

Comparison of the Executive, Assembly and Senate 2014-2015 Budget's Tax Proposals

March 24, 2014

This tax brief updates the Fiscal Policy Institute's *New York State Economic and Fiscal Outlook 2014-2015* to take into account the New York State Senate and Assembly's responses to the Executive Budget with respect to major tax proposals. This brief contains two parts. First, an analysis of five major tax initiatives and the legislature's response and second, a side-by-side description of the 2014-2015 Executive Budget's tax proposals and the legislatures response, including significant one-house tax cut proposals.

The five areas covered in more detail are:

• Section A: Corporate Tax Reform

• Section K and L: Homeowner and Renter Circuit Breaker

• Section R: 20 percent Manufacturing Property tax Credit

• Section X: Reform of the Estate Tax

• Section FF: Property Tax Freeze and Freeze Plus

The 2014-2015 Executive Budget tax cut proposals total \$486 million in FY 2015 and a four year cumulative total of \$6.3 billion for 2015-2018. To accommodate the proposed tax cuts the executive's 2015-2018 financial plan proposes a total of \$19 billion in spending cuts.

The proposed Executive Budget continues the austerity budget cuts of the past 6 years through 2018 for a "decade of austerity" in order to give tax breaks to the wealthiest New Yorkers and large corporations, instead of restoring funding to education, social services and municipalities.

The tax freeze is ill-conceived and will send more money to wealthier localities, the circuit breaker and the renter's credit are ineffectively targeted, the bank tax repeal is a windfall for large banks, and New York simply can't afford costly estate tax cuts. (in millions)

	2	014-15	2	015-16	2	016-17	2	017-18	C	umulative
Personal Income Tax	\$	(325)	\$	(735)	\$	(1,248)	\$	(1,658)	\$	(3,966)
Close the Resident Trust Loophole		75		225		150		150		600
Establish the Real Property Tax Freeze Personal Income Tax Credit		(400)		(976)		(475)		-		(1,851)
Establish the Residential Real Property Personal Income Tax Credit		-		(200)		(525)		(1,000)		(1,725)
Establish a Renter's Personal Income Tax Credit		-		(200)		(400)		(400)		(1,000)
Other		-		416		2		(408)		10
Business Taxes	\$	67	\$	(118)	\$	(271)	\$	(267)	\$	(589)
Streamline Corporate Audit Procedures (Administrative)*		-		172		172		172		516
Reform the Investment Tax Credit		65		65		65		65		260
Repeal the Financial Services Investment Tax Credit		30		30		30		30		120
Subtotal Total Business Tax Increases		95		267		267		267		896
Corporate Tax Reform		-		(205)		(346)		(346)		(897)
Establish a 20 Percent Real Property Tax Credit For Manufacturers		-		(136)		(136)		(136)		(408)
Eliminate the Net Income Tax On Upstate Manufacturers		(24)		(24)		(25)		(25)		(98)
Subtotal Other Business Tax Decreases		(24)		(365)		(507)		(507)		(1,403)
Other Business Tax Cuts		(4)		(20)		(31)		(27)		(82)
Other Actions	\$	(40)	\$	(183)	\$	(375)	\$	(612)	\$	(1,210)
Reform the Estate Tax**		(33)		(175)		(371)		(612)		(1,191)
Other		(7)		(8)		(4)				(19)
Total All Funds Legislation Change	\$	(298)	\$	(1,036)	\$	(1,894)	\$	(2,537)	\$	(5,765)
* After 0040 the extremelian modification will assess the district										

Source: 2014-15 Executive Briefing Book (p. 67) and FPI calculations.

^{*} After 2018, the streamline audit saving will sunset and not reoccur.

** Estate Taxes continue to rise in the out years, in 2019 these cuts will be \$757 million.

• Section A: Corporate Tax Reform

The Executive Budget proposes to merge the bank tax with the corporate tax and lower the rate on all corporations from 7.1% to 6.5%.

