A Lay Word for a Legal Term: How the Popular Definition of Charity Has Muddled the Perception of the Charitable Deduction

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A good catchword can obscure analysis for fifty years.¹

I. INTRODUCTION

In the United States there is a deeply held conviction “that taxpayers who donate to charity should generally not be subject to the same income tax liability as similarly situated taxpayers.”² This innate sense about the Internal Revenue Code’s § 170,³ otherwise known as the charitable deduction, resonates with Americans’ sense of fairness and creates strong barriers to curtailing its function.⁴

This same sense of fairness is tied to the perceived effects of the charitable deduction.⁵ Yet, how “charitable” is the charitable deduction, and how charitable do we expect it to be? This Article argues that the discrepancy between the popular meaning of the word “chari-

³. I.R.C. § 170 (2006). See generally Oliver A. Houck, With Charity for All, 93 Yale L.J. 1415, 1428 (1984) (noting that within the charitable sector the tax deduction is a more important provision than tax-exempt status because most charities have little, if any, net earnings).
⁴. See, e.g., David E. Pozen, Remapping the Charitable Deduction, 39 CONN. L. REV. 531, 588 (2006) (“Most Americans, whether through historic conditioning or Tocquevillian conceptions of U.S. civil society or an innate sense of charity’s place in the Code, believe in the charitable deduction.”); COMM’N ON PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY AND PUBLIC NEEDS, GIVING IN AMERICA: TOWARDS A STRONGER VOLUNTARY SECTOR 65 (1975) (“The spirit of giving . . . [is] embedded in American ways as part of a growing self-image of Americans as a generous and altruistic people.”).
⁵. See also 155 Cong. Rec. 2911 (2009) (statement of Rep. Burton) (“[W]here are the people going to go who depend on these charitable institutions if they don’t have the money to help them? Well, you guessed it, the government.”). But see Pozen, supra note 4, at 563 (“A significant portion of charitable contributions from wealthy donors goes to universities and cultural institutions—organizations that generate significant positive externalities but that do not do very much redistribution.”).
table” and the legal meaning has distorted both the perception of, and the political justifications for, the provision.

The charitable deduction’s definitional discrepancy is perhaps not immediately apparent, because often the legal and layperson’s definitions of the word are the same. However, on occasion, the legal and popular definitions vary.6 One such example is the difference between the Tax Code’s and layperson’s definition of the word “charitable.”7

The laypersons’ definition is simple; the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines charity as “generosity and helpfulness especially toward the needy or suffering.”8 The legal definition is not quite as succinct. The Treasury regulations define charitable as:

- relief of poor and distressed or of the underprivileged; advancement of religion; advancement of education or science, erection or maintenance of public buildings, monuments, or works; lessening of the burdens of Governments; and promotion of social welfare by organizations designed to accomplish any of the above purposes, or (i) to lessen neighborhood tensions; (ii) to eliminate prejudice and discrimination; (iii) to defend human and civil rights secured by law; or (iv) to combat community deterioration and juvenile delinquency.9

6. For instance, the legal definition of the word “gift” requires a “detached and disinterested generosity,” Comm’r. v. Duberstein, 363 U.S. 278, 285 (1960) (citation omitted), whereas the layperson’s understanding of the same word is not nearly as onerous.

7. STAFF OF JOINT COMM. ON TAXATION, 109TH CONG., HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT LAW OF THE FEDERAL TAX EXEMPTION FOR CHARITIES AND OTHER TAX EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS 7 (Comm. Print 2005), [hereinafter JCT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS] (“[T]here are two approaches to the meaning of the term charitable—the legal sense and ordinary and popular sense. The legal definition is derived from the law of charitable trusts and is broader than the ordinary sense of the term, which generally means the relief of the poor and distressed.”).

8. Charity, MERRIAM-WEBSTER ONLINE DICTIONARY, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/charity (last visited April 7, 2010) (stating that other definitions include: “benevolent goodwill toward or love of humanity”; “generosity and helpfulness especially toward the needy or suffering”; “aid given to those in need”; “an institution engaged in relief of the poor”; “public provision for the relief of the needy”; “a gift for public benevolent purposes”; “an institution (as a hospital) founded by such a gift”; and “lenient judgment of others”) (emphasis added); see also Tommy F. Thompson, The Unadministerability of the Federal Charitable Tax Exemption: Causes, Effects and Remedies, 5 VA. TAX REV. 1, 14 (1985) (“Charity in its popular and ordinary sense admits of only one class of beneficiaries, the poor or distressed, and only one type of activity, the relief of their condition, usually through direct assistance.”).

9. Treas. Reg. § 1.501(c)(3)–1(d)(2) (2005); see also Legislative Activity by Certain Types of Exempt Organizations: Hearings before the H. Comm. on Ways & Means, 92d Cong., 2d Sess. 5 (1972) (statement of Edwin S. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy) (“We have tried to avoid interpreting the word chari-
Thus, although the legal definition does cover direct relief of the poor, it also has a much wider mandate, including advancing religion, science and education, constructing public buildings, lessening neighborhood tensions, and other public benefit purposes. These types of causes may provide a service to society, but they are neither charitable under the popular meaning of the word nor would most individuals consider organizations that provide such services a charity.

This broad legal definition of “charitable” has created a misperception in the American psyche of where the benefits of the charitable deduction are allocated. The very use of the word “charitable” in the statutory language creates a powerful association in most non-lawyers that ties the deduction to churches and poverty relief organizations, when in reality this is only a small portion of the tax subsidy. Further, the emotive rhetoric used by politicians when attacking proposed amendments curtailing the charitable deduction is grossly out of sync with the primary beneficiaries of the provision.

This Article argues that that the definitional gap between the legal and lay definition of “charitable” impedes meaningful discussion of...
amendments to the charitable deduction. This has led to mistaken or underestimated assumptions about the allocation of the subsidy. A clearer understanding of where the § 170 subsidy is allocated would allow politicians and the public to more critically examine this tax expenditure. In light of this confusion, the Article proposes Congress should rename § 170 the “qualified donation deduction”—a term that would not create the same poverty relief associations as the charitable deduction misnomer.

This Article is structured as follows: Part II looks at how Congress and commentators justify the charitable contribution, examining the historical, theoretical and political justifications of the section. Part III examines the data associated with the charitable deduction and calculates the percentage of the charitable deduction expenditure that is allocated to direct poverty relief. Part IV proposes that Congress rename the charitable deduction to break the association between the charitable deduction and poverty relief. This section also addresses the main critiques of this proposal. Part V concludes.

II. WHY HAVE THE CHARITABLE DEDUCTION

The Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT) estimated that between 2005 and 2009, the charitable deduction saved individual taxpayers in the United States $228 billion. In a more recent study, the JCT estimated that the charitable deduction saved individual taxpayers in the United States $36.2 billion in 2008. Although these figures are ad-


16. An assumption in this Article is that the charitable deduction is a tax expenditure. See infra note 26 and accompanying text for a discussion and definition of tax expenditure.


18. STAFF OF JOINT COMM. ON TAXATION, ESTIMATES OF FEDERAL TAX EXPENDITURES FOR FISCAL YEARS 2009–2013, at 1, 39–42 (Comm. Print 2010) [hereinafter JCT ESTIMATES 2009–2013]. The $36.2 billion figure was calculated by adding the “deduction for charitable contributions to health organizations” ($3.2 billion) with
mittedly small when looking at overall government expenditures, nevertheless they are a sizeable sum. For instance, in 2006 the deduction cost more than the government spent on “managing public lands, protecting the environment and developing new energy sources.”

Section 170 “costs” the government these revenues because it allows individuals who itemize their tax returns and donate to churches or qualified public charities and private foundations under § 501(c)(3) to reduce their taxable income by the amount contributed. This reduction of taxable income has been described as a tax expenditure by a number of commentators, including Professor Paul McDaniel and the Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT). Tax expenditures are the “deduction for charitable contributions other than for education and health” ($28.0 billion) with the “deduction for charitable contributions to educational institutions” ($5.0 billion), for a total of $36.2 billion in “cost” to the federal government. Id. Including deductions for corporate contributions, the total figure is $39.2 billion when corporate contributions are taken into account. Id. Of course, the opposite side of the coin is that rather than costing the government $36.2 billion in lost revenue, the charitable contribution deduction saved the taxpayer $36.2 billion.

19. See Ilan Benshalom, The Dual Subsidy Theory of Charitable Deductions, 84 Ind. L.J. 1047, 1081 n.125 (2009) (explaining that although the cost of the charitable deduction is less than 1.5% of the total tax receipts in 2008, it is more than the “federal government’s spending on [the] main welfare transfer program—the Earned Income Tax Credit”).


21. Professor Buckles explains that this loss in revenue must be accounted for by the federal government elsewhere and that “if all else is held constant, the availability of the charitable contributions deduction means that tax rates must be increased to compensate for the diminished income tax base.” Buckles, supra note 2, at 951.

22. Approximately 65% of taxpayers do not itemize and are thus unable to take advantage of this provision. Lily L. Batchelder et al., Efficiency and Tax Incentives: The Case for Refundable Tax Credits, 59 Stan. L. Rev. 23, 53 (2006).

23. I.R.C. § 501(c)(3) (2006); see also Evelyn Brody, Charities in Tax Reform: Threats to Subsidies Overt and Covert, 66 Tenn. L. Rev. 687, 715 (1999) (noting that deduction and exemption was an expression of America’s predilection towards charitable organizations); Oliver Houck, With Charity for All, 93 Yale L.J. 1415, 1429–30 (1984) (suggesting that § 501(c)(3) organizations receive a secondary benefit that is much harder to quantify—namely, a government imprimatur on their purpose and work).

24. The application of § 170 is not quite this simple and is subject to a multitude of rules and regulations. These rules include ensuring that the taxpayer makes the transfer without “adequate consideration” in exchange for the gift. Hernandez v. Comm’r, 490 U.S. 680, 690–92 (1989). Section 170 also caps the amount of total giving an individual taxpayer can make in a tax year to 50% of taxable income. I.R.C. § 170(b)(1)(A), (b)(2) (2006). For a more thorough discussion of the mechanics of § 170, see Pozen, supra note 4, at 539.

penditures are “revenue losses attributable to provisions of the federal tax laws which allow a special exclusion, exemption, or deduction from gross income or which provide a special credit, a preferential rate of tax, or a deferral of tax liability.”27 In other words, tax expenditures are any reductions of “income tax liabilities that result from special tax provisions or regulations that provide tax benefits to particular taxpayers.”28 Further, tax expenditures “are considered analogous to direct outlay programs, and the two can be viewed as alternative means of accomplishing similar budget policy objectives.”29

The charitable deduction results in a subsidy for donors, and the amount of the subsidy is a function of donors’ marginal tax rates.30 For instance, suppose a taxpayer who is in the 35% tax bracket gives $100 to charity. Under § 170, that taxpayer can then reduce his taxable income by a $100, reducing his tax liability by $35. In real terms, the taxpayer is only out of pocket $65 and the government has paid $35 in lost revenues. For the example given above, the $35 loss of revenue is a $35 tax expenditure and is no different, assuming no transactional costs, to a situation where the taxpayer pays the charity $65 and the government paid the same charity $35.

