# Non-Monetary Sanctions as Tax Enforcement Tools: Evaluating California's Top 500 Program 

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## Disclaimer

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## We want to reduce outstanding tax debt

- Various tools are used to encourage resolution of unpaid liability
- Primarily financial: interest, penalties, liens, levies
- Lesser-used and lesser-studied tools: collateral sanctions
- "Name and shame" lists
- License suspensions


## Agenda

- Description of CA Top 500 program
- Statistical highlights of program impact
- Overview of social welfare analysis
- Framework from Keen and Slemrod


## The CA Top 500 Program

- 2006 legislation - Publish top 250 debtors annually
- 2011 legislation - Publish top 500 twice per year
- Suspension of professional licenses
- Prohibition on receiving state contracts
- Separate lists for Sales Tax and Income Taxes
- This study only on Personal Income Taxes (about 80\% of Income Tax list)


## Recent highest published CA balances

This is a list of the 500 largest tax delinquencies over $\$ 100,000$. By law, we must publish this list at least twice a year.

Last updated: 10/06/2020

| Name $\hat{\imath}$ | $\hat{\wedge}$ Address $\hat{\imath}$ | $\hat{\imath}$ Subtotal $\hat{\imath}$ | Total $\hat{\imath}$ | Lien $\hat{\imath}$ | License | $\hat{\vee}$ Status | $\hat{\imath}$ Number $\hat{\imath}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Moreland, Peggy J \& Terry L | Bakersfield, CA 93306 | \$5,306,836.86 | \$5,306,836.86 | 01/24/2008 | Contractor's <br> State License <br> Board | Expired | 856954 |
|  |  |  |  |  | Contractor's <br> State License <br> Board | Expired | 362166 |
| Cooksey, Jimmy D | Bowling Green, KY 42104 | \$2,403,194.62 | \$2,403,194.62 | 04/25/2008 |  |  |  |
| Amin, Joseph \& Sharona | Beverly Hills, CA 90210 | \$1,730,698.65 | \$1,730,698.65 | 04/14/2014 | Board of Pharmacy | Active | 0034252 |
| Patrick, William L \& Susan K | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Cody, WY } \\ & 82414 \end{aligned}$ | \$1,648,546.31 | \$1,648,546.31 | 05/31/2019 |  |  |  |

https://www.ftb.ca.gov/about-ftb/newsroom/top-500-past-due-balances/personal-income-tax-list.html

Note: our analysis focuses only on individual taxpayers, not businesses


## Official letter

Arguably, the response to the official letter is a response to the threat of a bundle of two sanctions:

## 1. Certain publication

2. Potential license suspension

## Notice of Public Disclosure of Tax Delinquency

axable Yea

Account Number
Balance Due:
Pay By:

Revenue and Taxation Code (R\&TC) Section 19195 directs the Franchise Tax Board (FTB) to publicly disclose a list of the 500 largest state income tax delinquencies. These delinquencies must total in excess of $\$ 100,000$ and be subject to a recorded notice of state tax lien. We intend to post this list on our website at ftb.ca.gov.
Your account qualifies for this disclosure and Internet posting. If you do not pay your tax liability or take other action described below, we may add to a list posted on our website:

- Your name and address.
- Your occupational or professional licenses with type, status, and license numbers.
- The liened amount owed and the earliest date a notice of state tax lien was recorded.

Your inclusion on the list may lead to the denial or suspension of your licenses, including driver's licenses, under Business and Professions Code Section 494.5, and will preclude you from entering into contracts for the acquisition of goods or services with California state agencies under Contract Code Section 10295.4.
To avoid public disclosure of tax delinquency, you must do one of the following within 30 days of the notice date:

- Pay your balance due. You may be required to make payments electronically. Go to ftb.ca.gov and search for mandatory epay. If your estimated tax or extension payment exceeds $\$ 20,000$ or your tax liability exceeds $\$ 80,000$ for any taxable year beginning on or after January 1, 2009, you must make all future payments electronically, regardless of the taxable year. Payments made by other means will result in a penalty of 1 percent of the amount paid, unless your failure to pay was for reasonable cause and not willful neglect (R\&TC Section 19011.5). If you are not required to pay electronically, enclose the above part of this notice and mail it with a check or money order for the total amount due payable to the Franchise Tax Board. Write your full name and account number on your payment. Use the enclosed return envelope and mail to: FRANCHISE TAX BOARD, PO BOX 306, 2 ANCH
- Arrange to pay your balance due. To determine if you qualify for installment payments, call us at 888.426.8555.

