

**EXPLORING THEMES OF A VOLUNTARY AND ENFORCED TAX COMPLIANCE  
BEHAVIOUR: A STAKEHOLDER'S PERSPECTIVE USING THEMATIC APPROACH IN  
KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA – PAKISTAN**

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**ABSTRACT**

Around the World, Governments pay their public expenditures primarily through the finance generated from the tax revenues. However, for many developing countries like Pakistan, the state authorities still face difficulties achieving tax compliance. Therefore, this research explores several themes related to nudge practices toward a sustainable tax system in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This research employed a qualitative methodology following an interpretive research approach. This paper used a thematic approach using the qualitative data to achieve the research objectives. The qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with four major stakeholders, i.e., tax consultants, tax administration officials, business and salaried individuals, and then analysed using QSR NVivo 13. Two central themes were identified during thematic analysis – deterrence and non-deterrence nudges. Deterrence nudges are divided into coercive factors (power of authority, tax enforcement escalation) and economic factors (probability of detection, tax rate, and the perceived threat of punishment). While the non-deterrence nudges include social factors (perceived tax fairness, perceived leadership agility, taxpayer morale and taxpayer knowledge), psychological factors (perception of govt. spending, positive incentive inducement, perception of taxing wealthy people, naming shaming intervention, perceived moral suasion, perceived service orientation, perceived trustworthiness, tax simplicity and the taxpayer religiosity evaluation). This research also sheds light on several other important implications for the academics and tax administration authorities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa – Pakistan

## **INTRODUCTION**

*"In 1990, Once Benjamin Franklin said that there are only two things certain in life: "death and taxes."*

It is a matter of the fact that tax is the primary source of internal resources for an economy to meet the country's revenue and developmental expenditures. Tax is not a new notion. In the simplest form, tax can be defined as the compulsory economic obligations levied by the government on legal persons and citizens (Gangl & Torgler, 2020). On the other hand, the problem of tax compliance is as old as the tax itself. However, improving compliance with tax laws has always been a fundamental goal for governments and revenue collection authorities around the World. The tax compliance domain covers the area of public finance, organizational design, law enforcement agencies, ethics, labour supply and the combination of all these factors (Hassan, Naeem & Gulzar, 2021). Existing literature discusses the construct of tax compliance from different perspectives. Tax compliance is the taxpayers' willingness to follow the tax law to pay their obligations on time in the specific calendar year. Moreover, James, Simon and Alley, (2010) define tax compliance as the taxpayers' intentions towards the gratification of the tax laws. However, on the other hand, voluntary tax compliance behaviour results from the individual willingness to comply with the tax laws without any enforcement application (Alabede et al., 2011).

Around the World, tax compliance is a major issue for revenue collection administrations. Therefore, several countries have attempted to improve tax compliance by considering the broader economic and non-economic perspectives (Antinyan & Asatryan, 2019; Ahmad Farhan Alshira'h, 2019). These economic and non-economic factors are investigated in developed countries like Malaysia (Jabbar, 2016), Italy (D'Attoma, 2020), New Zealand (Saad, 2012;2014), United States (D'Attoma, 2020; Alm et al., 2017), Europe (Alm & Torgler, 2006), Switzerland (Torgler, 2004), Australia (Devos, 2014). All the studies mentioned above are conducted in developed countries, indicating that tax compliance is not merely reported in developing countries. Therefore, it is concluded that tax compliance issues require more attention to study all the relevant factors influencing tax compliance behaviour. Several international studies investigate tax simplicity and the structure of tax administration factors, which affect tax compliance among the taxpayers ( Liebman & Ramsey, 2019). Tax compliance behaviour does not improve unless the tax authorities do not simplify the tax return submission procedure and registration process for the individual and corporate taxpayers. If a tax complexity problem prevails in the system, this spontaneously promotes non-compliance, alarming for revenue collection administration (Liebman & Ramsey, 2019).

