# Pecuniary and Non-Pecuniary Motivations for Tax Compliance: Evidence from Pakistan 

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## Introduction

- Tax evasion is a pervasive problem, especially in developing economies
- In the standard tax compliance model evasion is deterred by the threat of fine and penalty (Allingham \& Sandmo, 1972)
- But evasion may also be deterred by social and psychological factors. Individuals may
- feel guilt or shame from evading (Andreoni et al., 1998)
- value how they are seen by peers (Luttmer \& Singhal, 2014)
- have intrinsic motivation to pay taxes (Dwenger et al. 2016)


## Introduction

- The existence of such non-pecuniary motivations is increasingly being recognized
- Yet, limited evidence on
- how important they are, and
- if governments can prime them for resource mobilization
- This paper uses two Pakistani programs to study these questions


## First Program - Public Disclosure

- The government began revealing income tax liability reported by every taxpayer in the country from 2012
- Two tax directories are published each year; one for MPs and one for all taxpayers
- The directories are available online in a searchable PDF format and can be downloaded by anyone
- They list the name, tax identifier, and income tax liability of taxpayers
- The MPs' directory also lists their constituency number


## First Program - Public Disclosure



Declan Walsh
@declanwalsh
Only one-third of Pakistani parliamentarians file tax returns, report says - nyti.ms/UiwW1q (But they do pay some income tax)
5:16 AM - 12 Dec 2012
sky Sky News
@SkyNews
TIMES FRONT PAGE: 'Pay Tax Or Aid Stops, MPs Tell Pakistanis' \#skypapers

Half of Pakistani MPs pay no tax, study suggests gu.com/p/3ydp6/tw
@guardianworld
7:48 AM - 23 Dec 2013

## IMF Pakistan

@imf_pakistan

Replying to @Masood_u
@Masood_u Agreed. Pakistani parliamentarians must pay taxes if they expect the international community to support the country!

8:59 AM - 23 Dec 2013

(1)
Damning report from UK MPs says no aid increase to Pakistan until Pakistani elite start paying income tax

Mehreen Zahra-Malik
@mehreenzahra
Asia Society ranks @UmarCheema1 tax report on Pakistani politicians as 2nd best piece of investigative journalism produced in Asia in 2012

## Second Program - Privileges \& Honor Cards (TPHC)

- Acknowledges and honors the top-100 tax paying corporations, partnerships, employees and self-employed
- Holders of the Honor Card receive automatic invitation to State Dinners. They are also eligible for fast-track immigration and other benefits
- Privileges are conferred on the CEO in case of a corporation and the partner with maximum capital in case of a partnership


## Likely Responses

- The programs can raise compliance through both pecuniary and non-pecuniary channels
- Public disclosure can encourage whistleblowing and exacerbate any feelings of guilt, shame, and pride
- Honor Card can evoke pride and sense of accomplishment. Agents may derive utility from being exposed as extremely affluent (Akerlof \& Kranton, 2000). And businesses may monetize the goodwill into higher revenues and profits


## Findings

- Both programs induce strong compliance response
- Public disclosure causes a 9 log-point increase in the tax remitted by individuals exposed to the program
- The effect is far stronger on MPs (40 log-points) for whom the program was more salient and low tax payments more damaging
- TPHC program causes a 17 log-point increase in the tax remitted
- The two programs also cause a shift of social norms toward tax compliance


## Outline

Introduction
Institutional Background
Conceptual Framework
Results - Public Disclosure
Results - Public Disclosure (MPs)
Results - TPHC Program
Results - Social Norms
Conclusions

## Outline

## Introduction

# Institutional Background 

## Conceptual Framework

Results - Public Disclosure

Results - Public Disclosure (MPs)
Results - TPHC Program

Results - Social Norms

Conclusions

## Public Disclosure

- In the second half of 2012 very damaging press reports alleging noncompliance by Pakistani MPs begin appearing
- The reports claim
- Two-thirds of the MPs have not filed their latest tax return
- Nonfilers include 34 out of 55 federal ministers
- Roughly $20 \%$ of the MPs do not even have the National Tax Number - the first requirement for tax filing
- The reports generate strong reaction
- Federal Tax Ombudsman orders the government to begin disclosing the tax paid by every public office holder in the country
- The leading opposition party at the time pledges full disclosure of tax payments
- The party won the election in May 2013 and began publishing tax payments for the tax year 2012 (July 2012 to June 2013) onward


