

STATE CORPORATE INCOME TAX INCIDENCE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TAX  
RATES AND LABOR WAGES

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# STATE CORPORATE INCOME TAX INCIDENCE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TAX RATES AND LABOR WAGES

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## ABSTRACT

A well-developed literature exists on the general issue of corporate tax incidence, but many of those studies involve national or federal tax rates. Fewer articles are written with a focus on wages and corporate tax rates at the subnational level. While most of the literature tends to agree that there is a negative relationship between corporate tax rates and wage, those that deal with the state, provincial or local levels consistently vary in terms of the relationship's magnitude. This study extends the research on the relationship between U.S. state corporate tax rates and labor wages into the decade beyond the Great Recession. It also registers another data point in the ongoing attempt to pin down the size of the corporate tax to wage relationship. This paper is organized into four sections. It begins with an overview of past literature on the incidence of subnational corporate taxation and the relationship between subnational corporate tax rates and wages. The study then uses a multivariate ordinary least squares regression model to examine real wage data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey coupled with tax data collected by the Tax Policy Center. The third section unpacks the results of the study which suggest a negative relationship between U.S. states' corporate income tax rates and real annual wages. The final section offers several policy implications that may follow from the negative state corporate tax to labor wage relationship.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Introduction .....                        | 1  |
| Literature Review.....                    | 4  |
| Hypothesis .....                          | 12 |
| Model & Methodology.....                  | 12 |
| Analysis .....                            | 17 |
| Policy Implications .....                 | 24 |
| Appendix A: Model Diagnostics .....       | 27 |
| Appendix B: Full Regression Results ..... | 31 |
| References .....                          | 33 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Figure A1: Informal Test for Heteroskedasticity.....           | 28 |
| Figure A2: Alternative White Test for Heteroskedasticity ..... | 28 |
| Figure A3: Informal Test for Model Specification Error .....   | 29 |
| Figure A4: Link Test for Model Specification Error .....       | 29 |
| Figure A5: Omitted Variables Test.....                         | 30 |

## LIST OF TABLES

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Table 1: Relationship Between State Corporate Tax Rates and Average Annual Real Wage, 2009-2018.....             | 18 |
| Table 2: Relationship Between Lagged Tax Changes and Average Annual Real Wage in All U.S. States, 2009-2018..... | 19 |
| Table 3: Average Annual Wages by Direction of State Corporate Tax Change, 2009-2018 ...                          | 23 |
| Table B1: Regression Results From One Year Lag (i.e. Year 2 – Year 1).....                                       | 31 |
| Table B2: Regression Results From Three Year Lag (i.e. Year 4 – Year 1) .....                                    | 32 |

## INTRODUCTION

Historically, tariffs were the main source of revenue for the U.S. government (Domitrovic, 2018). The corporate income tax was first enacted at the federal level in 1909 as an excise tax (Internal Revenue Service [IRS], 2003). Upon the ratification of the 16th Amendment in 1913, the Federal Government was granted authority to levy income taxes. Under that new power, the federal income tax began to supplant tariffs as the largest component of revenue. The federal tax on corporate income also became a permanent component of the income tax code (Office of Management and Budget [OMB], 2020). Over the years, the share of revenue generated by corporate income taxes has declined. The share of federal revenue attributable to the corporate income tax peaked in the 1950s at 28 percent (J. Friedman, 2003). In 2019, corporate taxes comprised only seven percent of total federal revenues (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities [CBPP], 2020).

At the subnational level, individual states began adopting corporate income taxes soon after the Federal Government began its practice. In 1911, Wisconsin was the first state to pass such a law (Emanuel & Borean, 2014). As of 2020 only South Dakota and Wyoming have no corporate income tax or gross receipts tax (Tax Policy Center [TPC], 2020). State corporate taxes generate a relatively small share of state government revenue. Size of the revenue share varies by jurisdiction. New Hampshire, for example, has the greatest share of income generated by corporate taxes: 13 percent. On the opposite end of the spectrum are states like New Mexico,

North Dakota, Oklahoma, and South Dakota with only one percent of revenue attributable to corporate taxes (TPC, 2020).

Although state corporate tax rates make up a relatively small share of any state's revenue, it nevertheless remains a noteworthy portion of revenue for most states. As of July 2020, combined state and local debt across the United States was \$3.1 trillion (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (US), 2020). For states like Illinois, which has \$140 billion in unfunded liabilities, every dollar counts. Corporate tax revenue accounting for five percent of the state's \$40.1 billion budget is not immaterial (Schuster, 2020; TPC, 2020; Office of the Governor, 2019).

Corporate income taxes are popular with politicians and voters alike. They allow states to generate an important amount of revenue without having to increase individual income tax or property tax rates. By imposing taxes on corporations, politicians may reason they can insulate themselves from backlash that may otherwise come from individuals subject to personal income tax hikes. Likewise, many self-interested voters will naturally prefer taxes on capital holders if it means foregoing tax hikes on themselves. For many it is also a matter of fairness as labor's share of income has fallen since the turn of the 21st century and income inequality appears to be increasing within the United States (Stone et al., 2020; Feenstra et al., 2015; University of Groningen and University of California, Davis [UC Davis], 2020).

Milton Friedman (1975) once said, “[o]ne of the greatest mistakes is to judge policies and programs by their intentions rather than their results.” There is perhaps no more salient

application of that observation than to tax policy. This paper examines the relationship between state corporate tax rates and wages to better understand whether the intent of the corporate tax rate is meted out by its results.

Sometimes a tax precisely hits its intended target. Consider the individual income tax. The intent is to generate revenue from individuals' annual incomes. The accomplishment of that intent is clearly realized every April 15.

On other occasions, the intended target may be overshoot. The payroll tax is an example. Half the tax is remitted by the employer. Half the tax is remitted by the employee. Unfortunately for the worker, the full effect of the payroll tax does not conform to its design. Since resources have alternative uses, the employer's half of the tax payment could have been used to increase the employee's wage. Instead, that money went to the government. The foregone wage increase means the worker effectively bears the full burden of the payroll tax. Unfortunately, there are other revenue policies where discerning the true tax incidence is harder still. Corporate taxes are one of those policies.

At first glance, it is tempting to think that the incidence of corporate taxation falls on the owners of corporations. After all, the laws of nearly every state compel corporations to remit tax payments to their respective revenue services. It is a fundamental misunderstanding of taxation, however, to believe that whichever party the law directs to pay a tax is the party that actually bears its burden. In reality, tax incidence is determined partly by a party's willingness to absorb increased costs and partly by the availability of substitutes. Consumers determine a

measure of tax incidence for goods by their willingness to pay more or purchase an alternative product. The same is true for production. Producers determine a level of tax incidence through their willingness to absorb increased costs or substitute factors of production. What is more, corporations are not abstract beings. Corporations are made up of people, and these people control the factors of production, capital and labor. We know people pay corporate taxes, but the question is: which people bear the burden?

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

A well-developed literature exists on the general issue of corporate tax incidence, but many of those studies involve national or federal tax rates. Fewer articles are written with a focus on wages and corporate tax rates at the subnational level. Many of the scholars who have investigated the intersection of those narrower topics come to the similar conclusion: there is a negative relationship between state (or provincial) corporate tax rates and wages for labor. That said, the exact magnitude of the relationship has been difficult to pin down. Of course, not everyone agrees that the negative relationship exists. One, if not more, prominent scholars question the validity of the relationship entirely. Still, the weight of the literature suggests the relationship exists and that it matters for reasons of progressivity and efficiency.

