



LINCOLN INSTITUTE  
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# Property Tax Reform Ideas for Colorado

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# LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF LAND POLICY

- Non-partisan think tank and private operating foundation
- Based in Cambridge (MA)
  - Offices in Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Beijing
- Mission: Help solve major challenges through the effective use, taxation, and stewardship of land



## Property Tax Relief for Homeowners



ADAM H. LANGLEY AND JOAN YOUNGMAN

POLICY FOCUS REPORT LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF LAND POLICY

## Download Report:

[www.lincolninst.edu/publications](http://www.lincolninst.edu/publications)

- Policy focus report (64 pages)
- Policy brief (4 pages)

# Outline

- Colorado's property tax system in a national perspective
- Two elements of property tax reform
  - 1) **Tax limit** to constrain property taxes **overall**
  - 2) **Targeted tax relief** to protect **individual** taxpayers

# Colorado Property Tax in National Perspective

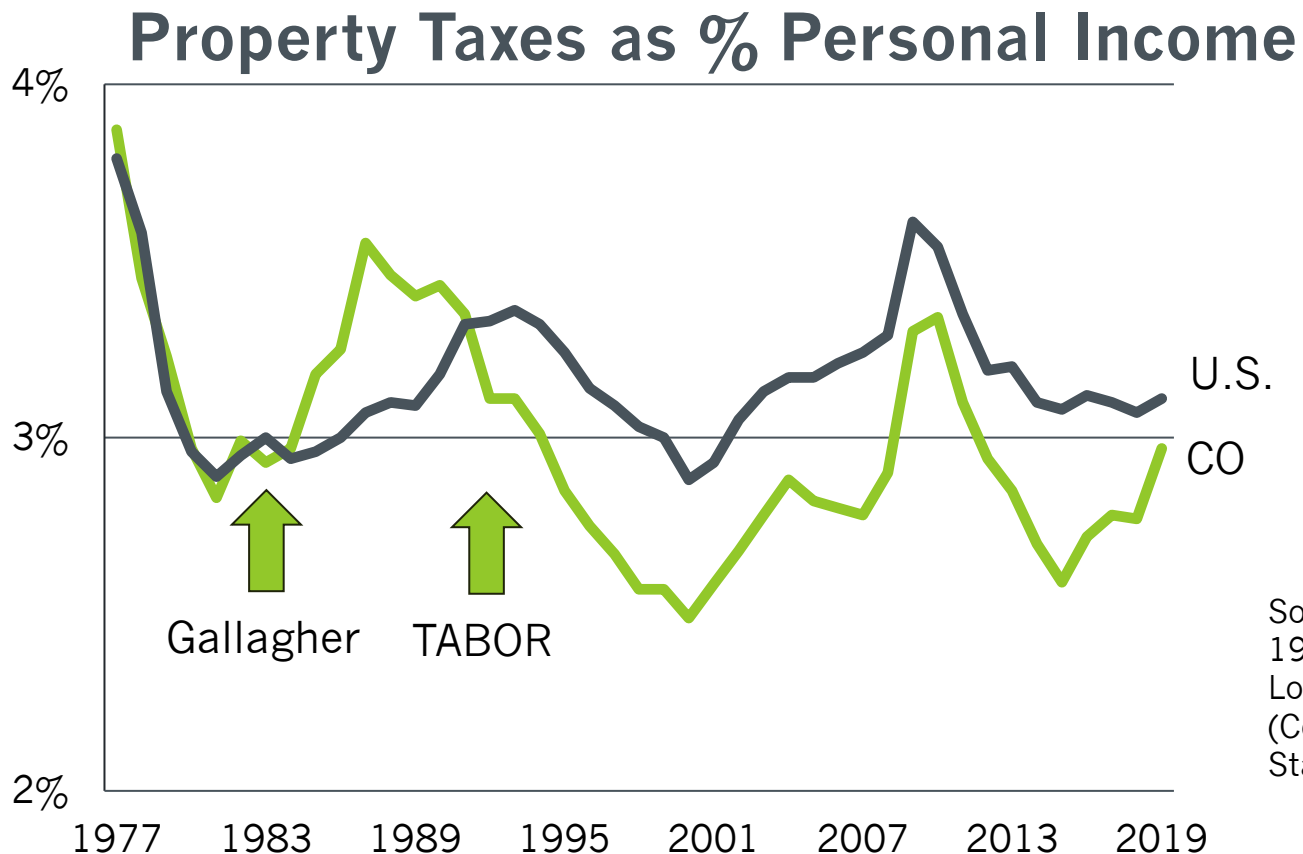
- Overall collections close to national average

Property Tax Collections as...	CO	U.S.
% State Personal Income	3.0% (20 <sup>th</sup> )	3.1%
% Local Government General Revenue	30% (21 <sup>st</sup> )	30%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 Survey of State and Local Government Finances (Compiled by the Urban Institute via State and Local Finance Data).