Religious belief is also a strong determinant of taxpayer compliance behaviour. Religious belief is the strong affiliation of any person with their specific ethnic group, which adds to the decision-making process (Nicholson, 2019). Therefore, religious commitment and affiliation positively affect tax morale associated with tax compliance (Worthington et al., 2003). This phenomenon is clearly shown in the following figure;

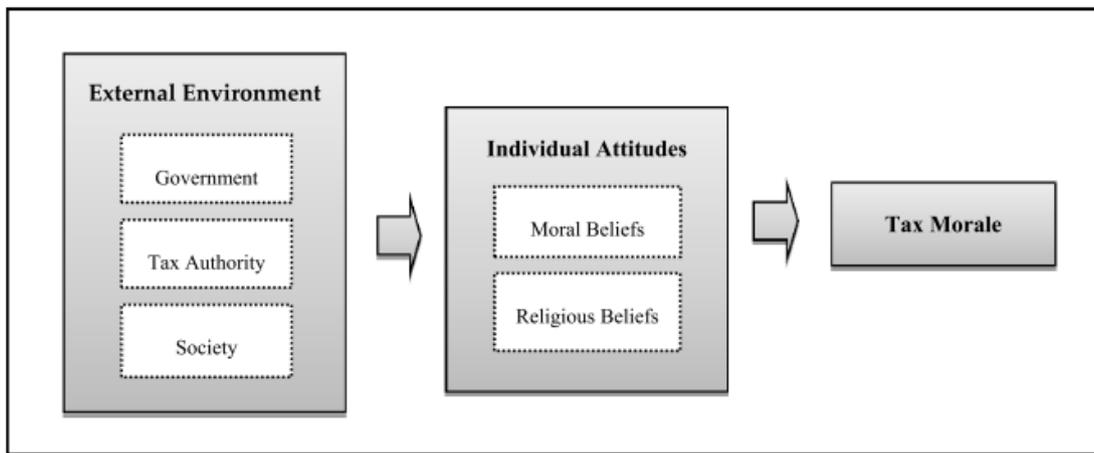


Figure 1: Major Influences on the Formation of Tax Morale (Adapted from Worthington et al., 2003, p. 570).

Moreover, other types of religiosities were also investigated (interpersonal religiosity and intrapersonal religiosity) and found that general religiosity positively influences enforced and voluntary tax compliance behaviour. However, only one dimension of religiosity (intrapersonal) turned out significant concerning the voluntary tax compliance variable. At the same time, the other dimension (interpersonal) was reported insignificant for both the enforced and voluntary compliance dependent variables therein. However, the current study focuses on qualitative research design using a thematic approach to explore the themes relevant to the new deterrence and non-deterrence nudge practices for the sustainable tax system in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Overall, this research aims to investigate the new behavioural interventions in improving the tax compliance behaviour among the individual taxpayers in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Researchers tested the slippery slope framework using the independent variables of trust in authorities and authorities' power against the tax compliance behaviour in different countries (Hofmann et al., 2017). *Tax administration* and tax compliance behaviour studies (Uddin et al., 2020) reported. Literature also revealed some other contributively works on tax information (Li et al., 2020) and tax information (Ayuba et al., 2016) against the dependent variable of tax compliance. Tax rate and tax compliance were studied (Guerra & Harrington, 2018). Taxpayers are influenced by the probability of detection when involved in tax evasion crime. Therefore, the likelihood of detection is important in assessing individual and corporate level tax compliance behaviour.

Several other researchers tested this association globally (Ayuba et al., 2016). Tax complexity is treated as an important element in determining the individual tax compliance behaviour, and thus literature shows some important research studies on the same variable (Gangl et al., 2019; Jugurnath & Ramen, 2018). The author of this study also found some other important independent variables in consideration with the tax compliance dependent variable in which incentive positive inducements (IPI) were studied (Ayuba et al., 2016; Kastlunger et al., 2011; Smith & Stalans, 1991), perceived service orientation (PSO) (Ayuba et al., 2016).

