of the expenditures on health, education and transport expenditures.
- From 2016 to 2019, the data generated by e-Fatura cover ≈ 70-75% of household final consumption recorded in National Accounts.

- e–Fatura is an electronic invoicing software adopted in 2013 to fight VAT fraud.
- For firms and other legal entities, electronic invoicing is mandatory, so e–Fatura cover the universe of business-to-business transactions.
- For final consumers, the government provides a set of incentives for them to ask for an invoice with their taxpayer number at the time of the purchase:
 - Weekly lotteries with a prize of 35,000 euros each.
 - Rebate on personal income tax of 15% of the VAT supported on restaurants,
 hairdressers, vets, car repair.
 - Deduction to personal income tax of 35% of all expenditures (up to 500 euros), plus
 15% of the expenditures on health, education and transport expenditures.
- From 2016 to 2019, the data generated by e-Fatura cover ≈ 70-75% of household final consumption recorded in National Accounts.

EXAMPLE OF THE E-FATURA ONLINE ACCOUNT







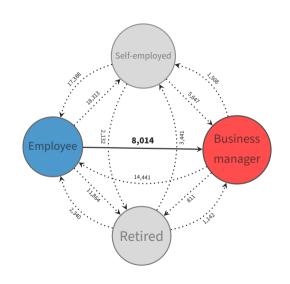
EMPLOYEE-TO-MANAGER TRANSITIONS

Two distinct social security regimes:

- Employees
- Business managers

Social security records provide data on the month individuals start contributing under a regime \Rightarrow stocks & flows

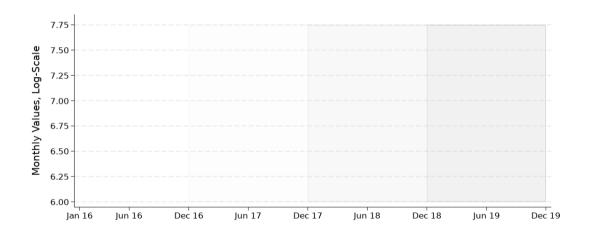
Focus: individuals who switch from Employee to Business manager from Jan-2016 to Dec-2019

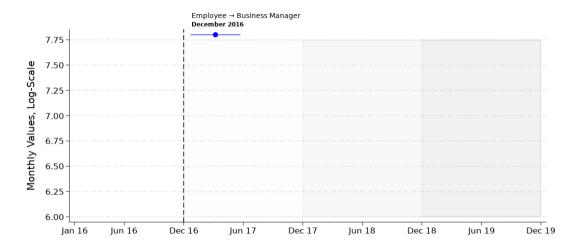


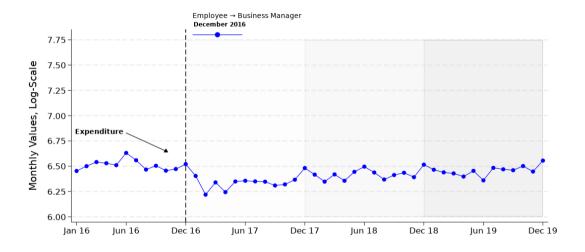
ANALYSIS DATASET

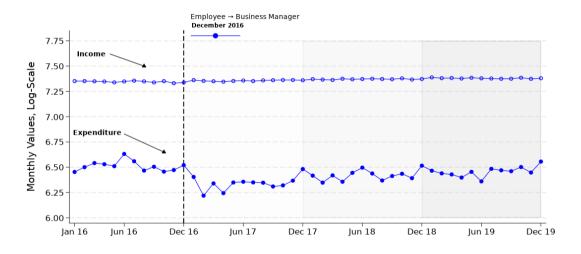
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2016-2019
Individuals					
Switchers	6,973	7,272	7,418	8,014	29,677
Spouse/partner	4,032	4,075	3,896	3,991	15,994
Children/others	6,514	6,503	6,294	6,498	25,809
All individuals	17,519	17,850	17,608	18,503	71,480
Share who stay 48 months	0.82	0.78	0.72	0.68	0.77
Matched with Monthly Expendi	ture data				
Total Observations	5,237,167	5,617,369	6,024,052	6,601,955	23,480,543

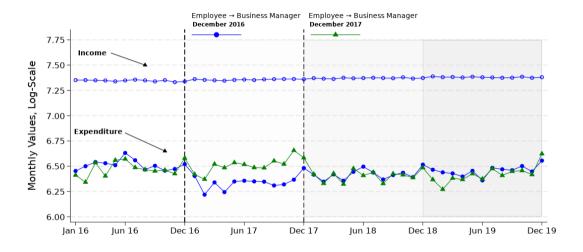
^{ightharpoonup} Summary statistics ightharpoonup Firm characteristics of switchers ightharpoonup Expenditure shares of switchers

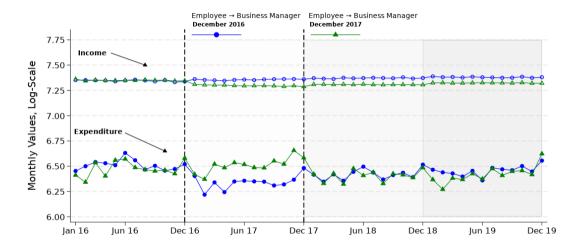


















EVENT STUDIES WITH STAGGERED ADOPTION

I estimate how monthly personal expenditures evolve after an individual chooses to switch from being an *employee* to being a *business manager* with an event study:

$$log(y_{it}) = \alpha_i + \lambda_t + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g \cdot \mathbf{1} [t - E_i \in g] + \varepsilon_{it}, \tag{1}$$

- i indexes individuals and the t indexes calendar months, y_{it} is the reported monthly expenditure, λ_t is a year-by-calendar month fixed effect and δ_i is an individual fixed effect, $e_{it} = t E_i$ is the event time, the set G collects disjoint sets g of relative periods $l \in [-T, T]$.
- To account for the heterogeneity in treatment timing, I estimate the event study using the estimator from Callaway and Sant'Anna (2020).
- Estimates derived with the estimators of De Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020) and Borusyak et al. (2021) are invariant to the specification choice.

EVENT STUDIES WITH STAGGERED ADOPTION

I estimate how monthly personal expenditures evolve after an individual chooses to switch from being an *employee* to being a *business manager* with an event study:

$$log(y_{it}) = \alpha_i + \lambda_t + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g \cdot \mathbf{1} [t - E_i \in g] + \varepsilon_{it}, \tag{1}$$

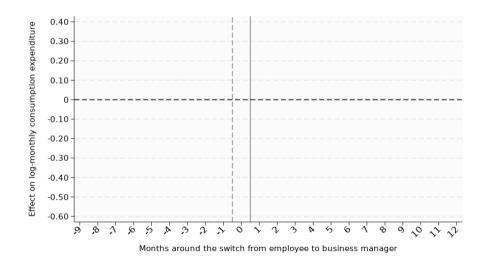
- *i* indexes individuals and the *t* indexes calendar months, y_{it} is the reported monthly expenditure, λ_t is a year-by-calendar month fixed effect and δ_i is an individual fixed effect, $e_{it} = t E_i$ is the event time, the set *G* collects disjoint sets *g* of *relative periods* $l \in [-T, T]$.
- To account for the heterogeneity in treatment timing, I estimate the event study using the estimator from Callaway and Sant'Anna (2020).
- Estimates derived with the estimators of De Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020) and Borusyak et al. (2021) are invariant to the specification choice.