## Public Disclosure

- Each year two tax directories are published online
- Directory for all taxpayers lists name, tax identifier and tax liability
- MPs' directory also lists their constituency number
- Directories are in searchable PDF format and can be downloaded
- They are sorted alphabetically on the name variable
- Tax identifier is either the nine-digit National Tax Number or the 13-digit Computerized National Identity Card Number


## Public Disclosure

- Tax identifiers are private information, known primarily to the taxpayer and tax administration
- Only publicly known identifier in the directory is the name
- The effectiveness of disclosure varies across taxpayers depending upon how conspicuous or obscure their name is


## Pakistani Naming Conventions

- Pakistani names do not follow the standard syntax of first name + middle name + surname
- A typical Pakistani name is a combination of two or more given names. One of these names is the most-called given name
- Usually the most-called given name of father (husband) is adapted as surname of the child (married woman) $\rightarrow$ surname varies even within the nuclear family
- Even when the surname is fixed, it is rarely unique


## Pakistani Naming Conventions

- Because of these naming conventions it is quite common for people to have the same full name
- The most frequent name in our data - Muhammad Aslam appears 15,598 times in four years
- A typical year's directory contains 60 pages listing the name Muhammad Aslam alone
- Such individuals enjoy virtual anonymity in the disclosure
- There are many such individuals - nearly one-third of taxpayers share their full name with at least 500 others


## Pakistani Naming Conventions

- Distribution has a thick tail at the other end too
- Approximately $35 \%$ of taxpayers have names that appear fewer than ten times in four years
- About 4\% names appear only once, while 24\% appear between 2-5 times.
- Such individuals are almost perfectly identified in the disclosure
- Wide variation in the name frequency translates into wide variation in program exposure


## Distribution of Names in Pakistan



## Distribution of Names in Pakistan



## Public Disclosure

- MPs' directory also lists their constituency number
- Pakistan has a total of $1174 \mathrm{MPs} \rightarrow$ they are well known, especially in their election districts
- Their exposure to the program therefore must be independent of the uniqueness of their name


## Public Disclosure

Mr. Prime Minister we standyby every document reported about

Now please practice what you preach. \#Pakistan


## TPHC Program

- The program acknowledges and honors the top-100 tax paying corporations, partnerships, wage-earners, and self-employed
- Also began from 2012. Offers the following privileges
- automatic invitation to State Dinners
- fast-track immigration through special counters
- issuance of gratis passports
- access to VIP lounges at Pakistani airports
- increased baggage allowance
- The benefits are conferred on the CEO of a corporation and the partner with maximum capital of a partnership


## Special Immigration Counter



## Outline

## Introduction

## Institutional Background

## Conceptual Framework

Results - Public Disclosure

Results - Public Disclosure (MPs)

Results - TPHC Program

Results - Social Norms

Conclusions

## Motivations for Tax Compliance

- Standard model

$$
\frac{u^{\prime}\left(c_{A}\right)}{u^{\prime}\left(c_{N A}\right)}=\frac{(1-p) \tau}{p \theta}
$$

- Evasion is deterred by the fear of consumption loss in the detected state
- Extended model

$$
\frac{u^{\prime}\left(c_{A}\right)}{u^{\prime}\left(c_{N A}\right)}=\frac{(1-\varphi \rho)(\tau-g)}{\varphi \rho(\theta+g+s)}
$$

- Social and psychological factors also matter. Factors like guilt $g$ reduce utility in both states; others like shame $s$ only in the detected state


## Comparative Statics

- Public disclosure intensifies guilt and shame from tax cheating and facilitates whistleblowing
- Potentially pushes moral costs $g$ and $s$, behavioral bias $\varphi$, and detection probability $p$ all up
- Pecuniary channel $\rightarrow p \uparrow$; Nonpecuniary channels $\rightarrow g ; s ; \varphi \uparrow$
- All effects reduce evasion under plausible assumptions on preferences


