



## CENTER ON URBAN & METROPOLITAN POLICY

# Rewarding Work: The Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Greater Los Angeles

*"...working families live throughout the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and the EITC is an important source of income for these families and their jurisdictions."*



### Findings

This year the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) will provide over \$30 billion to 18.4 million low-income taxpayers across the US, making it the largest federal aid program for working poor families. This study is the first to describe the spatial distribution of the EITC in 27 metropolitan areas across the country.<sup>1</sup> An analysis of the Los Angeles region shows that<sup>2</sup>:

- **In 1997, 775,000 residents of Los Angeles County earned \$1.2 billion in federal EITC refunds.** Residents of the city alone received over \$500 million. About 40 percent of EITC dollars were earned by families living in the city of Los Angeles, roughly equal to the city's share of the county's population.
- **Los Angeles County had the highest percentage of families earn the EITC (21 percent) among the large metropolitan areas studied.** A higher percentage of families in the city of Los Angeles benefited from the EITC (25 percent) than in most of the 27 cities studied.
- **Creating a refundable state EITC would contribute an additional \$229 million to the budgets of low-income working families in the Los Angeles region.** A California state EITC set at 20 percent of the federal credit would help make work pay for hundreds of thousands of low-income families in the region.
- **Many of the region's low-income working families were concentrated in southeastern Los Angeles, cities east of Los Angeles, and communities in the county's northeast corner.** Cities outside of Los Angeles, including Compton, El Monte, and Pomona, had above average rates of taxpayers filing for the EITC.

### I. Introduction

**D**espite a great deal of public and policy interest in the working poor and working families, particularly in the aftermath of welfare reform, there is little understanding of who the working poor are and where they live. Families may claim an Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) if they are working but not earning more than roughly 200 percent of the federal

poverty level. Therefore, this survey uses EITC receipt as a measure of the number and location of low-income working residents in a metropolitan area. This Los Angeles survey is one of a series looking at the EITC and its value to 27 regions around the country. Using IRS data, this survey mapped the geographic distribution of the EITC to help these regions better understand where working poor

families in their areas live. This survey confirms that working families live throughout the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and that the EITC is an important source of income for these families and their jurisdictions.

## II. What Is the EITC?

The EITC is a refundable income tax credit intended to make work pay for low-income families. Congress enacted the credit in 1975 in response to high unemployment and the burden that social security taxes imposed on low-wage workers. Substantial increases in the EITC were approved by Congress several times during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Between 1984 and 1996, the amount of dollars transferred to working families through the credit increased more than 10 times (Figure 1). In 1997, over 19 million families claimed more than \$30 billion in EITCs—an average of \$1,567 per family. The EITC is now the largest federal aid program targeted to the working poor.

### A. How Does the EITC Work?

#### Eligibility

The EITC is available to families whose incomes range from below the federal poverty line to roughly double the poverty line (see Figure 2). Families with two children could earn up to \$3,888 in EITC in 2000; families with one child are eligible for a credit of up to \$2,353. Very low-income workers with no children are eligible for a small EITC.

The size of the credit increases as earnings increase, up to a point, and then remains constant at a maximum level (based on the number of dependents) before declining with each additional dollar of income (see Figure 2). For example, a household with two children and earnings between \$9,700 and \$12,700 was eligible for a \$3,888 refund for tax year 2000.

Figure 1: Earned Income Tax Credit  
Number of Families and Amount of Credit  
1975 - 2001