Although there is growing consensus that the charitable deduction is a tax expenditure,31 there is still no accepted rationale for the charitable deduction and why the United States has some of the world’s most generous tax breaks for charitable giving.32 In fact, from its very inception the charitable deduction has been ideologically misunderstood. This section first looks to the legislative history of § 170 to show that the confusion between the legal and popular view of the term “charitable” existed from the enactment of the charitable deduction. Section B provides a brief outline of the two pillars on which


30. McDaniel, supra note 25, at 775–76.


32. See Pozen, supra note 4, at 533 (citing CHARLES T. CLOTFELTER, FEDERAL TAX POLICY AND CHARITABLE GIVING 1, 25 (1985)).
commentators have built their theoretical justification for the deduction. Lastly, section C looks at the political justifications for the deduction as currently codified.

A. Historical Justifications for the Deduction – What Did Congress Mean by Charitable?

Congress first adopted the charitable deduction in 1917 to lessen the blow of an increase in the marginal rates of the still nascent income tax. Congress was worried that the increase would suppress gifts to charitable organizations and therefore provided a tax incentive to encourage taxpayers to continue to support charities. Senator Hollis explained:

Usually people contribute to charities and educational objects out of their surplus. After they have done everything else they want to do . . . if they have something left over, they will contribute it to a college or to the Red Cross or for some scientific purposes. Now, when war comes and we impose these very heavy taxes on incomes, that will be the first place where the wealthy men will be tempted to economize, namely in donations to charity. They will say, “Charity begins at home.”

Thus, the charitable deduction granted individual taxpayers a deduction for gifts to organizations that “operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, or . . . for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals.” However, although the statutory language included other sectors, “America’s nonprofit sector at the time was far smaller and more homogenous—comprising mainly churches and donative charities that provided clear public goods or aid to the poor.” The fact that the sector was at the time mainly geared towards churches and poverty relief may have inhibited analysis when codifying the section. There was little debate as to the provision, and the legislative history is sparse. The statutory language itself did not clarify whether Congress originally intended the popular meaning of relief of poverty when the act was first codified. Hence, even from

35. 55 Cong. Rec. 6728 (1917); see also Lindsey, supra note 33, at 1057 (arguing that as “originally enacted, the provision was designed to allow ‘wealthy’ taxpayers to receive a deduction for charitable giving”).
37. War Revenue Act of 1917 § 1201(2).
38. Pozen, supra note 4, at 538.
39. JCT Historical Developments, supra note 7, at 65.
40. Id.
the section’s inception there was a degree of confusion about whether the purpose of the statute was poverty relief or a broader mandate. 41

Commentator Bruce Hopkins posits that when Congress first enacted § 170 they originally intended the popular meaning of the word “charitable.” 42 The Internal Revenue Service’s (IRS) early reading of the word buttresses Hopkins’ argument. Until 1938, the Treasury regulations 43 stated that charity should be construed “in the ordinary and popular sense.” 44 The regulations also stated that to benefit from the deduction, the donor must give to “[c]orporations organized and operated exclusively for the charitable purposes [which] comprise, in general, organizations for the relief of the poor.” 45

Similarly, the sponsor of § 501(c)(3)’s predecessor, the code provision that defines charities subject to the charitable deduction, stated that that the exemption was intended for organizations “devoted exclusively to the relief of suffering, to the alleviation of our people, and to all things which commend themselves to every charitable and just impulse.” 46 Thus, even from Congress’s codification of both sections there existed some degree of confusion as to whether the provision covered solely poverty relief or had a wider social mandate. 47

Subsequent amendments to the charitable deduction clarified this confusion. First, amendments enacted during the Great Depression encouraged charitable giving to fund the increased demands on social programs. 48 Specifically, during this period, the definition of the pro-

41. See Bruce R. Hopkins, The Law of Tax-Exempt Organizations § 5.2 (8th ed. 2003) (“There is little concrete evidence to support a proposition that Congress intended the application of either definition.”); Lars F. Gustafsson, The Definition of “Charitable” for Federal Income Tax Purposes: Defrocking the Old and Suggesting Some New Fundamental Assumptions, 33 Hous. L. Rev. 587, 618 (1996) (“Congress gave no indication when it passed an income tax in 1894, 1909 or 1913 of the appropriate definition of charitable for purposes of the exemption provision nor when it provided for the deductibility of charitable contributions in 1917.”)

42. Hopkins, supra note 41, § 5.2.

43. The Treasury regulations inform the public of the IRS’s interpretation of the Internal Revenue Code.

44. JCT Historical Developments, supra note 7, at 65; see also Crimm, supra note 7, at 429 (indicating that the Treasury has determined the word “charity” is to be applied broadly in “its generally accepted legal sense”).

45. JCT Historical Developments, supra note 7, at 67 (emphasis added) (citing Crimm, supra note 7, at 429 n.30).

46. 44 Cong. Rec. 4150 (1909). Similarly, evidence for the narrow construction of the term charitable exists in Senator Willis’s proposal (which he later withdrew) to expand the narrow definition adopted by the IRS, to include: “preventative and constructive service for relief, rehabilitation, health, character building and citizenship.” 65 Cong. Rec. 8171 (1924) (statement of Sen. Willis).

47. See Hopkins, supra note 41, § 5.2 (“There is little concrete evidence to support a proposition that Congress intended the application of either definition.”); Gustafsson, supra note 41, at 619.

48. E.C. Lashbrooke, An Economic and Constitutional Case for Repeal of the I.R.C Section 170 Deduction for Charitable Contributions to Religious Organizations,
vision expanded, and the legislative history expressly stated that the
provision now covered not just organizations that gave relief to the
poor, but also organizations that promoted “general welfare.”

By 1969, there was no confusion about the charitable definition.
The House Report on the Tax Reform Act of 1969 used the legal defini-
tion describing charitable as a legal term “that has been used in the
law of trusts for hundreds of years.”

Thus, although the original meaning of the word charitable as used
in the statute was never clear, and the IRS interpreted charitable
under the narrow popular definition for many years, there is currently
no debate about its legal meaning. Nevertheless, perhaps because of
this muddled history, commentators have found it very difficult to pro-
vide an accepted, inclusive justification for the deduction.

B. Theoretical Rationales for the Charitable Deduction

As mentioned previously, despite the numerous scholarly contribu-
tions, there is no widely accepted rationale for the charitable deduc-
tion. For purposes of length, this Article does not address all the
available literature. However, this Article does examine the two
main approaches towards justifying the deduction: measurement of
income theories and subsidy theories. This subsection also summa-
rizes the main critiques of each of the theories discussed.

27 DUQ. L. REV. 695, 702–03 (1989); see also Colombo, supra note 26, at 682 (stat-
ing that the federal government was seeking “voluntary transfers from the pri-
ivate sector” in order to fund various social programs).


51. JCT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS, supra note 7, at 7 (“[T]here is no agreed upon
explanation of the rationale behind the charitable tax exemption and tax
deduction.”).

52. Id.

53. There are several notable examples of theories omitted. See, e.g., Buckles, supra
note 2; Mark G. Kelman, Personal Deductions Revisited: Why They Fit Poorly in
an “Ideal” Income Tax and Why They Fit Far Worse in a Far From Ideal World,
31 STAN. L. REV. 831 (1979); Stanley A. Koppelman, Personal Deductions in an
Ideal Income Tax, 43 TAX L. REV. 679 (1988); John K. McNulty, Public Policy and

54. See Pozen, supra note 4, at 546–47; see also Fleischer, supra note 12, at 7–10
(discussing both the measurement and subsidy theories separately). Professor
Fleischer also discusses Professors John Colombo and Mark Hall’s “donative theo-
ery.” Id. at 18. The basic premise of the donative theory is that institutions that
are able to “attract . . . a substantial level of donative support from the public”
deserve tax-exempt status. Mark A. Hall & John D. Colombo, The Donative The-
They argue that the very fact the taxpayers donate to such charities justifies
their presence and indicates that the service the charity provides is underpro-
vided for in the marketplace. Id. at 1385.
1. Measurement of Income

Professor William Andrews’s landmark rationale for the charitable contributions deduction relies on the Haig–Simons definition of income. He argues that taxpayers’ gifts to charities are not personal consumption because they create public or common goods. Thus, because they are not personal consumption, charitable gifts cannot be included in taxable income.

Andrews bolsters his argument by using economic neutrality principles. He analogizes to a circumstance where a taxpayer volunteers time to a charitable cause rather than provide a gift. If the taxpayer had foregone income to volunteer, the Treasury would not tax the forfeited income, and therefore the Treasury should treat financial donations in the same manner.

Although Andrews’s theory remains a significant step in the scholarship of the charitable deduction, two main critiques weaken its normative pull. First, using Andrews’s definition of income would bar from taxation “many acts we commonly think as consumption . . . [but might not] include some forms of charitable giving.” Second, Andrews’s theory ignores the well-established tax law principle that once a taxpayer establishes dominion over a resource, the subsequent use of that resource is irrelevant. For these reasons, although commen-

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55. The corresponding theory for nonprofit entities is the income measurement theory propounded by Boris Bittker and George Rahdert. Their theory posits that taxable income is a concept that rests on the notion of a profit seeking taxpayer. Thus, because neither the income nor expenses generated by nonprofits are created in search of a profit, it becomes too impractical to determine their taxable income. Boris I. Bittker & George K Rahdert, The Exemption of Nonprofit Organizations from the Federal Income Taxation, 85 YALE L.J. 299, 305 (1976).

56. The Haig–Simons formula is the sum of personal consumption plus wealth accumulated over a given period of time. HENRY C. SIMONS, PERSONAL INCOME TAXATION 49–50 (1938).


58. Id. 356 (1972). Andrews disagrees with valuing the taxpayer’s psychic benefit as equal to the amount she donates, stating that because the act is not private consumption, it is irrelevant. Id. at 346, 375–76.

59. Id. at 352–54.

60. See, e.g., Pozen, supra note 4, at 550 (stating that Andrews’s “article continues to frame scholarship on the charitable deduction”).

