



Tax Policy Center
Urban Institute and Brookings Institution



ANNUAL REPORT

2005



independent, timely, and accessible analyses of current and emerging tax policy issues



Tax Policy Center

Urban Institute and Brookings Institution

The Urban–Brookings Tax Policy Center 2005 Annual Report

Independent, timely, and accessible analyses of current
and emerging tax policy issues

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The Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center 2005 Annual Report

OVERVIEW

The Urban Institute–Brookings Institution Tax Policy Center (TPC) was launched in April 2002. In less than four years, it has achieved outstanding success in moving forward on its primary mission: providing policymakers and the public with timely and accessible facts and insights on pressing tax policy issues based on state-of-the-art modeling and research.

“In a tax debate in which bombast and sound bites often crowd out facts, figures and reasoned analysis, the Tax Policy Center provides all three, in an easy-to-access, easy-to-understand fashion.”

David Wessel, Columnist, *Wall Street Journal*.

The TPC staff includes several respected and internationally recognized experts (listed below) who have served at the U.S. government’s highest levels and who earned outstanding reputations as scholars and motivators in framing the debate and stimulating discussion on tax policy. Policymakers, the news media, universities, advocacy organizations, and independent think tanks recognize the TPC as a comprehensive and credible source for up-to-date analysis and information on emerging

policy options. TPC has become the news media’s primary source of information on tax policy issues. The TPC’s publications, symposia, commentaries, and other outreach activities have attracted positive attention and coverage. As one example, many universities’ economics, law, and public policy programs have made the Center’s research and web-based *Tax Facts* required reading in their curricula.

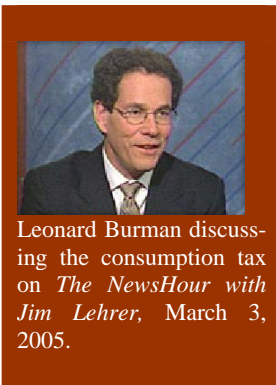
The backbone of TPC’s research is a detailed microsimulation model of the U.S. tax system that we built, maintain, and continue to develop. TPC analysts use this and other tools to estimate how tax proposals affect revenue, how tax burdens are distributed, and how taxes affect incentives to work and save. We also use the Transfer Income Model (TRIM) developed at the Urban Institute to compare tax and spending alternatives. The two models allow researchers to conduct timely analyses of current and emerging issues, as well as study longer-term policy trends and the effects of taxes on economic decisions.

In 2005, we expanded the model to include items on the tax reform agenda, including consumption taxes (and variants, such as the so-called “flat tax”) and breaks for charitable contributions and homeownership—both of which would have been significantly affected by tax reform. The model produces revenue and distribution

estimates that enable us to conduct cutting-edge analysis that we present in discussions with the media, public symposia, congressional testimony, on-air commentary, an extensive electronic newsletter, and TPC's award winning web site. More than 300 distribution and revenue tables generated by these models were posted on our web site in 2005. Official revenue and distribution estimates typically are not available and are often incomplete. The information provided by the TPC, thus, fills a critical void in research, policy, and media circles.

2005 HIGHLIGHTS

In 2005, TPC researchers produced 9 discussion papers, 7 policy briefs, and 67 other publications and commentaries. These included a series of seminal papers on how changes in federal tax policy could



improve the economic prospects of low- and middle-income working families. Five of the *Discussion Papers* and four of the *Issues and Options* briefs show that federal tax policies that expand and

modify the child and dependent care tax credit, the saver's credit, and subsidies for health insurance or that redirect homeownership subsidies away from deductions and toward capped credits for homeownership could improve the economic well-being, opportunities, and incentives for working families, especially for the millions who live in urban areas.