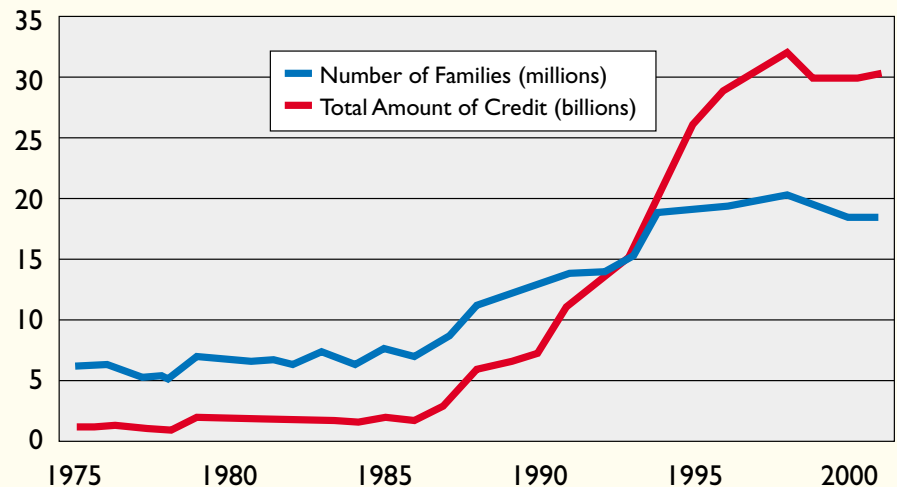


Figure 2: Size of the Credit Relative to Earned Income and Number of Dependents, 2000



The data analyzed in this survey are for tax years 1997 and 1998. In these years, the maximum credit available to families with two children was about \$3,700, and the maximum credit for families with one child was about \$2,250.

#### Applying

Workers must file a tax return and complete schedule EIC in order to claim the credit. Taxpayers whom the IRS believes are eligible for the EITC are sent notices if they do not complete schedule EIC. These taxpayers

may file amended returns, but low-income workers who are otherwise exempt from filing will not receive any notice unless they complete a tax return. Employers can also make the Advance EITC available to their employees, allowing eligible workers to earn a portion of their credit with each paycheck. Nearly all families, however, receive the credit in their tax refund check at the end of the year.

### B. Who Actually Claims the EITC?

In tax year 1998, half of all EITC dollars went to families who earned less than \$12,000.<sup>3</sup> The remainder went to families earning up to \$29,000.

Larger percentages of eligible families claim the EITC compared to traditional social welfare programs (TANF, Food Stamps, Medicaid). Nevertheless, studies have found that many eligible households, particularly families with very low incomes, former welfare recipients, and those with language barriers, are not filing for the EITC.<sup>4</sup> Additional research also shows that many of those who are eligible have, at best, a vague understanding of how the EITC works. A recent study showed that minorities, particularly low-income Hispanic households, are less likely to know about the EITC than low-income non-Hispanic parents of any race.<sup>5</sup>

### C. Why Is the EITC Important?

A series of recent studies have provided strong evidence that the EITC significantly reduces poverty and income inequality while encouraging work and helping low-income families build assets for the future.

#### Lifts Families Out of Poverty

The EITC's success in moving families out of poverty is largely attributable to recent increases in the size of the credit and the number of working families eligible for the credit.<sup>6</sup> In 1993, the EITC helped lift 2.1 million people above the poverty line. By 1999,

Table 1: Who Can Get the Credit?

Occupation	Avg. Annual Salary in the Los Angeles Region
Child Care Workers	\$17,430
Security Guards	\$17,570
Cooks	\$18,660
Preschool Teachers	\$23,500
Dental Assistants	\$27,660

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

that figure had more than doubled to 4.7 million people. In just that one year, the credit lifted 2.5 million children out of poverty—more than any other federal aid program.<sup>7</sup>

#### Increases Work

By restricting eligibility to families with earnings, the EITC promotes work. In 1984, prior to large increases in the EITC and changes in other federal transfer programs, 73 percent of single mothers with children worked at some point during the year. By 1996, 81 percent of single mothers were working at some point during the year. One study found that three-fifths of this increase in workforce participation by single mothers was attributable to increases in the EITC.<sup>8</sup> Researchers have also shown that the EITC increases work for those who previously received welfare.<sup>9</sup>

#### Supplements Wages

The wages and salaries of the working poor have not kept pace over the last 20 years with those earning larger incomes. Despite strong economic growth over the last decade, the income gap between rich and poor has widened.