## Empirical Strategy - Public Disclosure Program

- Exploit variation in exposure to the program based on name uniqueness $\rightarrow$ Name Frequency: number of times a full name appears in four years of publicly disclosed data
- Research Design $\rightarrow$ compare outcomes across taxpayers with Name Frequency below and above a given cutoff
- Principle Identification Concern $\rightarrow$ names potentially correlated with parental traits such as income, education, and ethnicity
- Remedy $\rightarrow$ always use individual fixed effects. Rule out differential trends using event study analysis and placebo falsification checks


## Summary Statistics - I

|  | 2011 |  |  | 2010 |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Treatment | Control |  | Treatment | Control |
|  | $(1)$ | $(2)$ |  | $(3)$ | $(4)$ |
| 1. Taxable Income: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 25th percentile | 12.281 | 12.255 |  | 12.044 | 12.017 |
| Median | 12.560 | 12.516 |  | 12.304 | 12.255 |
| Mean | 12.505 | 12.459 |  | 12.306 | 12.248 |
| 75th percentile | 12.723 | 12.680 |  | 12.554 | 12.497 |
| 90th percentile | 12.899 | 12.766 |  | 12.766 | 12.612 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. Tax on taxable income: |  |  |  |  |  |
| 25th percentile | 10.271 | 10.244 |  | 10.091 | 10.070 |
| Median | 10.521 | 10.494 |  | 10.337 | 10.264 |
| Mean | 11.064 | 11.015 |  | 10.737 | 10.567 |
| 75th percentile | 11.845 | 11.884 |  | 11.081 | 10.531 |
| 90th percentile | 12.848 | 12.613 |  | 12.520 | 12.155 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tax at source: | 9.502 | 9.517 |  | 9.287 | 9.259 |
| 25th percentile | 10.917 | 10.943 |  | 10.625 | 10.540 |
| Median | 10.915 | 10.984 |  | 10.678 | 10.687 |
| Mean | 12.411 | 12.475 | 12.132 | 12.162 |  |
| 75th percentile | 13.699 | 13.804 | 13.450 | 13.526 |  |

Summary Statistics - II

|  | 2011 |  |  | 2010 |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Treatment | Control |  | Treatment | Control |
|  | $(1)$ | $(2)$ |  | $(3)$ | $(4)$ |
| 4. Major city | 0.462 | 0.336 |  | 0.458 | 0.334 |
| 5. Business in other city | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |  | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |
|  | 0.123 | 0.123 |  | 0.123 | 0.123 |
| 6. More than one businesses | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |  | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |
|  | 0.158 | 0.131 |  | 0.157 | 0.129 |
| 7. Male | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |  | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |
|  | 0.919 | 0.986 |  | 0.924 | 0.986 |
| 8. Early filer | $(0.001)$ | $(0.000)$ |  | $(0.001)$ | $(0.000)$ |
|  | 0.615 | 0.642 |  | 0.554 | 0.543 |
| 9. Young | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |  | $(0.001)$ | $(0.001)$ |
|  | 0.545 | 0.507 |  | 0.521 | 0.485 |
| 10. Bunchery | $(0.002)$ | $(0.002)$ |  | $(0.002)$ | $(0.002)$ |
|  | 0.049 | 0.054 |  | 0.044 | 0.046 |
|  | $(0.000)$ | $(0.000)$ |  | $(0.000)$ | $(0.000)$ |
| 11. Strictly dominated choice | 0.018 | 0.016 |  | 0.022 | 0.019 |
|  | $(0.000)$ | $(0.000)$ |  | $(0.000)$ | $(0.000)$ |
| 12. Revised return | 0.002 | 0.002 |  | 0.003 | 0.003 |
|  | $(0.000)$ | $(0.000)$ |  | $(0.000)$ | $(0.000)$ |