Partial payment (even a reduction of the balance due below $\$ 100,000$ ) will not preclude you from being on the list.
If your name appears on the list, FTB will continue to pursue collection actions. Call 888.426 .8555 if you believe you should not be on the list, have questions, paid the balance due, made payment arrangements, otherwise resolved the balance due, think you do not owe the balance due, or filed bankruptcy.
Get FTB 1131, Franchise Tax Board Privacy Notice, at ftb.ca.gov and search for privacy notice.
Get FTB 1140, Personal Income Tax Collections Information, at ftb.ca.gov and search for 1140.
Internet and Telephone Assistance
Website: ftb.ca.gov
Telephone: $\quad 888.426 .8555$ from within the United States
TTY/TDD: $\quad 800.822 .6268$ for persons with hearing or speech impairments
FTB 4192 PIT PC (REV 10-2012)

Lists are somewhat "sticky"


## Data

- Study includes publication cycles during 2013-2017
- 10 Top 500 cycles (April and October publication)
- Admin data on debt/balance due over time
- Outcomes:
- Payments made, and when
- "Status codes" which allow identification of new Installment Agreements
- Linked to CA state income tax returns
- Indication of on-time or late filing, or no filing
- Among filers, CA AGI, Wages, presence of business income, and residency


## Summary stats - official letter recipients

|  | Mean | Std. Dev. | P5 | P25 | Median | P75 | P95 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Panel A: Among all official letter recipients |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Balance due as of official letter (\$ thousands) | 859 | 7,069 | 181 | 245 | 324 | 539 | 1,796 |
| Filed on-time return for two-years prior tax year (1/0) | 0.57 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Filed return for prior tax year (1/0) | 0.55 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Among those with filed returns for prior tax year: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| AGI (\$ thousands) | -250 | 3,913 | -1,100 | 2 | 40 | 152 | 884 |
| Wages (\$ thousands) | 71 | 699 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 213 |
| Has business income (1/0) | 0.49 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| CA resident (1/0) | 0.96 | 0.19 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Panel B: Among first-time official letter recipients |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Balance due as of official letter (\$ thousands) | 606 | 2,012 | 172 | 229 | 300 | 493 | 1,512 |
| Filed on-time return for two-years prior tax year (1/0) | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Filed return for prior tax year (1/0) | 0.53 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| Among those with filed returns for prior tax year: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| AGI (\$ thousands) | -111 | 3,509 | -825 | 2 | 41 | 165 | 983 |
| Wages (\$ thousands) | 98 | 943 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 43 | 272 |
| Has business income (1/0) | 0.49 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| CA resident (1/0) | 0.97 | 0.17 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |

## Comparisons

- Four Outcomes
- Made a Payment
- \$s Paid
- Enter Installment Agreement
- Newly Ineligible
- Two Groups
- Full Range
- May not be random
- Band Around Cutoff
- Less of the debt


## Varying cutoff values for warning letter



Within the range of cutoff values, warning letter receipt is quasi-random

## Official letter: Graphical approach - full range



Compares among those:

- eligible for official letter (based on most recent status change);
- who received preletter that cycle;
- who have not received a prior official letter;
- with balance >\$100K.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Among eligible pre-letter recipients, } \\
& \text { no prior official letter, no balance restriction: }
\end{aligned}
$$

## Official letter: Graphical approach -near-cutoff only



Compares among those:

- eligible for official letter (based on most recent status change);
- who received preletter that cycle;
- who have not received a prior official letter;
- with balance roughly \$150-225K (within range of cutoffs)
- Generally confirms full-sample, but payments lower as expected


## Publication: Some evidence for license effect



Among letter recipients, we compare published vs. non-published

Selection is very important to consider here!

