





How to talk about budgets and taxes for public good: a narrative briefing paper

"Budgets are how we decide what we value most. Taxes are how we resource those things."



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The <u>Wellbeing Economy Alliance</u> (WEAII) is the leading global collaboration that brings together organisations, individuals, and governments to transform the economic system into one that delivers shared wellbeing for people and the planet.

WEAll is currently made up of hundreds of organisations and thousands of individuals. Our ambassadors include Kate Raworth, author of *Doughnut Economics*, Tim Jackson, thought leader and Director of the Centre for the Understanding of Sustainable Prosperity (CUSP), and Jason Hickel, author of *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and its Solutions* and *Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World*. Our global policy-makers network has over 40 participants, and the Wellbeing Economy Governments Partnership (WEGo) initiated by WEAll is now composed of six governments, including New Zealand and Canada.

<u>WEAll Aotearoa New Zealand</u> is one of 15 WEAll hubs active around the world. Our vision is an Aotearoa New Zealand moving from wellbeing budgets to a wellbeing economy that prioritises dignity, connection, fairness, participation, and nature by design. It's a transformation built upon te Tiriti o Waitangi and the values of care and community.

This paper was funded by the Wellbeing Economy Alliance Aotearoa New Zealand thanks to a Partners for a New Economy grant.

The Workshop is a not-for-profit narrative research and strategy organisation based in Aotearoa New Zealand. At The Workshop, we undertake research into public mindsets and narratives about complex economic, environmental, and social issues. Public mindset shift is key to building support for initiatives that will make the biggest difference to repairing, building, and maintaining connected, caring, inclusive communities and thriving ecosystems. Our methods involve identifying and testing narratives that deepen public thinking and shift shared mindsets on complex issues. We provide evidence-based narrative and framing support to people researching, advocating for, and implementing better systems. With the support of our funders, we make our research publicly available.

About this paper

This paper contains recommendations on how to talk about budgets and taxes for the purposes of deepening people's understanding about a tax system that allows everyone to get what they need to thrive.

This paper, and the advice in it, is for anyone advocating for a more just taxation system and one that can help build and maintain more public good.

The advice is this paper is drawn from research we located in a brief literature review on the topic and The Workshop's own research and unique narrative expertise. It was prepared by Dr Jess Berentson-Shaw in 2023 for WEAII.

we would like to acknowledge in particular the work of Australia Remade, the FrameWorks Institute, and NEON and PIRC UK for their work on budgets, tax, and public good narratives.

How to talk about budgets and tax in a nutshell...

Embrace these narratives

- Designing better systems
 - » We are all subject to the rules of the budget and tax system we can change the rules.
- Collective action
 - » People working across the different parts of the community, including in government, can make budgets and tax policies work.
- Public good
 - » Budgets and tax are how we prioritise the things that really matter to most of us and get us all what we need.
 - » There are agreed things that matter to most of us from a public good perspective.

Avoid these narratives

- Them versus us narratives especially villainising groups older people/wealthy people/ previous generations as the problem.
- Fatalistic narratives too big, too hard, people in government are useless/won't act/haven't acted.
- Individualistic narratives tax is a burden for individuals anything that taps into the idea that tax is something we would ideally like to not do as individuals.

Embrace these values frames

- Talk about budgets and taxes using the value of prevention "we need to plan for the big things and prevent problems in the future".
- Draw on values of wisdom and pragmatism "let's make wise and pragmatic decisions for our future".
- Talk about budgets and taxes being allocated to build the infrastructure of care, connection, and contribution.

Avoid these values frames

- Fairness fairness as a value and frame engages shared mindsets in which regressive taxation is good.
- Security/avoiding catastrophe.

Embrace these simple explanations to deepen understanding

- Always link budgets and taxes in order to connect the tax to the allocation of
 resource to the things we collectively value "budgets are how we decide what we
 value most, and taxes are how we resource those things".
- Always talk about tax in association with the public good purpose.
- Use a "pay now or pay more later" simple explanatory frame.
- Explain and name the system in simple ways talk about the problematic rules or "changing the rules".
- Use the forward exchange explanatory metaphor.
- Use the public structures explanatory metaphor.