## Treatment Control Balance

|  | Major City | Business in Other City | Multiple Businesses | Male | Early <br> Filer | Young | Buncher | Dominated | Revised Return |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| A: Complete Panel (2006-2011) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.002 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.001 \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.010 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.012 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.000 \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.016 \\ & (0.014) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.002 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ trait $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.003 \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.011 \\ (0.026) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.012 \\ (0.019) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.001 \\ (0.044) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.021 \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.017 \\ & (0.021) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.025 \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.001 \\ (0.030) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.070 \\ (0.058) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 1,484,133 | 917,213 | 1,484,174 | 1,482,108 | 1,430,873 | 574,137 | 1,496,374 | 1,496,374 | 1,496,374 |
| B: Balanced Panel (2006-2011) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} -0.007 \\ (0.010) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.004 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.007 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.007 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.001 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.010 \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.004 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.009 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.009 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ trait $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.023 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.020 \\ (0.034) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.016 \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.028 \\ (0.058) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.016 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.038 \\ & (0.026) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.010 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.027 \\ (0.034) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.060 \\ (0.064) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 837,536 | 486,993 | 837,550 | 837,147 | 807,171 | 288,788 | 840,469 | 840,469 | 840,469 |
| Individual Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

## Empirical Strategy - TPHC Program

- Focus on behavior around the eligibility cutoff of the program
- Agents just below the cutoff in year $t$ will attempt to become eligible in year $t+1$. Eligible taxpayers in year $t$ will attempt to remain eligible in year $t+1$
- The growth in tax paid will peak around the eligibility cutoff. Test this using both visual and regression-based evidence


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Name Frequency $\leq 10 \mathrm{Vs}$. Others


Name Frequency Below Vs. Above Median


Name Frequency First Vs. Top Quartile


Name Frequency First Vs. Top Decile


# Intensive Margin Response to the Public Disclosure Program 

|  | Treat: Name Frequency |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\leq 10$ |  | $\leq 20$ |  | $\leq 30$ |  | $\leq 40$ |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| A: Main Regression (2006-2015) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 0.094 \\ (0.006) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.093 \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.090 \\ (0.005) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.089 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.089 \\ (0.005) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.086 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.088 \\ (0.005) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.086 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 2,430,002 | 773,038 | 2,614,754 | 833,675 | 2,720,267 | 868,250 | 2,792,270 | 891,420 |
| B: Placebo Regression (2006-2011) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.009 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.005 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.013 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.009 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.013 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.010 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.010 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 1,307,541 | 734,269 | 1,403,240 | 787,845 | 1,458,457 | 818,942 | 1,496,374 | 840,469 |
| Sample: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Individual Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

## Response Across the Name Distribution

|  | Baseline Specification (2006-2015) |  | Placebo Specification (2006-2011) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Name Freq $\in(0,50] \times$ after | 0.107 <br> $(0.005)$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.105 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.020 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.013 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(50,100] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.067 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.069 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.003 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(100,150] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.061 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.080 \\ (0.023) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.027 \\ (0.019) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.036 \\ (0.023) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(150,200] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.050 \\ (0.019) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.046 \\ (0.029) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.029 \\ (0.025) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.034 \\ (0.030) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in$ (200, 250] $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.043 \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.011 \\ (0.031) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.026) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.005 \\ & (0.032) \end{aligned}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(250,300] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.045 \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.022 \\ (0.033) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.014 \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.027 \\ (0.036) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(300,350] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.047 \\ (0.025) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.086 \\ (0.038) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.032 \\ (0.032) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.042 \\ (0.039) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(350,400] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.037 \\ (0.027) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.039 \\ (0.041) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.028 \\ (0.037) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.021 \\ (0.043) \end{gathered}$ |
| Name Freq $\in(400,450] \times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.035 \\ (0.026) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.017 \\ (0.039) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.017 \\ (0.033) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.029 \\ (0.041) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 2,792,270 | 891,420 | 1,496,374 | 840,469 |
| Sample: <br> Banlanced Panel | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| Individual Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