In California, during the late 1990s, the average before-tax income of a family in the bottom fifth of the income distribution was around \$12,200. Adjusted for inflation, these families were actually earning about

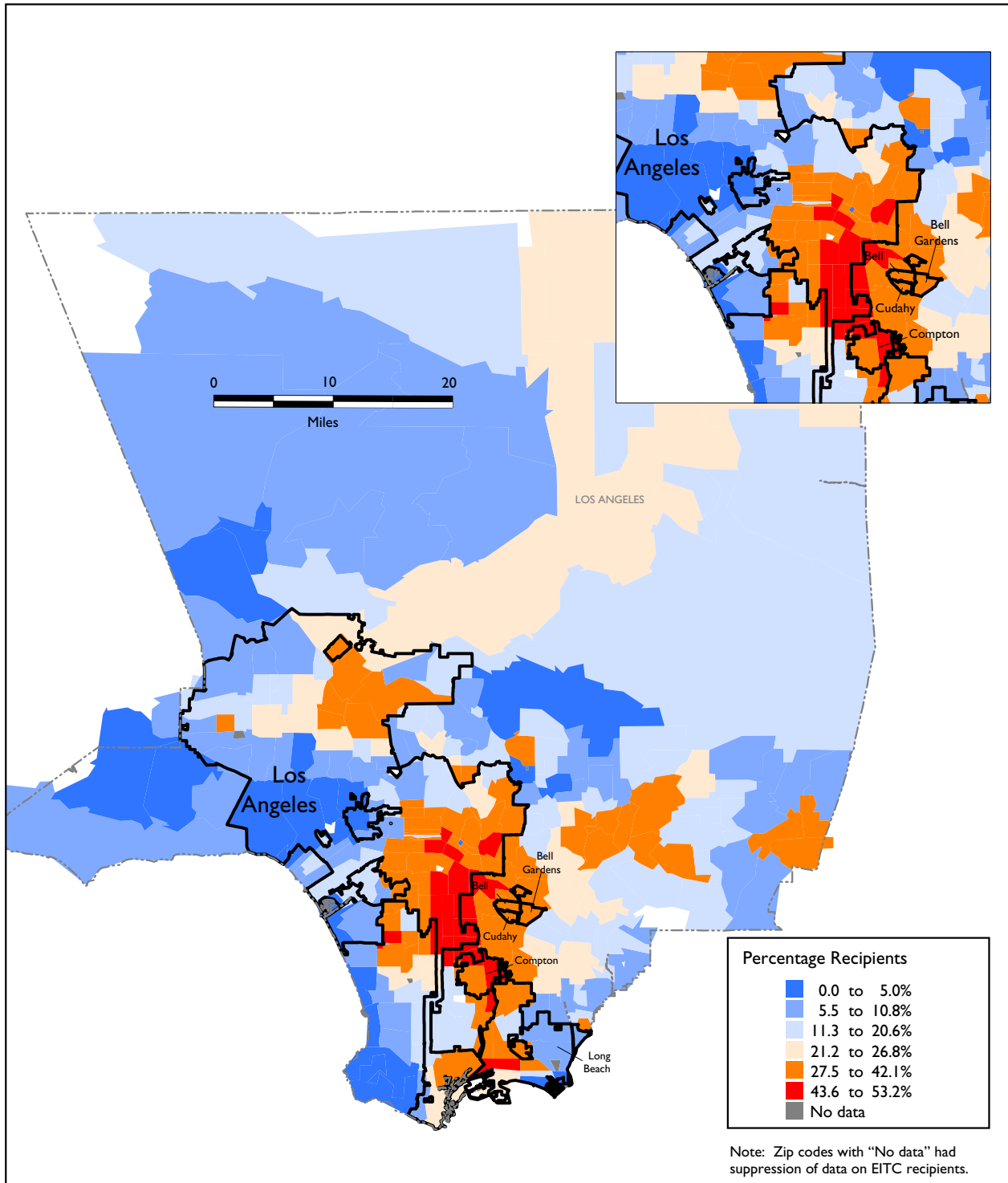
19 percent less than they were during the late-1970s. At the same time, families in the top fifth of the distribution had average before-tax income of nearly \$146,000, 28 percent more than during the late 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Research suggests that the EITC, by supplementing the wages of low-income working families, has curbed growth in national after-tax income inequality.<sup>11</sup>