In 2018, Fuest et al. study the incidence of the local business tax (LBT) in Germany using panel data and administrative data collected from 3,522 municipalities between the years 1993 and 2012. Municipalities in Germany have the autonomy to adjust their own LBT rates. This afforded the authors the opportunity to treat municipalities as small, open economies. By definition, open economies allow factors of production to be highly mobile. In the long run of an

economy, as forces of supply and demand interact and factors of production move about an all-encompassing, or general, market equilibrium will occur. One critic of the negative corporate tax to wage relationship, Kimberly Clausing (2011, 2013), points out that the complexity of an economy of this sort makes accurate empirical study difficult. Fuest et al. (2018) counter by pointing out that the “general equilibrium effects on interest rates or consumer prices, which may complicate measuring the incidence of the tax on workers, are likely to be of minor importance.” Their findings ultimately push back on the notion that the corporate tax rate is progressive. Fuest et al. (2018) conclude that based on their study’s tax incidence calculations, “the estimated progressivity of the overall tax systems in both Germany and the United States [as baselined in 2007 by Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez] would decrease by 25–40 percent.”

Another important finding from Fuest et al. (2018) study found that “wages are more sensitive to tax changes in more profitable firms” and that “higher taxes reduce wages most for the low-skilled, women, and young workers.” The latter point interestingly stands in contrast to the finding of Felix (2009) that suggested higher skilled workers bore a greater tax incidence in the wake of an increased state-level corporate tax rate.

Felix (2009) conducted an independent analysis of state corporate taxes on wages using a multivariate regression model. This model has the ability to control for multiple independent variables and apply each of them to the dependent variable independently while holding the remainder constant. She employed data from the Current Population Survey and focused on years from 1977 to 2005. Her model included real wages as a dependent variable and individual

characteristics, state characteristics, and state taxes as independent variables. While considering the coefficient on the state corporate tax rate, Felix (2009) found a statistically significant negative relationship at the one percent level.

There were two key findings from Felix's 2009 study. First, she found that "a one-percentage point increase in the marginal state corporate tax rate reduces wages 0.14 to 0.36 percent." Second, workers with higher levels of human capital were impacted disproportionately, negatively, by increases in the state corporate tax rate. More precisely, workers with at least a college degree, workers with a high school degree or some college, and workers without a high school degree saw respective wage reductions of 0.44 percent, 0.31 percent, and 0.26 percent. According to Felix (2009), this result suggests that the state corporate tax incidence is progressive, although less so than if the burden fell on shareholders of capital.

Another study done by Canadian researchers from the University of Calgary also considers the relationship between wages and corporate taxation at the subnational level. They drew conclusions about the inefficiency of generating revenue through provincially levied corporate taxes. In their 2017 report, McKenzie and Ferde find that "for every \$1 in extra tax revenue generated by an increase in the provincial [corporate income tax] rate, the associated long-run decrease in aggregate wages ranges from \$1.52 for Alberta to \$3.85 for Prince Edward Island." By their calculations, a recent two percentage point increase in the Alberta corporate income tax rate cost the average two-earner household \$830 per year. This was equivalent to a \$1.12 billion loss in earnings across the province (McKenzie & Ferde, 2017).

Not all scholars agree that there is such a clear negative relationship between state corporate tax rates and wages. In fact, as alluded to above, Clausing (2011, 2013), suggested that capital bears the full burden of the corporate tax.

Clausing published two papers (2011, 2013) wherein she discussed what she understood to be significant shortcomings in the available research at the time. In 2011, she critiqued existing research involving the general equilibrium model (described above) as “suffering from data or methodological limitations.” Her work focused on empirical robustness by gathering “an unusually comprehensive collection of data on labor market outcomes, focusing on [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries in the period since 1981 (Clausing, 2011).” She constructed comprehensive regression models and took pains to “focus on the economic mechanisms implied by open-economy general equilibrium tax incidence models (Clausing, 2011).” At the end of her analysis, Clausing (2011) met with mixed results. Most of the evidence did not suggest a major depression of wages resulting from an increase in corporate taxes. Nevertheless, she left room in her conclusion for the possibility that she may have missed something.

In her 2013 study, Clausing expanded on her 2011 concerns by calling for attention to be given to the degree of capital mobility; the willingness and ability for international consumers or producers to substitute products; the relative capital intensity of the corporate sector; the size of the country; the degree of factor substitution; imperfect competition; and the role of bargaining. She also cited as important several nuances of corporate tax policy including “residence-based

elements, accelerated depreciation rules, and the deductibility of debt which may result in implicit subsidization of debt-financed investments (Clausing, 2013).” After conducting another analysis of the corporate tax and labor relationship, she again concluded that there was “no robust link between corporate taxation and wages (Clausing, 2013).”

Still, other scholars believe labor bears some if not most of the state corporate tax incidence—especially if unions are involved. Felix and Hines (2009) compared union premiums—that is, the average wage benefits of belonging to a union versus not belonging to a union—from low corporate tax states to those from high corporate tax states. They found, in general, that unions and employers share the corporate tax burden in higher tax states. Conversely, when tax rates are low, employers and unions were found to share the tax savings. Felix and Hines (2009) found “that if a firm’s workforce is entirely unionized, then roughly 54 percent of the cost of higher tax rates is borne by union members in the form of lower wages.” The largest union wage premium, \$1.88, was found in the lowest-tax states. The union premium gap endured when the authors controlled for “observable worker and firm characteristics.” Felix and Hines (2009) found that the union premium wage gap was “greater for wages in capital-intensive industries, which are the most heavily impacted by high rates of corporate income taxation.”

Carroll (2009) agreed with Felix and Hines (2009). Carroll wrote in 2009 that “a tax will generally be borne by the least mobile factor.” Carroll’s (2009) research method involved aggregating cross sectional state level data from 1970 – 2007. In this way he aimed to “directly

examine whether states with lower corporate taxes have tended to exhibit higher real wages.” He took steps to limit variables that could have skewed the relationship between corporate taxes and wages by controlling for unionization, right to work laws, and other demographic features. Carroll (2009) also included state and time effects to control for a battery of unobserved variables. His results include a “statistically significant negative relationship between corporate tax rates and real hourly average earnings for production workers.” More specifically, labor realized a 0.014 percent decline in wages for every 1 percent increase in the average state corporate tax rate (Carroll, 2009).

Chengrui Xiao (2019) published evidence from China on how the local business tax and surcharge (BTS) shifted from capital to labor after the BTS rate increased in 2002. Xiao’s 2019 work built on much of the literature already discussed, but give special attention to the findings of Fuest, et al. (2018) . While the magnitude of the change in wages was greater than the municipal study from Germany, labor nevertheless bore more of the taxation burden than capital. Xiao (2019), concluded that “[a]veraging over all firms liable to the BTS... workers [bore] almost 62% of the BTS burden.”

One criticism levied by Liu and Altshuler (2013) on previous studies involving corporate taxes and wages was that they assumed perfect competition in the marketplace. To reflect the reality of imperfect competition, the authors incorporated industry concentration ratios into their model. They chose to make industry their unit of observation “to account for the fact that in the conventional labor market environment, wages are determined at the industry level rather than

individually negotiated.” After estimating a mean elasticity—a sensitivity measure—of wages of approximately -0.03, the authors applied that figure to an estimate of the labor share of corporate income tax. They found that for every \$1.00 increase in the corporate tax liability, labor bore approximately \$0.60.

