

Myths vs evidence: Tax cuts for the 10%

Published: January 14, 2026, 4:21 am

With the election out of the way it's time to look at research again. This [was a highlight of recent publications, coming from Alex Cobham at Tax Justice Network](#), with permission:

How do tax cuts targeted at different parts of the income distribution affect job creation? This is the question addressed in a new NBER paper by Owen Zidar, an economist at Chicago (not [known historically](#) for progressive analysis). But the paper (see the [ungated version](#); and [slides](#)) has had a good deal of US media coverage, largely because of the progressive tax implications. First, some graphs:

*[caption id="attachment_344" align="aligncenter" width="584"] **The paper's main innovation is to overcome the scarcity of time series data by exploiting US data on state-level income distributions, to view each state-year response to a national tax policy change as a separate observation.**[/caption]*

The main result is not, intuitively, surprising: but it is not a question that has been commonly posed, nor this well answered before. The result is that **tax cuts are least likely to generate benefits when targeted to the top 10% of households; and most likely to generate benefits when targeted to the bottom 90% - or as in figure 5, the bottom 50%**. As Zidar puts it:

"Overall, tax cuts for the bottom 90% tend to result in more output, employment, consumption and investment growth than equivalently sized cuts for the top 10% over a business cycle frequency."

the top 10% drive the economy; Why would we ever cut taxes for the top 10% as a stimulus, I hear you ask? Because they're in charge, say the cynics. Or perhaps because policymakers and/or the public have bought a series of economic myths, such as:

- * the top 10% spend all their time worrying about things like tax cuts rather than broader factors like aggregate demand, or the availability of sound infrastructure and a

healthy, well-educated workforce;

* progressive taxation is bad for growth, and ultimately bad for the poor as well as the rich.

One fairly clear implication of the findings is: the opposite seems to be the case.

A tax change for the top 10% seems to have pretty much no impact on job creation, so a revenue-neutral change in tax structure that deliberately reduces the **Palma measure of inequality** (*that is, the ratio of incomes of the top 10% to the bottom 40%*) **will not only be progressive but will have the effect of boosting jobs growth. Zidar's next chart shows this:**

