## Tax Policy Impacts on Child Well-Being and Equity

Revenue Stabilization and Tax Policy Committee September 28, 2021

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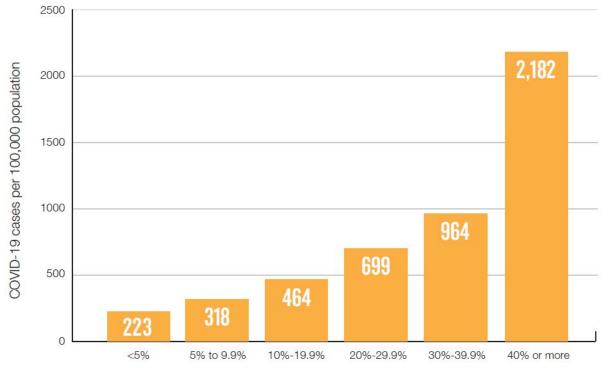
Our mission is to champion public policies that improve the well-being of New Mexico's children, families, and communities.

# Why NMVC works on tax policy

Tax policy is a powerful tool that can help advance equity because it determines who pays their fair share of taxes, who doesn't, and who benefits most from the way the system is structured.

The health and economic impact of COVID-19 has been highly inequitable across lines of income, race, and gender.

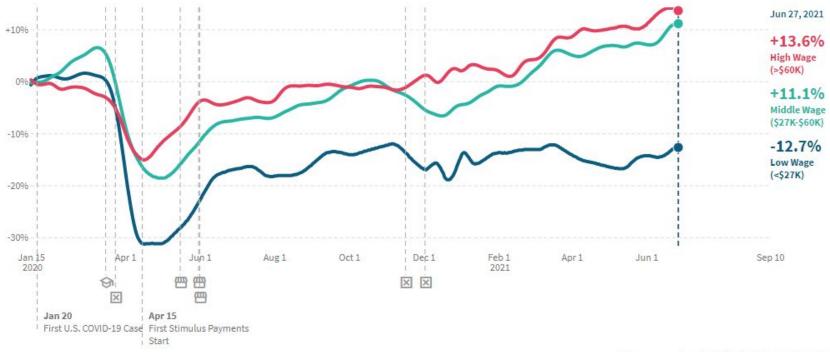
### Lower-income New Mexicans were at a greater risk of contracting COVID-19



Census tracts grouped by poverty rate

## Low-wage workers hardest hit by COVID-19

Percent change in employment: In New Mexico, as of June 27 2021, employment rates among workers in the bottom wage quartile decreased by 12.7% compared to January 2020 (not seasonally adjusted)

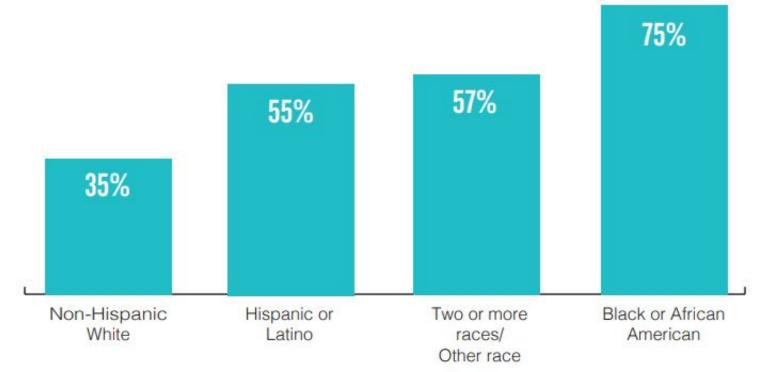


# COVID-19 has disproportionately harmed people of color

Hispanic workers saw the steepest initial employment losses and still have the most ground to make up to reach pre-pandemic employment. Native Americans make up 11% of NM population, but last year made up 30% of COVID cases. Low-income residents of mostly non-white communities died of the coronavirus at 9 times the rate of low-income residents of largely white areas.

