

# A Cross-Cultural Survey of Ethical Reasons for Tax Evasion among Nigerian Taxpayers

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## Abstract

The study empirically assessed tax evasion and the ethical reasons put up to justify it across major tribes/cultures of individual Nigerian taxpayers. Earlier studies were reviewed before questionnaire administration on respondents (n=500). Data were analysed with parametric and non-parametric statistics using SPSS 19. The results show high level of tax evasion and the three ethical reasons examined are found to have strong influence on tax evasion with significant difference along culture and religion. Generally, group identity (tribe/culture and religion) is found to show highest influence on tax evasion as well as its ethical reasons, but the difference is more pronounced for religious identification and participation. Hausas are found to be highest evaders among Nigerians. Similarly, worshipers of traditional religions evade taxes more than any others. Igbos and Yorubas exhibited similar pattern of opinions on ethical reasons for evasion as well as tax evasion. Other variables showing significant relationships include employment category (measuring opportunity to evade), income level (economic factor) and gender. It was concluded that the study support the position from earlier studies that there is a significant relationship between tax evasion and ethical reasons for it and that it varies along tribe/culture and religion groups. Recommendations were made for stakeholders especially revenue authorities and researchers.

**Keywords:** Tax evasion ethical reasons, culture, developing economy,

## 1. Introduction

The economic rational view used to dominate earlier studies on tax evasion/compliance. This is being challenged by the view that tax evasion or compliance seems to depend upon other numerous and more complex factors including sociological and psychological factors like ethics (Alm and Torgler, 2006). Ethics is a social issue that could be considered important in influencing human behaviour but it is observed that very few out of the several studies done on tax compliance have examined compliance primarily from the perspective of ethics (McGee, Benk, Yildirim and Kayikci, 2011). Culture is also considered to be a powerful environmental factor that can influence tax evasion or compliance behaviour. Ethical values influenced by social norms may influence tax evasion (Chau and Leung, 2006; Blanthorne and Kaplan, 2008). It is therefore proved that further progress requires that mutual interplay of these factors is better understood and conceptualised (James et al., 2001, Wenzel, 2005). In general, disparate findings suggest that a substantial body of evidence is needed to better understand and conceptualise their relationships (Wenzel, 2005) and get general idea of the impact of these factors (Alm and Torgler, 2006).

The gaps identified from this background pose questions of which this study addressed to include: what are the forms and level of tax evasion in developing economies; what are the major ethical reasons adduced to justify tax evasion and their relative influences; Does group identification have significant influence on perception of ethical reasons for tax evasion; Do ethical reasons and tax evasion differ along culture. Hence, the need for this study.

**Objectives of the Study:** The primary objective of this study is to examine tax evasion and the ethical reasons adduced to justify it in developing economies. The specific objectives are to make cross-cultural assessment of the following in the context of developing economy:

1. level and form of tax evasion;
2. major ethical reasons adduced for tax evasion and their relative influence;
3. if group identification has significant relationship with ethical reasons;
4. if tax evasion varies along each of culture and religious groups; and
5. if there is significant relationship between taxpayers' perception of ethical reasons for tax evasion and level of tax evasion

**Significance of the Study:** This study is expected to contribute to the body of knowledge on tax evasion especially as it modifies the Fischer's model on tax compliance. It brings empirical evidence from developing country which has been noticed to be lacking. This study would afford stakeholders opportunity for comparison of behaviours internationally. The issue of cultural influence on tax compliance will also be given clearer picture as more evidences will come either to confirm or refute earlier findings on the issue.

This work complements studies made by earlier researchers on tax evasion in meeting the challenge of paucity of researches on tax evasion in developing countries especially with its focus on ethics. It is by this

understanding that authorities can minimise resistance from taxpayers whose belief and values may be at odd with the government policies. It will therefore assist governments and policy makers in the area of policy formulation and implementations. By giving better understanding of the influence of ethical values on tax evasion this work would afford policy makers better opportunity to understand why taxpayers evade taxes and how behavior could be predicted and modified to align with goals of tax policies. By giving a good understanding of why taxpayers do or do not comply, results of the study will help governments to be in a better position to obtain greater levels of compliance with tax reporting, and bridge the tax-gap more effectively.

