The state budget debate in lowa: Tax cuts for the rich and famous, budget cuts for the rest of us?

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What is at Stake?



What Public Services and Structures do you use?

- Taking your children to libraries
- Enjoying parks & trails with friends
- Safely eating at a restaurant
- Driving, biking, walking on roads and highways
- Drinking clean water
- Living in safe neighborhoods
- Knowing that if you fall on hard times, your children won't go without health care
- Knowing that your doctor is competent
- Educating our children and the future workforce



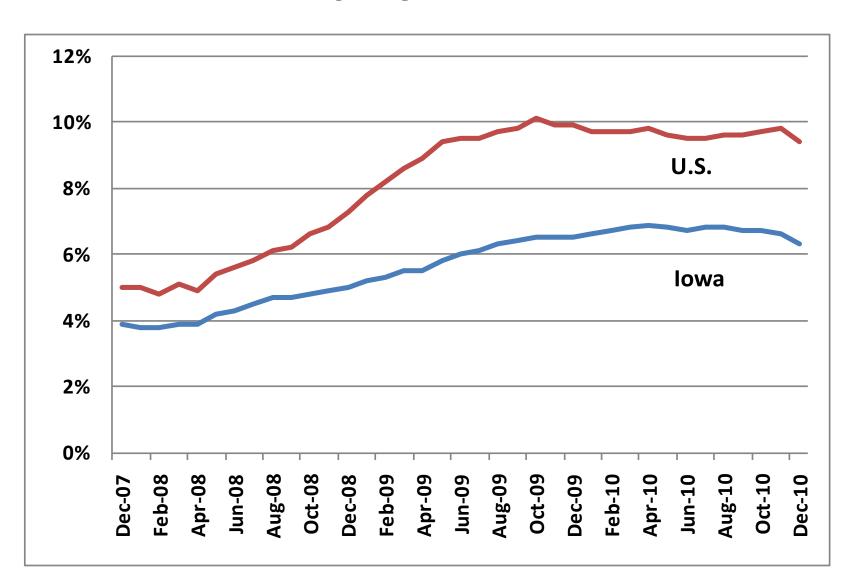
Setting the Stage for the Budget Debate

- We have a deep fiscal crisis, cuts are unavoidable
- Government spending has been growing out of control
- Taxes have been rising and are too high
- Business taxes are uncompetitive
- Public employees are overcompensated

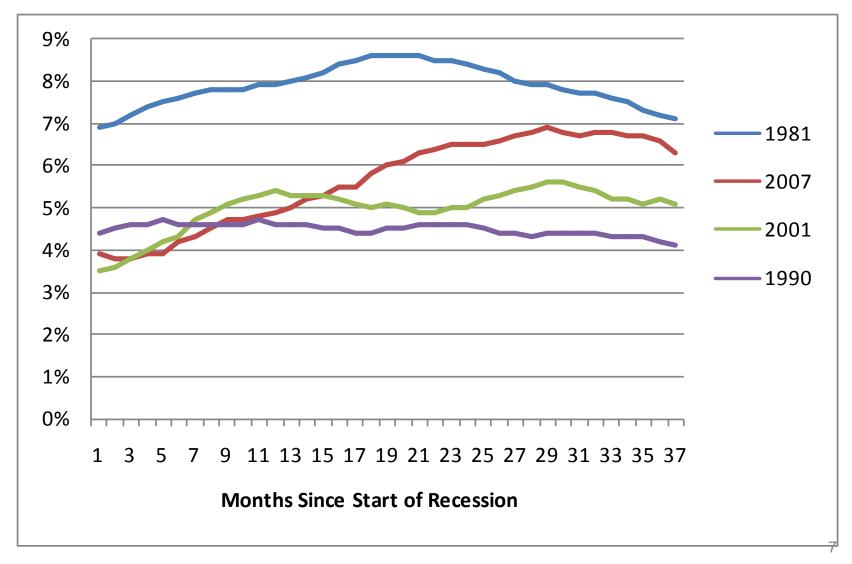
The Great Recession and the Myth of a Fiscal Crisis