# Families of color have had a harder time affording basic necessities

Percentage of New Mexico adults living in households with children who reported having this difficulty



# COVID-19 has caused gender inequities to grow, especially among parents

- Women = 47% of NM workers;64% of frontline workers
- More mothers than fathers have lost wages, decreased work hours, and exited the labor force
- Mothers with young children have reduced their work hours 4 to 5 times more than fathers
  - The gender gap in work hours has grown by 20-50%

# POLICY MATTERS

## Talk taxes to me:

## Adequacy and equity in New Mexico's tax code

# How did we get here?

## We tried to cut our way to prosperity

#### Major actions pre-2019

- <u>Personal income taxes</u>: big personal income tax cuts in 1981 and 2003 mostly for the very wealthy
- <u>Wealth taxes</u>: elimination of estate tax in 2001 + major opposition to wealth taxes
- <u>Corporate income taxes</u>: tax cuts mostly for big businesses in 2013
- <u>Gross receipts taxes</u>: tax breaks for different groups, services, and products

### Attempts to drive growth by cutting taxes harmed adequacy and equity

Inability to fund crucial programs

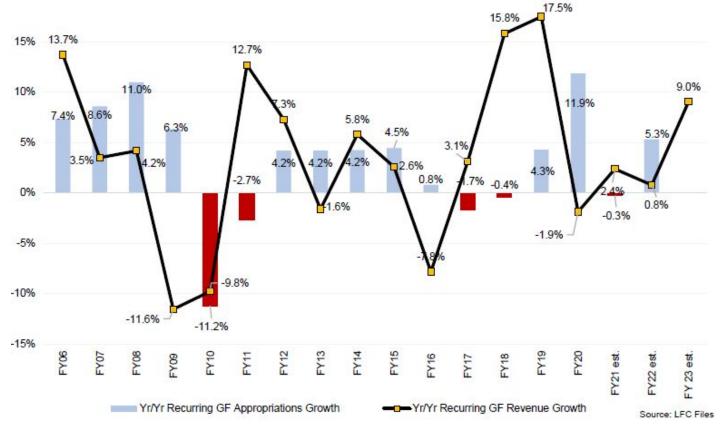
Overreliance on oil and gas industry's volatile revenues Inequitable and unbalanced tax system

## Lack of revenue meant an inability to fund key programs for families

#### **Budget cuts prior to 2019 resulted in:**

- 14% cut in per-pupil K-12 spending between 2008 and 2018
- 33% cut in per-pupil higher education spending
- Child care assistance enrollment dropped 20% between 2010 and 2018
- Funding for WIC down by 9% between 2014-2018
- Cut U.I. benefits for unemployed workers with kids
- Over a billion dollars drained from various targeted funds
- Near the bottom in educator pay
- Major agency vacancy rates

#### Recurring Revenue and Appropriation Annual Growth



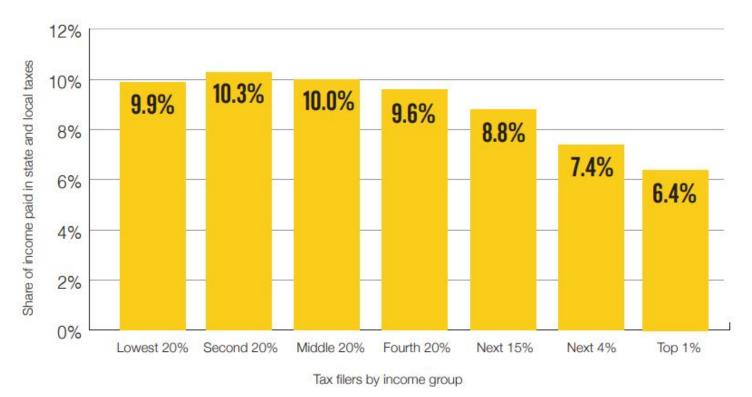
#### Stable, sustainable, and diversified revenues help build a stronger future

