The End of Bank Secrecy? An Evaluation of the G20 Tax Haven Crackdown

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2009-2010: Major Crackdown on Tax Evasion

- Financial crisis: offshore evasion high on policy agenda
- Main policy instrument: tax treaties
- ► Key development: G20 summit in April 2009

Treaty Signature Surged During the Crisis



Is it the End of Bank Secrecy?

Heated controversy:

- ▶ OECD and G20: "the era of bank secrecy is over"
- Critics: treaties are useless
- Q: Which of the two views is closer to reality? Our A:
 - Treaties not useless: they affect behavior
 - But major pitfall in current approach: network of treaties incomplete so evaders shift funds

We Have Access to an Exceptionally Rich Dataset on Bank Deposits

- Bank deposit data for 13 major tax havens (BIS)
- > 2004-2011, quarterly, and at **bilateral level**
- Can learn a great deal from evolution of bank deposit
- But not everything: Compliance? Other assets? Non-evaders?

Deposits \approx 25% of Hhold Offshore Assets

(End of 2008 values in billions of current US\$)	World	Switzerland
Offshore securities	4,490	1,545
Bonds	37%	35%
Equities	63%	65%
Mutual Fund Shares	48%	50%
Offshore bank deposits	1,388	478
Total offshore financial wealth	5,878	2,022

Source: G. Zucman (2011), "The Missing Wealth of Nations: Are Europe and the U.S. net Debtors or net Creditors?"

We Study What Happens When Havens Sign Treaties

- Graphical analysis of trends in aggregate bank deposits
- Panel regressions on bilateral bank deposits (+ many robustness checks)
- Evolution of compliance in Switzerland

Five Results

- 1. Tax evaders respond to treaties (a minority)
- 2. Shift deposits to non-compliant havens
- 3. No repatriation of funds
- 4. Strong response of sham corporations
- 5. Still very low level of compliance in Switzerland
- \rightarrow Celebrating end of bank secrecy is unwarranted

The Result of the G20 Initiative Has Been a Relocation of Wealth Between Tax Havens



Two Policy Lessons

- 1. "Big bang" multilateral approach should be preferred to current approach (Elsayyad and Konrad, 2011)
- 2. Make treaties more demanding: automatic exchange of information

Result 1: Bank Deposits Responded Moderately to Treaties



Effect of Treaties Confirmed by Panel Regressions

Fixed effects regressions:

$$log(Deposits_{ijq}) = \alpha + \beta Treaty_{ijq} + \gamma_{ij} + \theta_q + \epsilon_{ijq}$$

If evaders own fraction s of deposits, causal effect of treaties on evaders' deposits $\approx \beta/s$

R.1: Some Depositors Respond to Treaties

Dependent variable: deposits of savers of country *i* in banks of country *j*

	BANK: havens	BANK: havens		
VARIABLES	SAVER: non-navens	SAVER: non-navens		
Treaty between <i>i</i> and <i>j</i>	-0.1156** (0.0349)			
Treaty (Contemp)		0.0223		
		(0.6331)		
Treaty (+1 quarter)		-0.0927		
		(0.1300)		
Treaty (+2 quarters)		-0.1306**		
		(0.0449)		
Treaty (+3 quarters)		-0.1724***		
		(0.0057)		
Treaty (>3 guarters)		-0.1818**		
		(0.0137)		
Observations	30,960	30,960		
Countrypair FE	YES	YES		
Time FE	YES	YES		
Robust p-values in parentheses, clustered at the country-pair level				

Result 2: Deposits Go to the Least Compliant Havens



Panel Regression Confirm Shifting to Least Compliant Havens

- Add a measure of the extent of country's *i* network of treaties to better explain *Deposits_{ijq}*
- Ex: What impact of an additional treaty signed by France on France-Singapore deposits?

Key Result: Depositors Shift their Deposits

Dependent variable: deposits of savers of country *i* in banks of country *j*

BANK: havens	BANK: havens
SAVER: non-havens	SAVER: non-havens
-0.1659***	-0.0498
(0.0052)	(0.4286)
-0.2161***	-0.2198***
(0.0004)	(0.0003)
0.0059**	
(0.0402)	
	0.0001
	(0.9719)
	0.0120***
	(0.0033)
30,960	30,960
YES	YES
YES	YES
	BANK: havens SAVER: non-havens -0.1659*** (0.0052) -0.2161*** (0.0004) 0.0059** (0.0402) 30,960 YES YES

Robust p-values in parentheses, clustered at the country-pair level

Result 3: Still as Much Money in Tax Havens...



... And Treaties do not Seem to Help Curb Tax Evasion



Result 4: Deposits Held Through Sham Corporations May Have Responded Strongly

Dependent variable:	deposits of savers o	f country <i>i</i> in I	banks of country <i>i</i>

VARIABLES	BANK: havens SAVER: havens	BANK: havens SAVER: havens
# of treaties signed by banking haven <i>j</i> with non-haven countries	-0.0067** (0.0188)	-0.0095*** (0.0015)
# of treaties signed by banking haven with other havens		0.0087 (0.3362)
Treaty between <i>i</i> and <i>j</i>		0.0536 (0.6726)
Observations Countrypair fixed effect Time fixed effect	8,798 YES YES	8,798 YES YES

Robust p-values in parentheses, clustered at the country-pair level

Result 5: Treaties do not Improve Compliance in Switzerland



Conclusion: Not the End of Bank Secrecy

- Even weak threat of enforcement sometimes enough to affect behavior
- But shifting rather than repatriation
- Uncertainties remain on compliance and exact magnitude of effect

But contrary to what policymakers say, era of bank secrecy clearly far from over

Will FATCA and similar laws change the situation?

- Comprehensive network of treaties providing for automatic exchange of information may become reality
- Key questions (i) Will all havens participate? (ii) Will banks correctly identify beneficial owners?
- Need for (i) sanctions and (ii) verification mechanisms