Keeping in view the behavioural factors affecting tax compliance behaviour. Tax penalty plays an important role in shaping individual taxpayer tax compliance behaviour. Several studies, among others, studied the influence of tax penalties on tax compliance in the last decades (Antinyan & Asatryan, 2019). Tax audit is also examined, and literature shows several studies on the same variable (Antinyan & Asatryan, 2019; Helhel & Sikayu, 2016). The same study also sheds light on the literature's moral

suasion and tax compliance behaviour. Moral suasion, among other variables, is documented by (Torgler 2004).

Every country exhibits its own culture, which affects the moods and behaviour of the citizens. Therefore, culture is also studied in the literature associated with the tax compliance relating to an individual and corporate taxpayers (Awan & Hannan, 2014; McGee et al., 2016). Recent literature also shows some new practices that influence individual tax compliance behaviour. Many researchers tested the naming shaming theory is tested by many researchers (Dwenger & Treber, 2019). Another new behavioural intervention is the nudge theory implemented and mainly tested in the United Kingdom and other countries. These nudge practices have shown progress in different policy-related areas in governance, health, and taxation (Antinyan & Asatryan, 2019; Farhi & Gabaix, 2020; Holz et al., 2020; Hoy et al., 2020).

## **RESEARCH METHDODOLOGY**

### **The Rationale for Choosing a Qualitative Research Design**

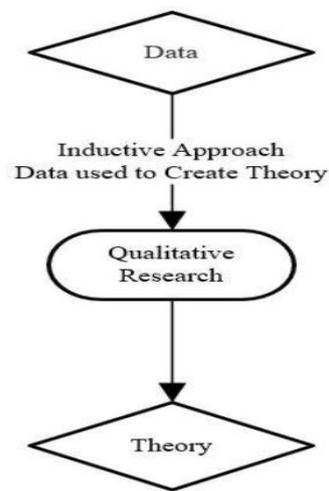
A qualitative research design is employed in the study (Pasipamire, 2021; Mason *et al.*, 2020). Existing tax compliance literature on economic factors in developed and developing countries revealed several studies (Kirchler et al., 2008; Nicholson, 2019) and non-economic factors around the World (Nguyen *et al.*, 2020). It is worth mentioning that many researchers conducted quantitative studies on tax compliance in Pakistan. Still, no such qualitative research study exists concerning tax compliance owing to its deterrence and non-deterrence nudge practices in the current literature. This study bridges the above gap by using a qualitative research design and thematic data analysis procedure.

### **Research Philosophy**

This study applied a qualitative research technique following an interpretive stance to answer the proposed research question in the study (Creswell & Winter, 2018). German researchers used the interpretivism approach to finding dynamics by exploring unknown phenomena. This approach investigates a phenomenon as "the world of human experience". The interpretive approach assumes that humans socially construct reality in the World. Moreover, Interpretivism researchers usually rely on considering participants' views, own recognitions, observations, and contingencies. It is worth mentioning that researchers follow an interpretivism approach to develop a theory, which provides a basis for the qualitative research study (Bryman, 2007).

### **Research Approach**

Research design is divided into two critical approaches, i.e., deductive and inductive. Quantitative research studies closely follow deductive guidelines drawing hypotheses and corroborating the underlying theory. On the other hand, Qualitative studies follow inductive approaches, allowing the researchers to draw assumptions by looking into observations and interviews and emerging new ideas based on the data analysis. Qualitative research employs the inductive method, which allows the researchers to collect the data through observations, interviews and case studies and draw conclusions from the qualitative data analysis (Bryman, 2007; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). The interpretivism paradigm strongly supports inductive research studies, which portray that reality is socially constructed based on the researcher's observations and participant's interviews conducted in the qualitative research study. This qualitative study explores and explains themes of the tax compliance issues. This qualitative research shows many rich and meaningful data patterns and charts concerning the tax compliance deterrence and non-deterrence nudge practices using the study's inductive approach (Bryman, 2007; Creswell & Winter, 2018).