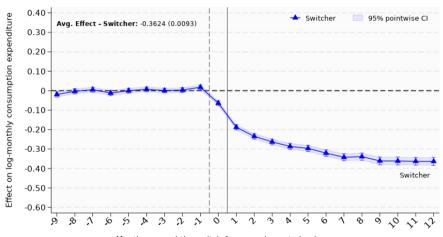
EVENT STUDIES WITH STAGGERED ADOPTION

I estimate how monthly personal expenditures evolve after an individual chooses to switch from being an *employee* to being a *business manager* with an event study:

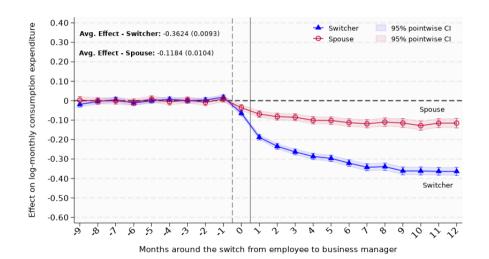
$$log(y_{it}) = \alpha_i + \lambda_t + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g \cdot \mathbf{1} [t - E_i \in g] + \varepsilon_{it}, \tag{1}$$

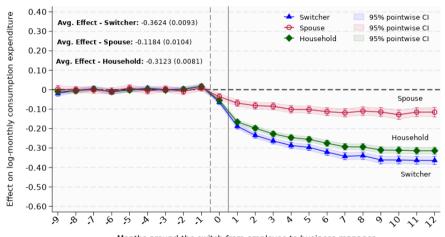
- *i* indexes individuals and the *t* indexes calendar months, y_{it} is the reported monthly expenditure, λ_t is a year-by-calendar month fixed effect and δ_i is an individual fixed effect, $e_{it} = t E_i$ is the event time, the set *G* collects disjoint sets *g* of *relative periods* $l \in [-T, T]$.
- To account for the heterogeneity in treatment timing, I estimate the event study using the estimator from Callaway and Sant'Anna (2020).
- Estimates derived with the estimators of De Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020) and Borusyak et al. (2021) are invariant to the specification choice.



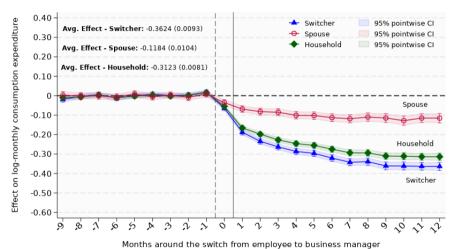


Months around the switch from employee to business manager





Months around the switch from employee to business manager



INCOME SHOCK?

- Individual expenditures drop by about 36% when individuals become managers (20% in the first month after becoming business manager).
- Spouse's expenditures drop by spouse by about 12% and combined household expenditures drop by about 31%.
- Is this alternatively the result of an income shock and/or increases in savings?
 - Income Shock? Employees opening their own business but earning less business income as compared to labor income.
 - Prudence? Individuals become entrepreneurs and increase precautionary savings inface of uncertain business incomes.
- If it is a shock to income, all consumption should react, but...

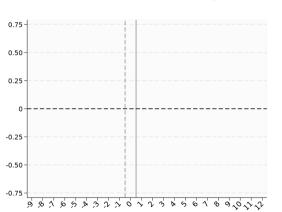
INCOME SHOCK?

- Individual expenditures drop by about 36% when individuals become managers (20% in the first month after becoming business manager).
- Spouse's expenditures drop by spouse by about 12% and combined household expenditures drop by about 31%.
- Is this alternatively the result of an income shock and/or increases in savings?
 - Income Shock? Employees opening their own business but earning less business income as compared to labor income.
 - Prudence? Individuals become entrepreneurs and increase precautionary savings in face of uncertain business incomes.
- If it is a shock to income, all consumption should react, but...

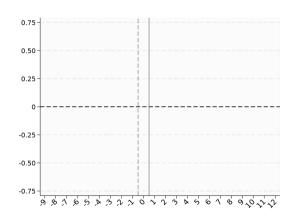
INCOME SHOCK?

- Individual expenditures drop by about 36% when individuals become managers (20% in the first month after becoming business manager).
- Spouse's expenditures drop by spouse by about 12% and combined household expenditures drop by about 31%.
- Is this alternatively the result of an income shock and/or increases in savings?
 - Income Shock? Employees opening their own business but earning less business income as compared to labor income.
 - Prudence? Individuals become entrepreneurs and increase precautionary savings in face of uncertain business incomes.
- If it is a shock to income, all consumption should react, but...

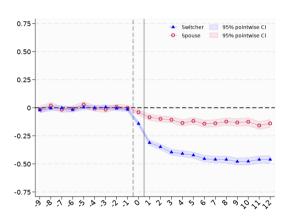
Wholesale & retail trade; car repair



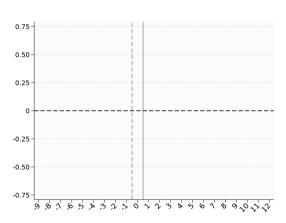
Nonessential health services



Wholesale & retail trade; car repair

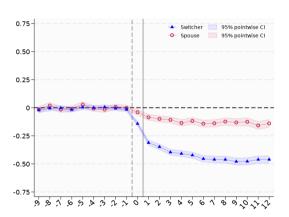


Nonessential health services



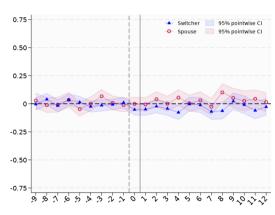
Supermarkets, clothing and shoes, household equipment, food and beverages, fuel and car repair.

Wholesale & retail trade; car repair

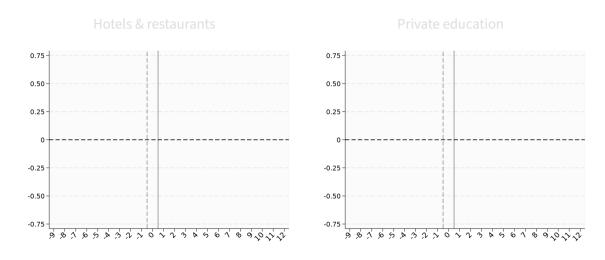


Supermarkets, clothing and shoes, household equipment, food and beverages, fuel and car repair.

Nonessential health services

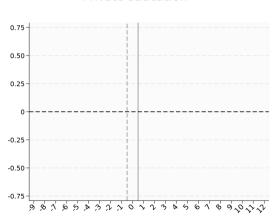


Nonurgent medical services provided by the private sector, namely dentistry and therapy.

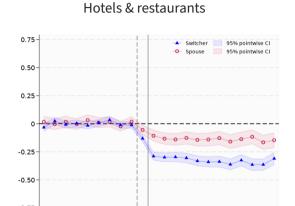




Private education

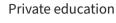


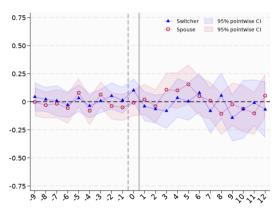
Hotels, holiday and short stay accommodation, catering, food and beverage service activities.