Iowa Unemployment Lower than US

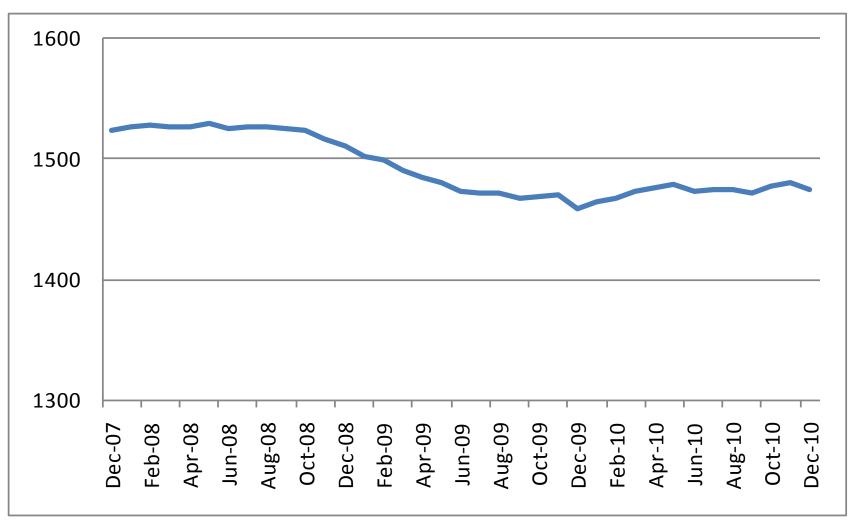


Last 4 Recessions: Unemployment Rate in Iowa





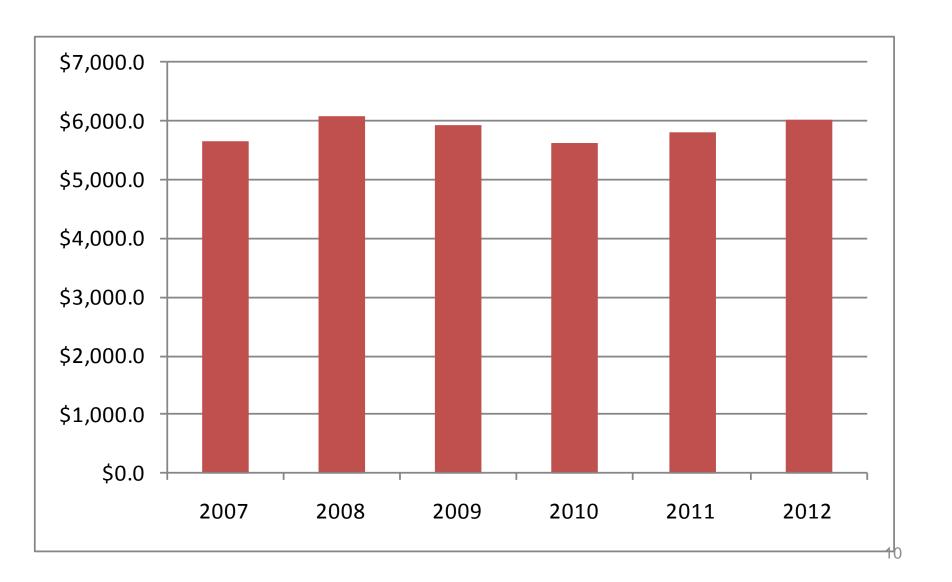
Non-farm Employment Slow to Recover: Dec. '07 – Dec. '10



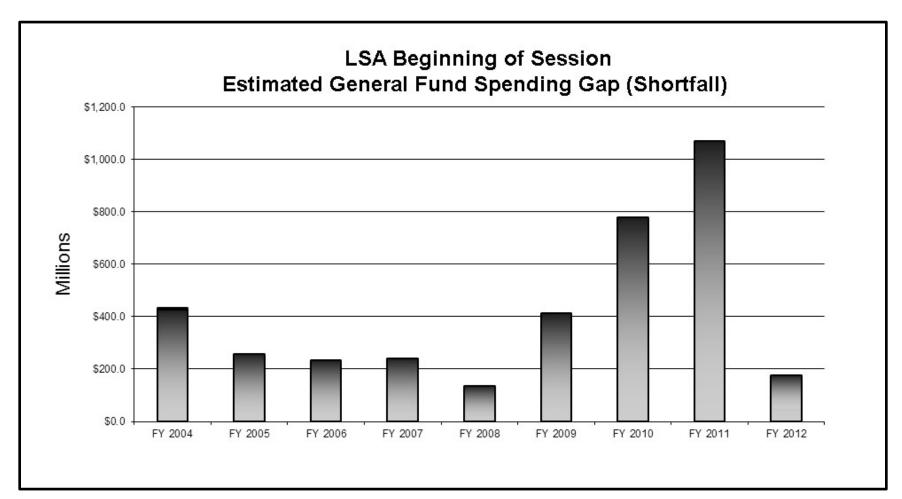
So How Bad is the State's Fiscal Situation? \$700 million shortfall? \$900 million surplus?



