

## An Evaluation of Property Tax Regressivity in Los Angeles County (2007 – 2016)

### KEY FINDINGS

- Property assessments in Los Angeles County are regressive, with the county's lowest-valued properties (bottom 10) receiving average assessments nearly 40 percentage points higher than the community's highest-valued properties (top 10%).
- Los Angeles' lowest-valued homes receive average assessments equal to approximately 90% of their sale price, while the county's highest-valued homes are assessed at less than 55% of their sale price.
- Two of the three industry-standard measures of assessment regressiveity are well beyond acceptable levels in Los Angeles County.
- As a result of inaccurate and regressive assessments, nearly \$30 billion in recently-sold property value goes untaxed across the county every year.

### INTRODUCTION

The property tax is the single largest source of revenue for American local governments. Cities, counties, school districts, and special districts raise roughly \$500 billion per year in property taxes, accounting for 72% of local taxes and 47% of local own-source general revenue, nationwide.<sup>1</sup> Whether residents rent or own, property taxes directly or indirectly impact almost everyone.

In many cities, however, property taxes are inequitable: low-value properties face higher tax assessments, relative to their actual sale price, than do high-value properties, resulting in regressive taxation that burdens low-income residents disproportionately. The Center for Municipal Finance at the University of Chicago has evaluated the regressiveity of property assessment in 14 of America's largest cities and counties. The following report highlights the

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *2016 Annual Surveys of State and Local Government Finances*.  
<https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/2016/econ/local/public-use-datasets.html>.



system in Los Angeles County, where property taxes account for nearly one third of all own-source revenue county-wide.<sup>2</sup>

Our review of Los Angeles property tax assessments reveals significant regressivity, with the county's lowest-valued properties (bottom 10%) generally receiving assessments at nearly twice the effective rate of the community's highest-valued properties (top 10%). Similarly, two of the three main industry-standard measures of regressivity were and remain well above acceptable limits throughout the entire period of observation. This regressivity has improved modestly in recent years, with the spread between the lowest- and highest-valued properties' assessment rates falling to just under 25 percentage points. Nevertheless, remaining assessment inaccuracies result in nearly \$30 billion in recently-sold property value going untaxed among local jurisdictions annually.

In Los Angeles County, like most communities, assessments are conducted at the county level. As such, our evaluation focused on properties throughout the county as a whole. The report at hand relies on data provided by the Los Angeles County Assessor and covers all "arms-length" property transactions within the county between 2007 and 2016. The analyses that follow use only "arms-length" transactions, generally meaning only traditional, market-rate sales involving buyers and sellers with no previous relationship (rather than, for example, sales between relatives or foreclosure auctions). For these analyses, we use the local assessor's classification of arms-length transactions.<sup>3</sup>

Los Angeles County assessment inequities are further complicated, and potentially exacerbated, by the unique structure of California's housing policy. Unlike other states which assess properties on a rolling basis, generally every one to three years, and frequently prohibit

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<sup>2</sup> *Annual Survey of State and Local Government Finances*, United States Senate (last accessed October 2017), <https://census.gov/programs-surveys/gov-finances.html>.

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation and example of how the measures used in this paper may vary depending on local versus IAAO definitions of "arms-length" see the Center's previous work regarding St. Louis and St. Louis County assessments, which can be found at [www.propertytaxproject.uchicago.edu/papers](http://www.propertytaxproject.uchicago.edu/papers).



the use of sales prices as a means of calculating assessment values, California relies exclusively on sale prices. As a result, properties are assessed only when an arms-length sale occurs, meaning many properties go years or decades without having their assessed value updated. Such homes, therefore, frequently receive assessments well below their actual value, simply as a result of inflation since their last sale.

The standard approach for evaluating the quality and fairness of assessments is through a sales ratio study.<sup>4</sup> The *sales ratio* is defined as the assessed value of a property divided by its sale price. A sales ratio study evaluates the extent of regressivity in a jurisdiction, along with other aspects of assessment performance, by studying sales ratios for properties that sold within a specific time period. A system in which less expensive homes are systematically assessed at higher sales ratios than more expensive homes is *regressive*.

This report presents a basic sales ratio study for Los Angeles County based on data provided by the local assessor's office. Following a conceptual review of regressivity, our findings are broken into three categories: 1) the results of our sales-ratio study, 2) the application of industry standard measures of regressivity, and 3) the tax implications of local regressivity and inaccuracy.

### **Understanding Assessment Regressivity and Its Consequences**

The property tax is, in principle, an *ad valorem* tax, meaning that the tax is proportional to the value of the property. Most textbook discussions of the property tax proceed as though a property's value is well known. But this is seldom the case. For a property that has sold recently, the sale price is usually a reasonable approximation of its market value. But only a small proportion of properties change hands in any given year— roughly 3-9% of all homes each year according to our data. For the vast majority of properties, which have not sold recently, the value must somehow be estimated. This is the job of local assessors.

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<sup>4</sup> See International Association of Assessing Officers. 2013. *Standard on Ratio Studies*. [https://www.iaao.org/media/standards/Standard\\_on\\_Ratio\\_Studies.pdf](https://www.iaao.org/media/standards/Standard_on_Ratio_Studies.pdf).



In most large jurisdictions, assessors rely on statistical models to assess residential property.