## Official letter: Diff-in-Diff results - full range

Main spec includes:

- Letter date +/- 3 months
- eligible for official letter (using most recent status)
- received pre-letter that cycle
- no prior official letter
- balance > \$100K

We find significant positive effects for payment amount, starting IA, and becoming ineligible.

|  | Dependent variables: |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Made payment | Payment amount (\$) | New IA | New ineligibility |
| Official letter * Post | $\begin{gathered} 0.0392^{* * *} \\ (0.0063) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1621.5^{* * *} \\ \text { (471.06) } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.013 * * * \\ & (0.0018) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.0271^{* * *} \\ (0.0035) \end{gathered}$ |
| Official letter | $\begin{aligned} & -0.05^{* * *} \\ & (0.0073) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & (220.47) \\ & (216.96) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.0005^{* * *} \\ (0.0001) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.0007 \\ (0.0012) \end{gathered}$ |
| Post | $\begin{gathered} 0.0193^{* * *} \\ (0.0016) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 590.31^{* * *} \\ (82.80) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.004^{* * *} \\ & (0.0003) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.0379 * * * \\ (0.0009) \end{gathered}$ |
| Balance (\$ thousands) | $\begin{gathered} 0^{* * *} \\ 0.0000 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.2771 \\ & 0.1811 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0^{* * *} \\ 0.0000 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.0000 \\ & 0.0000 \end{aligned}$ |
| April publication | $\begin{gathered} -0.0414^{* * *} \\ (0.0027) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -497.45^{* * *} \\ (99.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.0007^{* *} \\ (0.0003) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.0001 \\ (0.0009) \end{gathered}$ |
| Intercept | $\begin{gathered} 0.196 * * * \\ (0.0047) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 629.87^{* * *} \\ (69.95) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.001^{* * *} \\ (0.0002) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.0066^{* * *} \\ (0.0006) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 126,444 | 126,444 | 126,444 | 126,444 |
| R2 | 0.0048 | 0.0018 | 0.0042 | 0.0167 |
| Mean dep var. | 0.1803 | 842.2733 | 0.0031 | 0.0268 |

## Official letter: Diff-in-Diff results - near cutoff

## Main spec includes:

- Letter date +/- 3 months
- eligible for official letter (using most recent status)
- received pre-letter that cycle
- no prior official letter
- balance roughly $\mathbf{\$ 1 5 0 - 2 2 5 K}$ (within range of cutoffs)

Results are robust to:

- Data filters (pre-letter, eligibility, prior letter)
- Balance filters (narrower cutoff range, excluding balance control)
- Lengthening time window

|  | Dependent variables: |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Made payment | Payment amount (\$) | New IA | New ineligibility |
| Official letter * Post | $\mathbf{0 . 0 2 2 3 ^ { * }}$ | $\mathbf{1 5 5 . 7 7}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 1 1 9 * * *}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 2 8 3 ^ { * * * }}$ |
|  | $\mathbf{( 0 . 0 1 1 8 )}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 5 . 1 1}$ | $\mathbf{( 0 . 0 0 3 2 )}$ | $\mathbf{( 0 . 0 0 6 6 )}$ |
| Official letter | 0.0010 | 73.73 | -0.0004 | -0.0004 |
|  | $(0.0146)$ | 173.93 | $(0.0003)$ | $(0.0022)$ |
| Post | $0.0192^{* * *}$ | $467.612^{* * *}$ | $0.0041^{* * *}$ | $0.036^{* * *}$ |
|  | $(0.0028)$ | 77.52 | $(0.0005)$ | $(0.0016)$ |
| Balance | -0.0002 | 0.93 | 0.0000 | 0.0000 |
| (\$ thousands) | $(0.0002)$ | 2.03 | $(0.0000)$ | $(0.0000)$ |
| April publication | $-0.0441^{* * *}$ | $-253.07^{* * *}$ | $-0.0014^{* * *}$ | -0.0001 |
|  | $(0.0049)$ | 83.20 | $(0.0005)$ | $(0.0015)$ |
| Intercept | $0.1974^{* * *}$ | 319.08 | 0.0030 | 0.0099 |
|  | $(0.0440)$ | 356.70 | $(0.0022)$ | $(0.0066)$ |
| Observations | 37,848 | 37,848 | 37,848 | 37,848 |
| R2 | 0.0047 | 0.0014 | 0.0041 | 0.0157 |
| Mean dep var. | 0.1583 | 606.2506 | 0.0029 | 0.0258 |