**Figure 2: Inductive Approach in Qualitative Research.**

Source. Saunders et al. (2012)

### **Choosing the Research Strategy**

In this research, the authors are interested in performing a thematic approach to explore and identify themes concerning the tax compliance factors in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The authors conducted semi-structured interviews with the income tax consultants showing important questions to know their expert opinion on the individual tax compliance behaviour. The non-probability purposive convenience sampling technique is used to collect the data from the respondents following 360-degree feedback (Kanaslan & Iyem, 2016) to develop themes in the current study. 360-degree feedback is a process where data is collected from the major stakeholders. The author collected the data from the major stakeholders, i.e., tax consultants, tax administration officials, business individuals and salaried individuals. The authors applied the qualitative NVivo 13 package to transcribe interviews into codes, nodes, themes, charts, and thematic analysis and display the data for analysis. The authors employed the following patterns to carry out the current research study;

- Questions from the Literature review
- Sequencing of questions
- Conducting semi-structured interviews
- Developing coding (Open Coding, Axial Coding, and Selective coding) using NVivo 13 qualitative software

### **The Population and Sample Size**

The target population for the study is all the major stakeholders located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, i.e., individual taxpayers, corporate taxpayers, tax practitioners, tax consultants, and others. As per the previous literature, only tax consultants are selected for data collection among all the major stakeholders (Khadijah Mohd Isa, 2012; Hamid, 2013; Farhi & Gabaix, 2020). Following the saturation principle, the authors selected sixty (60) participants divided into major four sampling clusters; tax consultants, tax administration officers, tax consultants and individual taxpayers (salaried individuals), for interviews and data collection.

These four significant stakeholders are selected due to their deep knowledge, expertise, and regular interactions with the revenue authorities related to tax compliance issues and voluntarily providing in-depth and sometimes confidential information. The non-random purposive sampling technique is most suitable for the qualitative interviews (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Winter, 2018; Peters, 2010). Respondents were carefully selected following the criteria where (i) the respondents must hold detailed

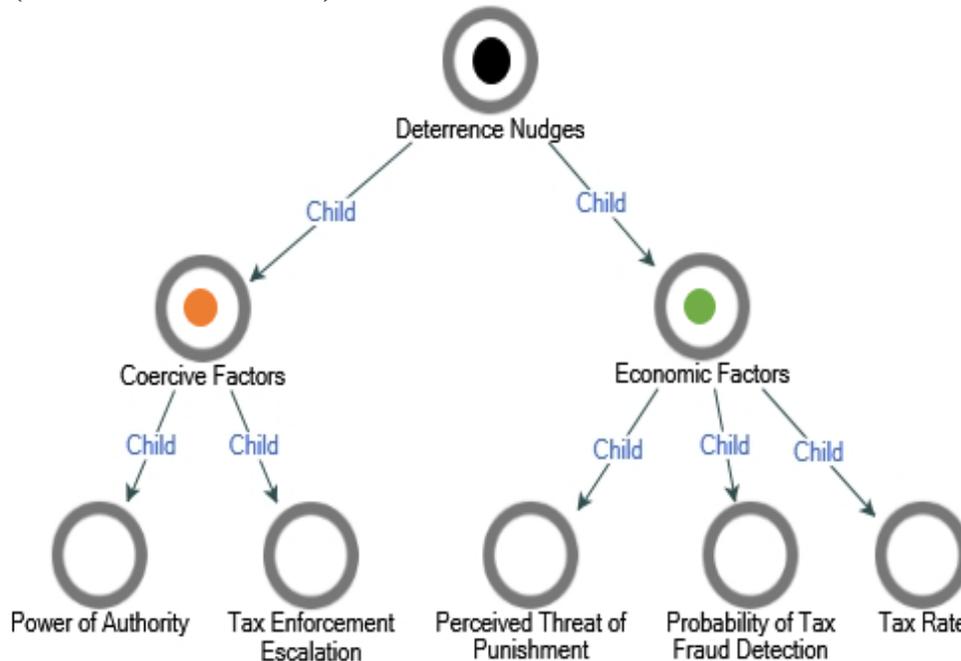






The hierarchy chart (figure 7) shows several variables successfully coded in the study. The hierarchy chart provides all the open, axial, and selective codes. Deterrence nudges show two main coercive factors (power of authority and tax enforcement escalation) and economic factors (tax rate, perceived threat of punishment and probability of tax fraud detection). The same pattern is shown for the non-deterrence nudges in the hierarchy chart.