TPC scholars testified 11 times before Congress and 4 times before the President's tax reform panel. For example, TPC codirector Leonard Burman testified

in June before the House of Representatives' Ways and Means Committee on *The Impact of Tax Reform on Low- and Middle-Income Households*. He confirmed that tax reform would be a major accomplishment if it made the tax system simpler, fairer, and more conducive to economic growth. Tax reform poses risks, however, for vulnerable populations that rely on the tax system for substantial income support. These low-income households count heavily on benefits received from refundable tax credits such as the earned income tax credit (EITC) and the child tax credit (CTC). Indeed, the EITC is the largest source of cash assistance for low-income families, even bigger in the aggregate than Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) or food stamps.

The EITC and the CTC phase in with earnings, encouraging low-income family members to work. When legislators consider tax reform, it is therefore important to look at the effects of eliminating or reducing these credits and thus devastating low-income households unless new spending programs are created to provide cash assistance.

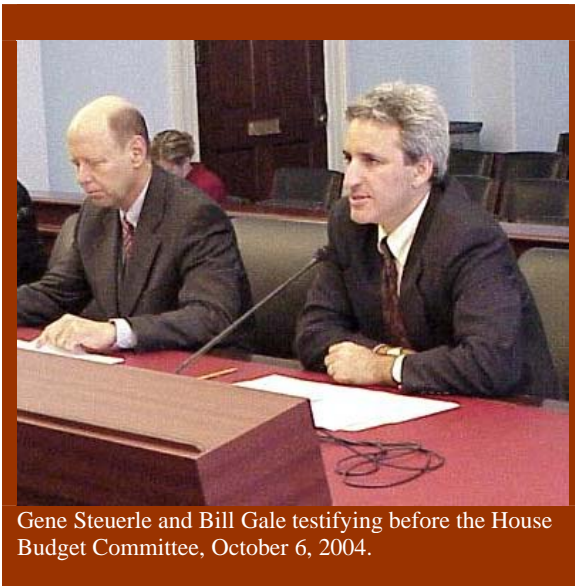
Codirector Peter R. Orszag testified before the Senate Finance Committee and argued that individual accounts can and should be strengthened as a supplement to Social Security, rather than as a substitute.



Orszag also examined other proposals for Social Security solvency.

C. Eugene Steuerle, another TPC codirector, testified before the Senate Finance Committee's Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy in Sep-

tember 2005. His testimony, *Charities on the Frontline and Making the Best Use of Tax Policy to Help Them*, outlined a combined legislative package that would enhance incentives for charitable giving while also improving compliance measures and creating a better system of information reporting. At the same hearing, TPC codirector Bill Gale's testimony, *Charitable Giving and the Taxation of Estates*, focused on the important role of the estate tax in encouraging charitable giving.



Gene Steuerle and Bill Gale testifying before the House Budget Committee, October 6, 2004.

TPC researchers are highly sought after for both their expertise and their ability to explain complex issues in clear, comprehensible language. For example, when Alan Greenspan testified before the tax reform panel in favor of a consumption tax, Leonard Burman and Bill Gale were invited to explain the issue on Public Broadcasting Service's *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*. The tax day "cover story" of CBS's Sunday Morning featured Leonard Burman explaining the complicated alternative minimum tax (AMT) in clear (even humorous) terms. Journalism.org, an online resource for journalists, lists only one resource for understanding taxes: the Tax Policy Center.

The TPC has become the news media's primary source of information on

Newt Gingrich said, "That's a stunning number' referring to [TPC's estimate that] half of black children ... fail to receive the full credit. 'I'd find a way to make sure those kids get the money' as part of a broader post-Hurricane Katrina plan."