# Colorado Property Tax in National Perspective

- Overall collections close to national average
- **Trends in property taxes track national average**



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1977-2019 Survey of State and Local Government Finances (Compiled by the Urban Institute via State and Local Finance Data).

# Colorado Property Tax in National Perspective

- Overall collections close to national average
- Trends in property taxes track national average
- **Highly classified**
  - Very low taxes on homestead property
  - Above average taxes on business property

Effective Property Tax Rates (2021)	Denver	U.S. Average
Median-Valued Home	0.531% (50 <sup>th</sup> )	1.329%
\$1m Commercial Property	2.119% (18 <sup>th</sup> )	1.863%
Commercial-Homestead Classification Ratio	3.979 (3 <sup>rd</sup> )	1.745

Source: [50-State Property Tax Comparison Study for Taxes Paid in 2021](#).

Note: Rankings are out of 53 cities (Includes DC and two cities in IL and NY)

# Colorado Property Tax in National Perspective

- Overall collections close to national average
- Trends in property taxes track national average
- Highly classified
- **Special districts get very high share of property taxes**

Share of Property Taxes Received by...	CO	U.S.
Special Districts	18% (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	4%
Cities & Towns	11% (44 <sup>th</sup> )	31%
Counties	20% (34 <sup>th</sup> )	23%
School Districts	51% (17 <sup>th</sup> )	42%



# Colorado Property Tax in National Perspective

- Overall collections close to national average
- Trends in property taxes track national average
- Highly classified
- Special districts get very high share of property taxes
- **Regularly adjusting assessment ratios is unusual**
  - In other states...
    - Statewide assessment ratios are fixed
    - Local mill rates adjusted regularly

# Outline

- Colorado's property tax system in a national perspective
- **Property tax limits**
  - Three types of tax limits
  - Common features of tax limits
  - Effects of tax limits
  - Truth in Taxation: An alternative to tax limits

# Three Types of Tax Limits

<b>Rate</b> Limit	<b>Assessment</b> Limit	<b>Levy</b> Limit
Cap rate for specific local governments	Cap annual growth in assessed value of <u>individual</u> properties	Cap annual growth in <u>overall</u> property tax revenues in a jurisdiction
<b>AR:</b> Tax rate for municipalities can't exceed 5 mills	<b>CA:</b> Assessed value can't grow more than 2% per year	<b>MA:</b> Tax revenue can't grow more than 2.5% per year

# Rate Limits

- Typically cap tax rate for specific local governments
  - Some states cap overall tax rate or freeze tax rates
- Rationale: Constrain **policy decisions** to raise taxes
- Downsides of rate limits
  - Do NOT restrict growth in property taxes if values rise
  - Large inequities between communities
    - Wealthier communities: No effect from rate limit
    - Poorer communities: Severe constraint on revenues

## Assessment Limits

- Cap growth in assessed value of individual properties
- Rationale: Protect individual taxpayers against risk that rising property value will outpace their ability to pay tax
- Create large disparities in effective tax rates
- Tax savings depend on 2-3 factors

	Pay Less Tax	Pay More Tax
<b>Appreciation Rate</b>	High Growth	Slow Growth
<b>Length of Ownership</b>	Long-Time Owners	Newer Owners
<b>Property Classes Covered</b>	Residential ( $\approx 1/2$ states)	Non-Residential ( $\approx 1/2$ states)

## Example: 2% Assessment Limit

- Market values grow at 2%, 4%, and 6% rate
- Tax rate = 1%

Yr.	2% Growth Rate			4% Growth Rate			6% Growth Rate		
	M.V.	A.V.	ETR	M.V.	A.V.	ETR	M.V.	A.V.	ETR
0	500,000	500,000	1.00%	500,000	500,000	1.00%	500,000	500,000	1.00%
1	510,000	510,000	<b>1.00%</b>	520,000	510,000	<b>0.98%</b>	530,000	510,000	<b>0.96%</b>

  
No Change in  
Effective Tax Rate

  
Effective  
Tax Rate ↓

  
Larger  
Decline

### Takeaway #1

Tax savings increase with the rate of appreciation

Note

M.V. = Market Value; A.V. = Assessed Value

ETR = Effective Tax Rate = (Tax Bill) / (M.V.) = (1% \* A.V.) / (M.V.)

