

The Property Tax and Local Spending -A Need for Balance

New Englanders are well aware of their high property taxes. They are probably not so aware of the wide differences in tax rates and spending levels among towns and cities in this region. Recently available data on market values of property and effective property tax rates show serious discrepancies between local tax resources and needs for government services.

The following analysis demonstrates that tax rates are generally lower in towns with high quality residential property or a substantial amount of industrial or resort property. Such fortunate towns have high per capita tax bases and at the same time high per capita spending. In other words the "haves" spend more than the "have-nots" and still enjoy lower tax rates.

The analysis suggests that capacity to raise local revenues, as measured by equalized or full market value of property, should be a much more important factor than it now is in formulas for the distribution of state and federal aid.

In New England the property tax is the major source of local revenue. It provides 87 percent of local revenues exclusive of state and federal aids. The base of this tax,

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therefore, can be used to measure the capacity of local governments to raise the revenues they need.

Local assessing practices differ widely so that assessed values do not give a good basis for comparison. The Tax Commissions or Departments in five New England states, however, survey samples of local properties by town and city to determine the average ratio of assessed to full market value. These ratios are applied to assessed values to determine the full market value of taxable property in each town or city. Full market values are also referred to as "equalized" property values. These values can then be used to compare local tax resources.

Similarly local tax "efforts" can be compared by using tax rates based on market values. The "equalized" tax rate is the ratio of the local property tax levy to the market value of property in the town or city.

Equalized values and tax rates provide a reasonable basis for comparisons among towns and cities within a state, although the full value figures are more accurate for residential than for other types of property. The definition of the tax base differs among the states but the major differences are taken into account below.

Equalized property values per capita in New England towns and cities range from about \$1,000 per capita to more than \$30,000 per capita. This range is much greater than the difference in expenditures among local governments: expenditures for current purposes vary from about \$40 to about \$400 per person. Equalized tax rates range from less than \$10 to more than \$65 per thousand.

Relation of Tax Efforts to Tax Resources

Tax efforts reflect many differences among local communities. Some communities spend large sums for schools. Places with a high proportion of professional people are likely to spend heavily on school buildings and equipment and to have above-average teacher salaries. In a number of communities a considerable proportion of the families send children to private schools. Communities with a high proportion of persons over 65 and in low income groups have relatively high welfare costs. Cities tend to have higher costs for welfare, police and fire protection, health and sanitation. "Exurban" communities have little need for sidewalks, street lights, and sewers, but may spend more for recreation, libraries, and general government. Very small rural communities are likely to find per capita costs high for such municipal services as they do provide.

Of course some communities are parsimonious. They spend little on education and provide a minimum level of government services. As a re-

TAX RATES AND PROPERTY VALUES New England Cities And Towns-1960



sult, some low income communities also have low tax rates.

Despite all these differences, however, the size of local tax resources is a major influence both on per capita spending levels and on equalized tax rates.

The chart above shows that high tax rates go hand in hand with low tax resources, while low tax rates accompany high tax resources. This relationship is also demonstrated in the following figures:

City or Town	
Equalized Property	Average Equalized Property Tax
Value Per Capita	Rate* (Dollars Per \$1,000)

	1960							
	Mass.	N.H.	Maine	R.I.	Conn.			
Under \$4,000	30.1	29.5	28.0	18.8	20.3			
4,000 - 6,999	24.3	24.2	20.2	18.6	18.2			
7,000 - 9,999	19.5	19.6	17.6	12.3	15.0			
\$10,000 & Over	14.5	14.8	13.2	9.7	12.9			

* Simple arithmetic averages of tax rates by town and city. Property values were adjusted for different treatment of motor vehicles among the states. This applies also to the following text tables.

Tax rates, however, do not change proportionately with changes in per capita property values. Rather, the relation between tax rates and property values can be described approximately by a curved line which starts at high tax rates for places with low tax resources and falls rather steeply to average levels of tax rates and tax resources; the curve then flattens out and falls very slowly for places with tax resources above the average. (See curved line in the chart.) This relationship indicates that the local tax levy per capita is fairly constant except for places with very high or very low resources.

The chart and the figures above show the large disparity between tax resources and tax efforts among communities. In Massachusetts, towns with a per capita equalized value of less than \$4,000 have tax rates more than twice as high on the average as those with property values of over \$10,000 per capita. Towns with property values from \$4,000 to \$7,000 have tax rates 25 percent higher on the average than those with property values of \$7,000 to \$10,000 per capita.