- o Banks will then be subject to a single sales tax factor, instead of the three factor method they current must use. They will also be able to use a "fix percentage method" of 8% to apportion income from certain financial investments. Since the New York State financial sector is approximately 40% of the national financial sector, banks will receive a windfall because of the much lower apportionment rate.
- O Corporate taxes as a percentage of total state tax revenue have dropped substantially from 16% in 1980 to 10% in 2013. With these cuts corporate taxes will make up only 8% of total tax revenues. The drop in corporate taxes over the last 30 years has not had the intended effect of increasing the number of businesses coming to New York.
- o Boyd and Rubin in a report for the Solomon-McCall Commission found that business tax credits jumped from \$600 million in 2005 to \$1.8 billion in 2013 with little or no economic impact.
- **Assembly:** Accepts the merger of the corporate and bank tax but keeps the corporate tax rate at 7.1%.
- **Senate:** The resolution modifies the proposal but the bill language accepts the governor's proposal, they also call for the bank proposal to be revenue neutral.

• Sections K & L: Homeowner and Renter Circuit Breaker

The design of the Executive Budget's homeowner proposal has "affordability thresholds" of 3%, 4%, and 5%, credit percentages of 20%, 15% and 10%, and a maximum credit of \$500 in 2015 rising to \$1,000 in year 3. The renter's credit would use federal adjusted gross income and the number of dependents to determine the size of the credit and does not depend on the amount of rent paid relative to income.

- o The Executive Budget's proposal costs about \$1 billion, but does not give meaningful relief to those in greatest need because of the low thresholds, credit percentages and maximum credit.
- o Both the Senate and the Assembly have proposals (S3266/A5884 and S1002/A1941) with credit percentages of 70% and higher affordability thresholds. These proposals give a much larger benefit to those who are truly overburdened.
- o The Executive Budget's renter's proposal would not take the amount of rent paid by the household into consideration in any way, let alone by a comparison to the household's income. The amount of a taxpayer's credit is based on his or her age and number of dependents for federal income tax purposes. Taxpayers younger than 65 are not eligible unless they have more than one dependent. It therefore cannot take into account the rent burden on a family.
- **Assembly:** The Assembly modifies the proposal to allow New York City and Yonkers to include local income taxes in the calculations for the credit and removes the requirement that localities must adhere to the property tax cap to receive the credit. The Assembly also modifies the renter's credit to provide more meaningful relief by increasing the threshold.

• **Senate:** The Senates denies both credits.

• Section R: **20 percent Manufacturing Property tax Credit**

Manufacturers statewide would receive a refundable 20% real property tax credit. Along with the property tax reform the Executive Budget proposes to drop the corporate income tax on upstate manufacturing to zero.

- o The Governor's Tax Reform and Fairness Commission, chaired by investment banker Peter Solomon and former Comptroller H. Carl McCall, closely examined the burgeoning array of New York's business tax incentives. An in-depth analysis prepared for the Commission by economists Don Boyd and Marilyn Rubin documented the explosion in credits from 33 in 2005 to 50 in 2013, with the annual cost of business tax credits rocketing from \$600M in 2005 to nearly three times that, \$1.8B, in 2013. [see "New York State Business Tax Credits: Analysis and Evaluation," November 2013, at www.pjsolomon.com/news/media/2013-11-13-Tax_Incentive_Study_Final.pdf]
- o Many economic reports including Boyd and Rubin have found that these credits have had little if any economic impact on the economy or in attracting new businesses or jobs.
- **Assembly:** The Assembly rejects the 20% manufacturing property tax credit but accepts the elimination of the corporate income tax on upstate manufacturers. They add four additional counties to the upstate region: Dutchess, Ulster, Sullivan and Orange.
- **Senate:** The Senate amends the 20% property tax credit and amends the elimination of the upstate manufacturing income tax to include the entire state.