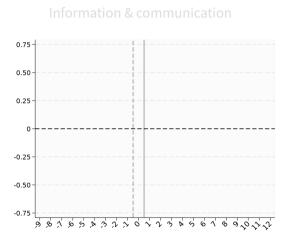
Hotels, holiday and short stay accommodation, catering, food and beverage service activities.

9979997507738567690,5,7

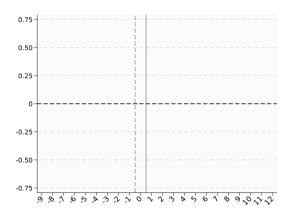




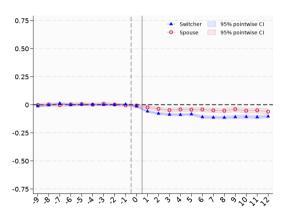
Education services provided by the private sector, namely private tutoring and sports, and cultural activities.



Electricity, gas & air conditioning

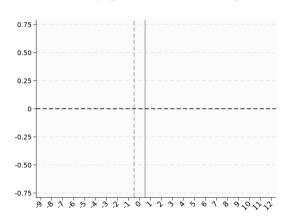


Information & communication

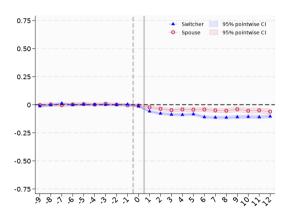


Mobile phones, internet, television, and other

Electricity, gas & air conditioning

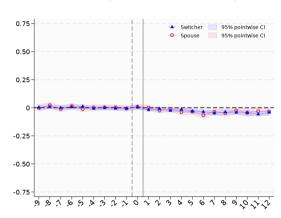


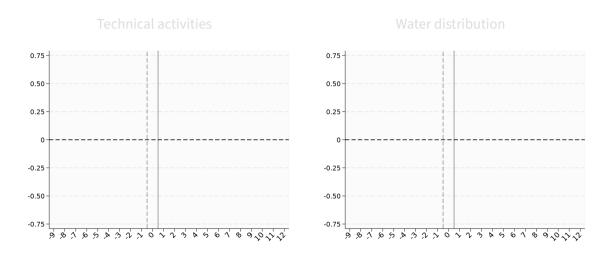
Information & communication

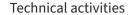


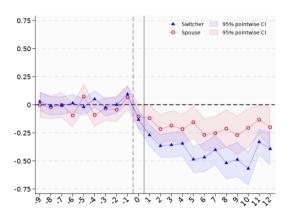
Mobile phones, internet, television, and other telecommunication services.

Electricity, gas & air conditioning



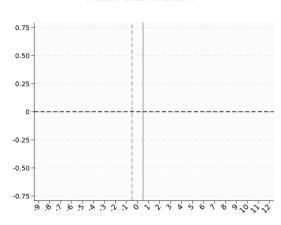




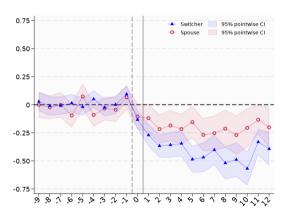


Services from lawyers, accountants and tax advisors, architects, and engineers.

Water distribution

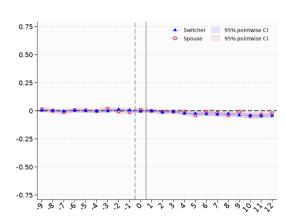


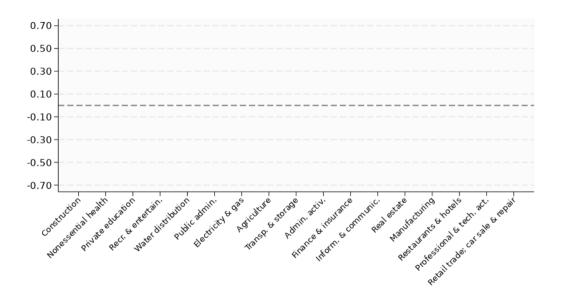


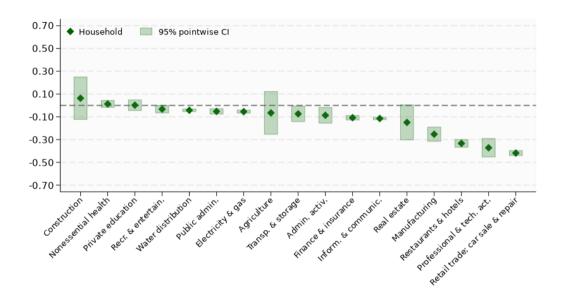


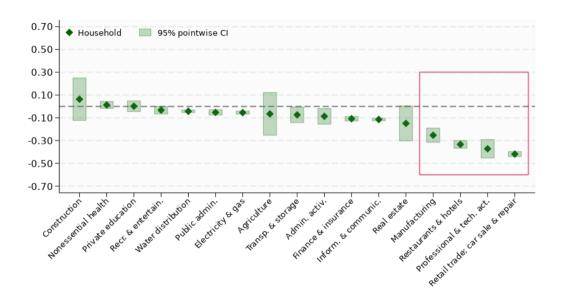
Services from lawyers, accountants and tax advisors, architects, and engineers.

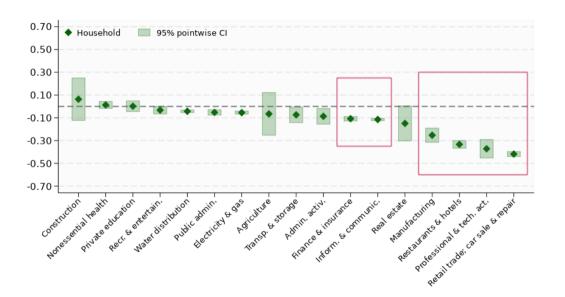
Water distribution

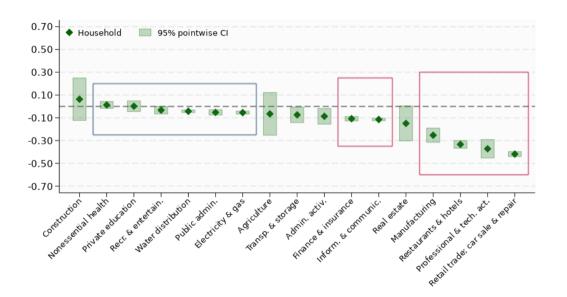


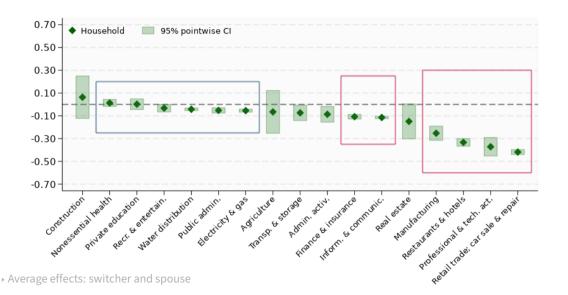




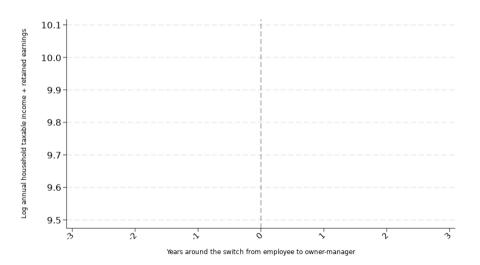




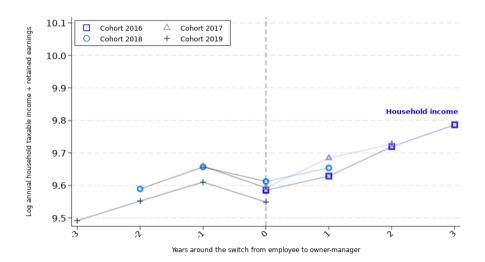




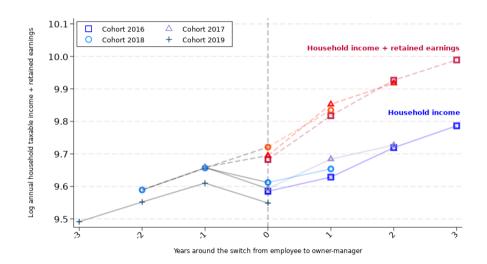
HOW INCOME EVOLVES AROUND THE SWITCH?



