

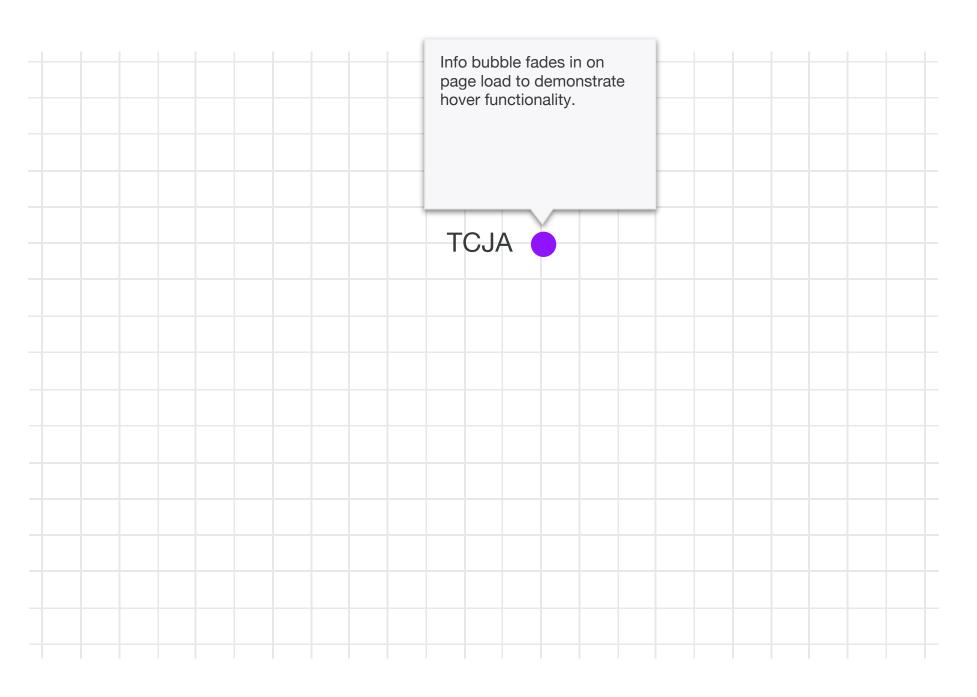


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- TCJA happened with little analysis, upended decades of federal tax policy
- Microsim models typically look at one plan/tradeoffs, but now TPC can explore the tradeoffs by calculating many alternative plans
- Exploring and understanding these tradeoffs is how you create better tax policy

Here's the TCJA - it lost X revenue and resulted in X change in after tax income for all taxpayers compared with prior law.



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Info bubble fades in on page load to demonstrate

hover functionality.

TCJA (

We looked at thousands of alternatives to the

TCJA (in terms of several parameters). Overallmore after tax income = less revenue for the federal government. There are plans that generate more revenue than the TCJA, and others that generate more after-tax income for certain groups. But the sameplans don't help everyone. What are those tradeoffs?

What tax policy levers have the greatest effect on different ends of the income spectrum? Let's start by looking just at taxpayers in the bottom 20 percent of incomes.(green dots). Changing the CTC refund, CTC threshold, standard deduction, and personal exemption have the biggest impact on after tax income for the bottom 20 percent. Let's look at why...

The upper left arrowshows the plans that result in the most revenue. As we move from

[highlight section]

left to right across this line, the bottom 20 percent has more after tax income with plans that have increases in the child tax credit refund and that set the refund threshold to 0. [highlight section] The plans directly below this line follow the

same pattern. But in this case, other

but they don't affect the bottom 20

parameters besides the CTC are being

changed. These parameters lose revenue,

percent's average after-tax income.

[highlight section] The second arrow follows thesame pattern, but this time we moved the personal exemption from 0to 2050. This shifts the line down because it results in less revenue. But

it also shifts to the right and results in more

after tax income for the bottom 20 percent.

Let's look at how just changing the standard

deduction affects revenue and change in

after tax income for the bottom 20 percent.

