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Joel Johnson

Maine Center for Economic Policy, jjohnson@mecep.org

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The Distributional Effects of Recent Changes to Maine's Tax System

By Joel Johnson

Joel Johnson argues that both classical economic theory and recent empirical research support the notion that taxes should be progressive—with the wealthiest citizens paying a larger share of their income in taxes than the middle class, and the middle class paying a larger share than the poor. He notes that like every other state in the U.S., Maine's state and local tax system is not progressive, or even proportional with respect to income, but regressive. In this article, Johnson summarizes recent changes to Maine's income, sales, and property taxes that he argues have made the state and local tax system more regressive.

Rooted in the principles of classical economics is the notion that taxes should be progressive: that the wealthiest citizens should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than the middle class, and the middle class should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than the poorest. Empirical research supports this idea, showing that progressive tax systems are linked to greater economic mobility and economic opportunity for low-income residents. Yet, no state in the U.S. has a progressive system of state and local taxes. In the past few years, lawmakers in a dozen states, including Maine, have pushed for policies that would make their state and local tax systems less equitable to low- and middle-income residents. This article summarizes recent changes to income, sales, and property taxes that have made Maine's state and local tax system more regressive over the past few years.

BACKGROUND

Adam Smith is well known for explaining how individuals acting in their own self-interest and within the bounds of the law put resources to their most productive uses and promote the interests of society as a whole. He is less well known for his thoughts on how rich and poor should pay taxes to support the state. In *Book Five of The Wealth of Nations*, Smith (1904, V.2.25) established the minimum standard for fair taxes, arguing that citizens should pay taxes "in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state." He went further with his prescription for fair taxation, invoking the problem of inequality between rich and poor and arguing that "it is not very unreasonable that the rich should contribute to the public expense, not only in proportion to their revenue, but something more than in that proportion" (Smith 1905, V.2.71). Adam Smith was making an early argument for progressive income taxes.

Smith's basic thoughts on fairness in taxation built the foundation for deeper insights by modern classical economists such as Alfred Marshall, who demonstrated that progressive taxation is preferable to proportional taxation because of the difference in the value of a marginal dollar to low- and high-income individuals. In *Principles of Economics*, Marshall (1920: 19) wrote:

> A rich man in doubt whether to spend a shilling on a single cigar, is weighing against one another smaller pleasures than a poor man, who is doubting whether to spend a shilling on a supply of tobacco that will last him for a month. The clerk with £100 a-year will walk to business in a much heavier rain than the clerk with £300 a-year; for the cost of a ride by tram or omnibus measures a greater benefit to the poorer man than to the richer. If the poorer man spends the money, he will suffer more from the want of it afterwards than the richer would. The benefit that is measured in the poorer man's mind by the cost is greater than that measured by it in the richer man's mind.

Marshall made the case for progressive taxation on purely theoretical grounds: an extra dollar in the pocket

is worth less to a rich individual than it is to a poor individual. By definition, progressive taxes reduce after-tax income inequality. Recent empirical work also shows that progressive taxes are linked to greater economic opportunity for children born into poor families (Chetty et al. 2013).

STATE AND LOCAL TAX SYSTEMS IN MAINE AND THE U.S.

As stated earlier, no state in the U.S. has a progressive state or local tax system. In fact, no state even has a system that meets Adam Smith's basic standard of fairness—that residents should pay taxes proportional with their income. In every state, the poorest residents pay a larger share of their income in state and local taxes than the richest do. Across the U.S. as a whole, the poorest 20 percent of non-elderly residents pay twice as much of their income in state and local taxes than the richest 1 percent (Figure 1) (Davis et al. 2013).