## Example: 2% Assessment Limit

- Market values grow at 2%, 4%, and 6% rate
- Tax rate = 1%

Yr.	2% Growth Rate			4% Growth Rate			6% Growth Rate		
	M.V.	A.V.	ETR	M.V.	A.V.	ETR	M.V.	A.V.	ETR
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1	510,000	510,000	1.00%	520,000	510,000	0.98%	530,000	510,000	0.96%
2	520,200	520,200	1.00%	540,800	520,200	0.96%	561,800	520,200	0.93%
3	530,604	530,604	1.00%	562,432	530,604	0.94%	595,508	530,604	0.89%
10	609,497	609,497	1.00%	740,122	609,497	0.82%	895,424	609,497	0.68%

### Takeaway #2

Tax savings increase with length of ownership  
*(If property's growth rate exceeds the assessment cap)*

## Example: 2% Assessment Limit

- Market values grow at 2%, 4%, and 6% rate
- Tax rate = 1%

Yr.	2% Growth Rate			4% Growth Rate			6% Growth Rate		
	M.V.	A.V	ETR	M.V.	A.V	ETR	M.V.	A.V	ETR
0	500,000	500,000	1.00%	500,000	500,000	1.00%	500,000	500,000	1.00%
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Effective tax rate is **47% higher** than high-growth property (1% vs. 0.68%)

**Takeaway #3:** Assessment limits create large disparities in effective tax rates



## Example: 2% Assessment Limit

- Market values grow at 2%, 4%, and 6% rate
- Mill rate = 1%

Yr.	2% Growth Rate			4% Growth Rate			6% Growth Rate		
	M.V.	A.V	ETR	M.V.	A.V	ETR	M.V.	A.V	ETR
0	500,000	500,000	1.00%	500,000	500,000	1.00%	500,000	500,000	1.00%
1	510,000	510,000	1.00%	520,000	510,000	0.98%	530,000	510,000	0.96%
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3	530,604	530,604	1.00%	562,432	530,604	0.94%	595,508	530,604	0.89%
10	609,497	609,497	1.00%	740,122	609,497	0.82%	<b>895,424</b>	609,497	0.68%



Newly purchased \$895k property would also pay effective tax rate that is **47% higher** than \$895k property purchased 10 years ago  
(Tax bill = \$8,954 vs. \$6,095)

# Evidence on the Effects of Assessment Limits

- **Large disparities in tax bills for similar properties**

## Effective Property Tax Rates for 5 Blocks in Los Angeles (2015)

Effective Property Tax Rate	Households (Count)
0.8% +	20
0.6 to 0.8%	23
0.4 to 0.6%	20
0.2 to 0.4%	7
Under 0.2%	7

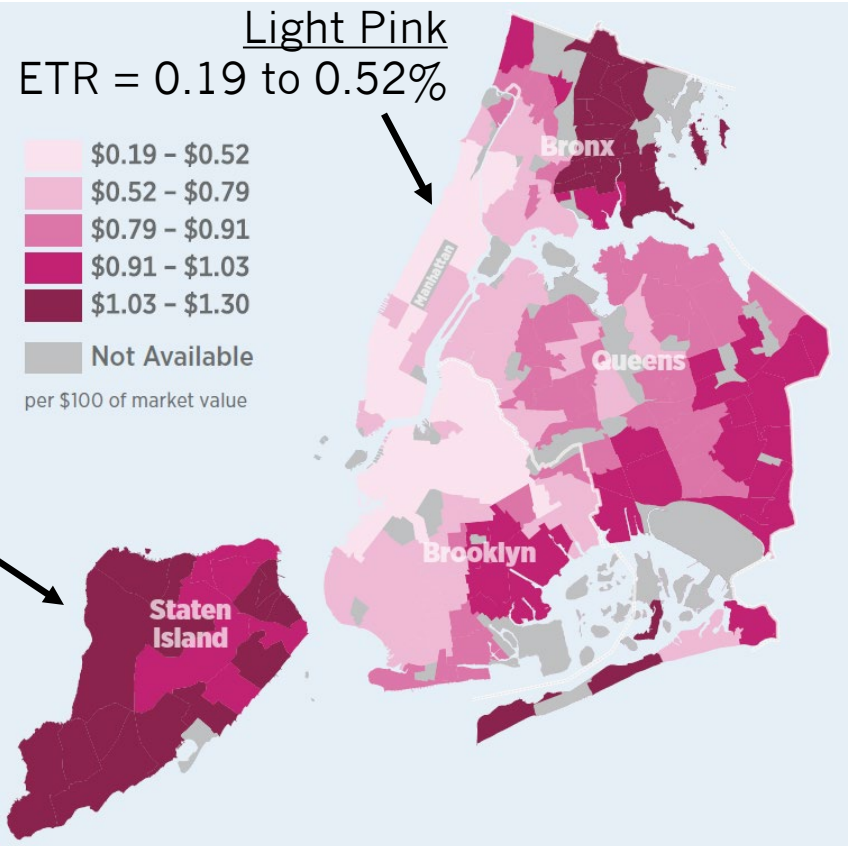
Source: Analysis of data from “Common Claims about Proposition 13,” CA Legislative Analyst’s Office (2016, 8).