• Section X: Reform of the Estate Tax

There are three main elements in the estate tax proposal:

- 1. Raising the exemption from estate taxation from the current \$1 million to \$5.25M, the current federal exemption level;
- 2. Reducing the top rate in stages from 16 to 10%; and
- 3. Requiring the value of gifts to be added back to the estate tax (New York State eliminated its gift tax years ago).
- The estate tax has been generating \$800M to \$1.2B a year in revenue for New York so a proposal that rises in costs to \$612M in 2017-2018 and \$757M in 2018-2019 will seriously erode the estate tax as a significant revenue source for the state. Because of increasing income concentration at the top, in the absence of the proposed reductions in the estate tax, the estate tax would be the fastest growing source of tax revenue for New York State. Before the tax cuts, the estate tax is estimated to double between 2013 and 2019, to \$2 billion. The tax cuts will reduce that amount by roughly 40%.
- o Because the estate exemption is being raised, all estates paying taxes will pay less. The reduction in the top tax rate from 16 to 10% will be heavily concentrated among a relatively small number (150-200) of very large estates (greater than \$10 million.) These large estates likely will see an average 50% tax reduction.
- O While the Executive Budget states that "the state's current estate tax policy encourages elderly New Yorkers to leave ...," in a report prepared for the Solomon-McCall Tax Commission, the state's own tax policy experts concluded: "Migration studies regarding the impact of taxes such as the estate tax have shown that taxes generally are not a major factor in the decision of where to live or retire. ... These papers generally show that taxes have very little impact on cross-state migration and estate tax revenues."
 - **Assembly:** The Assembly modifies the proposal to increase the threshold to \$3 million instead of the \$5.25 million the Executive Budget proposal and does not reduce the top tax rate, keeping it at 16%.
 - **Senate:** The Senate accepts the Executive Budget proposal but eliminates the add-back provision of federally taxable gifts.

• Section FF: <u>Property Tax Freeze and Freeze Plus</u>

The Executive Budget proposes to give a personal income tax credit to individuals whose local districts stay within the 2% property tax cap in the first year and stay within the cap while making meaningful consolidations in the second year. This credit would be available for those with incomes less than \$500,000.

- O The 2-year property tax "freeze" costs \$1.8 billion over the next three fiscal years. It adds a perverse incentive to the pressure already created by the statewide 2% property tax cap enacted 3 years ago. This pressure already has forced drastic cuts in schools and other important public services. Under the new proposal, a homeowner only gets an income tax credit in the first year for taxes levied by jurisdictions that stay within the 2 percent property tax cap. In the second year, local governments or school districts must continue to stay within the cap and must develop a plan for sharing or consolidating services to achieve savings.
- O Because the property tax cap is instituted as a percentage limit on the growth of a locality's tax levy, the property tax increases possible under the cap are greater for wealthy school districts than for needy school districts. Under the freeze proposal benefits likely will be concentrated in wealthier districts. Poor and rural governments will receive less because they have greater needs, smaller tax bases and fewer opportunities for consolidation.
- **Assembly:** The Assembly rejects this proposal.
- **Senate:** The Senate creates a freeze plus proposal which freezes property taxes for two years and gives relief to the local districts. They require governments to stay within the cap and work towards consolidation.

Side by Side descriptions of the tax changes in the Executive Budget and the two legislative proposals.

Section	Governor's Budget Topic	Assembly	Senate
A	Corporate Tax Reform. New York's corporate franchise tax is outdated, and its archaic provisions result in unnecessarily lengthy and complex audit processes that take businesses years to resolve. The Executive Budget combines the corporate franchise and bank taxes to provide tax simplification and relief, and improve voluntary compliance. Further, the tax rate on net income is reduced from 7.1 percent to 6.5 percent, the lowest rate since 1968.	The Assembly accepts the Executive's proposal to merge the Corporate and Bank taxes and reform the underlying calculation of liability; however, the Assembly keeps the tax rate on entire net income at 7.1 percent, as opposed to the Executive's recommended 6.5 percent.	The Senate modifies the Executive proposal to merge the bank tax and the corporate franchise tax. In addition, the Senate takes the position that corporate tax reform for the financial industry should be revenue neutral to taxpayers and the State.
F	Eliminate the Income Threshold Inflation Adjustment for Enhanced STAR Benefits. In order to qualify for an enhanced benefit, homeowners must meet an age (65 and above) and income requirement. The income requirement has been annually increased since 2003-2004 by a cost-of-living-adjustment (COLA). This proposal will maintain the eligible income threshold at the 2014-2015 level of \$81,900, but eliminate the COLA thereafter.	The Assembly rejects the Executive's proposal to eliminate the annual inflation adjustment made to the income standard for enhanced STAR eligibility beginning with the 2015-2016 school year.	The Senate denies the Executive proposal to eliminate the income threshold inflation adjustment for enhanced STAR benefits.
I	Close the Resident Trust Loophole. In general, a trust is a legal agreement that represents a place where assets from an estate are held. The trust provides certain tax and legal benefits not available if the assets are not placed in trust. Currently, New York conforms to Federal law, which results in New York personal income tax	The Assembly accepts the Executive's proposal to amend the Tax Law and tax certain income earned by non-resident, exempt resident and incomplete gift trusts.	The Senate modifies the Executive proposal to close the resident trust loophole.