This procedure is, essentially, as follows:

- The local assessor compiles a list of all of the properties which have sold recently and identifies important characteristics of each property such as square footage, the number of bedrooms, the size of the yard, the age of the property, etc.
- The assessor estimates the relationship between a property's features and its' market value, using data from the sample of recently sold properties. For instance, each additional square foot of building space adds some amount to the sale price, an additional bathroom adds a certain amount of value, and so on. A statistical model, such as a regression, is created to estimate the relationships between all potentially relevant property features and the sale price.
- This statistical model is used to estimate the values of all similarly situated homes that haven't sold, based on their features. That is, the assessor assumes that the relationship between property features and prices for the sold properties would have been the same for the unsold properties. For example, if, among properties that sold, the average price for a 2,000 square foot, 3-bedroom home was \$100,000, the assessor assumes that other 2,000 square foot, 3-bedroom homes that weren't sold are worth \$100,000. In principle, these comparisons should be limited to homes within the same neighborhood, since the price of similar homes can vary significantly across locations, particularly in larger communities.
- The assessed value from this process becomes the basis on which property taxes are levied. Various exemptions and deductions may be applied at this stage.
- These assessments may be adjusted after the fact as the result of appeals by property owners.

When assessment is conducted accurately, the resulting property taxes indeed constitute an *ad valorem* tax. However, when property assessment is inaccurate, the resulting property taxes will also be inaccurate. Over-assessed properties will be over-taxed, while under-assessed



properties will be under-taxed. Although no assessment system is perfectly accurate, we are especially concerned with a particular type of inaccuracy known as *regressivity*. Assessments are regressive when low-value homes are assessed at a higher percentage of their true market value than are high-value homes.

To understand regressive assessment and its consequences, it is useful to contrast it with fair assessment. A common way of diagnosing regressivity is to compare the *sales ratio* for homes with different sale prices.<sup>5</sup>

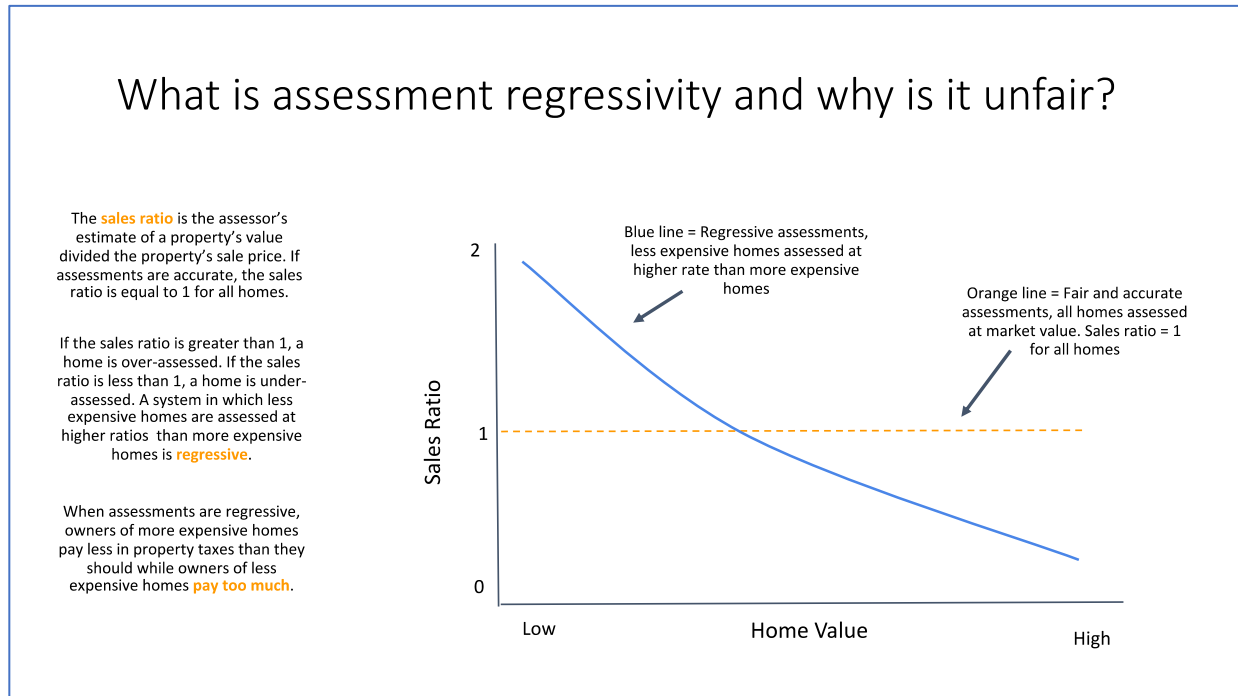
Figure 1 shows what the average sales ratio should look like in a properly functioning assessment system, as well as what can go wrong when assessments are regressive. If assessments were perfectly accurate, every home would be valued at exactly 100% of its value, meaning that the sales ratio would be 1 for every property, as depicted by the dashed orange line. Of course, no assessment system is perfect. But if the average sales ratio is equal across the spectrum of prices, even an imperfect system will be unbiased with respect to price, meaning that owners of both more and less expensive property will pay their fair share of taxes on average. However, when the average sales ratio is higher for low-priced homes than for high-priced homes, as depicted by the solid blue line, assessments are regressive. Regressive assessments lead to regressive taxation, in which owners of low-value property pay too much in taxes while owners of high-value properties pay too little.

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<sup>5</sup> Because accurate sale prices are only known for properties that have recently sold, the sales ratio can only be computed for properties that have recently sold.



**Figure 1: Understanding Assessment Regressivity**



A simple numerical example illustrates the consequences of assessment regressivity. Suppose the average home that sold for \$100,000 is actually assessed at \$120,000. Meanwhile, the average home that sold for \$1 million is assessed at \$800,000. Suppose, the statutory tax rate is 1% of assessed value. In this scenario, the \$100,000 home pays \$1,200 in taxes each year, for an effective tax rate of 1.2 percent. The \$1 million home pays \$8,000 in taxes, for an effective tax rate 0.8 percent. The result is that the low-priced home has a 50% higher tax rate than the high-priced home ( $1.2/0.8 = 1.5$ ).

