

PROFIT SHIFTING OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS WORLDWIDE

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Profit Shifting of Multinational Corporations Worldwide

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Abstract:

We exploit the new multinational corporations' country-by-country reporting data with unparalleled country coverage to study profit shifting to tax havens. We show that a logarithmic function is preferable to linear and quadratic ones for modelling the extremely non-linear relationship between profits and tax rates. Using this methodology, we reveal that multinational corporations shifted US\$1 trillion of profits in 2016 and that those headquartered in the United States and China did so most aggressively. We establish that the Cayman Islands is the largest tax haven, whereas countries with lower incomes tend to lose more tax revenue relative to total tax revenues.

JEL: F23, H25, H26, H32

Keywords: multinational corporation, corporate taxation, profit shifting, effective tax rate, country-by-country reporting, global development

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1 Introduction

One reason why globalisation is viewed as inequitable is international corporate tax avoidance. Globalisation can be exploited by multinational corporations (MNCs) to pay lower taxes than domestic firms (Bilicka, 2019). Publicised case studies, such as those based on the Panama and Paradise Papers, have detailed how little some large MNCs pay in corporate income tax as a result of their profit shifting to low-tax jurisdictions or tax havens. To what extent this represents a general pattern has so far remained unclear. Despite recent growth in research interest in tax havens generally (Alstadsæter et al., 2019; Johannesen & Zucman, 2014; Zucman, 2013) and profit shifting specifically (Clausing, 2020b; Guvenen et al., 2021; Tørsløv et al., 2020), we still lack reliable information on the scale, origin and destination of profit shifting worldwide.

In this paper, we develop a novel methodology and exploit a new dataset to address the question of the scale and distribution of profit shifting of MNCs worldwide. Specifically, we answer the following four research questions: What is the scale of profit shifting? Which tax havens are the most important? Which MNCs are most aggressive in profit shifting? Which countries lose most relative to their total tax revenues? These intrinsically linked research questions lack definitive answers due to both methodological and data-related challenges. Profit shifting as a form of tax avoidance cannot be directly observed; moreover, it is not clear how economists should estimate it. Importantly, both the choice of function to model the relationship between tax rates and profits as well as the data utilised have crucial implications for answers to our research questions. In this paper we address these challenges by modelling the extreme non-linearity of that relationship using a dataset with vastly improved country coverage—two contributions which we now outline before proceeding to our four main findings which answer our four research questions.

Our first contribution is a methodological one: we propose to model the extremely non-linear relationship between profit location and MNCs' tax rates using a logarithmic function. In estimating the semi-elasticity of profits to tax rates, we build on literature which has confirmed the existence of profit shifting, pioneered by Grubert and Mutti (1991) and Hines and Rice (1994). The headline specification of that approach assumes a linear semi-elasticity, which Dowd et al. (2017) show to underestimate profit shifting to low-tax jurisdictions, and introduce a quadratic semi-elasticity instead. While this approach does constitute an improvement, we show that not even the quadratic model is capable of capturing the empirically observed extreme non-linearity in the data: 83–95% of profit shifted takes place towards countries with tax rates below 10%. In this paper, we

therefore introduce a logarithmic model to fully capture the extreme non-linearity of the semi-elasticity of profits to tax rates.

Our second contribution is to pioneer the use of country-by-country reporting (CBCR) data, which detail the activities, profits and taxes of large MNCs in 195 countries, aggregated at headquarter country level. These unique data were first made available by the OECD in July 2020, thanks to a new regulation which requires all large MNCs to report in every country, including tax havens and low-income countries. For example, US CBCR data include 25 African countries while the frequently used US Bureau of Economic Analysis data only include three. While they include the most reliable country-level information on tax payments and profits of MNCs worldwide, currently available CBCR data only cover the year 2016, when reporting by companies was not yet mandatory in all countries, aggregate small countries into categories (e.g. "Other Africa"), and might be prone to limited double-counting of profits due to confusion in intercompany dividends and so-called stateless entities. We address these concerns by excluding stateless entities, developing a method for estimating missing data, disaggregating categories into individual countries, and using 2017 data for the United States—the only country which made CBCR data available for that year.

We apply the logarithmic model to the CBCR data to establish the scale and distribution of profit shifting in many countries worldwide, revealing four main findings that answer the four research questions outlined above. First, MNCs shifted \$1 trillion of profits to tax havens in 2016, which in turn implies \$200–300 billion in revenue losses for other countries. The overall estimated scale of profit shifting is similar regardless of whether we use a logarithmic or quadratic function to model the relationship between the location of profits and tax rates or a simpler model measuring the misalignment between profits and economic activity. Our total estimates of profit shifting are broadly comparable to existing estimates such as Tørsløv et al. (2020), who estimate profit shifting to be \$616 billion in 2015—see Table A22 for a more detailed comparison with Tørsløv et al., 2020 and Table A10 for a comparison with additional studies. By combining our modelling approach with the extreme non-linearity and exceptionally high coverage of our dataset (192 countries), we arrive at semi-elasticity estimates which are consistent with higher shares of profits in tax havens.

Second, we proceed to estimating which tax havens are most important. The large majority of shifted profits are shifted to ten countries with extremely low effective tax rates (ETRs). Moreover, over 75% of the profits booked in the top ten tax havens are artificially shifted there. The Cayman Islands, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Singapore, Bermuda and Puerto Rico are the largest profit shifting destinations. In contrast

with the consistent estimates across models of the overall scale, the most important tax havens—as well as the countries affected by them—differ substantially between models. The logarithmic and misalignment models find that countries with ETRs below 1% account for 48 and 40% of profit shifting, while the linear and quadratic model find that they account for 36 and 37%. Similarly, countries with ETRs above 10% account for 5 and 17% of profit shifting in the preferred logarithmic and misalignment models, but 27 and 24% in the linear and quadratic models.

Third, among headquarter countries with available data, MNCs headquartered in the US and China are the most aggressive in terms of profit shifting. In contrast, we find no evidence of profit shifting towards tax havens by MNCs headquartered in South Africa and Denmark. While a great deal of previous research has been carried out on US-headquartered MNCs due to data availability, our results highlight that they are not necessarily representative of all MNCs and that there are important differences across countries. Consequently, policymakers might negotiate international agreements differently if they know how aggressive their own MNCs are in comparison with other countries' MNCs with respect to profit shifting.

Fourth, we contribute to the ongoing discussion of which countries lose more tax revenue due to profit shifting. CBCR data has much higher country coverage (195 countries) and includes many lower-income countries for the first time. We find that it is precisely these lower-income countries which tend to lose more tax revenue due to profit shifting relative to their total tax revenue, directly contravening one of the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, namely to: "Strengthen domestic resource mobilization, including through international support to lower-income countries, to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection". In absolute terms, the United States is estimated to suffer the most from profit shifting while other high-income countries such as Germany and France are estimated to lose between one quarter and two-thirds of their profit base in this manner.

Overall, our paper's improved methodology and data provide a possible resolution to the inconsistency between so-called micro and macro estimates of profit shifting found in existing literature. Specifically, the relatively low (micro) estimates of tax semi-elasticity in earlier studies (Beer, de Mooij et al., 2020; Heckemeyer & Overesch, 2017) could not explain the (macro) estimates of the high shares of profits reported by MNCs in tax havens (Dharmapala, 2019; Zucman, 2015). In this paper we show that one explanation for the apparent inconsistency is the manner in which relationship between profits and tax rates have been modelled using mostly linear and, far less frequently, quadratic functions (Dowd et al., 2017). When we instead use a logarithmic function to allow for the relationship's extreme non-linearity, we arrive at high estimates of tax semi-elasticity at low levels of ETRs and, consequently, a very high share of profits in a number of tax havens with low ETRs. While the CBCR data may need to be provided at firm level or for several years to facilitate even more nuanced findings, such as on the incidence or industry heterogeneity of profit shifting worldwide, our improved methodology and dataset do help reconcile the micro and macro estimates.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces the new logarithmic model designed to estimate the scale and distribution of profit shifting to tax havens and compares it with existing specifications of the semi-elasticity model. We then describe how we reallocate the shifted profit from tax havens to other countries, as well as including the so-called misalignment model as an alternative to the semi-elasticity model. Section 3 details the available datasets used to estimate profit shifting, focusing on the country-by-country data released by the United States in December 2019 and by the OECD in July 2020. Section 4 shows how our methodology improves profit shifting estimation using the US CBCR data, applies the methodology to the OECD CBCR data to obtain global estimates, and describes how profit shifting differs by countries' per capita income. In Section 4, we also summarise the 12 robustness checks and sensitivity analyses with which we show that our findings are robust to changes in the methodology. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Methodology for estimating profit shifting

In this section we first introduce the traditional methodology for estimating profit shifting using linear and quadratic specifications (Section 2.1). We then detail our logarithmic specification as this paper's preferred way of estimating the scale of profit shifting to tax havens (Section 2.2). We proceed to describe how the shifted profit is reallocated from tax havens to other countries on the basis of economic activity (Section 2.3). Finally, we describe how we apply this logic of shifted profit reallocation to estimate the scale of profit shifting itself using the so-called misalignment model (Section 2.4).

2.1 Semi-elasticity model

MNCs can, and many of them do, engage in shifting profit to tax havens where they seek lower taxation of their profits—a recent review of existing literature is provided by Beer, de Mooij et al. (2020). The profit booked in a jurisdiction *i* by MNCs (π_i) can be expressed

as a sum of the "real unobserved profits" (p_i) and profits shifted into the jurisdiction (S_i) minus the cost of profit shifting incurred by the MNCs (c_i):

$$\pi_i = p_i + S_i - c_i. \tag{1}$$

While various methodologies have been used to estimate profit shifting (e.g. Álvarez-Martínez et al., 2021; Auerbach et al., 2017; Crivelli et al., 2016; Dharmapala and Riedel, 2013; Huizinga and Laeven, 2008; Weichenrieder, 2009), profit shifting is most frequently modelled using the method proposed by Hines and Rice (1994). This method assumes that the cost of profit shifting increases quadratically with the fraction of profit shifted. The booked profits (π) are maximised subject to the existence of profit shifting, and approximated using either first-order or second-order Taylor expansions. Subsequently, theoretical profits are identified with the Cobb-Douglas production function, yielding equation 2 for the first-order Taylor expansion (the most commonly used specification), and equation 3 for the second-order Taylor expansion:

$$\log(\pi_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \log(K_i) + \beta_2 \log(L_i) + \beta_3(\tau_i) + \beta_\chi \chi + \epsilon,$$
(2)

$$\log(\pi_{i}) = \beta_{0} + \beta_{1}\log(K_{i}) + \beta_{2}\log(L_{i}) + \beta_{3}(\tau_{i}) + \beta_{4}(\tau_{i})^{2} + \beta_{\chi}\chi + \epsilon,$$
(3)

where π_i represents profits booked in country *i*, including both real profit and profit shifted, and K_i and L_i are the capital and labour components of the Cobb-Douglas production function, usually operationalised with total tangible assets and wages. τ_i is either the tax rate of the subsidiary, the difference of tax rates between the subsidiary and the parent, or, less frequently (due to lacking data), between the subsidiary and other subsidiaries, and χ are controls including e.g. GDP per capita and population.

Both equations are currently viewed as traditional methods. However, follow-up studies use equation 2 and its modifications much more than equation 3, even though Hines and Rice, 1994 noted that the results of 3 suggest that the effect is strongest at low tax rates. Recent research has revisited the possibility of significant curvature in the relationship between tax rates and reported profits. In particular, Dowd et al. (2017) apply equation 3 to a panel dataset of US tax returns spanning the 2002–2012 period and find that the effect of tax on profit shifting is not linear, namely that incentive to shift profits from a country with a tax rate of 20% to one with a tax rate of 20% to one with a tax rate of 10%. Dowd et al. (2017) account for this non-linearity by including a quadratic term.

2.2 Addressing extreme non-linearity: A logarithmic model

In this paper, we argue that the non-linearity of tax semi-elasticity is too extreme to be adequately accounted for using linear or quadratic models. We argue that the assumption of the quadratic relationship between the fraction of profit shifted and the cost of profit shifting, while suitable for the transfer pricing of physical goods where arm-length prices are more readily available, is not suitable for profit shifting strategies based on financial assets such as intellectual property or intra-group lending. In these strategies, the costs of profit shifting are largely fixed and do not differ significantly with profits. As such, the cost as a fraction of profits shifted is high for low fractions of profit shifted and subsequently decreases (Dischinger & Riedel, 2011). Once a tax avoidance structure is in place (e.g. intellectual property located in a tax haven), we assume that the costs do not increase much with each additional dollar of profit shifted through it. Consequently, since they constitute a small share of their overall costs and are typically much lower than the tax avoided through profit shifting, these costs are minor for large MNCs (and only those are included in the CBCR data). By contrast, smaller companies may not find it viable to set up such tax avoidance structures at all and this dichotomy has been observed previously (Davies et al., 2018; Johannesen et al., 2020); indeed, large MNCs tend to be responsible for the bulk of profit shifting (Reynolds & Wier, 2018). Moreover, these costs are comparable regardless of which tax haven profits are shifted to. Firms thus have an incentive to shift profits to tax havens with the lowest effective taxation available, not merely to countries with lower ETRs, and, therefore, models including a logarithmic semi-elasticity would more effectively model profit shifting.

This theoretical prediction is empirically backed by three observations. The first takes into account the extreme non-linearity of the profitability of firms in tax havens. The reported profit per employee is relatively constant around US\$30,000 to US\$50,000 per employee in all countries with an ETR over 10%, and exponentially increases as the ETR falls below that level (Fig. A5). The second observation focuses on the empirical results by Dowd et al. (2017). Their discontinuity model yields semi-elasticities for ETRs below 10% which are twice as large as those yielded by their quadratic model, indicating that the extreme non-linearity is not fully captured using a quadratic term. The third observation is derived from our data-driven exploration of the data (see Appendix A.4), where we use symbolic regression to obtain models which best fit the data. All of these models include a term which allows for extreme non-linearity semi-elasticities: a logarithmic term.

We argue that including a logarithmic term enables us to capture the extreme nonlinearity better than the inclusion of a quadratic term, and we show this empirically in the results section. In order to model the extreme non-linearity, we propose to modify the equation as follows:

$$\log\left(\pi_{i}\right) = \beta_{0} + \beta_{1}\log\left(K_{i}\right) + \beta_{2}\log\left(L_{i}\right) + \beta_{3}(\tau_{i}) + \beta_{4}\log\left(t + \tau_{i}\right) + \beta_{\chi}\chi + \epsilon.$$
(4)

where τ is the tax rate faced by the subsidiary which we proxy by ETRs. Likewise, three recent influential profit shifting studies all use ETRs to estimate profit shifting in one way or another (Clausing, 2020b; Guvenen et al., 2021; Tørsløv et al., 2020). ETRs are superior to statutory rates because they are capable of better capturing the actual tax rate faced by MNCs and are more likely to be used by MNCs for profit shifting decision-making. A great deal of existing literature (e.g. Dharmapala, 2014) uses statutory rates, arguing that they are determined by governments and are thus generally exogenous to firms' choices. Such endogeneity might be of importance for the research question of whether MNCs shift profits to countries with low tax rates, of which there is now abundant evidence (Beer, de Mooij et al., 2020). However, once we move on to the scale, destinations and origins of profit shifting, the informativeness about the actual rates MNCs face becomes more important. In particular, statutory rates are not very informative about the taxes MNCs face (e.g. what Dharmapala, 2014 highlighted as some possibility of mismeasurement of actual tax rates), correlate only weakly with various measures of ETRs (Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2021) and do not seem to sufficiently explain the location of profits (e.g. Section A.4). For example, Luxembourg had a statutory rate of 29.22% in 2016, whereas our ETR estimate for the same year is 0.9% 2 and is in line with ETR estimates from other data sources (Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2020).

In equation 4, *t* is an offset parameter, included in order to avoid obtaining extremely high differences in the tax semi-elasticity for countries with similar but extremely low tax rates. We obtain the optimal value of the offset (0.0014 for US data and 0.0007 for OECD data) numerically by iterating over the range 0–1 and keeping the value that minimises the Bayesian Information Criterion. In section 4.4 we show that our results are highly robust to the choice of the offset, and that including this parameter in the linear and quadratic models does not increase their predictive power. We further include headquarter-country fixed effects to account for differences in profitability and data reporting methods between MNCs headquartered in different countries, and interaction terms between the country fixed effects and $log(t + \tau_i)$, which capture differences in the profit shifting aggressiveness of the MNCs of different reporting countries.

Consistently with literature, we operationalise capital (K) using tangible assets, and labour (L) using wages. A limitation of the operationalisation of the capital component through tangible assets is that tangible assets are affected by profit shifting strategies. For

example, US MNCs in Luxembourg report the second highest value of tangible assets in Europe according to the CBCR data, with a combined value of \$220 billion (equal to values reported in Germany, France and all of Africa combined). As a consequence, the use of tangible assets yields conservative estimates of the tax semi-elasticity. Since the data does not include wages, we model them using the product of employees and the average salary in each country, obtained from the International Labour Organization. Missing values in the average salary are estimated using a linear model containing log-GDP and log-Population ($R^2 = 0.91$).

After estimating the tax semi-elasticities using equation 4, we calculate for each pair of countries (headquarter country and jurisdiction of operation) the underlying profits without profit shifting, \hat{p}_i . To do this we remove the effect of tax rates by comparing the profits reported in country *i* with profits in a hypothetical scenario where the country's ETR is 25%:

$$\hat{p}_i = \pi_i \cdot \frac{e^{(\beta_4(0.25) + \beta_5 \log(t + 0.25))}}{e^{(\beta_4(\tau_i) + \beta_5 \log(t + \tau_i))}}.$$
(5)

This ETR threshold of 25% corresponds roughly to a zero marginal effect of the ETR on profits in the quadratic and logarithmic models, as explored further in the results section. Since MNCs do not appear to shift profits to countries with ETRs above 15%, and our threshold is 25%, \hat{p}_i is almost always larger than π_i . The results are robust to changes in this threshold. A threshold of 20% reduces the estimate of profit shifting using the logarithmic model by 5%, the estimate using the quadratic model by 18% and the estimate using the linear model by 24%. This is expected, since the vast majority of profits are shifted towards countries with extremely low tax rates, which the logarithmic models can account for.

2.3 Reallocating shifted profits

We now proceed to describe how the shifted profit is reallocated from tax havens to other countries and start by discussing how it is linked with the equation 1 above. Profit shifting is calculated as the difference of the booked profits and the estimated profits, assuming that the cost of profit shifting is negligible (as discussed in section 2.2 above):

$$\hat{S}_i = \pi_i - \hat{p}_i \tag{6}$$

Since \hat{p}_i is almost always larger than π_i , S_i does not correspond to profit shifted in or out of the country (i.e. $\sum_i \hat{S}_i > 0$). For this to happen, we need to redistribute shifted profits to where real economic activity takes place:

$$\Delta P_i = -\hat{S}_i + \left(\sum_i \hat{S}_i\right) \cdot R_i,\tag{7}$$

where the change in profits due to profit shifting, ΔP_i , is defined as the profits shifted out of the country, $-\hat{S}_i$ (we reverse its sign since \hat{S}_i measures profits shifted into a country), plus the share of total profit shifted redistributed back to the country.

We define the redistribution formula, R_i , operationalising real economic activity, as

$$R_{i} = 1/4 \frac{L_{i}}{\sum_{i} L_{i}} + 1/4 \frac{W_{i}}{\sum_{i} W_{i}} + 1/2 \frac{Rev_{i}}{\sum_{i} Rev_{i}},$$
(8)

where 25% of the weight is given to employees (L_i), 25% to wages (W_i) and 50% to unrelated party revenues (Rev_i). We use unrelated party revenues, which are less affected by tax-planning strategies than, for example, tangible assets. This is the same formula used by the misalignment model described in section 2.4. The reallocation of shifted profits to the jurisdictions where economic activity takes place is also used in the impact assessment of the (OECD, 2020) BEPS plan in both pillar one (excess profit allocation) and pillar two (operationalization of the undertaxed payments rule), as well as by Beer, Mooij et al. (2020)—i.e., it is common to use a formulary approach to identify where the economic activity takes place. In the sensitivity analysis, we test that our results are robust to changes in the redistribution formula.