## Official letter: Cumulative payment effect - full range

This specification includes:

- Letter date +/- 3 months
- eligible for official letter (using most recent status)
- received pre-letter that cycle
- no prior official letter
- balance > \$100K

|  | Dependent variables: Cumulative payment amount post-official-letter (\$) |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 3 months | 6 months | 12 months | 24 months |
| Official letter | $\mathbf{5 3 8 8 . 7 3} * * *$ | $\mathbf{8 3 3 2 . 4 4 * * *}$ | $\mathbf{1 3 6 0 8 . 8 ^ { * * * }}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 2 8 3 . 3 ^ { * * * }}$ |
|  | $\mathbf{( 1 , 3 1 8 . 3 1 )}$ | $\mathbf{( 1 , 7 4 6 . 3 6 )}$ | $\mathbf{( 2 , 2 3 4 . 6 0 )}$ | $\mathbf{( 2 , 6 2 8 . 6 8 )}$ |
| Balance | 1.13 | 1.85 | $2.61^{*}$ | $2.63^{*}$ |
| (\$ thousands) | $(0.74)$ | $(1.15)$ | $(1.50)$ | $(1.59)$ |
| April publication | $-2048^{* * *}$ | $-2487.13^{* * *}$ | $-2406.15^{* * *}$ | $-2034.9^{* *}$ |
|  | $(510.48)$ | $(684.55)$ | $(740.21)$ | $(831.59)$ |
| Intercept | $3869.5^{* * *}$ | $6838.05^{* * *}$ | $10802.19^{* * *}$ | $15299^{* * *}$ |
|  | $(405.42)$ | $(562.87)$ | $(703.61)$ | $(835.56)$ |
| Observations | 21,074 | 21,074 | 21,074 | 21,074 |
| R2 | 0.0039 | 0.0049 | 0.0070 | 0.0075 |
| Mean dep var. | 3,626 | 6,835 | 11,519 | 16,620 |

## Back

## Stages of the process

- Biggest impact from the Official Letter.
- Impact of preletter has the right sign but is imprecise.
- Also some impact from actual publication.


## Social Welfare Estimate

- Keen and Slemrod (2017) welfare test:

$$
\phi(\text { Revenue }- \text { Admin Cost })-\text { Private Cost }>0
$$

- $\phi$ is the marginal value of public spending


## Social Welfare, Continued

- Estimate of additional revenue:
~400 new taxpayers receiving warning letter each year
X $\$ 18 \mathrm{~K}$ in additional payments after two years
\$7.2M in additional payments induced by letter each year
Note that this is a lower bound (IAs are longer-term; ignores publication effect)
Also include pre-letter effects (small positive effects on large group) of $\mathbf{\$ 3 . 2 M}$
= Total Revenue \$10.4M
- Estimate of administrative cost: \$1.6M
- Net Increase to government \$10.4M - \$1.6M = \$8.8M


## Social Welfare, continued

- Private Costs
- Direct Costs $\mathbf{\$ 1 0 . 4 M}$ (should they be included?)
-     + Disutility from Shaming \$7.4M
- Bounded by the cost of paying to avoid publication
-     - Reduced Avoidance Costs for newly compliant \$7.2M
- = \$10.6M


## Social Welfare, Continued

- Keen and Slemrod (2017) welfare test:

$$
\phi(\text { Revenue }- \text { Admin Cost })-\text { Private Cost }>0
$$

- Assume $\phi$ (marginal value of public spending) is greater than one (1.5)
- $1.5 \times \$ 8.4 m-\$ 10.6 m=\$ 2.6 m$


## Conclusions

- Warning letter induces positive compliance responses
- Time series graphs show effects; Regressions give quantitative estimates
- Notable increase in probability of starting an Installment Agreement
- Meaningful increase in long-run cumulative payments
- Additional \$18K/person paid over two years when including full range of balances
- Publication may also have small effect
- Tentative evidence of small positive effect of professional license suspension
- Cost-benefit analysis yields favorable assessment of program overall
- Consideration of private costs is especially important for collateral sanctions
- Appendix includes detailed notes
- Comments welcome! allen.prohofsky@ftb.ca.gov

