5-2010

Classifying Communities in Maine: A Comparative Analysis of Fiscal Determinants

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Classifying Communities in Maine:
A Comparative Analysis of Fiscal Determinants

A Public Policy and Management Program
Master’s Capstone Project Report

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May 2010
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Classifying Communities in Maine:
A Comparative Analysis of Fiscal Determinants

Introduction

Every day, municipalities around Maine are faced with decisions about the types
of services to provide their residents and how to pay for those services. Some
communities have an easier time of this than others. Hub communities that draw
commuters and visitors must provide a broad array of services with an often limited
property tax base. In many cases, communities are faced with difficult tradeoffs between
cutting services or increasing property tax rates. This is not a situation unique to Maine:
the fiscal health of cities has been a concern since the 1960s and 1970s when wholesale
changes to the fiscal structure caused major cities across the country to experience fiscal
distress. These changes, such as the decline of manufacturing and rise of service-sector
jobs, moves from program-specific federal funds to block grants, and a general decline of
federal and state funding caused such turmoil in the finances of cities that researchers
began to devote their attention to the fiscal disparities among cities.

Later, researchers began to think about structural fiscal issues versus budgetary
ones (LeGrande, 1975; Bradbury et al., 1984; Chernick and Reschovsky, 1995). While
budgetary issues relate to the city’s ability to create, pass, and execute a budget, issues
that are generally controlled by the local government, structural issues are those outside
the city’s control. They may include the size and density of the population, the age and
types of housing, the quantity of tax-exempt properties, or the income and education
levels of their residents. These structural issues result in fiscal disparities and impact the
city’s ability to provide services for its residents at a reasonable cost.
To date, much of the research that has been done on fiscal issues has been focused on cities or metropolitan areas. But small towns and rural municipalities also face fiscal disparities. More recently, some attention has been paid to these other types of communities (Bradbury and Zhao, 2007, 2009). An important step in providing relief from fiscal disparities is to classify communities according to the level of fiscal stress they experience and the reasons for that fiscal stress. Maine has classified service center communities, but currently there is no breakdown beyond a simple identification of being a service center or not.

What are fiscal disparities? LaPlante (1997) defines a fiscal disparity as “a mismatch between needs and demands for services and a state or local government’s ability to pay for them.” Governments are expected to provide a certain level of services based on the needs and demands of their residents. Often, the government’s ability to raise revenues to pay for those services is not fully sufficient. This is when fiscal disparities occur. Fiscal disparities can also occur when a government is able to raise more revenue than it needs to pay for services, although this is a less frequent occurrence as residents tend to demand increased services as their ability to pay increases. This definition is very similar to what Bahl (1994) describes as the resource-requirement gap: the difference between revenues a jurisdiction can raise on its own plus state and federal aid and the cost of providing a standard package of public services.

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I. Fiscal Disparities Among Municipalities: The Literature

Much has been written on fiscal disparities since the 1960s, when researchers first began studying the topic in earnest. Early research focused on defining fiscal disparity and understanding how it affected cities. Research evolved to examine different ways of measuring fiscal disparities and trying to identify causation. The geography of focus has expanded to include different types of municipalities, rather than the central city-suburb disparity of most of the early work. Most recently, researchers have tried to provide more accurate measures of fiscal disparities and formulas that could be used by states and the federal government in distributing aid. In addition, researchers have returned to the challenge of describing fiscal disparities and are developing new methods to better estimate causation.

Many studies focus on identifying the cost factors and revenue factors behind structural fiscal issues. These factors are fiscal determinants: the variables that affect a municipality’s fiscal health. While each study generally uses slightly different variables, many of the themes are the same. Cost factors may include population size and density, housing stock, and indicators of sprawl. Revenue factors may include the property valuation, tax assessments, income levels, and housing costs.

In one of the seminal works on fiscal disparities, Bradbury et al. (1984) offered improved designs of state aid programs to offset fiscal disparities specifically based on cost differences. The authors define the concept of cost disparities and how to measure them. As an example, this measurement is applied to municipalities in Massachusetts. A regression analysis is used to create cost indexes that can be integrated into aid formulas.

The authors include nine cost variables in their study including the following
statistically significant variables: the number of full-time equivalent pupils per capita, population density, per capita employment in trade industries, the crime rate, and the age of the housing stock.