In 2018 Suresh Nallareddy, Ethan Rouen, and Juan Carlos Suárez Serrato examined the relationship between corporate tax cuts and income inequality. Their findings fell in between those of Clausing (who suggested no relationship) and others (who suggested significant relationships between corporate tax and wages). Nallareddy et al. (2018) used regression analysis and a statistical method that compared samples with similar characteristics to study the relationship. They found that cuts to the state corporate income tax resulted in an increase in capital income of 12.6 percent for those in the top one percent of income earners. This contrasted with a statistically significant negligible increase in capital income for those at the bottom of the income distribution (Nallareddy et al., 2018). Interestingly, however, while salaries for the bottom strata of income earners increased by 1.3 percent, salaries for the top one percent decreased by 4.4 percent. The authors did not find an increase in capital investment. Rather, they concluded that top earners responded to tax cuts by shifting income from wages to capital income to reduce taxes (Nallareddy et al., 2018).

### **Gaps in the Knowledge**

This study will attempt to extend and improve on two areas of Felix’s 2009 study. First, this study will attempt to expand the body of literature on the relationship between state

corporate tax rates and wages further into the 21st Century and past the Great Recession.

Although there are several published studies that examine the incidence of state corporate taxes using data collected prior to the Great Recession, works on the subject since then are scarce. There are even fewer based on data collected in the United States.

As referenced above, Felix (2009) found that “a one-percentage point increase in the marginal state corporate tax rate reduces wages 0.14 to 0.36 percent.” This relationship is associated with a decline in labor’s share of compensation for U.S. GDP. The data she used were gathered from the period 1977-2005. In 1977 labor’s share of compensation in GDP was 62.1 percent (Feenstra et al., 2015; University of Groningen and UC Davis, 2020). By 2005 that number declined to 60.5 percent after being as high as 64 percent in 2001. As of the most recent data in 2017, labor’s share of income was 59.7 percent (Feenstra et al., 2015; University of Groningen and UC Davis, 2020).

Second, this study seeks to improve two areas of internal validity from Felix’s (2009) study. This study will examine data from 2009-2018 using the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey (ACS) whereas Felix (2009) examined data from 1977-2005 using data from the Census Bureau’s Current Population Survey (CPS).

There are several differences between the ACS and the CPS. Two of those distinctions may play an important role in the study. First, the ACS’ sample size is thirty times larger than the CPS’. Second, the ACS is a mandatory survey whereas CPS is voluntary (United States Census Bureau, 2016). According to the US Census Bureau, due to the mandatory nature of the

ACS survey, it has a higher response rate than the CPS (USCB, 2016). Those characteristics are important for purposes of internal validity. Not only do larger sample sizes yield more precise estimates, but voluntary survey responses may inject an element of selection bias into the results. The Felix' (2009) finding of a negative relationship between state level corporate tax rates and wages was significant at the 0.01 level. The outcome of this study could have an important reinforcing or destabilizing effect on that negative relationship.

### **HYPOTHESIS**

This study will examine whether a negative relationship exists between U.S. states' corporate income tax rates and average annual real wages between 2009 and 2018.

### **MODEL & METHODOLOGY**

This study is based on the theory of tax incidence. Tax incidence theory states that a given tax will be paid by whichever party has the most inelastic demand; that is, the party which is least sensitive to its changing level. Price elasticities can be complex; but simply put, elasticities measure the willingness of a consumer to purchase a good or service given a change in the price of that good or service. Each elasticity is based on an individual's preferences and the availability of substitutes for the taxed good or service. In other words, the party that bears a given tax is not necessarily determined by which party the tax code directs to remit a tax. The burden of the tax is determined by the willingness to bear the higher cost and the availability of substitutes.

This study uses a simple observational design and controls for variables that likely influence the dependent variable through a multivariate, ordinary least squares regression. The main advantage of this statistical model is the ability to control for independent variables as if each variable was its own treatment variable in an experiment.

This study also uses an economic model that assumes an open national economy where goods, services, and factors of production can flow freely across borders.

**Exhibit 1: Variable Definitions, Name, Expected Signs with Literature Justification**

| Definition                   |  | Variable Name   | EXP Sign | Justification   |
|------------------------------|--|---|----------|---|
| <b>Dependent Variable</b>    |  |   |          |   |
| Y                            | Continuous variable indicating individual's annual real wage                                 | realwage  | N/A      | Felix, 2009   |
| <b>Independent Variables</b> |  |   |          |   |
| X <sub>1</sub>               | Average Tax Rate Difference Over 2 Years   | AvgTaxRateDiff2Year   | -        | Felix, 2009; Carroll, 2009; McKenzie and Ferede, 2017 |
| X <sub>2</sub>               | Variable Indicating Person's Age in Years as of Last Birthday                                | Age   | +        | Felix, 2009; Fuest 2009                               |
| X <sub>3</sub>               | Squared Value of Age Variable  | age2  | -        | Felix, 2009;  |
| X <sub>4</sub>               | Dummy Variable for Male  | male  | +        | Felix, 2009; Fuest 2018                               |
| X <sub>5a</sub>              | Categorical Variable for Completed High School Education or General Equivalency Degree (GED) | educat 2<br>*reference group is less than high school education | -        | Felix, 2009; Fuest 2018                               |
| X <sub>5b</sub>              | Categorical Variable for Four or More Years of College Education                             | educat 3<br>*reference group is less than high school education | -        | Felix, 2009   |
| X <sub>6</sub>               | Dummy for Metro Area   | metroarea   | +        | Felix, 2009   |
| X <sub>7</sub>               | Dummy for Industries   | cindustry   | +        | Felix, 2009   |
| X <sub>8</sub>               | Dummy for White  | white   | +        | Felix, 2009   |
| X <sub>9</sub>               | Dummy for Disability   | disability  | -        |   |
| X <sub>10</sub>              | Dummy for Earning Wages or Salary  | notselfemp  | +        |   |
| X <sub>11</sub>              | Dummy for Having Moved Between States in Last Year   | movedstate  | +        |   |
| X <sub>12</sub>              | Dummy for Recession Year (2009)  | recession   | -        |   |
| X <sub>13</sub>              | Dummy variable for U.S. state  | statefip  | +/-      |   |

## Exhibit 2: Definition and Sources of Variables in Parameter Form

$$\text{Model: } y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_{5a} X_{5a} + \beta_{5b} X_{5b} + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + \beta_9 X_9 + \beta_{10} X_{10} + \beta_{11} X_{11} + \beta_{12} X_{12} + \beta_{13} X_{13} + \varepsilon$$

where:

$y$  = realwage

respondent's pre-tax annual wage and salary income adjusted for inflation

$X_1$  = AvgTaxRateDiff2Year

Difference between average marginal tax rates with two years of separation (i.e. 2018 – 2016)

$X_2$  = age

Respondent's age in years as of last birthday

$X_3$  = age<sup>2</sup>

Respondent's age in years as of last birthday squared

$X_4$  = male

Indicator of respondent's sex

$X_{5a}$  = educat2

Categorical variable for completed high school education (i.e. diploma or GED)

$X_{5b}$  = educat3

Categorical variable for four or more years of college education

$X_6$  = metroarea

Indicator of place of work located in metropolitan area

$X_7$  = cindustry

Indicator that respondent works in industry compatible with corporations (i.e. not employed by government, military, etc.)