General Fund Revenue 2007-12



Budget Gap is 2nd SMALLEST in past 9 years





Projected Spending: FY2012 \$6.56 billion

Current (FY2011) appropriations	5,279.1
Built-in and anticipated increases	1,282.2
FY 2012 "Constant Services Budget"	6,561.3



FY2012 Shortfall: Version 1 \$590 million, or 9% of Spending

Shortfall	(590.3)
Less: Projected Spending	6,561.3
Funds available with expenditure limit	5,971.0
Estimated Receipts (December)	6,031.3



Shortfall: Current Best Estimates \$100 million, or 1.5% of Spending

Shortfall	(100.5)
Less: Projected Spending	6,561.3
Total Funds Available	6,460.8
FY 11 year-end balance to general fund	391.4
Adjustment for IRC updates	(57.7)
Funds available with expenditure limit	6,127.0
Estimated Receipts (March)	6,188.9



And: The Rainy Day Funds are Full

(Millions of \$)

Funds Capped at 10% of FY12 Revenues

Shortfall 100.5

Rainy Day Funds 618.9

Shortfall as a percent of rainy day funds 16%



Other Options to Eliminate the Shortfall

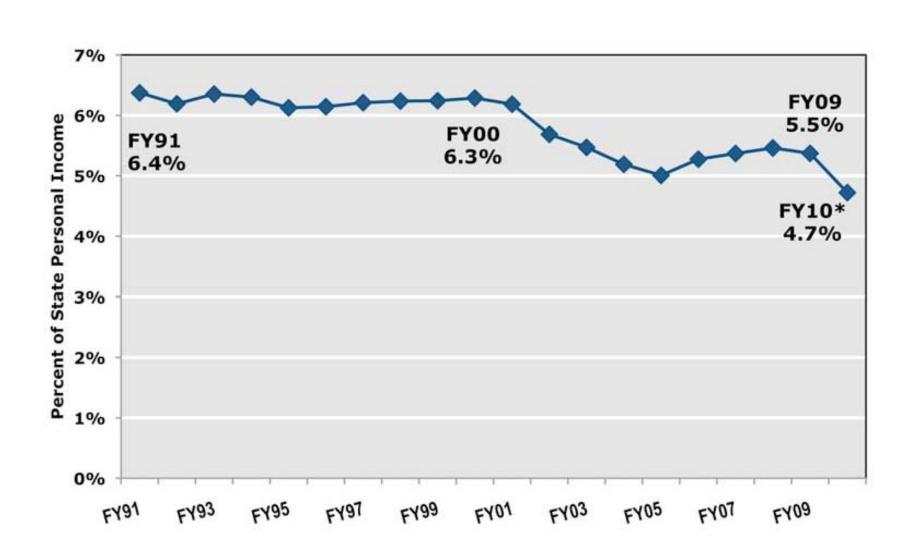
Fund employee compensation increases from within existing budget \$103.5 million

Adopting 2011 budget year practices on property tax replacement, preschool, and the Iowa Power Fund \$80 million

