

MICHAEL ETTLINGER

EXPERIENCE

Economic Insights and Research Consulting

Principal, August 2024 – present

Private Consulting

Principal, February 2023 – present

Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy

Senior Fellow, February 2023 – present

Carsey School of Public Policy, University of New Hampshire

Founding Director, July 2014 – February 2023

Senior Fellow, February 2023 – present

Clinton-Kaine Presidential Transition

Director of Economic Policy Planning, August 2016 to November 2016

Pew Charitable Trusts

Senior Director for Fiscal and Economic Policy Portfolio, April 2013 to June 2014

Center for American Progress

Vice President for Economic Policy, May 2008 to April 2013

Economic Policy Institute

Director, Economic Analysis and Research Network, July 2002 to May 2008

Public Campaign

Deputy Director, October 2000 to July 2002

Citizens for Tax Justice and Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy

Tax Policy Director, February 1995 to October 2000

State Tax Policy Director, September 1989 to January 1995

New York State Assembly

Counsel to State Assemblyman, June 1987 to August 1989

Vietnam Veterans of America and National Veterans Legal Services Project

Staff Attorney, August 1984 to June 1987

OTHER PROFESSIONAL AND VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

- **Biden-Harris Campaign**, Co-lead, Regional Economies and Battleground States Sub-Committee of Economic Policy Committee
- **Federal Reserve Bank of Boston**, Public Policy Center Advisory Board Member, 2019 to present
- **Groundwork Collaborative**, Advisory Group Member, 2019 to 2020
- **National Association of Public Administration**, Fellow, 2018 to present
- **Just Jobs Network**, Board Member, 2014 to present
- **Warren B. Rudman Center for Justice, Leadership & Public Service**, Fellow, 2014 to present

- **University of New Hampshire Law School**, Affiliate Professor of Law, 2014 to present
- **Public Works**, Board Member, 2012 to 2016
- **Ballot Initiative Strategy Center Foundation**, Board Member, 2007 to 2014
- **Maryland Business Tax Reform Commission**, Commissioner, 2008 to 2010
- **Center for Policy Alternatives**, Board Member, 2005 to 2008
- **ACLU**, Volunteer immigration attorney following 1986 immigration legislation

EDUCATION

The American University, Washington College of Law, Washington, D.C.

J.D., May 1984

Dean's Fellow

Chairman, Equal Justice Foundation

Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

B.S., Electrical Engineering, May 1981

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS and TESTIMONY*

- *A Distributional Analysis of Donald Trump's Tax Plan* by Wamhoff, Davis, Ettlinger, et. al. (ITEP, October 2024)
- *Trump's Plan to Vaporize the Economy* (Boston Globe, September 3, 2024)
- *The Economic Impact of Mass Deportation on Citizens and Authorized immigrants* by Lynch and Ettlinger (CSPP, August 2024)
- *Literature Review on the Economic Consequences of the Deportation of Unauthorized Immigrants* by Lynch and Ettlinger (SSRN, July 2024)
- *Corporate Taxes Before and After the Trump Tax Law* by Gardner, Ettlinger, et. al. (ITEP, May 2024)
- *The Multigenerational Debt Trap* (Medium March 9, 2023)
- *The 2023–2024 U.S. Senate Is Exceedingly Unrepresentative in Multiple Ways* by Ettlinger and Hensley (Medium December 4, 2022)
- *April Unemployment Data Do Not Indicate Benefits Keeping Workers Home* (CSPP, 2021)
- *5 Ideas to reform the filibuster that Joe Manchin might actually support* (Vox, January 19, 2021)
- *COVID-19 Economic Crisis: By State* (CSPP, 2020-2021) by Ettlinger and Hensley
- *Employment Income Drops in More Low-Income Than High-Income Households in All States* (CSPP, 2020) by Ettlinger and Hensley
- *The Vastly Varying Importance of American Voters* (Medium, November 5, 2019)
- *Government Spending Across the World* (CSPP, 2019) by Ettlinger, Hensley and Vieira
- *How Adding Senators from Puerto Rico and DC Would Address Under-Representation* (Medium, 2018) by Ettlinger and Hensley
- *Is the Poverty Rate 1.1%?* (CSPP, 2016) by Ettlinger and Schaefer
- *The "Cadillac Tax Fight: Reasonable Minds Differing or Craven Capitulation?"* (Medium, February 7, 2016)
- *Conventional, One-Dimensional Policies Will Not Reverse U.S. Income Inequality Growth* (Washington Center for Equitable Growth, October 14, 2015)
- *300 Million Engines of Growth* (CAP, 2013) co-editor
- *Reforming Our Tax System* (CAP, 2012) by Altman, Daley, Podesta, Rubin, Samuels, Summers,