This chart shows the three standard deductions for married filers: 13,000 (blue), 24,000 (brown), and 26,400(purple). As the standard deduction increases, taxpayers in bottom 20 percent havemore after tax income, but revenue is lost.

are broken into three groups by the refundability levels. Higher refundability gives people bigger tax refunds. Within the three groups there are three lines representing the different CTC thresholds. Lower thresholds allow people to start accessing the credit at lower incomes. Higher refundability and lower thresholds allow low income people to gain more from the CTC. They play an important role for lower income families with kids. The opposite can also be seen in the vertical line shape in the data. The other parameters have little to no effect on this group, so there is no horizontal movement, implying no change in after-tax income.

Now let's turn to the top 5 percent (instead of

important factor affecting after tax income for

bottom 20 percent). Rates are the most

the top 5 percent. The groups in the chart

(highlight each) are clustered around the 4

different sets of rates (list rates here).

0.2T

0.1T

0.1T

0.0T

-0.1T pnrden_chg -0.2T

-0.3T

-0.4T

-0.5T

-0.6T

This pattern is even more clear for married

refundability and refund thresholds. The lines

taxpayers in the bottom 20 percent with

kids. Here we're changing the CTC

What does this all tell us? There are many

the TCJA while also increasing after tax

plans that would generate more revenue than

income for the bottom 20 percent. But there

much fewer plans that accomplish this for

the top 5 percent. Plans that increase low-

income people's after tax income without

for the top 5 percent more than TCJA did.

(chart highlights plans that, without losing

revenue, benefit bottom 20 percent and top

5 percent with different colors; shows they

don't overlap)

losing revenue don't benefit after tax income

Without revenue restrictions, there are many plans that increase after-tax income for all quintiles (about 10% of our simulations). Among plans with revenue restrictions (that don't lose anymore revenue than TCJA), plenty of plans benefit taxpayers in the bottom four quintiles (many plans that benefit bottom quintile also benefit thirdquintile, for example) (Chenxi's slide 20). Butamong plans that don't lose more revenue than TCJA,no planthat benefits the top quintile

benefitsany of the other quintiles.

(compared with pre-TCJA law) more evenly raiseafter tax income without losing as much revenue as the TCJA (note that it might not be best plan in terms of economic growth, but it is most equitable). For example, one plan wouldcost about twothirdsas much as the TCJA and raise average after-tax incomes in each quintile by 1.02%