## **2.1 Concept of Ethics**

Ethics refers to well-founded standards of right and wrong that prescribe what humans ought to do, usually in terms of rights, obligations, benefits to society, fairness, or specific virtues (Velasquez et. al., 2010). It is a set of standards that impose the reasonable obligations to refrain from doing negative things as well as those standards that enjoin virtues of honesty, compassion, and loyalty. For the purpose of this study ethics refers to the value system held by individual taxpayers in respect to tax payment.

Principles of ethics are used to provide generalized frameworks that may be employed to resolve ethical dilemmas in our daily lives. On a general application Beauchamp and Childress (1979) gave five ethical principles that have got general application as: autonomy, non-maleficence (doing no harm), beneficence (benefiting others), justice (being just), and fidelity (being faithful). Individual's principles of personal ethics reflect general expectations of a person in any society, acting in any capacity. These are the principles inculcated in children, and expect of one another without needing to articulate the expectation or formalize it in any way. These are; concern for the wellbeing of others, respect for the autonomy of others, trustworthiness and honesty, compliance with the law, basic justice; being fair, refusal to take undue advantage of others, preventing harm and benevolence (Agbetunde and Adekunle, 2014).

## **2.2 Theories of Ethics**

Agbetunde and Adekunle (2014) reviewing earlier works categorized theories that used to explain the basis of ethics into three general subject areas viz; metaethics, normative ethics, and applied ethics. Metaethics (psychological theory) and normative ethics (virtue, duty and consequentialist theories) would be adopted more in this tax compliance study. Metaethics investigates where our ethical principles come from, and what they mean. It focuses on the issues of universal truths, the will of God, the role of reason in ethical judgments, and the meaning of ethical terms themselves. Metaethics considers issues under the metaphysical and psychological issues. Metaphysical issues believes morality exists independently of humans; i.e. beyond the level of human, while psychological issues believes that ethics is determined by man's feelings and emotions. Normative ethics considers how man arrives at ethical standards. Theories under normative ethics are (1) virtue theories, (2) duty theories, and (3) Consequentialist theories.

Virtue theory believes that morality consists of following precisely defined rules of conduct, such as "don't kill," or "don't steal" which presumably we must learn and ensure our actions live up. Virtue ethics, therefore stresses the importance of developing good habits of character by emphasising moral education since virtuous character traits are developed in one's youth. Duty theory assumes that there are specific fundamental obligations we have as human beings, such as to care for our children, and not to commit murder. Human duties are thus classified under three headings; duties to God, duties to oneself, and duties to others. Applying these to tax, payment may be viewed as duty to God, or duty to others or duty to oneself. According to consequentialism, correct moral conduct is determined solely through cost-benefit analysis of our actions. With respect to tax one needs to examine tax payers' cost-benefit analysis of tax behaviour, whether they see tax as an obligation/duty, or as rule they have learn to follow. Knowledge of the weight of these individual factors will be of great achievement in tax compliance studies.

## **2.3 Concept of Tax Evasion**

Tax evasion means failure to meet any of the four broad categories of taxpayer obligations, usually with deliberate intent to defraud. Bulk of this involves false reporting of the tax base (Franzoni, 1999). It is an illegal step taken by taxpayer to reduce his tax liability (Agbetunde, 2010).

## **2.4 Review of Earlier Studies and Formulation of Hypotheses**

Researches have highlighted the importance of using socio-psychological factors to explain taxpayers' behaviour, with some authors showing taxpayers' perceptions about evasion and fairness have a direct influence. It is observed that very few out of the several studies done on tax evasion have it compliance primarily from the perspective of ethics (McGee, Benk, Yildirim and Kayikci, 2011). Most studies on tax evasion/compliance look at the issue from a public finance or economics perspective (Morales, 1998; Torgler, 2003; McGee, Nickerson, and Fachhochschule, 2005), theological and philosophical (Martin Crowe, 1944) and religious perspectives

(Cohn, 1998; McGee, 1998, 1999; Murtuza and Ghazanfar, 1998). Wenzel (2005) however examined causal role of ethics and norms in taxpaying behaviour. Results indicates that ethics and norms can be both motivations and rationalisations for taxpaying behaviour because the interaction between deterrence and ethics/norms is more complex; involving mutually reinforcing as well as inhibiting processes (Wenzel, 2005). Ethical concerns are based on the internalised social norms of one's reference group, and tax ethics motivate taxpaying behaviour. On the other hand, personal ethics seems to be consistent with one's taxpaying behaviour to rationalise and justify it on moral grounds. Likewise, perceptions of social norms not only affect taxpaying behaviour, but are also construed so as to be consistent with one's behaviour and ethics, in order to rationalise and claim social support for these.