After the redistribution, the sum of the change in profits due to profit shifting, $\sum \Delta P_i$, sums to zero.

Finally, tax revenue loss, TRL_i , is the product of the change in the profit base and the ETR (and we use the statutory rate as a robustness check):

$$TRL_i = \Delta P_i \cdot ETR_i \tag{9}$$

2.4 Misalignment model

In addition to various semi-elasticity model specifications, we estimate the scale of profit shifting based on profit misalignment. The misalignment model applies basic arithmetic to the data to observe how well the location of reported profits are aligned with the location of economic activity, typically approximated by a combination of labour (measured using wages and employees), capital (often approximated with tangible assets) and revenue. Profit misalignment is then calculated as the difference between reported profits (π) and estimated theoretical profits ((\hat{p})). In our version of this method, and as in equation 8, we calculate \hat{p} giving 25% of the weight to employees, 25% of the weight to wages, and 50% of the weight to unrelated party revenues (eq. 10). Since the majority of profits are shifted towards a small number of tax havens, the exact formula has little impact on the aggregated estimation of profit shifting, although can affect the results for individual countries (which we explore in section 4.4).

$$\hat{p}_i = R_i \cdot \sum_i \pi_i. \tag{10}$$

Profit shifting is again calculated as the difference between booked profits and the estimated profits (eq. 6). In a pure misalignment model, the sum of profit shifting is equal to zero ($\sum \hat{S}_i = 0$ and $\Delta P_i = \hat{S}_i$). We, however, add one extra constraint, similarly to OECD (2020). We set the profit misalignment of all foreign observations (pairs of reporting and investment countries where the reporting and investment countries are different) with a tax rate higher than 25% to zero, since we assumed that an MNC would not shift profits to a country with a tax rate over 25%. This corrects for extreme outliers, such as the high profits of Bermudian companies in Peru and high profits of MNCs in resource-rich countries compared with the economic activity in the countries. In order to ensure that $\sum \Delta P_i = 0$, we redistribute the profits as in section 2.3.

3 Data

Our paper exploits the CBCR dataset that became available in July 2020, and is of unprecedented quality. The dataset was created thanks to a CBCR regulation that stems from OECD Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) Action 13, and requires all large MNCs to report how much tax they pay in individual countries, including tax havens. The regulation impacts MNCs with consolidated annual group revenue of C750 million and above, headquartered in any country that has adopted the CBCR regulation. The firm-level data is collected by the headquarter country, aggregated by country of operations, and published by the OECD. The published data, which we use in this paper, is thus aggregated at the country level for each reporting country — for example, India publishes data on the operations of India-headquartered MNCs in Ghana, Switzerland and many other countries.

To our knowledge, there are several research papers using CBCR data from the US (Clausing, 2020b; Cobham et al., 2019; De Mooij et al., 2019; Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2021),

Germany (Fuest et al., forthcoming) and Italy (Bratta et al., 2021) and this is the first paper using the OECD CBCR data.

We use the 2016 OECD CBCR data, which contains data for 26 headquarter countries (see Table A3). The 2017 CBCR data is expected to be released by the OECD in July 2021. Since reporting by US MNCs was voluntary in 2016, we replaced the 2016 data on US MNCs provided by the OECD with the 2017 data published by the US Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The US IRS has been publishing CBCR data 17 months before it is published by the OECD, which has allowed previous researchers to compare US CBCR with other sources (Clausing, 2020b; Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2021), and established a good correlation between various types of data sources. Moreover, the CBCR data is outstanding in at least three dimensions.

First, one of the most obvious advantages of CBCR data over other data sources is its much more substantial country coverage. This is especially relevant for lower-income countries and for selected parts of the world, for which coverage from other data sources is notoriously limited (Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2021). For example, US CBCR data includes information on taxes and profits for US MNCs in 25 African countries, while the frequently used data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the United States Department of Commerce only covers 3. CBCR data includes data on large MNCs' profits and tax payments in, for example, up to 141 (US) and 163 (India) jurisdictions in the full dataset. The exceptional data coverage of up to 195 countries enables us to estimate the scale of profit shifting for lower-income countries. This country coverage is one reason why UNODC and UNCTAD (2020) propose to use this CBCR data for the Sustainable Development Goals indicator of illicit financial flows, likely in a similar way that we implement the profit misalignment method outlined in Section 2.4.

Second, CBCR ensures that profits and taxes are defined consistently with the concepts of corporate profits and taxes. By contrast, this is not the case with, for example, Bureau of Economic Analysis data, where profits are imputed from a combination of net profits, intra-group dividends, interest paid and other variables, as recently discussed by Blouin and Robinson (2020), Clausing (2020a), Clausing (2020b) and Garcia-Bernardo et al. (2021). Consequently, CBCR data excludes double-counting in revenue and likely in profit (with the exception of stateless entities dropped from our analysis and intercompany dividends, for which companies have neither instructions nor incentive to double-count). Since CBCR data offers the best available information on MNCs' tax payments for many countries, it thus provides us with the first suitable dataset for a high-quality cross-country comparison—until now various proxies for profits were used, for example, by Haberly and Wójcik (2015), Bolwijn et al. (2018) or Damgaard et al. (2019).

Third, CBCR data is provided in two separate datasets, for all subsidiaries ("All Sub-Groups"), as well as for those subsidiaries that had positive profits and so not losses ("Sub-Groups with Positive Profit"). While the data on affiliates with positive profits has lower coverage (Table A3), it allows for more accurate estimates of the ETRs.

3.1 Use of data in the logarithmic and misalignment models

We use different subsets of the data for different parts of the methodology.

We estimate ETR as the ratio of accrued taxes over profits, using the data on "sub-groups with positive profits". By using the data with positive profits only, we avoid offsetting firms with losses and firms with profits, and we can thus estimate ETRs more precisely. Since taxes are typically paid by companies earning profits, including companies making losses would overstate ETRs. We use ETRs in two parts of the paper: to calculate profit shifting in the semi-elasticity models, and to calculate tax revenue losses. For the semi-elasticity models we remove outliers — country dyads with tax rates above 50% or smaller than 0%. We also remove observations when reported profits are below US\$1 billion. This eliminates outliers and allows for a more efficient estimation of the semi-elasticities. To calculate tax revenue losses we use the average ETR in the country, using the average ETR paid by foreign MNCs and the statutory tax rate as robustness checks. The average ETR is weighted by profits booked: $\frac{ETR_i\pi_i}{\sum \pi_i}$. For countries that are only available in the data on all sub-groups but not in the data on sub-groups with positive profit, we used the statutory corporate income tax rate (which was the case for Andorra, Armenia, Belize, Brunei, Central African Republic, Georgia, Gambia, Haiti, Kyrgyz Republic, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Moldova, North Macedonia, New Caledonia, North Korea, French Polynesia, Sudan, Togo, Chad, and Uzbekistan). The ETRs are reported in Table A8.

First, we estimate the semi-elasticity model (detailed in section 2.1) using data on "subgroups with positive profits" for the 10 countries that reported data on at least 8 offshore financial centres (Fig. 1). In addition, we run a robustness check and find no significant differences with the full sample, see section 4.4 for more information. Table A4 shows the summary statistics of the CBCR data for the countries in this sample, distinguishing between domestic and foreign activities of MNCs—domestic ones are those in the reporting (i.e. headquarter) countries, while foreign ones are those in all other countries (i.e. except for the domestic one). For most countries domestic profits and activities are higher than foreign ones. The exceptions are Bermuda and Luxembourg, which are often considered tax havens. The observed balance between domestic and foreign activities provides useful guidance for when we estimate missing data in Section A.1.

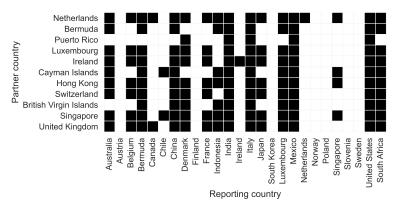


Figure 1: Country availability in the 2016 OECD data

Notes: Country availability in the 2016 OECD CBCR data. Reporting countries (horizontal axis) reporting on selected countries often considered tax havens (vertical axes) are depicted with black squares.

Second, we reallocate profits shifted (equation 8) using the dataset including all subgroups for the 27 countries that reported some information. Using the complete dataset allow us to more accurately measure information on real economic activities of MNCs regardless of whether the affiliates are profit- or loss-making. Since MNCs prefer to report losses in countries with high taxes while locating their profits in countries with low taxes, excluding loss-making affiliates would exclude an important component of profit shifting (see Figure A4 for a visualisation of this behaviour in the CBCR data, and De Simone et al. (2017) for an empirical confirmation using tax returns data in the United Kingdom). The dataset on all sub-groups is also more suitable for comparison with other datasets (e.g. from the Bureau of Economic Analysis).

Finally, and for the same reasons explained in the previous paragraph, we used data on all sub-groups for the misalignment model. The ETRs (used to calculate tax revenue losses) are still calculated from the data on sub-groups with positive profit. Since the misalignment method is not affected by outliers we keep all observations in the sample.

While we make use of the substantial country coverage and other advantages of CBCR data, we carefully deal with several remaining challenges associated with the new data source. We describe how we address the data limitations in detail in Appendix A.1. For both the 2017 US and 2016 OECD data, we limit the effect of a certain extent of double counting in profit due to intercompany dividends. Furthermore, for the 2016 OECD data, we deal empirically, with three issues related to data completeness: the lack of completeness in the data of reporting countries, the varying combinations of countries in the aggregated country categories, and the lack of reporting by some countries. The

missing data imputations and other data corrections help us prepare the best available data set to apply our methodology to.

4 Results

The results section is composed of four parts. In the first part we demonstrate the advantage of our methodology using the 2017 US CBCR data. In the second part we apply our methodology to the 2016 OECD CBCR data, and compare it to estimates generated using other methodologies. In the third part we test whether the scales of profit shifting and associated tax revenue loss are higher or lower in some country groups. In the fourth part, we present a series of robustness tests and sensitivity analyses.

4.1 Estimation of profit shifting (2017 US data): the logarithmic model versus other models

We first test our methodology using only 2017 US CBCR data. Restricting our analysis to US data allows us to compare with previous analysis, including one of the best-regarded papers on profit shifting using tax semi-elasticities, Dowd et al., 2017. The results of our regressions (Table 1) shows that the logarithmic model fits the data better than any other model. This not only involves a higher R-square and lower Bayesian information criteria, but also a better disaggregation of the origin and destination of profits shifted. Fig. 2 shows a graphical interpretation of the coefficients. The logarithmic model is capable of accounting for extreme ratios of profit shifted in small countries with low ETRs, while at the same time avoiding the overestimation of profit shifted in countries with tax rates between 15–25%. Empirically, the misalignment strategy shows that profit is not misaligned with economic activity in those countries. However, the quadratic model assumes that 18–43% of profits in those countries have been shifted in. By contrast, the logarithmic model (Table 2) assumes that only 5–19% have been (note that for countries with a tax rate above 15%, even when the estimated profits shifted are 20% of the total profits, this is usually offset by the redistribution of profits in tax havens back to the origins; we explore this at the end of this section.) Importantly, the logarithmic model and the misalignment model clearly identify that the majority of profits in small countries with extremely low tax rates are shifted there. This effect is less pronounced for the quadratic model, and especially so for the linear model (Table 4). For an ETR of 1.5% (e.g. Bermuda), the logarithmic and quadratic model estimates that 94% and 90% of the booked profits have been shifted into the country, while the linear model estimates that only 61% have.

	Log	Quad	Log+Quad	Linear	DLM-Quad	DLM-Linear
Intercept	-6.8326	-0.8160	-7.3478	-0.8683		2.482
-	(2.0061)	(2.1996)	(2.1783)	(2.4403)		(0.136)
ETR	5.5093	-17.2618	8.5732	-4.0226	-3.748	-1.076
	(1.4594)	(3.0732)	(5.1545)	(1.0793)		(0.108)
$\log(0.0014 + ETR)$	-1.5176		-1.6464			
-	(0.1920)		(0.2834)			
ETR ²		28.5306	-4.8589		7.184	
		(6.2822)	(7.8373)			
log(Population)	0.3694	0.2885	0.3671	0.1807		
	(0.1051)	(0.1235)	(0.1056)	(0.1344)		
log(GDPpc)	0.4721	0.4953	0.4698	0.4917		
	(0.1628)	(0.1926)	(0.1634)	(0.2137)		
log(Tangible assets)	0.4874	0.6354	0.4841	0.7436		
	(0.0748)	(0.0832)	(0.0753)	(0.0885)		
log(Wages)	0.1617	0.0291	0.1648	-0.0670		
	(0.0929)	(0.1066)	(0.0934)	(0.1159)		
Ν	91	91	91	91	96,959	96,959
R2	0.90	0.86	0.90	0.82	0.465	0.465
BIC	222.58	253.21	226.67	268.68	ductic (Orec d) a	ad linear (Linea

Table 1: Comparison of tax semi-elasticity estimates using the 2017 US data

Notes: Comparison of semi-elasticities for the logarithmic (Log), quadratic (Quad) and linear (Linear) models using the 2017 US CBCR data. The dependent variable for all models is profits booked in country in logarithm. The models reported by Dowd et al., 2017 (DLM) are used for comparison. Since DLM uses the net of tax rate (1-ETR), we cannot impute the standard error of the linear term in their quadratic specification.

The estimates of tax semi-elasticity from Dowd et al. (2017) (hereinafter referred to as DLM) are considered to be one of the best currently available (e.g. Clausing, 2020b). However, using these semi-elasticities to estimate profit shifted at the country level shows that DLM are likely to underestimate profit shifting by up to 80% in tax havens. The elasticities reported by DLM imply that merely 23–38% of the profits booked in Cayman Islands have been shifted there (Table 1), while both the quadratic and logarithmic models estimate that over 90% of the profits have been shifted there. This corresponds extremely well with the misalignment strategy: US MNCs book 2.86% of their profits in the Cayman Islands, but only 0.06% of their estimated economic activity is in fact carried out there, resulting in a misalignment of 98.0%.

The main reason why the estimated semi-elasticities of DLM are three times below the ones estimated by us is likely the difference in the aggregation level and type of model used by DLM (firm-level and within model) and us (country-level and between model). While firm-level data is generally preferred, it is rarely available with characteristics comparable to the CBCR data (and almost always only for individual countries and in collaboration).

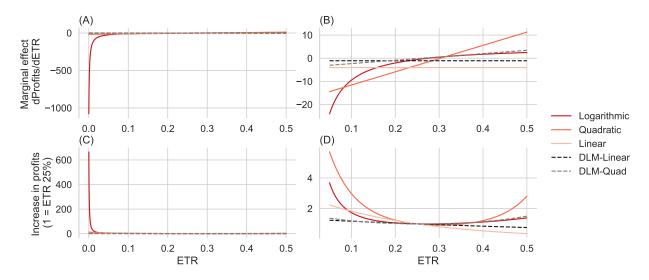


Figure 2: Comparison of tax semi-elasticity estimates using the 2017 US data

Notes: Graphical representation of Table 1 for the logarithmic, quadratic, linear and DLM models. (A, B) Marginal effect of ETR on profits. (C,D) Relative increase in profits due to profit shifting, compared with a country with an ETR of 25%. Plots B and D are close-ups of plots A and C respectively, constraining ETRs between 5 and 50%. Note that the marginal effects for the logarithmic model decreases (becomes more negative) faster than other models as the ETR approaches 0%. Comparison of semi-elasticities for the logarithmic (Log), quadratic (Quad) and linear (Linear) models. The models reported by Dowd et al., 2017 (DLM) are used for comparison. Since DLM uses the net of tax rate (1-ETR), we cannot impute the standard error of the linear term in their quadratic specification.

with tax administrations, such as in the case of DLM), and may lead to an underestimation of the scale of profit shifting if a within model is used. A between-country estimation exploits differences across countries, implicitly reflecting all historical developments up until today. In contrast, a within-firm or within-country approach ignores profit shifting taking place at the beginning of the studied time period. In our opinion, a within-between model (first proposed by Mundlak, 1978) would be preferred to analyse profit shifting, since it can simultaneously model the within and between effects, and as such model both the potential effects of changes in tax rates, and the scale of profit shifting. Our data is more similar to that of Hines and Rice (1994) and Clausing, 2016, which estimate a constant tax semi-elasticity in the range of 6–13 and 2–5 respectively—both of which are among the studies with higher values of estimated semi-elasticities, as reviewed by Heckemeyer and Overesch, 2017 and Beer, de Mooij et al., 2020.

Figure 2 shows a U-shaped relationship in the effect of ETRs on profits. The semielasticity is negative until the ETR reaches approximately 25%, thereafter becoming positive. This is due to high profits in countries rich in natural resources, such as Angola, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Norway and Nigeria. These countries levy resource taxes while

Country	ETR	Profits (+)	Profits (all)	Misal.	Log	Quad	Linear	Quad (DLM)	Linear (DLM)
Jersey	0.1%	\$14.2 bn	\$11.7 bn	96.1%	99.6%	91.9%	63.2%	38.3%	23.5%
Cayman Islands	0.5%	\$62.4 bn	\$58.5 bn	98.3%	98.5%	91.3%	62.7%	37.5%	23.2%
Other Europe	0.7%	\$14.4 bn	\$0.0 bn	-	97.7%	91.0%	62.3%	36.9%	23.0%
Luxembourg	0.9%	\$60.4 bn	\$24.9 bn	88.5%	97.0%	90.7%	62.1%	36.5%	22.8%
Puerto Rico	1.4%	\$35.2 bn	\$34.3 bn	92.8%	94.5%	89.9%	61.2%	35.3%	22.4%
Bermuda	1.5%	\$35.4 bn	\$32.5 bn	97.8%	94.3%	89.8%	61.2%	35.2%	22.4%
Other America	2.3%	\$12.8 bn	\$-0.1 bn	-	89.9%	88.4%	59.9%	33.4%	21.7%
Singapore	4.5%	\$56.8 bn	\$54.6 bn	69.0%	76.1%	83.7%	56.1%	28.4%	19.8%
Switzerland	5.5%	\$59.2 bn	\$49.4 bn	70.5%	69.8%	81.2%	54.4%	26.2%	18.9%
Netherlands	6.8%	\$70.0 bn	\$40.0 bn	71.3%	61.4%	77.5%	51.9%	23.4%	17.8%
Hong Kong	11.1%	\$13.6 bn	\$12.3 bn	25.7%	36.7%	62.1%	42.9%	14.9%	13.9%
United Kingdom	11.6%	\$81.7 bn	\$18.1 bn	-	33.9%	59.7%	41.6%	13.9%	13.4%
Ireland	12.4%	\$34.2 bn	\$29.5 bn	34.6%	30.3%	56.4%	39.7%	12.5%	12.7%
Canada	15.2%	\$40.1 bn	\$31.7 bn	-	18.8%	43.1%	32.5%	8.0%	10.0%
Australia	15.3%	\$18.1 bn	\$14.8 bn	-	18.5%	42.7%	32.3%	7.9%	9.9%
United States	19.7%	\$1310.5 bn	\$1180.0 bn	-	6.6%	21.4%	19.3%	2.8%	5.6%
Japan	20.5%	\$25.5 bn	\$24.9 bn	11.6%	5.0%	17.5%	16.5%	2.1%	4.7%
China	23.0%	\$28.5 bn	\$26.8 bn	-	1.5%	6.9%	7.7%	0.6%	2.1%
Germany	24.9%	\$19.8 bn	\$6.8 bn	-	0.1%	0.4%	0.5%	-	0.1%
Brazil	25.5%	\$12.0 bn	\$5.9 bn	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mexico	26.7%	\$17.7 bn	\$15.6 bn	-	-	-	-	-	-
India	33.0%	\$13.7 bn	\$11.8 bn	-	2.1%	-	-	3.3%	-

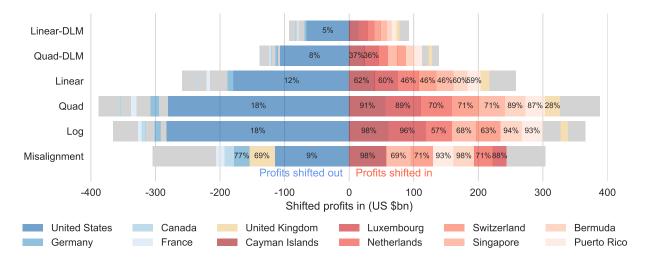
Table 2: Percentage of profits shifted into countries with at least \$10 bn reported using the 2017 US data

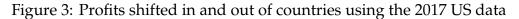
Notes: Profit shifted into countries estimated using a variety of models and the 2017 US CBCR data. The table shows the percentage of profits shifted for the misalignment (Misal.), logarithmic (log), quadratic (Quad), linear (Linear) and the DLM models. The column "profits (+)" indicates the profits of affiliates with positive profits, the column "profits (all)" indicates the profits of all affiliates.

carrying out activities that produce vast amounts of profit in relation to the labour and capital costs. In order to correct for this in our estimates of profit shifting, we assume a tax semi-elasticity of zero if the ETR is higher than 25%. This approach is also used in the Impact Assessment of the BEPS plan OECD, 2020.