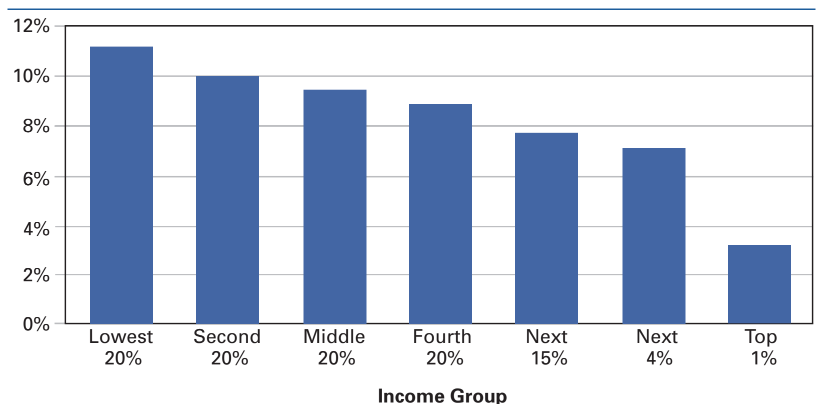
State and local tax systems across the U.S. are regressive because of their heavy reliance on sales taxes (including excise taxes) and property taxes and relatively light reliance on income taxes. Across all U.S. states and municipalities as a whole, sales and property taxes account for two-thirds of state and local tax revenue, while personal and corporate income taxes account for one-quarter (Barnett and Vidal 2013). The remainder of state and local tax revenue comes from a variety of other taxes, including significant natural resource extraction taxes in states such as Alaska and Texas.

By definition, only income taxes can be collected "in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state" as Smith prescribed. Taxes on income apply to every dollar earned by residents, whereas sales and property taxes only apply to dollars spent on certain categories of goods and services that residents buy, including housing.[1] Since lower-income residents spend a greater share of their income on taxable consumption (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013), sales and property taxes disproportionately fall on them.

There is considerable variation in taxation systems across states. Washington, for example, is one of seven states that levy no personal income tax (two additional states levy personal income taxes only on dividends and interest income). It relies heavily on sales tax revenue to make up the difference, raising more than 60 percent of its total tax revenue from a 6 percent tax on retail sales that applies to a wide variety of goods and services. As a result, the poorest 20 percent of Washington residents pay 16.9 percent of their income in state and local taxes, while the richest 1 percent of Washington residents pay 2.8 percent of their income in state and local taxes (Davis et al. 2013). California, in contrast, has one of the most progressive personal income tax systems in the nation, which generates over 32 percent of California state and local tax revenue (U.S. Census Bureau 2013) and thus reduces the state's reliance on sales and excise taxes. As a result, California is the only state in the nation where middle-income residents pay a lower effective tax rate than high-income residents.

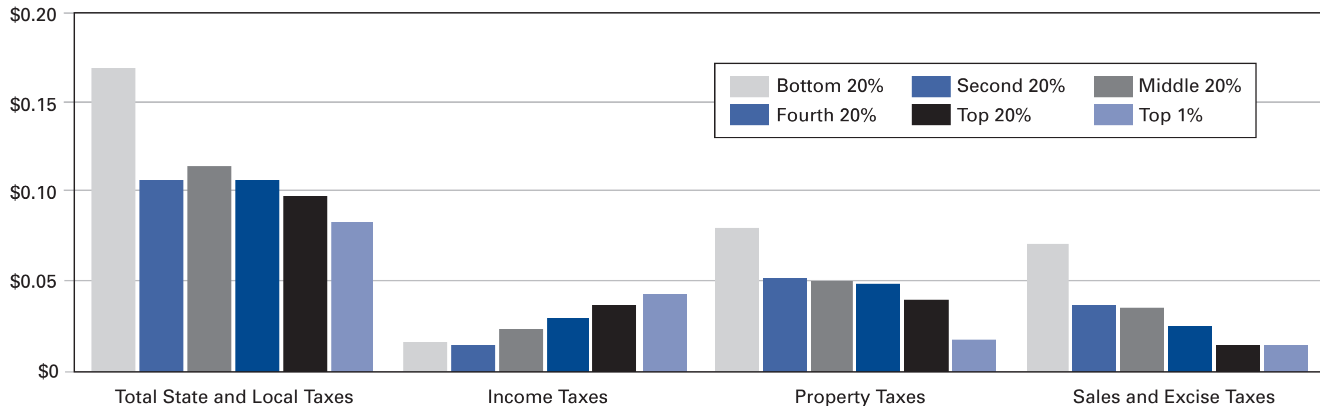
Maine's state and local tax system is also regressive, albeit slightly less so than most other states, owing to the state's greater reliance on income taxes and lesser reliance on sales taxes. Although Maine relies relatively heavily on property taxes to fund schools, transportation, public safety, and other basic services, it has historically used a modest package of credits and exemptions that lessen the burden on low-income residents. Comprehensive state and local tax incidence data for 2013 will not be available until late 2015, but major changes to Maine's state and local tax system that took effect this year have likely made it more regressive. For example, targeted property tax relief for low-income Maine residents was eliminated in 2013 and significantly reduced in subsequent years.

