Seeking Common Ground: Weighing the Costs and Benefits of Regionalism in CT

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Agenda

Identifying costs and benefits

- Is there an "optimal" degree of regionalism?
- Forms of regionalism
 - One size fits all
 - Function-specific (authorities vary in size, by function)
 - Cooperative mechanisms (state-aid, etc.)
- Current patterns: tax, spending, and state-aid differences in CT towns
- CT state & local spending: how do we compare?
- Regional government or incentives to cooperate?

Potential benefits of regionalism

Public services

- Lower unit costs (scale economies)
- Richer variety / better quality (Tiebout, JPE 1956)
- Fairer distribution across jurisdictions and individuals

Taxes

- Less divergence in effective property tax rates
- More tax instruments (e.g., "local" income tax)
- Reduction in "free rider" problems, such as unpaid use of urban services by suburban commuters
- Land-use policies
 - Greater consistency
 - Better coordination

Potential costs of regionalization

Public services

- Higher unit costs (diseconomies of scale)
- Less tailored to local needs or preferences
- Harder to monitor quality
- Weaker link between services received and taxes paid
- Taxes
 - Disagreement about appropriate types of taxes
 - Less control over level of taxation
 - Perceived unfairness of "cross-subsidization"
- Land-use policies
 - Less well-tailored to local conditions
 - "Monopolization" of zoning and land-use policies







Forms of regionalism

- Optimal degree of regionalism depends on the structure of costs and benefits
- R* will likely differ:
 - across geographic areas
 - by type of service or activity
- "One size fits all"...probably won't
- CT needs to find its own R*, and likely that no single R* will serve every purpose
 - Example: might need a larger regional authority for efficient taxing & spending than for land-use policy...or vice versa



Layering

Finding the right size region for each activity likely to maximize total net benefits, but such "layering" also has drawbacks:

- managerial redundancy
- more complicated for residents and businesses
- accountability problems: "...not our responsibility"

 Successful "layering" of regional authorities might require mix of mandates and/or incentives to coordinate outcomes

Pressures to regionalize

- Regional government proposals often seek to:
 - level uneven tax rates and spending patterns
 trim costs of providing public services (even more important in current economic climate)
 better coordinate public policies to avoid duplication or competition

Facts to consider

Do the data support the move to regionalize local government in CT?

- Property wealth, tax rates, and spending patterns
- Distribution of state-aid
- Uneven changes in tax base (property values) over time
- Costs of CT state and local government relative to other states

Property Tax Rates Lower in Richer Tow



Why do wealthy towns have the lowest tax rates?

- High income towns have more property wealth per capita (larger, more expensive homes & cars)
- Allows such towns to tax this larger "base" at a lower rate and still generate more tax revenue per resident (tax revenue = rate x base)
- This pattern is not unique to CT
- Next slide, from Fall 08 issue of *The Connecticut Economy*, shows each town's 2005 share of state property wealth (ENGL) divided by its share of population--pattern reinforces the popular notion of two Connecticuts

PROPERTY WEALTH IN CONNECTICUT BY TOWN, 2005



Local public spending is also very uneven

- Since tax revenue = rate x base, smaller rate can still generate more revenue if the base is sufficiently large
- Often the case in wealthier towns, and it allows them to spend more on public services, especially education, despite lower property tax rates
- The following map, from Summer 08 issue of The Connecticut Economy, shows each town's 2006 spending on education per pupil
- Note the pattern of higher spending in many of the same towns that enjoyed lower property tax rates

PER PUPIL EDUCATION SPENDING, 2006



How effective is current remedy for unequal tax & spending?

- Primary way in CT to address uneven patterns of property taxation and local public spending has been state-aid to towns
- State aid formula is complex, but it is "progressive," in that lower-income towns typically receive more state-aid per person
- The following map, from an earlier issue of The Connecticut Economy, shows each town's 2002 state-aid per capita
- Note that pattern is roughly the reverse of the property wealth map



What's happened to the property tax base in CT?

- Median sales price (MSP) data from The Warren Group, 1988-2007, by county.
- Ratio of highest-to-lowest county MSP grew from 2.3 to 3.5 over the 20-year period, reflecting increased geographic concentration of property wealth.
- 20-year growth in MSP ranged from 43.0% in Hartford County to 173.3% in Fairfield County.
- Note: MSP reflects tax base only to the extent that assessed values keep pace.