Graphs such as the one shown in Figure 1 are a useful way to visually detect assessment regressivity. For more formal evaluations, the industry has developed several statistical tests for assessment regressivity. As discussed below, the measures most commonly used by professional assessors are the coefficient of dispersion (COD), price-related differential (PRD) and the coefficient of price-related bias (PRB). In addition, academic researchers have



developed several more sophisticated statistical tests for assessment regressivity.<sup>6</sup> While none of these tests is perfect, collectively they can be used to evaluate the likely extent of assessment regressivity in a given jurisdiction.

## **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

Our evaluation of Los Angeles property assessments reveals significant regressivity which, though trending toward acceptable levels in recent years, generally remains beyond these limits. While, on average, the lowest-valued properties (bottom 10%) in Los Angeles County are assessed at 85% of sale price, the county's highest-valued properties (top 10%) received assessments equal to only 47% of the property's market values. In addition, all three of the most common industry-standards for measuring assessment regressivity, COD, PRD, and PRB, were beyond acceptable levels, though PRB fell very nearly within such limits in the most recently observed year, 2016.

### **Sales Ratio Evaluation**

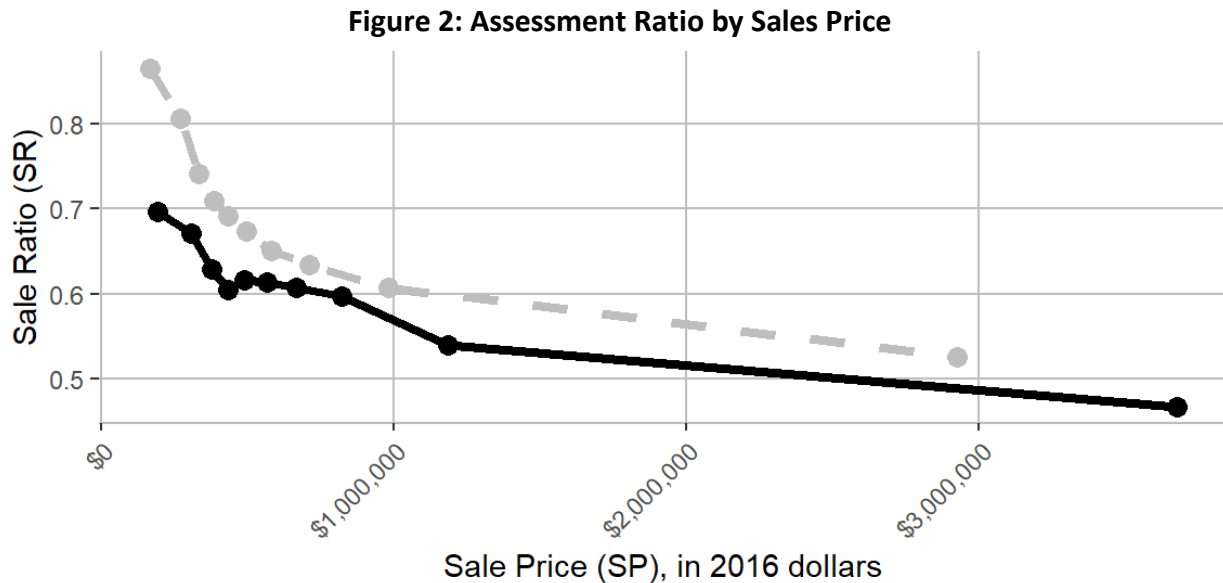
The relationship between assessments and sale prices is regressive if less-valuable homes are assessed at higher rates (relative to the value of the home) than more valuable homes. Figure 2 below demonstrates the relationship between assessment ratios and sale prices in Los Angeles County. For Figure 2, property sales have been sorted into deciles (10 bins of equal size based on sale price), each representing 10% of all properties sold in the county. Each dot represents the average sale price and average sales ratio for each respective decile of properties sold. Figure 2 also compares the most recent values for 2016 (solid line) with the average values across all years of observation, 2007 through 2016 (dashed line). All values were adjusted for inflation to 2016 dollars to facilitate comparisons. If sale prices are a fair indication of market value and assessments are fair and accurate, Figure 2 would be a flat line with a constant sales ratio, meaning that the value of is unrelated to the accuracy of its assessments. A downward

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<sup>6</sup> For a review, see, Horizontal and Vertical Inequity in Real Property Taxation Author(s): G. Stacy Sirmans, Dean H. Gatzlaff and David A. Macpherson Source: Journal of Real Estate Literature, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2008), pp. 167-180, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44105042>.



sloping line indicates that less expensive homes are over-assessed compared to more expensive homes and is evidence of regressivity.



For 2016, the highest ten percent of sales were assessed at 67.2% of the rate of assessment applied to the lowest ten percent of sales. Top decile rate: 46.7%. Bottom decile rate: 69.6%.

As Figure 2 demonstrates, Los Angeles County’s lowest-valued properties receive average assessment ratios roughly double those of the county’s highest-valued properties. The lowest-valued properties are, on average, assessed at nearly 90% of their sale price, while the county’s highest-valued properties receive assessments of less than 50% of sale price. More recent years did show improvement, though assessments continued to produce substantial regressivity. In 2018, for example, these same values were approximately 80% and 45% of sale price, respectively.