Tax rates are abnormally high (\$67 per thousand) in Boston and Chelsea where property values per person are relatively low (\$3,160 and \$2,045 respectively in 1960). Apart from these extreme cases, equalized tax rates in Massachusetts range from about \$40 per thousand in Amesbury, Athol, Leicester, Middleton and Fall River (poor communities as measured by the size of the tax base per head) to less than \$15 per thousand in such places as Brewster, Chilmark (both Cape Cod towns), Granville, and Somerset, where taxable property values are more than \$10,000 per head.

The range of equalized tax rates is smaller in Rhode Island and Connecticut where the maximum rate is about \$30 per thousand. In Maine and New Hampshire rates range from as much as \$50 per thousand to as little as \$7 per thousand.

While equalized tax rates are generally lower in places with high tax resources, per capita expenditures tend to be higher. Places with low tax resources tend to spend less than average



Connecticut and Massachusetts Towns and Cities – 1960 *



amounts even though their tax rates generally are higher than average:

City or Town

Average Current Expenditures
Per Capita 1957

		Mass.	N.H.	Maine	R.I.	Conn.
Under	\$3,000	\$116	\$ 86	\$75	\$76)	\$ 54
3,000 -	- 3,999	126	99	82	69	
4,000 -	- 6,999	136	105	90	81	94
7,000 -	- 9,999	164)	100	84		110
\$10,000 8	& Over	193 }	120			151

School expenditures contribute significantly to higher over-all spending in wealthier towns as shown by the following data:

City or Town	
Equalized Property	Current Expenditures per Pupil
Value Per Capita	1960-61

	Massachusetts	Connecticut	
Under \$4,000	\$355	\$372	
4,000 — 6,999	377	372	
7,000 — 9,999	418	409	
\$10,000 & Over	504	483	

Per capita expenditures vary widely even for places with similar size of tax base per capita. This indicates that many things other than local property tax resources affect the rate of spending. Expenditures of large cities are high even where the property tax base per capita is small.

State and federal aids to localities are designed in part to offset differences in local fiscal resources and needs. These aids help to reduce dependence on local tax resources. As the data below indicate, relatively more intergovernmental aid goes to poorer communities. Nevertheless, a large disparity between local tax efforts and per capita expenditure levels remains.

City or Town Equalized Propert Values Per Capite	ty go	Average 1 overnmen eral Ex	Percentag ital Reve penditur	ge of Inter nue to Ge es, 1957	r- en-
	Mass.	Maine	R.I.	Conn.	N.H.
Under \$3,000 3,000 - 3,999	38.0 32.3	25.6 18.3	29.7 22.7	27.5	15.3 8.9
4,000 - 6,999 7,000 - 9,999	27.8 }	12.7	19.6	20.0 16.7)	8.5
\$10,000 & Over	23.4		_	19.8 }	1.3

Influences on Tax Resources

The most important factor accounting for differences in equalized property values is family income. As the chart on this page shows, median family income and per capita property value have a positive and roughly proportional relationship. High income towns (such as Darien, New Canaan, Wellesley, Longmeadow, Westport) have high property values per capita. Thus low tax rates and high property values generally go with high median family income and vice versa. The map on page 5 clearly pictures the ring of low tax rates in wealthy suburbs around Boston.

Other influences on per capita property values are location in a resort area and proportion of commercial and industrial property. As the map A supplement to this article, containing statistical notes, tables, charts and sources, is available on request from the bank's research department.

shows, many resort towns on Cape Cod, in the Berkshires, and on the Maine coast have low tax rates. This is true even though median family income of year-round residents is relatively low e.g., Barnstable, Falmouth. Some places, such as Everett and Somerset, Massachusetts, have a high concentration of industrial and other business property giving them a substantial tax base, although their median family incomes are low. Nevertheless, the places which succeed in keeping a low tax rate by means of a high proportion of industrial and commercial property are relatively few. Concentration of business property generally goes with low median incomes.

The loss of industries has affected the tax base of many towns in New England. A number of Maine towns where mills have closed must supply much the same services as before with a reduced tax base. This accounts for many cases in Maine where the equalized tax rates exceed \$40 per thousand. Loss of industry has also contributed to high tax rates in such places as Fall River and New Bedford.

In some small, rural places in Maine very small populations and high expenditures per head account for high tax rates.