In a similar vein, MaCurdy and Nechyba (1998) develop a model to examine the relationship between a city’s demographic profile and local government finances. The authors create a cost function regression model that incorporates demographic variables (specifically age). More recently, Chernick and Reschovsky (2006) focused on identifying the fiscal disparities that occur based on the differences in fiscal institutions. The authors estimate fiscal capacity and expenditure needs on a municipal level within a set of metropolitan areas. Population change and poverty rates are both indicators of the economic health of a municipality and are used in this study to approximate expenditure needs, along with population density.

Bradbury and Zhao (2007, 2009) have been developing a more accurate measure of fiscal disparities that could be used in a formula to distribute funds. The authors identify a list of variables to use in determining non-school municipal costs. The variables are used to describe five prototype communities: large cities, rural towns, job center suburbs, higher-income residential suburbs, and resort towns. The municipalities in Massachusetts are then used as a sample to evaluate the appropriateness of the variables. Measures of capacity, also identified in this study, reflect both the resources that municipal governments are able to tap (through property taxes, for example) and constraints on revenue-raising, such as property tax limits.

Regression analysis was used to evaluate the correlation between variables and the costs of municipalities. The study found that local governments in large cities, rural
towns, and job-center suburbs had costs that exceeded their revenue capacity while higher-income residential suburbs and resort towns had revenue capacity that exceeded their costs. This study built on earlier research and culled down the essential cost variables from a lengthy list using the results of the regression analysis.

Variables used in the regression analysis include measures of per capita non-school spending, cost factors, and resources, preferences, and institutional factors. Measures of spending include public safety; public works; general government, health, welfare, culture, and recreation; and debt service, fixed cost, and other. Cost factors include population density; the logarithm of population; percent of population in poverty; unemployment rate; and private jobs by place of work per resident. Resources factors include equalized property value per capita; per capita income; school-age children per capita; dummy variable for mixed school system; and dummy variable for K-12 regional schools. My study benefits greatly from the work done by Bradbury and Zhao, which was very helpful in establishing a list of variables to consider.
II. Fiscal Disparities in Maine Municipalities: Issue Dimensions and Perspectives

A. Funding Sources

In Maine we have very few metropolitan areas and even fewer cities (and no large cities at all). We do, however, have a very strong municipal system – 496 municipalities of varying shapes and sizes. These municipalities are similar to cities in that they face similar revenue pressures and needs to provide services thus also face fiscal disparities. In Maine, there are three sources of revenues for municipalities: federal, state, and local. Funding can come either directly or indirectly from the federal government, directly from the state, or be raised locally by the municipality.

Direct federal funding has been declining for some decades, but does still exist. Aid to local governments may be provided through grants or low-interest or no-interest loans. Indirect funding goes to states first and the states then distribute it among their municipalities. Both direct and indirect funding may be associated with a particular service or program, where the federal government dictates what the funding can be used for. Other funding is discretionary and can be used for any number of purposes as the municipalities see fit. Most of the funding tends to be directed towards a specific program or service.

In addition to the funding passed through from the federal government, state governments provide their own funding to municipalities. One of the ways states provide funding to municipalities is through revenue sharing. The purpose of revenue sharing is to ease the financial burden on municipalities. Five percent of the state’s monthly revenues from sales taxes and corporate and individual income taxes are placed in a revenue sharing pool. Funds are distributed from this pool to municipalities on the basis
of two formulas. Both formulas are based on the state valuation, the tax assessment, and the population. For fiscal year 2011, around $100 million is budgeted for revenue sharing.

Another form of state funding is General Purpose Aid to Local Schools. In this case, distribution is based on essential programs and services. It considers the cost of providing a certain set of services along with the pupil count of each school. The state also provides other education funding to municipalities, such as the cost of teacher retirement. Total K-12 education funding budgeted for fiscal year 2011 is just over $1 billion. The state also provides funds to municipalities for other purposes: transportation funding, general assistance, and property tax reimbursements, among others.

The third way municipalities receive funding is through raising their own revenues. In Maine, municipal governments raise revenue through residential and commercial property taxes. Back in the early 1980s, as property values grew and revenue streams for municipalities increased, Maine municipalities increased the level and variety of services they provided. By the late 1980s, however, property tax rates were rising to cover the increasing costs of the expanded services. In addition, the economic downturn of the early 1990s caused a tremendous amount of fiscal stress. Not only did property tax revenue decline, state and federal funding dropped as Maine and the U.S. each dealt with their own fiscal issues. Municipalities became ever more reliant on property taxes to raise

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revenues and so had to continue increasing tax rates to maintain the level of services they had been providing.