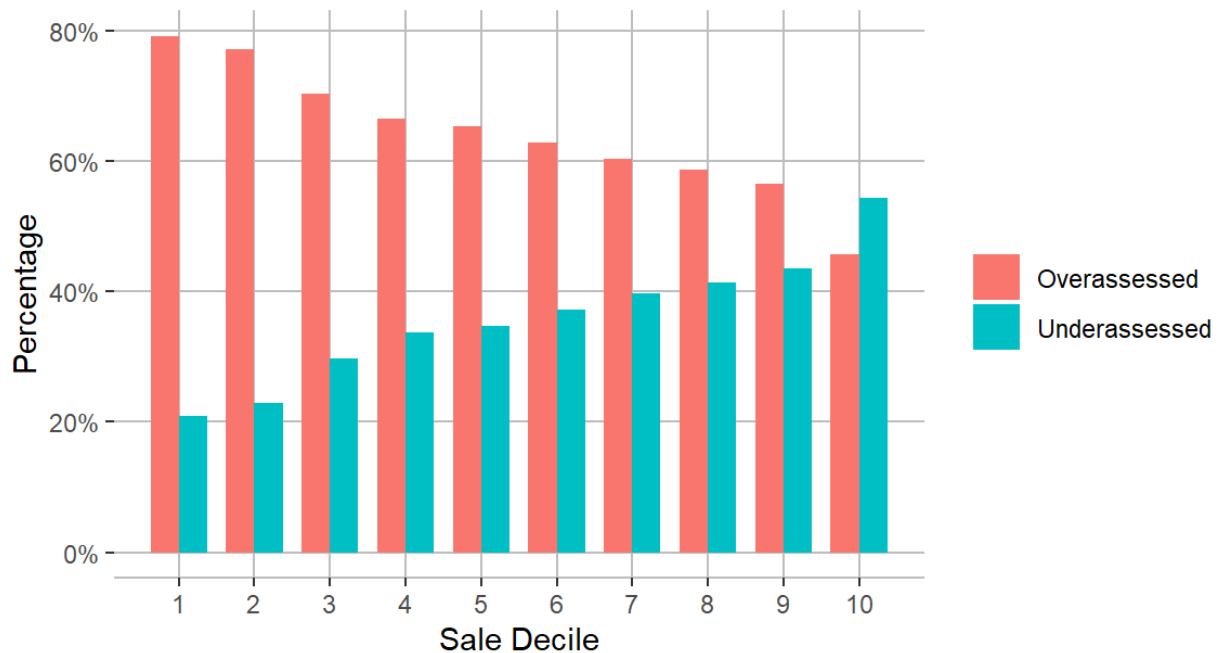
Figure 3 below demonstrates the relative proportion of each decile which was over- or under-assessed. In Los Angeles County, assessed values are supposed to be equal to sale price; to that end, properties are considered “over-assessed” when their assessed value exceeds their market value, while properties are considered “under-assessed” when their assessed value is less than their market value.





As Figure 3 shows, some properties in each decile were both over- and under-assessed in any given year. However, the relative proportion of properties that are over- or under-assessed varies significantly based on the value of the property in question. While nearly 80% of Los Angeles County’s lowest-priced properties received overassessments, only approximately 20% of similarly priced homes received underassessments. Conversely, roughly 55% of Los Angeles County’s highest-priced homes enjoyed underassessments while only approximately 45% of similarly priced homes received overassessments.

**Figure 3: Percent of Property Over-/ Under-Assessed by Decile**



### Industry Standards

The preceding section provides graphical evidence of regressivity in property assessments but it does not provide a statistical evaluation. In this section, we report several standard statistics used in the evaluation of assessment quality.

The International Association of Assessing Officers (IAAO) provides standards for assessments including standards for uniformity and regressivity (*aka* vertical equity). *Uniformity* refers to the



overall level of variability in sales ratios across properties. Regressivity refers to the correlation between sales ratios and sale prices. The three main standards are<sup>7</sup>:

- Coefficient of Dispersion (COD) is a measure of uniformity based on the average percentage deviation of the ratios from the median, expressed as a percentage of the median. For example, given a COD of 15%, a property worth \$100,000 has a 50% chance to be assessed between \$85,000 and \$115,000. Higher values of COD indicate less uniformity in assessments.
- Price-Related Differential (PRD) is a measure of vertical equity calculated by dividing the mean sales ratio by the weighted mean ratio, where the weight is the sale price. For example, assume a jurisdiction contains two homes, one worth \$100,000 assessed at 12% and one worth \$1,000,000 assessed at 8% of the fair market value. The mean ratio would be 10% (12% + 8% divided by 2) while the weighted mean ratio would be 8.4% (12% \* 100,000 + 8% \* 1,000,000 divided by 1,100,000). The resulting PRD (10% divided by 8.4%) would be 1.20. Higher values of PRD indicate greater regressivity.
- Coefficient of Price-Related Bias (PRB) is a regression-based measure that estimates the relationship between the sales ratio and a given proxy for actual property value determined by giving equal weight to market value and assessed value. In other words, PRB predicts the change in assessment ratio that can be expected to result from a 100% change in this value proxy. For example, a PRB of 0.031 indicates that assessment ratios increase by 3.1% when the home value increases by 100%. Higher values of PRB indicate greater regressivity.

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<sup>7</sup> International Association of Assessing Officers. 2013. *Standard on Ratio Studies*.  
[https://www.iaao.org/media/standards/Standard\\_on\\_Ratio\\_Studies.pdf](https://www.iaao.org/media/standards/Standard_on_Ratio_Studies.pdf).



