



# POLICY B R I E F

APRIL 2024



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## MISSOURI MUNICIPAL POLICY

*By David Stokes*

### KEY TAKEAWAYS

Policies at the county and municipal level that inhibit freedom and economic growth in Missouri should be reformed. Missouri has both the right and the responsibility to change the rules for local governments that have overstepped their authority or enacted policies that will harm the state. Among the most important local changes are:

- Removing the Kansas City school district property tax rollback exemption
- Expanding county-level TIF commissions
- Giving school districts an opt-out on TIFs, like fire districts have
- Requiring true public votes for special taxing districts
- Prohibiting St. Louis from collecting the earnings tax on remote work
- Removing special, union-favored annexation rules for fire districts in St. Louis County
- Prohibiting municipalities from mandating that landlords accept Section 8 vouchers
- Expanding county tax subsidy reporting requirements and include them in the state tax commission's annual report

**ADVANCING LIBERTY WITH RESPONSIBILITY  
BY PROMOTING MARKET SOLUTIONS  
FOR MISSOURI PUBLIC POLICY**

## BACKGROUND

Missouri counties and municipalities are subject to the same special-interest pressures as any other government. Such pressures are often exacerbated by a misguided belief in their own local authority. Too often, local governments grant special tax deals, favor certain interest groups, enact harmful tax policies, and mandate activities that are not within their power to mandate. While the federal government is a union of sovereign states, no such relationship exists for municipalities, despite what some local officials may wish. Cities and counties are creatures of the state, as the Supreme Court explained many years ago.

The model policies discussed here would change, in various ways, harmful local rules that are inhibiting freedom and economic growth in Missouri. Some of these poor policies can be blamed on cities or counties themselves, such as local “source-of-income” rules and earnings taxes on remote work, but many of them have been authorized by state law, and we need state law to change to address these policy failures.

In no particular order, below is a list of reforms that Missouri would benefit from implementing.

### **Reform: Remove the Kansas City 33 School District’s property tax rollback exemption**

In recent years, the Kansas City 33 School District (KCSD) has seen tremendous increases in assessed valuation and has chosen not to roll its tax rates back at all. That has led to enormous property tax increases for residents and businesses within KCSD, which includes significant parts of Kansas City within Jackson County. The Kansas City school desegregation case ended a long time ago. It is time to remove this holdover as well.

From 2018 to 2022, Kansas City 33 school district’s assessed valuation went up 31%, and its property tax revenues went up 31% as well. In every other taxing entity in Missouri, the tax rate would have been decreased somewhat to offset the property assessment hike. But not in the KCSD. In the 2023 reassessment, the trend continued with the school district’s assessed

valuation going up 24% while the tax rate remained exactly the same. This resulted in a \$49 million increase in property tax revenues, also a 24% increase.

The Kansas City 33 school board has shown no inclination to reduce its tax rate to help homeowners and taxpayers. The constitutional amendment giving the school district this exemption should be repealed.

### **Reform: Create additional county TIF commissions**

The five counties that use the county TIF (tax-increment financing) commission mechanism have been more careful and judicious in their use of TIF.<sup>1</sup>

The implementation of the county TIF commission format in St. Charles, Jefferson, and (to a lesser extent) St. Louis counties has reduced the use of TIF in those counties. Since the county TIF commission law was strengthened in 2016, St. Charles has approved only one TIF, and Jefferson County has approved zero. St. Louis County has approved several, but it has also rejected some (which almost never happened before).

With the more common municipal TIF commission format, TIF decisions are made by cities that do not generally answer to the electorates they are affecting with their decisions. For example, residents of school districts impacted by TIF subsidies often don’t live within the city making the decision and have no ability to influence the decision through voting. County officials are much more likely to think regionally and are responsible to a much wider electorate. As seen in the above counties, the adoption of county TIF commission has resulted in a significant reduction of the usage of TIF. (Note that there are two counties, Cass and Clay, that have only recently adopted the county TIF commission format, so it is too soon to judge the effects there.)

Requiring a county TIF commission in the following additional counties (which have regional interests) would impose greater fiscal discipline and accountability to taxpayers in those regions: The change would benefit all counties, but in particular it should be enacted for Jackson, Platte, Camden, Boone, Franklin, and Greene counties.