$X_8$  = white

Indicator that race of respondent is white

$X_9$  = disability

Indicator that respondent has a physical or mental handicap

$X_{10}$  = notselfemp

Indicator that respondent is not self-employed and instead earns a wage or salary

$X_{11}$  = movedstate

Indicator that respondent does not live in the same state as the year prior

$X_{12}$  = recession

Indicator of a recession year

$X_{13}$  = statefip

Indicator of U.S. state

$\varepsilon$  = unexplained variance, error term

$\beta_0$  = intercept

$\beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3, \beta_4, \beta_{5a}, \beta_{5b}, \beta_6, \beta_7, \beta_8, \beta_9, \beta_{10}, \beta_{11}, \beta_{12}, \beta_{13}$  coefficients of respective independent variables: partial slope coefficients

Source of variables:  $X_1$  constructed from data acquired from Tax Policy Center (TPC, 2020);  $X_2 - X_{12}$  recoded from variables included in American Community Survey data imported from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, United States of America (2021). Observed years range from 2009 to 2018.

## ANALYSIS

### Regression Models

This study examined the relationship between state corporate tax rates and labor wages by using three regression models. The first regression involved an analysis of the annual average real wage across all states, regardless of tax change status during the observed period, 2009-2018. Regression Two focused only on average annual real wages in states that increased the corporate tax rate at least once during the observed period. The third regression looked at average annual real wages from states that decreased the corporate tax rate between 2009 and 2018. The outputs of the three models are listed in Table 1.

The change in the tax rate was lagged two years from the measurement of real wage to allow for any response by capital owners to tax policy changes. Two additional regressions were run to compare the relationship between state corporate tax rates and labor wages with a one-year lag and a three-year lag. Table 2 displays the values of the real wage while controlling for the lagged tax rates.

**Table 1: Relationship Between State Corporate Tax Rates and Average Annual Real Wage, 2009-2018**

| Real wage  |       | Regression 1              | Regression 2              | Regression 3              |
|--|-------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Variables  | Mean  | Tax Increase States       | Tax Decrease States       | All States                |
| Constant Term  |       | -56493.06***<br>(-183.85) | -58869.35***<br>(-232.89) | -60292.22***<br>(-990.03) |
| AvgTax~2Year   | -0.09 | -1178.69***<br>(-12.30)   | -56.23***<br>(-3.56)      | -97.91***<br>(-11.13)     |
| age  | 43.35 | 2551.619***<br>( 200.98)  | 2590.49***<br>(390.29)    | 2450.90***<br>(1057.83)   |
| age2   |       | -27.34***<br>(-175.14)    | -27.57***<br>(-338.61)    | -26.01***<br>(-913.22)    |
| male   |       | 10867.09***<br>(145.45)   | 11090.21***<br>(281.53)   | 11152.42***<br>(816.68)   |
| educat 2   |       | -276.15***<br>(-4.05)     | -130.66***<br>(-3.91)     | 844.53***<br>(73.54)      |
| educat 3   |       | -19924.05***<br>(165.27)  | 21059.59***<br>(351.12)   | 21607.71***<br>(1010.56)  |
| metroarea  |       | 4592.39***<br>(67.66)     | 3884.66***<br>(104.25)    | 3806.62***<br>(274.30)    |
| cindustry  |       | 3331.36***<br>(18.10)     | 3299.63***<br>(35.06)     | 3186.02***<br>(-813.96)   |
| white  |       | 4200.95***<br>(46.77)     | 4259.14***<br>(99.74)     | 3941.15***<br>(267.70)    |
| disability   |       | -7853.25***<br>(-96.48)   | -8088.26***<br>(-195.21)  | -7866.51***<br>(-526.53)  |
| notselfemp   |       | 13078.65***<br>(68.14)    | 14646.46***<br>(147.16)   | 14370.85***<br>(433.47)   |
| movedstate   |       | -4527.16***<br>(-20.64)   | -3721.99***<br>(-35.77)   | -3515.46***<br>(-93.05)   |
| recession  |       | 2047.84***<br>(13.13)     | 573.25***<br>(6.97)       | 386.95***<br>(17.28)      |
| Number of States   |       | 5                         | 21                        | 50                        |
| Number of Observations   |       | 629,628                   | 2,951,235                 | 21,945,677                |
| R-squared  |       | 0.2390                    | 0.2637                    | 0.2475                    |
| F-Statistic  |       | 31438.91                  | 13867.53                  | 99999.00                  |
| <p>* = p &lt; 0.5; ** = p &lt; 0.1; *** = p &lt; 0.001<br/>                     -all regressions make use of robust standard errors<br/>                     -parenthetical number = t value</p> |       |                           |                           |                           |

**Table 2: Relationship Between Lagged Tax Changes and Average Annual Real Wage in All U.S. States, 2009-2018**

| realwage  | Coefficient         | Robust Standard Error | t-value | p-value |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| AvgTaxRateDiff1Year   | <b>-78.63408***</b> | 12.33538              | -6.37   | 0.000   |
| AvgTaxRateDiff3Year   | <b>-85.3597***</b>  | 7.455664              | -11.45  | 0.000   |
| * = p < 0.5, ** = p < 0.1, *** = p < 0.001  |                     |                       |         |         |
| -Refer to Appendix B for complete regression results for one-year and three- year lags. |                     |                       |         |         |

### Regression Interpretations

To properly interpret the regression results from Table 1, it is necessary to plug the coefficients into the model equation from Exhibit 2. Of greatest interest to this study is the relationship between the key independent variable, *AvgTaxRateDiff2Year*, and the dependent variable *realwage*. First, consider the interpretation of Regression 1 that focused on states with corporate tax increases between 2009 and 2018. To interpret the regressions from Table 1, input the coefficient on *AvgTaxRateDiff2Year*, -1178.69, into the corresponding portion of the model—in this case,  $\beta_1 X_1$ . Then, assume a state raised the corporate tax rate from, say, 7.5 percent in 2016 to 8.5 percent in 2018. Holding the rest of the independent variables, or the remaining betas from the model, constant and assuming a one percent tax increase would reduce the model to:

$$y = \beta_1 X_1 \rightarrow -1178.69 = 1(-1178.69)$$

In other words, the regression output suggests that, on average, holding all other variables constant, and only considering states with corporate tax increases, after two years, a one percent

increase in the state corporate tax rate will result in a \$1,178.69 decrease in the average annual real wage for labor.<sup>1</sup>

The same method of interpretation is used to understand the regression output for Regression 2 which focuses on states with corporate tax decreases. First, input the coefficient on *AvgTaxRateDiff2Year*, -56.23, into the corresponding portion of the model—again,  $\beta_1 X_1$ . Then, assume that a state's corporate tax rate was lowered from, say 8.5 percent in 2016 to 7.5 percent in 2018. Holding the remaining independent variables constant and assuming a one percent tax decrease would simplify the model to:

$$y = \beta_1 X_1 \rightarrow 56.23 = -1(-56.23)$$

In other words, the regression output suggests that, on average, holding all other variables constant, and only looking at states that decreased corporate tax rates, after two years, a one percent decrease in the corporate tax rate will result in a \$56.23 increase in the average annual real wage for labor.