Tanden, Weiss, Ettlinger, Hanlon and Linden

- *President Obama's Bridge to a Better Economy* (CAP, 2012)
- *Drug Testing America: House Republicans Have the Answer!* (CAP, 2011)
- *Government Spending Can Create Jobs—And it Has* (CAP, 2011) by Boushey and Ettlinger
- *Job Creation Requires Spending*, (*Tucson Sentinel*, 9/8/2011) by Boushey and Ettlinger
- *Spurring Job Growth Creation in the Private Sector* (CAP, 2011) by Ettlinger et. al.
- *A Strong Middle Class is Key to Getting Our Economy Moving* (CAP, 2011)
- *Cut Spending in the Tax Code* (CAP, 2011) by Hanlon and Ettlinger
- *Addressing the Long-Term Budget Deficit* (Testimony Before Senate Committee on Finance, 2011)
- *The Importance and Promise of American Manufacturing* (CAP, 2011) by Ettlinger and Gordon
- *Will the Budget Process End Where the House Leadership Started?* (CAP, 2011) by Ettlinger and Linden
- *Budgeting for Growth and Prosperity* (CAP, 2011) by Ettlinger, Linden and Hanlon
- *Obama's Budget Reflects a True Pragmatist* (*New York Times*, February 14, 2011)
- *Tax and Unemployment Agreement Leads to Jobs Growth* (CAP, 2010) by Linden and Ettlinger
- *Unemployment Trumps the Budget Deficit* (*US News and World Report*, November 8, 2010)
- *The Consequences of Conservative Economic Policy* (CAP, 2010) by Hersh, Ettlinger and Pruss
- *Fiddling While Rome Burns* (CAP, 2010) by Ettlinger and Boushey
- *Addressing the Federal Deficit and Debt* (in *Economics and Security: Resourcing National Priorities*, U.S. Naval War College, 2010)
- *The First Step* (CAP, 2010) by Ettlinger, Linden and Rushing
- *A Thousand Cuts* (CAP, 2010) by Ettlinger and Linden
- *Three Good Reasons to Let the Bush Tax Cuts Disappear This Year* (CAP, 2010) by Linden and Ettlinger
- *The Foundations of Economic Recovery and Growth* (CAP, 2010) by Ettlinger and Boushey
- *A 10-Year Plan to Close the Budget Deficit* (*Financial Times*, January 4, 2010) by Podesta and Ettlinger
- *Would a New Jobs Tax Credit Help?* (CAP, 2009).
- *Tax Reform* (Testimony before the President's Task Force on Tax Reform, Presidents Economic Recovery Advisory Board, November 2, 2009)
- *Meeting the Jobs Challenge* (CAP, 2009) by Abromowitz, Boushey, Ettlinger, et. al.
- *Deal With It* (CAP, 2009) by Ettlinger and Linden
- *Comparing Public Spending and Priorities Across OECD Countries* (CAP, 2009) by Dewan and Ettlinger
- *Treasury Tries Again* (CAP, 2009) by Ettlinger and Min
- *Drinking to the Budget* (CAP, 2009)
- *How to Spend \$350 Billion in a First Year of Stimulus and Recovery* (CAP, 2008) by Ettlinger and Straw
- *Challenges Facing American Workers*, (Testimony before the Subcommittee on income Security and Family Support, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, 9/11/2008)
- *Take a Walk on the Supply Side* (CAP, 2008) by Ettlinger and Irons
- *Not-so-super Tuesday for state labor markets* (EPI, 2008) by Ettlinger and Fox
- *Securing the Wage Floor* (EPI, 2007)
- *Social Security and the income of the elderly* (EPI, 2005) by Chapman and Ettlinger
- *Less Cash in Their Pockets* (EPI, 2004) by Ettlinger, Mishel and Gould
- *The Who and Why of the Minimum Wage* (EPI, 2004) by Ettlinger and Chapman

