

International Journal of

Health Policy and Management

doi: 10.15171/ijhpm.2013.45

Journal homepage: http://ijhpm.com



Commentary

How to Set up an Effective Food Tax?

Comment on "Food Taxes: A New Holy Grail?"

Céline Bonnet*

Toulouse School of Economics, University of Toulouse 1 Capitole, Toulouse, France

Received: 25 August 2013, Accepted: 13 September 2013, ePublished: 17 September 2013

Abstract

Whereas public information campaigns have failed to reverse the rising trend in obesity, economists support food taxes as they suggest they can force individuals to change their eating behavior and make the agro-food industry think more about healthy food products. Excise taxes based on the unhealthy nutrient content would be more effective since they impact more on unhealthy food products than VAT (value-added-tax) taxes. Taxes based only on junk food products would avoid perverse effects on healthy nutrient. However, as eating behavior of consumers is complex, a modeling analysis would allow to assess unexpected effects on other unhealthy nutrients or products.

Keywords

Food Taxes, Excise, VAT, Obesity

s recognized by Devisch, the prevalence of obesity became a major public health concern in most developed countries (1). To be aware of the extent of the phenomenon, some figures are missing. The United States of America is at the forefront (70% overweight and obese people) but Canada (60%), Australia (61%), Russia Federation (58%), Europe (46% for France, 58% for Spain, 61% for United Kingdom, 54% for Germany for examples) are concerned as well. Obesity largely results from consumption of too many calories relative to an individual's physical activity. For most individuals this health problem is avoidable through changing food consumption behavior, and/or increasing physical activity. Governments have tried to use public information campaigns which aim to get people to change their habit, by eating more healthy foods and engaging in more regular exercise. These information campaigns may have positive impacts or may depend on sociodemographic factors (2–4). However, they seem to have not been sufficiently effective at changing behavior (5), and have failed to reverse the rising trend in obesity. Fiscal measures as food taxes are now proposed or recently implemented to fight against the obesity prevalence in the US, Norway, Australia, Finland, Hungary, France and Denmark mainly on sugar and soft drinks but sometimes on fat and salt products as well.

The existing literature has shown conclusively that increased caloric intake is one of the main determinants of obesity.

Medical and nutritional analyses (6,7) and empirical economic studies (8-10) have focused on the relationship between food consumption and obesity. One of the important determinants of increased caloric intakes has been the reduced cost of food (11,12) and the economists suggest that policies that increase the price of calories may provide useful tools to reduce caloric intake and therefore the prevalence of obesity. Due to recent concern over food taxes, analyses of natural experiments are scarce. Fletcher et al. found that the US soft drink taxation leads to a slight decrease in the children and adolescents consumption (13). Modeling analyses are more used to assess how much food consumption changes in response to a price variation through economic tools as price elasticities. Unlike Devisch suggests, recent contributions to the literature which have estimated the impact of taxes on food purchases strengthen that food taxes could be an effective tool on dairy products (14), "junk food" products (15), soft drinks (16,17), and fat products (18) as examples. On the other hand, economists support these measures for two reasons. First, individuals do not really appreciate the true relationship between diet and disease and prefer short term pleasures to the detriment of long term welfare and second, they do not bear the full health care cost of diseases related to diet (19,20).

In other areas, legislation and taxation have been proved effective. For example, in the markets for cigarettes and alcohol, legislation restricts sales to young people and restricts advertising, and taxation increases the relative price of these goods. These policy tools have allowed to reduce consumption. As Devisch stresses, alcohol or tobacco cannot be compared to food. Indeed, whereas eating and drinking are essential, alcohol and tobacco are not. However, some food products considered as junk food (for instance soft drinks, sweets, savory and sweet biscuits) bring few healthy nutrients and could be compared to alcohol and tobacco. On the contrary, fat or sugar taxes could have some perverse effects on some healthy nutrients like calcium or unsaturated fat, such that omega-3 or omega-6 fatty acids when dairy products are aimed or could increase the consumption of other unhealthy nutrients. For examples, Mytton et al. showed that taxing only the principal sources of dietary saturated fat leads to a reduction in saturated fat but this

^{*}Corresponding author: Céline Bonnet; Email: celine.bonnet@tse-fr.eu

decrease is offset by a rise in salt consumption (21). Smed *et al.* found that while a tax might decrease fat consumption, it would be likely to increase sugar consumption—and a tax on sugar would likely lead to an increase in fat consumption (22).

The effectiveness of food taxes as stated by Devisch, depends on the design of the tax. Indeed, taxes based on VAT (value-addedtax) further allow to increase fiscal revenues as they tax more the products with higher prices. On the contrary, excise taxes based on the unhealthy nutrient contents are more effective as they tax more unhealthy products. Furthermore, as theoretical (23,24) and empirical (17,25) economic works show, the agro food industry passes through more excise taxes than VAT taxes. Hence, the price of unhealthy products will be higher when excise taxes are implemented and the impact on consumption is expected to be larger. However, the price transmission of a food tax by the industry could vary across countries or according to the market under investigation (26,27). Another important argument in favor of food taxes is the incentive for the agro food industry to change the composition of their products. For example, if sweetened products are taxed according to their sugar content, this might provide incentives to producers to lower the sugar content of their product in order to avoid or limit the impact of taxes.

To sum up, food taxes could allow to force consumers to change their eating behavior and make the agro-food industry think more about healthy food products. They can be effective when the design of the tax is adapted and its consequences on other food products or nutrients have been well assessed. They can allow to finance public information campaign in favor of children and adolescents on healthy diet or they can be associated with food subventions to promote healthy food that could also lower the regressive nature of food taxes (28). Governments might stress physical activity as well to reduce the imbalance between calories in and calories out.