**Ethical Reasons for Tax Evasion:** Over the centuries, three basic views have emerged on the ethics of tax evasion (McGee, Nickerson, and Fachhochschule, 2005). These are:

1) View one takes the position that tax evasion is always, or almost always unethical. The underlying rationales for this belief are; One, individuals have a duty to the state under "social contract" to pay whatever taxes the state demands. This view is especially prevalent under democracy, where there is a strong belief in conformity with majority. Two, individual has a duty to other members of the society to pay tax, and not just enjoying public services as freeloaders. This view is strongly held in most religions.

2) The second view might be labeled the anarchist view. This view holds that there is never any duty to pay taxes because the '...state is illegitimate, a mere thief' that has no moral authority to take anything from anyone. Social contract is delusion according to this position.

3) The third view holds that tax evasion may be ethical under some circumstances and unethical under other circumstances. This view is the prevalent view in the literature and according to some survey.

**Hypotheses:** The following hypotheses stated in alternative forms were tested in this study:

- I: Level of tax evasion is not high among Nigerian taxpayers;
- II: Group identification does not have significant influence on ethical reasons for tax evasion
- III: There is no significant difference in the level of tax evasion across culture group
- IV: There is no significant difference in the level of tax evasion along religious groups
- V: There is no significant relationship between perception of ethical reasons and tax evasion

### 3. Methodology

The study made descriptive survey research with focus on individual tax payers in Lagos excluding corporate taxpayers. Social diversity within group was also ignored as only common social ethics is considered. Ethical reason and tax evasion were the variables assessed. Secondary data were collected from relevant literature. Questionnaire drawn on 5-point Likert Scale was used as the main instrument for primary data collection. Result of the reliability test shows the Cronbach Alpha for all variables is 0.838. Split-half values are 0.803 and 0.602. This is confirmed from the Spearman-Brown and the Guttman Split-Halves with coefficients of 0.783 and 0.702 respectively. Drawing from all these tests having values greater than 0.50, the instrument is therefore considered reliable. Data collected were analysed using parametric and non-parametric statistics with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Tools used include simple percentages, cross tabulations and ranking as well as regression because some of the variables are dichotomous in nature. Opinions of the respondent stakeholders were cross tabbed for comparison. Results are presented in tables and prose for clear understanding before conclusions are drawn and recommendations made.

### 4. Major Findings and Discussions

A total number of 500 copies of questionnaire were administered with a valid return of 465 (93% response) that were analysed. Out of these, ratio of male to female was 52:48; Employment group has 34:51:15 for Public sector Employees, Private Sector Employees and Self Employed respectively. Cultural Background has ratios 10:30:54:6 for Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba and others respectively. Religiosity shows 44:49:3:4 for Muslim, Christianity, traditional worshipers and freethinkers respectively. Age Distribution shows 8% are between 18–25 years. 51.5% are between 26–35 years, 29.1% are 36–45 years while 11.4% are 46 years above.

1) Assessment of Level and Form of Tax Evasion: Taxpayers' perception presented on Table 1 shows that level of tax evasion has 75% affirmation and mean of 4.09. This is considered to be very high. Further analysis reveals that each of the forms of tax evasion exhibits very high level in each situation with close statistics (4.00 to 4.23 mean and 76 to 80%). Evasion in form of 'claiming allowance not entitled to' however, gives highest mean of 4.23, while 'unnecessary delay of tax payment' came second (4.2 mean). Collusion with tax official to reduce tax liability is found to be the least form of evasion by the taxpayers. It implies that the highest form of evasion among Nigerian taxpayers is in form of claiming allowance or reliefs not entitled to.