Lastly, consider the output of Regression 3, which focused on all 50 U.S. states. Up to this point, the interpretations from Regressions 1 and 2 have been interpreted with either a

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<sup>1</sup> The informal model specification test returned a graph that depicted a strong, positive linear relationship between predicted residuals and the observed values of the dependent variable, *realwage*. The informal test result suggested there may be omitted variables in this model. The more formal Link and Ramsey tests also appear to suggest omitted variables. Nevertheless, the model results are very robust and thus allow the user to infer policy implications. Complete results for all model diagnostics as well as longer explanations of the omitted variable tests can be found in the appendix of this report.

positive or negative value in the tax rate change parameter,  $BI$ . In fact, the coefficient can be accurately interpreted with either a positive or negative number plugged into the beta parameter.

For example, plug the coefficient on  $AvgTaxRateDiff2Year$  from Regression 3 into the  $\beta_1 X_1$  portion of the model equation,

$$y = \beta_1 X_1 \rightarrow -97.91 = 1(-97.91)$$

In this case it would be accurate to say that, holding all other variables constant, approximately two years after any given U.S state enacts a corporate tax increase of one percent that state realizes a \$97.91 decrease in the average annual real wage for labor.

It would be equally correct to interpret the coefficient on  $AvgTaxRateDiff2Year$  using the opposite sign. In other words, if  $BI$  took the value of -1,

$$y = \beta_1 X_1 \rightarrow 97.91 = -1(-97.91)$$

the model with the same coefficient -97.91 could be interpreted as saying: holding all other variables constant, approximately two years after any given U.S state enacts a corporate tax decrease of one percent that state realizes a \$97.91 increase in the average annual real wage for labor.

A two-year lag was chosen based on the rationalization that if capital owners were to react to a tax policy change, the change would likely not be felt in the same year the policy was enacted. In other words, it would most likely take some time for a corporation to adjust its business practices or compensation structure to account for the change in tax rates.

Each test result was significant at the 0.001 level. This means that there is only a one tenth of one percent chance that the results produced in these tests occurred randomly. It suggests that there is a very strong relationship between the increase in state corporate tax rates and a decline in labor wages given the dataset and specified control variables. Similarly, it suggests a very strong relationship between the decrease in state corporate tax rates and an increase in labor wages, given the dataset and specified control variables.

### **Trends**

This study extends the study done by Felix (2009) by studying whether there was a negative relationship between the state corporate tax rates in the United States and labor wages that continued into the second decade of the 21st century. Given the output from the three models indicated above, it appears that the stated hypothesis is supported.

The magnitude of the relationship between the tax rate and wages differ to some degree from the Felix (2009) study. That is not altogether surprising, however, given the alternative data source used. The results are also similar to the vast majority of the literature which generally reflects a negative relationship, but with a variety of coefficients on the tax variable.

As reported in Table 1, between 2009 and 2018, the average annual real wage declined just under \$1,200 within approximately two years of states increasing their corporate tax rates. Importantly, the magnitude of that decrease is unique to the five states in the tax increase group. In other words, if five different states had hypothetically increased their corporate tax rates, the

unique characteristics of each state may have resulted in a wage decline that was larger or smaller than \$1,200.

Similarly, the magnitude of the increase in labor wages is unique to the 21 states in the tax decrease group. In other words, if a different state was substituted for any given state in the tax decrease group, the unique characteristics of that state may yield a wage increase that is larger or smaller than the \$56 reported in Regression 2.

To illustrate this point, consider the following table. Table 3 compares the average wages between sexes, racial groups, and education levels based on whether those individuals resided in tax increase or tax decrease states.

**Table 3: Average Annual Wages by Direction of State Corporate Tax Change, 2009-2018**

| Average Annual Wages |             |                          |                          |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
|                      | All States  | States with Tax Increase | States with Tax Decrease |
| Total                | \$21,833.30 | \$21,290.41              | \$22,403.39              |
| Men                  | \$27,252.04 | \$26,481.55              | \$27,712.38              |
| Women                | \$16,584.83 | \$16,243.80              | \$17,307.79              |
| White                | \$23,171.66 | \$22,301.71              | \$23,855.94              |
| Black and other      | \$17,373.71 | \$16,800.44              | \$17,233.44              |
| Less than HS         | \$ 5,664.48 | \$ 5,113.36              | \$ 5,473.00              |
| HS Degree            | \$16,020.46 | \$15,667.95              | \$16,012.70              |
| College Degree       | \$41,339.45 | \$40,435.72              | \$42,032.96              |

In every category, those in states with tax decrease states earned a higher average annual wage than those in tax increase states. However, to accurately compare one state against another, each variable would need to be input into the regression model and the results of each model contrasted.

When all 50 states were included in the analysis of the relationship between state corporate tax rates and labor wages, the results bore a decidedly negative relationship. The decrease in the average annual real wage that occurred on average if a state raised corporate tax rates suggests that capital owners may be shifting the burden of the tax increase onto labor in the form of lower wages.

Relatedly, the increase in the average annual real wage that occurred on average if a state decreased corporate tax rates suggests that capital owners may be shifting some of the tax savings to increase labor compensation. Overall, the data appear to suggest that capital owners are responsive to increases and decreases in the corporate tax rate.

### **POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

The results of this study challenge the conventional understanding of corporate tax policy in ways of progressivity, integrity, and efficiency.

First, the supported hypothesis calls into question the progressivity of state corporate taxes. Owners of corporations, the owners of capital, are presumed wealthier than their employees, the owners of labor, and are therefore presumed more capable of paying taxes. A corporate tax appeals to people who believe a tax system should be progressive—compelling those who earn more to pay a larger share of their income than those who earn less. For many, corporate taxes are attractive because they compel capital owners to “pay their fair share” and redistribute income to lower income workers.

The belief that the rich should pay more to help the poor is nothing new in the developed world, but the number of advocates for this position seems to have grown since the Great Recession. One motivation for this is the growing displeasure with the distribution of income. The Gini Index, for example, has been steadily rising since 2010 (World Bank, 2020).<sup>2</sup>

This paper's hypothesis, however, challenges conventional wisdom and generates uncertainty as to whether the full redistributive component of state corporate tax legislation is actually born out. Insofar as labor wages decrease with a rise in corporate tax rates, it appears that rather than contributing to greater progressivity in the tax system an increase in the corporate tax rate actually makes the system more regressive.

Relatedly, the supported hypothesis challenges the integrity of current and future corporate tax policies. Given the strength of the negative relationship (below the 0.001 level) between state corporate tax rates and labor wages, it becomes rather misleading for legislators to cite the progressivity of corporate taxes as a motivation for enactment.

Finally, a supported hypothesis challenges the efficiency of states' revenue policies. If capital owners adjust their behavior in response to the corporate tax burden, it appears that labor wages fall. As workers' incomes fall, this has the compounding result of shrinking the size of the income and sales tax bases. Consequently, revenue generated from those taxes will also diminish. As referenced above, many states literally cannot afford to have inefficient revenue streams.

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<sup>2</sup> The Gini Index is an estimate of the income distribution. It measures the distribution of income on a scale from zero—perfectly equal distribution—to one—perfectly unequal.

The debt situation at the sub-national level is bleak. In 2020, total debt held by states and local governments reached \$3.1 trillion (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve (US), 2020). Some policymakers believe the Federal Government will bail out troubled states if the need arose; but that would just rob Peter to pay Paul. According to the Congressional Budget Office (2020), the United States' 2020 public debt, \$20.3 trillion, amounted to 98 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). Even without intervening in state debt crises, that figure is expected to grow to 195% of GDP by 2050 (CBO, 2020).