- *Tax Expenditures in the Federal Budget* (in *Bad Breaks All Around*, Century Foundation Press, 2002)
- *Fixing Virginia's Tax Structure* (Testimony before the Commission on Virginia's State and Local Tax Structure for the 21st Century, July 10, 2000)
- *An Analysis of the Cato Institute's "The Case Against a Tennessee Income Tax"* (*State Tax Notes*, December 20, 1999)
- *Behind the Numbers: What Happens to Personal Income and Government Spending When States Adopt Income Taxes?* (*State Tax Notes*, Dec. 20, 1999)
- *Analysis of Proposed Tax Cut* (Testimony before the Rhode Island Senate Select Committee, October 7, 1999)
- *Improvements for the Kentucky Tax System* (Testimony before the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission Subcommittee on Tax Policy Issues, September 1, 1999)
- *Education Funding and Property Tax Relief Plan HB-109* (Testimony before the New Hampshire Joint Legislative Committee, January 19, 1999)
- *Fundamental Tax Reform and Taxing Business* (*National Tax Journal*, 1998 Proceedings) by Ettlinger and O'Hare
- *Choices for Iowa: Building a Better Tax System* (ITEP, 1998) by Slocum, Lynch, Ettlinger and Gardner
- *Tax Strategies for a Strong Minnesota*, (*State Tax Notes*, August 3, 1998) by Ettlinger, Slocum and Lynch.
- *Tax Expenditures* (Testimony before the Minnesota Corporate Subsidy Reform Commission, May 11, 1998)
- *Personal Income Tax HB 1668* (Testimony before New Hampshire House Committee, March 31, 1998)
- *Tax Bills That Don't Add Up* (*The Washington Post*, July 13, 1997) by McIntyre and Ettlinger
- *Building a Better Arkansas Tax System: Evaluating the Options* (The Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation, 1997) by Ettlinger, McIntyre and Lynch
- *Whither Tax Simplification?* (Newspapers throughout U.S., June 1997)
- *Give Americans Their Tax Break* (Newspapers throughout U.S., June 1997)
- *Revenue and Incidence Analysis of State and Local Tax Systems: Tools, Technique and Tradition* (*National Tax Journal* 1997 Proceedings) by Ettlinger and O'Hare
- *Make Tax Reform Fair* (*Corpus Christi Caller Times*, May 23, 1997)
- *Only Income Tax Has Wealthy Pay a Higher Percent* (*Des Moines Register*, Feb. 13, 1997)
- *Who Pays? A Distributional Analysis of the Tax Systems in All 50 States* (CTJ, 1996) by Ettlinger, O'Hare, McIntyre, King, Fray and Miransky
- *This Year's Tax Mandate* (Newspapers throughout U.S., November 6, 1992)
- *You Can Lower a Tax by Raising a Tax* (Newspapers throughout New Hampshire, Oct. 22, 1992)
- *The Vote on Taxes* (Newspapers throughout U.S., October 12, 1992)
- *Revolting Taxes and the Reagan Devolution* (*In These Times*, January 1992) by McIntyre and Ettlinger
- *How Taxes Affect Elections* (CTJ, 1992) by Ettlinger, Fray and McIntyre
- *Volunteers?* (Newspapers throughout Tennessee, June 17, 1991)
- *Legislature Adopts Ethics Reform* (*Municipal Lawyer*, September/October 1987)

*CSPP is Carsey School of Public Policy, CAP is Center for American Progress, EPI is the Economic Policy Institute, ITEP is the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy and CTJ is Citizens for Tax Justice