Avoid these descriptions (they don't explain)

- Talking about tax independent of budgets.
- Talking about tax independent of the public goods it gets us.
- Describing the problem as one of bad people avoid villainising wealthy people, previous generations, age cohorts, property owners.
- Describing tax in a consumerist, individualised form "what you get for your taxes, your rates".

Embrace these words

<u>Public good</u> — it's a term people still like and surfaces helpful mental models about budgets and taxes.

"Allocation of resources" (instead of tax investment).

"Common sense or sensible changes" to budgets and taxes.

Names for taxes that highlight the problem or solution — for example, pollution tax.

Avoid these words

- Tax and budgets as an investment.
- Fairness.
- Tax cuts.
- The rich where villainising.
- Older people/Boomers where villainising.
- Overhaul or transforming the tax system.
- Burden of tax, inevitability of tax, the price we have to pay etc.
- Using names for taxes that don't explain in plain ways the problem for example, carbon tax.

Embrace a values and vision-led story structure

Have in mind the narrative you want to reflect — for example, public good, collective action — then put together a story that reflects this narrative.

1. Vision:

Describe the better world — in the case of tax, what is it that a just tax system enables that we want?

"Imagine a place where we can spend a lot more time with our children or elderly parents, an education system where all children can meet their goals, where hospitals provide excellent care for both the unwell and the people taking care of the unwell."

2. Values:

Tell people why this issue matters to them in terms of our shared intrinsic values. "For many of us, a community that cares for each other and supports people doing important caring and education work matters a lot. Supporting this work also matters for meeting our long-term needs."

3. Barrier:

Name the barrier to that — what is getting in the way and who put it there? "People in government taking away resources from things we need long term like a quality education or health system — makes no sense."

4. Explain:

Provide a simple explanation to deepen understanding — use a simple explanatory metaphor if you like.

"We use budgets to allocate tax resources to things we need now and in the future — like a forward exchange system that ensures that we don't end up paying later for not allocating resources to the things that matter most for us all to thrive."

5. Solution:

Give people a solution.

"People in government need to allocate our budgets to the things that matter most for long-term good — like care work, housing and education — and ensure that our taxation rules support our shared goals."

Avoid a problem, fear, or villain-led story with no explanations or meaningful solutions

For example:

"Wealthy people in New Zealand don't pay their fair share of tax. The older generation has hoarded all the wealth and is hurting the younger generation. The government is useless. We need a fairer tax system, including a better tax on housing. Without it, we will not be able to overcome intergenerational inequity, and young people are giving up."

Background to this briefing paper

In this paper, we explore what the existing narrative research has to say about reframing budgets and tax to deepen understanding about a tax system that allows everyone to get what they need to thrive. It is part of a series of briefing papers commissioned by the Wellbeing Economy Alliance in Aotearoa.

The narrative advice provided is to help supporters talk to people who are open to understanding the need for a more just system of taxation and budget allocation.

The goal is to shift public mindsets and narratives on taxation and budget and build support for changes/initiatives in tax policy and practice (including budgeting processes) that will make a big difference to better outcomes for all people and the environment.

Such changes may include for example:

- changes to the tax system to make it more progressive and reduce inequality, poverty, or unequal and unjust outcomes experienced by different groups of people
- improving public good over the long term through reallocation/better allocation of budget (which is funded by taxes)
- reducing the budget allocated to things that harm the public good for example, fossil fuel subsidies.

What narratives about tax are people most frequently exposed to?

The narrative and mindset research suggests that people in the public are consistently exposed to "uni-dimensional anti-tax" messaging from across the political spectrum — including those who advocate for more progressive taxation.

...frequently bipartisan anti-tax messaging makes it all but impossible for citizens to conclude anything other than "taxes are bad; tax cuts are good." ... citizens have few if any resources with which to contest the dominant narrative on taxes because they have never been given a counter-narrative to consider.1

There is also a strong narrative about scarcity of resources (particularly government resources). This sits alongside ideas that people in governments are incapable of making good decisions about how to allocate those resources on our behalf. In worst-case scenarios, people in government are "corrupt" — in the best case, "inefficient".

FrameWorks notes that strong racist coding in which middle class needs (or in the case of Aotearoa, hard-working trade classes) is used to protect budgets and allocation of resources (tax) for primarily white communities, while directing resource allocation away from initiatives that build more equitable outcomes — for example, in Aotearoa, that might be for Māori by Māori health systems.