Next, we redistribute the profits shifted according to equation 8 to calculate global profit shifting. The logarithmic model yields an estimate of US\$365 billion of profit shifted, comparable to the US\$304 billion of profit shifted found by the misalignment strategy (Figure 3). Since our objective in this section is to compare the different methodologies and not to present the scale of profit shifted for individual countries, we do not try to disaggregate categories, such as "Other Europe", into individual countries, as detailed

in section A.1 and as applied in section 4.2. The destination of shifted profits is similar between models (Figure 3 and A6). The majority of these profits are in a small group of tax havens. The large majority of profits shifted, are shifted to the top 10 countries shown in Table 2. Moreover, over 75% of the profits booked in those 10 countries are artificially shifted there. The Cayman Islands, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Singapore, Bermuda and Puerto Rico are the largest destinations. However, several differences may be observed. Profit shifted to Luxembourg is three times larger in the logarithmic model. This is due to the presence of many companies with losses. Compared with the US\$24 billion of profits found in Luxembourg in the data on "All Sub-Groups" (used for the misalignment model), we found US\$60 billion of profits in the data "Sub-Groups with positive profits". Similarly, while the "Other Europe", "Other Asia&Oceania" and "Other America" groups appear as profit destinations in the logarithmic model, they appear as places of profit origin in the misalignment. This is due to the higher granularity of the data with "All Sub-Groups" used for the misalignment model. There, "Isle of Man", "Barbados", "Gibraltar", "Macao" and "the British Virgin Islands" appear as standalone countries, with US\$24 billion shifted into those countries.





Notes: Profits shifted in and out of countries using the 2017 US data, estimated with the misalignment, logarithmic (Log), quadratic (Quad), linear (Linear) and DLM (Linear-DLM, Quad-DLM) models. MNCs shift profits from countries with negative shifted profits to countries with positive shifted profits. The largest origins of the profits are visualised in blue, and the largest destinations in red. All other countries are visualised together in grey. The annotations indicate the percentage of profit shifted out of the country (compared to estimated profits) or into the country (compared to booked profits).

The origin of shifted profits is, however, considerably different across the models. We observe that 72% of the employees, wages and sales of US MNCs are located in the US and the ETR of the US is 20%. This together implies that no profits are shifted into the US, and approximately 72% of the global shifted profits are redistributed back to the US in the models relying on semi-elasticity. In the misalignment model a lower fraction of the profits is redistributed to the US, since 65% of the profits are already reported in the US – the misalignment between profits and economic activity is small. However, some of the 65% of profits may have been reported in the US due to the double-counting discussed in Section 2. If this is the case, then the real misalignment for the US would be larger. In addition to the US, the UK also seems to lose out in the misalignment model, but not in the other models (Fig. 3). In the tax semi-elasticity models, the low ETR of the UK (12%) implies that profits are expected to be shifted into the country. In the misalignment model profits are found to be shifted out of the country, since the profits reported in the UK (1.0% of the total) are lower than their share of the economy (3.2% of the total). The low aggregated profits recorded in the UK are a consequence of MNCs reporting zero or negative profits (Bilicka, 2019).

Overall, while we consider the logarithmic specification to be more accurate with respect to estimating the global scale of profit shifting, the misalignment method might provide more accurate estimates of the redistribution of these shifted profits. The misalignment method takes into consideration the current distribution of profits, and in this respect provides a more accurate way of redistributing profits. The location of profits and economic activity is often more balanced (i.e. less misaligned) in countries with high per capita income (Fig. A6 in the Appendix). The logarithmic model is agnostic to this fact, and redistributes the profits only as a function of the location of economic activity. As a consequence, the misalignment model typically redistributes more profits back to lower-income countries.

How the redistribution of shifted profits works differently in the two methods is best illustrated using a simple example. Assume that US\$9 million profits are located in the US, US\$0 million are located in India and US\$1 million are located in the Cayman Islands. In contrast, the wages and sales in the US add up to US\$9 million, US\$1 million in India and in US\$0 million in the Cayman Islands. Both the logarithmic and the misalignment models would find that the shifted profit or the total misalignment is approximately US\$1 million (located in the Cayman Islands), but the redistribution would differ. The logarithmic model would redistribute 90% of those shifted profits to the US and 10% to India. Since the profits in the US are comparable to the economic activity, the misalignment model would redistribute 0% of those profits to the US and 100% to India. Since the misalignment model takes into consideration the degree of profit shifting out of a country – as our

example illustrates – the redistribution of profits is more accurate and realistic under the misalignment model than under the logarithmic specification.

4.2 Estimation of profit shifting (2016 OECD data)

Having shown that the logarithmic model is superior to both the quadratic and linear models, we apply it to the 2016 OECD CBCR data, complemented by 2017 US data (Section 2.1). We use the same methodology as in the previous section, but add fixed effects for the reporting countries to correct for differences in profitability due to the location of headquarters, and add an interaction between the reporting country and either $\log(t + ETR)$, ETR^2 or ETR in our logarithmic, quadratic and linear models.

Table 3 shows the estimates of tax semi-elasticity using the OECD data (with an interpretation of the coefficients given visually in Figure A11). The US is used as the reference group for country comparisons. We again observe that the logarithmic model fits the data better than the quadratic and linear specifications. The logarithmic model estimates that over 40% of profit shifting takes places towards countries with an ETR below 1% (Table 4). The quadratic and linear models are not able to capture this fully, while at the same time estimating that over 24% of profit shifting takes place to countries with ETR above 15% (Table 4). The misalignment model yields similar results to the logarithmic model, reinforcing the accuracy of the logarithmic model.

The location of MNCs' headquarters have been shown both theoretically and empirically to be an important consideration in the profit shifting carried out by MNCs (Bilicka, 2019; Dischinger et al., 2014). A significant number of existing studies observed profit shifting in the case of US headquartered MNCs (Clausing, 2020b; Dowd et al., 2017; Guvenen et al., 2021). For example, the ETR paid on foreign profits by US MNCs in sectors other than oil has fallen by half since the late 1990s and nearly half of this decline is estimated to be the outcome of the rise of profit shifting to tax havens (Wright & Zucman, 2018).

The introduction of the interaction term between the country fixed-effect and log(ETR), ETR^2 or ETR allows us to understand the aggressiveness of each country's MNCs with respect to profit shifting. We find that US MNCs are the most aggressive (the magnitude of the interaction is more negative). This is in contrast with a recent paper by Bilicka (2019) that studies headquarter location heterogeneity for MNCs active in the United Kingdom and finds US MNCs to have a similar size of the estimated profit ratio gap as French and German MNCs. Furthermore, we find that the difference is statistically significant for all countries with the exception of China (Table 3). In fact, the relationship completely disappears for South Africa and Denmark (Fig. A13). Japan would be an interesting case

	Logarithmic	Quadratic	Log*FE + Quad	Log + Quad*FE	Linear
ETR	0.8875	-8.5032	1.9793	0.0754	-3.6634
	(0.7719)	(1.6584)	(2.5847)	(2.6843)	(1.2751)
ETR ²		11.9405	-2.1320	-1.6397	
		(4.2511)	(4.8163)	(5.3813)	
$\log(0.0007 + ETR)$	-0.8665		-0.8957	-0.3379	
	(0.1642)		(0.1770)	(0.0838)	
Australia:tax	0.4306	1.0065	0.4330	-0.7650	-0.3838
	(0.0319)	(2.3111)	(0.0312)	(2.4472)	(0.4184)
Bermuda:tax	0.2948	-4.5105	0.3008	-4.2598	-1.7723
	(0.0480)	(1.4342)	(0.0463)	(1.4729)	(0.6726)
China:tax	0.0943	-3.5274	0.0956	-3.8274	-0.9763
	(0.0550)	(0.9534)	(0.0552)	(0.9336)	(0.5223)
Denmark:tax	0.8757	13.2458	0.8777	12.5428	5.5597
	(0.0529)	(1.6251)	(0.0531)	(1.7316)	(0.5914)
India:tax	0.3397	-3.720	0.3466	-2.7414	-1.8929
	(0.0824)	(1.4021)	(0.0806)	(1.4905)	(0.7036)
Italy:tax	0.7779	8.0289	0.7821	8.1251	4.2697
, ,	(0.0717)	(1.2934)	(0.0700)	(1.2045)	(0.5550)
Luxembourg:tax	0.6494	6.1330	0.6505	4.8425	1.4175
0	(0.0541)	(2.3410)	(0.0545)	(2.4667)	(0.3088)
Mexico:tax	0.2824	5.0685	0.2859	4.3634	-0.0267
	(0.1282)	(3.3922)	(0.1270)	(2.9398)	(1.2879)
South Africa:tax	0.9279	9.8344	0.9364	10.2409	5.5226
	(0.0461)	(0.6613)	(0.0449)	(0.7046)	(0.2589)
log(Population)	0.0990	0.0641	0.0978	0.0789	0.0334
	(0.0387)	(0.0397)	(0.0388)	(0.0394)	(0.0390)
log(GDPpc)	0.1027	0.1262	0.1024	0.1206	0.1238
	(0.0573)	(0.0597)	(0.0574)	(0.0590)	(0.0599)
log(Tangible assets)	0.3251	0.3136	0.3254	0.3167	0.3183
0 0 /	(0.0240)	(0.0243)	(0.0240)	(0.0240)	(0.0246)
log(Wages)	0.2440	0.2198	0.2442	0.2352	0.2172
0(0000-)	(0.0334)	(0.0344)	(0.0334)	(0.0341)	(0.0344)
FE interaction	log	quad	log	quad	lin
N	622	622	622	622	622
R2	0.73	0.71	0.73	0.72	0.71
BIC	2220.79	2270.04	2227.02	2259.72	2268.14

Table 3: Comparison of tax semi-elasticity estimates using the 2016 OECD data

Notes: Regression table for the 2016 OECD data. Clustered standard errors are shown in parenthesis. Country:tax represents the interaction effect between the country and log(0.0007 + ETR), ETR^2 and ETR for our three specifications (logarithmic, quadratic and linear). The intercept and country fixed effects are not shown and are generally negative and significant at the 0.1% significance level; since the treatment group is the US, this indicates the higher profitability of US MNCs.

to study due to its historically perceived distinct attitude towards tax planning (Izawa, 2019). However, the CBCR data reported by Japan only disaggregated in 12 jurisdictions, which prevents us from accurately estimating profit shifting by MNCs headquartered in Japan. We thus expect that even more comprehensive data should provide us with a more definitive international comparison in the future. The United States stands out among

ETR	Misalignment	Logarithmic	Quadratic	Linear
<1%	40.4%	48.3%	36.7%	35.6%
1-5	17.7%	21.6%	17.8%	16.2%
5-10%	25.2%	24.8%	21.9%	21.3%
10-15%	3.6%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%
15-25%	12.8%	5.3%	23.4%	26.9%
>25	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Table 4: Share of profit shifted into countries, grouped by the effective tax rates

Notes: Share of profit shifted into countries, grouped by the average foreign ETR in the country. The quadratic and linear models are not able to account for the large share of profits shifted into countries with ETRs below 1%. Since profit shifting is estimated at the bilateral level (reporting:partner) for the semi-elasticity methods, a country can (rarely) have an average ETR above 25% and an ETR below 25% for some of those reporting:partner relationships.

those headquarter countries that report data of sufficient quality, but also among those headquarter countries more aggressive at shifting profits to tax havens.

Next, we calculate the extent of profit shifting for all models and compare it with the two DLM specifications and with the misalignment model. We reach an estimate of \$965 billion shifted for the logarithmic model and a 95% confidence interval of \$889–1,174 billion for the misalignment model, of which we use the median, \$994 billion (Table A9 and Fig. 4). We compare the results obtained using both methodologies in Figure A12 in the Appendix. In general, there is a good correlation between the origin and the destination of profit shifted, albeit with some outliers (Japan, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Belgium), with Luxembourg and the United Kingdom previously discussed in section 4.1. Our total estimates are broadly comparable to or somewhat higher than existing estimates such as Tørsløv et al. (2020), who estimate profit shifting to be \$616 billion in 2015, albeit using a smaller sample of countries (a comparison of our and their estimates is in Fig. A22; they updated their estimates recently to be \$741 in 2017). Our findings imply that revenue losses total approximately \$200–300 billion. This is comparable with recent leading estimates of revenue losses which range from \$100 to \$600 billion, as reviewed by Cobham and Janský (2020). Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that some aspects of our methodological approach are conservative. For example, we aggregate at the country level and as such offset profits shifted in with profits shifted out. The estimated scale of profit shifting and tax revenue loss would be higher if we would not net gains and loses.

In addition to outlining the overall scale of the practice, Figure 4 provides an overview of the origins and destinations of profit shifting. Using both the logarithmic model and misalignment methods, we estimate that the Cayman Islands and the Netherlands have 94–99% and 45–65% of their respective booked profits shifted in from other countries,

while also ranking among countries most benefiting from profit shifting in absolute terms. The US and Japan are estimated to suffer the most from profit shifting in absolute terms according to most of the methods, while Germany and France are affected to a substantially greater degree relative to estimated profits (66–67% for both using the logarithmic model and 45% for Germany and 24% for France using the misalignment method). Table 5 shows the largest destinations of profit shifting. Table A6 and Figure A12 A9 in the Appendix show profit shifting at the country level for all countries (we present estimates for 192 countries in total), and we visualise the uncertainty of our results in Figure A18.

	ETR	Misalignment		Logarithmic			
Country	(%)	P (all groups)	PS (B)	PS (%)	P (groups>0)	PS (B)	PS (%)
Cayman Islands	0.4	148,968	147,879	99.27	136,653	128,895	94.32
Netherlands	4.9	212,366	140,896	66.35	166,854	75,624	45.32
China	16.3	1,000,565	94,385	9.43	1,746,828	50,073	2.87
Hong Kong	6.6	160,805	90,199	56.09	185,760	94,270	50.75
Bermuda	1.0	63,542	62,992	99.13	113,955	101,749	89.29
British Virgin Islands	0.1	60,895	60,895	100	81,794	78,354	95.79
Switzerland	7.3	129,518	51 <i>,</i> 611	39.85	127,879	61,244	47.89
Puerto Rico	1.0	44,639	42,565	95.35	72,012	63,336	87.95
Gibraltar	-0.0	29,815	29 <i>,</i> 815	100	77	62	81.35
Barbados	6.4	28,248	28,248	100			
Ireland	8.1	65,106	28,062	43.10	76,753	18,496	24.10
Jersey	0.7	28,179	27,777	98.57	29,266	28,508	97.41
Isle of Man	0.0	23,715	23,684	99.87	196	122	62.09
Singapore	6.2	111,477	22,850	20.50	129,768	63,969	49.30
Luxembourg	1.8	28,228	17,536	62.12	146,916	119,057	81.04
Other Europe					36,563	29,611	80.99
Other America					29,857	22,166	74.24
Total ETR<10%		1,135,501	775,009		1,267,883	833,686	

Table 5: Top destinations of profit shifting

Notes: The table shows the top destinations of profit shifting (PS (B)) for misalignment and logarithmic models and as a percentage of the total profits booked in the jurisdiction (PS (%)). All countries with at least \$20 bn shifted are included. The total profits for all groups ((P (all groups)) and groups with positive profits (P (groups>0) are shown for comparison. Note that the low profits in Gibraltar and Isle of Man in the column (P (groups>0) is due to the non inclusion of those jurisdictions in the data on sub-groups with positive profits. The full table can be found in Table A6.

4.3 Profit shifting and tax revenue loss by income groups

The analysis presented above compares different methodology approaches and establishes the largest origins and destinations of profits in absolute terms. In this section, we focus on

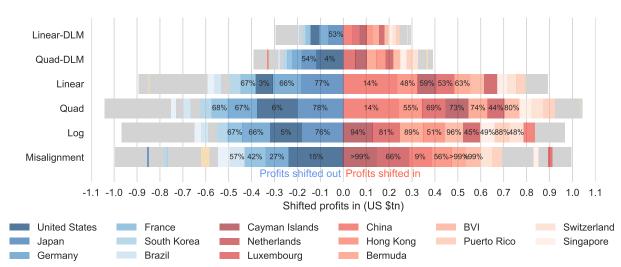


Figure 4: Profits shifted in and out of countries using the 2016 OECD data

Notes: Profits shifted in and out of countries using the 2016 OECD CBCR data, estimated with the misalignment, logarithmic (Log), quadratic (Quad), linear (Linear) and DLM (Linear-DLM, Quad-DLM) models. MNCs shift profits from countries with negative shifted profits to countries with positive shifted profits. The largest origins of the profits are visualised in blue, and the largest destinations in red. All other countries are visualised together in grey. The annotations indicate the percentage of profit shifted out of the country (compared to estimated profits) or into the country (compared to booked profits).

the distribution effects of profit shifting, and find that lower-income countries tend to lose more tax revenue relative to their total tax revenue.

We first focus on profit shifting. While countries from all income groups lose similarly relative to their GDP, profit shifting takes place predominantly to high-income countries (Figure A14). This is expected, since the majority of tax havens are included in this group. Although we present results for both the misalignment and the logarithmic model, we argue that the results of the misalignment model might be more accurate for two reasons. First, we use all available data in the misalignment model, imputing missing data. As previously mentioned, countries often do not report on small countries, but group them together into categories (e.g. "Other Africa"). For example, only South Africa and India report operations on Botswana (three and five MNCs respectively), while the remaining reporting countries group Botswana with other African countries. For the logarithmic model this leads to an underestimation of the losses of lower-income countries. For the misalignment model, we estimate the expected employees and revenue of all country pairs, and use this information to correct the amount of profit shifted more accurately (Section 2.4). While this only increases total profit shifted by 30%, it is key to estimating profit shifting in lower-income countries accurately. A second, closely related, reason in favour of the misalignment model is its observation that profits are less aligned with economic activity in lower-income countries (discussed in Section 4.1).

We continue by looking at tax revenue loss (the product of profits shifted and the ETR) as a function of the total tax revenue in each income group and region (Figure 5). In general, we find that lower-income-countries – those in Africa and Latin America—tend to lose more tax revenue relative to their total tax revenue. Countries with low and middle per capita incomes (Figure 5), are thus the largest profit-shifting losers. MNCs shift an equivalent of 5.03% (95% CI; 2.96–7.53) of their total tax revenue out of low-income countries, while receiving influxes equivalent to 0.28% (0.004–0.89). On the other hand, high-income countries lose an equivalent of 1.01% (0.57–1.35), while gaining 0.30% (0.12–0.76). The low gains for high-income countries contrast with the high flows of profits shifted in those countries (Figure A14). Furthermore, losses for lower-middle-income countries, while upper-middle-income countries exhibit only moderate loses (0.38–3.78).