Jason DeParle, "Study Finds Many Children Don't Benefit from Credits," *New York Times*, October 2, 2005.

tax policy issues. In 2005, there were approximately 350 major media article citations (and countless regional pieces), including 66 citations in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*. Jason DeParle's October 3rd article in the *New York Times*, "Study Finds Many Children Don't Benefit from Credits," highlights how TPC's research findings influence the sentiments of policy makers across party lines. Mr. DeParle's article featured a recent TPC study that examined the racial disparities in the use of the child tax credit, one of the tax cuts that the President argues helps low-income families. According to the study, more than 25 percent of American children—50 percent of whom are black, 47 percent Hispanic, and 18 percent white—do not fully qualify for the \$1,000 per year child tax credit because their family incomes are too low. According to Mr. DeParle, former Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich called our finding that half of black children who fail to receive the full tax credit "a stunning number," adding that "I'd find a way to make sure those kids get the money" as part of a broader post-Hurricane Katrina plan. The remark dem-

onstrates how TPC’s analyses can influence policy circles.

With the widespread dissemination of our estimates and research, the TPC continues to enhance its reputation as the place to turn for reporters, policymakers, advocacy groups, citizens, and academics interested in accurate, timely, and objective analysis of current and emerging issues. We provided common ground for debate in an otherwise divisive political environment.

“To say that TPC is indispensable to our tax work would be an understatement.”

Robert Greenstein, Executive Director, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

These formal appearances and publications do not reveal the full extent of TPC’s influence on policy. For instance, C. Eugene Steuerle’s work on charitable contributions provided the basic redesign for a charitable deduction that would increase charitable giving by billions of dollars; it was included in a Senate Finance bill (in conference as of this writing). His testimony before the Tax Reform Commission was critical to their concern over the failure of housing and health incentives to reach moderate-income taxpayers. TPC personnel have been cited by Republicans in the White House and Democrats in Congress, and their advice on policy options is sought frequently by them.

NEW PROGRAM ON STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION

With funding from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and a significant investment

by the Urban Institute, the TPC has greatly expanded its work on state and local tax policy. We have written multiple *Tax Facts* columns examining the distribution and composition of state and local revenues in both the United States and abroad. We have also cosponsored a symposium on how federal tax reform will affect state and local governments that included presentation of our work on the effects of eliminating the deductibility of state and local taxes. (That symposium fits in with our series examining federal tax reform more broadly.)

We have convened meetings of the National Governors Association, National Council of State Legislatures, National League of Cities, and Center for Budget and Policy Priorities to better examine intergovernmental relations and focus attention on the importance of coordinating federal, state, and local government policy actions. To understand these issues, we built a 50-state database of revenues and expenditures from Census of Governments data matched to information about tax rates and policies and are developing an interface to allow easy public access to this information.

We have also created new information for policymakers and the public. We collaborated with colleagues at the Urban Institute on the construction of a marriage penalty calculator to examine how marriage affects state and federal income tax liabilities for hypothetical individuals in different states. As part of this project, we created a state tax rules database that will be posted online soon.

MODEL ENHANCEMENTS

Revenue and distribution estimates are produced by a large-scale microsimulation model of the U.S. federal tax system developed at the TPC. The model is similar

“The estate tax this year will fall on those who leave assets of more than \$1.5 million. That is about 18,800 of the 2.5 million people expected to die this year, [according to TPC]. Only 440—that isn’t a typo—will be estates in which half or more of the assets are farms or family-owned businesses, the cases so highly publicized by those who want to kill the tax.”

David Wessel, “Populist Scythe Aids ‘Death Tax’ Foes,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 2005.

to those used by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT), and the Treasury’s Office of Tax Analysis (OTA).

In early 2005, the TPC completely updated its microsimulation model of the federal tax system. We revised the tax model database from the 1999 to the 2001 public-use file (PUF) of tax returns produced by the IRS, which gave us access to more information about the child tax credit, including the number of qualifying children on each tax return. Now we can provide more accurate estimates of the impact of this credit under current law and possible reform scenarios.

Along with updating to a new PUF, we performed a new statistical match with the March 2002 Current Population Survey and updated the tax model’s estate and retirement savings modules to make them consistent with the new 2001 data. Finally, with the release of CBO’s economic and budget forecast in late January 2005, we updated the aging and extrapolation routine to incorporate the latest official projections. In addition, we improved the procedure for targeting the future age distribution of the population in our tax model, allowing us to more accurately capture the

tax impacts of the aging baby boom generation.