2) Assessment of Ethical Reasons for Tax Evasion: Result shows that the three ethical reasons examined exert very high influence on tax evasion (70 to 78%). Group identity shows highest influence (78%) followed by inefficiency in tax administration (73%) and lastly Government non-accountability (70%). This

implies that tax payers perceive each ethical reason to individually have very strong influence on tax evasion. Further, analysis of the relative influence of group identity shows that religion has greater impact (79% with mean of 4.18) than culture (76% and mean of 4.08). This implies that taxpayers are found to be more influenced by their religion than tribe/culture in relation to tax evasion.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics Table

	True	False	Ind	Mean	S. Dev
I am justified to refuse paying tax if tax rate is too high.	68	22	10	3.84	1.445
I am justified to evade tax if I don't have enough money	76	14	10	4.19	1.226
I am justified to refuse paying tax if there is multiple taxes	58	26	8	3.61	1.475
I am justified to evade tax if administration is unfair	72	20	8	3.83	1.369
I am justified to refuse paying tax if I have paid enough	67	17	17	3.81	1.446
I am justified to evade tax if tax officials are unfriendly	70	16	14	4.00	1.388
I am justified to evade tax if chance of being caught is low	72	16	11	3.86	1.307
<b>Efficiency In Tax Administration</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3.98</b>	<b>1.415</b>
I am justified to evade tax if tax revenue is wasted	77	12	11	4.08	1.261
I am justified to evade if revenue is spent immoral project	78	9	13	4.17	1.125
I am justified to evade tax if government projects are not beneficial	81	11	8	4.01	1.114
I am justified to evade tax if government is corrupt	78	15	7	4.12	1.358
I am justified to evade tax if government is oppressive	85	7	9	4.35	1.023
<b>Government Non-Accountability</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3.27</b>	<b>0.817</b>
I am justified to evade tax if my religion is being discriminated against	79	8	13	4.18	1.086
I am justified to evade tax if my culture is being discriminated against	76	9	15	4.08	1.105
<b>Group Identification</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>4.28</b>	<b>0.952</b>
People usually delay their tax payment as much as possible	78	9	13	4.18	1.086
People usually hide some of their income sources	73	10	17	4.08	1.103
People usually claim allowances they are not entitled to	79	13	8	4.23	1.149
People usually contest the amount of tax payable	80	13	7	4.11	1.206
People usually collude with tax officials to evade tax	76	12	12	4.00	1.352
<b>Level &amp; Forms of Tax Evasion</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4.09</b>	<b>0.981</b>

Source: Computed with SPSS (2014)

3) Relationship between Ethical Reasons and Tax Evasion: Result of the Spearmans' correlation on Table 2 shows noticeable positive relationship is found between each of the ethical reasons and tax evasion. Group identity exhibits highest degree of relationship with 0.758 coefficient which is considered a very strong positive relationship. This is followed by government accountability (0.330) while inefficient tax administration has the least influence (0.199).

Table 2: Relationship of Tax Evasion with Ethical Reasons and other Factors

	Factor	TAX EVASION	RANKING
EFFICIENT OF TAX ADMIN		0.199	3 <sup>rd</sup>
GROUP IDENTIFICATION		0.758	1 <sup>st</sup>
GOVT ACCOUNTABILITY		0.330	2 <sup>nd</sup>
OPPORTUNITY TO EVADE	Employment	0.058	3 <sup>RD</sup>
DEMOGRAPHIC	Gender	0.059	2 <sup>ND</sup>
DEMOGRAPHIC	Age	0.029	5 <sup>TH</sup>
SOCIAL	Religion	0.025	6 <sup>TH</sup>
SOCIAL	Culture	0.080	1 <sup>ST</sup>
ECONOMIC	Income	0.039	4 <sup>TH</sup>

Source: Computed from SPSS Output (2014)

4) Relationship of Group Identity with Tax Evasion:

(a) Religion and Tax Evasion: As expressed on Tables 2 group identity shows very strong positive relationship with tax evasion (0.758 coefficient). Religion as a group identification factor gives co-efficient of 0.025, a noticeable but low relationship with tax evasion. Furthermore, analysis of compare mean statistics on Table 8 shows traditional worshipers are found to exhibit highest tax evasion level (4.15 mean) followed by Christians (4.10) and Muslims tends to show lowest evasion level (4.09). It should be noted that the closeness in the mean statistics confirmed the low correlation coefficient. The implication is that religion is a very significant factor to observe by authorities when targeting significant reduction in tax evasion especially in developing countries like Nigerian. This is in line with the findings in earlier studies that religious organizations can also

affect the moral state of a society and its citizens, because religion acts as a ‘supernatural police’ to provides a certain level of enforcement to act in the lines of accepted rules (Anderson and Tollison, 1992; Alm and Torgler 2006) that societies with high rates of religious memberships and participations have tendencies to be rules and law compliant (Alm and Torgler, 2006; Hull, 2000; Hull and Bold, 1989; Lipford, McCormick, and Tollison, 1993).