## Falsification Exercise

|  | Treat: Name Frequency |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\leq 10$ |  | $\leq 20$ |  | $\leq 30$ |  | $\leq 40$ |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| A: 2006-2015 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline-0.240 \\ (0.151) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.349 \\ (0.196) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.166 \\ (0.166) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.159 \\ (0.212) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.225 \\ (0.170) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.293 \\ (0.218) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.226 \\ (0.178) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{c\|} \hline-0.235 \\ (0.227) \end{array}$ |
| Observations | 5,452 | 1,544 | 5,452 | 1,544 | 5,452 | 1,544 | 5,452 | 1,544 |
| B: 2006-2011 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} -0.190 \\ (0.173) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.268 \\ (0.240) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.048 \\ (0.169) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.024 \\ (0.233) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.134 \\ (0.178) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.089 \\ (0.240) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.148 \\ (0.179) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.121 \\ (0.242) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 1,713 | 883 | 1,713 | 883 | 1,713 | 883 | 1,713 | 883 |
| Sample: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Banlanced Panel | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| Individual Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

## Response By Baseline Taxable Income

|  | Baseline Taxable Income: |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\in(0,100 k]$ | $\in(100 k, 200 k]$ | $\in(200 k, 300 k]$ | $\in(300 k, 400 k]$ | $\in(400 k, 500 k]$ | $\in(500 k, 600 k]$ |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| A: Main Regression (2006-2015) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.075 \\ (0.059) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.083 \\ (0.018) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.061 \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.058 \\ (0.010) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.014 \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.026 \\ (0.056) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 26,071 | 197,583 | 575,312 | 447,856 | 60,784 | 14,442 |
| B: Placebo Regression (2006-2011) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.058 \\ (0.046) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.019 \\ (0.010) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.005 \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.029 \\ & (0.024) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.072 \\ (0.036) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.069 \\ & (0.078) \end{aligned}$ |
| Observations | 44,234 | 760,496 | 104,403 | 38,149 | 21,214 | 5,214 |
| Individual Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Name Frequency $\leq 10 \mathrm{Vs}$. Others


Name Frequency Below Vs. Above Median


Name Frequency First Vs. Top Quartile


Name Frequency First Vs. Top Decile


## Extensive Margin Response to the Public Disclosure

|  | Treat: Name Frequency |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\leq 10$ | $\leq 20$ | $\leq 30$ | $\leq 40$ | $\leq$ Median | $\leq$ 1st Quartile | $\leq$ 1st Decile |
| $(1)$ | $(2)$ | $(3)$ | $(4)$ | $(5)$ | $(6)$ | $(7)$ |  |

A: Main Regression (2006-2015)

| treat $\times$ after | 0.0117 | 0.0106 | 0.0101 | 0.0097 | 0.0094 | 0.0163 | 0.0265 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (0.0027) | (0.0024) | (0.0023) | (0.0022) | (0.0022) | (0.0041) | (0.0089) |

B: Placebo Regression (2006-2011)

| treat $\times$ after | 0.0027 | 0.0027 | 0.0026 | 0.0025 | 0.0024 | 0.0038 | 0.0026 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $(0.0018)$ | $(0.0017)$ | $(0.0017)$ | $(0.0016)$ | $(0.0016)$ | $(0.0026)$ | $(0.0027)$ |

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## Structure of Pakistani Legislature

| House | Total Seats | Directly Elected | Reserved |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $(1)$ | $(2)$ | $(3)$ | Women <br> $(4)$ | Minorities <br> $(5)$ | Technocrats <br> $(6)$ |
| National Assembly | 342 | 272 | 60 | 10 | - |
| Senate | 104 | 66 | 17 | 4 | 17 |
| Punjab Assembly | 371 | 297 | 66 | 8 | - |
| Sind Assembly | 168 | 130 | 29 | 9 | - |
| KP Assembly | 99 | 22 | 3 | - |  |
| Balochistan Assembly | 65 | 51 | 124 | 3 | - |
| Total | 1174 | 915 | 205 | 37 | 17 |