There is no question that taxes are essential to the operation of state governments and the provision of many important services. It is important, however, that policymakers and their constituents understand whether the tax policies enacted are having the desired impact. They must be willing, from time to time, to reconsider the conventional wisdom and change course if necessary. Ultimately, real people bear the burden of real policies—well-intentioned or not.

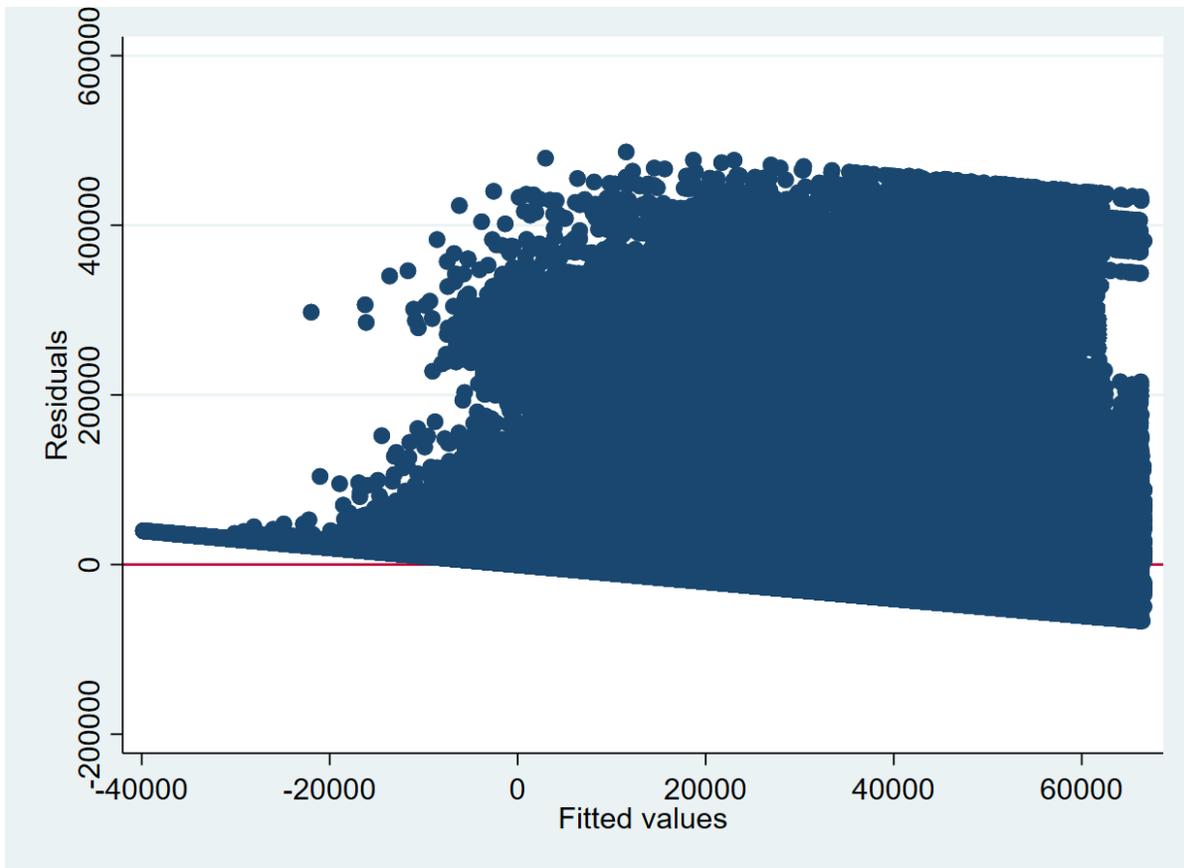
## APPENDIX A: MODEL DIAGNOSTICS

**Table A.1: Variable Correlation**

|              | realwage | Av~2Year | age     | age2    | male    | educ    | metroarea | cindustry | white   | disability | notselfemp | movestate | recession | statefip |
|--------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|---------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| realwage     | 1.0000   |          |         |         |         |         |           |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| AvgTax~2Year | 0.0015   | 1.0000   |         |         |         |         |           |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| age          | 0.0913   | -0.0013  | 1.0000  |         |         |         |           |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| age2         | 0.0474   | -0.0014  | 0.9866  | 1.0000  |         |         |           |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| male         | 0.1478   | 0.0013   | -0.0260 | -0.0255 | 1.0000  |         |           |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| educat       | 0.3374   | 0.0000   | 0.1608  | 0.1222  | -0.0429 | 1.0000  |           |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| metroarea    | 0.0921   | -0.0036  | -0.0413 | -0.0450 | -0.0117 | 0.0957  | 1.0000    |           |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| cindustry    | 0.2957   | -0.0010  | -0.0576 | -0.1071 | 0.0641  | 0.2503  | 0.0257    | 1.0000    |         |            |            |           |           |          |
| white        | 0.0677   | -0.0104  | 0.1023  | 0.1036  | 0.0095  | 0.0954  | -0.1222   | 0.0637    | 1.0000  |            |            |           |           |          |
| disability   | -0.1459  | -0.0023  | 0.1764  | 0.1847  | 0.0160  | -0.1353 | -0.0585   | -0.2518   | -0.0145 | 1.0000     |            |           |           |          |
| notselfemp   | 0.2856   | -0.0042  | -0.1282 | -0.1663 | 0.0213  | 0.1971  | 0.0287    | 0.7858    | 0.0260  | -0.2092    | 1.0000     |           |           |          |
| movedstate   | -0.0179  | -0.0010  | -0.0992 | -0.0934 | 0.0078  | 0.0349  | 0.0129    | -0.0135   | -0.0196 | -0.0171    | 0.0185     | 1.0000    |           |          |
| recession    | 0.0062   | -0.0228  | -0.0104 | -0.0136 | -0.0022 | -0.0129 | -0.0001   | 0.0162    | 0.0120  | -0.0085    | 0.0116     | -0.0051   | 1.0000    |          |
| statefip     | -0.0018  | -0.0596  | 0.0056  | 0.0058  | 0.0002  | 0.0026  | -0.1126   | 0.0213    | 0.0855  | 0.0102     | 0.0266     | 0.0007    | 0.0001    | 1.0000   |

27

When there is a strong relationship between two independent variables, also known as multicollinearity, it can be difficult to accurately discern the independent relationship each of those variables have with the dependent variable. A good way to identify if multicollinearity exists is by examining pairwise correlations. In the variable correlation test, each independent variable is separately paired with every other independent variable. If a pairwise combination of variables returns a value of 0.80 or larger, multicollinearity may exist and special attention should be paid to the relationship between those independent variables and the dependent variable.