Some measures have been taken to improve the fiscal health of Maine communities. First, the state prohibits “unfunded mandates” unless they are approved by two-thirds of the legislature. This means that if the state is going to require municipalities to provide a certain service, the state must provide at least 90% of the funding for that service annually. These requirements have reduced the number of services towns are required by the state to provide their residents.

The School Finance Act of 1985 required the state to pay 55% of the cost of K-12 education. This funding level was never met. Not only did the costs of education increase substantially following the passage of the bill, the recession of the early 1990s depleted state resources. It was many years before the state budget recovered enough to reconsider achieving this funding level. A citizen referendum in 2004 reaffirmed the public’s belief in the importance of this funding requirement.

In 2005, the Legislature incorporated this 55% funding requirement into the “LD1” tax levy limit law. This law limits the growth of local, county, school district, and state budgets based on population and income growth. Limits can be exceeded through an explicit public vote. The State Planning Office releases a report on the progress of LD1 each year.6

Despite these efforts, property taxes remain a hot-button topic. The Palesky tax cap proposal in 2004 and Taxpayer Bills of Rights in 2006 and 2009 were all defeated by voters at the polls, but by narrow margins. Meanwhile, the decline of manufacturing has shifted the property tax burden from commercial to residential property in many places,

6 http://www.maine.gov/spo/
increasing tax pressures on residents. The latest recession and the 2008 housing crash have caused foreclosures and property value declines along with reduced state funding yet again. Municipalities are being faced with the need to find additional revenue even as increasing property tax rates becomes less palatable.

B. The Implications of Fiscal Disparities

Fiscal disparities are important for several reasons. First and foremost, municipalities are responsible for providing many of the services that people rely on from day to day: K-12 education, road maintenance, snow removal, and public safety (including police, fire, and ambulance services) are a few examples. The exact set of services will vary from municipality to municipality according to the needs and tastes of each population. The cost of providing those services and the ability to raise revenue for them will also vary from place to place.

In general, municipalities with more services to provide also tend to have greater difficulty raising sufficient funds to pay for them.7 In Maine, Portland is one example: because it is the largest city in the area, the local government must provide a tremendous variety of services. At the same time, it has a limited property tax base to draw from and struggles to meet the costs of providing services. Small rural towns have similar challenges but for different reasons: even though they may have a very small population, they still must provide a set of basic services. The per capita cost of providing those services is higher and again the towns are often operating with a limited property tax base.

The municipality’s ability to provide basic services directly influences the health and well-being of its residents. If a town cannot provide quality K-12 education, or keep the roads plowed during the winter, the residents suffer as a result. Similarly, if a municipality can only provide these services by imposing very high property taxes on its residents, those residents suffer from this higher tax burden.

The issue of equity is also important here. Residents of any municipality should receive a certain set of basic services without having to suffer an undue property tax burden. If different municipalities have differing tax burdens, more affluent residents who are more mobile will gravitate towards the municipalities with lower tax burdens. Low-income households, the very households that have the lowest ability to pay and highest need for services, are thus left behind in the municipalities with higher tax burdens. This exacerbates the fiscal disparities even more, as comparatively wealthy communities become wealthier and poor communities become poorer. For this reason, states try to mitigate the fiscal burdens felt by needy municipalities.

In the literature, Ladd and Yinger (1994) examine the issue of equity in providing intergovernmental aid, specifically from state governments to local ones. The authors consider several different formulas that states could use to provide assistance to municipalities, including one that ensures that municipalities willing to make equal sacrifice (in terms of property tax rates) should receive the same level of services. They argue that categorical equity (where all citizens have access to the most important public services) is an achievable and reasonable goal. In addition, they believe the provision of education services should not be tied to the level of wealth in a community.
C. The Emergence of the Service Center Concept in Maine

In the mid 1990s, the State of Maine became concerned about the state of service center communities in Maine. The 118th Legislature established a Task Force on Service Center Communities (1998) to examine the issues facing service centers and make recommendations about how to revitalize these communities. The task force identified 69 regional centers in Maine, broken out into primary centers, secondary centers, and small centers. Additionally, 26 specialized centers were identified that did not meet the service center criteria, but had particular attributes that characterized them as centers nonetheless.