(for bottom quintile) to 1.98% (for top

quintile), compared with TCJA change of

0.4% for the bottom quintile and 2.98% for

the top quintile.(tooltip with parameters of

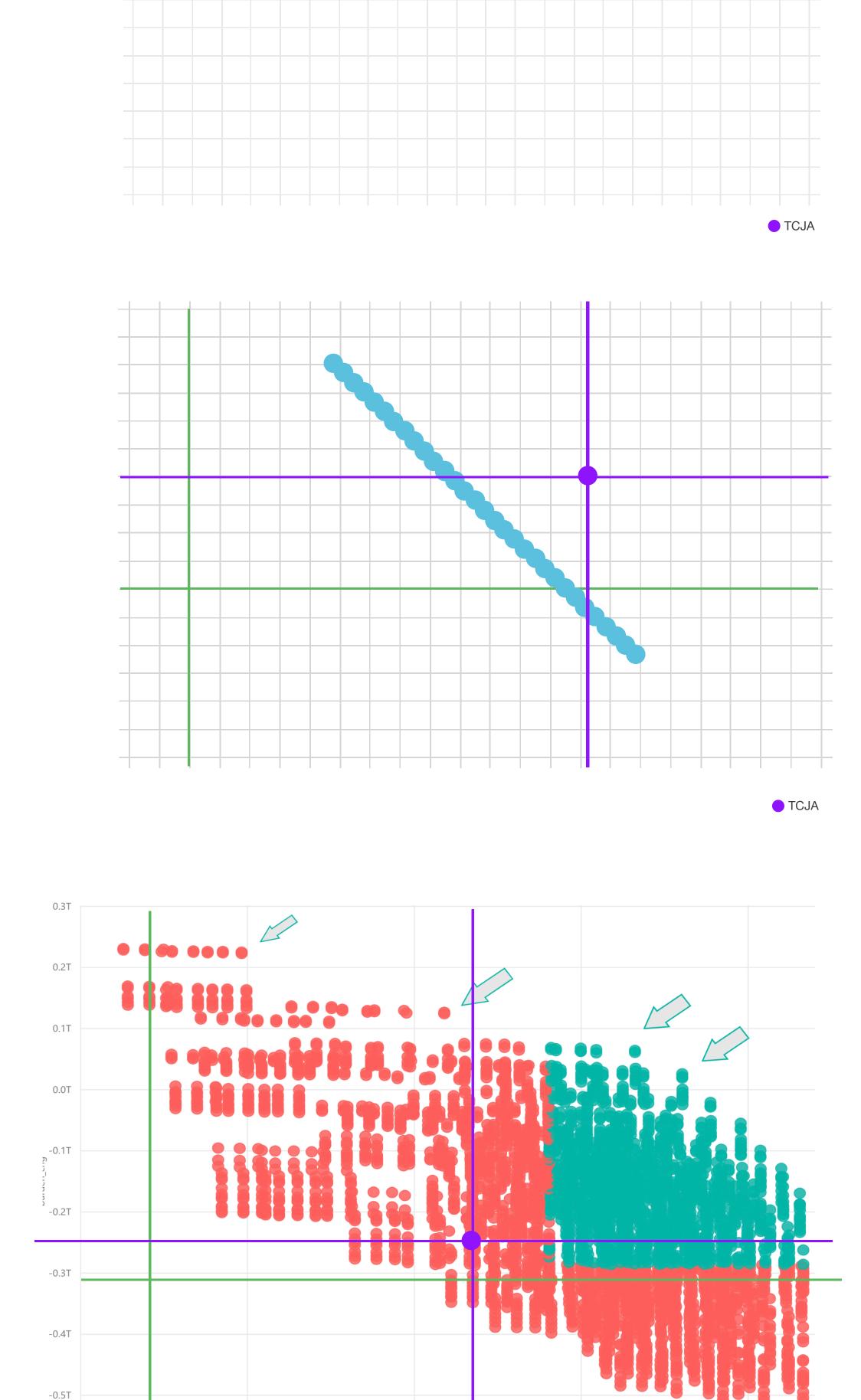
We can also figure out which plans would

this tax plan?; show this plan on the chart) Another plan would costabout the same as the TCJA and raise average after-tax incomes by 1.17% (for bottom quintile)to 3.08%(for top quintile), compared with TCJA change of 0.4% for the bottom quintile up to 2.98% for the top income quintile.(tooltip with parameters of this tax plan?; show plan

But all these plans come with tradeoffs for certain groups. The effect of changing one parameter can vary widely depending on people's income and filing status. Understanding these tradeoffs (both in terms of revenue and after tax income) is critical to creating sound, evidence-based tax policy

on chart)

The TCJA was passed in haste, and our tool shows that there were plausible alternatives that changed the same parts of the tax code. Do these plans make the right tradeoffs among income groups? Of equity and