FIGURE 1: **Total State and Local Taxes Imposed on Non-elderly Residents, as Shares of 2010 Income**



Source: Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2013

FIGURE 2: **Maine State and Local Taxes Per Dollar of Income by Income Group, 2009**



Source: Maine Revenue Services, 2011

This section provides an overview of Maine's tax system prior to those changes.

In 2009, the latest year for which comprehensive tax incidence data is available from Maine Revenue Services, the poorest 20 percent of Maine residents paid 17 cents in state and local taxes for every dollar they earn, while the richest 1 percent paid a little more than eight cents (Allen 2011).[2]

As shown in Figure 2, Maine's income tax is progressive: it costs high-income Mainers about four cents of every dollar they earn, while it costs low-income Mainers less than two cents per dollar earned. Property and sales taxes, in contrast, take a larger share of the income of low- and middle-income residents. Since the income tax only accounted for 28 percent of Maine's total state and local tax revenue in 2009 (Allen 2011), Maine's overall state and local tax system was regressive.

Instead of strengthening personal and corporate income taxes and reducing reliance on sales and property taxes, lawmakers in more than a dozen states in the past few years have pushed for income tax cuts and/or sales tax increases. In 2012 and 2013, income tax cuts were enacted in Oklahoma, Indiana, Wisconsin, North Dakota, North Carolina, Arkansas, Ohio, and Kansas. In most of these states, lawmakers have increased sales taxes, cut spending, drawn down reserve funds, or passed costs on to local municipalities to pay for the income tax cuts.

In Missouri, Nebraska, and Louisiana, plans to eliminate or sharply cut state income taxes and replace the lost revenue with sales tax increases gained serious traction with governors or legislatures before failing to become law. A bipartisan group of legislators in Maine dubbed the "Gang of Eleven" signed onto a tax reform plan that would cut income tax rates, eliminate most income tax exemptions and deductions, raise sales tax rates and expand sales taxes to a broad array of goods and services. (See Woodbury, this issue.)

Although none of these comprehensive "tax swap" proposals have become law, neither are they disappearing. Lawmakers in Georgia will push to cut income taxes or eliminate them entirely in 2014, according to an article by Jay Bookman in the June 22, 2013, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. In Louisiana, according to an article by Jeff Adelson in the April 8, 2013, *Times-Picayune*, although Governor Jindal temporarily abandoned his plan to eliminate his state's personal income tax in 2013, he remains supportive of the idea and has called on legislators to come up with their own plan to eliminate the income tax. The push to cut or eliminate state income taxes has found support in Maine, too. In addition to the proposal from the Gang of Eleven, an article by Matthew Stone in the *Bangor Daily News* on May 20, 2013, describes Governor Paul LePage's own tax reform agenda: to eliminate the state's income tax entirely.

The plans of Gov. LePage and the Gang of Eleven have not become reality, but that hasn't stopped Maine lawmakers from enacting major changes to Maine's tax system over the past three years that have effectively moved it toward a greater reliance on sales and property taxes and less reliance on income taxes.

RECENT CHANGES TO MAINE'S STATE AND LOCAL TAX SYSTEM

Beginning in 2011, Maine policymakers enacted a variety of significant changes to the state's tax system. In 2011 and 2012, they enacted $408 million in income and estate tax cuts at a time when temporary federal support from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) was mostly expired and inflation-adjusted state general fund revenue was still significantly below prerecession levels. The majority of the benefits of these tax cuts accrued to relatively high-income Maine residents.