#### Builds Wealth and Purchasing Power

EITC dollars represent additional income coming into the community, increasing families' purchasing power and helping them build assets for the future. The one study to investigate how families use the EITC found that over half of recipients planned to spend their refunds on investments like paying for tuition or other educational expenses, increasing their access to jobs through car repairs and other transportation improvements, moving to a new neighborhood, or putting money into a savings account. The study also found that the EITC helped the lowest-income families meet immediate needs such as utilities and rent.<sup>12</sup>



### Los Angeles PMSA: EITC Recipients as a Percentage of Total Tax Returns by Zip Code, 1998



Data Source: U.S. Internal Revenue Service.

### III. Findings: The Value of the EITC to Greater Los Angeles

This study examines the spatial distribution of the EITC in the Los Angeles region, which is defined as the Los Angeles Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA). This area is made up of the roughly 9.5 million people living in Los Angeles County; thus, this survey uses the terms "county" and "region" interchangeably to refer to the Los Angeles PMSA. The EITC data used for this study, which are publicly available through the Internal Revenue Service, reflect actual credits claimed by taxpayers for the tax years 1997 and 1998 (see Appendix D for further information on the data).<sup>13</sup>

#### **A. In 1997, 755,000 residents of the Los Angeles region earned \$1.2 billion in federal EITC refunds.**

The \$1.2 billion in EITC refunds earned by Los Angeles County families in 1997 was a greater amount than that earned by families in 47 states.

In 1997, families in the city of Los Angeles earned over \$509 million in EITC refunds. Neighboring cities also saw substantial amounts of EITC flow to their residents. For instance, in Compton and Long Beach, families earned \$22 million and \$50 million in EITC, respectively. In El Monte and Pomona, each due east of Los Angeles, residents earned \$15 million and \$23 million in EITC, respectively.

The average EITC for families in Los Angeles county in 1997 was \$1,598, slightly higher than the national average (\$1,567). Families in the city of Los Angeles claiming the EITC earned an average credit of \$1,625, while families in the remainder of the county earned, on average, \$1,580 in credits.

The city of Los Angeles received 41 percent of the region's EITC dollars in 1997, a share roughly equal to its share of the region's population

(see Appendix C). This indicates that working poor families in Los Angeles County are just as likely to live outside of the city as inside, and that communities throughout the county have an important stake in supporting the EITC to make work pay for these families.

#### **B. Many of the region's low-income working families were concentrated in southeastern Los Angeles, cities east of Los Angeles, and communities in the county's northeast corner.**

In 1998, one-quarter (24.6 percent) of the city of Los Angeles's taxpayers earned an EITC. This rate was higher than both the regional average of 21 percent, and the national average of 15.8 percent. There were a few neighborhoods in northern Los Angeles, such as Van Nuys, North Hollywood, and Pacoima, where around one-third of tax filers earned the credit. However, most families claiming the EITC lived in the city's southeastern neighborhoods, such as Watts, Lynwood, and Hawthorne, where anywhere from 30 to 50 percent of tax filers earned an EITC. Communities bordering the city, and continuing south from Compton to Long Beach, had similarly high concentrations of the working poor.

Other communities where a large percentage of families benefited from credit could be found in eastern LA county—cities such as El Monte (33 percent) and Pomona (29 percent). There were also locations farther out in the county with significantly high rates of EITC receipt. Communities situated in the county's northeast corner, such as Palmdale and Sylma, had rates of EITC receipt over 25 percent.

#### **C. Los Angeles County had the highest percentage of families earn the EITC (21 percent) among the large metropolitan areas studied.**

With 21 percent of all filers earning the EITC, the Los Angeles region had

the highest percentage of EITC receipt among the six metropolitan areas studied with populations over 3 million (Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia-Camden, Washington). For instance, the region, which has a little less than twice the number of residents as the Philadelphia-Camden region, received over three times the amount of EITC dollars as that region in 1997. The \$1.2 billion in EITC earned by working families in Los Angeles County was by far the largest dollar flow among the 27 regions studied.