61. Id. at 549 (arguing that, at times, “looking altruistic,” after all, is itself a scarce resource” and thus could be included as consumption) (quoting Kelman, supra note 53, at 880).

tators largely acknowledge Andrews's contribution in this field, his theory has been widely refuted.\footnote{\textit{See}, e.g., Mark P. Gergen, \textit{The Case for a Charitable Contributions Deduction}, 74 Va. L. Rev. 1393, 1416 (1988) (arguing that Andrews simply "repackage[s] the arguments for subsidizing charities"); Thomas D. Griffith, \textit{Theories of Personal Deductions in the Income Tax}, 40 Hastings L.J. 343, 375–77 (1989); Kelman, supra note 53, at 849–51 (disagreeing with Andrews's assertion that donors received no psychic or other benefits such as respect, attention, and deference).}

\textit{b. Professor Bittker’s Public Service–Morality Model}

Similar to Andrews, Professor Boris Bittker relies on the Haig–Simons formula to distinguish consumption from donations.\footnote{Boris I. Bittker, \textit{Charitable Contributions: Tax Deductions or Matching Grants?}, 28 Tax L. Rev. 37 (1972) (explaining why donations to charitable organizations should not be taxable).} He argues that, as a matter of equity, the Treasury ought to exclude charitable donations from income for three main reasons. First, regardless of the taxpayer’s motive, the taxpayer lost the benefit of his charitable donation, and is worse off than if he had not made the donation in the first place.\footnote{\textit{Id}. at 46–49.} Accordingly, the taxpayer should not be taxed on such gift.\footnote{\textit{Id}.} Bittker secondly argues that “something can be said for rewarding activities which in a certain sense are selfless, even if the reward serves no incentive function.”\footnote{\textit{Id}. at 60.} Lastly, Bittker suggests that many donations are discharges of moral obligations.\footnote{\textit{Id}. at 58.} If that is the case, then they are not truly voluntary, and the government should not tax involuntary transactions.\footnote{\textit{Id}. at 58–60.}

Although both theories rely on the Haig–Simons definition of income, a key difference between Andrews’s and Bittker’s theories is Bittker’s reliance on the equitable qualities of the charitable deduction.\footnote{\textit{See} Pozen, supra note 4, at 550–51 (“Unlike Andrews, however, [Bittker] arrives at this conclusion not as a matter of logic, but as a matter of judgment . . . . The equitable arguments are what mark Bittker’s theory.”).} Bittker’s reliance on equity in his argument is both a strength and a weakness.\footnote{See also Rob Atkinson, supra note 31, at 605 (justifying the charitable deduction because the “altruistic provision of good[s] and services [is] inherently desirable”).} The JCT notes that the most frequent statements justifying the charitable deduction is that it “is the right thing to do.”\footnote{JCT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS, supra note 7, at 68.} Similarly, commentators are becoming more accepting of the idea that charitable donations are qualitatively different from regular
consumption and cannot be assessed under rational, utility maximization models.\textsuperscript{73}

However, despite this support, Bittker’s equity rationale requires “a normative assessment of the goodness of charities’ activities,” which in turn requires “value based judgments about which activities merit a subsidy.”\textsuperscript{74} Whether an opera house, museum,\textsuperscript{75} or a soup kitchen are “good” activities, or even equally “good,” is a value judgment that commentators have shied away from en masse.\textsuperscript{76} Nevertheless, this issue must be resolved for Bittker’s rationale to be justified.\textsuperscript{77} Lastly, Bittker’s proposition that the government should not tax spending motivated by moral obligations loses force when “one considers just how many of our (non-deductible) expenditures derive from some source of felt obligation.”\textsuperscript{78}

2. Subsidy Theories

a. Charity Performs Government Functions

An intuitively appealing rationale for the charitable deduction is that it relieves the government of necessary public functions.\textsuperscript{79} A House Report from 1939 explains this rationale as follows:

The exemption from taxation of money or property devoted to charitable and other purposes is based upon the theory that the Government is compensated

\textsuperscript{73}. See, e.g., James Andreoni, \textit{Impure Altruism and Donations to Public Goods: A Theory of Warm-Glow Giving}, 100 Econ. J. 464 (1990) (discussing that all the factors in charitable giving, such as guilt, sympathy, peer pressure, and a desire for “warm glow” makes taxpayers’ donative activities very difficult to reduce to a rational utility model); Gergen, supra note 63, at 1426–28; Pozen, supra note 4, at 551 (commenting that Bittker’s notion that charitable giving was “qualitatively different from regular spending has gained forced among social scientists”).

\textsuperscript{74}. Fleischer, supra note 12, at 11.

\textsuperscript{75}. See Gergen, supra note 63, at 1446 (“[T]he distributional benefits of cultural charities such as museums, symphonies, and libraries are often overstated. . . . [T]he beneficiaries tend to be the middle class and not the poor.”).

\textsuperscript{76}. Fleisher, supra note 12, at 34.

\textsuperscript{77}. The difficulty of these value judgments is illustrated by the classic example is of an eccentric millionaire that donates his money to a ketchup museum. Just because an individual or a group of individuals want it, does that mean that the government should subsidize it? See id. at 25 (citing David M. Schizer, \textit{Subsidizing Charitable Contributions: Incentives, Information, and the Private Pursuit of Public Goals}, 62 Tax L. Rev. 221, 230 (2009)); see also Benshalom, supra note 19, at 1064 (suggesting that because some charitable gifts can be consumer by the donor, then rational taxpayers will “promote and consume those activities that directly or indirectly privilege them”).

\textsuperscript{78}. Pozen, supra note 4, at 551.

for the loss of revenue by its relief from financial burden which would other-
wise have to be met by appropriations from public funds, and by the benefits
resulting from the promotion of the general welfare.\textsuperscript{80}

This theory is also evident in Treasury regulations, which define a
charitable organization as including organizations that “lessen . . . the
burdens of government.”\textsuperscript{81}

There are several valid criticisms of this government subsidy the-
ory. First, under this rationale, the charitable deduction could only
fund charities that provide a substitute service of a usual government
service,\textsuperscript{82} because the basic premise of the deduction is that it encour-
ages individuals to “do voluntarily what we would otherwise have to
coeerce them to do (i.e., fund collective goods).”\textsuperscript{83} Thus, under this ra-
nionale, any charity that provides an activity outside the remit of gov-
ernment would be excluded.\textsuperscript{84}

Second, the government subsidy theory assumes there is a set of
“public goods that require[s] more spending.”\textsuperscript{85} There are also a
couple of inherent assumptions in this theory. First, it assumes do-
nors are in a better position than the government to ascertain what
these public goods are and where they are required. Second, it as-
sumes there are political or other constraints on the government fund-
ing these public goods at the optimal level. However, since under the
theory, contributions are determined by donors and not the govern-
ment, “there may be certain cases in which some goods would be over-
provided beyond the socially optimal level,”\textsuperscript{86} or even worse, where
“sectarian provincial, eccentric, or frivolous uses of money may be

\textsuperscript{80} H.R. Rep. No. 1869 (1938); see also Treas. Reg. § 1.501(c)(3)-1(d)(2) (1959) (stat-
ing that an organization is charitable if it “lessen[s] . . . the burdens of govern-
ment”); Wendy Gerzog Shaller, Tax Exemption of Charitable Organizations and
the Deductibility of Charitable Donations: Dangerous New Tests, 8 U. BRIDGEPORT
L. Rev. 77, 77–78 (1987) (stating that the charitable deduction has been and is
“justified on the ground that certain private organizations perform the same pub-
lic services as public institutions”). \textit{But see} Harvey P. Dale, Foreign Charities, 48
Tax Law. 655, 660–61 (1995) (arguing that none of the tax benefits conferred to
charities was ever predicated on a theory of government burden relief).

\textsuperscript{81} Treas. Reg. § 1.501(c)(3)-1(d)(2) (1959).

\textsuperscript{82} Peter J. Wiedenbeck, Charitable Contributions: A Policy Perspective, 50 Mo. L.
Rev. 85, 137 (1985).

\textsuperscript{83} Gergen, \textit{supra} note 63, at 1421.

\textsuperscript{84} \textit{See}, e.g., Harold M. Hochman & James D. Rodgers, The Optimal Tax Treatment
of Charitable Contributions, \textit{in The Economics of Nonprofit Institutions:
(“\textit{E}xternal benefits must accrue in the demands for the specific services that
charity finances or through prior constitutional choice, as with religious activi-
ties, to justify the public subsidization of charity.”).

\textsuperscript{85} Benshalom, \textit{supra} note 19, at 1050.

\textsuperscript{86} Id. Professor Benshalom discusses the optimal level of spending for a certain
public good and posits that the charitable deduction is a non-democratic provi-
sion, since it allows individuals to allocate public funds rather than submitting to
democratic majoritarian discretion. \textit{Id.} at 1050–51.
aided along with the most worthy.\textsuperscript{87} Thus, because there is no general oversight of the subsidy, it may not be allocated in the most efficient manner or to the neediest organizations and causes.

Third, determining where the subsidy is allocated, as this author discovered, is no easy process. This means that most taxpayers do not know where the $36 billion of subsidy is being spent, and taxpayers are unaware of which charities the government is supporting. Lastly, the theory does not explain why neither non-itemizers nor low-income taxpayers benefit from the deduction.\textsuperscript{88} If the deduction is premised on a government subsidy, then it should be available to all donors that contribute funds to organizations providing services that the government otherwise would provide itself.\textsuperscript{89}

\textbf{b. Professor Levmore’s Promotion of Pluralism Theory}

In his seminal article, Professor Saul Levmore advanced an alternate subsidy theory—that the charitable deduction allowed individual taxpayers to effectively “vote” on which charities should receive the public subsidy by giving donations to the charities of their choice.\textsuperscript{90} The taxpayers, via their charitable contributions, are able to channel the government subsidy to areas where they believe it is most required.\textsuperscript{91} This direct channeling of government funds provides a secondary benefit—it signals policymakers where “public goods are undersupplied and which [non-profit organizations] warrant funding.”\textsuperscript{92} This leads to Levmore’s second argument: that taxpayers are in the best position to determine where government spending is lacking, and this provision allows taxpayers to address these issues quickly and efficiently.\textsuperscript{93}

Supporters of Levmore’s theory provide two important considerations. First, Professor Eric Posner finds that when individuals support charities through a deductible donation, it creates an increased form of self-government, because it is the taxpayer who decides where their taxes are allocated.\textsuperscript{94} Second, Professor Peter Wiedenbeck suggests that the “reduced political visibility of a subsidy provided

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{87} Richard Goode, The Individual Income Tax 162 (rev. ed. 1976).
\item \textsuperscript{88} Id. at 552–54.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{90} Saul Levmore, Taxes as Ballots, 65 U. Chi. L. Rev. 387 (1998).
\item \textsuperscript{91} Id. at 406.
\item \textsuperscript{92} Benshalom, supra note 19, at 1050.
\item \textsuperscript{93} Levmore, supra note 90, at 406.
\item \textsuperscript{94} Richard A. Posner, Economic Analysis of Law 496 (2007) (finding that the charitable deduction is “politically important because it transfers from the government to the individual taxpayer some of the power to decide who shall be recipients of altruistic transfers, a decision that in most societies is made at the political level”).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
through the tax code may be an important advantage." The argument is that reduced political visibility allows minority or unpopular ideas to gain traction outside of the glaring and easily manipulated eye of politics.

All the justifications for Levmore's theory rely on, at least in part, an even distribution of giving across social and economic groups. Levmore himself recognizes these objections, explaining them as follows:

An obvious objection to the use of the charitable deduction as a social choice mechanism to determine government spending is that many citizens effectively are disenfranchised because they need not file returns or do not benefit from itemizing their deductions. Another familiar objection in slightly new clothing is that because higher bracket taxpayers are given more reason to "vote," and wealthier taxpayers can afford more votes, there is distasteful deviation from the one-person-one-vote ideal.