Them versus us narratives are used frequently in both directions — "those people who don't pay their fair share" is used in relation to people receiving benefits by advocates for tax cuts to the wealthy, while those advocating for progressive taxation claim wealthy people and older generations are not paying/benefiting over others.

Narrative researchers such as Anat Shenker-Osorio² note that there is an intensity issue faced by advocates for progressive taxation — the anti-tax narratives are very loud, and the pro-tax messages are too quiet and don't link up the existing helpful thinking on tax and budgets.

¹ Davey and Bales. How to Talk About Budgets and Taxes, 2–3.

² Shenker-Osorio, "You Say Tax Cut... Let's Call the Whole Thing Off."

What helpful mindsets exist to support a more progressive tax system?

There is a diversity of shared mindsets about budgets and tax that are present in culture at any one time. Despite strong unhelpful narratives that act to engage unhelpful mindsets about tax — for example, that tax is a burden on individuals — there are also shared mindsets that we can engage with specific types of narratives, stories, and frames.

Most people dislike and have concerns about poverty and inequality

They have concerns about a number of aspects of public good that require progressive taxation and budgets. As Anat Shenker-Osorio says, this is not a persuasion problem, it's an intensity one.3

People across many communities share an understanding of "public good" as things that we all need to thrive

People across diverse communities also identify shared desire for care, to be recognised, to contribute, to have their contributions recognised and supported, and to connect.⁴ These are all things that taxes, when allocated through our budgets, can help to support.

People want people who are wealthy to contribute more

Australian research indicates people believe that there is an imbalance in the tax system, with high-wealth individuals and large local and multinational corporations not paying enough. The Australian research suggests that people in government are in danger of being seen as serving a powerful economic elite. Note that this is **not** a narrative we would recommend because of the them versus us element and the likelihood it will undermine the important narrative about the collective and representative role of governments. However, it does suggest that people are interested in a more just, inclusive, and democratic system of budget setting and taxation.

- **3** ASO Communications, Effective Messaging on Prescription Drug Pricing.
- **4** Australia reMADE, Reclaiming Our Purpose: It's Time to Talk About the Public Good.
- 5 Rawlings, "Cultural Narratives of Taxation and Citizenship: Fairness, Groups and Globalisation."

People understand that the housing system works for very few people, is unbalanced, and undermines our community connections, increases stress, creates instability, and leads to health problems — it is not sensible or practical to have so many people not able to be in low-cost stable homes.

Tax is seen as important and legitimate, and people think tax evasion and avoidance is bad — though it depends on the tax!

People are concerned about wasteful spending — this mindset can work both for and against better taxes, depending on the mindset about government that people have. It may be possible to trigger a more generative mindset in relation to public resources allocated to private industries that erode public good — for example, subsidies to the fossil fuel industry where an alternative for resourcing into building public good is suggested.

A note on tax fairness as a concept and a value

Fairness as a concept encompasses two different mindsets in people — one in which everyone gets the same or is treated the same (universal fairness) and another in which people are treated differently based on their contexts and needs (contextual fairness). In terms of tax, the term fairness is seen to trigger thinking about a tax system in which everyone is treated the same (universal fairness) and it leads to thinking and support for regressive tax policies. Hence, narrative and framing researchers suggest that people avoid the term fairness when talking about the tax system where they are advocating for a more progressive tax system or a system that overcomes inequality or unfairness in outcomes.

The Fairness Trap. Fairness is a value the public often uses to think about and evaluate the relationship between budgets and taxes, but this is highly problematic for progressive tax policy. When fairness is evoked, it leads to models of regressive taxation as the most available way to achieve equity. In short, FrameWorks' research shows that people think the easiest and most available way to make taxes "fair" is having everyone pay the same amount, e.g., a flat tax.6

Conversely, people also see that the privilege afforded the wealthy by the taxation system is "unfair" and not "impartial and neutral".

How do we address these two findings — that people believe the tax system is not working because the wealthy don't pay their "fair share" but that a fair share means regressive taxation — the same as everyone else — which is definitely not what an equitable and just tax system involves?

Our recommendation would be simply to avoid the terms and concepts of fairness in the tax system altogether and instead focus on a more generative narrative about budgeting and taxation that draws on the need for budgets and associated resourcing to support the things we need to thrive as a collective.

⁶ Davey and Bales, How to Talk About Budgets and Taxes, 14.