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	immunity for the trust granter and the trust		·
	immunity for the trust grantor and the trust		
	beneficiary. This proposal will decouple New		
	York from Federal treatment of trusts and		
	impose the personal income tax on the trust		
	grantor.		
K	Establish the Residential Real Property	The Assembly modifies the	The Senate denies the
	Personal Income Tax Credit. To further	Executive's proposal by	Executive proposal to create
	alleviate the impact of property taxes on low- and	allowing taxpayers living in	an enhanced real property
	middle-income New Yorkers, the Executive	New York City or Yonkers to	tax circuit breaker credit.
	Budget creates a refundable tax credit against the	include in the calculation of	
	personal income tax to provide targeted real	their credit the local income	
	property tax relief based on an individual	taxes paid. Including local	
	homeowner's ability to pay. This relief program is	income taxes paid by resident	
	progressively structured to provide a greater	of New York City and	
	proportion of benefits to those with the highest	Yonkers, the Assembly	
	property tax burdens as a share of their income.	recognizes that such taxes are	
	The credit is available statewide, but in areas	primarily dedicated to	
	outside of New York City, only residents of	education and help alleviate	
	jurisdictions that adhere to the property tax cap	the overall property and	
	will qualify. When fully phased in, the program,	income tax burden and allows	
	valued at almost \$1 billion, will benefit over 1.9	for more NYC residents to	
	million homeowners yielding an average benefit	benefit from the Circuit	
	of \$500.	Breaker credit. In addition,	
		the Assembly removes the	
		requirement that taxpayers	
		would receive the credit	
		subject to the local taxing	
		jurisdiction's adherence to	
		the property tax cap.	
		are property tan cap.	
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L	Establish a Renter's Personal Income Tax	The Assembly modifies and	The Senate denies the
_	Credit. There are 3.3 million renter households	expands the Executive's	Executive proposal to
	across the state. Over 829,000 low-income renter	proposal to provide a renter's	establish a renter's personal
	households spend more than 50 percent of their	credit by increasing the	income tax credit.
	monthly cash income on housing costs and	income threshold, changing	
	thousands of moderate-income renters face	the structure of the credit	
	similar burdens. To help defray the impact of	provided, as well as allowing	
	escalating rental housing costs, especially for	local income taxes paid by	
	families, the Executive Budget creates a	residents of New York City	
	refundable credit for renters. This tax relief is	and Yonkers to be included in	
	composed of a base credit that declines with	the calculation of the credit.	
	qualifying incomes up to \$100,000 for married	The credit is available	
	taxpayers who are filing jointly and have related	statewide and is designed to	
	dependents, taxpayers filing as head of	provide meaningful relief to	
	household, and married seniors filing jointly.	overburdened renters.	
	Single seniors with incomes up to \$50,000 would		
	also qualify. The base credit will be		
	supplemented with an additional credit per		
	federal exemption, where the value of the		
	supplement also declines with income. When		
	fully phased in the program will save \$400		
	million for approximately 1.3 million households.		
	The average benefit for a family of four in New		
	York City with income of less than \$50,000 would		
	be about \$410.		
R	Establish a 20 Percent Real Property Tax	The Assembly accepts the	The Senate modifies the
	Credit for Manufacturers. Lowering the cost of	elimination of the income tax	Executive proposal to:
	doing business for manufacturers will make New	on upstate manufacturers.	establish a 20 percent real
	York a more attractive place for firms to locate	The Assembly also modifies	property tax credit for
	and create jobs. The Executive Budget provides a	that part by adding four	manufacturers; amend the
	statewide refundable credit equal to 20 percent	counties in the definition of	elimination of the net income
	of property taxes paid by manufacturers who	upstate manufacturer:	tax on upstate manufacturers
	own property.		to apply statewide; reform