He replies to these objections by suggesting that under his theory, taxpayers will implicitly inform the government, via their donations, which hospitals, schools, and social agencies the government should subsidize (using the charitable deduction). He also believes that the taxpayers' personal contributions will lead to greater personal investment in that charity, thereby leading to other incidental benefits such as increased volunteering.

Approximately 48% of all charitable gifts by value are not deductible. Thus, under Levmore's theory, these donations would not be

95. Wiedenbeck, supra note 82, at 97 ("The charitable contribution deduction fosters the coexistence of non-majoritarian values—it encourages experimentation by the private sector in new solutions to our social problems.").
96. Levmore, supra note 90, at 405–06. But see Schizer, supra note 77 (challenging Levmore's notion that low-income taxpayers are disenfranchised by § 170 by asserting that the higher proportion of wealthy beneficiaries is an advantage rather than a disadvantage). Schizer notes that wealthy private donors possess skill sets that nonprofit managers could exploit and that "private donors . . . monitor the quality of nonprofits, so that the government can piggyback on these quality control efforts." Schizer, supra note 77, at 224, 258–59. However, this places the nonprofit manager in the difficult position of restricting a donor's managerial role without alienating their funding. Although some nonprofit managers may be able to walk this managerial tightrope, it is a stretch to assume that all could. See generally Robin Pogrebin, Trustees Find Boards Seats are Still Luxury Items, N.Y. Times, Apr. 2, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/03/arts/03center.html?ref=arts (reporting that many New York non-profits expect board members to donate to the organization in return for their seat on the board and illustrating that the "cost" of a board seat at the Museum of Modern Art in New York is $10 million, a board seat at the New York Public Library is $5 million, and the Lincoln Center's "board members are generally asked to contribute $250,000 up-front and on an annual basis").
97. Leymore, supra note 90, at 405–06.
98. Id. at 406.
99. Id.
100. Charitable donations totaled $307 billion in 2008. CTR. ON PHILANTHROPY, IND. UNIV., GIVING USA 2009: THE ANNUAL REPORT ON PHILANTHROPY FOR THE
2011] A LAY WORD FOR A LEGAL TERM 1013

considered votes. Further, if a justification of the theory is that minority ideas flourish under the cloak of the deduction, then minority donations should at least proportionally benefit from the provision.

However, at least some ethnic minorities would not proportionally benefit under the current codification—thereby undercutting the argument of cultivating and nurturing minority ideas. Of the $162 billion covered by the deduction in 2008, taxpayers with annual income above $100,000 gave $100 billion, or 62.5%.101 Studies show that “minorities earn less and are more likely to be unemployed.”102 Thus, minorities are less likely to earn more than $100,000 per year and accordingly less likely to be the main beneficiaries of § 170. When considering the groups affected by this provision, this perceived benefit becomes a strong counterargument. Thus, as currently codified, § 170 leads to the “over-representation of the views of the wealthy in the funding process, thus undercutting [the] goal of reflecting popular preferences.”103

As a final note with regard to the theoretical justifications for the deduction, there may be a simpler explanation for the lack of an accepted theoretical justification for the charitable deduction. Accepting the argument that at the time of enactment charity encompassed only assistance to the poor, the lack of satisfactory justification for the charitable deduction as currently codified makes perfect sense. Commentators have attempted to explain the current scope of the provision with limited success.104 Measurement of income theories imply a much broader deduction, which would encompass all giving to others. Subsidy arguments imply a radically different subsidy—one that is equal for all as a percentage of donations. However, none of these theories satisfactorily explain the current form and scope of the provision.
particularly as invoked in the political discourse on the matter.\footnote{105}{Id.} Thus, until commentators acknowledge and account for the confused theoretical underpinnings of the deduction when § 170 was codified, each new theory will not completely fulfill its mandate.

C. Public Justifications—The Misguiding Rhetoric in Defense of the Charitable Deduction

President Barack Obama’s 2010 budget contains a proposed reduction of the charitable deduction for the highest income-level taxpayers.\footnote{106}{OFFICE OF MGMT. & BUDGET, Jumpstarting the Economy and Investing for the Future, in A NEW ERA OF RESPONSIBILITY: RENEWING AMERICA’S PROMISE 17, 29 (2009) (“The Administration’s Budget includes a proposal to limit the tax rate at which high-income taxpayers can take itemized deductions to 28 percent . . . .”); see also Johanna Neuman, Are Charitable Contributions Really at Risk Under the Obama Budget, L.A. TIMES, Feb. 26, 2009, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/washington/2009/02/charitable-cont.html (“Under the president’s plan, itemized tax deductions for charitable giving and mortgages would be capped for those earning more than $250,000 a year. Changes would be phased in gradually over the next few years. So in 2010, instead of getting a 33% or 35% deduction for charitable donations, Americans in the top income brackets, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis, would get somewhere in the neighborhood of 28%.”).} The proposal plans to reduce the deduction value of high income-level taxpayers from the current 35% rate to 28%.\footnote{107}{OFFICE OF MGMT. & BUDGET, supra note 106, at 29; see also Brad Hirschfield, Obama’s Budget Devalues Charity, Wash. Post, Mar. 17, 2009, http://newsweek.washingtonpost.com/faith/brad_hirschfield/2009/03/budget_devalues_charity_when_w.html (“At precisely the moment when we need to reaffirm the importance of individuals stepping up to address those in need, this does the opposite—literally devalues charitable giving . . . .”).} Regardless of the merits and flaws of such tax policy, the critics of the amendment all sang from the same hymnbook—the President should not penalize churches and welfare organizations because they aid those who need it most. For example, Rep. Ted Poe, of Texas, stated:

Thus, charities . . . such as churches, the YMCA and groups that that [sic] feed the hungry and help in disasters, take care of crime victims and help the homeless, will be struggling for funds.\footnote{108}{155 CONG. REC. H3150 (daily ed. Mar. 11, 2009) (statement of Rep. Ted Poe) (emphasis added).}

Similarly, Rep. Joe Pitts, of Pennsylvania, quoted one of his constituents in the disapproval of the proposed legislation:

“We donate a very large percentage of our income to the hungry, homeless, orphaned and widowed. We are in the top tax bracket. Any increase in our taxes or decrease in our charitable deductions will not hurt our standard of living, it will indeed, hurt the very people that the government is trying to help.”\footnote{109}{155 CONG. REC. H2931 (daily ed. Mar. 4, 2009) (statement of Rep. Joe Pitts) (emphasis added).}

Along the same lines, Rep. Gus Bilirakis, of Florida, said:
Every year, Americans give hundreds of billions of dollars to charity. In turn, they provide funding to shelters, food banks, health care clinics and a host of other charitable programs which benefit the needy. During this recession, their services are needed more than ever. 110

Opposition to this provision in the Senate used similar rhetoric in their critique of the bill. For instance, Sen. John Ensign stated:

Most Americans believe that the private sector can deal with problems in our communities person to person through charitable giving . . . . We have some amazing charities that give compassionate care to those who truly need it. 111

Sen. Mitch McConnell reiterated:

At a time of economic distress, when more people than ever depend on these organizations, the administration’s budget reduces the incentive for people to donate to them. 112

Each of the Congressmen quoted above focused on the role of charities that help the neediest members of society, and these statements represent a sample of the typical arguments against the proposed modifications of § 170. The author acknowledges that members of Congress also mentioned health and educational organizations. However, the most prevalent and impassioned rhetoric was reserved to explain how the charitable deduction helps those who need it most and that any change to this provision would cripple these organizations. 113

Accepting that these Congressmen were simply using the best rhetorical tools available—one of which was pulling on the heartstrings of the American public—if the Congressional justification for not amending the charitable deduction is that the deduction helps the neediest, then the data should show a significant correlation between the articulated justification and § 170’s primary beneficiaries. As shown in the next section, the actual percentage of the charitable deduction used to benefit “those who really need it” is nowhere close to the attention it received in Congress.

113. Based on congressional reports, a quantitative analysis of the discussion of amendments to § 170 in 2008 found that Congress discussed direct poverty relief 44% of the time. The nearest other charitable purpose was education at 24%, followed by disaster and war relief at 17%, churches at 6%, health at 2%, and other at 7%. The methodology of this study is found infra in Appendix II.
III. DOES IT FULFILL THE PUBLIC RATIONALE?

Although the JCT in its annual tax expenditure report to Congress has done some preliminary work in this area, no study has ever comprehensively subdivided § 170 donations according to their charitable purpose. The JCT's report, *Estimates of Federal Tax Expenditures for Fiscal Years 2009–2013*, subdivides the donations subject to the charitable deduction into three categories: (1) “[d]eduction for charitable contributions to educational institutions,” (2) “[d]eduction for charitable contributions other than for education and health,” and (3) “[d]eduction for charitable contributions to health organizations.” This is a useful starting point, but it does not convey an accurate picture of how the estimated $36.2 billion of tax savings from the charitable deduction is allocated among the nonprofit sector and, specifically, among organizations that provide direct assistance to the poor.

In order to provide an accurate account of such giving, this Part first looks at the percentage of total giving that is subject to the charitable deduction. Section III.B provides a brief synopsis of total giving in the United States and discusses the sectors that provide direct assistance for poverty. Section III.C subdivides donors' donative preferences according to income level. Section III.D compares donative preferences by income level and contrasts such figures against total giving by income level. This comparison, specifically when looking at direct poverty relief organizations, allows the study to determine the total percentage of the charitable deduction that is apportioned to poverty relief. The result is that approximately 8% of the charitable deduction is apportioned to direct poverty relief organizations. Finally,

115. *Id.* at 39.
116. *Id.* at 41.
117. *Id.* at 42.
118. *See supra* note 18 and accompanying text.
119. This Article does not account for any taxpayer reporting abuse of the charitable deduction, and it acknowledges that this is a simplification of an increasing area of noncompliance. Indeed, as noted in a recent IRS report, IRS examiners “are seeing an upturn in instances where taxpayers try to disguise private tuition payments as contributions to charitable or religious organizations.” *Phishing Scams, Frivolous Arguments Top the 2008 “Dirty Dozen” Tax Scams*, IRS.gov (Mar. 13, 2008), http://www.irs.gov/newsroom/article/0,,id=180075,00.html.
120. This Article only addresses direct assistance of poverty. The author acknowledges that many programs provide indirect assistance that aid in the fight against poverty. Nevertheless, this Article does not include these figures in the calculation for two reasons. First, there is no satisfactory definition of indirect assistance of poverty, and this term can be as broad or as narrow as the study desires. Second, the language used by members of Congress criticizing the proposed reduction in the charitable deduction looked at the effect on programs that provide direct assistance to poverty programs.
because there is a perception that many churches contribute large sums of money to poverty relief efforts, the last section looks at the role of churches in this area and attempts to quantify these efforts.