**Project Maps (Thematic Framework)**



*Figure 8: Thematic Framework for Deterrence Nudges*

Above is the project-based thematic framework of all the codes and themes entered in the QSR NVivo qualitative software. This diagram shows all the contributing factors to the primary deterrence nudges variable. Deterrence nudges show two main coercive and economic factors, where the first has two more themes of the power of authority and tax enforcement escalation. While the second one shows three main sub child themes in the names of the perceived threat of punishment, probability of tax fraud detection and the tax rate.

The previous literature strongly theoretically supports the above framework. Power of authority and tax enforcement escalation are supported by the slippery slope framework (Kirchler et al., 2008), and the perceived threat of punishment, probability of tax fraud detection and tax rate are supported in the literature by the Fischer's model of tax compliance (Fischer et al., 1992). Literature also shows previous studies used the power of authority as enforced tax compliance (Hofmann et al., 2017) and the tax enforcement escalation (Thesis, 2008). The perceived threat of punishment also shows previous linkages in the literature (Khan et al., 2016). The probability of tax fraud detection aligns with the previous literature (Alm, 2014). Current literature also supports the tax rate themes established in the present study (Rizkiyah et al., 2020).

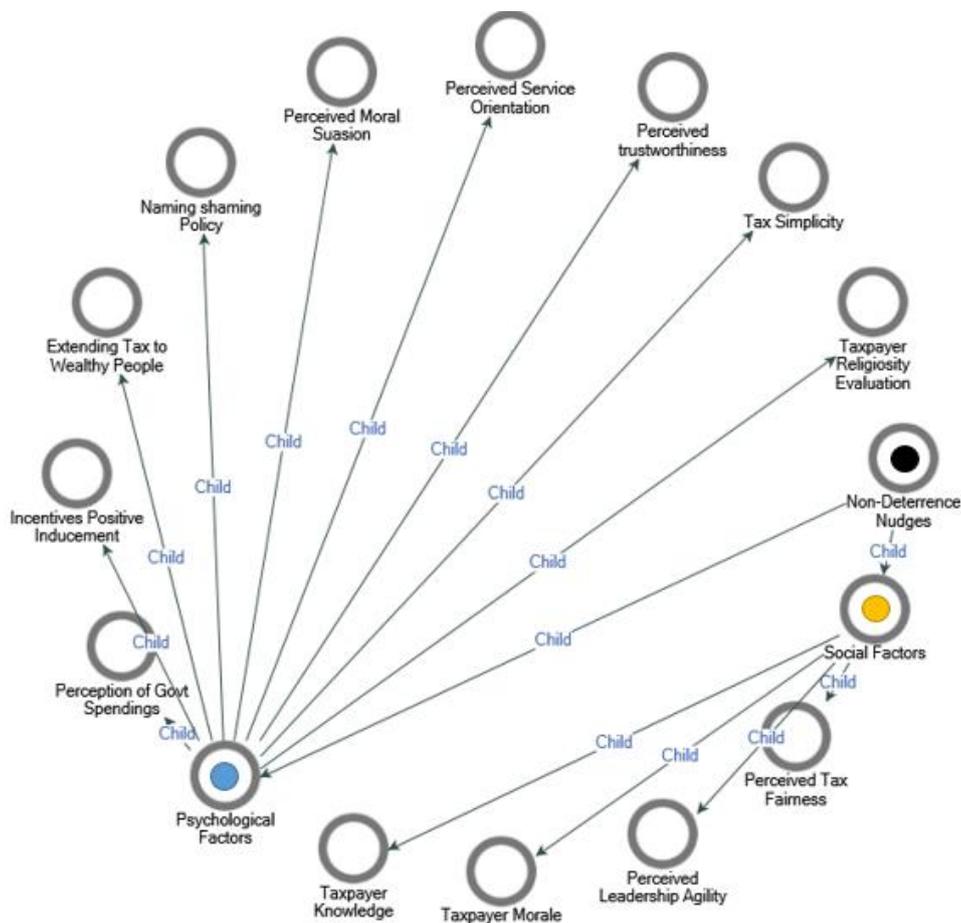


Figure 9: Thematic Framework for Non-Deterrence Nudges

The thematic framework (figure 13) shows all the relevant themes of non-deterrence nudges established following the current study's thematic analysis. Non-deterrence nudges show two major relevant sub-themes of social factors and psychological factors. Social factors include other descendent themes of perceived tax fairness, leadership agility, and taxpayer morale and knowledge of tax payment procedures.

However, the other main child themes include perception of govt spending (Modugu & Anyaduba, 2014), incentive positive inducement (Dunning et al., 2015), extending the tax to wealthy people (Gangl & Torgler, 2020), taxpayer naming shaming intervention (Dwenger & Treber, 2019) and the perceived moral suasion (Torgler, 2013). In addition, psychological factors also show perceived service orientation (Ayuba et al., 2020), perceived trustworthiness (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004), tax simplicity (Hassan et al., 2021) and the taxpayer religiosity evaluation (Nicholson, 2019) towards the voluntary tax compliance behaviour. All the current themes established in this study are closely aligned with the literature's previous studies and strongly show theoretical support. Strong theoretical support is also found in the previous literature for the current findings. All the above themes are supported by the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen, 1985), expected utility theory (Loomes & Sugden, 1982), theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), naming shaming theory (B. John, 1989), nudge theory (Thaler & Sustein, 2008), social exchange theory (Homans, 1958).