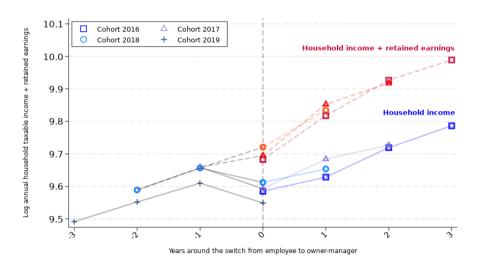
HOW INCOME EVOLVES AROUND THE SWITCH?



HOW INCOME EVOLVES AROUND THE SWITCH?



HOW INCOME EVOLVES AROUND THE SWITCH?

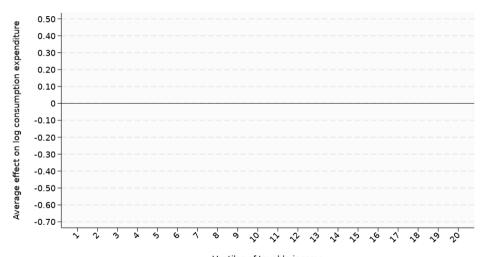




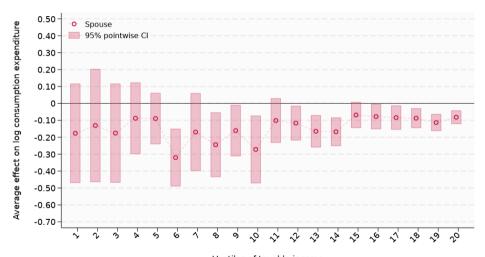
- Significant declines in household consumption expenditures after individuals become business managers.
- Income shock is ruled-out: only expenditures that lie on the business-consumption borderline adjust while hard-to-shift expenditures to not react to the switch.
- But... Is this of major economic importance?
- To understand whether consumption through the firm is limited to "poor" business managers or is instead a widespread phenomenon, I estimate the effects across the income distribution.

- Significant declines in household consumption expenditures after individuals become business managers.
- Income shock is ruled-out: only expenditures that lie on the business-consumption borderline adjust while hard-to-shift expenditures to not react to the switch.
- But... Is this of major economic importance?
- To understand whether consumption through the firm is limited to "poor" business managers or is instead a widespread phenomenon, I estimate the effects across the income distribution.

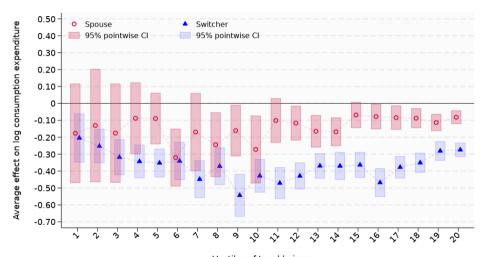
- Significant declines in household consumption expenditures after individuals become business managers.
- Income shock is ruled-out: only expenditures that lie on the business-consumption borderline adjust while hard-to-shift expenditures to not react to the switch.
- But... Is this of major economic importance?
- To understand whether consumption through the firm is limited to "poor" business managers or is instead a widespread phenomenon, I estimate the effects across the income distribution.



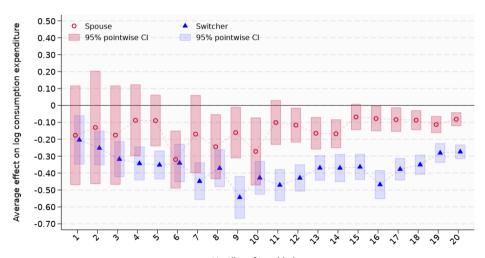
Ventiles of taxable income



Ventiles of taxable income



Ventiles of taxable income



HETEROGENEITY

- Effects by firm size (> here)
- Effects by ownership status (> here)
- Effects by industry (→ here)

Additional descriptives on the population of business managers:

- Position in the income distribution (> here)
- Distribution by firm size (> here)
- Distribution by industry (> here)



- Looking at firm's expenditures it is very hard to distinguish the pure business demand from the goods and services purchased solely for their consumption value.
- How personal consumption motives affect the pattern of business expenditures? I estimate
 how monthly business expenditures react to life events of the business owner-manager
 with the following event study:

$$F_{it} = \sum_{k \in \{-5+,...,-1,0,1,...5+\}} \beta_k \mathbf{1}(t=k) + \theta_i + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
 (2)

 Specifically, I estimate how monthly business expenditures on hotels and restaurants evolves around the birthday month of the owner-manager and the spouse.

- Looking at firm's expenditures it is very hard to distinguish the pure business demand from the goods and services purchased solely for their consumption value.
- How personal consumption motives affect the pattern of business expenditures? I estimate
 how monthly business expenditures react to life events of the business owner-manager
 with the following event study:

$$F_{it} = \sum_{k \in \{-5+,...,-1,0,1,...5+\}} \beta_k \mathbf{1}(t=k) + \theta_i + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
 (2)

• Specifically, I estimate how monthly business expenditures on hotels and restaurants evolves around the birthday month of the owner-manager and the spouse.

- Looking at firm's expenditures it is very hard to distinguish the pure business demand from the goods and services purchased solely for their consumption value.
- How personal consumption motives affect the pattern of business expenditures? I estimate
 how monthly business expenditures react to life events of the business owner-manager
 with the following event study:

$$F_{it} = \sum_{k \in \{-5+,...,-1,0,1,...5+\}} \beta_k \mathbf{1}(t=k) + \theta_i + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
 (2)

 Specifically, I estimate how monthly business expenditures on hotels and restaurants evolves around the birthday month of the owner-manager and the spouse.

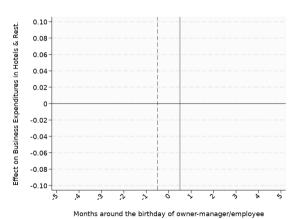
- Looking at firm's expenditures it is very hard to distinguish the pure business demand from the goods and services purchased solely for their consumption value.
- How personal consumption motives affect the pattern of business expenditures? I estimate
 how monthly business expenditures react to life events of the business owner-manager
 with the following event study:

$$F_{it} = \sum_{k \in \{-5+,...,-1,0,1,...5+\}} \beta_k \mathbf{1}(t=k) + \theta_i + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
 (2)

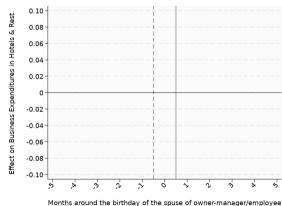
 Specifically, I estimate how monthly business expenditures on hotels and restaurants evolves around the birthday month of the owner-manager and the spouse.