**Figure A1: Informal Test for Heteroskedasticity**

```

. gen uhat2 = uhat^2

. predict realwagehat
(option xb assumed; fitted values)

. reg uhat2 realwagehat c.realwagehat#c.realwagehat

```

| Source   | SS         | df       | MS         | Number of obs =  | 21945677 |
|----------|------------|----------|------------|------------------|----------|
| Model    | 3.4760e+25 | 2        | 1.7380e+25 | F(2, 21945674) > | 99999.00 |
| Residual | 8.8884e+26 | 21945674 | 4.0502e+19 | Prob > F =       | 0.0000   |
| Total    | 9.2360e+26 | 21945676 | 4.2086e+19 | R-squared =      | 0.0376   |
|          |            |          |            | Adj R-squared =  | 0.0376   |
|          |            |          |            | Root MSE =       | 6.4e+09  |

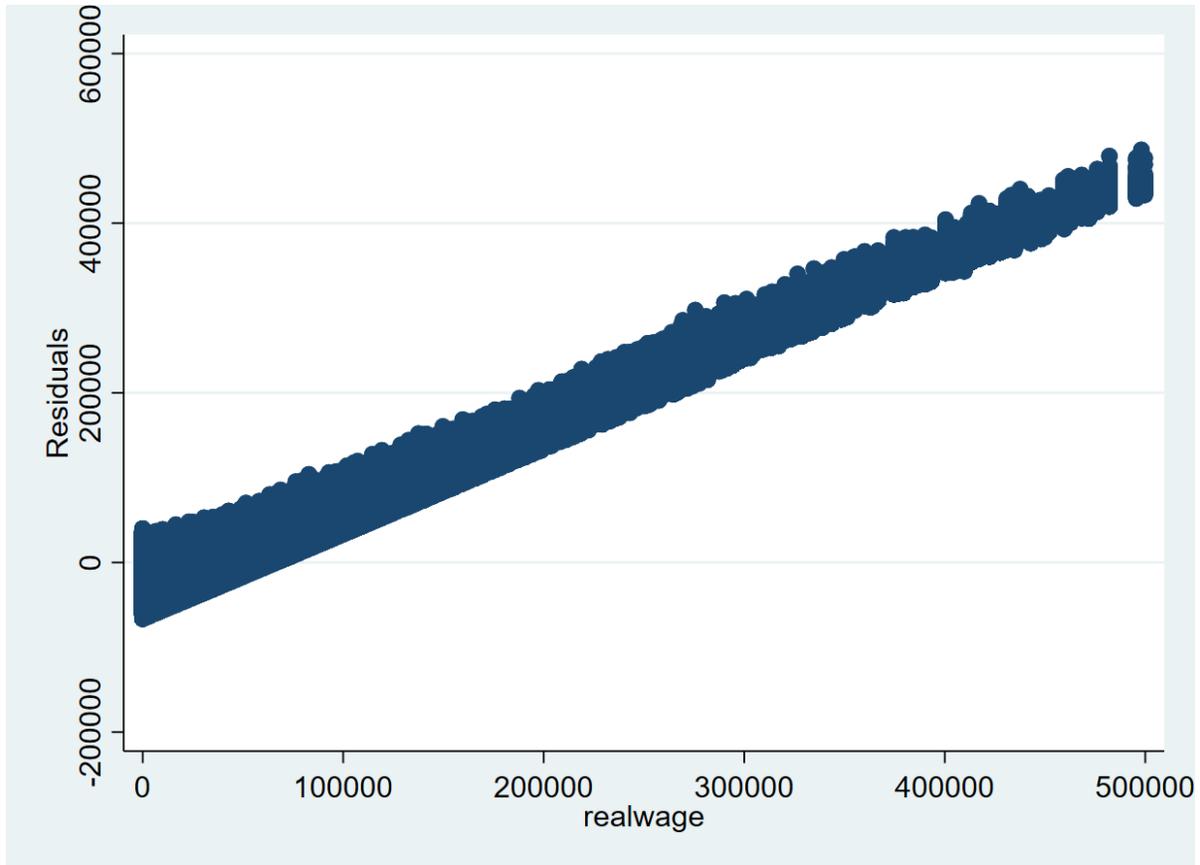
|  | uhat2                       | Coef.     | Std. Err. | t       | P> t  | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|----------------------|
|  | realwagehat                 | -20952.16 | 159.7492  | -131.16 | 0.000 | -21265.26 -20639.06  |
|  | c.realwagehat#c.realwagehat | 1.870052  | .0034007  | 549.90  | 0.000 | 1.863386 1.876717    |
|  | _cons                       | -5.65e+07 | 2168119   | -26.08  | 0.000 | -6.08e+07 -5.23e+07  |

**Figure A2: Alternative White Test for Heteroskedasticity**

This alternative White Test regressed predicted squared residuals on linear estimation of dependent variable and dependent variable squared. The F statistic is above the one percent

critical level and has a high level of statistical significance. We can reject the null that there is no heteroskedasticity in the model.

All of the output from the models included in the regression table above were generated with robust standard errors to compensate for the heteroskedasticity identified by the alternative White Test.



**Figure A3: Informal Test for Model Specification Error**

| realwage | Coef.    | Std. Err. | t       | P> t  | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|----------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|----------------------|
| _hat     | .2898366 | .0007668  | 377.98  | 0.000 | .2883337 .2913395    |
| _hatsq   | .0000172 | 1.63e-08  | 1051.59 | 0.000 | .0000171 .0000172    |
| _cons    | 1789.647 | 10.40706  | 171.96  | 0.000 | 1769.25 1810.045     |

**Figure A4: Link Test for Model Specification Error**

The informal model specification test returned a graph that showed a strong, positive linear relationship between predicted residuals and the observed values of the dependent

variable, *realwage*. The informal test result suggested the model may be missing other important variables. However, the formal Link Test suggests that the model is adequately specified. The formal test works by generating two variables “\_hat” and “\_hatsq”. If a model is specified correctly, \_hat should be accompanied by a statistically significant p-value. In this case, the p-value is significant beyond the 0.001 level. The \_hatsq variable, however, should be accompanied by a statistically insignificant number. Since that is not the case with this Link Test, the test appears to be inconclusive.

|  |
|--|
| Ramsey RESET test using powers of the fitted values of realwage<br>Ho: model has no omitted variables<br>F(3, 21945610) = 590989.92<br>Prob > F = 0.0000 |
|--|

**Figure A5: Omitted Variables Test**

The Ramsey RESET test, like the Link Test, is designed to test for omitted variables in the model. The null hypothesis states that the model has no omitted variables. Since the statistical significance of this test is beyond the 0.0001 level, the null hypothesis can be strongly rejected. There is likely at least one omitted variable in the model. Given, the dependent variable deals with wage, it is not surprising that there would be an omitted variable. Any number of factors can influence a person’s wage. With nearly 22 million individuals in the sample it is likely that many factors influencing wage are omitted from the model. Nevertheless, the results of the stated model are still very robust, and a user can responsibly infer policy implications from it.