A. Amount of Giving Subject to the Charitable Deduction

Giving USA 2009, an annual survey of total giving in the United States, found that in 2008, some $307 billion was donated to charities. However, according to the Internal Revenue Service, the total amount donated in 2008 under the charitable deduction was $161.9 billion, or about 52% of all giving in the United States. As many commentators have discussed, because of itemization, total giving is not the same as the amount subject to the charitable deduction. In 2008, approximately 142.4 million residents, out of a population of 307 million, filed a tax return in the United States. Of these 142.4 million returns, some 39.2 million claimed a charitable deduction on their tax return. However, it should be remembered that tax returns can include income information for more than one person. For instance, in 2007, approximately 53% of returns included more than one person on the return. Thus, although there were 39.2 million returns filed with the IRS, this does not fully provide the number of individuals that benefit from the deduction.

By conducting the simple calculation described in footnote 127, we can work out approximately how many individuals, rather than re-

121. Giving USA 2009, supra note 100, at 4.
122. See Parisi, supra note 100, at 15 tbl.1 (The Parisi document, published by the IRS, provides a much more organized presentation of the this data than the original figures published by the IRS.).
125. Parisi, supra note 100, at 6 fig.A (stating that the total number of returns was 142,350,256).
126. Id. at 7 fig.A. The number of returns claiming the total standard deduction was 91,975,014, and 39,223,228 returns claimed the charitable contribution deduction. Id.
127. INTERNAL REVENUE SERV., INDIVIDUAL COMPLETE REPORT, PUB. NO. 1304, TABLE 1,2, ALL RETURNS: ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME, EXEMPTIONS, DEDUCTIONS, AND TAX ITEMS, (2007) [hereinafter SOI TAX STATS], available at http://www.irs.gov/taxstats/indtaxstats/article/0,,id=96978,00.html. The calculation was as follows: of the 143 million returns in 2007, 54.0 million were returns of married persons filing jointly; 27 million were returns of married persons filing separately; 21.2 million were returns of head of household; 87,000 were returns of surviving spouses; and 64.9 million were returns of single persons. Adding the number of returns filed under “single persons” with “surviving spouses” and those “married filing separately” results in the total number of returns that account for one taxpayer. This number was then divided by the total number of returns to give a percentage.
turns, benefited from the charitable deduction. For purpose of simplicity, this Article assumes that each joint return claiming a charitable deduction represents two individuals. This results in about 60 million individuals who made a donation to charity and benefited from the charitable deduction in 2008.

In other words, out of the 307 million people in the United States, only 60 million—less than 20%—benefit directly from this tax deduction. This is despite the fact that during the 2009 holiday season, even though the country was experiencing an economic recession, just under 90% of Americans planned on giving to charity. Further, each year approximately 89% of American households give to charity. That means that as many as 70% of American donors give to charity without claiming a deduction. Thus, even though the charitable deduction is ingrained in the American consciousness, less than one in five individuals each year enjoy the benefits of the provision, despite the fact that many more give to charity.

B. Breakdown of Total Charitable Giving According to Organizational Purpose

The breakdown of total charitable giving in 2008 is illustrated in Table 1:

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128. This is likely a generous assumption. Assuming three donors for every two returns results in 16% of the population deriving a charitable deduction for their gift.

129. This figure was arrived at by first taking the total number of tax returns (39.2 million) and multiplying that total by the percentage number of tax returns that only involve one individual (47%). This resulted in 18.4 million individuals. Secondly, the total number of tax returns (39.2 million) was multiplied by the percentage number of tax returns that involve more than one individual (53%) and this figure was then multiplied by two. This resulted in 41.6 million. The sum of these two figures equals 60 million.


Religion received the largest amount, amassing 35% of total giving, which was just over $106 billion. Excluding religious organizations, addressed in section III.E, the two categories of charitable organizations that provide services to the needy are human service organizations and public and society benefit organizations. In the latest Center on Philanthropy report, this accounted for 17% of the total charitable giving.

However, human service organizations and public and society benefit organizations have a larger mandate than the direct relief of poverty. Public society charities engage in various activities including the promotion of philanthropy and volunteerism, “conduct[ing] research in the biological, physical and social sciences, [and] public policy research. They may also engage in community and economic development, civil liberties and civil rights, voter education and consumer protection.” Similarly, the human service sector includes organizations that:

focus on courts and legal services; employment and vocational training; food and nutrition; long-term housing and temporary shelter; public safety and community disaster relief; recreation and sports; youth development; family and children’s services; emergency assistance for families; and independent living and self-sufficiency for women seniors, veterans and individuals with disabilities.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Charitable Organization</th>
<th>Amount of Contribution (in billions of dollars)</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Charitable Giving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>106.89</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>40.94</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>21.64</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Services</strong></td>
<td><strong>25.88</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundations</td>
<td>32.65</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>12.79</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Society Benefit</strong></td>
<td><strong>23.88</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>42.98</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>307.65</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133. Id.
134. Id.
135. Id. at 147.
136. Id. at 119.
There is evidence that most human service organizations “do not focus on the needs of low-income individuals, and only a small portion of human service organizations attempt to alleviate poverty by providing food, clothing, or other basic necessities.” For instance, the Center on Philanthropy found that only 8% of individuals’ donations directly address poverty relief. Thus, according to the Center on Philanthropy, less than 10% of total giving in the United States directly addresses the causes that so worried many members of Congress.

C. Taxpayers’ Donative Preferences Relate to Taxpayers’ Levels of Income

Individuals’ donative preferences correlate with income levels. One study conducted in 2007 by the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University (the Indiana Study) measured individual taxpayers’ charitable donations in 2005 and broke down the donations according to income level and charitable purpose. It found that very wealthy donors primarily gave contributions to educational institutions (25.2%), health organizations (25.3%), and to a lesser extent the arts (15.4%). Wealthy and very wealthy donors gave a much smaller proportion of their charitable contributions to organizations that address basic human needs, such as shelter, food, and medical care for the indigent—3.4% of individuals with income over $1 million and


138. CTR. ON PHILANTHROPY, IND. UNIV., PATTERNS OF HOUSEHOLD CHARITABLE GIVING BY INCOME GROUP, 2005, at i (2007) [hereinafter PATTERNS] (“Only 8 percent of households’ donated dollars were reported as contributions to help meet basic needs—providing food, shelter, or other necessities.”). The New York Times and other newspapers have also reported that less than 10% of American charitable contributions address basic human needs such as providing care for the indigent sick, feeding the poor, and providing shelter for the homeless. See, e.g., Robert B. Reich, Is Harvard a Charity, L.A. TIMES, Oct. 1, 2007, http://articles.latimes.com/2007/oct/01/opinion/oe-reich1; Strom, supra note 20.

139. See, e.g., Bullock, supra note 137, at 342–44 (providing a summary of studies researching patterns of giving in the United States).

140. PATTERNS, supra note 138.

141. Id. at 5 (defining the very wealthy as individuals with income in excess of $1,000,000).

142. Id. at 17 fig.2; see Wiedenbeck, supra note 82, at 101 ("[H]igh-income groups devote a greater proportion of their gifts to educational institutions, hospitals and the arts."); infral app. 1 fig.1; see also Clotfelter, supra note 32, at 283 (arguing that if the charitable activities supported by high-income taxpayers “cannot be distinguished on the basis of their external benefits,” then “differing rates of subsidy would not be efficient”); Marting Feldstein, The Income Tax and Charitable Contributions: Part II—The Impact on Religious, Educational and Other Organizations, 28 NAT’L TAX J. 209, 224 (1975).
5.8% of individuals with income between $200,000 and $1 million gave to these causes.143

The Indiana Study also showed that low- and middle-income taxpayers primarily supported religious organizations.144 Low- and middle-income households gave just under $9.5 billion, or about 49% of total giving, to direct assistance of poverty charities.145 Figure 2 illustrates the breakdown of charitable organizations giving by income level.

143. PATTERNS, supra note 138, at 17 fig. 2; see also Strom, supra note 20 (quoting William H. Gross, a philanthropic billionaire as saying, “I don’t think we’re getting the bang for the buck for gifts to build football stadiums and concert halls, with all due respect to Carnegie Hall and other institutions, I don’t think the public would vote for spending tax dollars on those things.”).

144. PATTERNS, supra note 138, at 17 fig. 2; see Colombo, supra note 25, at 685 (“Empirical studies confirm that some organizations, particularly churches, are largely funded by relatively small donations from middle and lower-income groups, whereas arts and education organizations rely more heavily on large gifts from wealthy contributors.”); Charles T. Colfelter & Richard Schmalbeck, The Impact of Fundamental Tax Reform on Nonprofit Organizations, in ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF FUNDAMENTAL TAX REFORM 211, 214–15 (1996) (corroborating the Indiana Study’s findings that individuals’ donations to charitable organizations vary according to income level); Gergen, supra note 63, at 1434–43 (providing data on donations to churches).

145. PATTERNS, supra note 138, at 15 tbl.10, (finding that 49% of all giving by value to direct relief of poverty is provided for by individuals with income below $100,000); see Lashbrooke, supra note 48, at 707–08; Todd Izzo, Comment, A Full Spectrum of Light: Rethinking the Charitable Contribution Deduction, 141 U. Pa. L. Rev. 2371 (1993).
D. Value of the Charitable Deduction Accruing to Organizations Engaged in Poverty Relief

In order to calculate the percentage of deductible donations given to the charities that provide direct assistance to poverty, this study used data compiled by the IRS. This data provides a snapshot view of tax returns in a given year, including total amount of deductions, exemptions, as well as line items. Importantly for this study, the data breaks down the charitable contribution deduction, not only in number of returns and amount, but also by income level. Thus, by combining the total amounts given per income group with the Indiana Study, we can calculate the amount of deductible contributions given to specific subsectors of § 170.

However, in order to work out the amount of the charitable deduction allocated to each subsector, one further step is required. Because the charitable deduction reduces a taxpayer’s taxable income, the per-

146. PATTERNS, supra note 138, at 17 fig.2. Unless otherwise indicated, all charts, graphs, and tables in this Article have been created by this Article’s author using data and information from sources cited.
147. PARISH, supra note 100.
148. Id. at 15 tbl.1. See Figures 1–3 in Appendix I for a pictorial representation of these figures.
The percentage of the taxpayer’s “savings” is tied to a taxpayer’s tax bracket.\textsuperscript{149} Thus, a taxpayer in the highest tax bracket—i.e., taxed at the 35\% marginal rate—who contributes $100 will in real terms only be contributing $65. An equally generous taxpayer in the lowest tax bracket—i.e., taxed at the 0\% marginal rate—contributes the full $100. This is known as an upside-down subsidy, and although not an intended consequence of the provision, it has subsequently been justified as an incentive for the wealthy to donate.\textsuperscript{150} Thus, in order to work out the total amount of charitable deduction expenditure allocated to organizations that provide direct assistance to the poor, we must determine which tax bracket the individual donor was likely in, allowing for applicable filing status.\textsuperscript{151}

This study used four tax filing statuses: single, married filing jointly, married filing separately, and head of household.\textsuperscript{152} Using the IRS’s \textit{Individual Statistical Tables by Filing Status}, it was possible to calculate the percentage of returns under each status, which were: single, 37.8\%; married filing jointly, 45.4\%; married filing separately, 1.9\%; and head of household, 14.8\%.\textsuperscript{153}

The study then produced two calculations—the highest applicable tax rate estimate (HAT estimate) and an average applicable tax rate estimate (AAT estimate). The purpose of these two estimates was to provide a range of figures. The HAT estimate was calculated as follows: first we selected the highest applicable tax bracket under each income range for each filing status. For instance, for the income range of $30,000 to $50,000, the highest applicable tax rate to taxpayers in that income group was 15\% for married filing jointly and 25\% for the rest.\textsuperscript{154}

The purpose of using the HAT estimate was to figure out the maximum amount of allocated subsidy. The reason this provides the maximum amount of subsidy is because the amount of the subsidy is a product of the donor’s tax rate, and thus, by using the highest tax rate...
per income range, the amount of the subsidy would also be the highest.