A major project throughout this year has been preparing for tax reform. To that end, we have extended our model to include imputations of consumption of various categories of goods and services. This enables the TPC to estimate the distributional impact of comprehensive reform options, such as a value-added tax (VAT), that move the tax system from an income base to a consumption base. In addition, it will allow us to provide distributional estimates of hybrid income-consumption tax systems such as the Growth and Investment Tax Plan endorsed by the President’s Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform.

We imputed levels of itemized deductions, such as home mortgage interest, for those who do not itemize deductions, so we can model proposals to replace credits with deductions. Finally, we also extended our model to estimate the sales tax deduction that was enacted at the end of 2004.

Since January 2005, we have posted more than 300 distribution and revenue tables on our web site to illustrate the impacts of tax legislation and alternative policy options. We prepared detailed analyses showing the effects of the alternative minimum tax, estate tax reform, and options for the refundable child tax credit.

OTHER OUTREACH

Authoritative analysis can improve policy outcomes only if it is timely and policy-makers and the public know about it and can understand it. Effective communication is essential to the TPC’s success. TPC communicates to the public through its web site, newsletters, *Tax Facts* web site, and public forums.

Tax Policy Center Web Site

We continue to update and improve our web site to make sure timely, accurate information is available and easy to find. We reorganized the web site to make information about distribution tables and estimates easier to find. We added a “related tables” function that allows users to find tables relating to a particular analysis with a single mouse click. We added an indicator that tables have been updated, with a link to the revised tables. And, we expanded our privacy policy to better protect users and posted it on the web site.

The TPC web site continues its upward traffic trend. The number of monthly hits to the web site grew from 319,770 in January 2005 to 474,012 by the end of December 2005. The highest number of hits in a given month was recorded in November 2005, with 566,665. TPC’s January 1, 2001, research report “Federal Income Tax Cuts and Low-Income Families” continues to rank among the top five TPC hits. Also within the top five are TPC’s October 3, 2005, research report “Who Gets the Child Tax Credit?” and the January 4, 2005, *First Tuesday* transcript, “Working Longer to Make Retirement More Secure.”

E-Mail Newsletter

We use the TPC’s electronic newsletter to publicize new events, publications, and distributional analyses. Currently, we have approximately 3,300 subscribers.

We commissioned a new listserv vendor and completely redesigned our newsletter so that it displays in HTML format for clients whose e-mail supports that format. Besides being more attractive and easier to read, the HTML newsletter contains live hyperlinks to the TPC web site, making it easier for readers to connect directly to our web site.

Tax Facts (on the TPC Web Site)

Tax Facts provides tax information for citizens, policy analysts, legislators, and the press. Data are compiled from the Internal Revenue Service, the Joint Committee on Taxation, the Congressional Budget Office, the Department of the Treasury, the Federation of Tax Administrators, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and other data sources. We also highlight data from our own TPC microsimulation model.

“Numbers such as these have given moderate Republicans pause in the Senate. Sen. Olympia J. Snow (R-Maine) last month single-handedly blocked the Senate Finance Committee from even considering an extension of the dividend and capital gains cuts. Instead, the committee drafted and the Senate approved a five-year, \$60 billion tax cut largely aimed at restoring the hurricane-ravaged Gulf Coast and slowing the expansion of the alternative minimum tax.”

Jonathan Weisman, “\$56 Billion in Tax Cuts Passed: House Measure Would Extend Breaks for Investment Income, *Washington Post* (December 9, 2005).”

In 2005, we updated the *Tax Facts* database and added more state and local information. Currently, we are producing a self-contained CD version that we plan to distribute soon. We also plan to post “pivot tables” on the *Tax Facts* database that will allow users to produce tables comparing detailed revenue and expenditure items across states and over time. This is an electronic version of *Significant Features of Fiscal Federalism*, the widely used source of fiscal data that previously was published annually by the Advisory

Commission on Intergovernmental Relations before it was abolished.