Service centers share three key attributes: they import workers from other communities, they have retail sales exceeding the needs of the local community, and they offer an array of services (social, cultural, financial) to the surrounding region. Four basic criteria were used to identify these centers: the level of retail sales, the jobs to workers ratio, the amount of federally assisted housing, and the volume of service sector jobs.8 Towns were scored on a series of indexes created from the variables listed above. In 2002, the State Planning Office updated the listing of service centers. This current listing includes 63 service center communities (no longer broken out into primary/secondary/small) and 14 contiguous areas.

The service centers comprise all sorts of communities: larger cities like Portland and Bangor, tourist attractions like Camden and Freeport, regionally important towns like Van Buren and Jackman, and mill towns like Lincoln and Ashland.9 This is one of the major differences between the current service center designation and the concept of hub communities: the indices used to determine service centers place a great deal of importance on a municipality’s standing relative to other communities, while

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8 Maine State Planning Office (http://www.maine.gov/spo/landuse/techassist/servicecenterlist.htm)
9 See Appendix 1 for a map of service center communities in Maine
identification of hub communities focuses on the fiscal determinants that exert pressure on local budgets and drive up property tax rates.

The hub classification system created by Dr. Josephine LaPlante identifies primary hub communities, secondary hub communities, and sending communities. These identifications are based on fiscal determinants in combination with elements of regional importance. Hub communities are those communities that draw people in for work, leisure, shopping, or other services, causing them to suffer from the free rider problem. These communities also tend to have higher proportions of tax-exempt properties, such as universities and hospitals. These may also be communities of historical importance. For example, Dexter is a secondary hub community: when Dexter Shoe was in business, hundreds of people traveled to Dexter for work. Since the factory closed, very few people now travel to the town, but much of the infrastructure and services still exist, causing fiscal pressures on the town budget.
III. This Project
   A. Purpose and Importance of Study
   The purpose of this project is to identify and analyze various fiscal determinants that could be used to improve the classification of communities. Some prior work has been done on initial identification of fiscal determinants.10 This study takes the existing, working classification of communities in primary hubs, secondary hubs, and sending and compares various fiscal determinants to see whether patterns emerge that could be used to improve the classification system. In addition, attention was paid to whether the existing classifications should be further subdivided.

   B. Methodology
   Data were collected for municipalities across Maine. Only municipalities with at least 200 residents were included, as data are very limited for municipalities with populations smaller than 200. Data were collected from a variety of sources, including the U.S. Census Bureau (data from Census 2000 and the Population Estimates Program), Maine Revenue Services, and the Maine Department of Labor.

   This study uses the existing classification of communities as the basis for analysis. A total of 411 municipalities were included in the analysis: 34 primary hub communities, 58 secondary hub communities, and 319 sending communities. Androscoggin County has no secondary hub communities within the existing classification and Oxford County has no primary hub communities. All other counties have at least one of each type of community.

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A smaller subset of communities were used when working with Maine Department of Labor data on average annual employment and wages. Due to the small size of some communities and the presence of one or two large employers, data for certain communities cannot be disclosed in order to protect the confidentiality of the employers. Communities for which data were not available were excluded from the analysis (a total of 22 communities were excluded).

There are three primary types of data commonly identified in the literature on fiscal disparities: cost factors, revenue factors, and expenditure data. While there are some variables commonly identified by multiple studies, each study generally uses a slightly different measure to get at the same factor. Much of this has to do with the availability of data and the structure of the methodology. Since some factors can contribute both to costs and revenues, I find it more useful to think about data in terms of the issues around fiscal disparities: size of community; demographic and social composition; housing; business and employment; sprawl; and revenue-raising capacity. Based on the literature and the availability of data I began with a data set of 22 variables across the different categories listed on the following page.
C. Variables Considered

Size of Community:
- Total Housing Units (2000)

Sprawl-related Factors:
- Population change (2000 to 2008)
- Population density (2000)
- Travel time to work (2000)

Housing:
- Average gross rent (2000)
- Percent of housing that is renter-occupied (2000)
- Percent of homes vacant for seasonal use (2000)
- Percent of housing that is 1-unit detached (2000)
- Percent of homes built before 1940

Demographic and Social Composition:
- Median age (2000)
- Median household income (2000)
- Percent of population with HS diploma or higher (2000)
- Percent of population with Bachelor’s Degree or higher (2000)
- Percent of population with Graduate Degree or higher (2000)

Business and Employment:
- Total retail sales (2009)
- Per capita retail sales (2009)
- Unemployment rate (2009)
- Average annual employment (2009)
- Average annual wage (2009)

Revenue Sources:
- Full Valuation (2006)
- Total Property Tax (2006)
IV. Comparative Analysis of Fiscal Determinants

A. Community Types

I began by looking at the averages for each variable by community type. This revealed some interesting patterns and became the basis for further analysis.