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		Dutchess, Ulster, Sullivan, and Orange. The Assembly rejects the 20 percent real property tax credit, the reform of the investment tax credit, and the repeal of the financial services investment tax credit.	the investment tax credit by repealing the financial services investment tax credit; deny the change in definition of manufacturer and retain the current definition.
X	Reform the Estate Tax. New York is one of only 15 states that impose an estate tax. The State's exemption levels are among the lowest and the rates are among the highest. While the Federal government exempts from taxation the first \$5.25 million of an individual's estate, New York only exempts estates valued below \$1 million. The State's current estate tax policy encourages elderly New Yorkers to leave and places a special burden on small family owned businesses. To address these problems, the Executive Budget increases the exclusion threshold of the estate tax from \$1 million to eventual conformity with the Federal exemption amount, and reduces the top rate from 16 to 10 percent over four years. These actions will be coupled with proposals that will require the value of gifts to be added back to the estate and will close loopholes that allow certain trusts to avoid paying State taxes.	The Assembly modifies the Executive's proposal by limiting the increase of the exclusion threshold to \$3.0 million in two years and keeping the top rate at 16 percent.	The Senate modifies the Executive proposal to do comprehensive estate tax reform to eliminate the addback of federally taxable gifts.
CC	Repeal Article 12 of the Tax Law. Tax collections on stock sales transfers from financial service companies are currently not retained by the State, but instead are fully and immediately	Intentionally omitted. The Assembly rejects the Executive's proposal to repeal the stock transfer tax	The Senate concurs with the Executive proposal to repeal the stock transfer tax.

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	rebated. This tax has been maintained in statute	provisions of law.	
	as an alternative source to repay New York City	provisions or law.	
	Municipal Assistance Corporation Bonds, which		
	were retired in 2008. This tax creates		
	unnecessary administrative work for the		
	financial services industry as well as for the		
	Department of Taxation and Finance.		
S FF	Establish the Real Property Tax Freeze as a	Intentionally omitted.	The Senate modifies the
	Personal Income Tax Credit. This initiative	The Assembly rejects the	Executive proposal to create a
	addresses two problems New York's high	Executive's proposal.	\$1.4 billion Freeze Plus
	property taxes and one of the primary drivers of		program that freezes
	those taxes the inefficiency of overlapping local		property taxes for two years
	governments. New York State has nearly 10,500		by making the property tax
	local government units, many of which provide		relief permanent. Schools will
	duplicative services. New York is one of only 10		be eligible for this program in
	states where a resident can live in three local		SFY 2014-15 while counties,
	governmental jurisdictions at the same time (e.g.		cities, towns and villages will
	village, town, county). To help address these		be eligible in SFY 2015-16.
	problems, the Executive Budget freezes property		This makes all municipalities
	taxes for two years, subject to two conditions. In		and schools eligible in their
	year one (2014-15), the State will provide tax		next fiscal year. Schools will
	rebates to homeowners with qualifying incomes		receive \$400 million in the
	of \$500,000 or less who live in a jurisdiction that		first year, growing to \$800
	stays within the 2 percent property tax cap. In		million thereafter.
	order for their homeowners to get the tax credit		Municipalities will receive
	in the second year, school districts and local		\$200 million in their first
	governments must continue to stay within the tax		year, and \$400 million
	cap and must develop a plan for sharing or		thereafter. In order for
	consolidating services and eliminating		homeowners in their
	duplication and overlap. For local governments		jurisdiction to receive the
	and dependent school districts, this plan will be		property tax relief in year
	coordinated by the county. For independent		two of the plan, school
	school districts, it will be coordinated by the		districts and local

