# Child Well-Being and the 2022 Legislative Session

League of Women Voters February 2, 2022

#### **NM Voices for Children** Amber Wallin, MPA, Deputy Director

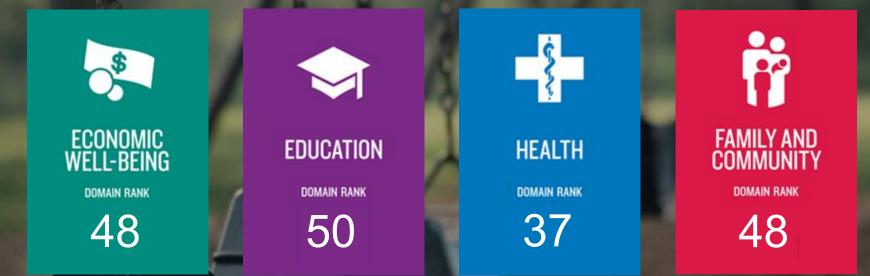
www.nmvoices.org

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.

# 2021 KIDS COUNT rankings



## 49th overall using pre-pandemic data

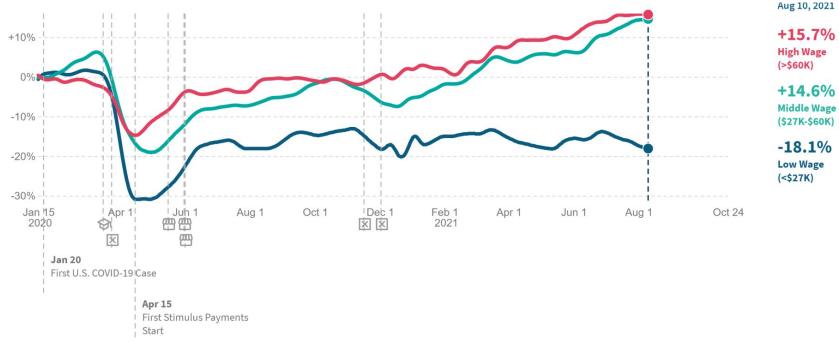
## **Pandemic impacts on family well-being**

- 21% of NM parents unsure how to pay rent
- 38% of NM parents had difficulty paying for basic household expenses
- 31% of NM households with children were not eating enough
- 40% of NM parents with children under 5 with childcare disruptions in the past month because of COVID19

# The health and economic impacts of COVID-19 were highly inequitable across lines of income, race, and gender.

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

Percent change in employment: In New Mexico, as of August 10 2021, employment rates among workers in the bottom wage quartile decreased by 18.1% compared to January 2020 (not seasonally adjusted)



data source: Earnin, Intuit, Kronos, Paychex

# Pandemic and recession impacts have not been race neutral.

# COVID-19 disproportionately harmed people of color

- Hispanic workers saw steepest employment losses and have the most ground to make up to reach pre-pandemic employment
- Asian women faced the worst change in unemployment during the recession
- Hispanic New Mexico parents more than twice as likely to have lost employment income than non-Hispanic, white New Mexicans
- Hispanic New Mexico parents more than three times as likely to be unsure how/if they can make next housing payment

Pandemic and recession impacts have not been gender neutral.

# 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
- Men gained 220,000 jobs in September, but women lost 26,000 jobs

## Inequities persist for BIPOC women

- Women's labor force participation rate lowest since 1988
- Even higher unemployment rates for Black women, Hispanic women, and other demographic groups
- Asian women faced the worst change in unemployment during the recession
- The gender wage gap has increased especially for Hispanic, Native American, and Black women
- Immigration restrictions and language barriers make for higher hurdles for immigrant and refugee families

# But there's good news too.

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## **Data show many bright spots**

- Over time, women's educational and economic opportunities have grown
- Black, Asian, and Hispanic women have high rates of labor force participation
- Black, Hispanic, and Native American women most likely to lead their households
- 42% of our Native American children are bilingual
- Enrollment in high-quality early care and ed programs up
- Teen births down

# Policy matters, and progress is possible.

# **Policy improvements for families**

- Paid sick leave
- Income tax cut for 70% of NM families with children
- Tax relief for working parents
- Food security investments
- Relief for immigrant families left out of federal relief
- Most family-friendly child care assistance program
- (ARPA) Federal Child Tax Credit expansions
- (ARPA) Major federal investments in child care, education, health, and housing systems relief

# **Moving forward**

#### **Revenue update**

FY23 revenues \$9 billion
\$1.6 billion in "new money", 22% growth from FY22
Indirect impacts of federal funding