MONTHLY BUSINESS EXPENDITURES IN HOTELS & RESTAURANTS

Birth month of a randomly selected employee

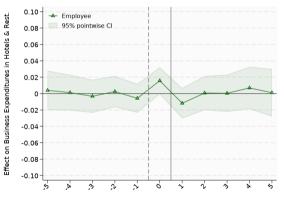


Birth month of the employee's spouse



MONTHLY BUSINESS EXPENDITURES IN HOTELS & RESTAURANTS

Birth month of a randomly selected employee



Months around the birthday of owner-manager/employee

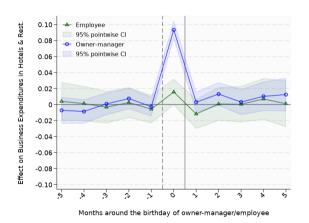
Birth month of the employee's spouse



Months around the birthday of the spuse of owner-manager/employee

MONTHLY BUSINESS EXPENDITURES IN HOTELS & RESTAURANTS

Birth month of the owner-manager



→ All business expenditures (owner-managers)

Birth month of the owner-manager's spouse



Months around the birthday of the spuse of owner-manager/employee

All business expenditures (spouses)



BASELINE HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION

Million FUR	% of GDP		
Mittion Lok	70 OI ODI		
53,744	25.07	-	-
6,119	2.85	-	_
	53,744	53,744 25.07	53,744 25.07 –

ADJUSTING HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION

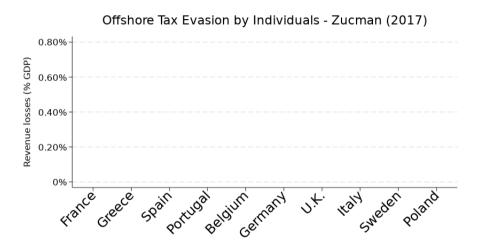
		$\widehat{\delta} = 0.3123$				$\delta = \hat{\delta}$	Ŝp	
Million		on EUR	% o	% of GDP Million EUR 1.30 2,672		on EUR	% of GDP	
$\triangle \text{Cons.} = \bar{c}/(1-\hat{\delta}) - \bar{c}$	$(\hat{s}) - \bar{c}$ 2,778		1			2,672		25
	(2,577	2,989)	(1.20	1.39)	(1,238	5,598)	(0.58	2.61)

	$\widehat{\delta} = 0.3123$ δ			$\widehat{\delta} = 0.3123$				
	Million	EUR	% o	f GDP	Milli	on EUR	% of	GDP
Aggregate loss in PIT								
Dividends: τ = 28%	1,08	1,080		.50	1,039		0.48	
$ au/(1- au)\cdot\Delta Cons.$	(1,002	1,162)	(0.47	0.54)	(482	2,177)	(0.22	1.02)

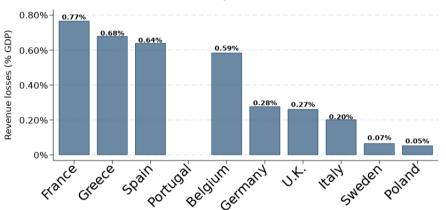
		$\widehat{\delta}$ = 0.3123			$\delta = \widehat{\delta}_{p}$			
	Millio	n EUR	% o	f GDP	Milli	on EUR	% of	GDP
Aggregate loss in PIT								
Dividends: τ = 28%	1,	1,080		0.50		1,039		48
$ au/(1- au)\cdot\Delta Cons.$	(1,002	1,162)	(0.47	0.54)	(482	2,177)	(0.22	1.02)

	δ =	0.3123	$\delta = \widehat{\delta}_{\boldsymbol{p}}$		
	Million EUR		Million EUR	% of GDP	
Aggregate loss in PIT					
Dividends: τ = 28%	1,080	0.50	1,039	0.48	
$\tau/(1-\tau)\cdot\Delta Cons.$	(1,002 1,162)	(0.47 0.54)	(482 2,177)	(0.22 1.02)	
Aggregate loss in PIT and VAT					
Dividends: τ = 28%; VAT: γ = 23%	2,233	1.04	2,148	1.00	
$\left[rac{1}{(1-\gamma)\cdot(1- au)} - 1 ight] \cdot \Delta Cons.$	(2,071 2,402)	(0.97 1.12)	(995 4,499)	(0.46 2.10)	

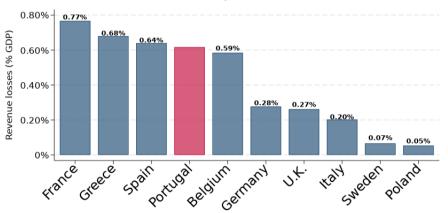
	$\widehat{\delta} = 0$.3123	$\delta = \widehat{\delta}_{p}$		
	Million EUR	% of GDP	Million EUR	% of GDP	
Aggregate loss in PIT					
Dividends: τ = 28%	1,080	0.50	1,039	0.48	
$\tau/(1-\tau)\cdot\DeltaCons.$	(1,002 1,162)	(0.47 0.54)	(482 2,177)	(0.22 1.02)	
Aggregate loss in PIT and VAT					
Dividends: τ = 28%; VAT: γ = 23%	2,233	1.04	2,148	1.00	
$\left[rac{1}{(1-\gamma)\cdot(1- au)} - 1 ight] \cdot \Delta Cons.$	(2,071 2,402)	(0.97 1.12)	(995 4,499)	(0.46 2.10)	



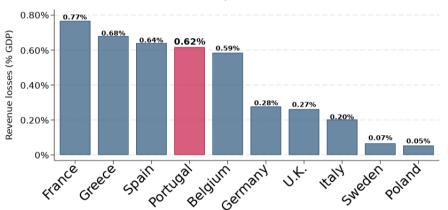




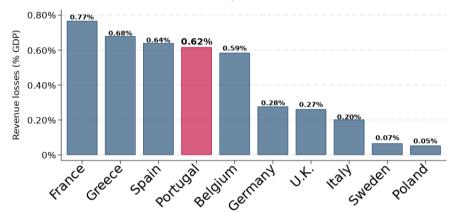








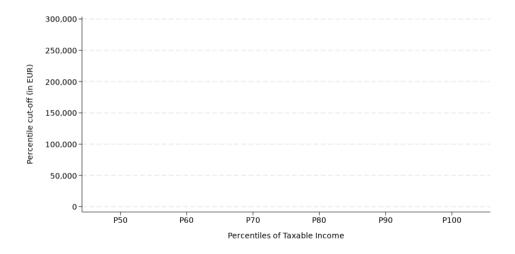


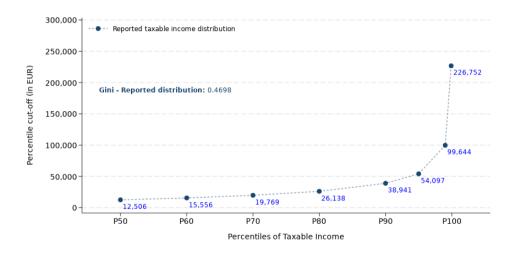


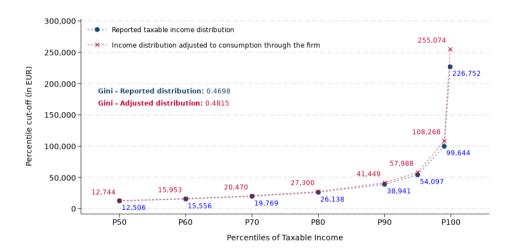
Source: Zucman (2017) available on the EU Tax Observatory website [link]