Public Forums

The TPC convened numerous public policy conferences in 2005. (A complete list is attached.) We created a new series, “Perspectives on Tax Reform,” to illuminate important policy issues that the country would face if it reforms the federal tax system. We began the year with “Reforming Social Security: A Tax Policy Center and Brookings Institution Forum” at the Brookings Institution. An Urban Institute forum raised issues that the new tax reform commission will have to grapple with (“Setting the Stage for Tax Reform”). A February “Forum on Tax Shelters” featured Eric Toder, senior fellow from the Urban Institute and former director of research at the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), as well as top officials from the U.S. Treasury and the IRS. “Death by a Thousand Cuts: An Analysis of the Estate Tax’s Demise” featured the authors of a new book on estate tax politics by Yale law professors Michael Graetz and Ian Shapiro. Our Annual TPC “Tax Day” event answered the question, “Can Tax Time Be Less Burdensome?” We also looked at savings incentives for low-income families. A major conference, co-sponsored with the American Tax Policy Institute and Tax Analysts, examined whether we can, do, and should tax capital income (a key issue for tax reform). Two

other forums—one broad and one focused on international aspects—scrutinized the proposals of the president’s tax reform panel.

FUNDRAISING

The TPC continues to raise funds to expand our current work. We have received support from foundations and organizations including the American Tax Policy Institute, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Brodie Price Philanthropic Fund, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the George Gund Foundation, the Lumina Foundation for Education, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Nathan Cummings Foundation, the Open Society Institute, the Sandler Family Supporting Foundation, and several anonymous donors. Most of these funders have made multiyear commitments of general operating support.

The TPC welcomes general-support contributions from individuals and other groups. Donations to the Tax Policy Center can be made either through the Urban Institute or the Brookings Institution directly or through our online option, *Network for Good*, located on our web site (<http://www.taxpolicycenter.org>).

The TPC is grateful for the generous support of our donors. The work outlined here would not have been possible without it.

KEY TPC PERSONNEL

Project directors

Dr. Leonard E. Burman, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute. Dr. Burman was Treasury Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Analysis from 1998 to 2000, where he developed major proposals to expand access to savings for low-income families. He also teaches at Georgetown University and was a senior analyst at CBO from 1989 to 1997. He is author of *The Labyrinth of Capital Gains Tax Policy: A Guide for the Perplexed*.

Dr. William G. Gale, Arjay and Frances Fearing Miller Chair, Brookings Institution. Dr. Gale is a former assistant professor of economics at UCLA and senior economist at the Council of Economic Advisers. He is also a coeditor of *Economic Effects of Fundamental Tax Reform*, *Rethinking the Estate and Gift Tax*, and *Private Pensions and Public Policies*.

Dr. Peter R. Orszag, Joseph A. Pechman Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution. Dr. Orszag has served as special assistant to the president for economic policy at the National Economic Council and as senior economist and senior adviser on the Council of Economic Advisers. He is coeditor of *American Economic Policy in the 1990s*.

Dr. C. Eugene Steuerle, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute. Dr. Steuerle served as Treasury Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Analysis from 1987 to 1989. Between 1984 and 1986, he served as economic coordinator and original organizer of the Treasury's tax reform effort. Among his 10 books and over 700 articles and briefs, he is author of *Contemporary U.S. Tax Policy*, a volume used commonly in college courses on public finance, tax law, tax accounting, and government. He was president of the National Tax Association (2001–02) and has written regular tax columns for *Tax Notes* and *The Financial Times*, as well as a retirement policy column for the Urban Institute. In 2005 he received the first Bruce Davie-Albert Davis Public Service Award from the National Tax Association.