What unhelpful mindsets do people default to that get in the way of support for a more equitable and just budgeting and taxation system?

The research we reviewed indicates some key findings:

- People do not connect budgets/budgeting process with taxes in the FrameWorks research, people found it very difficult to link these concepts.7
- Tax is seen as a loss to individuals for example, we often hear people in politics say "less/more in people's back pockets".
- People underestimate how regressive the tax system is they don't see how much more those on lower incomes pay as a proportion of their income.
- People frequently default to mindsets about government as wasteful bureaucracy — read our guide on how to talk about the long-term work of government government as "them over there, not us here" and an invisible and rigged system of elites — for example, "Wellington bureaucracy making decisions for us". There is little visibility of the public goods and services the people in government provide in day-to-day life through budgeting and taxation. The tax system, like the budgeting and other government systems, are hard to see and the rules unclear.
- People see taxes through a consumerist mindset "short-term individual benefit for the taxes I pay", "getting my money's worth", "what do I get for my rates?" This mindset acts to exclude people as citizens who are perceived not to pay tax and also masks the public goods we all need and rely on.
- People find it hard to understand budget setting and process and so default to individual and household budget models of thinking, which makes the timeframes involved in budgets, resource allocation, and long-term planning hard to conceptualise.

What narratives, values, explanations, and words can advocates use to build understanding and support for your changes and initiatives?

Narratives to engage mindsets that are more helpful to progressive budgeting and taxation

A better systems narrative

A better systems narrative appears in stories that draw people up to the rules and the design of the budget and taxation system and how it can be redesigned. Stories will name the human people involved.

Stories that draw on this narrative include statements that sound like:

"We are all subject to the rules of the budget and tax system — we can change the rules."

Collective action and problem-solving narratives

Stories that reflect these narratives frame people working across the different parts of the community, including in government, working on problem solving together, especially to make budgets and tax policies work for all people. This is a narrative that can draw on ideas like deciding together and working for future generations.

• Stories that draw on this narrative include statements that sound like:

"People in government are us and we decide the goals we want together."

Public good (also known as bigger than us) narratives

Stories that reflect this narrative will discuss budgets and taxes as how we create the infrastructure of care, contribution, and connection. Budget and taxes are how we prioritise the things that really matter to most of us and get us all what we need — outcomes that are bigger than us. There are agreed things that matter to most of us from a public good perspective. This narrative should be used to direct people towards how we address their concerns about poverty, inequality, disconnection in society,

and their desire to see more connected communities in which more people are able to contribute as suggested by Australia ReMADE's work.

• Stories that draw on this narrative include statements that sound like:

"We need the budgets people in government set and the resources they allocate to go towards building the infrastructure of care, contribution, and connection — wages for care workers, for time with babies, for communities to have places to connect, to our green space, clear air to breathe."

Values to lead with in

The prevention value

This value sounds like talking about using resources today to prevent problems in the future/build future health later and prevent costs.

Stories that draw on this value include statements that sound like:

Our [country/state] could do more to prevent problems before they occur. Instead of postponing our response to fiscal problems, for example, we can use our resources today to prevent them from becoming worse. When we postpone dealing with these problems, they get bigger and cost more to fix later on. We would be better off in the long run if we took steps today to prevent the fiscal problems that we know will affect the well-being of our [nation, state].8

Wisdom and pragmatism values

When we talk about the why or setting particular budgets and taxes, we talk about the importance of making wise decisions for the long term, taking practical steps to prevent problems in the future that affect the future wellbeing of community, people, environment, country, and so on.

• Stories that draw on this value include statements that sound like:

"It's important to make wise and sensible decisions so we can meet our needs now as well as ensure future generations can meet theirs. This means setting budgets and allocating resources to those initiatives and programmes that will prevent problems in the future."

Use these simple explanations and metaphors

Explain the link between budgets and taxes

Always make clear in simple terms the link between budgeting and taxes to improve understanding of how budgets and taxes are connected.

• Stories that use such explanations include statements that sound like:

"Unlocking people from poverty, ensuring everyone has a home, a high-quality education system, protecting our environment — these are the things most of us think matters most. We can set our budgets to prioritise these things and then allocate resources — from our taxes — in line with those priorities."