## RESEARCH FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

### Main Themes and Sub-Themes Established in Thematic Analysis

The qualitative data was gathered from the sixty major stakeholders, 15 samples from each category of tax consultants, tax administration officers, business individuals and salaried individuals. Therefore, this section discusses the central themes in NVivo 13 qualitative analytical software during the thematic process. Several codes were established, i.e., selective coding, axial coding and open coding. Each selective code includes other axial codes. Meanwhile, axial codes were extended in several other open codes showing many themes of the tax compliance behaviour among the tax consultants, tax administration officers, business individuals, and salaried persons in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Detail of all the themes explored are given below;

**Table 1: Main Themes and Sub-Themes of Tax Compliance Behaviour**

Selective Coding	Axial Coding	Open Coding
Deterrence Nudges 	Coercive Factors	❖ Power of Authority ❖ Tax Enforcement Escalation
	Economic Factors	❖ Probability of Detection ❖ Tax rate ❖ The perceived threat of punishment
Non-Deterrence Nudges 	Social Factors	❖ Perceived Tax Fairness ❖ Perceived leadership agility ❖ Taxpayer morale ❖ Taxpayer knowledge
	Psychological Factors	❖ Perception of Govt spending ❖ Incentive positive inducement ❖ Perception of taxing wealthy people ❖ Naming shaming intervention ❖ Perceived moral suasion ❖ Perceived service orientation ❖ Perceived trustworthiness ❖ Tax simplicity ❖ Taxpayer religiosity evaluation

**Source: Authors' self-generated Table**

The above Table explains all these major themes and sub-themes, respectively. This Table contains two types of nudges deterrence and non-deterrence nudges come under the particular coding category, while axial coding has the coercive and economic factors, which add to deterrence nudges in taxation. The open codes include the power of authority, tax enforcement escalation, tax rate, tax penalty and probability of detection. All these deterrence nudges lead to enforced tax compliance behaviour. This Table also provides the participants' opinions on the deterrence factors contributing to the enforced tax compliance behaviour. The last column of this Table is the compliance strategy that explains the deterrence and non-deterrence compliance strategy explored to promote enforced compliance and voluntary compliance among the individual taxpayers in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The authors did not provide the compliance strategy column due to the table length.