Compared to the other 27 cities studied, the percentage of families in Los Angeles that received the EITC (24.6 percent) was similar to the median for all regions (24.1 percent—see Appendix C). The percentage of all EITC dollars flowing into the central city (41.1 percent) was also similar to the median across all regions (41.6 percent), and similar to that in San Diego.

#### **D. Creating a refundable state EITC would contribute an additional \$229 million to the budgets of low-income working families in the Los Angeles region.**

California could create a refundable state EITC that matches the federal EITC at a fixed percentage. At 20 percent of the federal credit, a California state EITC could add at least \$229 million to the incomes of the county's working poor in 2001. A 20 percent state EITC could boost the purchasing power of low-income families in the city of Los Angeles by \$94 million, and families elsewhere in the county by \$135 million.<sup>14</sup> By creating a refundable state EITC, California would join 10 states that have already made similar commitments to their working families.

*“Policymakers in the Los Angeles region can leverage this investment by partnering with community institutions to preserve the value of the EITC, and by building on the federal credit at the state level.”*

#### IV. What Los Angeles Can Do to Leverage the EITC Locally

**T**his study confirms that the Earned Income Tax Credit is a significant federal support for working poor residents of the Los Angeles region. Policymakers in the Los Angeles region can leverage this investment by partnering with community institutions to preserve the value of the EITC, and by building on the federal credit at the state level. There are four things that Los Angeles's communities can do right now to maximize the use and value of the EITC.

##### ***1. Support community organizations that preserve the value of the EITC***

According to researchers, over half of all families who receive the federal EITC file their taxes through a tax preparation service.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, many of these services charge an exorbitant fee and even offer “refund anticipation loans”: high-interest loans that—often for \$100 and more—give taxpayers their money only a few days sooner than the Treasury would. The Center for Law and Human Service’s Tax Counseling Project and the Tax Assistance Project in Chicago, as well as the Community Action Project of Tulsa County in Oklahoma, are examples of organizations that are helping EITC recipients who need assistance in filing their returns to receive the full value of the credit. The City and County of Los Angeles could build on their existing Earned Income Tax Credit Campaign Partnership by expanding resources for free and low-cost tax preparation services in the area.

##### ***2. Help families use the EITC as a gateway to financial services***

According to the Federal Reserve, 22 percent of families with less than \$25,000 in income (the majority of the EITC-eligible population) lack a bank account of any kind.<sup>16</sup> By not having this most basic access to mainstream financial services, these families must often rely on high-cost check cashing or other alternative financial services that consume large portions of their small incomes, and make it even more difficult for them to put aside small amounts of savings for the future. The average federal EITC refund in Los Angeles of \$1,598 represents a large initial deposit that, with cooperation from local banks and credit unions, could help many lower-income families open an account and begin to build modest amounts of savings.

With the recent passage of state legislation, Los Angeles County will be offering recipients of public assistance the opportunity to have their benefits directly deposited to a low-cost bank account. The county could work with banks to make these same sorts of accounts available to unbanked working poor families who may not currently have access to one, making it possible for them to receive their tax refunds via Direct Deposit.

##### ***3. Enact a refundable California state EITC***

With over 770,000 families in the Los Angeles region receiving the federal EITC in 1998, a California state refundable EITC set at 20 percent of the federal credit could provide \$229 million or more to the area’s working families. Ten states currently make a refundable EITC available to their low-income working families through their state income tax. Because refundable state EITCs support families moving from welfare to

work, California could finance such a credit with unspent federal TANF dollars, or count state expenditures on a refundable credit toward its “maintenance of effort” required under TANF.