- 2017: revenue shortage caused major cuts
- 2019: 75% of revenue *surplus* tied to O&G
- 2020: declines in O&G accounted for 70% of projected revenue decline
- \$1 change in price of oil has a \$27 million impact
- Volatility and long-term decline put NM at risk

We must build our future on a broader, stronger foundation so that generations of kids can meet their full potential

## New Mexico's tax system is upside-down

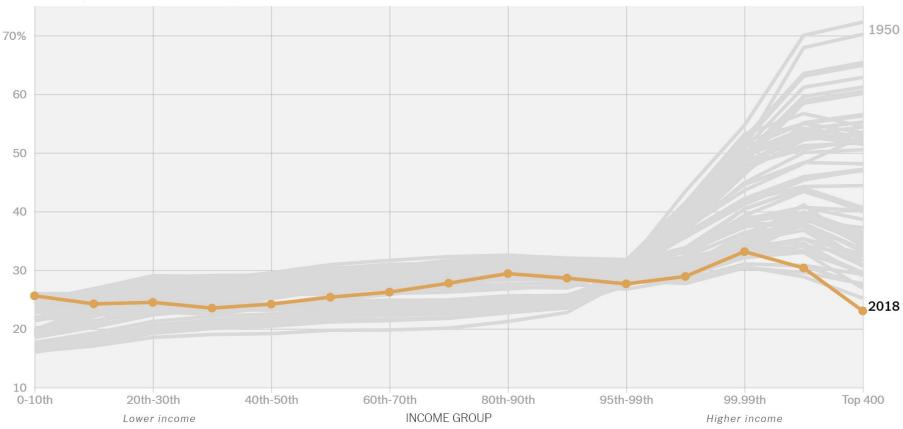
New Mexicans with the lowest incomes pay higher rates in state and local taxes (TY 2021)



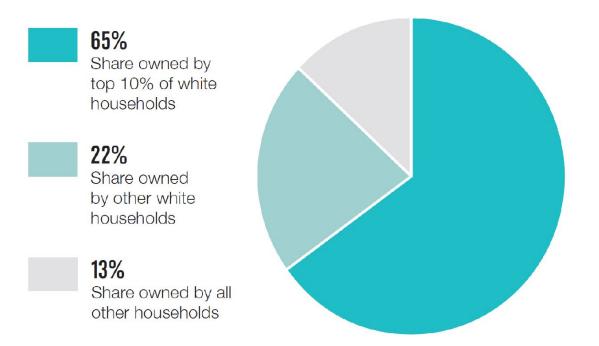
Source: W/ho Pays?, Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2018, updated in 2020 with income tax changes enacted in 2019

## Tax cuts at all levels have overwhelmingly favored the wealthiest residents

TOTAL TAX RATE (FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL)