# Evidence on the Effects of Assessment Limits

- Large disparities in tax bills for similar properties
- **Shift tax burden to poorer neighborhoods**

## Median Effective Tax by Neighborhood for Residential Properties with 1-3 Units (2017)

Dark Red  
ETR = 1.03 to 1.30%



Source: "Residential Property Taxation in New York City." Regional Plan Association (2018).

# Evidence on the Effects of Assessment Limits

- Large disparities in tax bills for similar properties
- Shift tax burden to poorer neighborhoods
- **Lock-in effect discourages mobility**
  - See: "[Common Claims about Proposition 13](#)," CA Legislative Analyst's Office (2016, Pg. 8).

# Levy Limits

- Cap growth in overall property tax revenue in jurisdiction
- Rationale: Constrain growth in gov't revenues
- Typically, operationalized by adjusting the mill rate
  - Tax base grows rapidly → Mill rate ↓
  - Tax base stagnant → Mill rate ↑
- In Colorado, better to operationalize with mill levy credits

# Levy Limits

- Cap growth in overall property tax revenue in jurisdiction
- Rationale: Constrain growth in gov't revenues
- Typically, operationalized by adjusting the mill rate
- In Colorado, better to operationalize with mill levy credits

## Example: 4% Levy Limit

Yr.	Net Assessed Value		Tax Levy		Mills	Mill Levy Credit	Net Mills
	Growth	(Millions)	Growth	(Millions)			
0		500		10.00	20		20.00
1	<b>10%</b>	550	<b>4%</b>	10.40	20	<b>1.09</b>	<b>18.91</b>



**All** taxpayers get 5.5% tax cut (18.91 / 20)

*(Compared to scenario where net mills stays at 20)*

→ No disparities in effective tax rates

-Avoid negative effects of assessment limits

# Levy Limits

- Cap growth in overall property tax revenue in jurisdiction
- Rationale: Constrain growth in gov't revenues
- Typically, operationalized by adjusting the mill rate
- In Colorado, better to operationalize with mill levy credits

## Example: 4% Levy Limit

Yr.	Net Assessed Value		Tax Levy		Mills	Mill Levy Credit	Net Mills
	Growth	(Millions)	Growth	(Millions)			
0		500		10.00	20		20.00
1	10%	550	4%	10.40	20	1.09	18.91
2	10%	605	4%	10.82	20	2.12	17.88
3	-5%	575	4%	11.25	20	0.43	19.57
3	-5%	575	<b>-5%</b>	10.28	20	N/A	<b>17.88</b>

← Mill credit drops

↑  
What could happen if mill rates used to operationalize levy limit

# Common Features of Tax Limits

- **Growth rate: Fixed rate or Index**

Approach	Measure	Notes
<b>Fixed rate</b>	3%, 4%, etc.	Impact will depend on future costs, which are unpredictable → Not recommended
<b>Index</b>	Consumer Price Index (CPI)	Could lead to reduced service quality over time, if costs to provide gov't services rise faster than overall inflation
<b>Index</b>	Implicit Price Deflator for S&L Gov't (BEA)	Maintain current service levels
<b>Index</b>	State Personal Income Growth	Allows service quality to grow with incomes, but tax burdens do <i>not</i> grow relative to earnings



