State and Local Sales Tax Revenue Losses from E-Commerce:
Estimates as of July 2004

by

Dr. Donald Bruce, Research Assistant Professor
dbruce@utk.edu

and

Dr. William F. Fox, Professor and Director
billfox@utk.edu

Center for Business and Economic Research
College of Business Administration
The University of Tennessee
1000 Volunteer Boulevard
100 Glocker Building
Knoxville, TN 37996-4170
(865) 974-5441 – phone
(865) 974-3100 – fax
http://cber.bus.utk.edu

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Introduction

Rapid growth in electronic commerce has magnified states’ problems in effectively collecting sales and use taxes on many remote transactions. Difficulties in collecting the tax may arise because remote firms do not have nexus and therefore do not have sales tax collection responsibility. In these cases, states must rely on voluntary compliance by purchasers,\(^1\) which results in much greater noncompliance. Collection experience may also be hampered if the sales tax is more difficult to audit and enforce for remote vendors with nexus than for local vendors.

Inability to collect the tax potentially has a number of important implications. Firms have an incentive to locate production and sales activity to avoid tax collection responsibility, thereby imposing economic efficiency losses on the overall economy. The sales tax becomes more regressive as those who are least able to purchase online are more likely to pay sales taxes than those who purchase online more frequently. Further, state and local government tax revenues are reduced. This paper provides an update of our two earlier studies\(^2\) that were focused on the latter issue, the effects of e-commerce on the revenues collected by state and local governments.

The experience of the last several years indicates that e-commerce has been a less robust channel for transacting goods and services than was anticipated when we prepared the earlier estimates. The findings provided here are based on lower estimates of e-commerce, and the result is a smaller revenue loss than we previously indicated. Our loss estimates are also lower because many more vendors have begun to collect sales and use taxes on

\(^1\) Some vendors have chosen to voluntarily comply, which should result in compliance levels that are generally consistent with those found for in-state vendors.

their remote sales.³ Still, the Census Bureau reports a combined $1.16 trillion in 2002 in e-commerce transactions by manufacturers, wholesalers, service providers, and retailers, and Forrester Research, Inc.’s expectations continue to be for strong growth in e-commerce in coming years.⁴ Thus, the revenue erosion from e-commerce continues to represent a significant loss to state and local governments.

Methodology

Two steps were used in preparing the numbers reported here: estimates were made of the aggregate national revenue losses and the national estimates were allocated to individual states.⁵ The national estimates were calculated using detailed forecasts of e-commerce transactions from 2003 to 2008, professional judgments about the taxability of each type of transaction and about the degree of voluntary use tax compliance, and a weighted average sales tax rate. The state losses are prepared by allocating the national loss in sales tax base to each state based on the breadth and size of each state’s tax base and the state’s tax rate.

Forecasts were necessary for both business-to-consumer (B2C) and business-to-business (B2B) e-commerce. Forecasts for B2C e-commerce transactions were obtained from a study prepared by Forrester Research, Inc. for the National Governors Association and the National Association of State Legislatures.⁶ Detailed forecasts were not available directly for B2B e-commerce so separate analyses are prepared based on two different assumptions about B2B growth. Both approaches begin with the 2002 B2B transactions forecast by Forrester Research,

³ For example, a number of firms have merged their online and offline channels after initially seeking to separate the activities. See The Growth of Multichannel Retailing, prepared by Carrie Johnson, Forrester Research, Inc. for the National Governors Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures.
⁴ Census numbers are available at <http://www.census.gov/eos/www/2002tables.html>. The most recent e-commerce forecast was obtained in The Growth of Multichannel Retailing, prepared by Carrie Johnson, Forrester Research, Inc. for the National Governors Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures.
⁵ The methodology employed here was developed in our earlier studies, and interested readers should review those reports for more details.
⁶ See note 4 above.
Inc. for our estimates that were prepared in 2001, and assume that the relative pattern of growth by type of B2B transactions is the same as in our earlier analysis. We believe this remains a good starting point since the 2001 and 2002 B2B sales in our previous study are generally consistent with the levels of manufacturing and wholesale transactions\(^7\) that are reported by the US Census Bureau.\(^8\) Our low-growth forecast assumes that aggregate B2B sales rise at the same rate as the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) forecasts for nominal GDP.\(^9\) The high-growth forecast uses the same starting point but assumes that B2B sales represent the same percentage of total e-commerce transactions in each year as in the Forrester Research, Inc. forecast that was used in our 2001 study. Estimates of B2C transactions are the same in both forecasts. Our assumptions about sales and use tax compliance for online transactions were revised, consistent with the increased propensity for vendors to collect the tax. Our assumptions yield compliance rates of about 72 to 73 percent for online B2B transactions and about 40 percent for online B2C transactions.