In 2013, Maine lawmakers passed budget legislation that included temporary sales tax increases, cuts to targeted property tax-relief programs, large reductions in state revenue sharing with municipalities, and other tax-related provisions to make up for the $408 million reduction in state revenue. The revenue sharing cuts leave municipalities with the choice of cutting spending or raising property taxes to make up the difference.

Income and Estate Tax Cuts Enacted in 2011 and 2012

In 2011 and 2012, the 125th Legislature and Gov. LePage made significant changes to taxes on income, including retirement income. In 2011, lawmakers overhauled the state's personal income tax rate and bracket structure (Table 1). In 2012, lawmakers increased from $6,000 to $10,000 the amount of retirement income that can be subtracted from taxable income, and expanded the definition of retirement income in this context to include income from annuities and individual retirement accounts (IRAs).

The state's income tax system became slightly more progressive as a result of these income tax changes, with the share of income tax revenue generated from the top 10 percent of Maine income taxpayers increasing from approximately 55 percent to 57 percent of the total, and the share of income tax revenue generated from the bottom 90 percent of Maine taxpayers decreasing slightly (Table 2). However, most of the direct benefits of these income tax cuts accrued to relatively high-income Maine families. In 2014, 60 percent of the benefits of these tax cuts will accrue to the highest-income 20 percent of Maine families—those with incomes of more than $86,789 per year. Forty percent will accrue to the highest-income 10 percent of Maine families—those with incomes of more than $120,622 per year. In contrast, 17 percent of the benefits will accrue to the lowest-income 60 percent of Maine families—those with incomes of less than $52,520 per year (Table 2).

In addition to the income tax cuts (including the 2012 pension tax cut), the 125th Legislature reduced Maine's estate tax by increasing the "exclusion amount"—the portion of the value of an estate exempt from the tax—from $1 million to $2 million, and changing the graduated rate and bracket structure. According to Michael J. Allen of Maine Revenue Services (personal communication) approximately 600 estates are affected by these changes. The estate tax changes reduce state general fund revenue by approximately $51 million over the two-year period that began in July 2013. Taken together, the income and estate tax changes enacted by the 125th Legislature in 2011 and 2012 are expected to reduce state general fund revenue in the two-year period that began in July 2013 by approximately $408 million (Maine State Legislature, Office of Fiscal and Program Review 2013).

Tax Increases and Cost Shifts to Property Taxpayers Enacted in 2013

In June 2013, state lawmakers passed a budget for the two-year period beginning July 1, 2013. This was challenging considering the state's budget situation. As a result of Maine's slow economic recovery from the recession of 2007–2009 and the 2011–2012 income and estate tax cuts, inflation-adjusted general fund revenue was forecast to be lower than in any two-year budget period since end of fiscal year 1997.[3] According to an October 2, 2012, article by Matthew Stone in

TABLE 1: **Maine Income Tax Brackets and Rates Before and After 2011 Income Tax Cuts Take Effect**

2012 (Before)		2013 (After)	
Tax Bracket	Rate	Tax Bracket	Rate
$0 – $5,100	2%	$0 – $5,200	0%
$5,100 – $10,500	4.5%	$5,200 – $20,900	6.5%
$10,500 – $20,350	7%		
$20,350 or more	8.5%	$20,900 or more	7.95%

Source: Maine Revenue Services

TABLE 2: **The Estimated Distributional Effects of Maine's 2011 and 2012 Income Tax Cuts in 2014**