Ethical issues

Not applicable.

Competing interests

The author declares that she has no competing interests.

Author's contribution

CB is the single author of the manuscript.

References

- 1. Devisch I. Food taxes: a new holy grail? *International Journal of Health Policy and Management* 2013: 1: 95–7.
- 2. Snyder L. Health communication campaigns and their impact on behavior. *J Nutr Educ Behav* 2007; 39: S32–40.
- 3. Weiss JA, Tschirhart M. Public information campaigns as policy instruments. *J Policy Anal Manage* 1994; 13: 82–119.
- 4. Nayga RM. Impact of sociodemographic factors on perceived importance of

- nutrition in food shopping. J Consum Aff 1997; 31: 1-9
- 5. Cutler DM. Behavioral Health Interventions: What Works and Why? In: Bulatao RA, Anderson NB, editors. *Understanding Racial and Ethnic Differences in Health in Late Life: A Research Agenda*. National Research Council (US) Panel on Race, Ethnicity, and Health in Later Life. Washington: National Academies Press; 2004.
- 6. Harnack L, Stang J, Story M. Soft drink consumption among US children and adolescents: nutritional consequences. *J Am Diet Assoc* 1999; 99: 436–41.
- 7. Marshall T. Exploring a fiscal food policy: the case of diet and ischaemic heart disease. *BMJ* 2000; 320: 301–5.
- 8. Jacobson MF, Brownell KD. Small taxes on soft drinks and snack foods to promote health. *Am J Public Health* 2000; 90: 854–7.
- 9. Ransley JK, Donnelly JK, Botham H, Khara TN, Greenwood DC, Cade JE. Use of supermarket receipts to estimate energy and fat content of food purchased by lean and overweight families. *Appetite* 2003; 41: 141–8.
- 10. Bonnet C, Dubois P, Orozco V. Household Food Consumption, Individual Calories Intake and Obesity in France. *Empir Econ* 2013; Forthcoming.
- 11. Cutler DM, Glaeser EL, Shapiro JM. Why have Americans become more obese? *J Econ Perspect* 2003; 17: 93–118.
- 12. Cutler DM, Glaeser EL. What Explains Differences in Smoking, Drinking, and Other Health-Related Behaviors? *Am Econ Rev* 2005; 95: 238–42.
- 13. Fletcher J, Frisvold D, Tefft. The effects of soft drink taxes on child and adolescent consumption and weight outcomes. *J Public Econ* 2010; 94: 967–74.
- 14. Chouinard HH, Davis DE, LaFrance JT, Perloff JM. Fat taxes: big money for small change. Forum Health Econ Policy 2007; 10: 1–30.
- 15. Bonnet C, Dubois P, Orozco V. Food Consumption and Obesity in France: Identification of Causal Effects and Price Elasticities. 2009. [cited 2013 August 20]. Available from: http://idei.fr/doc/conf/inra/papers_2008/dubois.pdf
- 16. Bonnet C, Réquillart V. Does the EU sugar policy reform increase added sugar consumption? An empirical evidence on the soft drink market. *Health Econ* 2011; 20: 1012–24.
- 17. Bonnet C, Réquillart V. Tax incidence with strategic firms in the soft drink market. *J Public Econ* 2013; 106: 77–88.
- 18. Allais O, Bertail P, Nichele V. The effects of a fat tax on French households' purchases: a nutritional approach. *Am J Agric Econ* 2010; 92: 228–45.
- 19. O'Donoghue T, Rabin M. Optimal sin taxes. J Public Econ 2006; 90: 1825-49.
- 20. Cremer H, De Donder P, Maldonado D, Pestieau P. Taxing sin goods and subsidizing health care. Scand J Econ 2012; 114; 101–23.
- 21. Mytton O, Gray A, Rayner M, Rutter H. Could targeted food taxes improve health? *J Epidemiol Community Health* 2007; 61: 689–94.
- 22. Smed S, Jensen J, Denver S. Socio economic characteristics and the effect of taxation as a health policy instrument. *Food Policy* 2007; 32: 624–39.
- 23. Delipalla S, Keen M. The comparison between ad valorem and specific taxation under imperfect competition. *J Public Econ* 1992; 49: 351–67.
- 24. Anderson SP, de Palma A, Kreider B. Tax incidence in differentiated product oligopoly. *J Public Econ* 2001; 81: 173–92.
- 25. Delipalla S, O'Donnell O. Estimating tax incidence, market power and market conduct: the European cigarette industry. *International Journal of Industrial Organization* 2001; 19: 885–908.
- 26. Bonnet C, Réquillart V. Impact of cost shocks on consumer prices in vertically related markets: the case of the French soft drink market. *Am J Agric Econ* 2013; Forthcoming.
- 27. Campa JM, Goldberg LS. Pass through of exchange rates to consumption prices: What has changed and why? In: Ito T, Rose AK, editors. *International Financial Issues in the Pacific Rim: Global Imbalances, Financial Liberalization, and Exchange Rate Policy (NBER-EASE Volume 17)*. National Bureau of Economic Research and University of Chicago Press; 2006. p. 139–76.
- 28. Nnoaham K, Sacks G, Rayner M, Mytton O, Gray A. Modelling income group differences in the health and economic impacts of targeted food taxes and subsidies. *Int J Epidemiol* 2001; 38: 1324–33.