0.5

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1.0

TCJA

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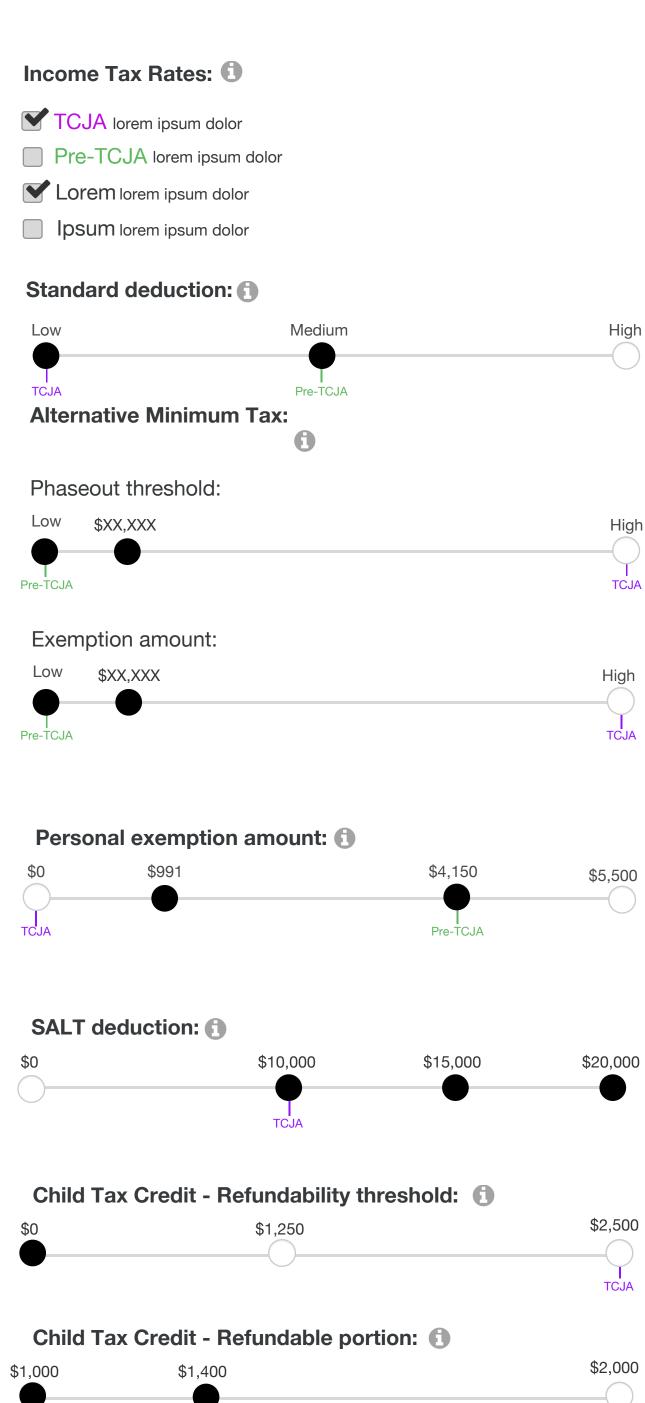
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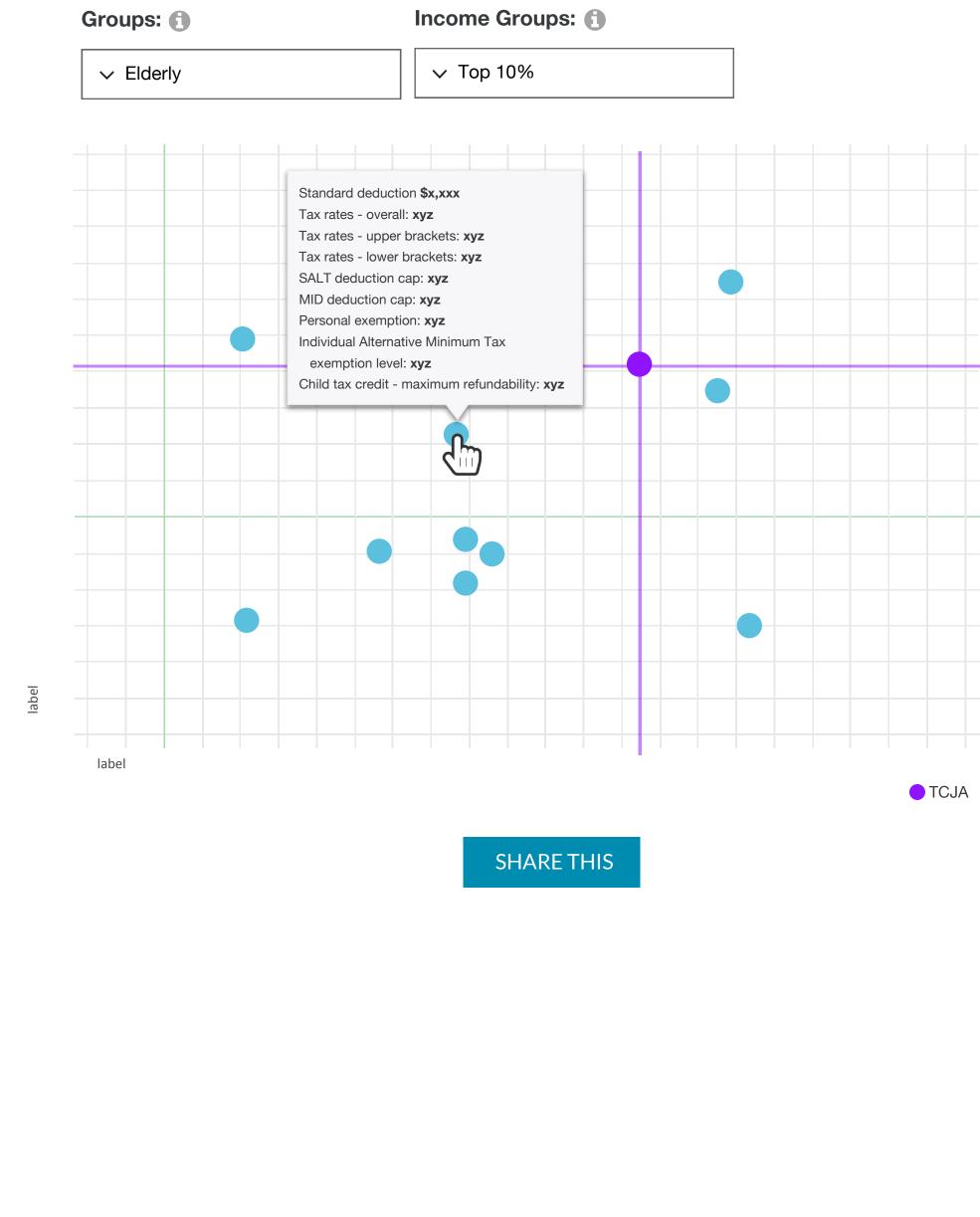
TCJA