**4. Use local data to identify eligible families who are not claiming the EITC**

While significant percentages of working families are aware of and file for the EITC, new entrants into the labor force—especially individuals making the transition from welfare to work—may not be aware of the credit. Data

from the IRS and the California Franchise Tax Board could make it possible for researchers to identify neighborhoods where EITC participation rates are unexpectedly low and target these areas for outreach. Using this type of data from the Wisconsin Department of Revenue, researchers at the University of Wisconsin’s Employment and Training Institute were able to identify neighborhoods in Milwaukee where low percentages of the low-income families filed for the EITC.<sup>17</sup>

**Appendix A: Value of Claimed EITCs for the Los Angeles Region, 1997**

<b>County</b>	<b>Value of EITCs Claimed</b>	<b>Share of Regional Total Value of EITCs Claimed</b>	<b>Share of Regional Population</b>
Los Angeles	\$1,238,111,000	100%	100%

Source: Internal Revenue Service, 1997 ZIP Code files.

**Appendix B: Profile of EITCs Received for the Los Angeles Region, 1998**

<b>County</b>	<b>Avg. Adjusted Gross Income</b>	<b>Total Number of Returns</b>	<b>Total Number of EITCs Claimed</b>	<b>% of Taxpayers Filing for EITC</b>
Los Angeles	\$48,773	3,644,320	771,229	21.2%

Source: Internal Revenue Service, E-File Demographics.



Appendix C: Estimates for 27 Regions and Cities

	Region		Central City		City Share of Regional EITC Value	City Share of Regional Population
	% of Taxpayers Filing for EITC	Value of EITCs Claimed (Millions of Dollars)	% of Taxpayers Filing for EITC	Value of EITCs Claimed (Millions of Dollars)		
Akron	11.2	54.3	20.3	27.7	51.1	31.4
Atlanta	15.8	423.2	25.4	67.0	15.8	11.0
Baltimore	13.9	242.1	28.0	123.0	50.8	26.6
Boston	8.9	321.8	15.1	53.4	16.6	9.5
Denver	10.7	147.0	16.9	52.0	35.4	26.3
Des Moines	9.8	29.2	13.6	14.0	47.9	44.4
Detroit	11.8	348.2	32.3	161.3	46.3	21.8
Gary	13.2	57.3	33.6	19.0	33.1	17.8
*Grand Forks	11.6	7.0	11.7	4.2	60.1	48.7
Hartford	8.8	65.1	31.6	20.6	31.6	11.7
Indianapolis	12.9	146.0	16.4	88.6	60.7	49.4
<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>21.2</b>	<b>1238.1</b>	<b>24.6</b>	<b>509.0</b>	<b>41.1</b>	<b>39.1</b>
Louisville	14.7	105.8	24.0	41.1	38.8	25.8
Macon	22.6	54.6	35.2	20.7	38.0	35.9
Miami	27.2	393.1	32.3	61.5	15.6	17.4
Milwaukee	10.7	116.7	21.9	78.7	67.4	40.0
New Orleans	25.4	253.8	36.0	125.2	49.3	35.9
Oakland	9.5	130.7	15.9	35.5	27.2	16.1
Philadelphia-Camden	12.2	403.4	24.1	209.3	51.9	29.4
Providence	12.6	74.3	23.6	26.5	35.6	16.7
Saint Louis	13.5	252.4	29.6	70.7	28.0	13.5
San Antonio	23.0	264.9	24.9	195.9	74.0	73.9
San Diego	14.3	253.3	14.4	113.8	44.9	44.0
San Jose	7.9	85.6	11.1	47.4	55.4	52.5
*Savannah	21.6	44.0	24.2	35.7	81.3	48.7
*Seattle	8.2	119.1	8.7	36.3	30.5	23.5
Washington D.C.	10.8	362.5	18.9	76.9	21.2	11.5
<b>Median for all 27 Regions:</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>\$146.0</b>	<b>24.0%</b>	<b>\$53.4</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>26.6%</b>

Source: Internal Revenue Service

\*Denotes a central city where a large percentage of zip codes extend beyond the municipal boundaries. See Appendix D.