Interstate Comparisons

Despite differences in the definition of the tax base, differences in average state tax rates result from much the same influences that produce variations within states.

Connecticut has the highest per capita personal income (\$2863) and the highest median value of dwelling unit (\$16,700); it also has the lowest average tax rate, but the second highest per capita local spending in New England. New Hampshire and Maine have low personal incomes and median values of dwelling unit, and they have relatively high tax rates despite a low level of per capita local spending.

Massachusetts is an exception in that it has a personal income level second only to Connecticut but it also has a high average tax rate. In Massachusetts local government spending is a large share of the combined state-local total and the property tax levy is a large portion of total state-local taxes. Massachusetts has the highest per capita local expenditures in New England. In addition, the property tax base in Massachusetts excludes corporation property other than real estate. This gives Massachusetts a narrower property tax base and accounts in part for its relatively higher property tax rates.

Local property tax revenues range from 5.8

Digitized for FRASER https://fraser.stlouisfed.org Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis percent of personal income in Vermont to 4.2 percent in Connecticut. The New England average of 5.0 percent compares with an average of 3.9 percent for the country. Corresponding to heavy dependence on the property tax is a low reliance on state and federal aids — 23 percent in New England as compared with 29 percent for the country. The range is from 28 percent in Massachusetts to 8 percent in New Hampshire.

The Implications

Needs for government services are similar from town to town but much higher rates are necessary in some places than in others to attain a reasonable level of these services. Wealthy towns with their lower tax rates have more freedom of choice over how much to spend from local tax sources. Poor towns have the highest effective tax rates. Thus, the property tax falls more heavily on low income families and low income towns than on high income families and high income towns.

There are some offsetting considerations. Local governments provide poorer families with relatively greater benefits, particularly in education. But among different towns this consideration does not apply - low income towns do not provide greater services than high income towns. Also, state and federal aids help to offset this difference in tax bases. Not only is more aid given to "have-not" communities but also federal aid is financed in part with taxes that fall more heavily on higher income families. But less than 5 percent of federal taxes goes for aid to localities and the aid given by states does not succeed in closing the gap. Thus, places with low per capita spending levels often tax themselves at 2 or 3 times the rates in more fortunate communities. Conversely, places with relatively large tax resources are able to spend heavily and still enjoy low tax rates.

The New England states have been slow to take adequate account of the size of the local tax base in distributing aid. For the first time Connecticut is taking steps to make equalized property values a factor in the distribution of school aid. Rhode Island did so in 1960. Massachusetts aids are distributed in part on the basis of equalized values - 1945 values - and the use of up-to-date valuations is long overdue. New Hampshire and Maine have used state equalized valuations for over a decade but Vermont has yet to take such steps. In general, size of tax resources - measured by equalized property values per person — is a major influence on both local tax rates and per capita spending. The need for greater redistribution of revenues from wealthy to poor towns is clearly evident.

New England BUSINESS REVIEW



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To Be or Not To Be – Automated

Thirty years ago most New England banks sorted and posted their checks by hand. Even the simplest business machines were scarcely used. In Waterbury, Connecticut, for example, only 1 of the 3 banks owned an adding machine in 1934; the other two borrowed it at the end of each month. Now the time is fast approaching when checks and deposit slips will go through banks almost untouched by human hands. Most large banks are already committed to automation. Most small banks are considering whether or not to be automated and are weighing the values, costs, and methods of setting up automation programs.

What is automation in banking? It's the process by which high-speed electronic machines carry out the bank's bookkeeping. The machines also read and sort checks, post individual accounts, analyze account activity, and determine service charges. And they do all of this with amazing speed.

Besides performing banking operations more efficiently, automation enables banks to function as community bookkeepers. One New England bank has been experimenting with a plan to pay regular monthly bills for depositors — deducting from the depositor's account each month goods and services bought from participating companies. In other cases depositors do not even handle their own pay checks. Salaries are simply deducted from the employer's account and credited to the employees.

To find out how much automation banks were using or planning, the Federal Reserve System in March of this year made a survey of commercial banks throughout the country. Almost all the banks replied. As part of the national survey, the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston sent questionnaires to 271 banks in New England. All banks with deposits of more than \$25 million and all member banks whatever their size were surveyed.