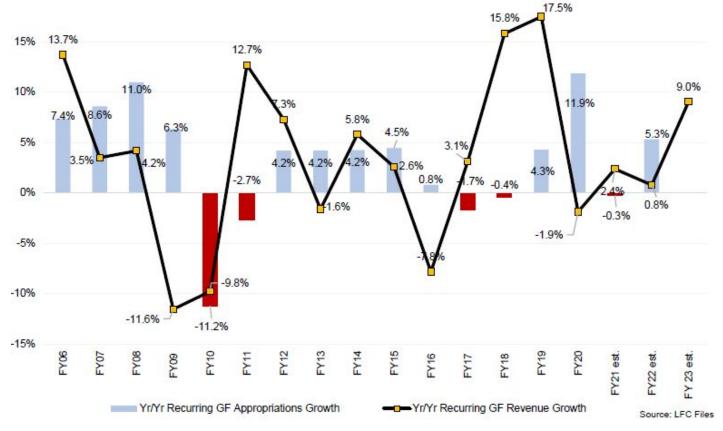
- Oil and gas boom
- \$600 million + in unspent ARPA fundings
  - HAFC budget of \$8.5 billion
    - \$1 billion over FY22, 14% increase

### **Prioritize families in public policy**

- Extend postpartum Medicaid coverage
- Robustly support child care assistance, prek, and home visiting programs
  - Expand budgets, protect funding streams
- Provide robust safety net supports
  - Economic relief
  - Combat food insecurity
  - Fully fund and support classrooms and higher ed
    - Teacher salaries; Opportunity Scholarship; tribal education framework

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

#### 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

## Tax bills being considered

#### Recurring tax cuts

- Gross receipts tax (GRT) and compensating tax cuts\*
- Paired with restrictions on local government increases
   Anti-pyramiding bills to reduce taxes for certain service providers\*
- Environmental policy tax breaks
- Other bills to reduce taxes for certain professionals and individuals

#### **Temporary relief**

- Tax deduction for restaurant industry\*
  - Rebates for low- and middle-income individuals\*
    - 56% of taxpayers would benefit

# 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

### The issues with cutting SS taxes

- Costly: \$120m 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 taxes only about <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> of Social Security income

• A number of tax code provisions benefit low- and middle-income seniors

- 56,000 seniors tax received a tax cut with HB291
- 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

# "We will not march back to what was, but move to what shall be."

Amanda Gorman, National Youth Poet Laureate, 2021

# Thank you!

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

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# Talk taxes to me:

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

#### 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
- Corporate income taxes: tax cuts mostly for big businesses in 2013
- <u>Gross receipts taxes</u>: tax breaks for different groups, services, and products

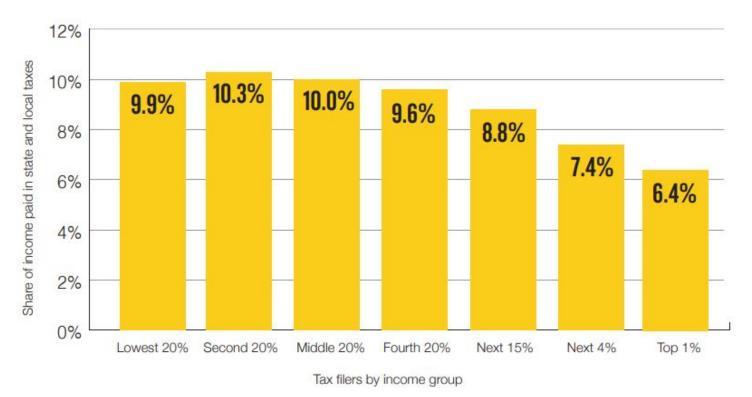
#### Attempts to drive growth by cutting taxes harmed adequacy and equity

Inability to fund crucial programs

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

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

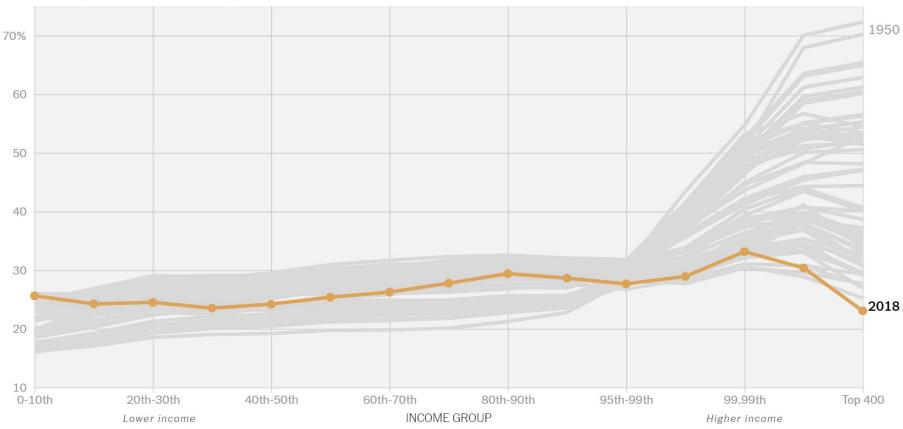
New Mexicans with the lowest incomes pay higher rates in state and local taxes (TY 2021)