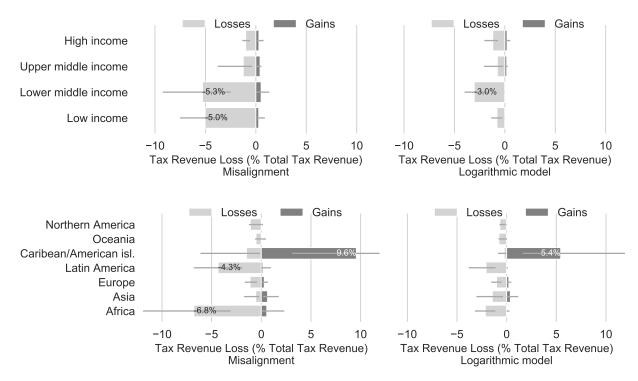


Figure 5: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of total tax revenue

Notes: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of total tax revenue for countries in different income groups (top row) and different geographical regions (bottom row), as estimated by the misalignment (left side of graph) and logarithmic (right side of graph) models. Confidence intervals show 95% intervals, calculated via bootstrapping.

When analysing each country separately (Figure A15), we once again find that lowerincome countries lose significantly more tax revenue than high- and upper-middle-income countries. Similar results are found for comparisons of tax revenue losses with corporate income tax revenue (Figure A16) and GDP (Figure A17). There are, however, differences within lower-income countries. In general, African countries tend to lose the higher share of their tax revenue to profit shifting (Figure A19). Overall, our analysis shows that only a small number of countries gain any tax revenue. Profit shifting is thus a phenomenon where the majority of countries lose, and especially so lower-income countries.

With this finding on lower-income countries we contribute to the ongoing discussion of which countries lose more to profit shifting. Few existing studies identify how countries in various income groups are distinctly affected by profit shifting, and the nature of these differences varies across the studies. On the one hand, the theoretical case for such countries' higher vulnerability is strong (Hearson, 2018), and several studies indicate that low- and lower-middle-income countries (which we label as lower-income countries) are more vulnerable to profit shifting by MNCs than countries at higher levels of income (Fuest et al., 2011; Johannesen et al., 2020). On the other hand, Janský and Palanský (2019) compare five sets of country-level estimates—Clausing (2016), Cobham and Janský (2018, 2019) and Tørsløv et al. (2020) and their own estimates—and four of the five do not suggest that lower-income countries are disproportionately affected by profit shifting. These five studies rely on data from a different number of countries (25, 102, 34, 37, 79), which are all small in comparison with our results for 192 countries.

4.4 Robustness checks and sensitivity analyses

We address the data and methodology limitations of this paper by testing the consistency of the main results to our methodological choices. In total, we carry out 12 robustness checks and sensitivity analyses. We briefly summarise them here.

i. We use a variety of methodological approaches, including models based on linear, quadratic and logarithmic semi-elasticities, as well as the misalignment method. The scale of profit shifting is similar for all models (between US\$0.9 and US\$1.04 trillion), and the origin and destination of profits is broadly comparable (Sections 4.1 and 4.2). ii. We test the robustness of the 25% ETR threshold in equation 5. Reducing the threshold to 20% would reduce our estimate of profit shifting by the logarithmic model by 5%. Increasing the threshold to 30% would increase the estimate of profit shifting by 6%. iii. We compare our results to those of Tørsløv et al. (2020), observing a high correlation with a much increased country sample (Figure A22). iv. We compare the tax revenue loss with other benchmarks, corporate tax revenue (Figure A16) and GDP (Figure A17). We find that lower-income countries lose comparatively the most in all specifications, as discussed above in section

4.3. These are the main sensitivity analyses of our methodology, and results that are not related to the data.

We test the consistency of the main results to other methodological choices in four additional ways: v. We compare our results, in which we limit the sample to those countries that report information on at least eight offshore centres with the full sample. The effects on the estimated coefficient are minimal, the coefficient of log(0.0007 + ETR) becomes -0.8475 (with standard deviation 0.1583), statistically indistinguishable from our estimated 0.8665 (with standard deviation 0.1642) reported in Table 3. vi. We analyse the sensitivity of our results to the offset in the logarithmic model, showing a robust estimation of the coefficients for a wide range of offsets (Figure A23). vii. We compare the logarithmic specification with other specifications that can accommodate extreme non-linearities, including $1/(\tau + ETR)^1$, $1/(\tau + ETR)^2$, $1/(\tau + ETR)^3$ and $coth(\tau + ETR)$). The logarithmic specification allows for higher non-linearities, and exhibits a higher R2 and lowest Bayesian Information Criteria (see Table A11 and Figs. A24 and A25). viii. We test a different redistribution formula. For this, we first regressed the share of profits booked in a country against the shares of employees, capital, sales and wages (Table A12). We then used the coefficients as our new redistribution formula, after normalising them to sum to one. Profit shifting is reduced by 7%, with a similar distribution of the origin and destination of profits (Figure A26).

Additional robustness checks and sensitivity analyses focus on the data itself and, in particular, on missing data imputation. In accordance with the design of the individual methods, this missing data imputation does not affect our preferred semi-elasticity methods of estimating the scale of profit shifting, but only influences the measures of misalignment and the subsequent redistribution of the shifted profit for all methods: ix. We estimate missing data using 1,000 bootstrapped data samples (Section A.1) to show the consistency of our results in relation to variations in data coverage. In the main results we use the median of the samples. The confidence intervals are included in Figure A18. x. We compare the location of employees and revenue according to our missing data model with the information in the original data as well as GDP, showing how our method addresses the limitations of these two alternatives (Figure A8). xi. We compare our missing data imputation method with other models, including with penalised linear regression (Appendix A.1.2), showing that our method has higher predictive power. xii. Finally, we run a robustness test in which the data of China was not adjusted. This decreases profit shifted by 9%, especially reducing profit shifted towards China.

These robustness checks and sensitivity analyses show how our results are robust to changes in the methodology.

5 Conclusion

Exploiting the combination of a new methodology and a new dataset, we establish that MNCs shifted US\$1 trillion of profits to tax havens in 2016. Our results show that existing linear and quadratic models underestimate profit shifting to countries with extremely low tax rates while simultaneously overestimating it for countries with moderate rates. However, the new logarithmic model as well as the misalignment model are able to capture this behaviour accurately. Using these two preferred models, we show that 40–48% and 83–95% of profit shifted is shifted to countries with an ETR below 1% and 10% respectively. Overall, our findings are consistent with the hypothesis that MNCs exploit the combination of globalisation and the sovereignty of individual countries, in particular tax havens, to avoid paying taxes at the expense of countries worldwide regardless of income level.

Our findings provide two key insights. First, the extremely non-linear relationship between the location of profits and tax rates has implications for both research and policy. In research, we show that accurately accounting for this relationship affects the estimated scale and distribution of profit shifting. In policy, this modelling choice can significantly influence the assessment of international tax reform, as may be the case with the global minimum tax rate proposal by OECD (2020), so-called Pillar Two. While this assessment assumes that profit shifting incentives decrease in linear fashion as the minimum ETR increases, we show in this paper that this linearity assumption is unlikely to hold. Our findings indicate that the specific value of the minimum ETR will determine whether MNCs will continue shifting a similar share of their profits to countries offering the minimum ETR, or, on the other hand, that the minimum ETR will eliminate any profit-shifting incentives.

Our second key insight is based on our finding that lower-income countries tend to lose more tax revenue relative to total tax revenue. This could nudge their governments into using confidential tax returns data for more detailed analyses—as South Africa recently did, thus learning that profit shifting is highly concentrated among a few large MNCs (Reynolds & Wier, 2018). In policy, our results indicate that the current international tax system may be hindering the achievement of one of the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: to strengthen domestic resource mobilisation (FACTI, 2021; UN, 2015). This supports the arguments of lower-income countries that they should be represented on an equal footing at reform discussions and that such reforms should be geared towards creating a level playing field in the corporate taxation of MNCs.

The findings presented in this paper open up additional avenues for future research. We see two such research directions as especially fruitful. The first is obtaining more accurate estimates as new CBCR data become available in the future. The next release by the OECD is expected in July 2021, likely with even more extensive country coverage. The guidelines to report intra-company dividends have been updated and the 2020 data will thus contain no double counting. The second research avenue is obtaining more accurate estimates of tax semi-elasticity using firm-level data. An increasing number of MNCs (e.g. Vodafone and Shell) are voluntarily publishing their own CBCR data, and more are likely to do so in the future, either of their own accord or due to government pressure. In case these firm-level data become available for a large number of MNCs, it would enable us to understand even more accurately the extent of profit shifting, as well as which MNCs are responsible for the bulk of profit shifting worldwide.

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A Appendix

A.1 Additional data corrections

A.1.1 Data limitations and corrections: imputing missing data

While the substantial country coverage, as well as the other advantages of CBCR data, open new avenues for research, several challenges associated with the new data source remain (we summarise them and the above-discussed advantages in Table A1). First, a certain extent of double counting in profit due to intercompany dividends is inevitable-MNCs are instructed not to double count intercompany dividends in revenue, but not instructed to do so explicitly in profit. Some countries (e.g. the Netherlands and Sweden) have published associated notes together with their data, showing that domestic operations of MNCs may be considerably affected by this. This potential double counting is one consequence of CBCR data being based on financial accounting rather than tax accounting, a limitation shared with most other data sources. However, the potential double counting is expected to have a limited effect – since we exclude income of stateless entities ¹, which might account for 38 per cent of the potential double counting for US MNCs (Horst & Curatolo, 2020); since using financial accounting has been found to underestimate profit shifting (Bilicka, 2019); and since the US CBCR data produces totals reassuringly consistent with other data sources Clausing (2020b) and Garcia-Bernardo et al. (2021). Moreover, there do not seem to be incentives for double counting profits in tax havens, since MNCs know that this data is used for assessing transfer pricing risk.

Second, while the availability of CBCR data constitutes a significant step forward, and partially corrects this issue, the data is still not complete and is not systematically disaggregated by jurisdiction. The CBCR regulation has been implemented by approximately 100 countries so far—only 26 of them agreed to share their data publicly in aggregated and anonymised form; moreover, some have chosen to aggregate data to a far greater extent than others (Table A5). Of the 137 jurisdictions included in the Inclusive Framework on BEPS, 58 jurisdictions agreed on collecting CBCR, 35 received data from 20+ MNCs, 26 jurisdictions shared a limited amount of data, and only 10 jurisdictions disaggregated the data on more than 60 countries, with the US and India (137 and 163 jurisdictions, respectively) leading the way (Table A3). In the remainder of this section, we deal empirically with three issues related to data completeness: the lack of completeness in the data of reporting

¹Stateless entities include not only entities whose stateless status results from a mismatch between the legislation of two jurisdictions (e.g. the case of Apple Sales International in Ireland), but includes also flow-through entity (tax-transparent entities). The latter are not considered separate legal entities from their owners, and whose profits are taxed at the level of the owner.

Table A1: Summary of selected advantages and disadvantages of CBCR data

Selected advantages

Includes data on large MNCs' profits and tax payments in around 100 jurisdictions for at least 5 headquarter countries.

Does not include double counting in revenue and limited in profit.

Enables to use data on large MNCs and those with positive profit only (the latter estimates ETRs more precisely).

Selected disadvantages

Might include some double counting in profit due to intercompany dividends or stateless entities (which we drop).

Includes a sample of large MNCs for 2016 for some countries in aggregated and anonymised form (which we address).

Notes: The table summarises some of the most important advantages and disadvantages of CBCR data from the point of view of using them to estimate profit shifting of multinational corporations worldwide.

countries; the varying combinations of countries in the aggregated country categories; and the lack of reporting by some countries. Other limitations of the CBCR data (e.g. revenue unavailable according to the location of the final customer) are discussed by the OECD, which published the data with an "Important disclaimer regarding the limitations of the country-by-country report statistics", and by Garcia-Bernardo et al. (2021) and Clausing (2020b).

The first limitation concerns the lack of completeness in the data of reporting countries. We address this limitation by comparing the number of companies in Orbis, a frequently used database covering over 300 million public and private firms worldwide, with the number of companies observed in CBCR (Table A5). Orbis has good coverage regarding the number and consolidated revenue of large MNCs (Garcia-Bernardo & Takes, 2018), but poor information at the subsidiary level (Bajgar et al., 2018; Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2021; Phillips et al., 2020). While the number of companies observed and expected are similar for most countries, we observe large differences in the case of some countries. We therefore multiplied all reported financial information by a ratio listed in Table A5 in case that ratio was above one, with the exception of two countries – the US and China. In the case of the US, we expected 1,501 companies according to Orbis. Instead, we find 1,101 companies in the 2016 data. This is due to a lack of completeness of 2016 data in the US (Garcia-Bernardo et al., 2021). US IRS data for 2017 indicates that we should observe approximately 1,575 companies—1,548 with profits in at least one jurisdiction. In order to correct for this disparity we use US data for 2017 (the US is the only country that has published data for 2017). In China, instead of the expected 583, only 82 companies reported satisfactory data to the OECD. However, those 82 companies reported US\$2.9 trillion of sales domestically, and US\$0.45 trillion abroad; for comparison, the numbers for the US in

2016 were US\$7.8 trillion domestically and US\$3.4 trillion abroad. This indicates that the data is not as erratic as it may appear. Lacking a better heuristic, we multiply the financial information for China by a conservative factor of two, and run robustness tests to assess the impact of our correction (Section 4.4).

The second limitation concerns the combination of countries in aggregated categories for example, Chile and the British Virgin Islands may be grouped together in "Other Americas". The aggregation criterion is different for different countries. While India and South Africa do not seem to aggregate data, the US aggregates countries with a low number of reporting MNCs. This is problematic, as aggregation affects particularly lower-income countries and low tax jurisdictions. For instance, only three countries report information on Zambia, and only two countries report on the Isle of Man. The other countries aggregate information on Zambia and the Isle of Man in larger categories such as Other Africa and Other Europe. If we decided to ignore this grouped data, we would be missing a significant part of the operations in those countries, leading to an underestimation of the extent of profit shifting. This is acknowledged by the Economic Analysis and Impact Assessment of the OECD OECD, 2020, who impute missing sales by extrapolating using a gravity model using data available in the CBCR, Orbis, and the OECD's Activity of Multinational Enterprises database, as well as foreign direct investment and GDP data.

We address these biases by modelling the location of employees and sales for each pair of countries using a Histogram-based Gradient Boosting Regression Tree, a type of gradient boosting based on decision trees that frequently outperforms other machine learning algorithms, while offering some interpretability on the most relevant features (Friedman, 2001; Ke et al., 2017). Specifically, we use the Python implementation in scikit-learn (Pedregosa et al., 2011). Another of its advantages is that it offers native support for missing values, and as such is able to use a large range of features without data imputation. We train the location of profits, employees, sales and tangible assets using variables from the gravity dataset of CEPII, imports and exports from UN Comtrade, and foreign direct investment from the World Bank, as well as from other sources detailed in Table E1 in Appendix A.1.2. We obtain a mean out-of-sample R-square of 0.59, 0.45, 0.47 and 0.39 respectively for employees, sales, profits and tangible assets.

We use the model to estimate the total number of employees, unrelated party sales and tangible assets for each pair of countries in the world. For reporting countries, we then adjust the estimated values so their sum corresponds to the aggregated sum in CBCR. We demonstrate our approach using the following model scenario: French MNCs have 10,000 employees in Other America, and Other America comprises Paraguay and Suriname—we can establish this by checking which countries are missing from the CBCR data of France.

If our model estimates 6,000 employees in Paraguay and 5,000 employees in Suriname, we multiply the employees of those countries by 10,000 and divide by 11,000. In the next step, we compare for each country the sums of those estimated values with the sums of the values observed in the CBCR data. We then use the lowest of the two ratios (estimated vs. reported employees and sales) to adjust the profits shifted in order to correct for the combination of small countries in aggregated groups. We cap this ratio at 10 – that is, if the model expects that the OECD data is less than 10 per cent complete, we consider it to be 10 per cent complete. While the estimation of missing economic activity increases total shifted profits by approximately 30 per cent, it is key with respect to accounting for missing data in countries underrepresented in the sample—typically lower-income countries. Without this step, we would redistribute too few profits to those countries. Figure A7 shows the available information on CBCR, displaying how data coverage is especially worrisome in the case of lower-income countries.

The third limitation concerns the lack of reporting by some countries, including Germany, Spain and the UK, which excludes MNCs headquartered in those countries from the sample—but we do have the operations in those countries of MNCs headquartered in reporting countries. This limitation is partially addressed in the previous step, where financial information for all pairs of countries is estimated, even for non-reporting countries. However, the information on domestic activities of MNCs is important, especially for large countries. This is addressed by estimating the number of domestic employees and revenue for all non-reporting countries. We do so by using a linear model based on the number of expected companies in each country, its GDP, population, the average ETRs and the total consolidated banking claims on an immediate counterparty basis (Table B4 of the BIS data) (R-square 0.97, 0.98 respectively for employees and sales; see also Figures A9 and A10).

Importantly, in the logarithmic model, we only use the fixes to the second and third limitations to redistribute profits back to the home countries, but not to calculate profit shifted. We do this since we do not have accurate estimates of ETR for MNCs of non-reporting countries. Instead, we divide the total profit shifted by the share of GDP of the countries of the sample (49%). This is a similar figure to the available economic activity estimated in the CBCR data using the fixes to the second and third limitation (45%). Using the GDP in the logarithmic model may be a conservative strategy, since we are assuming that the MNCs of non-reporting countries (the Cayman Islands, the British Virgin Islands and Ireland) are similar to those of reporting countries.

Finally, we assess our results' sensitivity to the estimation of missing information. To do so, we train the models 1,000 times using bootstrapped samples of the data (i.e. the gradient boosting ensemble to address the second limitation and the linear regression

to address the third limitation) and record the impact in our results. Since the sampling randomly removes information, samples without important dyads (e.g. USA-Netherlands, or China–Hong Kong) will be more affected. This thus offers a conservative strategy that allows us to partially understand how our results depend on methodological choices. In the end, we use median values as our preferred point estimates.

The difference between the observed and estimated location of employees and sales is visualised in Figure A8. In comparison with the observed location of the economy, the estimated location is more balanced, giving less weight to reporting countries, and affecting especially Asian and African countries—see the largest outliers in Figure A8. Our estimated location of the economy matches closely the share of GDP for richer countries, while departs for developing countries (Figure A8B). This is expected given the lower presence of large MNCs in developing countries.

A.1.2 Modelling missing employees and revenues

We train the location of profits, employees and sales using variables from the gravity dataset of CEPII, the World Bank data (WBD), the United Nations data (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the UN COMTRADE database (COMTRADE), Linkedin, the Tax Justice Network financial secrecy and corporate tax haven indexes (TJN), the Bank of International Settlements (BIS), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the Government Revenue Dataset (UNU-WIDER GRD). A complete list of variables can be found at the end of this Annex.

We used these variables to predict the location of employees and revenues. We tested several models, and Histogram-based Gradient Boosting Regression Tree—a type of gradient boosting based on decision trees which frequently outperforms other machine learning algorithms while offering some interpretability on the most relevant variables (Friedman, 2001; Ke et al., 2017)—was shown to perform the best. A sample of the prediction power of the algorithm is visualized in Figure A1, and a comparison with Lasso regression in Figure A2. Since Lasso does not have native support for missing values, these are imputed using the sklearn function IterativeImputer, which provides with an strategy for imputing missing values by modeling each variable as a function of other variables in a round-robin fashion.

Finally, we investigated which variables were more important in the estimation using permutation feature importance (Breiman, 2001). The permutation feature importance is defined as the decrease in the R-square of the model when the values of a variable are randomly shuffled. We permutated the values of the original data (i.e., not of the 1000 bootstrap samples) 100 times to get a confidence interval, which is visualized in Figure A3.

For the estimation of profits (ln_pi, not used in the paper), we find that outward FDI and Portfolio Investment are the most important variables. For the estimation of employees (ln_emp) and sales (ln_revt), outward FDI and Exports are the most important predictors. Importantly, we are not trying to rationalise the variables chosen by the algorithm, just to create an accurate model to impute missing values.