Senior staff

Dr. Henry Aaron, Bruce and Virginia MacLaury Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution. Dr. Aaron is former director of the Economic Studies Program at Brookings Institution, and former assistant secretary for planning and evaluation at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Among his many books, he is the coeditor of *Economic Effects of Fundamental Tax Reform* and coauthor of *Countdown to Reform: The Great Social Security Debate*.

Alan Berube, Fellow, Brookings Institution. Mr. Berube's areas of expertise include urban demographics, tax and banking policies for low-income families and communities, and state and local impacts of the earned income tax credit.

Dr. Linda Blumberg, Senior Research Associate, Urban Institute. Dr. Blumberg served as health policy advisor at the Office of Management and Budget during 1993–94, working on fundamental health system reform. She and Len Nichols developed a unique

microsimulation model to study the effects of health insurance reforms on workers and their employers, including health insurance tax credits.

Adam Carasso, Research Associate, Urban Institute. Mr. Carasso examines distributional issues in tax, welfare, and pension policy. He has modeled the consequences of recent tax law changes on representative families with particular focus on marriage penalties, marginal tax rates, and family receipt of the earned income and child tax credits.

Dr. Robert Ebel, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute. Dr. Ebel is an economist specializing in intergovernmental relations, public finance, and state and local tax issues. Prior to joining the Urban Institute, he served as lead economist for the program in Public Finance and Intergovernmental Relations at the World Bank (World Bank Institute) and the director of ad hoc state and local tax study commissions in the District of Columbia, Minnesota, and Nevada.

Dr. Nada Eissa, Associate Professor of Public Policy, Georgetown University; Faculty Research Fellow, National Bureau of Economic Research; Visiting Fellow, Urban Institute. Dr. Eissa researches tax and transfer policy, evaluating the effects of policy reforms on individual behavior (labor supply, marriage, consumption) and the implications of behavioral responses for program design.

Dr. William Frenzel, Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution. Dr. Frenzel is a member of the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security. From 1971 to 1991, he was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Minnesota), where he was Ranking Minority Member of the Budget Committee and Administration Committee and a member of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade. He was a congressional representative to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Ron Haskins, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution; Senior Consultant, Annie E. Casey Foundation. Mr. Haskins has served as Senior Advisor to the President for Welfare Policy at the White House; Majority Staff Director, Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means for the U.S. House of Representatives, 1995–2000; and Welfare Counsel for the Republican staff of the Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means for the U.S. House of Representatives, 1986–94.

Renee van Wisse Hendley, Project Manager, Urban Institute. Ms. Hendley is responsible for managing the financial, contractual, and reporting requirements of the Tax Policy Center. She also works with the Urban Institute's *Assessing the New Federalism* project. Between 1995 and 2005, she was the international programs manager of the Urban Institute's International Activity Center, where she managed the overseas offices of a large portfolio of U.S. Agency for International Development, World Bank, and other international donor-funded projects.

Dr. Harry Holzer, Professor of Public Policy, Georgetown University; Visiting Fellow, Urban Institute. Dr. Holzer is a former chief economist at the U.S. Department of

Labor. He is the author of the book *What Employers Want: Job Prospects for Less-Educated Workers* and coeditor of *The Black Youth Employment Crisis*.

Mark Iwry, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution. As the Treasury Department's Benefits Tax Counsel (1995–2001), Mr. Iwry was the principal executive branch official directly responsible for tax policy and regulation relating to the *Nation's* tax-qualified private pension system and employee benefits, and played a central role in developing major legislation expanding savings and pension coverage. He is a former partner in the law firm of Covington & Burling and a former member of the White House Task Force on Health Care Reform.

Linda Lampkin, Principal Research Associate, Urban Institute. Ms. Lampkin is the program director of the Urban Institute's National Center for Charitable Statistics, a program of the Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy. She works with the Internal Revenue Service, key nonprofit groups, and the scholarly community to maximize usage of nonprofit data and to promote and conduct research on the sector. She has also written many articles on IRS Form 990 data quality and on classification of nonprofit organizations.