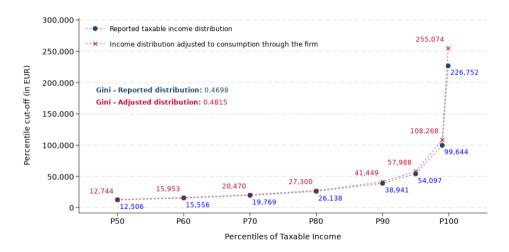
ADJUSTING HOUSEHOLD INCOME

		$\widehat{\delta} = 0.3123$				$\delta = \widehat{\delta}$	p	
	Million EUR % of GDP		Million EUR		% of GDP			
$\frac{1}{(1-\gamma)\cdot(1-\tau)}\cdot\DeltaCons.$	5,0	5,011 2.34 4,820		2.34		,820	2.25	
	(4,648	5,391)	(2.17	2.51)	(2,233	10,097)	(1.04	4.71)









- Business managers shift approximately 36% of their personal expenditures to the firm and 31% of their combined household expenditures. The shift is driven by expenditures on the border between business and consumption, while hard-to-shift expenditures do not react.
- Scope for consumption through the firm is greater among small closely held firms.
- The pattern of business expenditures is affected by personal consumption motives:
 business expenditures in hotels and restaurants increase 9.8% in the birthday month of the owner-manager and 6.1% in the birthday month of the owner-manager's spouse.
- Government revenue loss in PIT and VAT due to consumption through the firm amounts to 1% of the GDP. Reallocating to reported income the share of personal consumption hidden within the firm plus the tax savings increases the Gini coefficient by one percentage point.

- Business managers shift approximately 36% of their personal expenditures to the firm and 31% of their combined household expenditures. The shift is driven by expenditures on the border between business and consumption, while hard-to-shift expenditures do not react.
- Scope for consumption through the firm is greater among small closely held firms.
- The pattern of business expenditures is affected by personal consumption motives:
 business expenditures in hotels and restaurants increase 9.8% in the birthday month of the owner-manager and 6.1% in the birthday month of the owner-manager's spouse.
- Government revenue loss in PIT and VAT due to consumption through the firm amounts to 1% of the GDP. Reallocating to reported income the share of personal consumption hidden within the firm plus the tax savings increases the Gini coefficient by one percentage point.

- Business managers shift approximately 36% of their personal expenditures to the firm and 31% of their combined household expenditures. The shift is driven by expenditures on the border between business and consumption, while hard-to-shift expenditures do not react.
- Scope for consumption through the firm is greater among small closely held firms.
- The pattern of business expenditures is affected by personal consumption motives: business expenditures in hotels and restaurants increase 9.8% in the birthday month of the owner-manager and 6.1% in the birthday month of the owner-manager's spouse.
- Government revenue loss in PIT and VAT due to consumption through the firm amounts to 1% of the GDP. Reallocating to reported income the share of personal consumption hidden within the firm plus the tax savings increases the Gini coefficient by one percentage point.

- Business managers shift approximately 36% of their personal expenditures to the firm and 31% of their combined household expenditures. The shift is driven by expenditures on the border between business and consumption, while hard-to-shift expenditures do not react.
- Scope for consumption through the firm is greater among small closely held firms.
- The pattern of business expenditures is affected by personal consumption motives: business expenditures in hotels and restaurants increase 9.8% in the birthday month of the owner-manager and 6.1% in the birthday month of the owner-manager's spouse.
- Government revenue loss in PIT and VAT due to consumption through the firm amounts to 1% of the GDP. Reallocating to reported income the share of personal consumption hidden within the firm plus the tax savings increases the Gini coefficient by one percentage point.

- Business managers shift approximately 36% of their personal expenditures to the firm and 31% of their combined household expenditures. The shift is driven by expenditures on the border between business and consumption, while hard-to-shift expenditures do not react.
- Scope for consumption through the firm is greater among small closely held firms.
- The pattern of business expenditures is affected by personal consumption motives: business expenditures in hotels and restaurants increase 9.8% in the birthday month of the owner-manager and 6.1% in the birthday month of the owner-manager's spouse.
- Government revenue loss in PIT and VAT due to consumption through the firm amounts to 1% of the GDP. Reallocating to reported income the share of personal consumption hidden within the firm plus the tax savings increases the Gini coefficient by one percentage point.

Annette Alstadsæter, Wojciech Kopczuk, and Kjetil Telle. Are Closely Held Firms Tax Shelters? *Tax Policy and the Economy*, 28(1):1–32, 2014.

Kirill Borusyak, Xavier Jaravel, and Jann Spiess. Revisiting event study designs: Robust and

Journal of Econometrics, 2020.

efficient estimation. 2021.

Brantly Callaway and Pedro H C Sant'Anna. Difference-in-differences with multiple time periods.

Charles T Clotfelter. Tax-induced distortions and the business-pleasure borderline: the case of travel and entertainment. *The American Economic Review*, 73(5):1053–1065, 1983.

Clément De Chaisemartin and Xavier D'Haultfoeuille. Two-way fixed effects estimators with heterogeneous treatment effects. *American Economic Review*, 110(9):2964–2996, 2020.

Wojciech Kopczuk and Eric Zwick. Business incomes at the top. Journal of Economic *Perspectives*, 34(4):27–51, 2020. ISSN 19447965. doi: 10.1257/JEP.34.4.27.

Decline of the Labor Share. American Economic Review (forthcoming), 2021.

Helen Miller, Thomas Pope, and Kate Smith. Intertemporal income shifting and the taxation of

business owner-managers. The Review of Economics and Statistics, pages 1-45, 2020. Matt Smith, Danny Yagan, Owen Zidar, and Eric Zwick. The Rise of Pass-Throughs and the

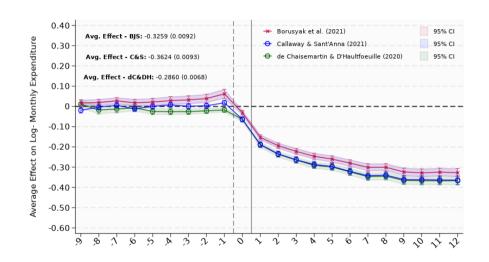
Gabriel Zucman. La richesse cachée des nations. Enquête sur les paradis fiscaux. Le Seuil, 2017.