**Estimated Revenue Losses**

Tables 1 and 2 present our 2003 to 2008 estimates of state and local government revenue losses using the high- and low-growth forecasts. We provide estimates for the *total* revenues that are lost as a result of inability to collect taxes due on e-commerce. The estimates, illustrated in Figure 1, equal total taxes due on sales over the Internet less taxes collected. We also provide estimates of the part of the total loss that we believe represents a *new* loss caused by the advent of e-commerce (i.e., we subtract the part of the total loss that would have been a revenue loss

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\(^7\) No direct correspondence exists between the Census categories and B2B sales, and the Census data are used only to provide general support for the 2002 estimate provided by Forrester Research, Inc.

\(^8\) See note 4 above.

We estimate the total 2008 revenue loss for state and local governments to range between $21.5 billion and $33.7 billion.

In 2003, sales taxes were due on $752 billion of the $1.28 trillion in Internet sales that were estimated using the low-growth methodology. Tax was not collected on $236.3 billion, resulting in an estimated $15.5 billion in total lost state and local sales tax revenue given the current weighted average 6.5 percent state and local sales tax rate. The loss is expected to reach $21.5 billion by 2008 as states are unable to collect sales tax on $329.2 billion in taxable transactions. The high-growth methodology results in estimated total losses of $16.1 billion in 2003 that rise to $33.7 billion by 2008. We estimate the 2008 revenue loss for state and local governments to range between $21.5 billion and $33.7 billion.\footnote{Improved compliance has reduced the 2008 revenue loss by $6.3 billion with the low-growth forecast and $9.3 billion with the high-growth forecast.} Thus, the 2008 losses represent between 3.9 and 6.1 percent of actual 2003 state tax revenues.
Table 1: Estimated Total State and Local Sales Tax Revenue Losses from E-Commerce - Low-Growth Scenario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Millions)</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
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<td>Total Business-to-Business*</td>
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<td>1,262,928</td>
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<td>1,392,367</td>
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<td>Total Business-to-Consumer*</td>
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<td>142,363</td>
<td>168,654</td>
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<td>219,812</td>
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<td>Total E-Commerce</td>
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<td>-28,906</td>
<td>-34,156</td>
<td>-39,626</td>
<td>-44,851</td>
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<td>Less B2C on which sales/use tax collected</td>
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<td>-45,593</td>
<td>-53,765</td>
<td>-62,014</td>
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<td>0.065</td>
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<td>11,123</td>
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Source: Authors' calculations based on E-Commerce forecast provided by Forrester Research, Inc.

Note: Apparent mathematical inconsistencies are the result of rounding.

*Sales-taxing states only.

Table 2: Estimated Total State and Local Sales Tax Revenue Losses from E-Commerce - High-Growth Scenario

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<th>(Millions)</th>
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<th>2008</th>
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<td>Total Business-to-Business*</td>
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<td>Total Business-to-Consumer*</td>
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<td>Total E-Commerce</td>
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<td>Less Exempt B2C</td>
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<td>-28,906</td>
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<td>-44,851</td>
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<tr>
<td>Less B2C on which sales/use tax collected</td>
<td>-30,038</td>
<td>-37,786</td>
<td>-45,593</td>
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<td>E-Commerce Resulting in Revenue Loss</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average State and Local Tax Rate</td>
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<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.065</td>
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<td>Estimated Total Sales Tax Revenue Loss</td>
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Source: Authors' calculations based on E-Commerce forecast provided by Forrester Research, Inc.

Note: Apparent mathematical inconsistencies are the result of rounding.

*Sales-taxing states only.
The greatest losses occur in states relying most heavily on the sales tax as a revenue source.

Losses for individual states are given in Table 3 for 2003 and in Table 4 for 2008. The largest losses are in states with the greatest population including California, Texas, New York, and Florida. The total losses are separated into state and local governments in Table 5. State governments will lose $27.8 billion in revenues and local governments $5.8 billion under the high-growth scenario in 2008. The expected losses differ between states based on a number of state-specific factors including the sales tax base breadth, the sales tax rate, and the level and growth of the sales tax base. Table 6 shows the 2008 revenue losses as a percentage of 2003 total state tax collections. The top 10 states in terms of this percentage are illustrated in Figure 2. A general conclusion is that the greatest losses occur in states relying most heavily on the sales tax as a revenue source.
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<th>High Growth Scenario</th>
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Source: Authors' calculations.
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Source: Authors' calculations.
Table 5: State-Local Split of Estimated Total Revenue Losses from E-Commerce - 2008

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Source: Authors’ calculations.
Figure 2:
State Revenue Losses from E-Commerce in 2008 as a Percentage of Total Tax Revenues in 2003, Low-Growth Scenario