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√ Top 10% ✓ Elderly

Now see for yourself how changing different parameters affects revenue and after tax income.



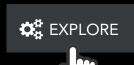


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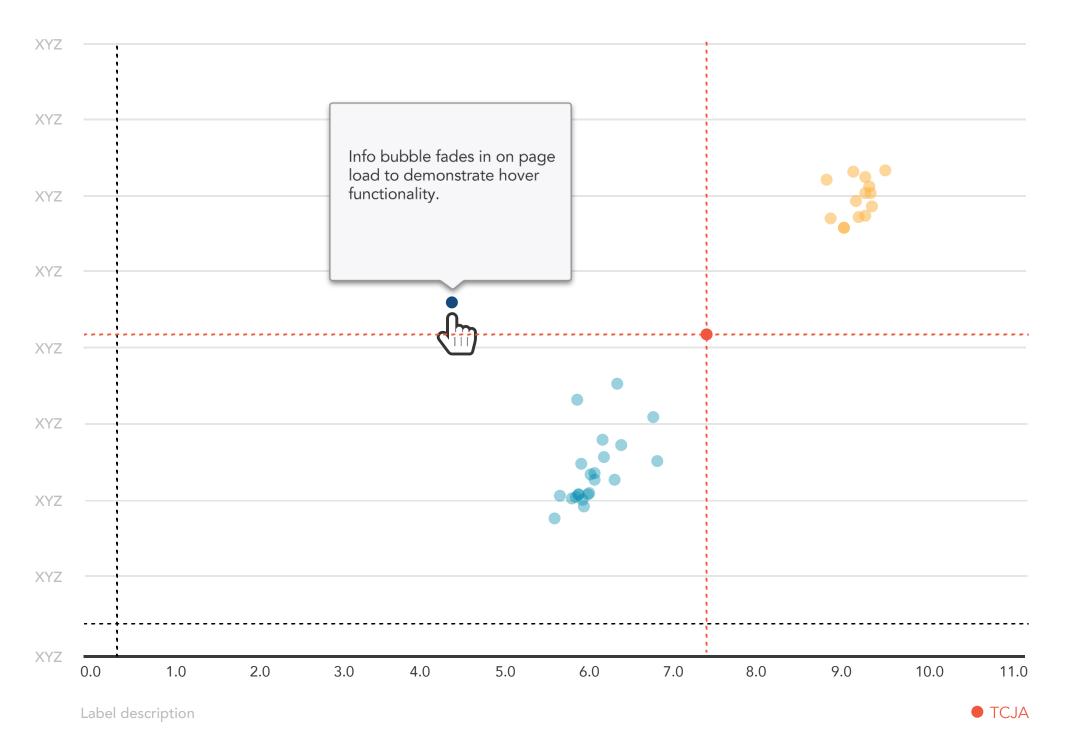
ABOUT

