Different from You and Me: Tax Enforcement and Sophisticated Tax Evasion by the Wealthy

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BEVERIDGE 2.0 TAX JUSTICE SYMPOSIUM

Background: Conventional Wisdom vs. Headlines

Conventional wisdom among economists, circa ≈ 2008:
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The New Hork Times

Ex-UBS Banker Pleads Guilty in Tax



Evasion

Credit Suisse Pleads Guilty to Conspiracy to Aid and Assist U.S. Taxpayers in Filing False Returns

By Lynnley Browning

June 20, 2008

Bloomberg



Butterfield Bank Admits It Helped Americans Evade U.S. Taxes

BUSINESS NEWS

DECEMBER 10, 2019 / 8:53 PM / UPDATED 2 YEARS ACO.

HSBC Swiss unit to pay \$192 million in latest U.S. tax evasion deal

Forbes

Accountants Plead Guilty On \$1.2 Billion In Bad Charitable Deductions

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

TAX REPORT

The IRS Reels in a Whale of an Offshore Tax Cheat—and Goes for Another

The U.S. pulls back the curtain on the shadowy world of wealthy American tax evaders

This Paper

- How has recent research changed our understanding of tax evasion by high-income/high-wealth individuals?
- How should we design tax enforcement policy targeting the high-income/high-wealth population?
 - Review policy interventions throughout tax enforcement process & existing evidence
 - Case studies: offshore wealth, conservation easements

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- When there is uncertainty about what the law allows:
 - Legal definition of avoidance may include non-compliant positions
 - We call this grey-area avoidance going forward

Prior Economic Thinking on Tax Evasion

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Prior Economic Thinking on Tax Evasion

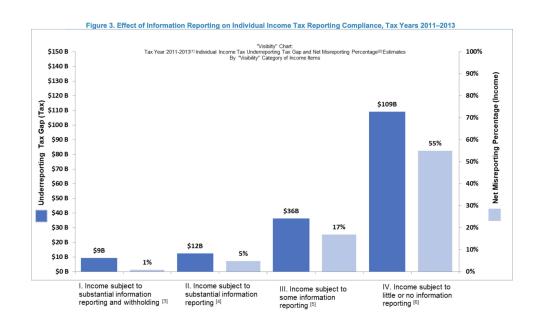
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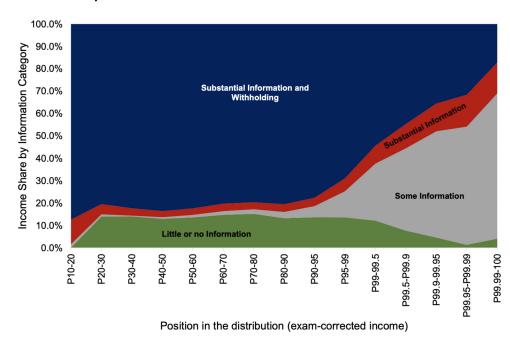
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- Recent work on importance of sophisticated evasion at the top.
 - Scandinavia: Alstadsaeter Johannesen Zucman 2019
 - US: Guyton et al 2021

Information, Compliance, and Income

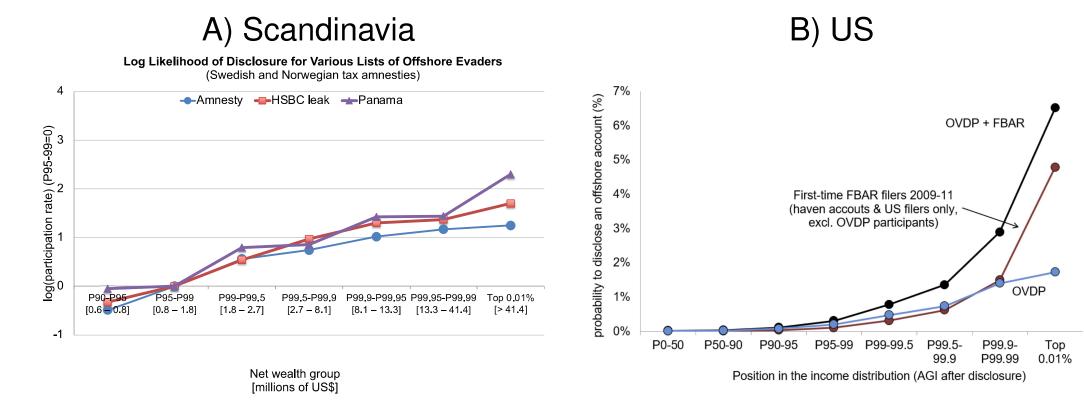
A) Information and Compliance



B) Information and Income



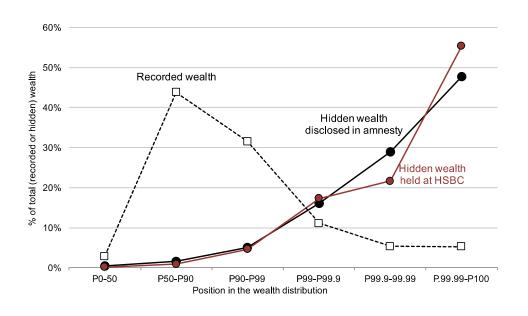
New Evidence: Offshore Wealth



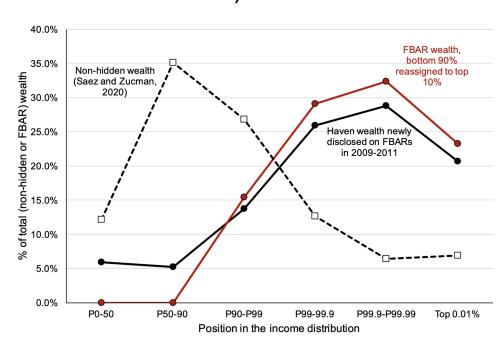
- Higher participation at the top for every list of disclosers
- Voluntary/Amnesty less steep than other lists