The Leviathan Myth

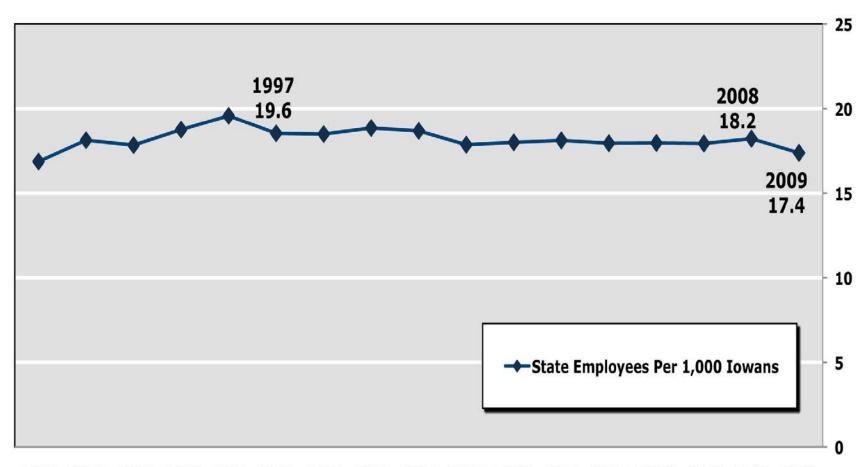


State Spending has Decreased as a Percent of Personal Income



Public Employment has been Stable

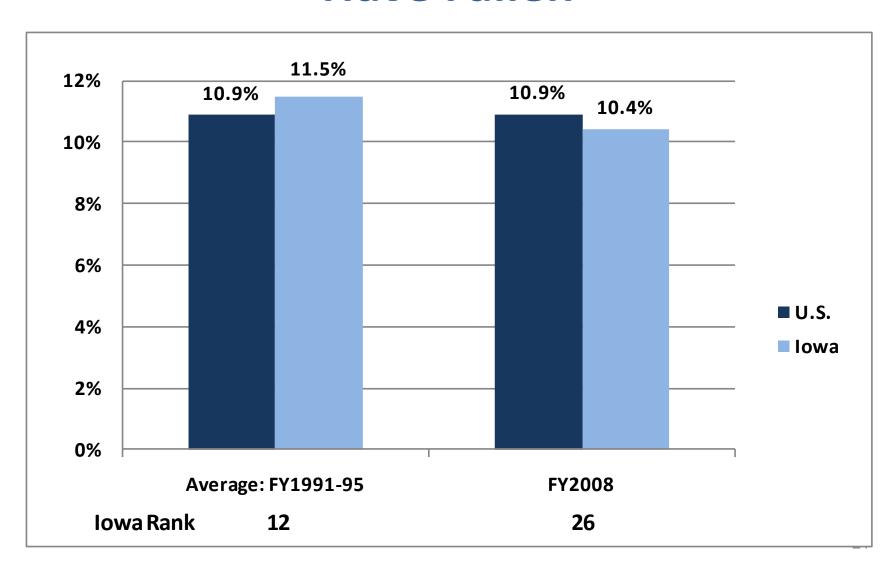
Figure 3. Number of State Employees Per Thousand Iowans Has Held Steady



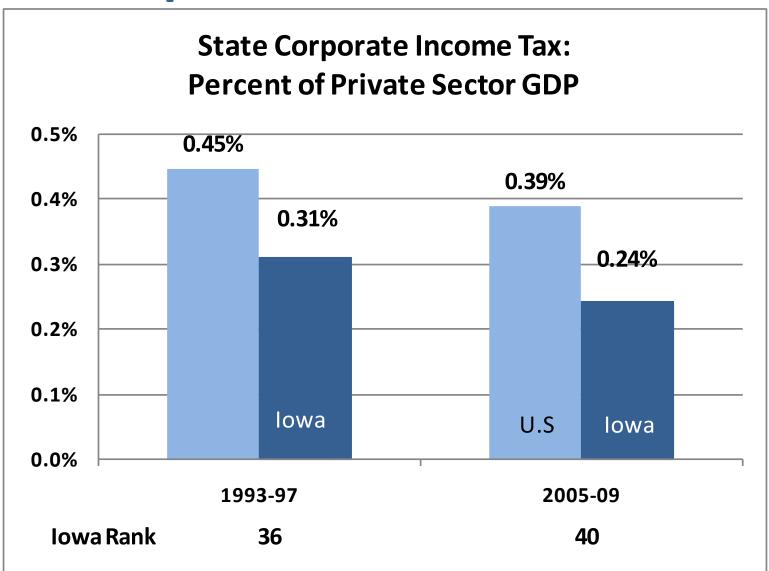
1992 1993 1994 1995 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009

The High Tax Myth

Iowa Taxes Are Below Average, and Have Fallen

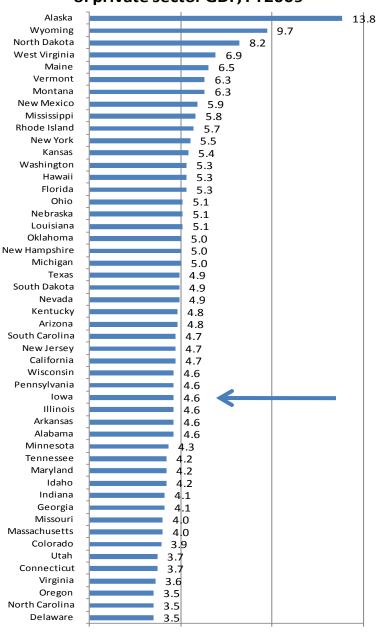


Corporate Income Tax Low



Ernst and Young: Considering all state and local taxes on business as a share of the private economy, Iowa was in a 6-way tie for 30th; only 15 states tax business lower.