Table 1: Size of Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>Population 2000</th>
<th>Population 2008</th>
<th>Housing Units 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Hub</td>
<td>12,499</td>
<td>12,529</td>
<td>5,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Hub</td>
<td>4,862</td>
<td>5,057</td>
<td>2,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>1,809</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,052</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,154</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,522</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The size of a community, based on total population counts and total housing unit counts, is a promising indicator of community type. Primary hubs, on average, have the most housing units and the largest population. Secondary hubs have relatively less, and sending communities have the smallest populations and housing unit counts.

Table 2: Sprawl-related Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>% Change in Population 2000-2008</th>
<th>Population Density (people per sq mile)</th>
<th>Travel Time to Work (minutes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Hub</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Hub</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.1%</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sprawl-related factors also are promising indicators of community type. Despite primary communities having the highest population counts, these communities experienced the smallest population growth from 2000-2008. Sending communities have been experiencing the greatest population growth, indicating that population has been sprawling out from the hub communities into the sending communities. Closely related is the travel time to work: people living in the sending communities have the longest commutes to work. People are moving out to the sending communities, but still work in the hub communities, causing hub communities fiscal stress as they try to support the free riders.

Population density clearly identifies the different types of communities. Primary communities have much higher population densities than secondary communities, and sending communities have very low population densities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>Average Gross Rent</th>
<th>Percent of Renter-occupied Housing Units</th>
<th>Percent of Housing Units Vacant for Seasonal Use</th>
<th>Percent of 1-unit, Detached Housing</th>
<th>Percent of Housing Built in 1939 or Earlier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Hub</td>
<td>$483</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Hub</td>
<td>$498</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>$493</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>78.4%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$493</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While rental prices show something of a blurry picture, the rest of the housing factors are clear in their indication of community types. Primary hubs have higher rates of renter-occupied housing units and lower rates of seasonal housing. Hub communities
have more apartment buildings (which corresponds with the higher population densities in these communities) and fewer summer camps or second homes. The 1-unit detached housing, which is the standard single-family home, is also more prevalent in sending communities. Primary hubs also have higher rates of older housing, which again increases fiscal stress.

**Table 4: Demographic and Social Composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
<th>Median Household Income</th>
<th>Percent of Population with HS Diploma or Higher</th>
<th>Percent of Population with Bachelor's Degree or Higher</th>
<th>Percent of Population with Graduate Degree or Higher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Hub</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>$ 34,000</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Hub</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>$ 36,812</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>$ 35,551</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>39.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 35,601</strong></td>
<td><strong>83.7%</strong></td>
<td><strong>19.1%</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.5%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demographics and social composition are less clear in their indication of community types. There is very little variation in median age – essentially all of Maine is old. Median household incomes are actually highest in secondary hubs and lowest in primary hubs, with sending communities in the middle. This might be an indication that further breakdowns of communities are needed: some sending communities are likely poor and rural while others may be suburban and wealthier.

The education variables show delineation between sending communities and hub communities as a whole. Sending communities on average have lower percentages of their population with HS diplomas, bachelor’s degrees, and graduate degrees. There is little difference between primary and secondary hub communities, though.
Table 5: Business and Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>2009 Retail Sales</th>
<th>2009 Per Capita Retail Sales</th>
<th>2009 Unemployment Rate</th>
<th>2009 Average Annual Employment</th>
<th>2009 Average Annual Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Hub</td>
<td>$241,224,191</td>
<td>$ 20,362</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>10,183</td>
<td>$ 34,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Hub</td>
<td>$51,330,083</td>
<td>$ 10,193</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>2,179</td>
<td>$ 31,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>$5,175,933</td>
<td>$ 2,372</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>$ 26,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$31,216,277</td>
<td>$ 4,964</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>1,455</td>
<td>$ 28,217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Retail sales may show the differences between community types most clearly. Primary hub communities have far and away more retail sales in total and per capita than secondary hub communities, which in turn have substantially more retail sales than sending communities. This is clearly an important variable in determining community status. Primary hubs have slightly lower unemployment rates than secondary or sending communities, which is a reflection of their status as employment centers. They also have higher average annual employment and wages.