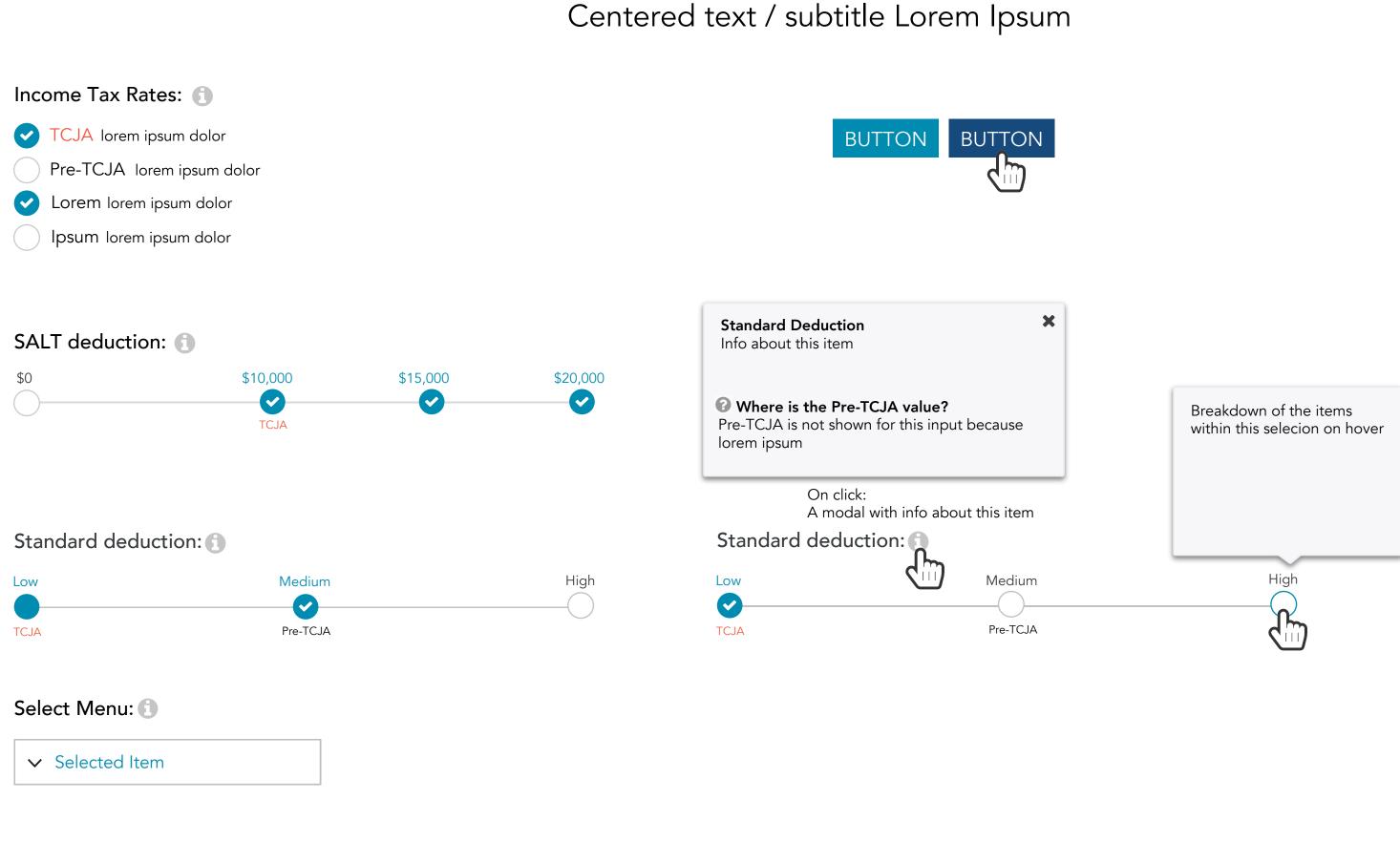


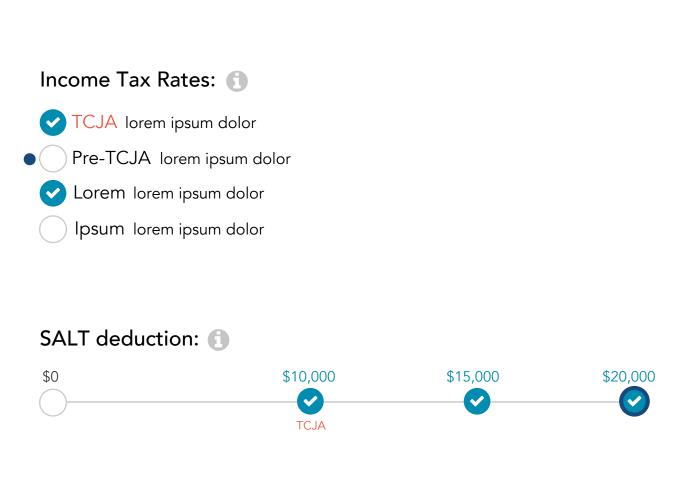
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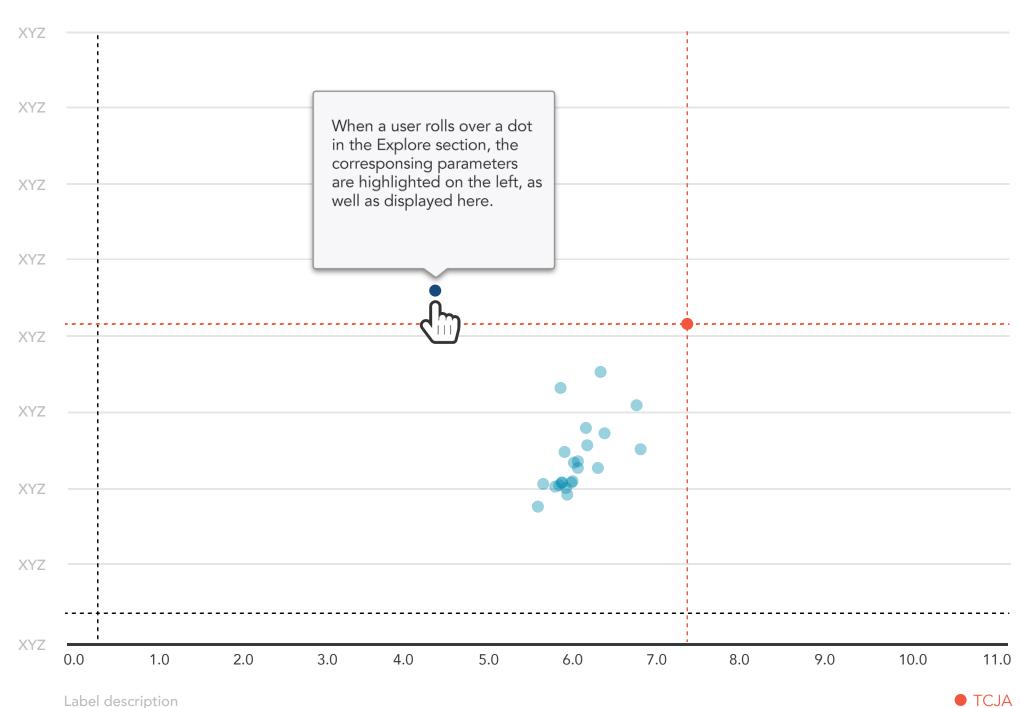
What tax policy levers have the greatest effect on different ends of the income spectrum? Let's start by looking just at taxpayers in the bottom 20 percent of incomes. (green dots). Changing the CTC refund, CTC threshold, standard deduction, and personal exemption have the biggest impact on after tax income for the bottom 20 percent. Let's look at why...













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ABOUT

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