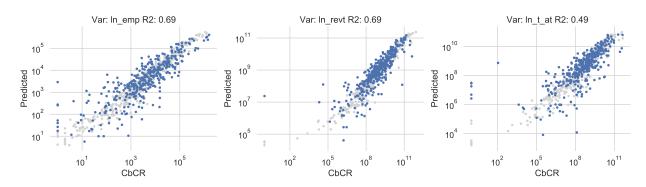
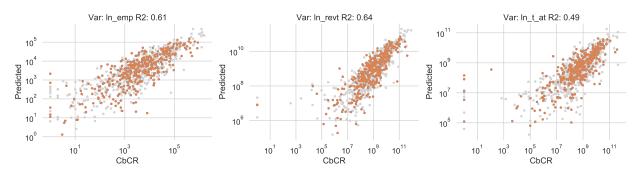
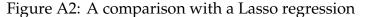


Figure A1: The prediction power of the algorithm, in-sample and out-of sample estimations

Notes: The boosting model was fit on 60% of the sample and tested in the other 40%. In-sample estimations are depicted in light grey, while out-of sample estimations of employees, unrelated party sales and tangible assets are visualised in blue. Note that this is one split of the data. The cross-validated r-squares are displayed in the main text. The parameters (learning_rate=0.2, l2_regularization=125 and min_samples_leaf=20) were set using cross-validation.





Notes: A penalised linear regression model was fit on 60% of the sample and tested in the other 40%. In-sample estimations are depicted in light grey, while out-of sample estimations of employees, unrelated party sales and tangible assets are visualised in blue. Note that this is one split of the data. The penalty parameter (alpha=0.5) was set using cross-validation.

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Figure A3: Permutation Importance of each variable for the prediction of profits and sales

Notes: Permutation Importance of each variable for the prediction of profits (ln_pi, not used in the paper), (ln_emp), and sales (ln_revt).

A.1.3 Modelling missing employees and revenues: A complete list of variables

	1	0
Variable	Description	Source
iso3	ISO-3 code	
revt, emp, pi, txc	Revenue, employees, profits and cash taxes	CBCR
D'1 / 1 T / 1 1		
Bilateral Variables		
ln_Import	Log of total imports from origin to destination	COMTRADE
ln_Export	Log of total exports from origin to destination	COMTRADE
ln_FDI_inward	Log of total FDI from orogin to destination	IMF CDIS
ln_FDDI_outward	Log of total FDI from destination to origin	IMF CDIS
ln_PortI_inward	Log of total portfolio investment from orogin to des- tination	IMF CPIS
ln_PortI_outward	Log of total portfolio investment from destination to origin	IMF CPIS
ln_dClaims	Log of total banking claims (derived from partners)	BIS Table A6.2
ln_dLiabilities	Log of total banking liabilities (derived from partners)	BIS Table A6.2
ln_distw	Ln of distance between countries	CEPII GravData
tdiff	Time zones difference (hours)	CEPII GravData
transition_legalchange	Dummy, 1 if common legal origin changed since	CEPII GravData
- 0 0	transition	
eu_to_acp	Dummy, EU/member exporting to an ACP country	CEPII GravData
	(a preferential trade agreement on imports)	
acp_to_eu	Dummy, ACP country exporting to an EU/member	CEPII GravData
	(a preferential trade agreement on imports)	
col45	Dummy, colonial relationship post 1945	CEPII GravData
col_fr	Dummy, origin of colonial relationship post 1945	CEPII GravData
col_to	Dummy, destination of colonial relationship post	CEPII GravData
	1945	
colony	Dummy, colonial relationship (ever)	CEPII GravData
comcol	Dummy, common colonizer post 1945	CEPII GravData
comcur	Dummy, common currency	CEPII GravData
comlang_ethno	Dummy, common language (>9% population)	CEPII GravData
comlang_off	Dummy, common official language	CEPII GravData
comleg_posttrans	Dummy, common legal origins after transition	CEPII GravData
comleg_pretrans	Dummy, common legal origins before transition	CEPII GravData
comrelig	Religious proximity index	CEPII GravData
contig	Dummy, contiguity	CEPII GravData
curcol	Dummy, current colonial relationship	CEPII GravData
cursib	Dummy, current sibling relationship (common col-	CEPII GravData
	onizer)	
	,	

Table A2: Variables used in the imputation of missing data

sibling	Dummy, ever sibling relationship (common colon-	CEPII GravData
	izer)	
fta_wto	Dummy, regional trade agreement (WTO)	CEPII GravData
gsp	Dummy if donator in Generalized System of Prefer-	CEPII GravData
	ences	
heg_o	Dummy, 1 if origin is current of former hegemon of	CEPII GravData
	destination	
heg_d	Dummy, 1 if destination is current of former hegemon	CEPII GravData
	of origin	
gsp_d_d	Dummy, 1 if origin is donator in Generalized System	CEPII GravData
	of Preferences	
gsp_o_d	Dummy, 1 if destination is donator in Generalized	CEPII GravData
	System of Preferences	

Unilateral variables: Included for the reporting and partner countries

GDP

GDP per capita

ln_gdp_d

ln_gdpcap_d

Legislative/historical/Geo	graphical	
entry_proc	Start-up procedures to register a business (Number)	CEPII GravData
entry_time	Time required to start a business (days)	CEPII GravData
entry_tp	Days+Procedures to start a business	CEPII GravData
gatt	GATT member	CEPII GravData
EU28	Dummy, country belonging go the EU-28	
OECD	Dummy, country belonging go the OECD	
Ukt	Dummy, UK-territory	
region_tjn	Region	TJN
ln_area	Log of area in sq. kms	CEPII GravData
ln_entry_cost	Log of cost of business start-up procedures (log of $\%$	CEPII GravData
	GNI per capita)	
english	Official language 1 in the CEPII GeoDist dataset	CEPII GeoDist
governance	First PCA component of the six dimensions of the	WBD
	Worldwide Governance Indicators project	
Socio-economic		
Nurses_per_1000	Nurses per 1000 inhabitants	WBD
Physicians_per_1000	Doctors per 1000 inhabitants	WBD
ln_Nurses	Log of number of nurses	WDD
ln_physician	Log of number of doctos	
1 2	0	
ln_pop	Population (source CEPII)	CEPII GravData
ln_population	Population (source WBD)	WBD
ln_POP_int	Population (manually completed)	WBD, UN, CIA
ln_GDP_int	GDP (manually completed)	WBD, UN, CIA

CEPII GravData

CEPII GravData

ln_gdppc_d ln_Health_expenditure_gdp ln_uhnwi	GDP per capita b Log of health expenditure (% of gdp) Log10 of the number of high net worth individuals (adults with wealth above 50 millions)	ln_GDP_int - ln_POP_int WBD Global Wealth Report 2018 by Credit Suisse
ratings	Trading Economic credit rating, composed from the credit ratings by Moody's, S&P, Fitch and DBRS	Feb. 2019 tradingeconom- ics.com
ln_n_companies_orb	Log of number of MNCs with a turnover higher than 750M in Orbis	Orbis
ln_GreenfieldFDI_inward	Total greenfield FDI into the country	UNCTAD
ln_GreenfieldFDI_outward	Total greenfield FDI out of the country	UNCTAD
ln_BIS	Log of total consolidated banking claims on an im- mediate counterparty basis	BIS (Table B4)
ln_ExternalDebtStocks	Log of External Debt Stock	WBD
In_consumption	Log10 of final consumption expenditure by house- holds and non-profit institutions serving households (constant 2010 USD)	Mean 2014-2018 NE.CON.PRVT.KD
ln_gfcf	Log10 of gross fixed capital formation (constant 2010 USD)	Mean 2014-2018 NE.GDI.FTOT.KD
ln_FDI_Inflows_WDI_d	Log of total FDI inflows	WBD
ln_imports_wbd	Log of total imports in the country	WBD
ln_ip_payments_wbd	Log of IP payments in the country	WBD
ln_ip_receipts_wbd	Lof of IP receipts in the country	WBD
ln_exports_wbd	Log of total exports in the ocuntry	WBD
ln_month_wage	Log of monthly wage	ILO
ln_govt_exp_educ_sgdp_wl	o Log of government expenditure in education (%GDP)	WBD
ln_who_gvt_health_expend	it log og public expenditure in health care	WHO
ln_cit_revenue	Log of government revenue from corporate income tax	UNU - WIDER GRD
ln_resource_revenue	Log of government revnue from resource taxes and fees	UNU - WIDER GRD
ln_resource_taxes	Log of government revnue from resource taxes	UNU - WIDER GRD
ln_resource_revenue_gdp	Log of government revnue from resource taxes and fees (% GDP)	UNU - WIDER GRD
ln_total_taxes_revenue	Log of total government revenue from taxes	UNU - WIDER GRD
Secrecy and tax		
Total FSI	Financial Secrecy Score	TJN
cit	Statutory Corporate Income tax rates	Mean 2014 - 2018, (Janský & Palanský, 2019)
cthi	Corporate Tax Haven Score	TJN
etr_real	Effective tax rate, capped at 0.6 and using CIT for missing and negative values.	CBCR weighted average

ln_cit	Log of cit	KPMG, EY, PwC		
ln_etr_real	Log of etr_real	CBCR weighted average		
tax_complex	Time to prepare and pay taxes (hours)	Mean 2014 - 2018,		
		IC.TAX.DURS (WBD)		
ln_accountant_d	Log of number of accountants	Linkedin (Garcia-		
		Bernardo and Stausholm,		
		Forthcoming)		
ln_all_tax	Log of number of all tax professionals	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_audience	Log of number of linkedin users	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_banker	Log of number of bankers	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_ceo	Log of number of CEOs	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_cfo	Log of number of CFOs	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_coo	Log of number of COOs	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_cxo	Log of number of Chief Executives	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_engineer	Log of number of engineers in country	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_finance	Log of number of finance workers	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_other_corporate	Log of number of corporate tax professionals	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_wealth	Log of number of wealth managers	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_transfer_pricing	Log of number of transfer pricing specialists	Linkedin (GB&S)		
ln_tax_compliance_audit	Log of number of tax compliance experts and auditors	Linkedin (GB&S)		

A.2 Supplementary Figures

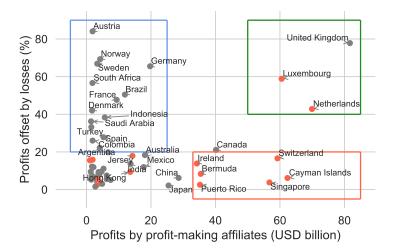
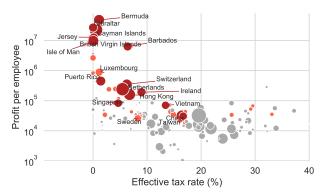


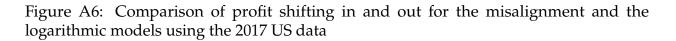
Figure A4: Loss-making affiliates as a profit shifting strategy

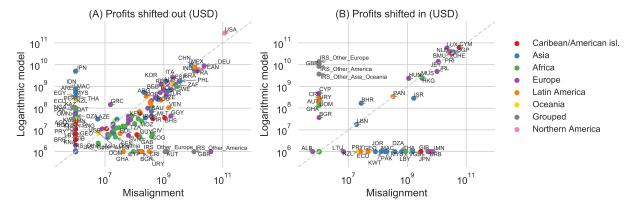
Notes: Loss-making affiliates as a profit shifting strategy, using 2017 US data. The total profits made by profit-making affiliates is plotted against the percentage of profits offset by losses. Three types of countries are highlighted with boxes in line with Reurink and Garcia-Bernardo (2020). In red are "profit centers", reporting very high profits not offset by losses. In green are "coordination centers" (or conduits), reporting very high profits offset by losses. In blue are origin countries, reporting profits offset by losses. Only countries reporting at least \$10 billion profits are reported, the USA (profits of US 1,310 and offset ratio of 10% is excluded). Countries in red exhibit profitabilities above \$100,000 per employee.

Figure A5: Profit per employee as a function of the ETR using the OECD data



Notes: Profit per employee as a function of the ETR using the OECD data. Colour indicates the ETR (below or above 10%). Note that the x axis is logarithmic, and as such the effect of effective tax rate on the profitability per employee, which is driven in a large part by profit shifting, is extremely non-linear. The x axis is cut at 40% to increase readability. Only eight countries are shown a tax rate above 40%.





Notes: Comparison of profits shifted out (A) and profits shifted in (B) for the misalignment and the logarithmic models for the 2017 US data. Each dot represents a country, coloured by region. Note that profit shifting out of African countries is higher in the misalignment model.

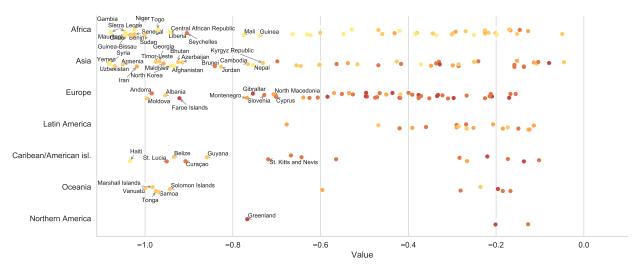


Figure A7: Available information on CBCR

Notes: Colour denotes increasing GDP per capita. Countries with availability below 20% are annotated. All countries with availability below 10% are placed to the left of the 10% horizontal line.

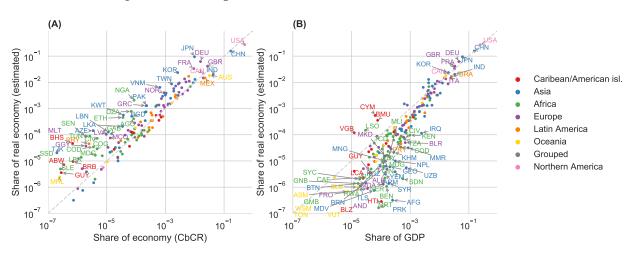
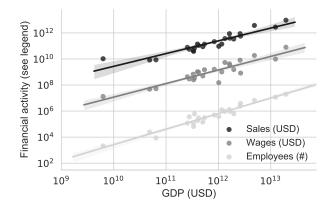


Figure A8: Comparison between the redistribution formula

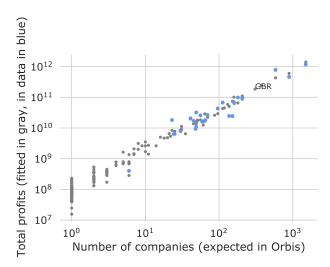
Notes: Comparison between the redistribution formula (eq. 8) (A) imputing missing data vs using raw data of firms with positive profits; and (B) imputing missing data vs using the share of GDP. Note that the estimated shares of the economy for African countries are higher than the shares of the economy for those countries in the raw data, but lower than the share of GDP of those countries.

Figure A9: Relationship between GDP and activity for countries in the 2016 OECD data



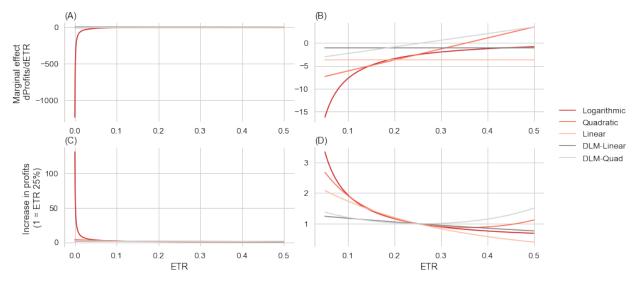
Notes: Relationship between GDP and domestic employees, sales and tangible assets for countries in the 2016 OECD data. Each dot corresponds to one country in the data.

Figure A10: Relationship between the number of large MNCs and the total profits reported domestically in the country



Notes: Relationship between the number of large MNCs (extracted from Orbis), and the total profits reported domestically in the country. Estimated values using a regression with GDP, population, the average ETRs and the total consolidated banking claims on an immediate counterparty basis (Table B4 of the BIS data) are visualised in grey. Empirical values are visualised in blue.

Figure A11: Graphical representation of Table 3 for the logarithmic, quadratic, linear and DLM models



Notes: Graphical representation of Table 3 for the logarithmic, quadratic, linear and DLM models. (A, B) Marginal effect of ETR on profits. (C,D) Relative increase in profits due to profit shifting, compared with a country with an ETR of 25%. Plots B and D are close-ups of plots A and C respectively, constraining ETRs between 5 and 50%. Note that the marginal effects for the logarithmic model decreases faster than other models as the ETR approaches 0%.

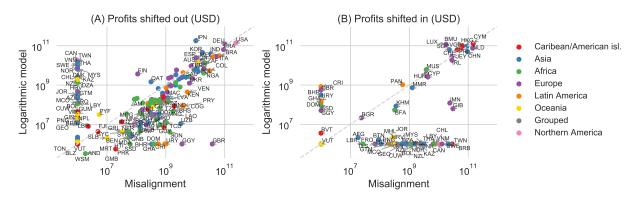
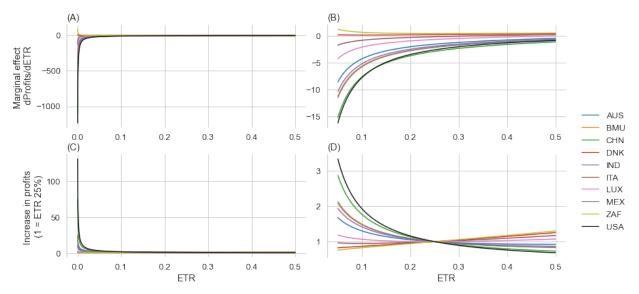


Figure A12: Comparison of the logarithmic and misalignment models

Notes: Comparison of the logarithmic and misalignment models. Note that Isle of Man, Barbados and Gibraltar only appear for US-headquartered MNCs for the dataset on all sub-groups, with results on a higher estimate for the misalignment model.

Figure A13: Graphical representation of Table 3 for the logarithmic model, at the country level



Notes: Graphical representation of Table 3 for the logarithmic model, at the country level. (A, B) Marginal effect of ETR on profits. (C,D) Relative increase in profits due to profit shifting, compared with a country with an ETR of 25%. Plots B and D are close-ups of plots A and C respectively, constraining ETRs between 5 and 50%.

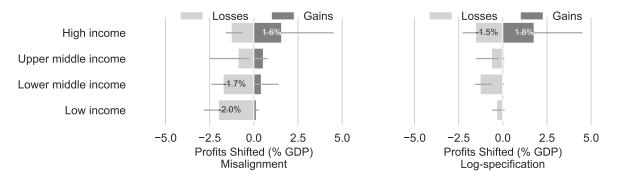
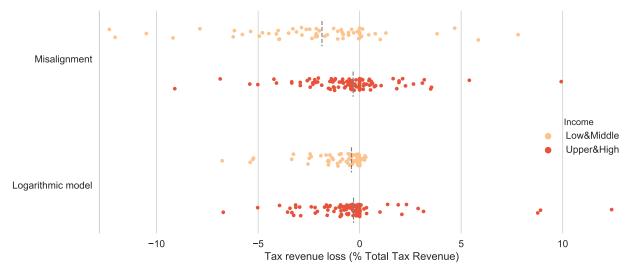


Figure A14: Profits shifted as a percentage of GDP

Notes: The figure shows the shifted profits as a percentage of GDP for countries in different income groups, as estimated by the misalignment (left graph) and logarithmic (right graph) models. Confidence intervals show 95% intervals, calculated via bootstrapping.

Figure A15: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of total tax revenue estimated with the misalignment and logarithmic models



Notes: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of total tax revenue estimated with the misalignment and logarithmic models. Each dot represents an individual country, and the median values are visualised with a dashed line. The data is split into low and lower-middle income countries (Low&Middle, light orange) upper middle and high income countries (Upper&High, darker red). The statistical differences between the median are assessed with a Mann-Whitney test. Only observations within a distance from the median of 5 interquartile ranges are shown.

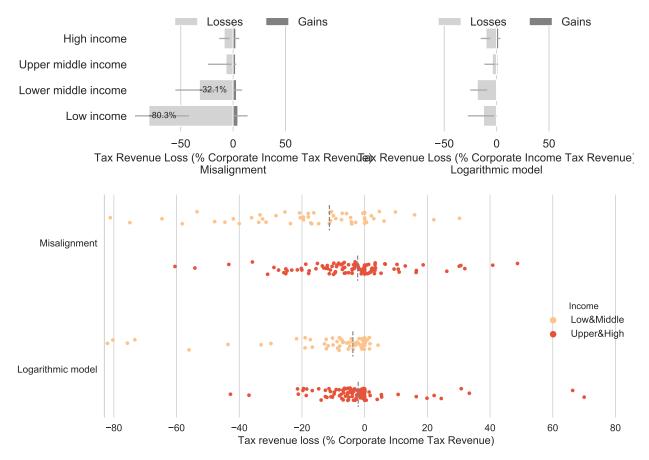


Figure A16: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of corporate income tax revenue

Notes: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of corporate income tax revenue. Only observations within a distance from the median of 5 interquartile ranges are shown.