	school district with the largest enrollment in the BOCES district. Each plan must achieve savings, in the aggregate, in an amount of at least one percent of participating entities' levy in the year following the second year of the credit. This percentage increases to two percent and three percent in subsequent years. These savings must be applied to tax reduction. Failure to achieve planned savings could result in recapture of State aid to the local government or school district. When fully implemented, local governments and school districts could provide property tax relief of up to \$1 billion. New York City is not subject to the cap.		governments must continue to stay within the tax cap and must work towards continuing efficiencies previously adopted with new efficiency plans that may include consolidation and shared services. Municipalities and school districts will develop and implement structural budgetary efficiency plans for sharing or consolidating services that, when implemented, will achieve real savings for taxpayers. Local Governments with 50 employees or less will also be authorized to join municipal cooperative health benefit plans as a tool to achieve
GG	Relating to the extension of various credits and tax abatement programs provided by the City of	The Assembly accepts the Executive's proposal to	savings. The Senate modifies the Executive proposal
	New York, is added to: • Extend the Sales and Use Tax Exemptions for qualifying leases in certain areas; Commercial Revitalization Program property tax abatement; Industrial and Commercial Abatement Program; Relocation and Employment Assistance Program; Energy Cost Savings Program; Commercial rent tax reduction; and the Commercial Expansion Program.	extend certain tax credits and abatements for Lower Manhattan and New York City.	concerning the extension of various credits and tax abatement programs provided by the City of New York.

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S HH	Freedom Fund		The Senate advances language to enact a two percent spending cap with the resulting surplus revenues deposited into a tax freedom fund to be used for tax reductions.
А НН	Film Credit	The Assembly proposes to expand eligibility for the 10 percent upstate film credit bump to include the counties located within the Capital region and within the Mid-Hudson region: Albany, Columbia, Dutchess, Greene, Orange, Putnam, Rensselaer, Rockland, Saratoga, Schenectady, Sullivan, Ulster, Warren, and Washington counties.	
A JJ	Minimum Wage	The Assembly proposes the repeal of the minimum wage credit enacted with the 2013-14 Budget.	
S JJ	Standard Deduction Indexing		The Senate advances language to permanently index the income brackets and standard deductions to inflation.

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A 00	Universal pre-K income tax surcharge in New York City.	The Assembly proposes an income tax surcharge for New York City residents of 0.534 percent on incomes over \$500,000 for the funding of pre-K and after school programs in NYC.	
MM/TT	Broadway Tax Credit	The Assembly proposes a tax credit for pre- and post-Broadway theatrical and musical productions outside of New York City.	The Senate advances language to create a Musical & Theatrical Production Tax Credit.
S XX	Private Aircraft Tax Credit		The Senate advances language to exempt the sale of private aircraft from sales tax. In addition, the Senate supports advancement of a proposal to maintain the vitality of New York's recreational boating industry by adjusting the sales taxes imposed on an individual or company looking to purchase and register a vessel in New York.

FPI's position on other proposed tax changes

Executive's Part GG—Extend various NYC business tax breaks.

The major program included in this package of extenders is for the Industrial and Commercial Abatement Program, which does not expire until June 2015. Given the growing concern regarding the efficacy of such tax breaks, and the fact that the major component of this package does not expire this year, no action is needed this year. Mayor de Blasio has expressed his interest in evaluating the business tax breaks before extending them.

Senate Part HH—Annual Spending Growth Cap and Tax Freedom Fund

This proposal caps spending growth at 2% and would use surplus tax collections to fund future tax cuts. FPI opposes this proposal since it unduly restricts state spending regardless of economic need, and would make it impossible for the state to meet constitutional requirements in education spending and care for the needy.

Assembly Part JJ—Repeal of the Minimum Wage Reimbursement Tax Credit

FPI supports the repeal of this ill-conceived tax credit that will discourage the employment of adults in favor of student teenagers for certain jobs, limit the pay of such student teenagers to exactly the minimum wage, and likely provide the greatest financial benefit to large employers of low-wage workers such as Wal-Mart and fast-food chains.

Assembly Part OO—UPK NYC Personal Income Tax Surcharge

FPI supports this proposal for dedicated funding to ensure the timely expansion of high-quality UPK and after-school programs. The tax rate increase is modest and 95% will be paid by taxpayers with incomes of \$1 million or more. This measure will make NYC's local tax structure slightly less regressive.