State and local business taxes as a share of private sector GDP, FY2009



5.0

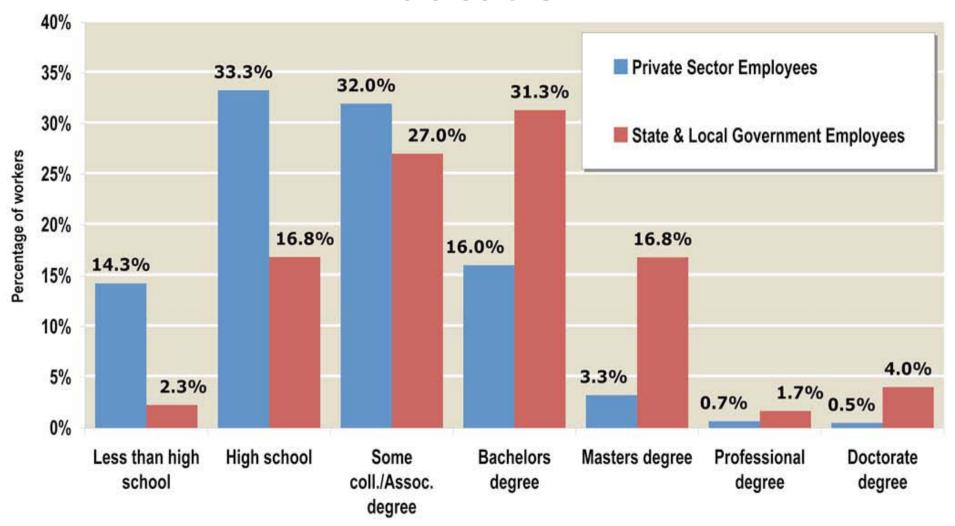
10.0

15.0

The Myth of the Overpaid Public Worker



Public Employees Have More Education



Public Employees in Iowa are Undercompensated (Controlling Only for Education)

	Private			_
	Sector	Public Sector	Difference	Penalty
Bachelors	\$70,521	\$59,786	(\$10,734)	-15.20%
Masters	\$86,980	\$75,586	(\$11,394)	-13.10%



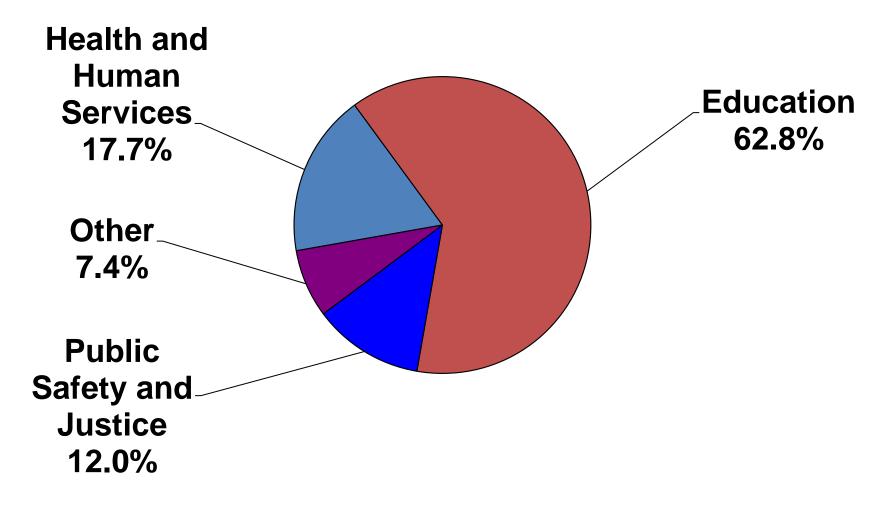
The Public Sector Compensation Penalty in Iowa (Controlling for Demographics as well)

		Total
	Earnings	Compensation
Men		
State Gov.	-9.3%	-6.1%
Local Gov.	-14.0%	-9.3%
Women		
State Gov.	-13.3%	-8.4%
Local Gov.	-19.3%	-12.8%

So: Where is the Budget Ax Likely to Fall?



State General Fund: 63% is Education





Governor's Budget

- Cuts contemplated:
 - Universal voluntary pre-school (\$35-80m),
 - Area Education Agencies (\$20m)
 - K-12 Education: "Zero Allowable Growth"
 - Regents Institutions (\$35m),
 - -Medicaid (\$42m)
- Another \$103 m out of state agencies: more layoffs on top of staff reductions past 2 years

Budget Cuts are Job Killers: State FTE Employees

	FY2009	FY2010	Change	Percent Change
Regents	27,672	27,205	-467	-1.7%
All Other	24,613	23,583	-1,030	-4.2%
Total State	52,285	50,788	-1,497	-2.9%

If We Have a Fiscal Crisis, Why are So Many Tax Cuts on the Agenda?