## Appendix D: Methodology

The data for this study were derived from two IRS files (described below). This study uses a 1998 file to map the percentage of taxpayers who received the EITC. In order to determine the actual amount of EITC dollars that went into each jurisdiction, we needed to use a more detailed data file. The 1997 IRS zipcode file is the most recent year for which these detailed data are available.

The 1997 file contains information by zip code on the total number of individual income tax filers, the number of filers with certain tax items (salaries and wages, interest, Schedule C, Schedule F) and total amounts for those items for tax year 1997 returns. Among these are the number of filers who claimed the EITC, and the total amount of EITC claimed. We used these data to calculate the amount of Earned Income Credit that flowed into each county in 1997, as well as the average EITC amount per county. The data are available online at [http://www.irs.gov/tax\\_stats/soi/zip-codes.html](http://www.irs.gov/tax_stats/soi/zip-codes.html).

The 1998 file contains similar information by zip code, including the total number of filers and the number of filers claiming the EITC, but does not provide the total amount of EITC claimed per zip code. Since these data were for a more recent tax year, we used them to calculate the percentage of filers receiving the EITC in a given zip code, and throughout a given county. These data are based on returns between January 1, 1999 and December 31, 1999; nearly all of these returns were for tax year 1998. The data are available online at [http://www.irs.gov/elec\\_svs/demogrfx.html](http://www.irs.gov/elec_svs/demogrfx.html).

Although the raw data are reported at the zip code level, most of the data in the study are characterized at the county or city level. To calculate the county totals we simply aggregated zip codes based on the county names provided in the IRS file. Estimating accurate totals for smaller levels of geography, i.e. cities, was more difficult. Because zip codes are determined by the United States Postal Service and are designed to facilitate the delivery of mail, their borders very often do not coincide with municipal boundaries. In some cities, zip codes more or less match the actual jurisdictional lines; in others, zip codes that cover large parts of a city extend well into neighboring cities and towns. We used GIS (Geographic Information System) to determine which zip codes fit well enough within a given city's boundaries to associate with that city. If a zip code's center was inside the city's boundaries, then the zipcode was included. In a few cases, where there were a large number of zip codes that extended beyond the city's boundaries in an unusual manner, we included all zip codes that were within, or intersected with, the city's boundaries. In these instances, the total amount of EITC flowing into the central city may be slightly overstated, but the regional totals are as accurate as for other regions. These cities are marked with an asterisk in Appendix C.

## Endnotes

- 1 The regions included in this survey series were selected because they are areas where the Annie E. Casey Foundation and John S. Knight Foundation are involved in initiatives aimed at improving the lives of working poor families.
- 2 The 'EITC' referenced throughout this survey is the federal Earned Income Tax Credit. All references to EITCs claimed or the value of EITCs claimed are for the tax year to which we refer.
- 3 David Campbell, Michael Parisi, and Brian Balkovic (2000). "Individual Income Tax Returns, 1998." *Statistics of Income Bulletin*, Fall 2000. US Department of the Treasury.
- 4 See John Karl Scholz (1994). "The Earned Income Tax Credit: Participation, Compliance, and Antipoverty Effectiveness." *National Tax Journal* 48: 64–85. Scholz found that between 80 and 86 percent of those eligible actually claim the credit. His study was based on 1990 data. Significant increases in the value of the EITC have probably altered actual participation rates. Also see Carolyn J. Hill, V. Joseph Hotz, Charles H. Mullin, John Karl Scholz (1999). "EITC Eligibility, Participation, and Compliance Rates for AFDC Households: Evidence from the California Caseload." [http://www.jcpr.org/wpfiles/hotz\\_eitc.pdf](http://www.jcpr.org/wpfiles/hotz_eitc.pdf)
- 5 Katherin Ross Phillips (2001). "Who Knows About the Earned Income Tax Credit?" Urban Institute. [http://newfederalism.urban.org/html/series\\_b/b27/b27.html](http://newfederalism.urban.org/html/series_b/b27/b27.html)
- 6 Between 1993 and 1999, the number of families receiving the EITC increased by 29 percent. The number of people lifted out of poverty by the EITC increased by 124 percent over the same time period.