**Table 1: IAAO Standards**

<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Acceptable Minimum</b>	<b>Acceptable Maximum</b>
COD	5.00	15.00
PRD	0.98	1.03
PRD	-0.05	0.05

While no jurisdiction can achieve perfect assessments, remaining within industry-acceptable limits, particularly with regard to COD, PRD, and PRB measures, is an important tool in evaluating equity and uniformity. Table 2 below shows the most recent levels in Los Angeles County for all three of these measures, compared with industry recommendations.

**Table 2: Los Angeles County’s COD, PRD, and PRB Levels (2017)**

<b>Measure</b>	<b>Los Angeles Rate</b>	<b>Recommended Limit(s)</b>
<b>Coefficient of Dispersion</b>	38.7735	$\leq 15$
<b>Price-Related Differential</b>	2.6778	0.98 to 1.03
<b>Price-Related Bias</b>	0.0032	-0.05 to 0.05

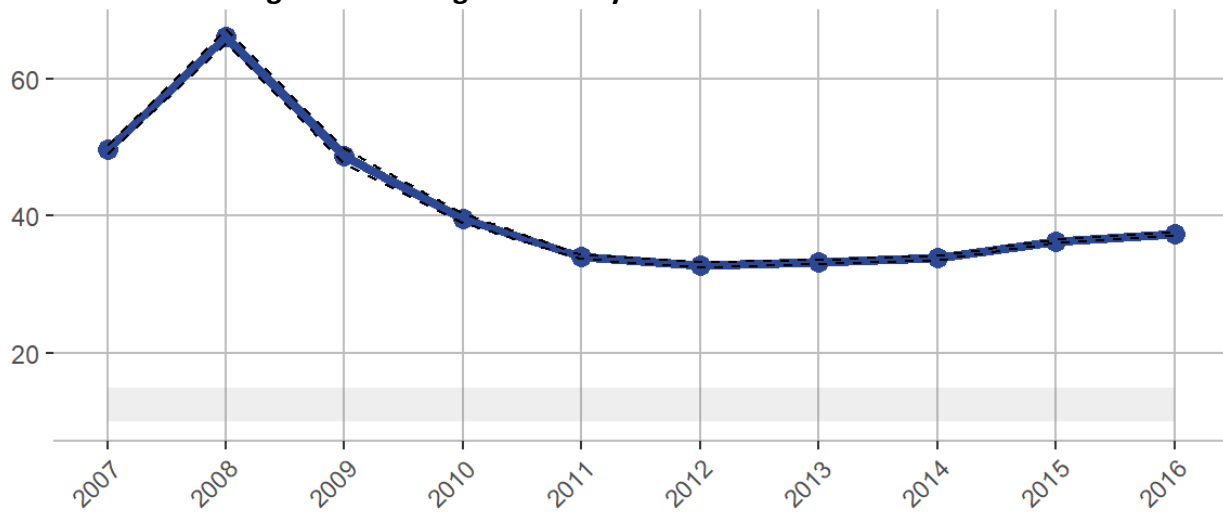
Los Angeles County’s COD of 38.7735% is more than double the limit. This high COD indicates a significant lack of uniformity in sales ratios across various property values. The other two industry-standard measures of regressivity, PRD and PRB, are less consistent, with a PRD again more than double acceptable limits, while the PRB fell well within acceptable levels. This indicates that while local assessments are very regressive, some of this apparent inaccuracy may be the result of factors unrelated to property-value.

Figures 4 through Figure 6 demonstrate trends over time in industry measures of regressivity and uniformity since 2007. After experiencing high levels of regressivity around the time of the 2008 recession, all measures have been progressively trended back toward acceptable levels. These figures demonstrate a number of unique trends in Los Angeles. First, though Los Angeles saw spikes in regressivity as a result of the 2008 recession similar to most jurisdictions, this



spike appears to be much more loosely correlated. While in other communities, this spike was acute, rising only in 2008 or 2009 and then immediately falling, Los Angeles demonstrated a longer spike. For example, the local PRD saw a much more significant spike in 2011, and the spike in PRB appears to have peaked before our observations began in 2007. Thus, it is likely that local regressivity during this period was the result of a combination of factors including, but not limited to, the recession. Second, while most jurisdictions evaluated for this series demonstrated a consistent trend in one direction, similar to Figure 4 below, Los Angeles saw both PRD and PRB fluctuate significantly in either direction during this same period. Finally, it should be noted that while the most recently-observed years demonstrated measures far from their respective peaks, all three of these levels have begun trending back away from acceptable levels.