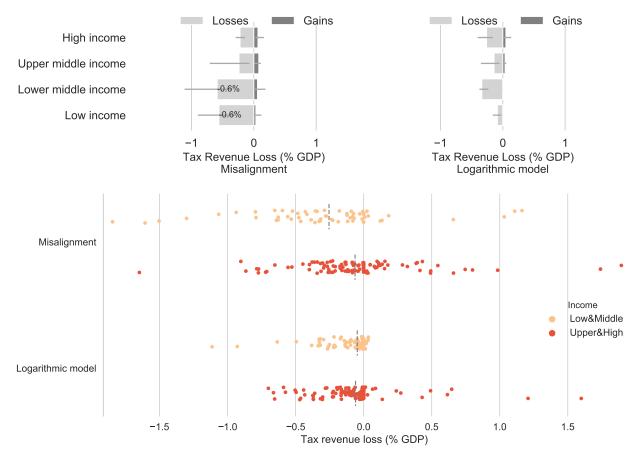
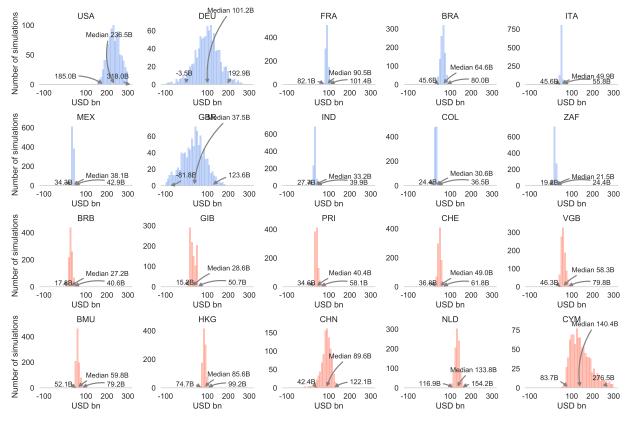


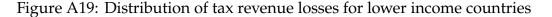
Figure A17: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of GDP

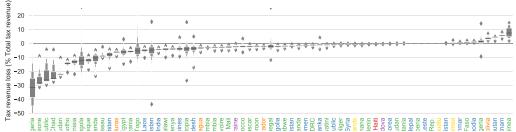
Notes: Tax revenue loss as a percentage of GDP. Only observations within a distance from the median of 5 interquartile ranges are shown.

Figure A18: Distribution of the scale of profit shifted estimated by the misalignment model at the country level



Notes: Distribution of the scale of profit shifted estimated by the misalignment model at the country level. The largest origins (top two rows, in blue) and destinations (bottom two rows, in red) are shown. The variance observed is created by the bootstrapping process detailed in Section A.1. Non reporting countries (Germany (DEU), the United Kingdom (GBR), Cayman Islands (CYM) have higher uncertainty than reporting countries such as France (FRA), Italy (ITA) or Bermuda (BMU). The 5% percentile, the median, and the 95% percentile are annotated.





Notes: Distribution of tax revenue losses for lower income countries, visualised with a boxen plot. Countries are colored by geographical region—green (Africa), blue (Asia), orange (South America), purple (Europe), yellow (Oceania), red (Caribbean Islands). A boxenplot is similar to a boxplot, but where the whiskers are replaced with smaller boxes. The central box visualises the interquartile range, leaving 25% of the data at each end. The smaller boxes increasingly leave smaller fractions of the data at each end (12.5%, 6.25%, etc). Outliers are represented with dots.

A.3 Supplementary tables

	IND	USA	ZAF	ITA	MEX	DNK	CHN	FRA	LUX
All sub-groups	163	137	127	103	102	96	90	83	80
Sub-groups with positive profits	134	84	87	77	73	93	53	32	79
	BMU	AUS	BEL	IDN	JPN	CHL	SGP	CAN	SVN
All sub-groups	72	56	40	33	29	14	12	8	5
Sub-groups with positive profits	57	39	32	26	12	11	22	3	5
	POL	AUT	NLD	NOR	R IRL	SWE	FIN	KOR	
All sub-groups	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Sub-groups with positive profits	0	1	1	1	l 1	1	1	1	

Table A3: Number of jurisdictions available per country using the 2016 OECD data

Notes: Number of jurisdictions available per country (aggregates excluded) using the 2016 OECD data. Jurisdictions with 1 observation only report on domestic activities of MNCs. IND (India), USA (United States), ZAF (South Africa), ITA (Italy), MEX (Mexico), DNK (Denmark), CHN (China), FRA (France), LUX (Luxembourg), BMU (Bermuda), AUS (Australia), BEL (Belgium), IDN (Indonesia), JPN (Japan), CHL (Chile), SGP (Singapore), CAN (Canada), SVN (Slovenia), POL (Poland), AUT (Austria), NLD (the Netherlands), NOR (Norway), IRL (Ireland), SWE (Sweden), FIN (Finland), KOR (South Korea).

Reporting	Partner	Firms profits>0	Profits US\$bn	Tax accrued US\$bn	Tax paid US\$bn	Employees Thousands	Revenue US\$bn	Assets US\$bn	ETR accrued	ETR cash
Australia	Domestic	94	69.8	13.9	10.0	949.9	365.2	340.7	19.9%	14.3%
	Foreign	758	26.5	3.1	2.7	335.3	124.2	92.9	11.6%	10.1%
Belgium	Domestic	43	18.7	1.0	0.8	146.0	88.4	90.8	5.4%	4.1%
	Foreign	52	82.2	7.1	8.5	499.3	167.5	101.2	8.7%	10.3%
Bermuda	Domestic	26	12.7	0.0	0.0	2.1	10.4	9.1	0.2%	0.1%
	Foreign	26	88.7	9.4	12.8	530.3	520.5	620.3	10.6%	14.5%
China	Domestic	77	391.8	65.5	77.9	11543.8	2785.2	5471.2	16.7%	19.9%
	Foreign	905	57.3	5.3	5.2	355.6	376.7	336.1	9.2%	9.1%
Denmark	Domestic	35	17.0	2.4	2.5	120.5	44.7	24.0	13.9%	14.5%
	Foreign	39	10.0	0.7	0.8	783.4	74.9	40.5	6.6%	7.7%
India	Domestic	146	74.8	18.4	22.2	3891.3	564.2	864.0	24.6%	29.7%
	Foreign		15.0	2.3	5.9	548.5	130.5	121.8	15.5%	39.6%
Italy	Domestic	104	48.3	6.6	7.4	630.5	340.7	209.1	13.6%	15.4%
	Foreign	130	44.9	5.7	6.4	612.8	263.0	148.2	12.6%	14.3%
Luxembourg	Domestic	52	8.2	0.1	0.1	8.8	8.6	18.4	1.4%	0.9%
	Foreign	119	34.3	2.4	2.8	1142.9	372.1	128.6	6.9%	8.1%
Mexico	Domestic	60	26.5	6.4	6.8	1228.6	139.3	100.6	23.9%	25.5%
	Foreign	334	9.8	2.3	2.3	340.9	114.2	79.0	23.1%	23.4%
United States	Domestic	1094	1310.5	257.9	209.6	19601.7	9426.7	4880.5	19.7%	16.0%
	Foreign	1548	873.6	102.5	100.5	10972.0	3338.4	1722.2	11.7%	11.5%
South Africa	Domestic	34	16.5	1.7	2.4	604.3	69.5	77.0	10.1%	14.6%
	Foreign	574	5.2	1.2	0.9	316.9	43.7	41.1	23.8%	18.1%

Table A4: Summary statistics for the 11 countries of the sample used in the log-model, for the 2016 OECD data containing "Sub-Groups with positive profits"

Notes: Summary statistics for the 11 countries of the sample used in the log-model, for the 2016 OECD data containing "Sub-Groups with positive profits". The aggregated number of firms ("Firms profits>0"), profits, tax accrued, tax paid, number of employees, unrelated-party revenue, tangible assets and ETRs (accrued and cash-based) are shown for domestic activities (financial reporting of MNCs in the reporting (i.e. headquarter) countries) and foreign activities (financial reporting in all other countries). Since we are using sub-groups with positive profits, the number of firms included in the domestic section can be lower than the number of firms reporting on foreign operations.

Table A6: Countries acting as profit destination, estimated by the misalignment model

Country	Profits Shifted	Profits booked	TRG (M)	PS (%GDP	PS)(%Prof	TRG it ≰ %	TRG (%	TRG (%healt	TRG :h(%edu-
	(M)	(M)		booked) tax			corp.		ca-
						rev-	tax		tion)
						enue)	rev-		
							enue)		
Cayman Is-	147,879	148,968	592	3039.55	99.27	56.86	482.43	165.44	276.75
lands									
Netherlands	140,896	212,366	6,904	16.33	66.35	3.54	30.68	11.65	14.69
China	94,385	1,000,565	15,385	0.76	9.43	0.63	3.31	4.53	6.61

Hong Kong	90,199	160,805	5,953	28.69	56.09	13.42	31.96	25.77	55.20
Bermuda	62,992	63,542	630	1059.50	99.13	49.55	420.41	144.17	641.01
British Vir-	60,895	60,895	61	6361.74	100.00	30.01	254.62	87.31	171.26
gin Islands									
Switzerland	51,611	129,518	3,768	7.47	39.85	2.65	18.68	15.21	10.80
Puerto Rico	42,565	44,639	426	41.37	95.35	1.93	16.41	5.63	6.59
Gibraltar	29,815	29,815	0	1413.50	100.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Barbados	28,248	28,248	1,836	580.41	100.00	148.56	1486.94	1096.91	716.27
Ireland	28,062	65,106	2,273	9.21	43.10	3.50	30.16	11.47	15.27
Jersey	27,777	28,179	194		98.57				
Isle of Man	23,684	23,715	0	350.10	99.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Singapore	22,850	111,477	1,417	6.96	20.50	3.18	11.01	25.13	14.46
Taiwan	21,367	72,656	3,932	3.59	29.41	3.09	26.20	8.99	15.03
Vietnam	20,875	59,312	2,505	9.25	35.20	5.84	30.23	43.03	22.63
Luxembourg	17,536	28,228	316	27.39	62.12	1.83	10.31	10.12	12.27
Sweden	12,796	54,232	973	2.34	23.60	0.53	6.43	1.94	2.38
Canada	9,651	147,347	820	0.56	6.55	0.18	1.44	0.62	0.90
Chile	7,576	35,316	1,038	2.81	21.45	2.26	9.39	10.17	8.00
Libya	7,117	7,769	1,423	15.08	91.61	202.63	90.84	78.76	161.48
Denmark	6,483	34,730	960	1.93	18.67	0.62	10.71	3.33	3.58
Cyprus	4,243	6,119	93	17.90	69.34	1.65	6.58	13.32	6.15
Hungary	3,799	18,505	122	2.68	20.53	0.34	5.23	1.78	1.91
Mauritius	3,745	4,643	131	28.14	80.65	5.40	40.86	44.62	22.48
Malaysia	3,132	34,434	504	0.95	9.10	1.06	2.23	7.89	2.98
Thailand	2,978	51,083	477	0.62	5.83	0.57	2.06	3.59	2.20
Norway	2,455	34,035	601	0.56	7.21	0.46	1.86	1.67	1.83
Kazakhstan	2,347	13,840	207	1.27	16.96	0.48	3.35	5.73	3.93
New Zeal-	1,652	13,008	302	0.86	12.70	0.49	3.44	2.17	2.35
and									
Curaçao	1,545	1,727	404	49.44	89.46	60.46	512.91	175.89	262.14
Iraq	1,544	2,716	232	0.73	56.84	0.58	3.30	9.07	5.87
Bolivia	1,385	2,603	427	3.78	53.23	3.81	22.07	30.66	40.88
Myanmar	1,258	1,914	24	1.77	65.74	0.45	2.92	5.03	2.05
Algeria	1,111	8,080	329	0.62	13.75	1.29	15.91	4.20	6.46
Azerbaijan	1,100	2,863	52	2.08	38.43	0.72	2.43	8.84	3.81
Jordan	777	2,531	129	1.94	30.71	2.12	12.96	7.24	8.79
Croatia	744	3,855	28	1.30	19.29	0.21	2.36	0.82	1.10
Panama	592	4,522	43	1.09	13.08	0.79	3.11	1.82	2.48

Georgia	558	861	84	3.28	64.79	1.94	16.51	21.33	15.97
Guinea	405	785	116	3.60	51.66	7.80	265.25	184.53	42.98
Cambodia	353	1,024	30	1.57	34.48	1.01	6.19	10.01	7.34
Monaco	353	1,241	2	5.33	28.42	0.15	1.27	1.95	2.24
Burkina	318	857	18	2.18	37.05	0.77	4.69	6.19	2.49
Faso									
Papua New	284	1,758	6	1.22	16.17	0.14	2.11	1.37	1.24
Guinea									
Marshall Is-	278	293	0	139.51	94.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lands									
Maldives	261	296	84	5.42	88.15	9.93	48.75	32.77	45.46
Guatemala	209	2,073	15	0.30	10.06	0.20	0.65	1.00	0.74
Timor-	110	169	0	7.07	65.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Leste									
Bhutan	91	169	15	4.04	53.51	4.68	9.81	26.48	10.50
Faroe	69	116	1	2.58	59.66	0.11	0.92	0.32	0.53
Islands									
Liberia	27	135	0	0.87	19.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bulgaria	24	2,763	0	0.04	0.85	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Afghanistan	18	35	1	0.09	52.04	0.09	0.61	1.54	0.21
Vanuatu	1	2	0	0.12	42.80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: Countries acting as profit destination, estimated by the misalignment model. Profits booked reflect all sub-groups. PS stands for profit shifted, TRG stands for tax revenue gain. We compare PS with the country's GDP. We compare the TRG with the total tax revenue, the corporate tax revenue, and the public health and education expenditures.

Country	# Expected	#	Ob-	Ratio	Country	# Expected	#	Ob-	Ratio
-	(Orbis)	served	served		-	(Orbis)	serve	served	
		(CBCI	R)				(CBCR)		
China	583	82		7.11	AUS	111	110		1.01
Denmark	69	39		1.77	US (2017)	1501	1548		0.97
Bermuda	60	39		1.54	India	158	165		0.96
Singapore	48	32		1.50	Norway	55	60		0.92
US (2016)	1,501	1,101		1.36	Chile	29	32		0.91
South Africa	58	44		1.32	Finland	48	54		0.89
Japan	891	715		1.25	Netherlands	136	155		0.88
Italy	151	130		1.16	Australia	64	73		0.88
Indonesia	22	19		1.16	Belgium	45	54		0.83
France	206	180		1.14	Poland	24	29		0.83
Canada	179	160		1.12	Slovenia	5	7		0.71
Korea	205	185		1.11	Mexico	40	74		0.54
Sweden	95	88		1.08	Luxembourg	30	120		0.25
Ireland	47	45		1.04					

Table A5: Expected number of large MNCs headquartered in the country and observed in the 2016 OECD CBCR data

Notes: Expected number of large MNCs headquartered in the country (according to Orbis), number of companies observed in the 2016 OECD CBCR data (using all sub-groups), and the ratio between the two.

Table A7: Countries	acting as profit	t origins, estin	nated by the n	nisalignment model

Country	Profits	Profits	Tax Rev-	PS	PS	TRL	TRL	TRL	TRL
	Shifted	booked	enue Loss	(%GDP)	(%Po-	(% tax	(%	(%healt	h)(%edu-
	(M)	(M)	(M)		tential	rev-	corp.		ca-
					base)	enue)	tax		tion)
							rev-		
							enue)		
United States	238,046	1,370,399	44,753	1.28	14.80	1.24	11.91	2.91	4.87
Germany	101,907	280,369	20,585	2.75	26.66	2.43	30.95	6.61	11.42
France	91,048	123,454	17,572	3.38	42.45	2.31	27.45	7.48	14.85
Brazil	65,036	48,840	15,609	3.22	57.11	3.34	25.16	21.00	13.06
Italy	50,226	48,520	8,137	2.46	50.86	1.32	17.86	5.91	9.80
Mexico	38,330	55,304	9,659	3.12	40.94	6.87	28.94	26.28	15.56
United King-	37,776	240,111	3,815	1.35	13.59	0.52	5.14	1.80	2.43
dom									
India	33,371	96,561	8,243	1.32	25.68	4.47	28.29	35.70	8.53
Colombia	30,791	-11,319	12,347	9.33	158.13	19.08	112.66	75.28	82.34
South Africa	21,642	20,606	2,554	6.10	51.23	2.58	13.07	16.85	11.86
Poland	19,654	18,977	2,024	3.68	50.88	1.87	20.04	8.51	7.85
Nigeria	19,279	7,048	10,488	4.28	73.23	31.82	205.02	458.10	81.74

Russia	18,396	49,430	3,679	1.05	27.12	0.85	6.37	6.76	5.48
South Korea	17,517	116,355	3,416	1.17	13.09	1.22	6.47	5.77	4.96
Indonesia	17,331	45,788	3,709	1.69	27.46	3.34	9.42	32.72	10.74
Saudi Arabia	12,494	10,963	2,136	1.72	53.26	16.99	54.15	8.78	6.69
Australia	12,054	107,435	2,447	0.86	10.09	0.63	3.65	2.84	3.37
Turkey	11,486	19,945	2,113	1.42	36.54	1.45	15.53	7.61	13.95
Spain	10,569	92,787	1,131	0.78	10.23	0.39	3.87	1.30	1.91
Japan	10,450	528,834	2,100	0.20	1.94	0.23	1.07	0.45	1.17
Philippines	9,437	14,021	1,793	2.80	40.23	3.97	14.69	42.59	18.69
Argentina	8,926	19,698	2,660	1.77	31.18	2.21	17.70	8.51	9.66
Romania	7,947	6,300	890	3.57	55.78	2.16	18.78	10.34	13.12
Belgium	7,217	46,717	671	1.41	13.38	0.43	4.00	1.64	2.00
Egypt	6,401	4,851	2,330	2.19	56.88	6.17	19.54	51.47	27.94
Ukraine	6,349	1,510	863	4.39	80.78	2.46	19.49	18.50	10.00
Venezuela	5,357	-267	386	1.81	105.25	0.84	13.49	7.01	6.97
Pakistan	4,813	5,508	1,304	1.79	46.63	4.79	41.89	65.63	18.98
Peru	3,852	51,292	948	1.81	6.99	2.92	9.84	15.57	12.75
Iran	3,845	3,070	0	0.84	55.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Paraguay	3,836	-2,866	326	10.18	395.47	9.11	43.33	29.34	24.04
Guernsey	3,526	-3,303	46		1584.88				
Portugal	3,501	8,646	718	1.55	28.82	1.29	10.40	5.23	6.26
Uzbekistan	3,224	-3,191	242	5.15	9683.95	1.99	33.38	13.17	6.42
Angola	3,030	2,824	3,776	2.82	51.76	12.33	303.68	245.49	123.36
United Arab	2,768	21,799	877	0.71	11.27	1.39	8.96	8.94	5.14
Emirates									
Austria	2,301	26,144	175	0.54	8.09	0.15	1.88	0.55	0.75
Israel	2,192	16,370	353	0.67	11.81	0.42	3.51	2.40	1.88
Morocco	2,148	2,962	588	1.91	42.04	2.35	11.25	22.83	18.39
Bangladesh	2,109	2,740	711	0.86	43.49	3.50	17.20	62.53	14.09
Bahamas	1,940	-1,690	0	16.70	776.70	0.00		0.00	0.00
Congo, Rep.	1,733	-1,376	0	15.30	485.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Greece	1,526	7,496	262	0.68	16.91	0.46	7.58	2.27	2.66
Slovakia	1,506	5,640	264	1.53	21.07	1.53	8.81	4.89	6.50
Ethiopia	1,451	1,401	373	1.85	50.88	3.95	122.37	55.44	9.57
Sudan	1,353	-1,327	473	3.72	5165.89	22.29	334.23	88.91	48.11
Kuwait	1,321	2,668	42	0.93	33.12	2.93	1.18	1.01	0.68
Czechia	1,249	18,366	76	0.57	6.37	0.18	1.00	0.58	0.75
Kenya	1,175	-177	510	1.48	117.71	4.01	18.00	32.47	11.97
Macao	1,156	8,560	126	2.36	11.90	0.80	21.47	3.49	9.53
Mozambique	1,156	-438	374	7.68	160.94	12.04	639.17	174.57	41.03
Serbia	1,108	1,531	78	2.29	41.99	0.71	9.93	3.02	4.10
Chad	1,054	-794	395	9.15	405.96	25.35	881.35	360.41	142.87
Ecuador	1,023	3,549	727	1.00	22.38	5.02	60.50	16.85	14.45
					-		-	-	-