The second figure, the AAT estimate, calculated what percentage of earnings by income level was in each income bracket and proportioned the tax brackets accordingly. Thus, the AAT estimate is more likely to produce the accurate amount of the total subsidy.

Continuing the calculation, the total amount contributed by each income range subject to § 170 was multiplied by the percentage amount in each filing status. For instance, the total amount given by filers from the income range of $0 to $15,000 was multiplied by the percentage amount of filers that were single, married filing jointly, married filing separately, and head of household. This process was repeated for each income range. These figures were then multiplied by the applicable tax rate percentage, applying both the HAT estimate and the AAT estimate. This final step resulted in two figures. The first number, which used the HAT estimate, was the maximum amount of subsidy allocated to the total charitable deduction expenditure granted to each income range. The second figure, which used the AAT estimate, was a figure more likely to be closer to the actual amount of the subsidy allocated to § 170 by income group.

The last step of the calculation was to multiply the amount of subsidy, under both the HAT and AAT estimates, allocated to each income group by the Indiana Study’s estimates by donor income of the share of charitable contributions made by different types of organizations. Thus, the total amount of the subsidy per income range was multiplied by the percentage amount given by individuals in each income range to direct relief of poverty organizations. These two numbers were the maximum estimates (under HAT) and the likely amount (under AAT) of the charitable deduction expenditure allocated to organizations that engage in direct assistance to the poor.

According to the JCT’s estimates for 2008, the total cost of the deduction is $36.2 billion. Using the JCT’s estimates, the maximum total percentage (HAT) allocated to direct poverty relief is 10.8%.

---

155. For example, returns filed as married filing separately that are in the income range of $100,000 to $200,000 are potentially subject to three income tax rates, 35%, 33%, and 28%. This study subdivides by income level the percentage in each bracket. Admittedly, this is a simplification of the calculation (assuming that taxpayers will be evenly proportioned across the income range). However, allowing for variation allows a more accurate calculation. See infra app. I tbls.6a–c.
156. See infra app. I tbl.5.
157. See infra app. I tbls.7a–b.
158. See infra app. I tbls.7a–b.
159. These calculations are provided infra in Tables 7a and 7b in Appendix I.
161. This percentage was calculated by dividing the total number of returns using the maximum amount of the deduction per income range total amount (3.9 billion),
and, using the subdivided tax brackets (AAT), the total amount is 9.9%.\textsuperscript{162} However, this study’s calculations do not account for certain effects that would lower the total amount subject to § 170.\textsuperscript{163} This Article’s calculations result in a total giving amount, assuming the highest tax rate for each income range using maximum tax rate per income range, of $48.2 billion. Further, if we used the tax rate per income range, it results in a total of $45.5 billion.\textsuperscript{164} These total amounts have the same internal assumptions as our total figures, and thus by comparing them against each other, as a percentage, these assumptions should cancel out. Accordingly, comparing the total amount of deduction allocated to poverty relief organizations against our total amount subject to a deduction results in 8.1% under the maximum tax rate and a 7.8% allocation using the subdivided tax brackets. These figures are more in tune with the research of the Indiana Study, which found that total giving to organizations that provide direct poverty assistance was approximately 8%.\textsuperscript{165} Finally, although we are constrained by the data available and cannot determine the tax rate of all charitable donors, the total amount is likely to be within the 7.8%–10% range, with the actual amount for the reasons explained above being close to 8%.

E. Distribution of Contributors to Religious Organizations by Income Level

There is a presumption that churches function, at least in part, to provide direct relief to the poor.\textsuperscript{166} Undoubtedly, many churches organize soup kitchens, arrange for homeless shelters, and provide other types of aid to the poor.\textsuperscript{167} However, not all religious organizations have this social mandate, and the available evidence regarding churches’ participation in poverty relief efforts is conflicting and diffi-
cult to ascertain.\textsuperscript{168} Scholars that have attempted to determine the contributions of religious organizations' in this field have found differing results.

For example, Professor Charles Clotfelter found that “sacramental functions account for a preponderance of church expenditures.”\textsuperscript{169} He estimated that non-sacramental expenditures, such as social welfare, nonreligious education, and health related activities accounted for less than 20\% of expenditures.\textsuperscript{170} Professors Ram Cnaan, Jill Sinha, and Charlene McGrew researched the impact of religious organizations on community services in Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{171} They found that “[c]ongregations are highly involved in social service provision. Almost nine of every ten congregations, regardless of size and ethnic composition, are engaged in at least one social service provision. Often the service is quite modest—meeting the need of some twenty community residents. . . .”\textsuperscript{172} They also asked congregations to self-report the percentage of their annual budget that they allocated to social services.\textsuperscript{173} Of the congregations that responded, the mean was 21.6\%.\textsuperscript{174} Despite the consensus between Clotfelter’s estimate and the Philadelphia study, other national studies have found churches to be nowhere near as generous.

For instance, Professor Mark Chaves found that although 57\% of congregations reported participation or support of social welfare activities,\textsuperscript{175} spending on such projects accounted for, on average, between 2\% and 4\% of the total budget of the congregation.\textsuperscript{176} He concludes that “[e]xpecting congregations to operate social service programs in large numbers is unrealistic since most do not currently operate such programs.”\textsuperscript{177} Similarly, Professor Mark Gergen, citing research

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{169} Id. at 23–25.
  \item \textsuperscript{170} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{171} Cnaan, Sinha & McGrew, supra note 166.
  \item \textsuperscript{172} Id. at 53 (emphasis added).
  \item \textsuperscript{173} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{174} Id. at 55. The study does not state whether this was the mean of all self reported percentages or the mean of the total amount of giving against the total.
  \item \textsuperscript{175} Professor Chavez defined social welfare activities as providing food, housing, and homelessness services. Mark Chaves, Congregations’ Social Service Activities, CHARTING CIV. SOC’Y (Urban Inst./Ctr. on Nonprofits & Philanthropy), Dec. 1999, at 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{176} Id. Professor Chavez acknowledges that congregations do mobilize a volunteer workforce, which provides for poverty relief services at a low cost for the congregation. Id. at 2–3; see also Ellen P. Aprill, Churches, Politics, and the Charitable Contribution Deduction, 42 B.C. L. Rev. 843, 865 (2001) (noting that in most cases the churches mainly provide benefits for members).
  \item \textsuperscript{177} Chavez, supra note 175, at 4. Reverend Drew Smith looked at the accessibility of church programs in Indianapolis, and his study found that there was a “lack of interaction between churches and low–income families.” Drew Smith, Churches
showing that church demographics tend to be of the same race and income level, acknowledged that, although churches engage in some distribution, when “well-to-do people give to churches, their donations tend to benefit people like themselves and not the poor.”

Accepting the difficulty in calculating the percentage of churches’ budgets spent on poverty relief, even using Clotfelter’s high 20% estimate results in an 8% increase in the percentage of the deductible donations allocated to direct poverty relief. In summary, even though religion receives 35% of total giving in the United States, religion represents only 25% of the charitable deductible expenditure. Using the highest estimate (20%) of congregation poverty relief spending would add 5% to the 8% to equal a total amount of 13%. Using Professor Chavez’s 4% estimate results in a 1% increase.

Clearly, the lack of a consensus on the amount churches spend on direct assistance to the poor makes any conclusion from these figures difficult. What can be ascertained is that the amount churches spend on these social programs is nebulous. Before politicians rely on these figures to justify the charitable deduction, the author calls for more research in this area.

IV. A REVENUE NEUTRAL PROPOSAL

Reviewing the literature, there is considerable discussion regarding either eliminating, changing, or capping the charitable deduction. The detractors note the upside-down subsidy, and this research will only fuel their concerns. However, the charitable deduction may be justifiable for the simple reason that taxpayers want it, including in its present form.

For this reason, this Article does not address the normative question of whether the deduction is equitable; this argument is well-advocated in the Urban Poor: Interaction and Social Distance, 62 SOC. OF RELIGION 301, 310–12 (2001). Thus, even though churches may provide and spend on these services, they may not be actually connecting with their intended recipients. Id.

178. Gergen, supra note 63, at 1441; see also Charles T. Clotfelter, Tax-Induced Distortions in the Voluntary Sector, 39 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 663, 689 (1989) (“[M]ost contributions are directed to institutions geographically close to the donor.”).

179. See infra app. I tbl.9.

180. Twenty-five divided by one hundred and then multiplied by twenty equals five.

181. Twenty-five divided by one hundred and then multiplied by four equals one.


184. Pozen, supra note 4, at 588.
dressed elsewhere. Instead, this Article proposes that the word "charitable" dupes many Americans into believing the deduction is spent on a certain traditional set of charitable causes. By changing the name of § 170 to the "qualified donation deduction" this misunderstanding will be reduced. Further, it allows Congress to debate the merits of the provision, including each of its individual components, and to determine whether each subsection should continue to receive the benefits of a subsidy without fear of political backlash. In short, this Article advocates transparency. Only once taxpayers know how the charitable deduction subsidy is allocated can the provision be justified on popular grounds. Consequently, Part IV of this Article discusses the power of word association and articulates why Congress should rename the charitable deduction to the "qualified donation deduction," while addressing some potential objections to this proposal.

A. The Importance of Labels

The importance of language, word association, and labeling has been a subject of research for many years. This Article does not attempt to address the complexity of this field but instead highlights a few studies to instruct the reader. Within this field of study, researchers agree that language, and in particular labels, can have a large impact on behavior. For instance, in a seminal study by John Ridley Stroop, psychologists placed a card in front of participants with the word RED written in blue and asked the participants to state the color of the word. The study showed that participants' reaction-time to saying red was statistically significantly slower than that of control participants, and a higher number of participants said the word red even though they knew the color to be blue. Similarly, psychologist Paul Rozin conducted an experiment where subjects watched a researcher pour sugar from a packet into two bottles of water. Researchers then

185. See, e.g., Fleischer, supra note 12, at 28–34; Wiedenbeck, supra note 82, at 115 (suggesting that the deduction be replaced with dollar for dollar tax credit).