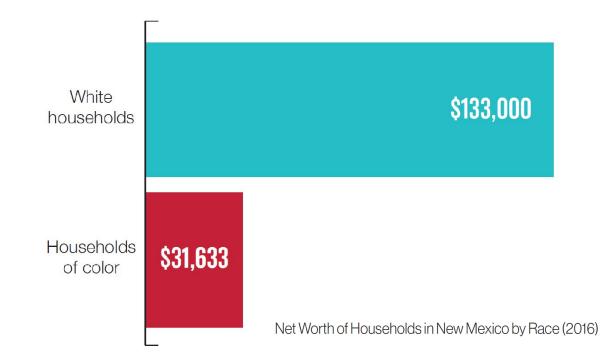


## Nearly 90% of US wealth is owned by white households



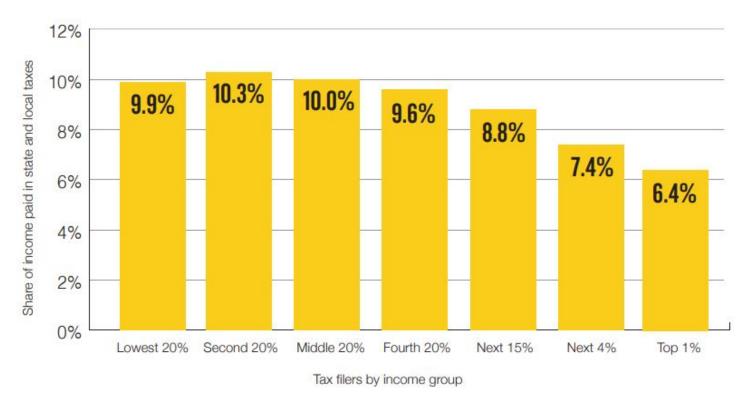
Source:Center on Budget and Policy Priorities' analysis of the Federal Reserve's Survey of Consumer Finances

# People of color in NM have had fewer opportunities to build wealth



## New Mexico's tax system is upside-down

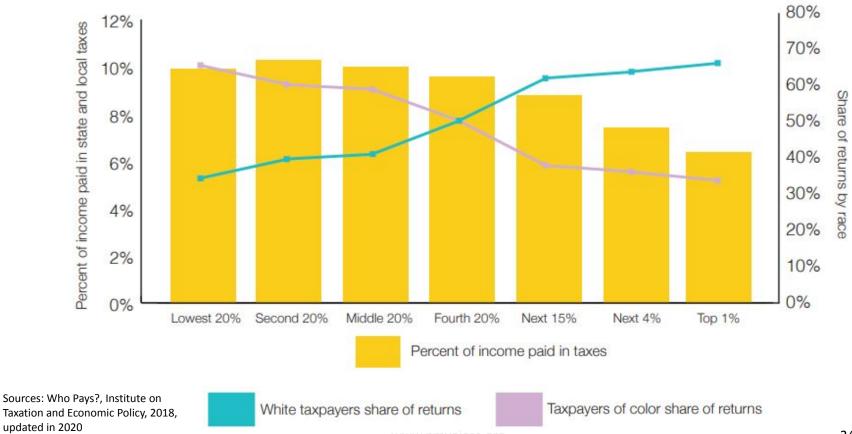
New Mexicans with the lowest incomes pay higher rates in state and local taxes (TY 2021)



Source: W/ho Pays?, Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2018, updated in 2020 with income tax changes enacted in 2019

## **Racial inequities persist in income distribution**

People of color are more likely to pay higher portions of their income in state and local taxes



# Progress is possible

# 2019-2021 tax credit changes supported families and improved equity

#### • 2019:

- 70% increase in the Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC)
- Tax cuts for 70% of NM families with children

#### • 2021

- Increased Working Families Tax Credit by 47%
- Expanded to new populations of workers: 10K ITIN filers; 41K young workers
- Indexed and tripled low-income tax rebate (LICTR)
- \$100 million+ more every year for families
- Benefiting more than 512,000 households
  - Including 260K parents and 56K seniors
- \$109 million in tax relief for essential workers

## **Federal Child Tax Credit impacts**

American Rescue Plan (ARPA) included temporary increase in the federal CTC

- \$3,000-\$3,600/child up to \$150,000
- Benefits 95% of NM children (450,000+ children)
- Most common expenditure: food
- ~\$700 million total
- Will lift 32,000 NM kids out of poverty