APPENDIX TO

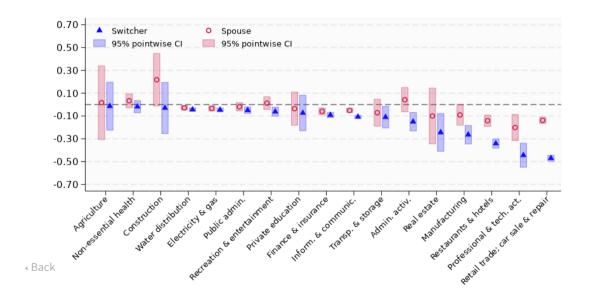
THE FIRM AS TAX SHELTER

MICRO EVIDENCE AND AGGREGATE IMPLICATIONS OF CONSUMPTION THROUGH THE FIRM

ALTERNATIVE ESTIMATORS

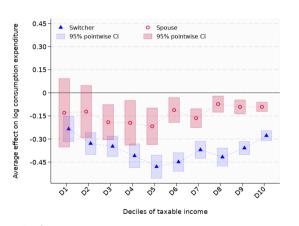


AVERAGE EFFECTS ON ALL EXPENDITURE CATEGORIES — SWITCHER & SPOUSE

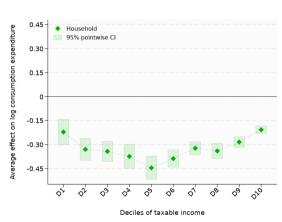


EFFECTS BY DECILE OF HOUSEHOLD TAXABLE INCOME

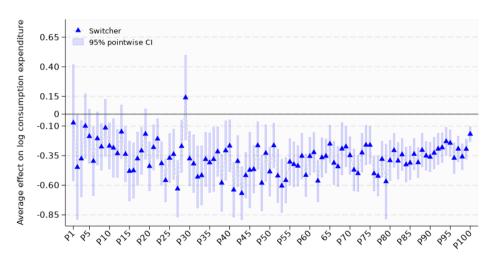
Switcher & Spouse



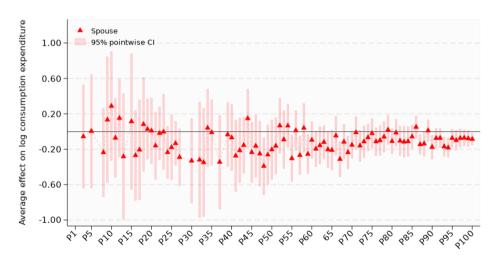
Household



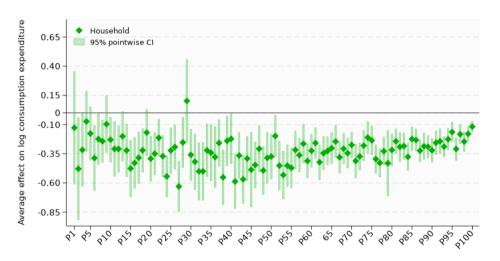
EFFECTS BY PERCENTILE OF TAXABLE INCOME — SWITCHER



EFFECTS BY PERCENTILE OF TAXABLE INCOME — SPOUSE



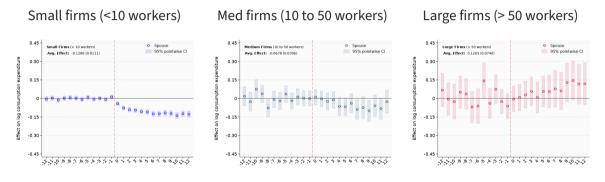
EFFECTS BY PERCENTILE OF TAXABLE INCOME — HOUSEHOLD



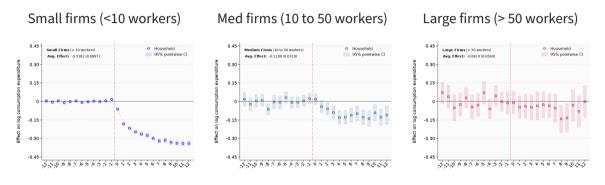
EFFECTS BY FIRM SIZE: SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE FIRMS — SWITCHER



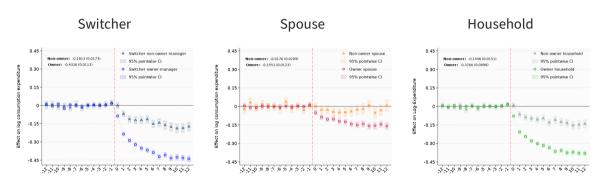
EFFECTS BY FIRM SIZE: SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE FIRMS — SPOUSE



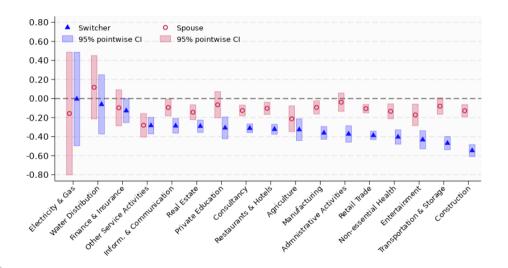
EFFECTS BY FIRM SIZE: SMALL, MEDIUM AND LARGE FIRMS — HOUSEHOLD



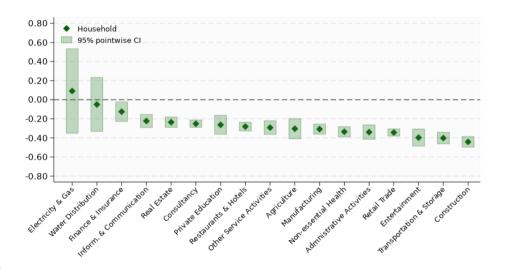
EFFECTS BY FIRM OWNERSHIP: OWNER VS. NONOWNER BUSINESS MANAGER



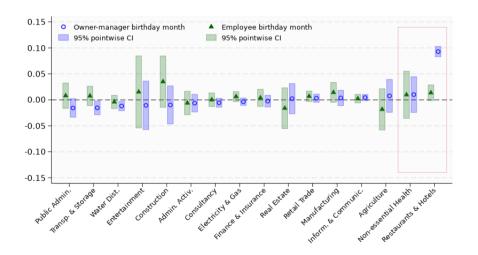
AVERAGE EFFECTS BY INDUSTRY — SWITCHER AND SPOUSE



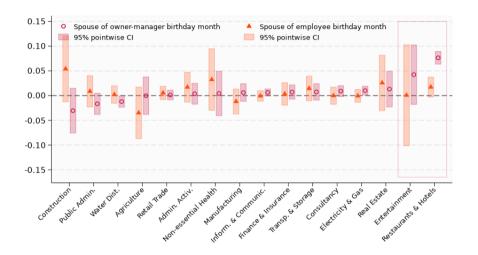
AVERAGE EFFECTS BY INDUSTRY — HOUSEHOLD



EFFECTS ON BUSINESS EXPENDITURES AT BIRTHDAY MONTH — OWNER-MANAGERS VS. EMPLOYEES



EFFECTS ON BUSINESS EXPENDITURES AT BIRTHDAY MONTH — SPOUSES



IMPLICATIONS FOR TOP INCOME SHARES

20	2018		2019	
Reported	Adjusted	Reported	Adjusted	
19.10	18.45	19.32	18.67	
45.23	44.82	45.32	44.94	
35.68	36.73	35.37	36.39	
23.56	24.41	23.31	24.13	
8.59	9.09	8.50	8.96	
2.14	2.37	2.17	2.37	
	Reported 19.10 45.23 35.68 23.56 8.59	Reported Adjusted 19.10 18.45 45.23 44.82 35.68 36.73 23.56 24.41 8.59 9.09	Reported Adjusted Reported 19.10 18.45 19.32 45.23 44.82 45.32 35.68 36.73 35.37 23.56 24.41 23.31 8.59 9.09 8.50	