Median Sales Price by County, 1988-2007

					New	New		_	
	Fairfield	Hartford	Litchfield	<u>Middlesex</u>	<u>Haven</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Tolland</u>	<u>Windham</u>	High/Low
1988	262,700	175,210	152,661	168,518	160,190	139,232	165,183	112,432	2.3
1989	268,960	171,333	160,182	161,436	156,658	138,880	158,943	116,852	2.3
1990	251,113	165,418	154,509	154,996	149,160	134,959	150,281	117,101	2.1
1991	248,244	159,348	143,720	140,302	147,155	126,277	139,960	109,149	2.3
1992	251,063	149,962	136,838	139,484	140,584	117,449	135,982	100,842	2.5
1993	268,401	141,381	136,413	136,344	132,638	117,391	132,294	97,696	2.7
1994	262,808	137,214	135,262	138,313	129,047	117,868	129,070	97,843	2.7
1995	262,221	130,127	139,364	138,370	124,706	116,257	125,975	95,072	2.8
1996	273,265	131,452	140,943	139,959	122,185	118,668	125,880	95,746	2.9
1997	283,190	129,956	142,459	138,236	123,181	118,121	130,922	93,222	3.0
1998	302,466	133,481	152,117	144,535	132,473	123,503	131,583	100,068	3.0
1999	325,448	136,640	158,953	150,952	140,032	126,771	133,786	104,319	3.1
2000	391,111	155,808	171,812	168,769	152,699	133,121	151,753	113,594	3.4
2001	394,143	167,977	182,674	182,340	165,303	147,008	165,755	119,805	3.3
2002	452,191	185,823	200,607	203,210	185,458	168,371	183,048	130,864	3.5
2003	477,336	204,177	217,768	230,609	211,637	197,282	191,885	155,470	3.1
2004	584,650	219,324	242,138	262,609	227,127	221,651	212,026	181,346	3.2
2005	652,053	242,247	277,955	290,207	255,139	255,556	234,812	206,335	3.2
2006	672,610	248,982	273,188	297,174	271,961	263,281	245,140	212,138	3.2
2007	717,892	250,601	272,486	292,559	263,129	265,910	249,810	203,336	3.5
%chg 88-07	173.3	43.0	78.5	73.6	64.3	91.0	51.2	80.9	

Source:*The Connecticut Econom* based on data from the Warren Group (Boston, MA).



Will regionalism control spending?

- In addition to reducing uneven taxing and spending patterns, controlling spending is often seen as a reason for regional government or cooperation
- How does CT compare to other states in its level of state and local spending?
- Absence of county government in CT means normal county functions either shifted up to state government or down to town government
- Fair comparisons across states require that all levels of non-federal government be merged, as in the following data

Some alternative measures of state & local spending

- Fall 2002 issue of *The Connecticut Economy* examined five S&L spending measures for all 50 states (largest = 1; smallest = 50):
 - S&L share of GSP (2000): CT ranked 49th at 6.7%
 - S&L spending as % of GSP (1999): CT ranked 45th at 14.9%
 - S&L spending as % of personal income (1999): CT ranked 48th at 17.1%
 - S&L FTE employment per 10K pop (2000): CT ranked 39th at 14.9%
 - S&L FTE employment as % of non-farm employment (2000): CT ranked 43rd at 14.9%
 - Overall rank, based on all 5 measures: 49th; only New Hampshire was more "frugal" than CT

Further Questions

- How much will additional state aid reduce or equalize local property taxes?
- Should state aid be distributed more equally or less equally than is currently the practice?
- By reducing the need to raise property tax revenue from new development, will additional state aid promote open-space preservation?
- Can we use state aid *incentives* to achieve some potential benefits of regional coordination without abandoning the benefits of local control and public oversight?

More Information?

....Thanks

- <u>cteconomy.uconn.edu</u>
- <u>cteconomy.uconn.edu/archives.html</u>
- www.econ.uconn.edu
- <u>http://uconnecon.wordpress.com/</u>
- www.repec.org
- ideas.repec.org