FrameWorks researchers suggest that, when budgets are discussed as the country's priorities or the country's shared future, people are reminded of the collective products that taxes make possible.

Explain that budgets are our collective priorities and taxes the resources we put towards them.

• Stories that use such explanations include statements that sound like:

"Budgets and taxes are how we get the things done that matter to us — are our resources actually going to the things that matter to us?"

Always talk about tax in association with it public good purpose

Never talk about a tax independent of what the public good it achieves. Instead, always talk about the public good. This helps to remind people that budgets and taxes get them the things they care about for society.

• Stories that use such explanations include statements that sound like:

"We set budgets and allocate taxes to the good things we all need in society — good mental healthcare for our young people, public transport, well-supported teachers and education programmes."

"Pay now or pay more later" — simple explanatory frame

This term suggested by FrameWorks articulates the need for a long-term perspective when making budget decisions. It tended to evoke considerations of prevention and public good. People talked about maintenance and infrastructure.

Explain the system in simple ways — talk about the problematic rules or "changing the rules"

Budgets and tax processes are hard for people to see (budgeting especially) — they have a fatalistic and them versus us view. You can counter this by naming people who need to act and naming the rules that the system is made up of.

• Stories that use such explanations include statements that sound like:

"We need to change the rules about where budgets are allocated so tax money is not spent on industries that harm the environment and the health of the next generation."

Do this instead of villainising wealthy people or previous generations simply because they are benefiting from a tax system that doesn't work for the outcomes we care about.

Use simple explanations to overcome "them versus us" thinking about tax

All people pay tax in various forms — make the paying of tax inclusive — not them and us "taxpayers and non-taxpayers/beneficiaries". The Ministry of Tax project in the UK suggests broadening ideas of contribution and benefit, including over a life course and generations.

• Stories that use such explanations include statements that sound like:

"Over our life, we all play different roles and contribute in different ways. Sometimes we are cared for — when we are babies, unwell, or when we are older. Sometimes we do the caring both in terms of doing the work, paid and unpaid. Many people do both. Across our life, we all contribute and benefit in different ways. Tax is one part of this contribution but not the only way we all contribute."

Use the forward exchange explanatory metaphor

The forward exchange explanatory metaphor enables people to consider how taxes, public goods, and services are not an immediate exchange for taxes they pay but are distributed in time.

• The forward exchange metaphor sounds like:

"Budgets and taxes occur in a system of forward exchange. We pay taxes forward, not for immediate exchanges for public goods, but so we can have them available in the future. Things like schools and colleges, health and safety systems, and other things. The public goods a community has today weren't only paid for by taxes its members just paid or are about to pay. They were also paid for in the past, by taxes that were budgeted then to meet the community's

9 http://ministryoftax.uk/site/project.php

needs now. So, we can say that a good public budget is one that plans for the future and for the unexpected. And we can say that good taxes are the ones that allow a community to pay for the public goods and services for which it has planned."¹⁰

The forward exchange metaphor does something researchers at Sheffield University Ministry of Tax project advise — provide alternative timeframes of budgeting and taxation in order to position individuals within a broader collective.

Use the public structures metaphor

FrameWorks also recommends using a public structures metaphor to talk about everything budgets and taxes are used for that people cannot always see. It helps to explain the breadth of work that the government does for the collective 'us' that improves everybody's lives.

In focus groups by The Workshop on how to talk about government, participants said this metaphor made them think about the things that they don't see and the broad spectrum of government work. Participants pictured both physical structures and abstract systems like events, housing, and transport as public structures.

• The public structures metaphor sounds like:

"There are lots of things in our city that make our lives better. These are our public structures, which people at the council are responsible for building and maintaining. They can be things we see all the time — like our streets, public pools, or parks and playgrounds — or things we don't see, like food safety inspections in cafés and restaurants and support for our community groups. Even the processes people at the council use to operate and improve our city are public structures. It takes time to build the public structures we need. It also takes careful planning to ensure we have the public structures we need for the future. Together with people at the local council, our citizens help shape the public structures that will shape the lives of future citizens."

See our guide on how to talk about government for more information

Other metaphors to try¹¹

- Budgets and taxation are the **concrete** that builds our hospitals, the bricks and mortar of our school buildings, the asphalt of the pavements. Without tax, the whole building falls down.
- Budgets and taxation are the foundation upon which we build a decent society.
- Budgets and how we allocate our taxes unlocks the door to a future in which all people have homes.