Magnetic Ink Character Recognition

Electronic check clearing machines vary from bank to bank and checks must be capable of being cleared through all the machines. Some standardized process had to be adopted. For this reason, bankers use the Magnetic Ink Character Recognition Program. Numbers showing the Federal Reserve District, the state, and the bank on which the check is drawn are printed in magnetic ink along the bottom band of the checks. Account numbers and dollar amounts may also be printed on the check in magnetic ink. Machines capable of reading these numbers can sort the checks and feed information to computers.

The survey showed that New England banks were progressing faster than banks in most other areas. All but two banks reported preprinting some checks. Almost half the banks in this region were preprinting more than four-fifths of their checks with magnetic ink symbols. Almost a fifth of the banks in the smallest deposit size group (under \$10 million) reported all their checks were now preprinted with magnetic ink symbols. This was a higher proportion than any other group of banks. Progress in use of magnetic ink symbols is shown with the report that by the middle of 1963 all checks will be preprinted at 90 percent of New England banks.

Automation in Larger Banks

As one would expect, the largest banks as a group are the most automated. In March 1962, 12 of the 14 New England banks with deposits of more than \$100 million had on hand or on order high-speed electronic equipment for deposit accounting or for transit (the process by which banks collect funds from other banks). Thirteen of these banks already had or were planning for a computer.

On the whole large banks feel that the best approach is to have their own high-speed equipment. They point to the advantages of better management and control, better service, better informed personnel, more independence, and flexibility. For these reasons most banks with deposits of over \$100 million expected to have their own computers. At the time of the survey, only 2 of the 13 banks with high-speed equipment planned cooperative ventures.

In the middle size group (banks with deposits of \$25 to \$100 million) there is less automation. Of the 45 regional banks in this category, 13 had or were planning for high-speed electronic equipment, and all but 2 of the 13 expected to use a computer. Of these, eight owned or leased their computers; three planned to use computers of independent service bureaus or correspondent banks.

Most banks agreed checking accounts would be automated first. Then attention would be given to savings, mortgages, installment loans, etc.

Most larger banks feel that their own problems — and they are numerous — must be solved before any automation services can be offered to other banks. Many large banks, however, have already started meeting with interested small banks to discuss the problems of offering automation services. One great difficulty of providing data processing is that services vary from

Digitized fo^PFRASER https://fraser.stlouisfed.org Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis bank to bank and so do charges. Each bank may need a special computer program. Other problems are:

- 1. Basis of charges item or time.
- 2. Responsibility for overdrafts.
- 3. Entering stop payment orders.
- 4. Coordinating time schedules for check pickup and service center workload.

Providing service to other banks will enable city banks to spread the overhead cost of service centers. It will also encourage country banks to maintain relations with correspondent city banks.

Fourteen of the 34 New England banks with high-speed equipment hope to provide deposit accounting services for other banks. Thirteen banks expect to offer check sorting services. The map shows the location of banks offering or planning to offer services to other banks.

Choices for Small Banks

Although small banks recognize the advantages of owning electronic data processing equipment, the high costs, space, and know-how problems loom large. For the most part, smaller banks will have to use services offered by others. Last March only six of the 212 New England banks with deposits under \$25 million had highspeed electronic equipment on hand or on order. Four of the six expected to own or lease the equipment; the other two planned on cooperative ventures. But 44 expected to use an independent service bureau or correspondent bank.

The Correspondent Bank — Recent interviews with bankers reveal that the most popular choice for the small bank is the service of a correspondent bank. Where correspondent banks are not in direct competition — that is, where they are *not* close geographically — small banks are not afraid of losing accounts to larger banks.

Independent Service Bureaus – A few small or medium size banks plan to use independent service corporations (establishments created by nonbank corporations which make available high-speed equipment to users of all kinds). But many bankers have a wait-and-see attitude toward them. These service centers will have to convince the banks of their dependability and aptitude in solving banking problems.

Their Own Service Centers – One medium size bank has already established its own service center. It opened in January 1961 and is not yet profitable. It is expected to reach a break-even point in 1963 with substantial profit to the bank thereafter. This service center deliberately gives priority to out-of-the-bank applicants — local businesses in need of data processing. As a result the bank's own automation program is developing very slowly and will probably not be completed before the end of 1963 or 1964.

It is too early to judge the impact of an owned service center on a bank's business, but this may be an important means of attracting new accounts, thus compensating for the risks of the large capital outlay.

Joint Ventures – A

recently enacted federal law (P.L. 87-856) allows banks to invest jointly in service corporations except where state law does not give this authority to state chartered banks. At this time state banks of New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont have no authority to invest in service corporations. The law provides that the service corporations may perform services only for banks. This law may stimulate the growth of cooperatives, although many banks point to the difficulties of working with competitors.