188. See, e.g., Matthew Hudson, Advertising is Magic, PSYCHOL. TODAY, July 16, 2008, www.psychologytoday.com/print/1336 (explaining the power of labels in consumer decision making by describing experiments where, in blind taste tests, consumers state that they prefer Pepsi over Coca-Cola, “yet they still buy Coke more”).

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asked the subjects to label one bottle “poison” and the other “sucrose.” Despite acknowledging the irrationality, subjects were reluctant to drink from the bottle that they labeled “poison.” Thus, even when the subjects themselves labeled the product, the effect of the label “poison” was sufficient to create hesitancy, evidenced by their reluctance to drink from the bottle.

The word “charitable” in § 170 similarly labels the provision, and the associations inherent in the word may be obfuscating taxpayers’ understanding of where their taxes are being spent. Like the subjects in Rozin’s experiment, the public understands that the charitable deduction is just a label, and in this case, a label on a provision that covers more than direct poverty relief. Nevertheless, the label, just like the label on the bottle of water, distorts individuals’ perception of reality, thereby clouding taxpayers’ ability to accurately determine where the Code allocates this subsidy.

B. The Proposal

To mitigate this labeling effect, this Article proposes that § 170 be renamed the “qualified donation deduction.” Eliminating the word charitable from the provision would reduce confusion that has existed


191. Rozin, Millman & Nemeroff, supra note 190; see also R. W. Pollay & T. Dewhirst, The Dark Side of Marketing Seemingly “Light” Cigarettes: Successful Images and Failed Fact, 11 Tobacco Control 118, 129 (highlighting an example of labeling in the marketing of cigarettes). Marketers have described cigarettes using “technically meaningless, but seemingly virtuous descriptors like ‘Mild’, ‘Ultra’, ‘Light’ or ‘Super Light’” to encourage smokers to continue or take up smoking. Id. This works even though consumers were to some degree savvy that there was a little health benefit in these products. Id.

192. It would be interesting to conduct a survey asking respondents to apportion percentages to certain categories where they believe the charitable deduction allocates the tax subsidy.

193. Admittedly, the word “poison” carries strong connotations. However, the impact of the word “charitable” should not be underestimated.

194. This is not the first time a provision has been renamed to enhance understanding. For instance, the Illinois Criminal Code renamed the “Fraudulent Schemes and Artifices” section to the “Mail and Wire Fraud” section to enhance clarity. See James R. Thompson et al., The Illinois Criminal Code of 2009: Providing Clarity in the Law, 41 J. Marshall L. Rev. 815, 865 (2008); see also Pub. L. No. 110–246, §§ 4001–4407, 2008 U.S.C.C.A.N (122 Stat.) 1651 (to be codified at 7 U.S.C. §§ 2011–2036); Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, U.S. Dep’t of Agric. (July 23, 2009), http://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/snap.htm (“Only the name of the Food Stamp Program is changing. SNAP is not a new Program. The name change will have no effect on [an individual’s] benefits.”).
from the moment Congress codified the statute. Further, it would reduce any misunderstanding of where the subsidy is allocated, allowing the American public to reach a better understanding of where their effective tax dollars are spent. If the public disagrees with current practice once it is labeled more accurately, they can pressure their congressional representatives accordingly to promote the goods and services they believe should be subsidized.

Another potential benefit of renaming the deduction is to rectify any misunderstanding of the potency of the charitable deduction in the effort to win the war against poverty. For instance, currently, some portions of society believe that government should not allocate more funding to welfare programs because private entities, subsidized by the charitable deduction, are in place to provide such services. Overestimating the effect of the charitable deduction might lead to overestimation of the effect of these private organizations. Thus, once the electorate understands that only 8% of the subsidy is spent on direct poverty relief, the American public might readjust their attitudes towards other welfare programs. In other words, providing the public with this information could change public perception not just on the charitable deduction but also with regard to welfare spending. Rather than tailoring the deduction to focus only on the poverty relief organizations, individuals might believe that a better solution is to leave § 170 unchanged, and increase funding for government welfare programs. They could then express these views to Congress and campaign for reform.

Critics of this proposal may suggest that such a change would be too costly, would confuse the public in what is an already bewildering area of the law, or that the public is apathetic to the allocation of the deduction. This Article addresses these objections in reverse order. Americans are not apathetic about charitable giving. The United States consistently ranks as the most generous nation in the world, and Americans are rightly proud of this tradition. In 2006, the

195. See supra section II.A.

196. See e.g., Michael Boulette, Essay, What Conservative Social Justice Means to Me, 3 U. St. Thoms J.L. & Pub. Pol’y 107, 109 (2009) (“We must always prefer individual charity to government welfare (and become practitioners of that charity.”)); Symposium, Economic Justice in America’s Cities: Visions and Revisions of a Movement, 30 Harv. C.R.-C.L. L. Rev. 293, 334 (1995) (“However, as we phase out inefficient government welfare programs, private charities must be able to step in and fill the void.”); DCH, What does Obama Have Against Charity?, Brahma Durr (Mar. 22, 2009), http://bearingdrift.com/2009/03/22/what-does-obama-have-against-charity/ (stating that under the new proposals the soup kitchens will disappear, “but you’ll be eligible for food stamps”). But see Galle, supra note 26, at 38 (stating that the “argument that charity fill in where government cannot has been vastly oversold”).

197. See, e.g., Symposium, supra note 196, at 334 (“America is the most generous nation on earth.”); Elisabeth Eaves, Op-Ed., Who Gives the Most?, Forbes Mag.,
nonprofit sector accounted for about 5% of the United States’ gross domestic product, and, as mentioned, approximately 90% of households in the United States give to charities. The fact that Americans’ enthusiasm for charity extends not only to giving, but also to the charitable deduction, is evident from the attention President Obama’s proposed modifications to the deduction received. The proposed reduction received a flurry of media attention in the United States. Journalists’ reactions ranged from lambasting the proposal to cautious support. In short, Americans closely guard and care about the charitable deduction, the very opposite of apathy.

Renaming the deduction would not confuse the American public. Instead, it would clarify an existing practice. By better describing where the charitable deduction allocates the government subsidy, any existing misperceptions regarding the effect of the provision would be reduced. Accordingly, renaming the provision would reduce rather than increase confusion.

Lastly, the proposal is costless. Under Congressional rules, any proposed changes of legislation must include a cost estimate. This cost is calculated by comparing the current revenue and outlays against the estimated revenue and outlays after the legislative change. This proposal affects neither revenues nor outlay, and thus it would be “scored” as revenue neutral. Admittedly, some administrative changes would be required to adopt this provision. However, because of the evolving nature of the tax code, the IRS is accustomed to dealing with changes in tax law. Each year technical
elements of the tax code change and these changes have to be advertised and explained to the taxpayer. Changing the name of § 170 could be incorporated into these yearly edits. Further, if Congress enacts President Obama's proposal regarding itemized deductions, then it would be a perfect opportunity to rename the provision.

None of the drawbacks outlined above, either alone or in conjunction, justify retaining § 170's name. Changing the name to “qualified donation deduction” will mitigate individuals’ misplaced perceptions of where the charitable deduction is allocated, and the charitable deduction’s relationship to direct poverty relief efforts. This would allow the electorate to reexamine its perception of how the charitable deduction ranks the different sectors within § 501(c)(3). It could then see whether such prior perceptions match the reality of the subsidy. If it does not, they can take action via the political process. For these reasons, the charitable deduction should be renamed the qualified donation deduction.

V. CONCLUSION

A former chief economist at the U.S. Department of Labor stated that if any proposed amendments curtailing the charitable deduction passed, “the government would gain billions in tax revenue, but charities and others would lose. That would lessen the ability of charities to help the neediest . . . .” It is these types of misleading assertions that this Article hopes to address. The neediest receive only 8% in direct assistance from the charitable deduction. High-income individuals contribute less as a percentage of their total giving to direct assistance of poverty organizations than their middle- and low-income counterparts. To continue justifying the 35% deduction for high-income individuals under the assumption that it protects the neediest is a fallacy, and to continue advertising it as such constitutes fraud. Renaming the charitable deduction to the qualified donation deduc-

204. By apportionment of the subsidy.
205. Another key issue with the charitable deduction is also one of the most obvious. Scholars and politicians do not want to, or have not, engaged in an analysis of what “good” in the charitable sector means. Fleisher, supra note 12, at 20 n.95 (“While our society superficially agrees that certain ‘good activities’ are entitled to tax exemptions [and accompanying deductions], this superficial agreement masks considerable confusion over precisely what good activities qualify as charitable and why they are deserving of tax exemption.”) (quoting Colombo & Hall, supra note 54, at 6). Even if there was a method of placing activities in a “good” category, that would not be the end of the analysis. Once an activity is categorized as “good,” then some “good” charities will be more worthy of the subsidy than others. Simply put, no one wants to rank a charity’s goals and objectives.
tion makes this deception more difficult and allows the American public to decide, based on more informed information, where their tax dollars are spent.
APPENDIX I

Figure 1. Percentage of Charitable Giving Subject to the Charitable Deduction by Income Level

![Percentage of Charitable Giving Subject to the Charitable Deduction by Income Level](image)

- □ Under $15,000
- ■ $15,000 – under $30,000
- □ $30,000 – under $50,000
- ■ $50,000 – under $100,000
- □ $100,000 – under $200,000
- ■ $200,000 – under $250,000
- □ $250,000 or more

Figure 2. Amount of Charitable Giving Subject to the Charitable Deduction by Income Level

All figures in thousands of dollars.