The second major category under selective coding is the non-deterrence nudges arising from axial coding, including social and psychological factors. However, the social factors emerged from the open coding, including perceived tax fairness, perceived service orientation, leadership agility, tax morale, tax knowledge, tax attitude, and tax awareness. In contrast, the psychological factors include government spending, positive incentive inducements, perception of taxing wealthy people, naming shaming interventions, tax simplicity, tax complexity, and the individual taxpayers' religiosity evaluation. These social and psychological factors promote voluntary tax compliance if the tax administration authority (Hofmann et al., 2017; Monageng, 2019)

To use the deterrence nudges for enforced tax compliance, the author of the study provides several deterrence compliance strategies, i.e., making punishment salient, the use of third-party information, using deterrence messages about the cost of evasion, using default option in case of tax payment failure, escalating the tax enforcement via surprise visits to the business's individuals and others. At the same time, the non-deterrence nudges are used for voluntary tax compliance behaviour. This voluntary tax compliance behaviour further improves through the use of non-deterrence tax compliance strategies like the use of behaviourally informed messaging (Hallsworth et al., 2017), disclosing the benefits of paying the taxes, prioritizing tax morale, making tax declaration easy, avoiding cognitive overload messages, the announcement of appealing to the good citizenship behaviour, the use of social shame (Ahmad, 2019; Dwenger & Treber, 2018, 2019) as a motivator, using the ring tone for the tax compliance, honest omission and deliberate commission approach—moreover, the sending social norm messages, and the translating English legislations to other local languages.

All the themes provided in this Table are established as Deterrence nudges (selective codes), which contain more than two factors of coercive and economic factors (axial codes). Coercive factors include the power of authority and tax enforcement escalation, while economic factors include the tax rate, tax penalty, and probability of detection. This Table also shows the non-deterrence compliances nudges to improve the enforced tax compliance, which shows punishment salient, the use of third party information, using deterrence messages about the cost of evasion, also using the default option in the case of tax payment failure, tax enforcement escalation (Li et al., 2020) via surprise visits to the business individuals and others as well as the social insurance benefits as a positive inducement.

The other extreme side of the study provided in this study is the non-deterrence nudges (main selective code) which includes other axial codes of social and psychological factors. Social factors consist of the perceived tax fairness, service orientation, leadership agility, tax morale, tax knowledge, tax attitude, and tax awareness among the individual taxpayers in the province. The psychological factors include several factors of perception of government spending, positive incentive inducements (Dunning et al., 2015), perception of taxing wealthy people (Gangl & Torgler, 2020), naming shaming intervention, tax simplicity (Hassan et al., 2021), tax complexity, and the religiosity evaluation (Jun & Yoon, 2018; Nicholson, 2019) by the individual taxpayers. However, the Table also provides non-deterrence nudges to promote voluntary tax compliance. Those strategies are sending behaviourally informed messages, disclosing all the associated benefits with paying taxes, more importantly, prioritizing tax morale, making the tax detection easy for taxpayers, avoiding cognitive overload messages to taxpayers, and announcements of the appealing good citizenship behaviour through different social media platforms as well as the use of social shame as the motivator. Other non-deterrence nudges show the use of ring tone messages for tax compliance, honest omission, and deliberate commission approach, sending social norm messages to the individual taxpayers and translating tax legislation into other local languages. Findings obtained in this research urgently requires to take care of the deterrence and non-deterrence nudge practices for a sustainable tax system in the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

### **Theoretical Contribution**

This study extends the scope of tax compliance, particularly the “Nudge Theory,” in the context of individual taxpayers and builds upon the limited international and Pakistani literature in the area. The author integrated the mixed-method research design findings. Several nudge practices in taxation were identified to nudge the current tax system through behavioural interventions and assessed its socio-economic influence in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

### **Academic Contribution**

This study is the first to use mixed-method in taxation to nudge the tax system through behavioural interventions and assess its socio-economic influence in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This study applied qualitative thematic analysis and explored several factors influencing the taxpayer's

compliance behaviour. A more complex qualitative framework was established, further analysed quantitatively, applying advanced techniques and analysing the results. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative research results could be used widely in academia, and researchers may benefit them in several ways. The researchers related to different academia extend the scope of the current study by enhancing their knowledge concerning the newly explored behavioural interventions in the study. Moreover, the academia could also adopt different sections from the current study's findings to help them uncover critical areas that many researchers were not able to explore in their studies. Thus, the current study increases the researchers' level of knowledge on learning the new “Nudge Theory” in taxation. The current study's findings could also assist the researchers in how “Nudge Theory” works in taxation to improve tax compliance behaviour.