Major Tax Cuts Proposed

- 20% Individual Income Tax Cut:
 - \$700 mill. / yr by 2013
- Cut corporate income tax rate in half:
 - **\$200 million** / yr by 2013
- Cut commercial property taxes by 40%:
 - **\$600 million** / yr by 2016
- TOTAL: **\$1.5** billion in tax cuts proposed out of a \$6.2 billion budget— almost 25%

Wealthy Benefit Most from 20% Income Tax Cut

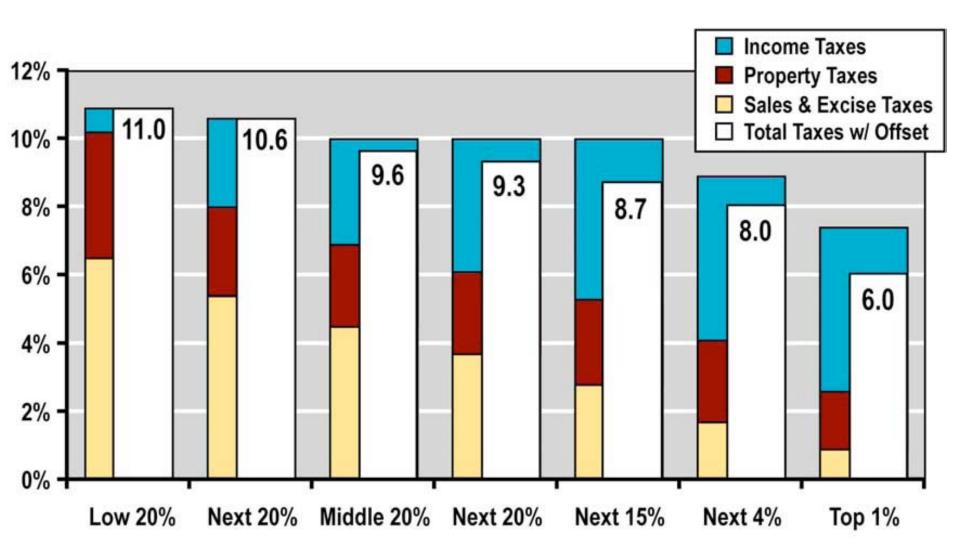
Average Tax Cut by Income

• Over \$358,0000	\$6,822
• \$57,000 to \$86,000	\$410
• \$38,000 to \$57,000	\$239
 Under \$21,000 	\$18

Middle Income Iowans: About \$1 a day



Iowa's Overall Tax System is Regressive





But won't all this business tax cutting spur economic growth?

• No.

State and Local Taxes Too Small to Matter Much

- For all businesses: State and local taxes just
 1.8% of total business costs
- Corporate income tax: 9.5% of all state and local business taxes (if we believe COST)
- Cutting the corporate tax rate in half thus cuts business costs by .018 X .095 X .5 = .009
 - —9 hundredths of a percent!

The Outlines of an Alternative State Budget

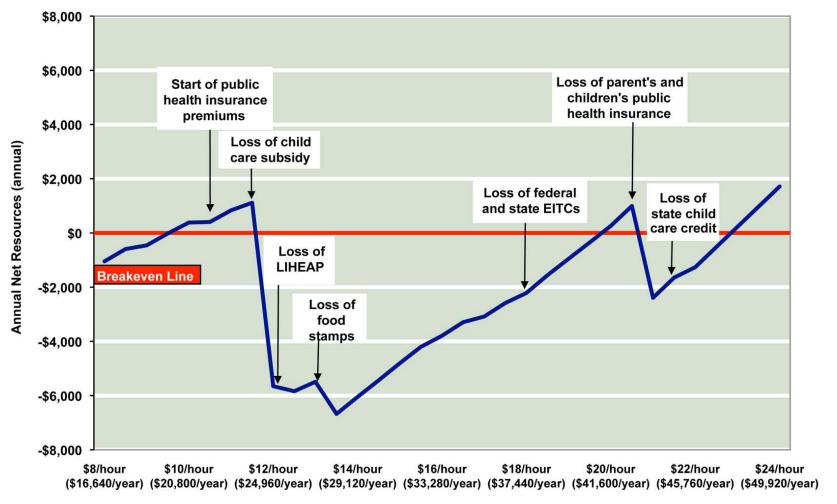
What We Should be Talking About

- Expanding pre-school education
- Expanding work supports such as the EITC and child care assistance, family leave insurance, paid sick days
- Making community colleges and universities more accessible, not less so
- Investing in public facilities
- Promoting a green economy



As Pay Increases, Net Resources Fluctuate for Des Moines Family

Single parent, working full time with two children, ages 2 and 6



Hourly Wages (Annual Earnings)

Source: National Center for Children in Poverty's Family Resource Simulator, Iowa 2008 <www.nccp.org/tools/frs>. When eligible, the family receives the following work supports: federal and state tax credits, SNAP/food stamps, LIHEAP, public health insurance, and a child care subsidy. Budget numbers are from the Iowa Policy Project's The Cost of Living in Iowa. Calculation includes updated food assistance eligibility as of January 2011.