Elaine Maag, Research Associate, Urban Institute. Ms. Maag studies social assistance in the tax system, particularly for low- and middle-income families, and state taxes. She maintains the federal and payroll tax modules of the Transfer Income Model at UI.

Doug Murray, Programmer/Analyst, Urban Institute. Mr. Murray is the lead programmer for the Tax Policy Center web project. He developed and maintains the databases and web scripts that support the TPC web site. He also provides programming support for the Institute's Dynasim microsimulation model, and for the Polisim microsimulation model that is maintained by the Institute for the Social Security Administration.

Dr. Austin Nichols, Research Associate, Urban Institute. Dr. Nichols examines a variety of tax, welfare, disability, and retirement issues. Currently, he is modeling the determinants of annuitization decisions, characterizing the incidence of the EITC, and describing the circumstances and work incentives of low-income working families.

Dr. Rudolph G. Penner, Senior Fellow and Arjay and Frances Miller Chair in Public Policy, Urban Institute. Dr. Penner was director of the Congressional Budget Office from 1983 to 1987 and resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute from 1977 to 1983. Previous government posts include assistant director at the Office of Management and Budget, deputy assistant secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and senior staff economist at the Council of Economic Advisors. He co-wrote *Updating America's Social Contract* and edited *Taxing the Family*.

Dr. Robert Reischauer, President, Urban Institute. Dr. Reischauer is a former director of the Congressional Budget Office and a former senior fellow at Brookings. He is the coauthor of *Countdown to Reform: The Great Social Security Debate* and coeditor of *Setting National Priorities: The 2000 Election and Beyond*.

Dr. Alice M. Rivlin, Adeline M. and Alfred I. Johnson Chair in Urban and Metropolitan Policy, Brookings Institution. Dr. Rivlin is the chair of the District of Columbia Financial Management Assistance Authority. She is a former vice chair of the Federal Reserve Board, former director of the White House Office of Management and Budget, and former assistant secretary for planning and evaluation at the Department of Health Education and Welfare. She was also the founding director of the Congressional Budget Office.

Jeffrey Rohaly, Senior Research Methodologist, Urban Institute; Director of Modeling, Tax Policy Center. Mr. Rohaly is responsible for developing and maintaining the TPC's microsimulation model of the federal tax system.

Dr. Kim Rueben, Senior Research Associate, Urban Institute. Dr. Rueben examines issues of state and local public finance focusing on state budget issues, intergovernmental relations, municipal bond markets, capital markets, and the economics of education. She is also an adjunct fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California.

Dr. Isabel V. Sawhill, Vice President and Director, Economic Studies and Co-Director of the Welfare Reform and Beyond initiative, Brookings Institution. Dr. Sawhill is a former associate director at the Office of Management and Budget and former Arjay Miller Chair at the Urban Institute. Among her many books, she is a coauthor of *Getting Ahead: Economic and Social Mobility in America* and *Updating America's Social Contract: Economic Growth and Opportunity in the New Century*.

Dr. Eric Toder, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute. Dr. Toder was the Treasury Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Analysis from 1993 to 1996, and formerly held other relevant positions including director of IRS research from 2001 to 2004, deputy assistant director for tax analysis at the Congressional Budget Office from 1984 to 1988 and 1991 to 1993, and consultant to the New Zealand Treasury from 1988 to 1991. He is the author and coauthor of numerous papers on tax policy, tax administration, and retirement issues.

Staff

Anya Arax Manjarrez, Project Associate, Urban Institute. Ms. Arax Manjarrez is the project associate for the Tax Policy Center. She manages TPC events and listserves, edits publications, updates the Tax Policy Center web site, and assists with TPC management.

Elizabeth Bell, Research Assistant, Urban Institute. Ms. Bell researches the distribution of tax incentives in social welfare and private savings programs, and contributes to the maintenance of the Tax Facts database.