# Common Features of Tax Limits

- Growth rate
- **Overrides**
  - Localities can exceed cap with voter approval
  - Approval required each time locality exceeds cap
  - Simple majority allows for local preferences

# Common Features of Tax Limits

- Growth rate
- Overrides
- **Debt exclusions (Rate and levy limits)**
  - Excludes taxes to pay debt service on voter-approved borrowing
  - Protects bondholders > Reduces borrowing costs

# Common Features of Tax Limits

- Growth rate
- Overrides
- Debt exclusions (Rate and levy limits)
- **Exemptions for new construction (Levy limits)**
  - Important since new development requires services, but revenue from new construction does not impact existing taxpayers

# Common Features of Tax Limits

- Growth rate
- Overrides
- Debt exclusions (Rate and levy limits)
- Exemptions for new construction (Levy limits)
- **“Banking” revenue (Levy limits)**
  - *Allowable* levy can exceed the *actual* levy
  - Avoids incentive for gov'ts to tax to max allowed under levy limit, if they would otherwise risk losing needed growth in future years

# Effects of State-Imposed Property Tax Limits

- Reduced flexibility and local autonomy
- Change revenue mix to less reliable sources
- Restrictive tax limits erode quality of local services
  - [“Tax and Expenditure Limits, School Finance, and School Quality” \(2015\)](#)

## Tax Limits Summary

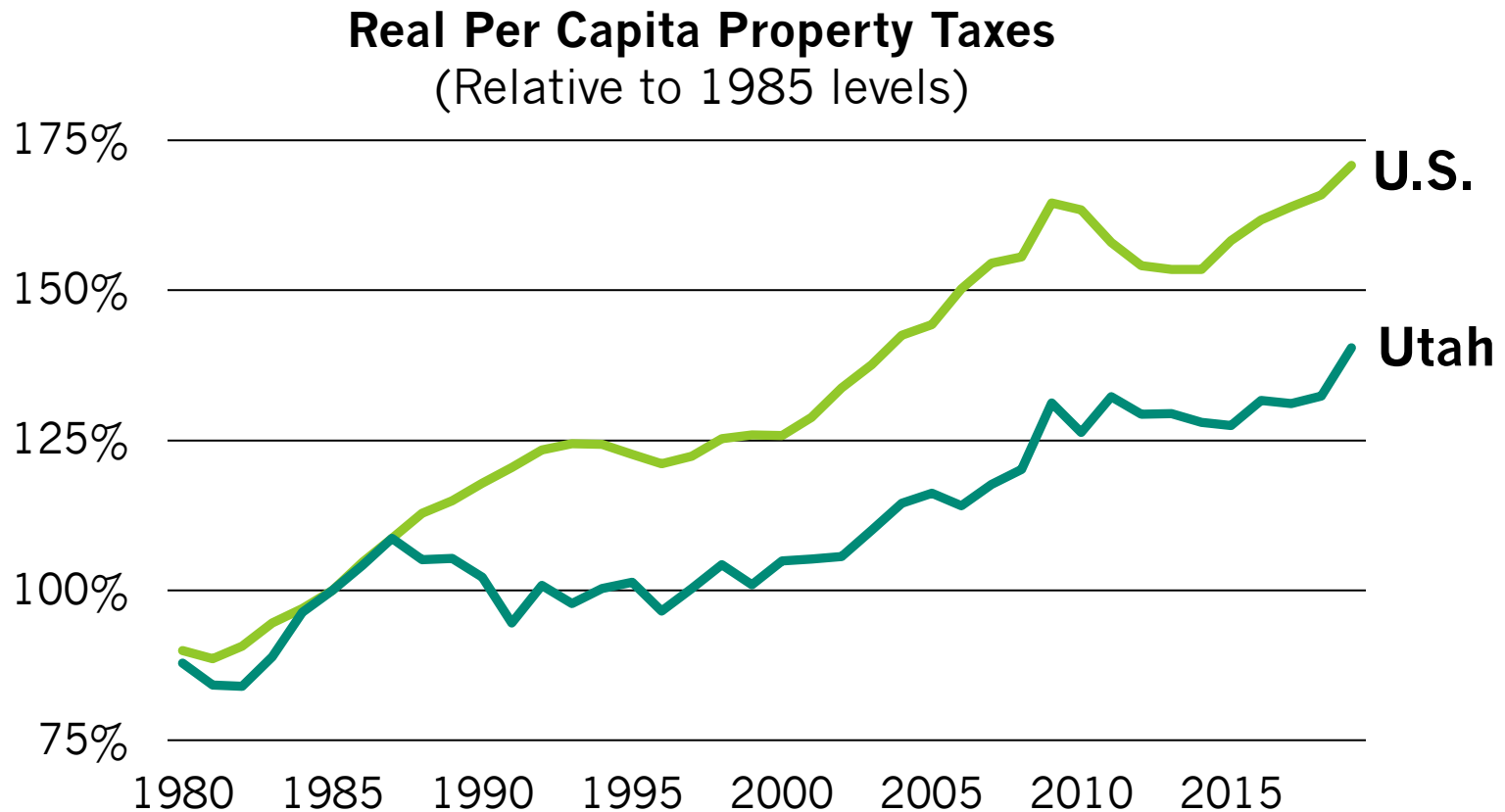
Worst	Assessment Limits
2 <sup>nd</sup> Worst	Rate Limits
Least Bad	Levy Limits
Good	Truth in Taxation