**Figure 4: Los Angeles County's Coefficient of Distribution**

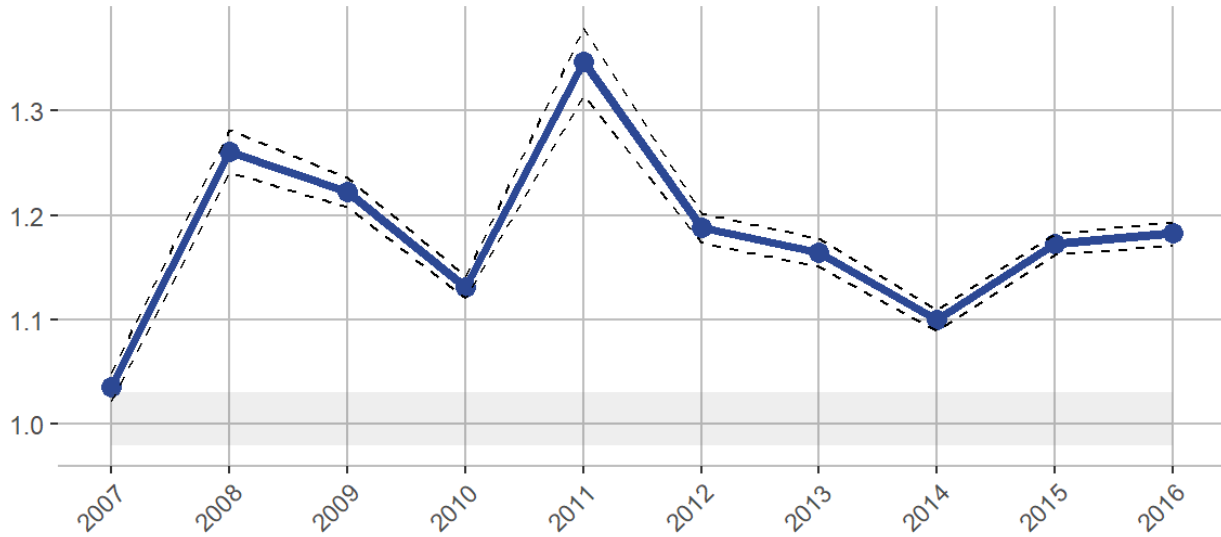


Dotted lines represent 95% Confidence Interval.

In 2016, the Coefficient of Dispersion was 37.47 which does not meet the IAAO standard for uniformity. With this value, a property worth \$100,000 has a 50% chance to be assessed between \$62,530 and \$137,470.

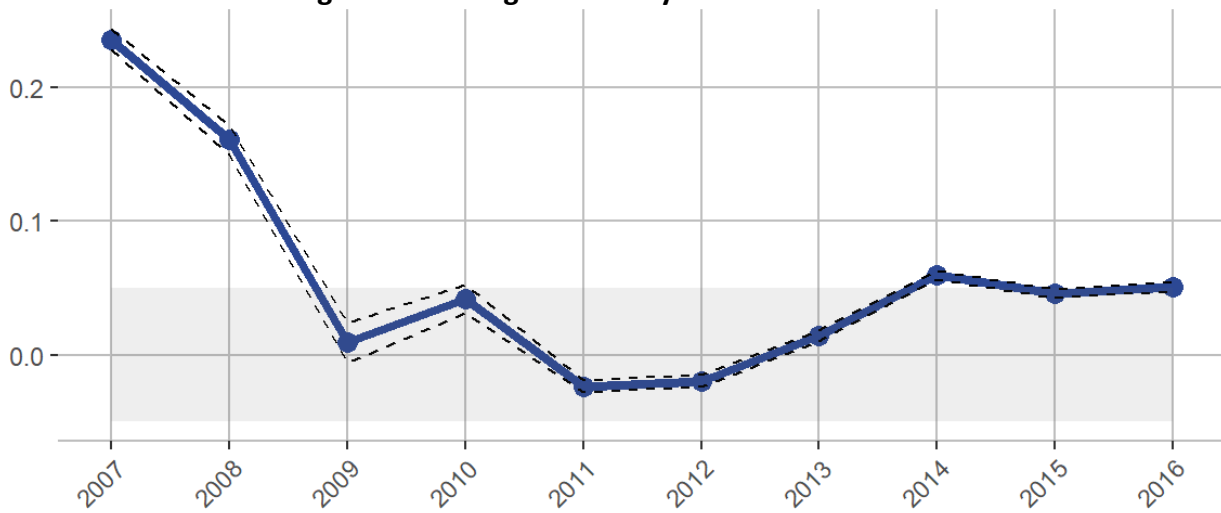


**Figure 5: Los Angeles County's Price-Related Differential**



Dotted lines represent 95% Confidence Interval.  
In 2016, the Price-Related Differential was 1.183 which does not meet the IAAO standard for uniformity.

**Figure 6: Los Angeles County's Price-Related Bias**



Dotted lines represent 95% Confidence Interval.  
In 2016, the Price-Related Bias was 0.051 which does not meet the IAAO standard for uniformity.  
This value indicates that sale ratios increase by 5.1% when assessed value doubles.



## Tax Implications

### *Community Implications*

When assessments are regressive, low-value properties can expect to pay more than their fair share of property taxes, while higher-value properties will actually pay less. In other words, regressivity shifts a portion of the collective tax burden from high-value properties and onto lower-value properties. Table 3 provides average sales and assessment data within each decile, including both individual properties and aggregate impact. For example, Line 1 indicates that among the bottom 10% of homes in Los Angeles County, local governments under-assessed all recently-sold properties by nearly \$400 million in property value. By comparison, Line 10 shows that among the county's top 10% of homes, local governments collectively under-assessed recently-sold properties by more than \$15 billion in property value. Table 3 supports the findings discussed earlier, namely, that while some portion of all properties in Los Angeles County receive under-assessments regardless of their value, these inaccurate assessments disproportionately "benefit" higher-valued properties.

Table 3 only uses data from recently sold properties. Scaling the estimates up to all property in Los Angeles County requires making some assumptions. Collectively, the under-assessment described in Table 3 amounted to nearly \$30 billion in untaxed property value among recently sold residential properties alone. In an average year, only around 5% of homes in any given community actually sell. As such, the full value of untaxed property is likely many magnitudes greater.