## Conclusion

Tax administration plays a vital role in a country's economy. However, this economic growth comes through a sustainable tax system in the country. Therefore, several serious concerns must be considered to revive a sound administration system. This paper explored several deterrence and non-deterrence nudge practices to maintain a sustainable tax system. This research provides several recommendations for the tax administration and provincial and federal governments, who must consider all the explored themes in the current study for policymaking. A collective perception must prevail in the country for voluntary tax compliance (Ullah, Ullah, Jan, & Mahreen, 2021). Given the study's inherent limitations, researchers may explore more relevant themes concerning nudge practices for the corporate sector, assuming a larger sample size and employing mixed-method approaches. The findings of the current research are in line with the previous studies (Barbuta-misu et al., 2006; Barbuta-Misu et al., 2006; Dwenger & Treber, 2019; Umar Lawan, 2017; Ullah, Ullah & Jan, 2021) and follow strong theoretical support, i.e. theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975), expected utility theory, theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), naming shaming theory (B. John, 1989), social exchange theory (Homans, 1958) and the most important Richard Thaler and case sustein – Nudge theory (Thaler & Sustein, 2008).

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## **APPENDIX:**

### **Interview Protocol**

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed – I am conducting several interviews to understand the effect of tax morale on tax-paying behaviour. I have several questions that generally take 45 to 60 minutes. Please feel free to talk. If you are comfortable, I would like to record the interview to concentrate on listening to you and asking questions rather than taking notes. Please feel free to ask if you need any clarification for the interview process?

Are you happy for me to do the interview?

### **Demographics:**

1. Could you please tell us about you? (Education, sex, age)
2. Can you please share your experience?
3. Can you please tell us about your education?

## **Deterrence Nudges**

### **Coercive Factors & Economic Factors**

4. What do you think about the probability of detection? Does it make sense in improving individual tax compliance behaviour?
5. What do you think about the tax rate in the context of tax compliance?
6. In your opinion, does imposing penalties on taxpayers will motivate them towards tax compliance?
7. Does tax authority autocracy influence tax compliance behaviour?
8. How do you think current tax enforcement is enough or still needs to escalate more for tax compliance?

## **Non-Deterrence Nudges**

### **Social Factors & Psychological Factors**

9. How do you see that tax system is fair and fairly distributed among the stakeholders.?
10. Do you believe that to pay taxes to the tax authorities in KP like FBR and KPRA is fair or unfair?
11. In your opinion, does it make sense that agile indigenous leaders could establish connection between tax authorities and taxpayers?
12. Do you believe that to pay taxes to the government is our moral obligation and the right thing to do?
13. Do you have tax knowledge, if yes then how does it help you out in paying taxes?
14. What do you say about the government expenditure?
15. If the government streamline the tax refund, would it enhance their tax morale?
16. Do you believe that wealthy taxpayers are less tax compliant than average taxpayers?
17. Is tax authority efficient enough in dealings with the taxpayer (i.e., making tax refunds quickly)?
18. Water wasters are shamed in Africa, sex offenders in the US, and speeding drivers in Australia. Does tax evaders are shamed in KP province?
19. Evading tax means to seize someone rightful due to me, do you agree with this statement?
20. Do you believe that reminding taxpayers of their moral obligation to pay taxes will improve their tax compliance behaviour?
21. Do you agree that the tax office and its employees keep their promises?
22. Overall, do you trust the tax authorities working in KP Province?
23. What do you think that introducing nudge practices in taxation would result in social and economic influence?