Table 3: Group Analysis of Tax Evasion along Culture and Religion

Religion		N	Mean	Std. Dev	Ranking
RELIGION	Traditional Religion	53	4.15	.841	1 <sup>ST</sup>
	Islam	128	4.09	1.023	3 <sup>RD</sup>
	Christianity	260	4.10	.998	2 <sup>ND</sup>
CULTURE/TRIBE	Hausa	26	4.33	.744	1 <sup>ST</sup>
	Igbo	146	4.03	.961	3 <sup>RD</sup>
	Yoruba	216	4.13	1.020	2 <sup>ND</sup>

Source: Computed from SPSS Output (2014)

(b) Culture and Tax Evasion: On a general note, result shows that culture has positive relationship (0.080 coefficient) with tax evasion, a low relationship. This implies that tax evasion differs across culture of Nigerian taxpayers. This is however found to be higher than that of religion. Group analysis of the three major Nigerian tribes shows that Hausas exhibits highest tax evasion level (mean of 4.33) followed by Yorubas (4.13) with the Igbos having the least tax evasion level. The implication is that culture is another significant factor to observe by authorities when targeting significant reduction in tax evasion especially in developing countries. This agrees with the position in Chau et. Al. (2000).

Table 4: Cross-Cultural Analysis of Ethical Reasons and Tax Evasions

CULTURE		N	MEAN	STD. DEV.	RANK
EFFICIENCY OF TAX ADMINISTRATION	Hausa	25	4.04	1.306	1 <sup>ST</sup>
	Igbo	146	3.87	1.425	3 <sup>RD</sup>
	Yoruba	219	3.92	1.485	2 <sup>ND</sup>
GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY	Hausa	26	3.00	.894	3 <sup>RD</sup>
	Igbo	146	3.20	.776	2 <sup>ND</sup>
	Yoruba	219	3.32	.884	1 <sup>ST</sup>
GROUP IDENTIFICATION	Hausa	26	4.31	.788	2 <sup>ND</sup>
	Igbo	146	4.21	.932	3 <sup>RD</sup>
	Yoruba	219	4.33	.969	1 <sup>ST</sup>
TAX EVASION	Hausa	26	4.08	.744	2 <sup>ND</sup>
	Igbo	146	4.03	.961	3 <sup>RD</sup>
	Yoruba	219	4.13	1.020	1 <sup>ST</sup>

Source: Computed from SPSS Output (2014)

5) Cross-Cultural Analysis of Ethical Reasons for Tax Evasion: Analysis of administrative efficiency across culture gives compare mean of 3.87 to 4.04 among the three cultures examined (Table 4). It should be noted that the closeness in the mean statistics confirmed the low correlation coefficient. However it is found that ethical reasons of tax evasion vary along culture among Nigerian taxpayers. Group statistics shows that Hausas adduced highest degree of influence to administrative efficiency as inducement for tax evasion than any other culture. This is followed by Yorubas while Ibos came last. It is also found that cultures show similar and close group statistics for both government accountability and group identity. This implies that perceptions of ‘government accountability’ and ‘group identity’ as inducers of tax evasion vary across cultures of Nigerian taxpayers. Yorubas are found to adduce greatest degree to these factors’ influence on tax evasion than any other culture group. Igbo came second while Hausas came last. This implies that taxpayers differ in their perception of ethical reasons for tax evasion as well as in their level and forms of tax evasion across culture in Nigeria.

6) Relationship between Bio-data and Tax Evasion

a) Demographic Factors: Age and gender analysis of tax evasion shows correlation coefficient of 0.029 and 0.058 respectively. These statistics show noticeable relationship between each of age and gender with tax evasion. This is considered to be low in each of the situations with gender showing relatively higher degree of relationship. Meanwhile, on general note gender is found to have the second strongest relationship with tax evasion among all the bio-data examined. Specifically, female taxpayers are found to be more compliant than male. This agrees with findings of Jackson and Milliron (1986), Baldry (1981), but refute claim of Tran (2001).

b) Opportunity to Evade Tax: This is measured with employment category of the respondents. Results of Spearman correlation show positive relationship (Table 2). Group statistics on Table 6 shows that self-employed tax payers are found to evade tax more than employee taxpayers (mean of 4.25 against 4.04). Further

analysis of the employee group shows that public sector employees evade tax more than private sector employees (mean of 4.25 against 3.99). This is in line with findings of Fjeldstad and Semboja (2001), Tran (2001), Richardson (2006).