Table 6: Revenue Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>2006 State Full Valuation</th>
<th>2006 Total Property Tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Hub</td>
<td>$1,160,124,746</td>
<td>$19,577,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Hub</td>
<td>$620,346,280</td>
<td>$8,310,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>$155,724,653</td>
<td>$2,011,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$302,651,933</td>
<td>$4,322,004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the state full valuation and total property tax are highest in primary hub communities, but these reflect both the residential and commercial properties within communities. While these may be useful in classifying communities, more helpful indicators may be residential or commercial property taxes and valuation.

B. Counties and Community Types
The next step of analysis was a closer examination of those variables that seemed most promising as the basis for a future classification system. For each variable I calculated the averages by community type within each county. The charts below show the results of this analysis. Each chart shows three important pieces of data:

- the comparison within each county of primary, secondary, and sending communities;
- the comparison across counties for each type of community; and
- how each county compares with the overall average in each community type.

Chart 1 shows the total population for 2000, while Chart 2 shows the total population for 2008.
Immediately apparent is that primary hub communities and secondary hub communities have larger populations than sending communities. In nearly all counties, the primary communities have the highest average population. Androscoggin, Cumberland, Kennebec, Penobscot, and York counties have the largest primary communities – which makes sense, since these counties include Lewiston and Auburn (Androscoggin), Portland (Cumberland), Augusta (Kennebec), Bangor and Orono (Penobscot), and Saco and Biddeford (York).

Chart 3 shows total housing units in 2000.
Similar to the total population charts, primary hub communities have the most housing units on average, followed by secondary hub communities and then sending communities. In general, the housing unit patterns are very close to the total population patterns. One thing that stands out is that in many counties, there is a slightly higher proportion of housing units in secondary communities relative to primary communities when compared to the proportion of population in secondary versus primary communities. This may be an indication of more seasonal housing or second homes in some secondary communities. Seasonal housing is examined on its own later.

Chart 4 shows the population density for 2000.
Again, it is clear that primary and secondary communities have a much higher population density than sending communities. In addition to Androscoggin, Cumberland, Kennebec, Penobscot, and York counties, Sagadahoc stands out as having very high population densities. The towns of Bath and Topsham, both in Sagadahoc County, have relatively large populations within a small geographic area, boosting the overall population density of this county. It is also apparent that the counties with higher population densities in their hub communities also have higher population densities in their sending communities. The more urban counties, such as Cumberland and York, are more densely populated overall than the more rural counties like Aroostook and Somerset. In fact, the sending communities in the more urban counties are often more densely populated than even the primary hub communities in rural counties.

Chart 5 shows the average travel time to work as another indicator of sprawl.
In all counties, the residents of sending communities had the longest travel time to work, averaging more than 26 minutes. The residents of the sending communities in more urban counties had the longest commutes to work, likely because of the congestion involved with commuting in the larger cities in the state. Rural counties like Aroostook and Washington, where people are more likely to be working closer to home, had lower travel times overall.

Chart 6 shows renter-occupied housing units.

Sentencing communities in all counties had the lowest percentage of renter-occupied housing units, while in most cases primary hub communities had the highest percentage. This makes sense in conjunction with the population density figures: communities with
more rental units and apartments tend also to have higher population densities. In two counties, Lincoln and Piscataquis, the secondary hub communities actually had more renter-occupied housing than the primary hub communities.

Chart 7 shows 1-unit, detached housing units (standard single-family homes).

**Chart 7**

While there is less of a definitive pattern in the 1-unit housing, the primary communities generally have lower percentages of 1-unit housing than secondary and sending communities. In all but one county, the sending communities have the highest percentage of 1-unit, detached housing. This might be a situation where additional community types would help: some counties have similar percentages of 1-unit housing in primary and secondary communities, other have similar percentages in secondary and
sending communities. This seems to indicate that the secondary hub communities could be broken out into two categories.

Chart 8 shows the percentage of housing built in 1939 or earlier.

Chart 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Housing Units Built Before 1940 (Percent)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary Average: 29.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sending</td>
<td>Sending Average: 26.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Primary Average: 36.4%</td>
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</table>

Again, there is less of a pattern emerging from this variable, but there are a few points of interest. In general, primary and secondary communities have higher percentages of older housing. Some counties have much greater disparities between the age of the housing in primary communities and in secondary/sending communities: Androscoggin, Cumberland, Lincoln, Penobscot, Sagadahoc, and Waldo. These counties tend to contain more of Maine’s earliest established communities, along the coast and major rivers of the state. Other counties, such as Kennebec, Knox, and Washington,
where the primary and secondary communities have higher rates of older housing, also contain many established communities.