Expanded Income	Income Group	Before Tax Cuts		After Tax Cuts		Change in Tax Liability ($ Millions)	Percent Tax Change	Average Tax Change	Share of income tax reduction (Percent)
		Individual Tax Liability ($ Millions)	Percentage Distribution	Individual Tax Liability ($ Millions)	Percentage Distribution				
0 – $18,139	Bottom 20%	$2.2	0.2	$0.4	0.0	($1.9)	-83.6	($14)	1.1
$18,139 – $25,053	20-30%	$9.4	0.6	$7	0.5	($2.6)	-27.1	($38)	1.4
$25,053 – $32,884	30-40%	$24.4	1.7	$19	1.5	($5.2)	-21.4	($77)	2.9
$32,884 – $41,390	40-50%	$42.6	2.9	$34	2.7	($8.4)	-19.7	($124)	4.7
$41,390 – $52,520	50-60%	$67.9	4.6	$56	4.3	($12.2)	-17.9	($180)	6.8
$52,520 – $66,981	60-70%	$100.9	6.9	$84	6.5	($16.9)	-16.7	($249)	9.5
$66,981 – $86,789	70-80%	$154.9	10.5	$131	10.1	($24.2)	-15.6	($357)	13.6
$86,789 – $120,622	80-90%	$260.9	17.8	$226	17.5	($34.7)	-13.3	($513)	19.5
$120,622 or more	Top 10%	$806.5	54.9	$734	56.9	($72.1)	-8.9	($1,065)	40.5
TOTAL		**$1,469.7**	**100.0**	**$1,292**	**100.0**	**($178.1)**	**-12.1**	**($263)**	**100.0**
$120,622 – $159,497	90-95%	$207.2	14.1	$184	14.2	($23.7)	-11.5	($701)	13.3
$159,497 – $325,974	95-99%	$289.0	19.7	$261	20.2	($27.9)	-9.7	($1,031)	15.7
$325,974 – or more	Top 1%	$310.3	21.1	$290	22.4	($20.5)	-6.6	($3,021)	11.5

Source: Maine Revenue Services Office of Tax Policy

the *Bangor Daily News*, the state's finance department estimated in September of 2012 that the state faced a $756 million structural budget gap (see sidebar). After two subsequent downward revisions to the state's general fund revenue forecast in December 2012 and May 2013, the structural budget gap increased to $939 million, with $408 million due to the recent income and estate tax cuts.

Accounting for all of the budget provisions lawmakers enacted to close the gap is beyond the scope of this analysis. Keeping with routine established over the past eight years, the legislature was able to significantly reduce the budget gap on the expenditure side of the general fund balance sheet by maintaining or slightly increasing current funding levels instead of meeting funding levels required by statute. However, lawmakers closed nearly half of the two-year structural budget gap ($448 million) using a variety of tax changes and cost shifts to municipalities and property taxpayers (Table 3).

Structural Budget Gap

The structural budget gap is the estimated difference between projected general fund expenditures and projected general fund revenues. The projected expenditures are based on current law, not current policy. For example, current law says that the state must pay for 55 percent of the cost of K–12 education, but state lawmakers have consistently enacted two-year budget legislation that nullifies this obligation and allows the state to fund K–12 education at lower levels.

Sales Tax Increases

The most prominent of the tax changes shown in Table 3 are the temporary sales tax increases, which took effect on October 1, 2013, and are scheduled to expire on June 30, 2015. The general sales tax rate increased from 5 percent to 5.5 percent, and the tax on meals and lodging increased from 7 percent to 8 percent. The

general sales tax was also expanded to include newspapers, magazines, and other "short interval" publications, such as *Uncle Henry's*. Together, these temporary sales tax increases raise approximately $190 million over the FY 2014–2015 biennium. Since sales taxes disproportionately fall on low- and middle-income residents, these tax increases will fall disproportionately on those taxpayers. For a typical family, these tax increases will offset a significant portion of the benefits they received from the income and estate tax cuts enacted in 2011. For example, a typical family with annual income of $40,000 to $50,000 will pay approximately $50 more per year in taxes on household goods and restaurant meals.[4] Compare that with an average income tax cut of $180 for families in roughly the same income bracket.

Income Tax Changes

The FY 2014–2015 biennial budget also contains significant income tax changes, including a package of changes that updates Maine's tax code to reflect recent changes in the federal code, a cap on itemized deductions, and changes to the way income tax bracket thresholds are adjusted for inflation (Table 3).