Uruguay	1,005	1,721	45	1.82	36.85	0.42	3.20	1.37	1.76
Honduras	980	349	243	4.29	73.76	6.23	32.55	32.18	16.73
Lithuania	947	564	162	1.99	62.68	2.03	25.15	8.01	7.51
Costa Rica	918	2,682	173	1.61	25.50	2.30	11.82	5.40	4.36
Guyana	875	-778	333	23.37	907.62	41.64	268.17	357.03	173.05
Trinidad and	832	1,490	224	3.36	35.83	4.22	35.82	31.11	20.55
Tobago									
Latvia	817	206	34	2.67	79.84	0.55	7.10	3.33	1.99
Slovenia	799	1,887	80	1.62	29.73	0.74	10.95	2.65	3.06
Iceland	798	322	33	3.98	71.23	0.48	7.00	2.46	2.20
Lesotho	777	87	128	31.64	89.94	14.34	194.94	97.93	74.94
Sri Lanka	773	1,031	100	0.95	42.86	1.08	9.99	7.55	5.64
Cote d'Ivoire	718	777	229	1.45	48.02	2.84	40.01	43.66	9.78
Gabon	658	78	128	3.98	89.44	4.10	23.26	46.03	26.41
Sierra Leone	636	-420	119	15.92	294.95	28.63	278.40	223.72	81.99
Estonia	626	666	1	2.35	48.43	0.02	0.29	0.10	0.09
Congo DRC	622	-174	49	1.50	138.83	1.28	9.22	23.26	6.01
Laos	590	-154	104	3.71	135.33	4.94	33.78	96.90	26.93
Tanzania	589	176	348	1.07	77.02	5.78	44.59	47.32	16.40
Dominican	558	1,627	96	0.70	25.56	0.91	6.07	4.49	6.47
Republic									
Oman	553	2,026	45	0.74	21.43	2.47	5.12	2.05	1.23
Mongolia	552	-340	55	4.29	260.33	2.09	16.21	18.10	9.13
Rwanda	463	-265	139	5.01	233.64	10.51	64.65	67.13	37.42
Tunisia	435	517	1,150	1.06	45.74	13.18	74.90	71.03	43.41
El Salvador	417	605	90	1.67	40.82	2.14	11.04	7.48	9.45
North Mace-	403	7	40	3.42	98.19	2.07	25.77	8.29	18.31
donia									
Uganda	400	406	60	1.24	49.62	1.72	47.85	16.35	7.25
Mali	392	101	56	2.48	79.48	2.63	91.16	40.25	10.00
Ghana	383	1,096	55	0.64	25.91	0.81	4.10	5.46	1.75
Zambia	368	516	100	1.53	41.63	2.86	36.06	25.98	9.95
Montenegro	344	84	13	6.84	80.36	1.05	20.20	9.02	14.28
New Caledo-	339	-43	0	3.51	114.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
nia									
Malta	331	353	18	2.78	48.38	0.58	2.52	2.66	2.21
Bahrain	328	1,252	0	0.97	20.77	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Senegal	326	302	69	1.51	51.93	2.11	23.67	28.76	6.26
Lebanon	320	746	0	0.63	30.01	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.03
Qatar	313	8,093	-2	0.17	3.73	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.03
Cameroon	303	216	100	0.84	58.37	2.14	10.61	40.05	9.85
Tajikistan	296	-50	127	3.75	120.40	7.87	412.58	86.28	36.56
Togo	265	320	46	5.36	45.31	5.37	53.44	69.10	19.31
0-				0.00	10.01	0.07		07.10	17.01

Brunei	254	-26	47	1.69	111.67	1.47	12.43	15.86	8.96
Belarus	251	926	54	0.40	21.35	0.35	2.96	2.36	1.77
Jamaica	246	104	45	1.59	70.19	1.20	11.28	8.69	5.01
Nicaragua	244	365	68	1.99	40.13	3.29	inf	12.79	13.46
Albania	216	23	34	1.54	90.20	1.31	15.07	5.64	7.14
Zimbabwe	163	394	70	0.79	29.24	1.99	16.90	12.45	6.02
Bosnia and	158	401	16	0.83	28.20	0.37	6.51	1.27	4.44
Herzegovina									
Madagascar	154	280	30	1.17	35.48	2.17	58.19	10.58	8.18
Kyrgyz Re-	139	37	14	1.79	78.79	0.90	7.15	5.64	2.77
public									
Armenia	138	23	28	1.12	85.98	1.25	9.31	14.54	8.19
Malawi	136	330	44	1.95	29.25	4.10	20.51	28.14	13.11
Central	131	-16	39	6.15	114.26	26.41	163.81	244.16	166.53
African									
Republic									
Yemen	130	72	30	0.43	64.32	1.59	25.44	10.94	3.66
Finland	111	18,665	9	0.04	0.59	0.01	0.14	0.05	0.05
Botswana	105	756	11	0.61	12.21	0.27	1.98	1.67	3.52
Namibia	86	687	17	0.70	11.10	0.43	3.05	3.40	4.37
Greenland	85	90	5	3.03	48.53	0.81	6.85	2.35	3.93
Guinea-	70	0	10	5.65	99.99	9.19	203.20	129.85	39.62
Bissau									
Syria	69	0	17	0.33	99.68	0.82	20.75	5.18	2.99
Moldova	65	1	8	0.62	98.29	0.39	4.23	1.84	1.20
South Sudan	61	225	1	0.66	21.31	0.11	2.86	1.35	0.87
Seychelles	58	74	23	4.10	43.94	5.41	24.75	48.06	44.97
Benin	54	0	11	0.41	99.25	0.55	5.78	8.34	1.79
Niger	48	63	14	0.41	43.21	0.86	31.47	7.05	2.53
Eswatini	46	120	12	1.02	27.56	1.07	10.91	8.50	3.91
Fiji	33	168	4	0.65	16.52	0.29	2.24	3.29	1.78
Aruba	32	149	6	1.11	17.60	1.00	8.28	2.84	3.27
Haiti	20	-6	6	0.23	138.64	0.54	17.97	8.15	2.48
North Korea	17	-16	6	0.09	1395.95	0.29	7.38	2.70	1.06
Gambia	16	-15	5	1.02	1629.27	3.11	81.15	33.62	11.85
Solomon Is-	10	44	3	0.78	18.78	0.82	4.48	6.81	8.26
lands									
French Poly-	5	161	0	0.10	3.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
nesia									
St. Lucia	5	807	1	0.25	0.61	0.37	3.99	3.46	1.77
St. Kitts and	2	390	1	0.25	0.59	0.43	4.00	3.89	3.11
Nevis									
Mauritania	2	7	0	0.03	20.90	0.05	0.56	0.44	0.23

Andorra	2	0	0	0.05	101.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Tonga	0	1	0	0.08	30.46	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Belize	0	0	0	0.00	109.88	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: Countries acting as profit origins, estimated by the misalignment model. Profits booked reflect all sub-groups. PS stands for profit shifted, TRL stands for tax revenue loss. We compare PS with the country's GDP. We compare the TRL with the total tax revenue, the corporate tax revenue, and the public health and education expenditures.

Country	Profits (+)	Profits	ETRa	ETRc	ETRa	ETRc	Number		ETRc	N. re-
		(all	(wmear	n) (wmea	, ,	(me-	of re-	for	for	port-
		groups)			dian)	dian)	port- ers	(wmeai	n) (wmeai	n) ers
India	90,546	82,790	24.7	29.7	25.5	29.3	14	25.0	30.0	163
United States	1,082,724	949,320	18.8	17.8	19.0	19.3	17	18.3	22.0	137
South Africa	19,438	15,169	11.8	15.8	20.7	22.7	14	21.0	22.5	127
Italy	60,549	30,237	16.2	18.5	29.8	31.6	15	26.3	31.0	103
Mexico	45,370	38,807	25.2	27.0	28.7	30.0	16	26.9	29.1	102
Denmark	19,295	16,700	14.8	15.6	13.6	11.2	11	21.6	24.0	96
China	494,930	490,202	16.3	19.0	16.5	22.0	17	14.8	15.5	90
France	107,634	94,925	19.3	16.8	23.3	24.1	14	19.9	19.2	83
Luxembourg	35,695	-32,253	1.8	1.4	2.6	2.7	13	1.9	1.5	80
Bermuda	46,813	36,426	1.0	1.0	0.1	0.1	10	1.3	1.3	72
Australia	88,363	77,064	20.3	16.1	21.8	18.4	16	21.9	22.9	56
Belgium	29,364	31,409	9.3	8.6	15.4	18.2	14	16.1	16.5	40
Indonesia	23,968	31,940	21.4	21.2	20.7	22.7	14	22.7	24.0	33
Japan	416,711	400,686	20.1	23.2	25.4	22.7	15	22.5	23.1	29
Singapore	36,591	49,695	6.2	6.2	5.8	6.4	16	6.2	6.2	23
Chile	19,980	19,180	13.7	12.1	9.8	12.9	13	13.5	11.4	14
Canada	131,584	108,573	8.5	9.0	17.3	17.5	16	15.5	18.5	9
Slovenia	612	606	10.0	10.0	17.0	10.7	7	8.8	8.7	5
Poland	5,469	10,326	10.3	11.2	14.5	16.3	13	10.3	11.2	4
Ireland	64,742	45,786	8.1	7.8	4.9	4.2	14	10.1	9.4	1
Netherlands	141,954	124,295	4.9	5.4	5.0	5.5	17	3.5	3.9	1
Norway	31,309	28,112	24.5	22.6	23.2	29.1	13	44.8	51.9	1
South Korea	103,079	97,487	19.5	19.8	21.5	19.6	15	17.9	25.1	1
Sweden	47,504	44,738	7.6	12.8	8.6	14.6	14	10.7	52.9	1
Austria	22,257	20,858	7.6	5.8	13.5	12.2	15	22.2	14.8	1
Finland	15,020	13,439	7.8	9.1	15.0	12.7	12	10.3	16.2	1
Nepal	130	130	30.6	30.5	30.6	30.5	1	30.6	30.5	0
Oman	149	-178	8.2	-2.0	2.7	-2.6	7	8.2	-2.0	0
Pakistan	174	589	27.1	55.0	12.6	52.0	5	27.1	55.0	0
Nicaragua	188	170	28.0	28.8	25.9	27.7	4	28.0	28.8	0
Panama	1,551	1,086	7.2	7.6	1.3	3.4	10	7.2	7.6	0
Nigeria	1,500	-909	54.4	57.8	16.8	14.1	9	54.4	57.8	0
Peru	18,456	16,707	24.6	31.4	21.8	22.4	12	24.6	31.4	0
Philippines	2,775	2,643	19.0	19.4	12.8	16.6	13	19.0	19.4	0
Niger	14	4	1.7	3.4	1.7	3.4	2	1.7	3.4	0
Papua New	298	508	2.0	5.5	1.9	5.9	7	2.0	5.5	0
Guinea										

Table A8: Profits and effective tax rates

New Caledonia	0	-24					1			0
New Zealand	4,378	4,701	18.3	20.1	24.3	24.9	12	18.3	20.1	0
Mauritius	1,216	1,991	3.5	3.6	3.2	3.1	10	3.5	3.6	0
Namibia	318	338	19.4	20.3	9.3	-0.6	6	19.4	20.3	0
North Macedo-	2	1	13.7	6.1	13.7	6.1	4	13.7	6.1	0
nia										
Latvia	82	-4	4.2	4.9	9.8	11.9	9	4.2	4.9	0
Macao	2,140	3,661	10.9	8.7	11.2	9.1	8	10.9	8.7	0
Morocco	1,162	911	27.4	20.2	19.5	13.3	10	27.4	20.2	0
Monaco	101	318	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.9	3	0.6	0.9	0
Moldova	0	0					1			0
Madagascar	1	54	19.4	31.5	11.8	19.1	3	19.4	31.5	0
Maldives	29	29	32.1	17.3	32.1	17.3	1	32.1	17.3	0
Marshall Islands	4	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	0
Mali	11	12	14.3	1.6	14.3	1.6	2	14.3	1.6	0
Malaysia	9,561	8,556	16.1	15.7	13.3	17.3	15	16.1	15.7	0
Malta	2	373	5.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	8	5.5	1.0	0
Myanmar	301	305	1.9	1.2	0.8	0.2	6	1.9	1.2	0
Montenegro	13	12	3.9	31.3	6.4	19.2	2	3.9	31.3	0
Mongolia	0	-36	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2	0.0	0.0	0
Mozambique	233	-344	32.4	35.5	32.0	10.0	8	32.4	35.5	0
Mauritania	1	1	24.7	46.1	24.7	46.1	2	24.7	46.1	0
North Korea	0	-2					1			0
Malawi	62	61	32.2	34.6	32.0	29.4	3	32.2	34.6	0
Puerto Rico	39,193	38,873	1.0	1.5	13.9	13.9	5	1.0	1.5	0
Russia	6,547	5,628	20.0	19.7	16.0	13.8	12	20.0	19.7	0
Portugal	835	1,152	20.5	12.1	18.4	19.3	12	20.5	12.1	0
Paraguay	7	-601	8.5	2.9	10.1	3.6	4	8.5	2.9	0
Timor-Leste	14	14	8.6	1.1	5.9	18.7	2	8.6	1.1	0
Tonga	0	0	55.7	48.4	55.7	48.4	1	55.7	48.4	0
Trinidad and To-	209	-551	26.9	28.2	29.6	21.8	4	26.9	28.2	0
bago										
Tunisia	41	189	264.1	271.7	10.7	17.4	6	264.1	271.7	0
Turkey	2,547	1,792	18.4	21.1	19.8	20.3	12	18.4	21.1	0
Taiwan	3,090	6,223	18.4	18.4	12.2	12.6	13	18.4	18.4	0
Tanzania	154	39	59.0	49.1	30.6	36.1	4	59.0	49.1	0
Uganda	178	145	15.0	21.3	22.0	25.1	4	15.0	21.3	0
Ukraine	999	103	13.6	10.4	15.8	13.4	10	13.6	10.4	0
Uruguay	1,195	1,268	4.5	2.8	5.7	3.0	10	4.5	2.8	0
Uzbekistan	0	-155					2			0
Venezuela	2,060	-2,355	7.2	5.9	5.3	1.5	9	7.2	5.9	0
British Virgin Is-	23,391	23,591	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	10	0.1	0.1	0
lands										

US Virgin Is- lands	0	19					1			0
Vietnam	1,328	39,407	12.0	12.9	11.4	12.7	13	12.0	12.9	0
Vanuatu	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	0
Samoa	0	0	29.3	46.1	29.3	46.1	1	29.3	46.1	0
Yemen	7	7	23.3	0.0	45.9	77.2	3	23.3	0.0	0
Zambia	238	173	27.2	23.5	25.7	18.1	5	27.2	23.5	0
Turkmenistan	0	0					1			0
Tajikistan	1	-10	42.8	89.5	42.8	89.5	2	42.8	89.5	0
Thailand	20,386	19,883	16.0	15.9	13.0	13.8	14	16.0	15.9	0
Solomon Islands	1	4	2.7	0.5	2.7	0.5	2	2.7	0.5	0
French Polyne-	0	72					1			0
sia										
Qatar	2,153	2,065	-0.6	7.6	3.0	6.7	6	-0.6	7.6	0
Romania	1,024	1,803	11.2	11.2	14.8	13.3	11	11.2	11.2	0
Lesotho	57	57	16.5	33.1	16.5	33.1	1	16.5	33.1	0
Rwanda	0	-54	23.4	14.6	23.4	14.6	2	23.4	14.6	0
Saudi Arabia	1,881	1,207	17.1	18.9	9.1	15.0	10	17.1	18.9	0
Sudan	0	-129					2			0
Senegal	5	72	21.1	0.0	21.1	0.0	3	21.1	0.0	0
Sierra Leone	3	-40	18.7	10.3	18.7	10.3	3	18.7	10.3	0
Togo	0	12					2			0
El Salvador	412	410	21.5	23.7	30.0	28.6	4	21.5	23.7	0
Serbia	359	283	7.0	6.3	15.5	5.9	9	7.0	6.3	0
South Sudan	64	64	1.7	2.6	81.1	123.5	2	1.7	2.6	0
Slovakia	1,024	1,555	17.5	16.4	21.1	21.4	10	17.5	16.4	0
Eswatini	54	52	26.7	26.8	26.7	26.8	2	26.7	26.8	0
Seychelles	7	7	40.2	33.9	9.7	6.3	3	40.2	33.9	0
Syria	0	0	0.3	4.7	0.3	4.7	2	0.3	4.7	0
Chad	0	-72					2			0
Lithuania	142	108	17.1	8.7	15.0	5.3	8	17.1	8.7	0
Aruba	3	179	18.8	19.4	18.8	19.4	2	18.8	19.4	0
Sri Lanka	105	156	12.9	12.3	3.8	6.5	5	12.9	12.3	0
Brunei	4	-4	9.2	35.6	9.2	35.6	3	9.2	35.6	0
Bouvet Island	2	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	0
Botswana	204	215	10.7	6.4	10.8	6.3	4	10.7	6.4	0
Central African	0	-1					1			0
Republic										
Switzerland	43,524	4,060	7.3	7.1	10.6	9.7	13	7.3	7.1	0
Cote d'Ivoire	445	547	31.9	32.4	32.3	24.6	7	31.9	32.4	0
Cameroon	1	61	89.9	35.3	57.0	53.4	5	89.9	35.3	0
Congo DRC	56	-13	7.8	10.4	7.8	10.4	2	7.8	10.4	0
Congo, Rep.	16	-547	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	5	0.0	0.1	0
							-			2

Colombia	5,096	-9,833	40.1	41.9	28.6	38.2	13	40.1	41.9	0
Costa Rica	1,103	936	18.8	19.1	15.9	33.9	8	18.8	19.1	0
Curaçao	0	179	0.0	12.1	0.0	12.1	2	0.0	12.1	0
Cayman Islands	31,737	25,371	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.1	12	0.4	0.2	0
Cyprus	2,393	2,262	2.2	1.9	2.1	3.1	8	2.2	1.9	0
Czechia	2,170	4,636	6.1	8.6	10.6	9.1	12	6.1	8.6	0
Germany	34,316	28,889	20.2	22.9	23.7	21.3	14	20.2	22.9	0
Dominican Re-	800	782	17.2	15.3	12.3	10.3	8	17.2	15.3	0
public										
Algeria	1,443	3,176	29.6	-3.5	52.5	9.7	7	29.6	-3.5	0
Ecuador	976	742	71.1	24.3	37.7	23.7	11	71.1	24.3	0
Egypt	1,947	-55	36.4	36.5	25.5	17.2	10	36.4	36.5	0
Bhutan	16	16	16.3	16.9	16.3	16.9	1	16.3	16.9	0
Barbados	3	1,321	6.4	4.7	6.9	5.1	4	6.4	4.7	0
St. Lucia	0	55					2			0
Brazil	16,865	4,492	24.0	24.0	24.0	26.1	15	24.0	24.0	0
Angola	514	-518	124.6	107.6	149.3	123.6	4	124.6	107.6	0
Albania	26	-2	15.8	16.9	15.8	16.9	3	15.8	16.9	0
Andorra	0	0					1			0
Netherlands An-	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	0
tilles										
United Arab	5,385	4,337	31.7	29.1	0.1	0.3	10	31.7	29.1	0
Emirates										
Argentina	5,557	6,691	29.8	33.2	32.9	31.4	13	29.8	33.2	0
Armenia	0	0					2			0
American	22	22	12.7	7.1	12.7	7.1	2	12.7	7.1	0
Samoa										
Azerbaijan	140	16	4.7	2.0	5.7	2.8	3	4.7	2.0	0
Benin	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	0.0	0.0	0
Burkina Faso	96	181	5.6	2.3	22.7	27.7	3	5.6	2.3	0
Bangladesh	521	439	33.7	34.5	22.6	15.9	5	33.7	34.5	0
Bulgaria	727	685	0.5	2.9	9.7	7.9	9	0.5	2.9	0
Bahrain	114	131	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0
Bahamas	4	21,806	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4	0.0	0.0	0
Bosnia and	13	95	7.0	5.2	4.9	3.4	7	7.0	5.2	0
Herzegovina										
Belarus	69	106	21.5	22.1	20.7	19.8	5	21.5	22.1	0
Belize	0	0					1			0
Bolivia	605	554	30.8	20.1	30.6	20.1	6	30.8	20.1	0
Spain	19,887	15,590	10.7	12.6	10.7	16.9	14	10.7	12.6	0
Estonia	47	80	0.2	8.2	0.0	0.0	7	0.2	8.2	0
Ethiopia	107	314	25.7	26.0	25.6	23.8	3	25.7	26.0	0
Fiji	28	40	11.0	11.1	13.3	12.6	3	11.0	11.1	0
,										