Chart 9 shows total retail sales for 2009.

Chart 9

The contrast between hub communities and sending communities is most apparent in this chart. Retail sales are dominated by a few primary hub communities in Androscoggin, Cumberland, Kennebec, and Penobscot counties. The Bangor Mall and surrounding area is the single biggest contributor to total retail sales. Part of this is geographic: while people in southern parts of the state have many options for shopping, the Bangor Mall is essentially the only place to go in that area. In addition, Bangor’s relative proximity to the Canadian border brings in many international visitors for whom the Bangor Mall is the closest large shopping center.
While several other primary and secondary hubs have sizable retail sales, sending communities across the state have minimal retail sales. This is an excellent indication that retail sales should be one consideration in classifying communities.

Chart 10 shows average annual employment in 2009.

Chart 10

It is clear from this chart that primary hub communities are the employment centers, with some secondary hub communities also home to many jobs. Androscoggin, Cumberland, Kennebec, and Penobscot counties have the highest average annual employment in their primary hubs. Sagadahoc County has high employment in Bath, its primary hub community, due to the presence of Bath Iron Works.

Chart 11 shows average annual wages in 2009.
In nearly all counties (Washington being the exception), sending communities have the lowest average annual wages. The presence of Bath Iron Works again skews the average wage for Sagadahoc’s primary hub communities. There is less differentiation between primary and secondary hub communities in terms of wages – in some counties the primary hubs are highest, in others the secondary hubs are highest. Knox and Lincoln counties have virtually identical average wages between their primary and secondary hubs.

Chart 12 shows the state full valuation for 2006.
Chart 12

This chart shows that there are some very strong geographic elements to the full valuation. Cumberland County has by far the highest average valuation in its primary hubs, and the average valuation in its secondary hubs is higher than the valuation in nearly all other primary hubs. York County’s highest average valuation is actually in its secondary hubs, likely driven up by expensive waterfront properties. In all counties, though, the valuation is lowest in sending communities.

Chart 13 shows the total property taxes collected in 2006.
The property tax chart looks very similar to the valuation chart – again, sending communities have the lowest average property taxes. One element that is likely affecting the appearance of this chart is the presence of tax-exempt property in some locations. Additional data on the proportion of tax-exempt property in communities could be helpful in classifying them, as could data on the distribution between residential and commercial property taxes.
V. Findings and Conclusions

Fiscal stresses vary from community to community. While Maine has made some efforts towards reducing these stresses and easing fiscal disparities, there remains more to be done. A systematic classification of community types could be used in revenue sharing formulas or in other grant and aid formulas to further reduce fiscal disparities. This study has examined fiscal determinants across six different categories and has evaluated their potential usefulness in developing improved classifications.

The variables that appear to be most useful in classifying communities include: total population, total housing units, population density, travel time to work, total or per capita retail sales, the percentage of rental housing, the percentage of single-family homes, the percentage of older housing, average annual employment, and average annual wages. Additional variables that may be useful are the rate of population change, the percentage of seasonal housing, the unemployment rate, and property taxes or valuation.

There are several next steps that could further expand upon this study. To begin with, much of the data included in this study came from Census 2000, which is now ten years old. The variables should be updated with data from Census 2010 and the American Community Survey.

A more detailed look at specific communities would also help identify the variables that are best suited to classification. Indexing each community across the variables identified in this study would provide a finer grain of detail that might highlight further breakdowns in the community types. In particular, secondary hubs may need to be
divided out into historical versus sprawl communities, while sending communities may need to be divided out into poor, rural communities versus wealthy, suburban ones.

Ultimately, a standard classification system should be developed that identifies those communities most prone to fiscal stress from structural reasons. This classification system would allow the state to target funds at those communities most at need through no fault of their own. Every resident of Maine should have access to the same basic set of services without being unduly burdened by the payments for them.
References


Appendix

Map of Maine's Regional Service Centers as of 2002
List of Communities Included in Study and Corresponding Community Type

* Asterisk indicates that community was excluded from average employment/wage comparison to meet Maine Department of Labor confidentiality standards.

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