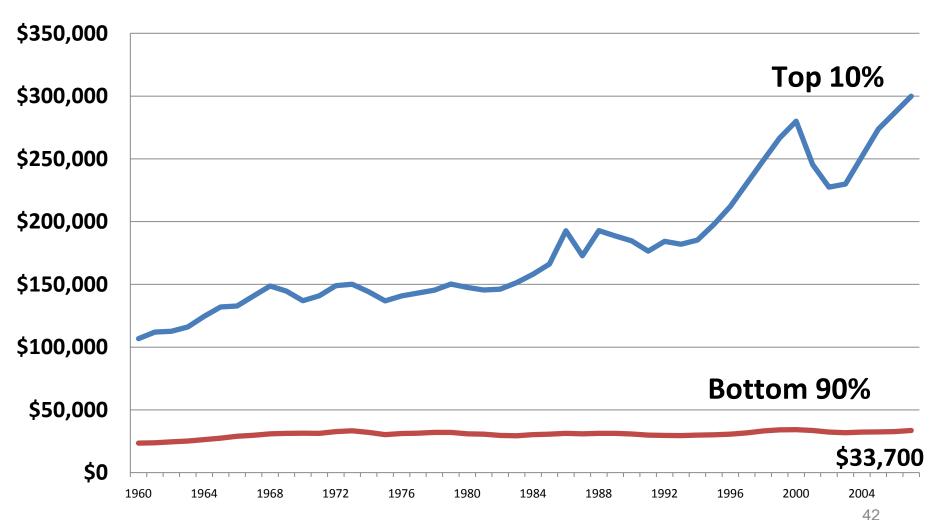
How We can Finance It

- Use \$100m of rainy day funds
- Income surtax on high incomes, or eliminate federal deductibility (\$25-\$100m)
- Rein in corporate tax subsidies and stop enabling tax avoidance (\$150 m.)
- Raise taxes on our unregulated monopolies: Casinos (\$200 m. +)