In Connecticut, a group of nine or more independently owned banks — mostly small — have just announced plans to establish a cooperative service center under this law. These banks are quite close geographically but apparently have overcome the fear of dealing with competitors.

A year ago a group of Massachusetts banks, affiliated through a holding company, set up a joint service corporation. This service organization is now owned by the holding company but the new law may change the form of ownership to a cooperative.

At its present stage of development and cost, electronic equipment is probably uneconomic for the sole use of a small bank. Automation for small banks may grow through (1) offering data processing to nonbank clients, (2) jointly owned service centers, or (3) using services of city correspondent banks. As Governor Mitchell of the Federal Reserve Board said:

On the face of it, it would appear that electronics is the genii of the large bank and cannot be put to work with as great an advantage for the moderate sized or small bank. But it is too soon to conclude that E.D.P. cannot be adapted or made available to smaller institutions or that competitive costs cannot be substantially met by other accounting techniques . . .

Main Street National may not be a growth firm but it may be entirely adequate to the community it serves. It may itself be too small to bear the charge of automating its accounts. But Main Street and ten or twenty others like it may be able to do in service bureaus or in association what they cannot do alone.









MANUFACTURING INDEXES	MASSACHUSETTS		NEW ENGLAND		UNITED STATES				
	(1950–52 = 100)		(1950-52 = 100)		(1957–59 = 100)				
(seasonally adjusted)	Oct. '62	Sept. '62	Oct. '61	Oct. '62	Sept. '62	Oct. '61	Oct. '62	Sept. '62	Oct. '61
All Manufacturing	120	118	119	124	125	122	120	120	114
Primary Metals	106	108	115	110	114	107	100	101	107
Textiles	44	45	47	65	65	68	n.a.	115	113
Shoes and Leather	118	121	117	129	126	124	n.a.	n.a.	103
Paper	107	110	111	126	128	122	n.a.	121	116

	NEV	V ENGLAND Percent Chan) ge from:	UI	NITED STAT Percent Ch	ES ange from:
BANKING AND CREDIT	Oct. '62	Sept. '62	Oct. '61	Oct. '62	Sept. '62	Oct. '61
Commercial and Industrial Loans (\$ millions)	1,584	- 1	+ 8	34,137	+ 1	+ 7
(Weekly Reporting Member Banks) Deposits (\$ millions) (Weekly Reporting Member Banks)	4,906	+ 1	+ 2	127,414	+ 1	+ 6
Check Payments (\$ millions) (Selected Cities)	11,317	+16	+11	181,327	+18	+12
Consumer Installment Credit Outstanding (index, seas. adj. 1957 = 100)	125.7	+ 1	+ 7	136.0	+ 1	+ 9
TRADE						
Department Store Sales	110	— 5	— 5	110	— 6	+ 1
(index, seas. adj. 1957-59 — 100) Department Store Stocks (index, seas. adj. 1957-59 — 100)	116	+ 2	+ 3	120	+ 2	+ 8
EMPLOYMENT, PRICES, MAN-HOURS & EARNINGS						
Nonagricultural Employment (thousands) Insured Unemployment (thousands) (excl. P. P. and temporary programs)	3,800 107	+ 4	+ 1 - 8	56,308 1,401	+ 2	+ 2 - 8
Consumer Prices (index 1957-59 = 100)	107.3	0	+ 3	106.0	0	+ 1
Production-Worker Man-Hours (index, 1950 = 100)	85.9	— 2	0	100.8	— 2	+ 2
Weekly Earnings in Manufacturing (\$)	86.85	— 4	+ 1	96.72	- 1	+ 2
OTHER INDICATORS Construction Contract Awards (\$ thous.) (3-most moving averages Aug. Sent. Oct.)						
Total	194,114	<u> </u>	+ 5	3,442,925	— 3	+ 5
Residential	88,963	+ 7	+18	1,593,421	0	+ 7
Public Works Electrical Energy Production (index sease add, 1957-59 = 100)	42,507 128	+32 - 1	+44 + 4	607,840 129	— 7 — 2	-1 + 5
Business Failures (number)	75	+83	+63	1,410	+26	— 3
New Business Incorporations (number)	1,037	+60	+16	15,330	+ 2	- 1
	n.a	. — not ava	ilable			

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