Table 5: Group Analysis of Tax Evasion along Bio-Data

Bio-data	Mean	Std. Deviation	RANKING
Gender: Male	4.05	0.986	2 <sup>ND</sup>
Female	4.16	0.963	1 <sup>ST</sup>
Employee Taxpayers	4.04	.975	2 <sup>ND</sup>
Self-Employed Taxpayers	4.25	.994	1 <sup>ST</sup>
Public sector Employee	4.25	0.994	1 <sup>ST</sup>
Private sector Employee	3.99	1.006	2 <sup>ND</sup>

Source: Computed from SPSS Output (2014)

c) Social and Economic Factors: Social variable is measured with religion and culture. The two exhibit low relationship with tax evasion (0.025 and 0.080 respectively). Culture however has the highest figure relative to other bio-data. Economic factor (taxpayers' income level) also shows low relationship (0.039). This implies that tax evasion shows slight difference across culture, religion and income levels.

## 8. Conclusion

On a general note, it is concluded that results of the study support the position established in earlier studies that there is a significant relationship between the level and forms of tax evasion on one hand and ethical reasons for tax evasion on the other hand and that these vary along culture and religion groups. Significant variation is also found along religious and cultural groups. Group analysis however established that Hausas evade taxes more than any other tribes in Nigeria. Similarly, worshipers of traditional religions evade taxes more than taxpayers from other religions in Nigeria. Igbos and Yorubas exhibited similar pattern of opinions on ethical reasons for evasion as well as behaviour when it comes to level and form of tax evasion. Correlating respondents' other bio-data shows that employment group, gender and income have significant relationship with tax evasion. This finding is considered worthy of note to tax authorities, policy makers and other stakeholders especially in a multi-cultural and religiously active country like Nigeria. Hence, to ensure sustainable reduction in the level and forms of tax evasion among individual taxpayers a broad comprehensive all-encompassing strategy must address these significant variables.

While this study filled some gaps from dearth of research on tax evasion in developing economies, it has opened up areas for further studies on the topic. Specifically, it has opened up research opportunities for further in-depth examination of each of the ethical reasons. It is specially noted that results show close figures on analysis across culture. One may assume that the fact that respondents are all living in the same area; Yoruba cultural environment (Lagos). Some might be Hausa or Ibo but born and trained in this Yoruba city. Such a person may be more of Yoruba than his/her culture of origin. Some that were even born outside Yoruba environment might have stayed for significant number of years in Yoruba land such that his 'original culture' is now a bit 'diluted' with Yoruba culture. A more elaborate institutionalised study is therefore considered necessary to assess taxpayers in their original cultural settlements (natural environment) so that the bias that may arise from cultural dilution could be avoided. Similarly, further studies is needed on the relationships between tax evasion, ethical reasons and factors/variables from other relevant socio-cultural frameworks, model and theories.

## 9. Recommendations

On a general note it is recommended that in order to ensure sustainable high level of tax evasion governments and other relevant authorities should take frantic efforts to proactively study and have good understanding of taxpayers' preference and attitudes towards tax issues so as to predict taxpayers' behaviour as accurate as possible. Government should take the interest of taxpayers into consideration when deciding what public goods to provide and ensure participative contribution from them. This could also be accompanied with adequate public enlightenment on the programmes of government so as to give taxpayers sense of belonging and carry them along in the governance process. Issue of religion should be given serious consideration when making policies and decisions on tax matters. For enlightenment purpose authorities can use religious fora to disseminate tax information, tie their education and enlightenment to religious programmes and activities. Religious leaders' education should be one of the first step in this direction. Stakeholders should acknowledge that several factors do interact with one another to influence tax morale and resultant tax evasion behaviours. Hence, to ensure sustainable tax evasion behaviour among individual taxpayers a broad comprehensive all-encompassing multi-faceted strategy should be pursued.

Further study to investigate the determinants and the resulting effects on tax morale and tax evasion is suggested to give more in-depth understanding of the interactive relationship of these tax evasion factors so as to suggest a model for sustainable tax evasion in developing economy. Other sociological and psychological issues should also be investigated either individually or concurrently.

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