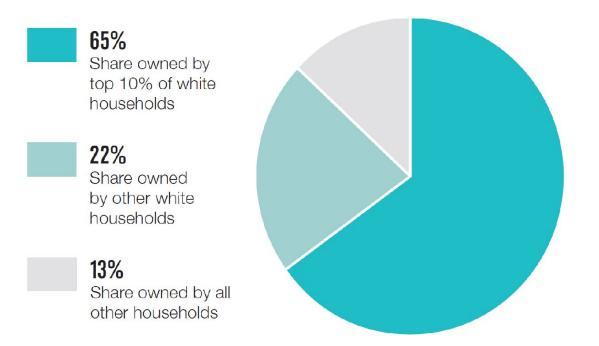
Source: W/ho Pays?, Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2018, updated in 2020 with income tax changes enacted in 2019

# 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



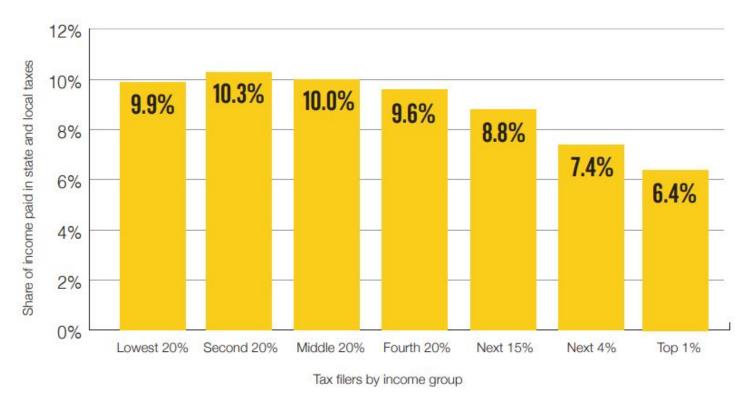
Source:Center on Budget and Policy Priorities' analysis of the Federal Reserve's Survey of Consumer Finances

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



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

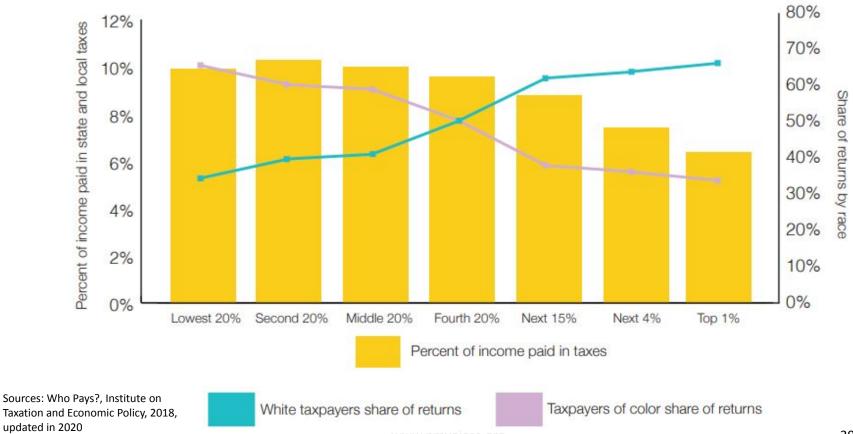
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Source: W/ho Pays?, Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2018, updated in 2020 with income tax changes enacted in 2019

## **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

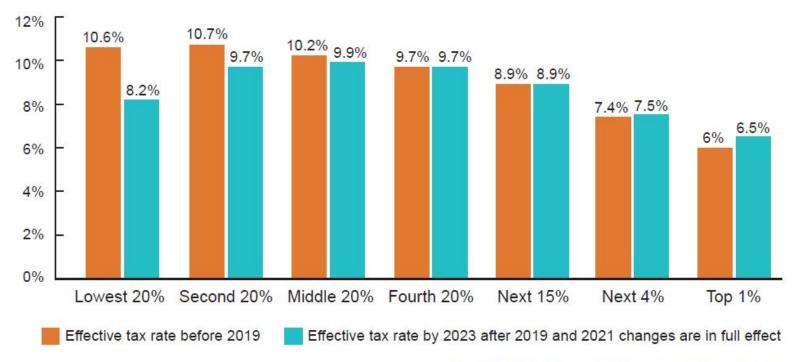
# 2019-2021 revenue improvements

#### • 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

# **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

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## **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

**Pandemic and** recession impacts shine light on our past and provide a unique moment to reshape our future.

# What is your story?

# KIDS COUNT tells a story of opportunity.

# 77% of NM kids are children of color.

White, Non-Hispanic

**Children of Color**