![Amount of Charitable Giving Subject to the Charitable Deduction by Income Level](image)

- □ Under $15,000
- ■ $15,000 – under $30,000
- □ $30,000 – under $50,000
- ■ $50,000 – under $100,000
- □ $100,000 – under $200,000
- ■ $200,000 – under $250,000
- □ $250,000 or more

207. Parisi, supra note 100, at 15 tbl.1.
208. Id.
Figure 3. Number of Charitable Deduction Returns and Total Amount of Giving Subject to § 170, According to Income Level
Table 2 - Number of Returns According to Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number of Returns</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Surviving Spouse</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142,978,806</td>
<td>54,065,030</td>
<td>2,730,935</td>
<td>21,169,039</td>
<td>86,923</td>
<td>64,926,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>37.81%</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>14.80%</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>45.41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Joint Returns = 52.62%
Total Single Returns = 47.38%

Table 3. Tax Rate Brackets According to Filing Status in 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marginal Tax Brackets</td>
<td>Marginal Tax Brackets</td>
<td>Marginal Tax Brackets</td>
<td>Marginal Tax Brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax Rate Range</td>
<td>Tax Rate Range</td>
<td>Tax Rate Range</td>
<td>Tax Rate Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% 0–16,050</td>
<td>10% 0–8,025</td>
<td>10% 0–8,025</td>
<td>10% 0–11,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15% 16,051 – 65,100</td>
<td>15% 8,026 – 32,550</td>
<td>15% 8,026 – 32,550</td>
<td>15% 11,451 – 43,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28% 131,451 – 200,300</td>
<td>28% 65,726 – 100,150</td>
<td>28% 78,851 – 164,550</td>
<td>28% 112,651 – 182,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33% 200,301 – 357,700</td>
<td>33% 100,151 – 178,850</td>
<td>33% 164,551 – 357,700</td>
<td>33% 182,401 – 357,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35% 357,701+</td>
<td>35% 178,851+</td>
<td>35% 357,701+</td>
<td>35% 357,701+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

209. SOI TAX STATS, supra note 127.
Table 4. Highest Tax Rate Brackets According to Income Level from Figure 1 in 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highest Tax Bracket</td>
<td>Highest Tax Bracket</td>
<td>Highest Tax Bracket</td>
<td>Highest Tax Bracket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15k</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15-30k</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30–50k</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50-100k</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100-200k</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200–250k</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250+</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Total Number of Returns and Total Amount Donated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(All figures are in thousands of dollars)</th>
<th>Number of Returns</th>
<th>Total Amount Donated</th>
<th>Dollar Amount per Return</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $15,000</td>
<td>1,139,605.00</td>
<td>$1,527,957.00</td>
<td>$1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 – under $30,000</td>
<td>2,732,665.00</td>
<td>$5,530,118.00</td>
<td>$2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000 – under $50,000</td>
<td>5,876,730.00</td>
<td>$12,863,772.00</td>
<td>$2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 – under $100,000</td>
<td>14,804,523.00</td>
<td>$39,872,929.00</td>
<td>$2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000 – under $200,000</td>
<td>10,755,712.00</td>
<td>$40,412,344.00</td>
<td>$3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000 – under $250,000</td>
<td>1,347,292.00</td>
<td>$7,941,807.00</td>
<td>$5.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000 or more</td>
<td>2,566,701.00</td>
<td>$53,720,835.00</td>
<td>$20.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39,223,228.00</td>
<td>$161,869,762.00</td>
<td>$4.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amount Donated to Charity Subject to s170 | $161,869,762 |
Total Amount Donated To Charity            | $307,650,000.00|
Percentage                                 | 52.61          |

211. Id.
212. Parisi, supra note 100, at 15 tbl.1.
Table 6. Percentage Amounts in Income Tax Brackets According to Filing Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Amount in Filing Status</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low TaxBracket</td>
<td>% Amount in that tax bracket</td>
<td>Low Tax Bracket</td>
<td>% Amount in that tax bracket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000–$50,000</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–$100,000</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### b. High Tax Bracket

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Amount in Filing Status</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Tax Bracket</td>
<td>% Amount in that tax bracket</td>
<td>Low Tax Bracket</td>
<td>% Amount in that tax bracket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>37.81%</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>45.41%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Mid Tax Bracket

0 in a column means that there was no mid tax bracket.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Amount in Filing Status</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Tax Bracket</td>
<td>% Amount in that tax bracket</td>
<td>Low Tax Bracket</td>
<td>% Amount in that tax bracket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>37.81%</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
<td>45.41%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000–$50,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–$100,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7. Total Amount of Deduction Multiplied by Tax Bracket Rates

#### a. Maximum Tax Bracket Allowance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(all figures are in thousands of dollars)</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>$857,772.05</td>
<td>$4,377.60</td>
<td>$104,076.79</td>
<td>$33,920.65</td>
<td>$200,147.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>$3,317,640.64</td>
<td>$15,843.79</td>
<td>$376,683.99</td>
<td>$122,768.62</td>
<td>$838,937.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000–$50,000</td>
<td>$729,568.83</td>
<td>$61,424.51</td>
<td>$1,460,359.72</td>
<td>$475,959.56</td>
<td>$2,727,312.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–$100,000</td>
<td>$3,768,988.61</td>
<td>$213,240.42</td>
<td>$5,069,763.18</td>
<td>$1,475,298.37</td>
<td>$10,527,290.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>$4,278,374.03</td>
<td>$270,156.52</td>
<td>$6,055,910.99</td>
<td>$1,973,738.88</td>
<td>$12,578,180.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>$990,923.08</td>
<td>$1,190,103.60</td>
<td>$387,877.85</td>
<td>$2,621,995.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>$7,109,146.70</td>
<td>$359,123.78</td>
<td>$8,538,120.91</td>
<td>$2,782,739.25</td>
<td>$18,789,130.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$17,248,413.96</strong></td>
<td><strong>$977,257.60</strong></td>
<td><strong>$22,795,019.17</strong></td>
<td><strong>$7,252,303.19</strong></td>
<td><strong>$48,272,993.92</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### b. Tax Bracket Allowance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(all figures are in thousands of dollars)</th>
<th>Married Filing Jointly</th>
<th>Married Filing Separately</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Head of Household</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>$857,772.05</td>
<td>$4,377.60</td>
<td>$104,076.79</td>
<td>$33,920.65</td>
<td>$200,147.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>$3,317,640.64</td>
<td>$15,843.79</td>
<td>$376,683.99</td>
<td>$122,768.62</td>
<td>$838,937.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000–$50,000</td>
<td>$729,568.83</td>
<td>$61,424.51</td>
<td>$1,460,359.72</td>
<td>$475,959.56</td>
<td>$2,727,312.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–$100,000</td>
<td>$3,768,988.61</td>
<td>$213,240.42</td>
<td>$5,069,763.18</td>
<td>$1,475,298.37</td>
<td>$10,527,290.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>$4,278,374.03</td>
<td>$270,156.52</td>
<td>$6,055,910.99</td>
<td>$1,973,738.88</td>
<td>$12,578,180.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>$990,923.08</td>
<td>$1,190,103.60</td>
<td>$387,877.85</td>
<td>$2,621,995.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>$7,109,146.70</td>
<td>$359,123.78</td>
<td>$8,538,120.91</td>
<td>$2,782,739.25</td>
<td>$18,789,130.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$16,821,973.54</strong></td>
<td><strong>$956,052.51</strong></td>
<td><strong>$22,916,787.91</strong></td>
<td><strong>$5,775,697.31</strong></td>
<td><strong>$45,560,911.27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8. Total Amount Subject to § 170 Multiplied by Percentage Amount Donated to Charities that Directly Relieve Poverty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(all figures are in thousands of dollars)</th>
<th>Percentage Amount Donated to Charities that Directly Relieve Poverty</th>
<th>Percentage Donated to Poverty Relief Charities times Maximum Amount Deducted According to Income Level</th>
<th>Percentage Donated to Poverty Relief Charities times Amount Deducted According to Income Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
<td>$20,815.30</td>
<td>$17,906.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
<td>$86,209.45</td>
<td>$85,991.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000–$50,000</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
<td>$283,640.51</td>
<td>$276,929.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–$100,000</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
<td>$1,094,838.22</td>
<td>$1,050,693.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>12.40%</td>
<td>$1,559,694.37</td>
<td>$1,288,875.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>5.80%</td>
<td>$152,075.74</td>
<td>$152,075.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>3.80%</td>
<td>$713,986.96</td>
<td>$713,986.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3,911,260.56</td>
<td>$3,586,459.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total § 160 subsidy</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.10%</td>
<td>7.87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

213. The Indiana Study and data from the IRS have matching income ranges up to $200,000. Above $200,000 the Indiana Study breaks the income brackets into $200,000 through $1 million and above $1 million. The IRS data breaks down their result into two income ranges $200,000 through $250,000 and above $250,000. To the author's knowledge, no other recent study has subdivided the breakdown of charitable giving according to income level. Thus, although the income ranges do not exactly match (this study pairs $200,000 through $1 million percentages with the $200,000 through $250,000 figures and the above $1 million percentages with the above $250,000 figures), the effect of these simplifications is the overestimation of the subsidy received by the charitable deduction. Even with this built-in error margin, the percentage of the subsidy remains below 9%. See Parisi, supra note 100; Patterns, supra note 138.
### Table 9. Total Amount Subject to § 170 Multiplied by Percentage Amount Donated to Religion

(All figures are in thousands of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Level</th>
<th>Percentage Donated to Religion</th>
<th>Percentage Donated to Religion times Amount</th>
<th>Percentage Deducted According to Income Level</th>
<th>Percentage Deducted According to Income Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $15,000</td>
<td>66.70%</td>
<td>$133,498.11</td>
<td>$114,841.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000–$30,000</td>
<td>66.70%</td>
<td>$552,901.00</td>
<td>$551,506.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000–$50,000</td>
<td>66.70%</td>
<td>$1,819,117.52</td>
<td>$1,776,076.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000–$100,000</td>
<td>66.70%</td>
<td>$7,021,702.82</td>
<td>$6,738,581.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,000–$200,000</td>
<td>57.30%</td>
<td>$7,207,297.38</td>
<td>$5,955,853.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000–$250,000</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>$603,058.97</td>
<td>$603,058.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,000+</td>
<td>16.90%</td>
<td>$3,175,363.08</td>
<td>$3,175,363.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$20,512,938.88</strong></td>
<td><strong>$18,915,280.71</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of total § 160 subsidy: 42.49% / 41.51%
APPENDIX II

This informal study looks at the attention Congress gave to debating the merits of the charitable deduction in 2009. Although it does suffer from one main methodological drawback in that the author both wrote the code for determining the classification and then subsequently did the coding, it is still valuable to illustrate the large disparity in congressional speech when discussing the charitable deduction on the floor. This Appendix briefly explains the methodology of the study.

First, the author conducted a search on the congressional records webpage\textsuperscript{214} using the terms “charitable deduction” and “charitable contribution.” This resulted in 140 documents that possessed either of these search terms. Within these 140 documents, 16 contained a discussion of the merits of the charitable deduction. Whenever a member of Congress discussed the deduction, the author categorized their justification for the deduction into one of five categories: church, poverty relief, disaster / war relief, education, and other. Even one word about poverty relief was sufficient to count in the applicable category. For instance, if a congressman stated that “this would aid in poverty relief,” then the entire sentence would be placed in the poverty relief category. To calculate the number of words, the author counted all the words in the sentence when discussing one of the categories listed above. If a congressman simultaneously used two categories, then the author included them under both categories. For example, if a congressman discussed the role of churches and charities in providing help to the poor and hungry, the author included the amount of words in both the poverty relief and church categories. The results are displayed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congressman</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Poverty Relief</th>
<th>Disaster / War Relief</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burton (R-Ind.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 03, 2009</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitts (R-Pa.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 04, 2009</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burton (R-Ind.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 05, 2009</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burton (R-Ind.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 09, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachmann (R-Minn.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 10, 2009</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poe (R-Tex.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 11, 2009</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell (R-Ariz.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 12, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensign (R-Nev.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 12, 2009</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burton (R-Ind.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Mar. 12, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McConnell (R-Ky.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 16, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander (R-Tenn.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 16, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McConnell (R-Ky.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 19, 2009</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensign (R-Nev.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 19, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coryn (R-Tex.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 25, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thune (R-S.D.)</td>
<td>Sen.</td>
<td>Mar. 25, 2010</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilirakis (R-Fla.)</td>
<td>Rep.</td>
<td>Oct. 28, 2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERCENTAGE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>