MPs - Intensive Margin


After Dropping Less-Common Names


## MPs - Intensive Margin Response



## MPs - Intensive Margin Response

|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.407 \\ (0.069) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.489 \\ (0.108) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.401 \\ (0.100) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.399 \\ (0.070) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.371 \\ (0.072) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.491 \\ (0.091) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ after $\times$ ruling party |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.154 \\ (0.140) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after $\times$ federal |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.012 \\ (0.138) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after $\times$ tightly contested |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.181 \\ (0.406) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after $\times$ federal minister |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.514 \\ (0.220) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| treat $\times$ after $\times$ repeat MP |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.197 \\ 0.137 \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 5,832,527 | 5,832,527 | 5,832,527 | 5,832,527 | 5,832,527 | 5,832,527 |
| Individual Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

MPs - Extensive Margin


MPs - Extensive Margin


## MPs - Extensive Margin



MPs - Extensive Margin


MPs - Extensive Margin


MPs - Extensive Margin


## MPs - Extensive Margin

|  | Dependent Variable: Filed in year $t$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 1.(year $\geq 2012$ ) | $\begin{gathered} 0.592 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.588 \\ (0.010) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.618 \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.587 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.598 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.596 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ |
| 1 .(year $\geq 2012$ ) $\times$ ruling party |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.008 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |
| 1.(year $\geq 2012) \times$ federal |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.065 \\ & (0.014) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
| 1 .(year $\geq 2012) \times$ tightly contested |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.082 \\ (0.028) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| 1.(year $\geq 2012) \times$ federal minister |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.149 \\ (0.035) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| 1. (year $\geq 2012$ ) $\times$ repeat MP |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.013 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.313 \\ (0.005) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.309 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.278 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.318 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.306 \\ (0.005) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.290 \\ (0.006) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 12,300 | 12,300 | 12,300 | 12,300 | 12,300 | 12,300 |

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## Growth in Tax Remittance



## Growth in Tax Remittance



## Response to the TPHC Program

|  | Treat: Rank |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\in(80,120]$ |  | $\in(70,130]$ |  | $\in(60,140]$ |  | $\in(50,150]$ |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| A: Main Regression (2006-2014) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.166 \\ (0.075) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.138 \\ (0.077) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.171 \\ (0.062) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.161 \\ (0.064) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.136 \\ (0.054) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.126 \\ (0.055) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.140 \\ (0.048) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.128 \\ (0.049) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times 1$. year $\in\{2010,2011\}$ ) |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.163 \\ & (0.151) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.060 \\ & (0.126) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.058 \\ & (0.115) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.070 \\ (0.105) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 |
| B: Placebo Regression (2006-2010) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.019 \\ (0.120) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.010 \\ (0.102) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.086 \\ (0.091) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.090 \\ (0.081) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Observations | 17,208 |  | 17,208 |  | 17,208 |  | 17,208 |  |

## Falsification Exercise

|  | Treat: Rank |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\in(150,200]$ |  | $\in(200,250]$ |  | $\in(250,300]$ |  | $\in(300,350]$ |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| A: Main Regression (2006-2014) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.029 \\ (0.068) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.001 \\ (0.076) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.027 \\ (0.065) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.054 \\ (0.072) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.004 \\ (0.058) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.019 \\ (0.065) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.021 \\ (0.066) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-0.003 \\ (0.071) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times 1 .($ year $\in\{2010,2011\})$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.079 \\ (0.098) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.083 \\ (0.085) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.065 \\ (0.081) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.054 \\ (0.093) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 | 32,047 |
| B: Placebo Regression (2006-2010) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.084 \\ (0.100) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.025 \\ (0.092) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.040 \\ & (0.094) \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.058 \\ (0.094) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Observations | 17,208 |  | 17,208 |  | 17,208 |  | 17,208 |  |

## Response By Taxpayer Category

|  | Treat: Rank $\in$ (80, 120] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Self-Employed |  | Wage-Earners |  | Partnerships |  | Corporations |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| A: Main Regression (2006-2014) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline-0.033 \\ (0.205) \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.013 \\ (0.241) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.215 \\ (0.143) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.276 \\ (0.172) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.036 \\ (0.105) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.089 \\ (0.114) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.412 \\ (0.115) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.267 \\ (0.129) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times 1 .($ year $\in\{2010,2011\})$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.130 \\ (0.221) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.176 \\ (0.254) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.144 \\ (0.102) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.444 \\ (0.206) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 7,619 | 7,619 | 7,914 | 7,914 | 8,185 | 8,185 | 8,329 | 8,329 |
| B: Placebo Regression (2006-2010) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.231 \\ (0.278) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.173 \\ (0.258) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.120 \\ (0.116) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.387 \\ (0.225) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Observations | 3,993 |  | 4,241 |  | 4,420 |  | 4,554 |  |

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## Did the Two Programs Affect Social Norms?