**Table 3: Average Sale Price and Total Property Value of Over/ Underassessment Among Recently Sold Homes**

Sale Decile	Average Sale	Average Assessed Value	Sum of Sales	Sum of Assessed Values	Sum of Over/Under Assessments	% Over/Under Assessed
1	\$167,387	\$139,647	\$1,303,452,457	\$911,112,671	-\$392,339,786	-43.1%
2	\$271,478	\$208,856	\$2,074,360,863	\$1,389,830,358	-\$684,530,505	-49.3%
3	\$333,765	\$237,639	\$2,527,059,437	\$1,587,534,931	-\$939,524,506	-59.2%
4	\$384,475	\$262,675	\$2,897,749,288	\$1,752,799,433	-\$1,144,949,855	-65.3%
5	\$435,616	\$292,027	\$3,287,546,440	\$2,026,972,404	-\$1,260,574,036	-62.2%
6	\$498,771	\$326,984	\$3,792,328,409	\$2,327,061,890	-\$1,465,266,519	-63.0%
7	\$582,995	\$370,450	\$4,460,177,219	\$2,710,105,662	-\$1,750,071,557	-64.6%
8	\$711,133	\$442,472	\$5,499,979,991	\$3,282,833,285	-\$2,217,146,706	-67.5%
9	\$982,943	\$583,656	\$7,930,045,330	\$4,283,449,981	-\$3,646,595,349	-85.1%
10	\$2,924,988	\$1,262,284	\$24,612,927,108	\$9,571,453,400	-\$15,041,473,708	-157.1%

*Impact on the Individual Homeowner*

A natural question that emerges from our analysis is how much money is at stake for individual homeowners. This question does not have an easy answer because individual property tax burdens can vary even within a single city, as a result of overlapping jurisdictions with concurrent taxing authority. For example, many communities permit municipalities, counties, school districts, public utilities, development districts, and numerous other government entities to levy property taxes. As a result, different residents in the same city or county may be subject to different taxing authorities. For the purposes of the following illustration, we consider the average 2018 tax rate of 1.175% calculated by the state of California, incorporating all various tax rates within the county.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Annual Report – Statistical Appendix Tables*, California State Board of Equalization (last accessed October 2019), <http://boe.ca.gov/annual/table14.htm>.



Table 4 below demonstrates the approximate tax implication for properties within the first, fifth, and tenth deciles of sale prices. Within each decile, we show the average sale price and the average assessed value. We compute the correct tax bill by multiplying the average value by the average tax rate of 1.175%, and we compare that with the average actual tax bill to arrive at the difference. The difference between the average correct tax bill and the average actual tax bill shows the extent to which the average property in each decile is over- or under-taxed. Consistent with our analysis, these values demonstrate that while properties of all values generally receive a lower than expected tax bill, middle- and high-valued homes enjoy increasingly substantial reductions compared with the community’s lowest-valued properties. These estimates should be considered examples rather than definitive conclusions with respect to any individual property because, as noted above, there may be multiple tax rates within a jurisdiction due to different taxing jurisdictions. It should be noted that these figures do not include any exemptions; in reality, most homeowners receive a substantial homeowner exemption that reduces the taxable value of their home.

**Table 24: Proposed and Effective Tax Bills Among Detroit Property Owners**

<b>Decile</b>	<b>Actual Value</b>	<b>Assessed Value</b>	<b>Proposed Tax Bill</b>	<b>Effective Tax Bill</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Lowest Valued Homes	\$181,147.00	\$125,118.23	\$2,128.48	\$1,470.14	-31%
Median Home Price	\$492,112.00	\$302,550.46	\$5,782.32	\$3,554.97	-39%
Highest Valued Homes	\$15,798,537.00	\$6,537,434.61	\$185,632.81	\$76,814.86	-59%

## **CONCLUSION**

With Los Angeles County’s lowest-priced properties receiving assessments at nearly twice the rate of the county’s highest-valued properties, relative to their market value, assessment procedures in the area produce significant regressivity. Supporting this conclusion, industry-standard measures remained well beyond acceptable levels for nearly the entire period of review. The county has improved over time, substantially reducing all three industry-standard





measures and reducing the spread in assessment rates among the top and bottom 10% of properties by approximately 20 percentage points. Importantly, though, industry-standard measures appear to be trending back away from acceptable levels in the most recently observed years, with COD and PRD remaining well in excess of acceptable levels. In addition, assessment inaccuracy continues to leave nearly \$30 billion in recently-sold property value untaxed every year.

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**APPENDIX A**  
**Detailed Findings**

A more detailed report including all relevant modeling and results can be found at [www.propertytaxproject.uchicago.edu](http://www.propertytaxproject.uchicago.edu).

**APPENDIX B**  
**Alternative Measures of Regressivity**

While the PRD and PRB measures are the most commonly used metrics within the assessing industry, academic researchers have developed alternative methods with varying degrees of acceptance. Among these alternative models, the majority (6 of 8) produce results similar to those outlined thus far, as Table 5 below shows. See the detailed report in Appendix A for a detailed breakdown of these alternative methods and their results.

**Table 5: Alternative Models of Regressivity**

Model	Value	Test	T Statistic	Conclusion	Model Description
paglin72	2.0e+05	> 0	237	Regressive	AV ~ SP
cheng74	6.7e-01	< 1	397	Regressive	ln(AV) ~ ln(SP)
IAA078	-6.6e-08	< 0	-121	Regressive	RATIO ~ SP
kochin82	4.7e-01	< 1	397	Regressive	ln(SP) ~ ln(AV)
bell84	7.8e+04	> 0	80	Regressive	AV ~ SP + SP^2
	-2.1e-08	< 0	-208	Regressive	AV ~ SP + SP^2
sunderman90	-7.7e+04	> 0	-12	Progressive	AV ~ SP + low + high + low * SP + high * SP
clapp90	8.2e-01	> 1	442	Progressive	ln(SP) ~ ln(AV) -> ln(AV) ~ Z