- 7 The increasing contribution of the EITC to the safety net contrasts sharply with trends in other federal aid programs in the 1990s. Social security insurance, for example, lifted 300,000 less people out of poverty in 1999 than it did in 1993. Food stamps helped about 700,000 less people in 1999 than in 1993. And means-tested cash benefits, mainly TANF, lifted 600,000 less. See "Poverty and Income Trends: 1999," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.
- 8 For increase in labor market participation see Nada Eissa and Jeffrey Liebman (1996). "Labor Supply Response to the Earned Income Credit." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, CXI, 605–647. Another set of estimates by Bruce Meyer and Dan Rosenbaum suggest that more than 60 percent of the increase in annual employment of single mothers was due to increases in the EITC. Welfare waivers contributed one-sixth and AFDC benefit cuts about one-eighth. Changes in Medicaid, employment training, and child care programs played a smaller role.  
<http://dsl.nber.org/papers/w7363.pdf>
- 9 V. Joseph Hotz, Charles H. Mullin, and John K. Scholz (2000). "The Earned Income Tax Credit and Labor Market Participation of Families on Welfare." Joint Center on Poverty Research.  
[http://www.jcpr.org/wpfiles/hotz\\_mullin\\_scholz\\_final.pdf](http://www.jcpr.org/wpfiles/hotz_mullin_scholz_final.pdf)
- 10 The income distributions by state are from the Current Population Survey. The data was pooled for larger sample sizes. The years analyzed were 1978–1980 and 1996–1998. See Jared Bernstein, Elizabeth C. McNichol, Lawrence Mishel, and Robert Zahradnik (2000). "State-by-State Analysis of Income Trends." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and Economic Policy Institute. <http://www.cbpp.org/1-18-00sfp.htm>.
- 11 Jeffrey B. Liebman (1998). "The Impact of the Earned Income Credit on Incentives and Income Distribution." From *Tax Policy and the Economy*, Volume 12, (James Poterba, Editor), MIT Press.  
<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/jeffreyliebman/tpaeetc.pdf>
- 12 Timothy M. Smeeding, Katherin Ross Phillips, and Michael O'Connor (2000). "The EITC: Expectation, Knowledge, Use, and Economic and Social Mobility." Center for Policy Research, Working Paper Series No. 13.  
<http://www.cpr.maxwell.syr.edu/pdf/wp13.pdf>
- 13 The IRS data on the EITC, and the data presented in this survey, reflect credits claimed, and not necessarily dollars refunded. Some EITC offsets tax owed, and does not result directly in a refund. The overwhelming majority of the credit amounts claimed are, however, refunded to taxpayers—in 1997, over 80 percent of all EITC amounts were refunded.
- 14 These estimates are based on calculations for the State of California by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.  
<http://www.cbpp.org/11-11-99sfp.pdf>
- 15 "Earned Income Tax Credit: Profile of Tax Year 1994 Credit Recipients," General Accounting Office. GAO/GGD-96-122BR.  
[http://www.access.gpo.gov/su\\_docs/aces/aces160.shtml](http://www.access.gpo.gov/su_docs/aces/aces160.shtml); "Nationwide Analysis of the Individual Tax Return Records for Partial Tax Year 1998," Internal Revenue Service Publication 3493.  
<http://ftp.fedworld.gov/pub/irs-utl/p3493.pdf>.
- 16 Arthur B. Kennickell, Martha Starr-McCluer, and Brian Surette. "Recent Changes in U.S. Family Finances: Results from the 1998 Survey of the Consumer Finances." *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, January 2000.
- 17 Lois M. Quinn and John Pawasarat (2001). "The Milwaukee Neighborhood Indicators/Asset Mapping Project: Employment and Income Growth in Central City Milwaukee Neighborhoods." University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, Employment and Training Institute.  
<http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/ETI/reports/dor99.htm>

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#### **Note**

This survey is available on the Brookings Institution's website at: [www.brookings.edu/urban](http://www.brookings.edu/urban). Also available are similar surveys for 26 other metropolitan regions.



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