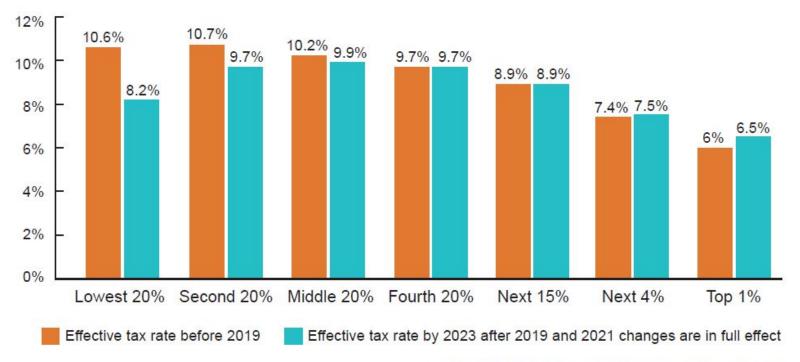
## 2019-2021 revenue improvements

#### • 2019:

- Higher rates for top 5% = more revenue, more fairness
- Increased revenue from internet sales and multi-state corporations
- 2021: income tax revenue provisions did not pass
  - Ensure top earners & big corps pay their fair share
  - Repeal tax break for high earners
  - House tax package (HB 291) passed both tax committees and full House then revenue amended out
- **2021:** health insurance premium tax raises revenue, supports health care affordability, keeps NM in line with federal guidelines
- 2019-2021: many costly, regressive cuts for wealthy and big corps defeated

## This progress has made our tax code more fair

The share of income paid in state and local taxes (income, sales, excise, and property) by income quintile (2018-2023)



Source: Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, July 2021 NEW MEXICO VOICES FOR CHILDREN

## NM tax policy has progressed in important ways

More racially and ethnically equitable
Better for families
More progressive
More and more diversified revenue streams

## Where do we go from here?

## Tax policy recommendations

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Improving tax credits for families will drive economic recovery, improve equity, and support child well-being.

## **Child Tax Credit**

- New tax credit of up to \$175 per child
- Linked to improvements in health, education, & economic outcomes
- 75% would go to families of color
- Would directly address child poverty
- Cost: \$67 million

## Supported by 72% NM voters

Stable, sustainable, and diversified revenue builds the foundation for a stronger New Mexico.

## The issues with cutting SS taxes

- Costly: \$100m less for other programs
- Exempting Social Security income would benefit higher-income seniors
  - 87% of the value to those making more than \$50,000
  - 66% of the value to those making more than \$75,000
  - Most to top 20% of income earners
- NM should promote growth by investing in young families
  - Population under 24 yrs is down; population 65 yrs+ is up 39%
  - Child poverty is twice the level of seniors in poverty
- Low-income seniors biggest beneficiaries of LICTR increase
  - 56,000 seniors tax received a tax cut with HB291

## **Personal income taxes**

#### Issues

- 2003 personal income tax cuts of more than \$500 million
- Capital gains deduction unproven, costly, inequitable
- NM's PIT is significantly underutilized as compared to other states

## **Revenue options**

Raise rates at high ends

### Supported by 70% of NM voters

## The capital gains deduction

#### Issues

- Income that an investor gets when selling an asset at a profit
- Overwhelmingly benefits the wealthiest taxpayers
- One of only 9 states that allows this deduction for all types of capital gains income
- An unproven and costly tax giveaway

A STRANDALLY

### **Revenue Options**

Repeal the capital gains deduction (\$50m +)

## **Corporate income taxes**

#### Issues

- Corporations should be responsible for paying their fair share for use of NM's land, water, roads, & services
- Lower rate than national average
- Major cuts at state level in 2013 and federal level in 2017

#### **Revenue** options

Raise rates for more profitable corporations

### Supported by 63% of NM voters

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## The GRT

#### Issues

- Regressive & complicated
- Rates have increased, especially in some localities
- E&Y study: taxpayers are treated differently; big business benefits the most

#### Recommendations

- Broaden the base by repealing ineffective breaks
- Lower state rate
- Don't tax food

## **Other revenue options**

- Wealth taxes
- Alcohol taxes
- Tobacco taxes
- Motor Vehicle Excise Tax
- Property taxes (2nd residence?)
- Graduated real estate transfer tax
- Increase severance taxes on resource extraction (royalty payments)

## Thank you!

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