## APPENDIX B: FULL REGRESSION RESULTS

**Table B1: Regression Results From One Year Lag (i.e. Year 2 – Year 1)**

| Source   | SS         | df       | MS         | Number of obs   | = | 21945677 |
|----------|------------|----------|------------|-----------------|---|----------|
| Model    | 7.0735e+15 | 63       | 1.1228e+14 | F(63, 21945613) | > | 99999.00 |
| Residual | 2.1511e+16 | 21945613 | 980211688  | Prob > F        | = | 0.0000   |
|          |            |          |            | R-squared       | = | 0.2475   |
|          |            |          |            | Adj R-squared   | = | 0.2475   |
| Total    | 2.8585e+16 | 21945676 | 1.3025e+09 | Root MSE        | = | 31308    |

| realwage             | Coef.     | Std. Err. | t       | P> t  | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|----------------------|
| AvgTaxRateDiff1Year  | -78.63408 | 13.73655  | -5.72   | 0.000 | -105.5572 -51.71093  |
| age                  | 2450.92   | 2.793486  | 877.37  | 0.000 | 2445.444 2456.395    |
| age2                 | -26.01442 | .0322907  | -805.63 | 0.000 | -26.07771 -25.95113  |
| male                 | 11152.4   | 13.45037  | 829.15  | 0.000 | 11126.03 11178.76    |
| educat               |           |           |         |       |                      |
| 2                    | 844.5552  | 21.77557  | 38.78   | 0.000 | 801.8758 887.2345    |
| 3                    | 21607.99  | 24.65517  | 876.41  | 0.000 | 21559.67 21656.31    |
| metroarea            | 3806.317  | 17.31487  | 219.83  | 0.000 | 3772.381 3840.254    |
| cindustry            | 3186.002  | 28.09172  | 113.41  | 0.000 | 3130.943 3241.061    |
| white                | 3941.244  | 16.5731   | 237.81  | 0.000 | 3908.761 3973.726    |
| disability           | -7866.724 | 21.46299  | -366.53 | 0.000 | -7908.791 -7824.658  |
| notselfemp           | 14370.85  | 24.4369   | 588.08  | 0.000 | 14322.96 14418.75    |
| movedstate           | -3515.519 | 39.12853  | -89.85  | 0.000 | -3592.209 -3438.828  |
| recession            | 374.0916  | 22.90362  | 16.33   | 0.000 | 329.2013 418.9818    |
| statefip             |           |           |         |       |                      |
| alaska               | 3599.737  | 154.1032  | 23.36   | 0.000 | 3297.7 3901.774      |
| arizona              | -492.8201 | 71.59764  | -6.88   | 0.000 | -633.1489 -352.4913  |
| arkansas             | 115.4896  | 88.28894  | 1.31    | 0.191 | -57.55354 288.5328   |
| california           | 2765.527  | 57.85649  | 47.80   | 0.000 | 2652.131 2878.924    |
| colorado             | 1163.715  | 74.57535  | 15.60   | 0.000 | 1017.55 1309.88      |
| connecticut          | 6631.952  | 82.72152  | 80.17   | 0.000 | 6469.821 6794.083    |
| delaware             | 672.8669  | 137.5527  | 4.89    | 0.000 | 403.2686 942.4653    |
| district of columbia | 10778.23  | 151.3038  | 71.24   | 0.000 | 10481.68 11074.78    |
| florida              | -630.1007 | 60.74934  | -10.37  | 0.000 | -749.1672 -511.0342  |
| georgia              | 1762.05   | 66.0034   | 26.70   | 0.000 | 1632.685 1891.414    |
| hawaii               | 2754.576  | 113.6103  | 24.25   | 0.000 | 2531.904 2977.248    |
| idaho                | -1421.454 | 110.2308  | -12.90  | 0.000 | -1637.502 -1205.405  |
| illinois             | 1986.823  | 63.61959  | 31.23   | 0.000 | 1862.13 2111.515     |
| indiana              | -380.9683 | 71.19665  | -5.35   | 0.000 | -520.5112 -241.4255  |
| iowa                 | 400.0144  | 86.88522  | 4.60    | 0.000 | 229.7225 570.3063    |
| kansas               | -237.3186 | 89.12298  | -2.66   | 0.008 | -411.9965 -62.64079  |
| kentucky             | -15.22679 | 77.94389  | -0.20   | 0.845 | -167.994 137.5404    |
| louisiana            | 1007.499  | 78.11608  | 12.90   | 0.000 | 854.3943 1160.604    |
| maine                | -2139.166 | 116.4523  | -18.37  | 0.000 | -2367.408 -1910.923  |
| maryland             | 6225.873  | 72.83941  | 85.47   | 0.000 | 6083.111 6368.636    |
| massachusetts        | 3939.366  | 70.55851  | 55.83   | 0.000 | 3801.074 4077.658    |
| michigan             | -607.7614 | 65.91972  | -9.22   | 0.000 | -736.9617 -478.5611  |
| minnesota            | 1649.274  | 74.46804  | 22.15   | 0.000 | 1503.32 1795.229     |
| mississippi          | 534.5111  | 88.21718  | 6.06    | 0.000 | 361.6086 707.4136    |
| missouri             | -884.4942 | 72.33402  | -12.23  | 0.000 | -1026.266 -742.7221  |
| montana              | -795.4381 | 131.4834  | -6.05   | 0.000 | -1053.141 -537.7352  |
| nebraska             | -505.6894 | 103.1577  | -4.90   | 0.000 | -707.8747 -303.504   |
| nevada               | 467.4623  | 89.93514  | 5.20    | 0.000 | 291.1926 643.7319    |
| new hampshire        | 1966.634  | 114.0024  | 17.25   | 0.000 | 1743.193 2190.074    |
| new jersey           | 6102.174  | 67.56335  | 90.32   | 0.000 | 5969.752 6234.595    |
| new mexico           | -742.3405 | 101.3169  | -7.33   | 0.000 | -940.9179 -543.7631  |
| new york             | 3361.397  | 60.48728  | 55.57   | 0.000 | 3242.844 3479.95     |
| north carolina       | 39.50049  | 66.18785  | 0.60    | 0.551 | -90.22533 169.2263   |
| north dakota         | 1979.741  | 149.208   | 13.27   | 0.000 | 1687.299 2272.184    |
| ohio                 | -625.9102 | 64.91495  | -9.64   | 0.000 | -753.1411 -498.6792  |
| oklahoma             | 1154.516  | 82.40132  | 14.01   | 0.000 | 993.0128 1316.02     |
| oregon               | -890.1276 | 80.16232  | -11.10  | 0.000 | -1047.243 -733.0123  |
| pennsylvania         | 51.31593  | 63.51016  | 0.81    | 0.419 | -73.16169 175.7936   |
| rhode island         | 623.5904  | 126.219   | 4.94    | 0.000 | 376.2056 870.9752    |
| south carolina       | -1076.456 | 76.4315   | -14.08  | 0.000 | -1226.259 -926.6532  |
| south dakota         | 237.3681  | 142.132   | 1.67    | 0.095 | -41.20551 515.9416   |
| tennessee            | -693.2289 | 71.20795  | -9.74   | 0.000 | -832.7939 -553.6639  |
| texas                | 1644.017  | 59.15576  | 27.79   | 0.000 | 1528.074 1759.96     |
| utah                 | -244.4747 | 89.88821  | -2.72   | 0.007 | -420.6523 -68.29699  |
| vermont              | -988.5826 | 155.4845  | -6.36   | 0.000 | -1293.327 -683.8386  |
| virginia             | 4076.119  | 67.86732  | 60.06   | 0.000 | 3943.102 4209.137    |
| washington           | 2296.861  | 70.02487  | 32.80   | 0.000 | 2159.615 2434.107    |
| west virginia        | -28.45329 | 103.225   | -0.28   | 0.783 | -230.7705 173.8639   |
| wisconsin            | 418.3483  | 73.05432  | 5.73    | 0.000 | 275.1645 561.5322    |
| wyoming              | 3161.71   | 165.8136  | 19.07   | 0.000 | 2836.721 3486.698    |
| _cons                | -60291.22 | 76.78071  | -785.24 | 0.000 | -60441.71 -60140.73  |



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