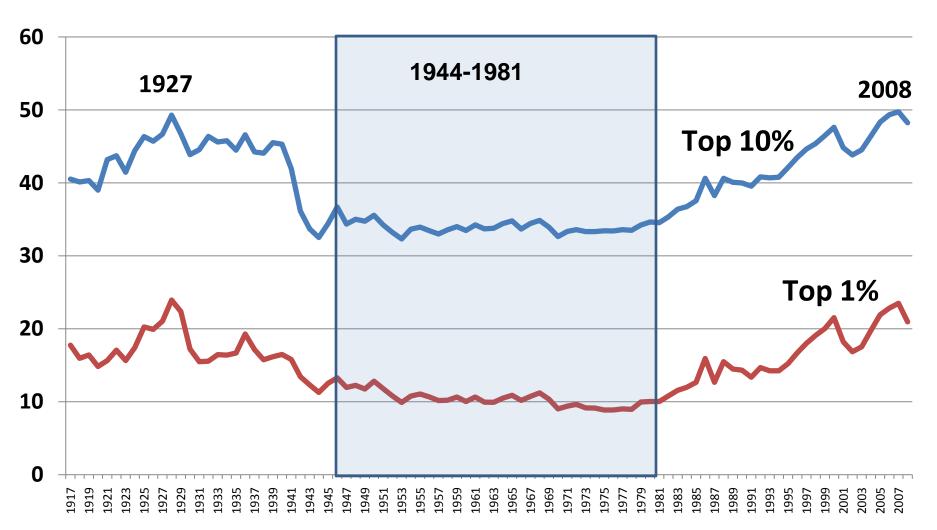


U.S. Income Gains in the Past 50 years Have Gone to the Top 10%

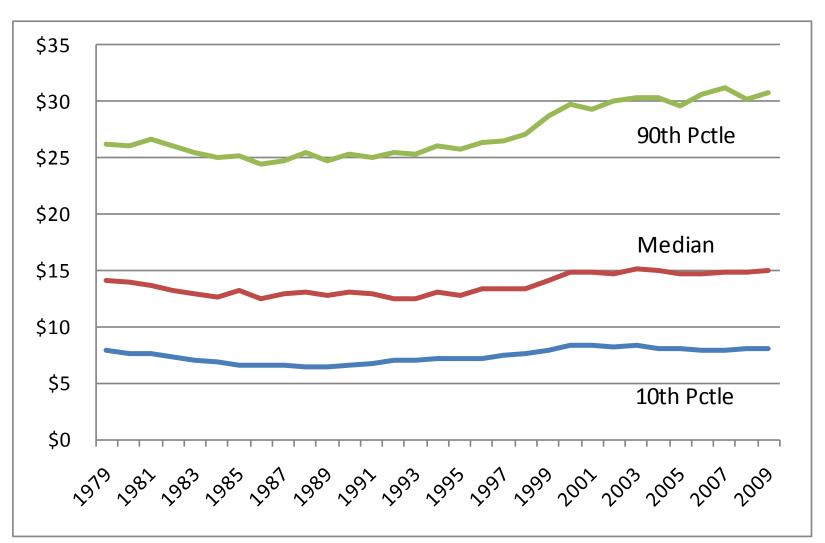
(Average Income in 2007 Dollars, 1960-2007)



Income Inequality Returns to Levels of the 1920s: Income Shares

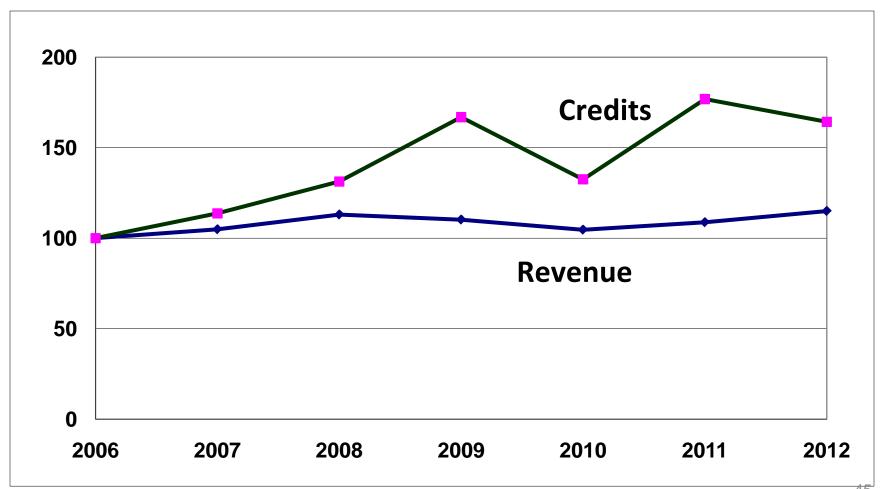


Hourly Wage for Most in Iowa has Stagnated (1979-2009, in 2009 \$)





Growth of General Fund Revenue and Business Tax Credits, FY 2006 - 2012





Iowa's Business Tax Credits: \$250 Million This Year

The Growth of Business Tax Credits: Fiscal Years 2006 to 2012

(millions of dollars)

		Projected	
	FY 2010	FY 2011	FY 2012
Iowa Industrial New Job Training Program (260E)	\$47.3	\$52.1	\$54.6
Research Activities Tax Credit	22.7	51.8	51.5
High Quality Job Creation Program & Predecessors*	36.8	36.8	28.9
Enterprise Zone Program	29.0	22.6	23.2
Historic Preservation Tax Credit	7.2	39.4	30.4
Ethanol, biodiesel and soy-based oil credits	10.4	15.4	12.2
Film, Television, and Video Project Promotion Program**	14.9	7.0	5.8
Accelerated Career Education Tax Credit	5.3	4.3	4.3
Endow Iowa Tax Credit	2.1	2.2	2.7
Seven Other Credits***	9.1	14.9	15.5
Total Business Credits	\$184.7	\$246.5	\$229.0

Research Activities Credit

Top 6 Recipients:

- Rockwell Collins \$ 14,213,205
- Deere & Co \$ 12,797,619
- DuPont \$ 5,949,495
- John Deere Construction \$ 2,198,830
- Monsanto\$ 1,848,480
- Pfizer \$ 942,184

127 other corporations pay no income tax and get checks from the state



The Budget Choices We Face

\$165 million

Cutting the Statwide
Preschool Program, FY12
and FY13, and eliminating
lowa Power Fund

\$39 million

Cuts to Board of Regents institutions, FY12

\$173 million

OR Governor's proposed corporate income tax

reduction, FY11 and FY12

\$42 million

OR

"Bonus" depreciation benefitting big corporations, FY12

More Budget Choices

\$243.9 million

Combined cuts to preschool, regents, and departments under Governor's FY12 proposal

\$327.4 million

OR

Diversion of excess rainy day funds to "tax relief" fund, FY12

The Big Question: What Kind of a State do we Want?