Offshore wealth in tax havens is extremely concentrated

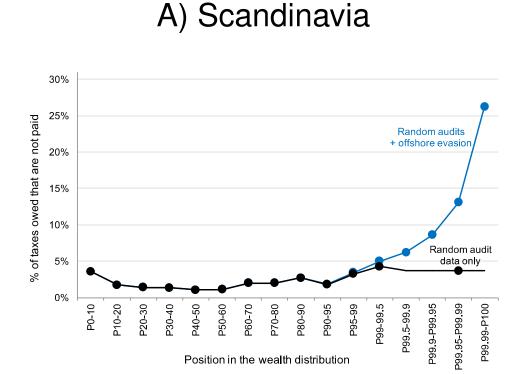


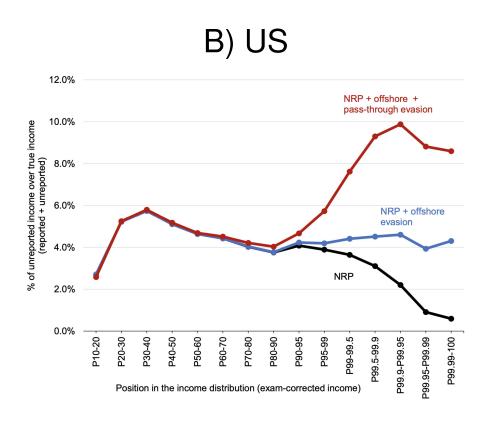


B) US



Sophisticated evasion changes our macro understanding of evasion





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- Ownership of large corporations is highly concentrated => who benefits from corporate tax avoidance?
- Profit shifting is globally large: 36% of multinationals' profits shifted to tax havens
- This is usually called avoidance but enforcement matters.
 - Related party transactions facilitate shifting
 - Valuing assets in these transactions creates grey areas
 - \implies disputes are common

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Define rules, regulations, & penalties	 Reforming rules & regulations 	Precluding tax sheltersResolving ambiguities

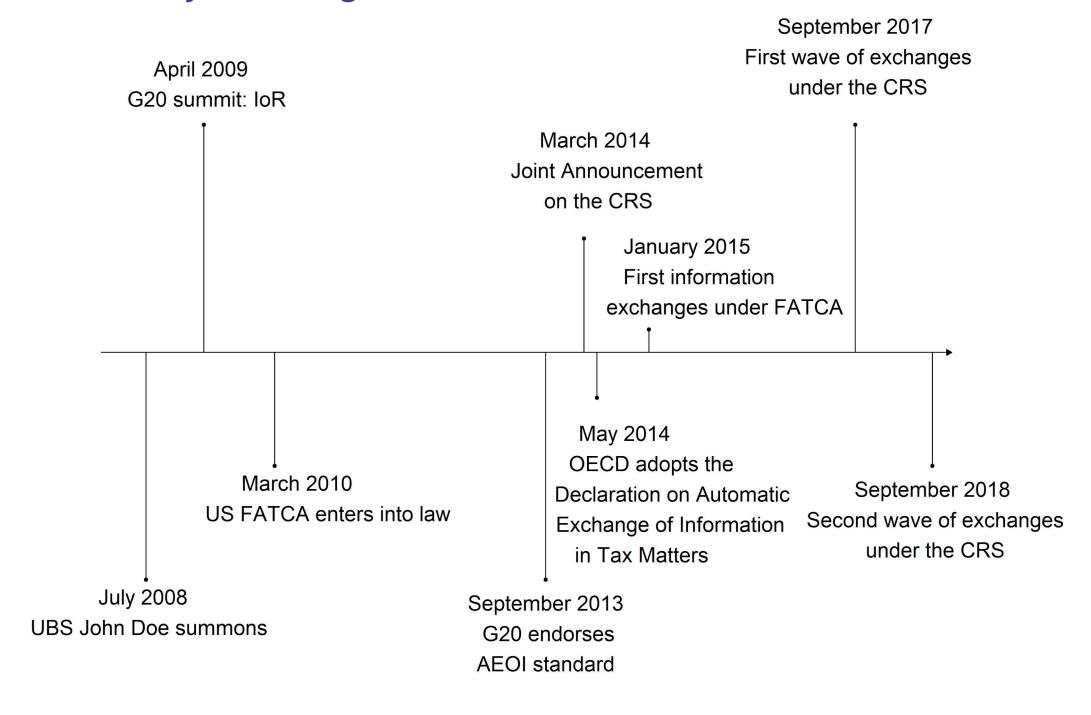
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Disputes and litigation	Resources availableSelection of cases/issues to litigate	Staffing skilled litigatorsLitigating through complexityOptimizing revenue/deterrence

Case Study: Cracking Down on Offshore Wealth



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Broad empirical insight: ample evidence of **sophistication** and **calculated risk-taking**

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 - Early court wins on technical issues (2017-18)
 - → 30% increase in SCE deductions
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- US government loses \approx \$3 billion per year in tax revenue while the fight plays out
- A costly tool, probably the only one available without new legislation

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 - multi-pronged policy approach; find and fix weak links
 - ...but progress is possible (e.g. offshore case).

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- Collaboration between tax authorities and researchers is also a policy tool!