Sonya Hoo, Research Assistant, Urban Institute. Ms. Hoo researches questions about public finance, specializing in the economic and distributional effects of state and local tax systems and expenditure programs.

Troy Kravitz, Research Assistant, Urban Institute. Mr. Kravitz researches the distribution of consumption expenditures and the incidence of income support programs. He is also the webmaster of the Tax Policy Center web site.

Mohammed Adeel Saleem, Research Assistant, Urban Institute. Mr. Saleem is a tax modeler for the Tax Policy Center. He examines distributional and revenue effects of various tax proposals. He has researched how and why marginal tax rates differ from statutory tax rates.

PUBLICATIONS, REPORTS, AND COMMENTARIES (2005)

Discussion Paper Series: TPC working papers

- “Deficits, Interest Rates, and the User Cost of Capital: A Reconsideration of the Effects of Tax Policy on Investment.” William G. Gale and Peter R. Orszag. August 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 27.
- “The Distributional Consequences of Federal Assistance for Higher Education: The Intersection of Tax and Spending Programs.” Leonard E. Burman, Elaine Maag, Peter R. Orszag, Jeffrey Rohaly, and John O’Hare. August 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 26.
- “Suppose They Took the AM out of the AMT?” Leonard E. Burman and David Weiner. August 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 25.
- “Tax Policies to Help Working Families in Cities.” Alan Berube, William G. Gale, and Tracy Kornblatt. June 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 24.
- “Tax Subsidies to Help Low-Income Families Pay for Child Care.” Leonard E. Burman, Elaine Maag, and Jeffrey Rohaly. June 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 23.
- “Improving Tax Incentives for Low-Income Savers: The Saver’s Credit.” William G. Gale, J. Mark Iwry, and Peter R. Orszag. June 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 22.
- “Making Tax Incentives for Homeownership More Equitable and Efficient.” Adam Carasso, C. Eugene Steuerle, and Elizabeth Bell. June 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 21.
- “Designing a Work-Friendly Tax System: Options and Trade-Offs.” Jonathan Barry Forman, Adam Carasso, and Mohammed Adeel Saleem. June 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 20.
- “Tax Credits for Health Insurance.” Leonard E. Burman and Jonathan Gruber. June 2005. TPC Discussion Paper number 19.

Issues and Options Series: TPC policy briefs

- “The Work Opportunity and Welfare-to-Work Tax Credits.” Sarah Hamersma. October 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 15.
- “Tax Credits to Help Low-Income Families Pay for Child Care.” Leonard E. Burman, Elaine Maag, and Jeffrey Rohaly. July 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 14.
- “Making the Tax System Work for Low-Income Savers: The Saver’s Credit.” William G. Gale, J. Mark Iwry, and Peter R. Orszag. July 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 13.
- “How to Better Encourage Homeownership.” Adam Carasso, C. Eugene Steuerle, and Elizabeth Bell. June 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 12.

- “Tax Credits for Health Insurance.” Leonard E. Burman and Jonathan Gruber. June 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 11.
- “Options to Reform the Estate Tax.” Leonard E. Burman, William G. Gale, and Jeffrey Rohaly. March 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 10.
- “High-Income Families Benefit Most from New Education Savings Incentives.” Susan Dynarski. February 2005. TPC Issues and Options Brief number 9.

“Tax Facts”: *TPC’s semi-weekly column in Tax Analysts’ Tax Notes*

- “Tax Law Changes Allow Employees to Contribute More to Tax-Deferred Accounts.” Karen E. Smith and Eric Toder. December 19, 2005.
- “Minimum Wage, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and Inflation.” Troy Kravitz. December 5, 2005.
- “Property Tax Credits Offered through State Income Tax Systems.” Sonya Hoo. November 21, 2005.
- “Capital Gains Tax Rates, Stock Markets, and Growth.” Troy Kravitz and Leonard E. Burman. November 7, 2005.
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