- Arguably, one motivation of the government in introducing the two programs must have been to inculcate and strengthen a culture of tax compliance in the country
- We investigate if the programs cause a shift of social norms toward compliance using two measures
- For general population, we explore if the dynamics of the response was heterogeneous across more and less compliant neighborhoods
- For MPs, we explore if the disclosed tax payments were associated with a higher reelection probability


## Public Disclosure and Social Norms

|  | Trait: Neighborhoods |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | With Proportion of Less-Common-Named Wage-earners Above the Median |  |  |  | With Proportion of Less-Common-Named Top Taxpayers Above the Median |  |  |  |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| treat $\times$ after | $\begin{gathered} 0.080 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.079 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.013 \\ & (0.013) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.030 \\ (0.009) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.069 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.069 \\ (0.007) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.022 \\ & (0.014) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.031 \\ (0.008) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ trait $\times 2012$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.005 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.025 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.043 \\ & (0.016) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.155 \\ & (0.015) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.010 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.034 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.031 \\ & (0.017) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.256 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ trait $\times 2013$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.027 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.022 \\ & (0.012) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.040 \\ & (0.018) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.008 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.028 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.016 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.008 \\ & (0.019) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.026 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ trait $\times 2014$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.037 \\ (0.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.040 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.012 \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.081 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.047 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.056 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.027 \\ (0.019) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.115 \\ (0.015) \end{gathered}$ |
| treat $\times$ trait $\times 2015$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.038 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.044 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.011 \\ & (0.019) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.104 \\ (0.014) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.048 \\ (0.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.058 \\ (0.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.006 \\ & (0.020) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.158 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ |
| Included Taxpayers | All | All | Top | Bottom | All | All | Top | Bottom |
| Major Cities Dropped | No | Yes | No | No | No | Yes | No | No |
| Observations | 2,131,611 | 2,043,533 | 657,201 | 1,474,410 | 2,045,955 | 1,962,510 | 649,939 | 1,396,016 |

## Public Disclosure and Electoral Success

|  | Definition of Tax Paid: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Tax Paid in 2012 | Tax Paid in 2013 | Tax Paid in 2014 | Tax Paid in 2015 | Max Tax Paid | Min Tax Paid | Sum of Tax Paid | $\begin{gathered} \text { Diff of } \\ 2015 \& 2012 \end{gathered}$ |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Tax Paid | $\begin{gathered} 0.064 \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.064 \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.043 \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.043 \\ (0.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.068 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 0.057 \\ (0.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.062 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.025 \\ (0.016) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 478 | 702 | 734 | 738 | 838 | 838 | 863 | 863 |

## Public Disclosure and Electoral Success

|  | Outcome: The MP Wins the Next Election Held in 2018 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Tax Paid in 2012 | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline 0.064 \\ (0.021) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.061 \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.058 \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.051 \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.053 \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.050 \\ (0.022) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 478 | 478 | 478 | 477 | 475 | 475 |
| Controls: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Party Fixed Effects | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| House Fixed Effects | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| \% Votes Obtained in 2013 | No | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Winning Margin in 2013 | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Federal Minister | No | No | No | No | No | Yes |

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## Conclusions

- Using two Pakistani programs, we explore the importance of pecuniary and nonpecuniary motivations for tax compliance
- We find that public disclosure of taxes and social recognition of top taxpayers leads to increased tax compliance. The programs also cause a shift of social norms toward compliance
- To the extent that factors such as guilt, shame, and pride matter, the governments can leverage them for resource mobilization.