With the passage of the American Taxpayer Relief Act early in January 2013, the federal tax code changed significantly. Since Maine's income tax system is based largely on the federal system—Maine's income tax calculation starts with federal adjusted gross income—Maine lawmakers must decide to what extent they want to conform Maine's tax code to changes in the federal code. In 2013, Maine mostly conformed to the changes in the federal code that occurred in January, resulting in a $63 million tax cut for Maine income taxpayers over the two-year period. To pay for this tax cut, lawmakers raised a projected $65 million by imposing a cap of $27,500 on the value of itemized deductions that Maine taxpayers can claim on their income tax returns. Only the very highest earners who claim more than $27,500 in itemized deductions will be affected by the cap. The net effect of these two changes is a general fund revenue increase of less than $2 million dollars and a slightly more progressive income tax system. The share of state personal income taxes paid by the top 10 percent of taxpayers increases from 57 percent to just over 58 percent, while the share for the remainder of Maine taxpayers—those with incomes below $119,000—declines. In 2014, the average tax cut for the median Maine tax family—those with approximately $41,000 in annual income—is estimated to be between $8 and $23, while the average tax increase for the top 1 percent—those with incomes over $324,000—is estimated to be $1,483 (Maine Revenue Services 2013).

In addition to the federal conformity provisions and the deductions cap, lawmakers included in the budget subtle changes to the way thresholds in income tax brackets are adjusted for inflation. Under the old law, Maine's income-tax-bracket thresholds automatically rose with inflation as measured by the Consumer Price Index. Under the new law, there will no adjustment for inflation in tax years 2014 and 2015, and when the automatic adjustment for inflation resumes in 2016, it will be based on the Chained Consumer Price Index instead of the standard Consumer Price Index. These changes result in a small regressive tax increase as more income falls into higher tax brackets. The share of total state personal income taxes raised from the highest-income 10 percent

TABLE 3: **Summary of Major Tax Changes and Cost Shifts to Municipalities in FY 2014–15 General Fund Biennial Budget**

Policy Change	Total Fiscal Impact on State General Fund in FY 2014 and 2015 ($)
Temporary increase in sales tax from 5% to 5.5%	135,207,846
Temporary increase in meals and lodging tax from 7% to 8%	48,046,400
Elimination of sales tax exemption for newspapers and magazines	6,764,800
Conformity with federal tax code	-63,150,880
$27,500 cap on itemized deductions	65,051,000
Two-year suspension of the inflation adjustment for income tax brackets and switch to chained CPI upon resumption in 2016	9,120,000
Elimination of Maine Residents Property Tax and Rent Relief Program and enactment of Property Tax Fairness Credit	47,226,779
Business Equipment Tax Reimbursement (BETR) Cut	12,015,000
Cuts in routine state aid to municipalities (Municipal Revenue Sharing)	59,255,637
Teacher retirement cost shift to municipalities	29,404,285
Total	**448,940,867**

Sources: Maine Legislature, Office of Fiscal and Program Review; and Maine Treasurer's Office

of Mainers will fall slightly and the share of income taxes raised from middle- and upper-middle-income Mainers will increase slightly—a statewide average two-year tax increase of approximately $24 (Allen, personal communication). According to the author's calculations based on the Maine Consensus Economic Forecasting Commission's inflation forecast, the two-year suspension of inflation indexing will result in a two-year tax increase of approximately $34 for a Maine family with taxable income of more than $20,900.

Cuts to Property Tax Relief and Cost Shifts to Municipalities

The legislature found an additional $248 million to balance the budget by eliminating property tax relief for businesses and low- and middle-income households, shifting costs for teacher pensions onto municipalities, and cutting state-municipal revenue sharing.