# Truth in Taxation

- Prevent “silent” tax increases
  - Can occur when rising property values produce higher tax revenues without any change in official tax rate
- Sets requirements that local gov’ts must meet to raise property tax revenue (Even when mill rate is unchanged)
  - Vote by governing body for any increase in property tax revenue
  - Mailings, public hearings, etc.
- Otherwise, tax rate automatically adjusted down to revenue neutral rate
- Facilitates transparency and responsive rate-setting without imposing a binding constraint

# Truth in Taxation

- Ex: Utah passed Truth in Taxation in 1985



Source: Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1980-2019 Surveys of State and Local Government Finances (Compiled by the Urban Institute via State and Local Finance Data).

# Outline

- Colorado's property tax system in a national perspective
- Property tax limits
- **Targeted property tax relief**
  - Credits to offset rapid property tax increases
  - Circuit breakers



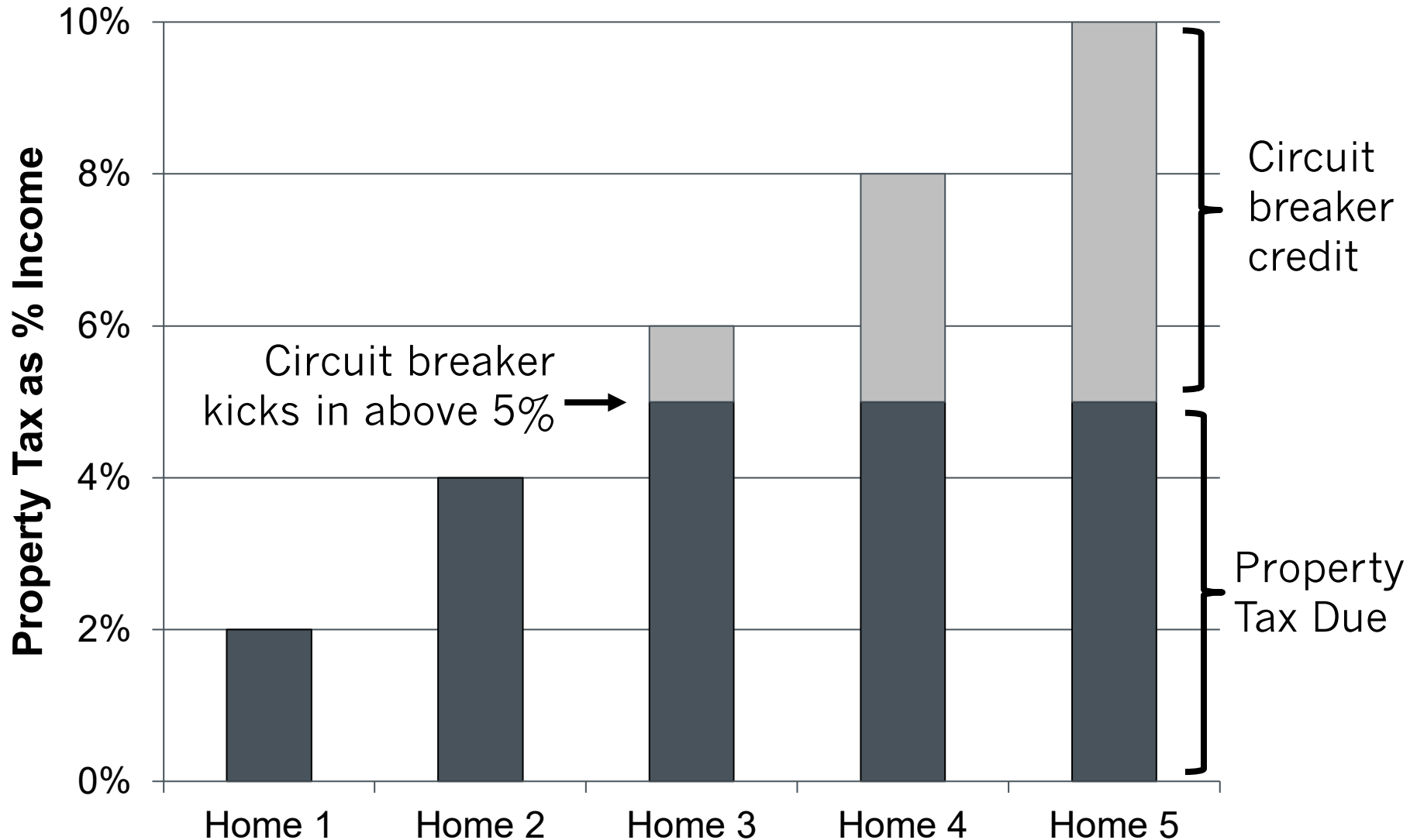
## Credit to Offset Rapid Property Tax Increases