¹⁰ Davey and Bales, How to Talk About Budgets and Taxes, 10.

¹¹ NEON and PIRC, Communicating Tax: A Brief Guide.

Here is how you could use the forward exchange metaphor in combination with a simple explanation linking budgets and taxes when people are talking about cutting taxes:

"Budgets are the tools we use to plan for and look into the future to allocate taxes in a way that ensures people's wellbeing. Cutting taxes stops this forward exchange — it means the needs will be higher because the public good was not there — for example, the problems people are experiencing with our mental health system today. Problems faced by communities are best solved by looking at our budgets, talking about what our priorities are, and allocating resources in the right ways for these priorities, not just wholesale cutting of taxes."

Use these words (and avoid others)

- Talk about "using resources" to prevent or create a better outcome.
- Avoid the word "investment" (to refer to taxes) for example, we should "invest in children" — it engages transactional mindsets about tax.
- Avoid the word "crisis" as this triggers short-term fear-response thinking.
- Use words that establish government as "us".
- Avoid words that undermine government "governments can't and won't act, we can't rely on governments" — as people in governments is where the solution lies.
- Name specific taxes for example, income tax, unearned income tax.
- Avoid the general term "tax".
- Talk about common sense and sensible changes to budgets and taxes.
- Avoid talking about transformation or overhaul.
- Avoid words that frame tax in a consumerist, individualised form for example, "what you get for your taxes, your rates" or where your taxes go. It may be possible to talk about "where people allocate our shared resources on the basis of the things we most value".

NEON and PIRC also advise people to rename taxes in concrete meaningful ways to highlight the moral issue or problem or solution. For example:

- from carbon tax to pollution tax
- from fuel tax to clean air levy
- from land tax to developer's duty
- from wealth tax to unearned income tax.

Explain technical terms or use more plain language alternatives — for example, progressive tax could be taxing in a balanced way that takes context into account. You could talk about ensuring that those who have made money from harming our public good — tobacco companies, fossil fuel companies — contribute properly to repairing it.

Use practical pragmatic tones.

Use real-life experiments

Budget simulation and community budget setting can both help to reframe the budget/tax issue and provide a foundation for people feeling part of the decision-making system.

Use a vision or values-led story structure for talking about budgets and tax

Starting with a vision or values creates an invitation for people to first reflect on why what you are talking about is something that matters to them. You can then follow up with simple explanations that show how we — policy makers, decision makers — are not doing the things that matter to them.

- 1. Vision and or values.
- **2.** Barrier what is getting in the way of prioritising our value or the vision and who is responsible.
- 3. Simple explanation that may use an explanatory metaphor forward exchange.
- **4.** Specific solutions (ingredients) for example, community budget deciding, tax on unearned income (wealth). You may want to include an action for people to take.

Example:

Now is a crucial time to be making <u>wise and practical</u> decisions about what matters to us most as a country and how to allocate resources for our future wellbeing. Wise decisions now about what we need in the future <u>prevent big budget problems from becoming even larger</u> problems to fix in the future.

Right now, removing resources for things we agree matter and we will need in the future and cutting taxes is not a wise way to make decisions.

Let's take a step back and think about what budgets are supposed to do. You can think of budgets and the taxes that fund them as a kind of "forward exchange" — what we use to meet our needs as a society in future years by building and sustaining the common goods we use and need — our education system, power system, legal system,

transport infrastructures, and so on. Just as we have benefited from budget decisions made in the past, we are in a position to create the future.

One way to create this healthy future is for people in politics to act to rebalance our tax system — which includes increases for those industries and groups who have benefited from the forward exchange — and targeting these funds wisely towards expanding and improving our public goods.

Avoid a problem, fear, or villain-led story with no explanations or meaningful solutions

While it's natural for us to start our stories with the problems we are working on to highlight the need for the solution, these are not stories that tend to invite people open to understanding (but who struggle to see how the issues impact them/could benefit them) into the issues. Avoid this technique in your story telling.

An example to avoid:

Wealthy people in New Zealand don't pay their fair share of tax. The older generation has hoarded all the wealth and are hurting the younger generation. The government is useless. We need a fairer tax system, including a better tax on housing. Without it, we will not be able to overcome intergenerational inequity, and young people are giving up.

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