A long-standing property tax relief program targeted at low- and middle-income Maine residents called the Maine Residents Property Tax and Rent Relief Program, also known as the "Circuit Breaker," was eliminated and replaced with the Property Tax Fairness Credit, which low- and middle-income residents with extremely high property tax and rent bills can claim on their income tax returns. Since the Property Tax Fairness Credit has much stricter eligibility criteria and a significantly less generous formula for calculating benefits, many low- and middle-income Maine families will see large reductions in property tax relief as a result of this change. The maximum refund under the old Circuit Breaker program was $2,000, compared to $300 ($400 for seniors) under the new Property Tax Fairness Credit. Under the Circuit Breaker, Maine residents with incomes below $64,950 ($86,600 for multi-person households) whose property tax bill (or 20 percent of their rent) exceeded 4 percent of their income were eligible for a refund up to $2,000 by filing a stand-alone application. Under the Property Tax Fairness Credit, Maine residents with incomes below $40,000 (regardless of household size) whose property tax bill (or 25 percent of their rent) exceeds 10 percent of their income are eligible for a refund up to $300 ($400 for seniors) by filing an income tax return. The average refund under the new program will be much smaller than the $492 average Circuit Breaker refund, but the new program will likely affect more people since the application system is now integrated with the income tax-filing system. Circuit Breaker participation statistics from Maine Revenue Services' Office of Tax Policy show that approximately 90,000 low- and middle-income Maine households received Circuit Breaker refunds for property taxes paid in 2010, the most recent year for which data are available. Those 90,000 households will collectively lose at least $47 million in property tax relief over the two-year budget period that began in July 2013 (Table 3).

Lawmakers also made across-the-board cuts to property tax refunds issued through the Business Equipment Property Tax Relief Program (BETR), which reimburses businesses for taxes paid on eligible business equipment. BETR is a progressive property tax relief program since it disproportionately benefits low- and middle-income taxpayers (Allen 2011). The Legislature cut BETR by 10 percent in FY 2014 and 20 percent in FY 2015, saving a total of $12 million over the current biennium (Table 3). Furthermore, lawmakers shifted approximately $189 million in costs onto local property taxpayers by eliminating $159 million in state-municipal revenue sharing and by forcing local municipalities to pay half the cost (approximately $14.5 million per year) of retirement for public K–12 school teachers (Table 3). Municipalities have the choice of absorbing these new costs by cutting funding for municipal operations and services or by raising property taxes. (See Shaw this issue, for further discussion of municipal responses to state revenue reductions.)

CONCLUSION

Over the past three years, Maine lawmakers have made Maine's state and local tax system more reliant on sales and property taxes and less reliant on income taxes. The income tax cuts passed in 2011 and 2012 were slightly progressive when viewed in isolation, but the estate tax cut passed in 2011 was not. More importantly, lawmakers then filled the $408 million hole that the income and estate tax cuts created in the state's general fund balance sheet by eliminating property tax relief for low- and moderate-income households, raising sales taxes, and shifting costs to municipalities, which will inevitably result in higher property taxes in many towns and cities across the state. These changes have likely made Maine's tax system more regressive than it was in 2009, the latest year for which a comprehensive distributional analysis from Maine Revenue Services is available.

How taxes affect different income groups—what economists call "vertical equity"—is just one of several

criteria with which to evaluate a state and local tax system. Tax systems can also be judged on how simple they are to administer and comply with, to what degree they affect the decisions of businesses and households, by how much revenue they raise to provide public services to businesses and households, and by the extent to which that revenue stream grows and shrinks over the course of the business cycle. Evaluation of Maine's recent tax changes on all of these criteria is beyond the scope of this article, but state policymakers should strive for a state and local tax system that is progressive—or at least proportional with respect to income. By shifting some of the costs of providing public services to the high end of the income distribution, Maine can create a state and local tax system that fills the prescriptions of Adam Smith and Alfred Marshall while simultaneously promoting greater economic opportunity for low-income and middle-income residents.

ENDNOTES

1. Renters pay property taxes indirectly through their landlords.
2. Because of differences in methodology and source data, Maine Revenue Services tax incidence analysis should not be compared to the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy's (Davis et al. 2013) tax incidence analysis of other states and the nation.
3. Based on author's analysis using historical revenue data from the Maine Legislature, Office of Fiscal and Program Review, the December 2012 report of the Maine State Revenue Forecasting Committee, and the Consumer Price Index (CPI-U, all items) from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
4. Based on author's analysis using 2012 Consumer Expenditure Survey data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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Joel Johnson is an economist at the Maine Center for Economic Policy. He serves on the Maine Consensus Economic Forecasting Commission and previously served as an economist at the Maine State Planning Office. He holds an M.S. in Resource Economics and Policy from the University of Maine.