## APPENDIX D

### Regressivity Due to Measurement Error

One limitation of sales ratio studies is that a property’s sale price may be an imperfect indication of its true market value. Given inevitable random factors in the sale of any individual property, the final price may include some “noise.” If so, this will introduce some measurement error into the analysis, which could lead to the appearance of regressivity when there is none. For instance, consider two hypothetical homes that are identical and each worth \$100,000. If both homes went up for sale at the same time, one might fetch a price of \$105,000, say if the seller is a particularly savvy negotiator, while the other home might garner only \$95,000, say if the buyer is a particularly savvy negotiator. If the assessor appropriately assessed both homes at \$100,000, a sales ratio analysis would indicate regressivity (the higher-priced home is under-assessed and the lower-priced home would be over-assessed). While there is no reliable correction for measurement error of this kind, as long as the extent of measurement error is small, relative to the price, the extent of bias will also be small.

We use Monte Carlo simulations to estimate the extent of measurement error that would need to exist for any of our tests to falsely show regressivity due to measurement error or unrelated noise in the data. These tests compare our results with thousands of hypothetical scenarios to determine the likelihood that our same results would be reproduced in the market absent regressivity. As Table 6 shows, these tests demonstrate that for 4 of the 6 measures of regressivity used in our evaluation, home prices would need to vary by more than 25% among similar homes to produce the same level of regressivity currently observed in Marion County.

**Table 6: Monte Carlo Results**

<b>Metric</b>	<b>Shock Percentage</b>	<b>Metric</b>	<b>Shock Percentage</b>
COD	> 25%	Paglin 72	> 25%
PRD	> 25%	Cheng 74	> 25%
PRB	20.1%	IAAO 78	4.7%



## APPENDIX E

### Comparison with Other Jurisdictions

**Table 7: Summary of Communities Included in This Review**

Population Rank	Major Metro	Jurisdiction Evaluated	Jurisdiction Population	Revenue from Prop. Tax.	COD	PRD	PRB
1	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County, CA	10,105,518	28.85%	38.75	2.67	0.003
2	Chicago	Cook County, IL	5,180,493	46.26%	16.32	1.04	-0.01
4	Phoenix	Maricopa Count, AZ	4,410,824	28.08%	27.14	0.97	0.21
7	Miami	Miami-Dade County, FL	2,761,581	33.77%	10.8	1	0.01
9	New York*	New York City, NY	8,398,748**	26.27%	58.21	1.07	0.03
12	Seattle	King County, WA	2,233,163	24.26%	10.49	1.01	0.004
13	Las Vegas	Clark County, NV	2,231,647	28.64%	28.35	1.04	0.09
19	Detroit	Detroit, MI	1,753,893	35.99%	70.03	1.71	-0.42
23	Philadelphia	Philadelphia Combined City-County, PA	1,584,138	13.95%	13.41	1.04	-0.05
31	Columbus	Franklin County, OH	1,310,300	34.76%	18.4	1.04	-0.002
32	Minneapolis***	Hennepin County, MN	1,259,428	46.71%	12.91	1.01	0.01
46	St. Louis***	St. Louis & St. Louis County, MO†	996,945	55.37%	17.49	1.08	-0.07
51	Indianapolis***	Marion County, IN	954,670	n/a	22.3	1.06	-0.05
78	Boston***	Boston, MA	807,252††	71.30%	13.15	1.004	0.02

\* New York City is coterminous with five counties (New York, Kings, Queens, Bronx, and Richmond) which are all among the nation's most populous. For purposes of this evaluation, these counties were evaluated collectively and are represented in this list by New York.

\*\* This population represents all five counties of New York City, Kings County (Brooklyn) is the actual 9th most-populous county in America with a population of 2,582,830.

\*\*\* Though not in the top twenty metros, several other communities were included for various reasons.

†St. Louis and the surrounding county utilize an unusual assessment system between the municipal and county levels, as such both county and city were evaluated. The numbers listed here reflect the entire county.

†† Unlike most large metros which are located near the center of the surrounding county, Boston sits on the border of two counties. As such, this population is unusually small relative to Boston's regional population. When combined with nearby Middlesex County, the regional population is 2,421,966.



## APPENDIX F

### Glossary

- **Ad Valorem Tax** – A tax applied as a percentage of the value of the item being taxed.
- **Arms-Length Sale** - A sale in the open market between two unrelated parties, each of whom is reasonably knowledgeable of market conditions and under no undue pressure to buy or sell.<sup>9</sup> This generally excludes transfers between family or other close parties, transactions made in a distressed nature, such as through foreclosure or tax sale, and transfers made for substantially little value.
- **Assessment percentage:** The percentage of a property’s market value that should be reflected in its assessed value.
- **Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)** - A measure of uniformity based on the average percentage deviation of the ratios from the median, expressed as a percentage of the median.<sup>10</sup>
- **Coefficient of Price-Related Bias** – A regression-based measure that estimates the relationship between the sales ratio and a given proxy for actual property value determined by giving equal weight to market value and assessed value.<sup>11</sup>
- **Price-Related Differential** - A measure of vertical equity calculated by dividing the mean sales ratio by the weighted mean ratio, where the weight is the sale price.<sup>12</sup>
- **Regressivity** – To be characterized as providing an increasing benefit in correlation with an increasing base. When referring to public policies, particularly fiscal policies, this usually reflects a program in which the financial burdens on a given individual decrease as their income or wealth increases.
- **Sales Ratio** – The dollar-for-dollar ratio between a property’s assessed value and sale price, where sale price is used as a proxy for market value.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> International Association (2013).

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*