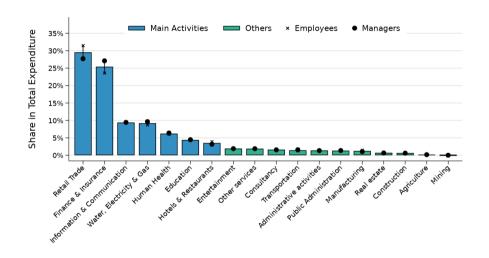
-	Cohort 2016	Cohort 2017	Cohort 2018	Cohort 2019	Panel 2016–19
Age	39.80	40.02	39.81	39.72	39.84
Male	0.66	0.68	0.68	0.69	0.68
Married	0.57	0.56	0.53	0.50	0.54
Household size	2.47	2.41	2.33	2.27	2.37
Mean	25,659	26,859	26,370	25,659	25,587
P10	4,770	4,934	5,040	4,770	4,899
P50	14,981	14,999	14,686	14,981	14,625
P90	53,067	53,713	53,794	53,067	52,062
Top 1%	175,148	192,713	180,623	175,148	173,726

	Role as employee	Role as manager
Non-existing firm	_	0.75
Time operating	16.22	2.12
Same firm	-	0.05
Limited liability company	0.62	0.73
Single member company	0.13	0.20
Non-profit organization	0.03	0.04
Join-stock company	0.17	0.02
Others	0.05	0.01

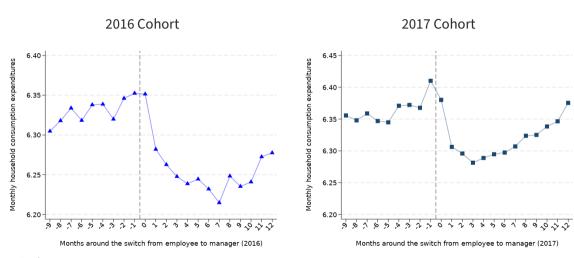
	Role as employee	Role as manager
Average Number of Workers	113.95	7.31
< 10 Workers	0.58	0.96
≥ 10 and < 50 Workers	0.23	0.03
≥50 Workers	0.18	0.01
Mean of Sales	13,762.39	659.01
Mean of Assets	19,814.19	1,766.86
Mean of Profits	392.19	42.13

	Role as employee	Role as manager
Retail Trade	0.21	0.19
Hotels & Restaurants	0.11	0.13
Construction	0.11	0.10
Manufacturing	0.13	0.08
Professional & Tech. Act.	0.08	0.09
Transportation	0.05	0.07
Human Health	0.05	0.05
Administrative Activities	0.06	0.04
Other Service Activities	0.03	0.05
Real Estate	0.03	0.05
Inform. & Communication	0.04	0.04
Entertainment	0.02	0.04
Other Sectors	0.08	0.06

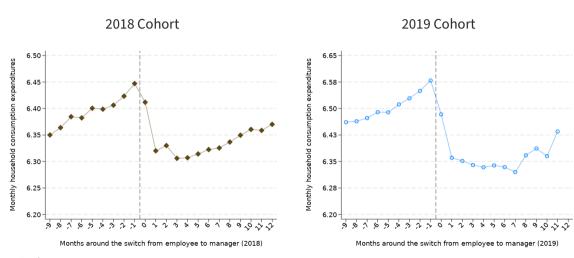
HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION SHARES OF THE SWITCHERS



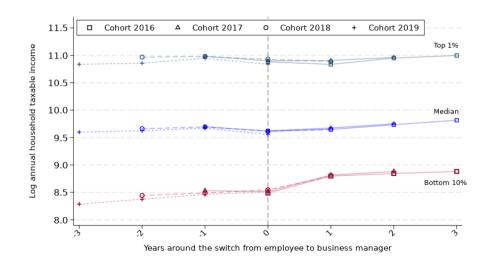
RAW EVENT: 2016 AND 2017 COHORTS



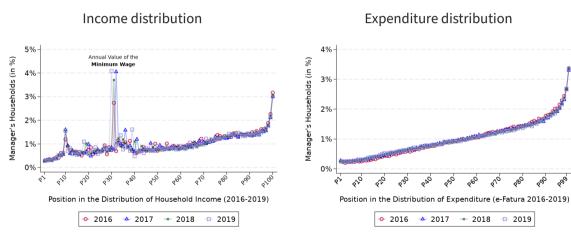
RAW EVENT: 2018 AND 2019 COHORTS



EVOLUTION OF THE TOP 1%, MEDIAN AND BOTTOM 10%



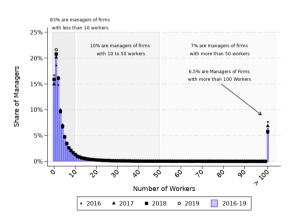
POSITION OF BUSINESS MANAGERS IN THE POPULATION'S DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE



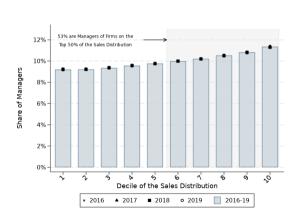
[→] Back to "Evolution of Income"

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF BUSINESS MANAGERS BY FIRM SIZE

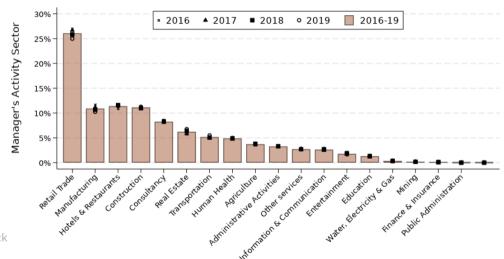
Number of workers



Volume of sales



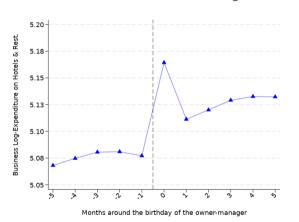
DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF BUSINESS MANAGERS BY INDUSTRY



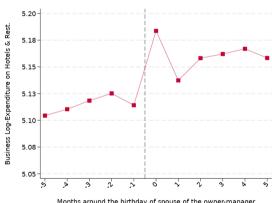
Back

BUSINESS EXPENDITURES IN HOTELS & RESTAURANTS: OWNER-MANAGERS

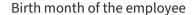
Birth month of the owner-manager

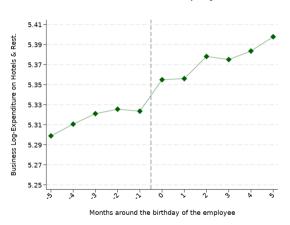


Birth month of the owner-manager's spouse

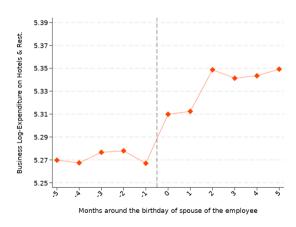


BUSINESS EXPENDITURES IN HOTELS & RESTAURANTS: EMPLOYEES





Birth month of the employee's spouse



ANECDOTAL EVIDENCE COLLECTED FROM PRESS RECORDS

United States: New York Times, ABC News

• France: Libération (in French)

• **Spain**: The Guardian

Portugal: Expresso (in Portuguese)