Isle of Man	78	-30	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0
Iran	0	-19	22.4	-3.3	11.5	-1.7	5	22.4	-3.3	0
Iraq	20	501	33.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	6	33.1	0.0	0
Iceland	4	-289	4.1	2.2	4.1	2.2	3	4.1	2.2	0
Israel	3,044	2,616	16.1	23.2	16.2	19.8	8	16.1	23.2	0
Jamaica	3	63	18.2	8.2	60.7	4.1	3	18.2	8.2	0
Jersey	72	-53	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.7	5	0.7	0.6	0
Jordan	32	245	-4.8	-5.5	0.7	3.5	6	-4.8	-5.5	0
Kazakhstan	4,695	4,633	8.8	10.3	22.7	27.7	7	8.8	10.3	0
Kenya	202	-33	43.4	43.8	35.2	40.9	8	43.4	43.8	0
Kyrgyz Republic	0	3					1			0
Cambodia	64	88	8.6	9.5	8.6	9.5	3	8.6	9.5	0
St. Kitts and	0	66					2			0
Nevis										
Afghanistan	4	3	8.0	12.0	8.0	12.0	2	8.0	12.0	0
Kuwait	27	94	3.2	1.9	3.2	1.9	4	3.2	1.9	0
Laos	38	-28	17.6	15.4	8.8	7.7	2	17.6	15.4	0
Lebanon	17	140	0.1	0.0	7.9	3.0	5	0.1	0.0	0
Liberia	8	-7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0
Libya	0	1,423	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0
Hungary	7,327	7,701	3.2	17.2	3.5	5.7	11	3.2	17.2	0
Haiti	0	-1					1			0
Croatia	722	802	3.7	3.1	20.1	16.2	9	3.7	3.1	0
Guadeloupe	0	0					1			0
Faroe Islands	7	6	0.9	-0.1	0.9	-0.1	1	0.9	-0.1	0
Gabon	30	-55	19.4	19.4	18.9	18.8	5	19.4	19.4	0
United King-	94,754	47,438	10.1	9.4	11.7	10.2	16	10.1	9.4	0
dom										
Georgia	0	12					3			0
Guernsey	117	378	1.3	1.1	1.5	1.3	5	1.3	1.1	0
Ghana	468	229	14.3	10.2	21.9	19.9	7	14.3	10.2	0
Gibraltar	40	40	-0.0	-0.0	0.0	0.0	5	-0.0	-0.0	0
Guinea	105	105	28.7	5.2	28.7	5.2	2	28.7	5.2	0
Gambia	0	-1					1			0
Honduras	201	123	24.8	28.1	30.3	27.7	5	24.8	28.1	0
Guinea-Bissau	0	0	0.0	-13.0	0.0	-13.0	1	0.0	-13.0	0
Equatorial	0	440					1			0
Guinea										
Greece	664	579	17.2	24.1	15.8	22.3	8	17.2	24.1	0
Greenland	14	8	5.7	0.0	5.7	0.0	1	5.7	0.0	0
Guatemala	1,015	780	7.0	6.3	13.6	9.9	6	7.0	6.3	0
Guam	0	75	15.7	125.6	15.7	125.6	2	15.7	125.6	0
Guyana	1	1	38.1	33.3	38.1	33.3	1	38.1	33.3	0

Hong Kong	64,552	59,546	6.6	8.3	10.4	8.4	15	6.6	8.3	0
Zimbabwe	163	207	43.2	36.2	43.2	36.2	3	43.2	36.2	0

Notes: Profits (in USD million) reported by groups with positive profits (Profits (+)) and all groups (Profits (all groups)). Effective tax rates (ETRs) accrued (signified with 'a') and cash-based (signified with 'c'). Three types of ETRs were calculated, the weighted ETR by profits (ETRx (wmean)), the median (ETRx (median) and the weighted ETR by foreign profits (ETRx for (wmean). The number of countries disclosing data on the country (N. reporters) and the number of countries reported by the country (Reporting on).

	Profits shifted	TRL (total ETR)	TLR (foreign ETR)	TRL (CIT)
Misalignment		\$205 bn	\$214 bn	\$307 bn
Logarithmic		\$186 bn	\$200 bn	\$300 bn

Table A9: Estimates of profits shifted and tax revenue loss worldwide

Notes: Estimates of profits shifted and tax revenue loss (TRL) for the misalignment and logarithmic models. Three different tax rates are used, the total ETR (both domestic and foreign MNCs), the foreign ETR (only foreign MNCs), and the statutory tax rate (CIT).

Study	Profit shifting	Revenue loss	Data (type)	Individual countries	Countries (number)	Year (data)
Cobham and Janský (2018)	-	90	Revenue	Yes	102	2013
IMF's Crivelli et al. (2016)	-	123	Revenue	No	173	2013
Janský and Palanský (2019)	420	125	FDI	Yes	79	2016
IMF (2014)	-	180	Revenue	Yes	46	2012
UNCTAD's Bolwijn et al. (2018)	330-450	200	FDI	No	72	2012
Tørsløv et al. (2020)	616-646	230	FDI	Yes	48	2015
OECD's Johansson et al. (2017)	-	100-240	Orbis	No	46	2010
Clausing (2016)	1076	279	FDI	Yes	25	2012
This paper	965-994	186-307	CBCR	Yes	192	2016

Table A10: Comparing estimates of profits shifted and tax revenue loss worldwide

Notes: Profit shifting and tax revenue loss are annual estimates expressed in billion USD. The studies are listed in the table according to the highest estimated tax revenue loss. Some studies estimate only either profit shifting or tax revenue loss due to profit shifting. We focus on those providing tax revenue losses, some of which do not provide estimates of profit shifting scale (e.g. due to the methodology as in the case of Crivelli et al. (2016) and Cobham and Janský (2018). The country coverage differs a lot across studies and we focus on those aiming at a worldwide coverage or covering many countries. We thus omit, for example, some studies that investigated only profit shifting by US-headquartered MNCs such as Guvenen et al. (2021) or Cobham and Janský (2019). On country coverage, see, for example, Janský and Palanský (2019) for a detailed comparison of selected studies. The IMF (2014) refers to the analysis in their Appendix IV. Using Gross Operating Surplus to Explore Spillovers (rather than Appendix III., which has been published as Crivelli et al., 2016). Authors of Tørsløv et al. (2020) publish estimates for 2016 on their website. While we refer to profit shifting here, each of the studies has its nuances and its own concepts and definitions, for example, aggressive tax planning (Johansson et al., 2017) or excess income booked in low-tax countries (Clausing, 2016). The data column lists the type of the main data source a study relies on and, for example, FDI can indicate both country-level foreign affiliate statistics (Tørsløv et al., 2020) as well as bilateral data on FDI stocks (Janský & Palanský, 2019). The individual countries column indicates whether the results have been published for individual countries. The year column refers to the year of data used (or the last year of data in case the data are used for a period of time).

A.4 Data-driven calculation of the effect of tax on profit shifting

An alternative method of profit shifting analysis adopts a model-agnostic approach. Instead of fitting the data to a pre-determined model, we can use symbolic regression to search for models that fit the data well. The search space (i.e. potential models) in symbolic regression is, however, infinitely large. The state-of-the-art method uses evolutionary algorithms – algorithms inspired by biological evolution, widely used in optimisation problems, to find the best model, balancing the fitness of the model with its complexity in order to avoid overfitting. These algorithms start with a pool of solutions (in this case models), which are *re-combined* and *mutated*, increasing the pool of solutions. The best solutions found in this augmented pool are *selected* and allowed to be combined and mutated in the next generation. The algorithms efficiently explore the search space and reach a near-optimum solution. The main challenge in symbolic regression is how to score the solutions in order to find the best model, since using an error term alone will lead to finding highly complex models (overfitting). Here, we use the software Eureqa (Schmidt & Lipson, 2009). In order to avoid overfitting, the software keeps the best model for each level of complexity, where the complexity is determined by the number of variables included and the operations (e.g. a log-transformation costs 4 units, an addition cost 1 unit) and the best model by the R^2 . The model "profits = 20" is very simple, but has a very low R^2 . A model with 20 variables interacting with each other may be able to fit the data perfectly, but will most likely result in data overfitting.

The model tries to find the best model for the location of profits, based on the following variables: revenue from unrelated party, employment, tangible assets, ETR, log(ETR), wages, population, gross fixed capital formation, consumption, GDP, tax complexity, statistical capacity, and revenue resources. The first five variables come from CBCR, wages are approximated as employment*GDP/population, the last variable from the ICTD / UNU-WIDER Government Revenue Dataset 2018, and the rest from the World Bank. We do not include revenue from related parties since it is heavily affected by profit shifted. Employees and tangible assets are less relevant to tax avoidance structures. All variables except for the last three are log-transformed. While the evolutionary algorithm can transform variables, that transformation is costly and seldom found.

We let the algorithm run for 20 hours using eight CPU cores, until it reached a "Percent Coverage" of 100%; "Percent Coverage is actually designed to replace the older stability and maturity metrics by providing an improved estimate of how close the search is to the plateau point where continuing the search will most likely not turn up any better solutions. It is based on the early stopping rule of thumb estimate and tracks how long has it been since any significant improvement on the validation data set." (Eureqa documentation).

Figure A20 shows the variables included in at least one model. Our dependent variable (pi) is logically included in all models. Revenue from unrelated party and ETRs were almost always included, while tangible assets, revenue from natural resources, expenses/GDP and wages were only included in more complicated models. The absence of statutory corporate income tax in all models is perhaps surprising.

Figure A21 shows the relationship between $\log \pi$ and the ETR. We see an extreme non-linear relationship for all models, independently of their complexity. In general, when the ETR is 1 per cent, the profits increase 6 to 14 times in comparison with the minimum. Interestingly, all models allowed for a U-curve, and the minimum effect found is achieved when ETR is 20 per cent. This could reflect the importance of resource-rich countries.

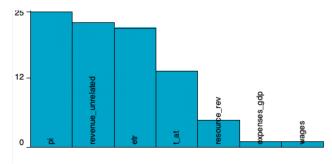
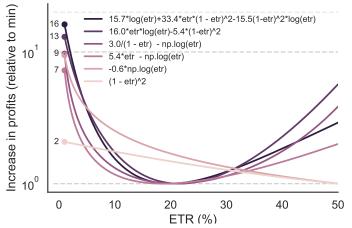


Figure A20: A frequency of the variables found in the models

Notes: Variables found in the models. 25 different models were found, and unrelated party revenues, effective tax rates, and tangible assets were found in the majority of them.

Figure A21: The relationship between the effective tax rates and profits



Notes: The found dependency between the ETR and profits is visualised. The complexity of the model is depicted with a number.

A.5 Sensitivity analysis, additional information

A.5.1 (iii) Comparison with Tørsløv et al. (2020)

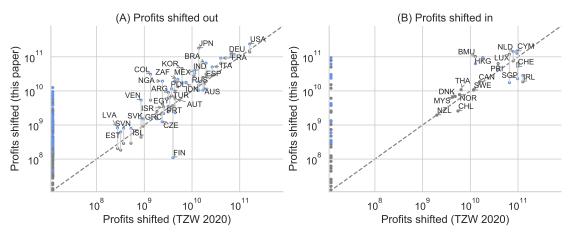


Figure A22: Comparison with the estimates of profit shifting by Tørsløv et al. (2020)

Notes: Comparison with the estimates of profit shifting by Tørsløv et al. (2020). Countries not included in the sample of Tørsløv et al. (2020) appear in the left of the plots. Estimates of profits shifted using the misalignment model are visualised in blue. Estimates using the logarithmic model are visualised in grey. A light grey line is used to connect the blue and grey points corresponding to the same country.

A.5.2 (vi) Sensitivity to the offset in the logarithmic model

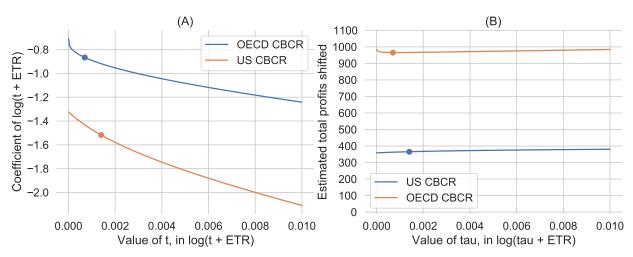


Figure A23: Effect of the parameter t in the logarithmic model

Notes: Effect of the parameter t in the logarithmic model. (A) The coefficient of log(t + ETR) is affected by the election of t. (B) The effect of t on our estimate of total profits shifted is small. Dots indicate the parameter and results of this paper.

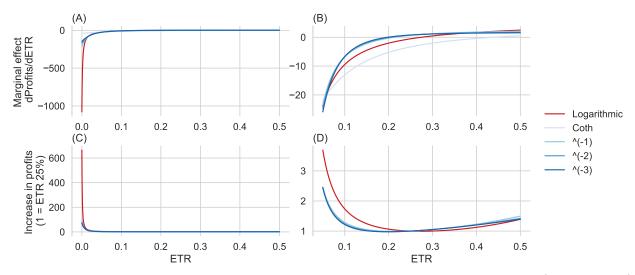
A.5.3 (vii) Other non-linear functions

	log(ETR)	$1/(ETR)^{1}$	$1/(ETR)^2$	$1/(ETR)^{3}$	coth(ETR))
log(0.0014 + ETR)	-1.5176 (0.1920)				
$(0.0260 + \text{ETR})^{-1}$	(0.1920)	0.1502			
		(0.0218)			
$(0.0580 + ETR)^{-2}$			0.0169		
			(0.0025)		
$(0.0940 + ETR)^{-3}$				0.0040	
				(0.0006)	
					0.1502
ГШЪ		0 (11 7	1 0011	1 (100	(0.0218)
ETR		2.6417	1.9011	1.6490	2.5927
Turtoweaut	(977)	(1.1588)	(1.0794)	(1.0534)	(1.1535)
Intercept	-6.8326	1.6570 (0.9598)	2.2231 (0.9585)	2.3595 (0.9591)	1.6555 (0.9598)
ETR	(2.0061) 5.5093	(0.9398)	(0.9385)	(0.9391)	(0.9598)
EIN	(1.4594)				
log(Population)	0.3694				
log(i opulation)	(0.1051)				
log(GDPpc)	0.4721	-0.0101	-0.0080	-0.0063	-0.0101
109(021 pc)	(0.1628)	(0.0934)	(0.0932)	(0.0931)	(0.0934)
log(Tangible Assets)	0.4874	0.5426	0.5424	0.5432	0.5426
0 0 /	(0.0748)	(0.0776)	(0.0775)	(0.0775)	(0.0776)
log(Wages)	0.1617	0.3564	0.3555	0.3542	0.3564
	(0.0929)	(0.0820)	(0.0818)	(0.0817)	(0.0820)
Ν	91	91	91	91	91
R2	0.899	0.884	0.884	0.884	0.884
BIC	222.58	230.37	230.28	230.23	230.37

Table A11: Regression table using the 2017 US data and applying other specifications that allow for extreme non-linearities

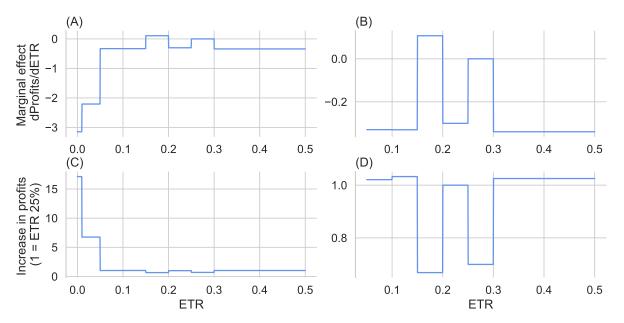
Notes: Regression table using the 2017 US data and applying other specifications that allow for extreme non-linearities. A graphical visualization is presented in Fig. A24.

Figure A24: Graphical representation of Table A11 for the $log(\tau + ETR)$, $1/(\tau + ETR)$, $1/(\tau + ETR)^3$ and $coth(\tau + ETR)$ models



Notes: Graphical representation of Table A11 for the $log(\tau + ETR)$, $1/(\tau + ETR)$, $1/(\tau + ETR)^2$, $1/(\tau + ETR)^3$ and $coth(\tau + ETR)$ models. Semi-elasticities calculated using US data. The τ offset is calculated independently for all models. (A, B) Marginal effect of ETR on profits. (C,D) Relative increase in profits due to profit shifting, compared with a country with an ETR of 25%. Plots B and D are close-ups of plots A and C, constraining ETRs between 5 and 50%.

Figure A25: Graphical representation of Table A11 for the model with extra dummy variables for categories of effective tax rates



Notes: Graphical representation of Table A11 for the model with extra dummy variables for the following categories of ETRs: <1%,1-5%,5-10%,10-15%,15-20%,20-25%,25-30%,>30%. Semi-elasticities are calculated using US data. (A, B) Marginal effect of ETR on profits. (C,D) Relative increase in profits due to profit shifting, compared with a country with an ETR of 25%. Plots B and D are close-ups of plots A and C, constraining ETRs between 5 and 50%.

A.5.4 (viii) Effect of the redistribution formula

	Share of profits
Share of employees	0.0315
	(0.0007)
Share of capital	0.1188
	(0.0004)
Share of sales	0.6598
	(0.0007)
Share of wages	0.0256
Ū.	(0.0004)
Ν	770
R2	0.98

Table A12: Results of a robust linear model, where the share of profits booked in a country is regressed against the shares of employees, capital, sales and wages

Notes: Results of a robust linear model, where the share of profits booked in a country is regressed against the shares of employees, capital, sales and wages. We used data on sub-groups with positive profits to reduce the effect of profit shifting.

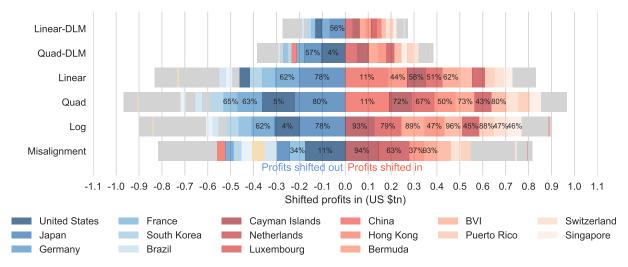


Figure A26: Profits shifted in and out of countries using the CBCR data and various models

Notes: Profits shifted in and out of countries using the CBCR data, estimated with the misalignment, logarithmic (Log), quadratic (Quad), linear (Linear) and DLM (Linear-DLM, Quad-DLM) models. MNCs shift profits from countries with negative shifted profits to countries with positive shifted profits. The largest origins of the profits are visualized in blue, and the largest destinations in red. All other countries are visualized together in grey. The annotations indicate the percentage of profit shifted out of the country (compared to estimated profits) or into the country (compared to booked profits).

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