- Tax credit to offset growth in property tax bill above some level (e.g. 10% increase from prior year)
- Good alternative to assessment limit
  - Avoids large spikes in property tax bills
  - Provides temporary assistance, not long-term subsidy
    - Tax credits phase-in large tax increases, then phase out
    - In long-term, taxed based on market value
      - Avoids negative consequences of assessment limits
  - Can use eligibility criteria to target needier households
    - Ex: Homestead requirement, income ceiling

# Circuit Breakers

- Prevent households from being overburdened by property taxes
  - Target relief to households with the heaviest tax burdens
- Definition: “Classic” circuit breaker sets a **threshold** percentage of income that property taxes must exceed before any tax relief is available
  - Circuit breaker benefit offsets taxes above this point

# 5% Threshold Circuit Breaker



# Circuit Breaker Recommendations

- Avoid income ceilings or benefit caps that are too low
  - Otherwise, tax relief may be inadequate
- Use threshold approach
  - Multiple thresholds will increase progressivity
    - Ex: Credit offsets property tax...
    - Above 2% of income for the first \$10,000 in income;
    - Above 4% of income for next \$20,000 in income;
    - Above 6% of income for income from \$30,001 - \$60,000
- Use co-payment requirement
  - Helps ensure eligible taxpayers continue to scrutinize tax
  - Ex: Credit offsets 60% of tax above threshold percentage, and taxpayers covers the rest

## Recap:

# Ideas for Colorado Property Tax Reform

### 1) Tax Limit to Constrain Property Tax Growth *Overall*

- Truth in Taxation, or
- Levy limit (Well structured)

### 2) Targeted Tax Relief to Protect *Individual Taxpayers*

- Tax credit to offset rapid property tax increases, and/or
- Improved circuit breaker

#### Learn More:

*Property Tax Relief for Homeowners (2021)*

[www.lincolninst.edu/publications](http://www.lincolninst.edu/publications)

# Appendix:

## More Details on Tax Relief to Protect Individual Taxpayers

## Example: Credit to Offset Rapid Tax Increases

- Property value grows 20% in Year 1, then 4% per year
- Tax rate = 1%

Year	Market Value	Property Tax Credit (Offsets Tax Increases > 10%)				Assessment Limit (4%)		
		Tax Before Credit	Credit	Tax After Credit	Tax Increase	Assessed Value	Tax Due	Tax Increase
0	500,000	5,000		5,000		500,000	5,000	
1	600,000	6,000	500	5,500	10%	520,000	5,200	4%
2	624,000	6,240	190	6,050	10%	540,800	5,408	4%
3	648,960	6,490	0	6,490	7%	562,432	5,624	4%
4	674,918	6,749	0	6,749	4%	584,929	5,849	4%
5	701,915	7,019	0	7,019	4%	608,326	6,083	4%



New owner pays  
the same tax



New owner pays  
≈ \$1,500 more  
(ETR 27% higher)