## Reform: Allow School Districts to Opt Out of TIF

School districts are dramatically impacted by tax reductions from TIF and should be allowed to opt-out of TIF subsidies as some other taxing jurisdictions are allowed.<sup>2</sup>

It is often overlooked that TIF diverts property tax revenue away from more than just the city that usually approves it. Cities rely more on sales taxes than property taxes, while other taxing districts depend almost entirely on property taxes. School districts, emergency service districts, and others also lose out on tax revenue when TIF is implemented, but those taxing agencies have very limited say, if any, in the overall process. Overlooking this imbalance can have disastrous effects, especially when TIF is used for projects with a residential component. Residential developments can add dozens of new families to a city and thereby require increased spending on public safety and other services, yet TIF can mean that public safety providers do not receive any increase in tax dollars to account for these new families. Similarly, school districts gain students without gaining the funding to educate them. The state had addressed this need for public safety by allowing certain fire, ambulance, and 911 districts to opt out of TIF proposals.<sup>3</sup> We should do the same thing for school districts.

## Reform: Public Votes for Special Taxing Districts

Special taxing districts, such as Community Improvement Districts (CIDs) and Transportation Development Districts (TDDs), are far too easily implemented in Missouri, and often done so in a manner designed to get around the Hancock Amendment.<sup>4</sup>

We need to make new special taxing district taxes subject to the voters of a city or county, not to a vote by signature by a small number of property owners as is frequently the case now. Full public votes should be required for all CIDs, TDDs, etc., within a city or county.<sup>5</sup>

## Reform: Exempt Remote Work from the Earnings Tax in the City of St. Louis

During and after the pandemic, St. Louis has been violating the plain language of the state law and its own ordinances by forcing collection of the earnings tax for remote work. (Kansas City has not been doing so).

State law should make clear that in no case should existing statutes be construed as allowing the city earnings taxes in St. Louis and Kansas City to be applied to telecommuting nonresidents who work from home. For many years, both cities have recognized that the earnings tax does not apply for earnings related to work done outside of the city limits by nonresidents. This practice comports with the plain language of the applicable statute (emphasis added):

Salaries, wages, commissions and other compensation earned by nonresidents of the city for **work done or services performed or rendered in the city**. [RSMO 92.111.2(2)]

Despite the clarity of existing law, since 2020, the City of St. Louis has collected earnings-tax revenue from nonresidents who work for businesses within the city even if they performed their work from their homes located outside of the city limits. The pandemic posed significant financial challenges for individuals, businesses, and governmental bodies alike, but this decision was misguided and violated the law. If the lawsuits that have been filed against the city are any indication, it seems many workers and businesses agree. Furthermore, in early 2023 a judge ruled that the City of St. Louis acted improperly and owes refunds. The city is appealing that decision.

The argument for the earnings tax has always been that people working in the city need to contribute to city coffers. Whatever you think of that rationale, it would be a dramatic and improper expansion of the City of St. Louis' authority to continue to allow it to collect taxes for work performed outside of the city.

### **Reform: Remove union-favoring fire-district annexation policies in St. Louis County**

There are special rules governing the annexation of unincorporated areas served by fire districts in St. Louis County.<sup>6</sup> Special laws like RSMO 72.418 shield fire-protection districts from municipal competition for local tax dollars and harm taxpayers. This law needs to be removed. The law is highly beneficial for the fireman's union and bad for everyone else, especially taxpayers. If residents and voters wish to have municipal annexations or incorporations that include fire protection by municipal fire departments, they should be able to do that throughout Missouri.

### **Reform: Prohibit municipalities in Missouri from requiring landlords to accept housing vouchers**

Certain cities in Missouri, including Kansas City, Columbia, St. Louis, Maplewood, Webster Groves, and Clayton, require landlords to accept housing vouchers for rental property. The housing voucher program, commonly referred to as Section 8 housing, is a federal program. There is no federal requirement that landlords participate in it.<sup>7</sup> The voluntary nature of the program is one of the reasons for its relative success. People are not forced to participate in it, yet many landlords do, and there is no documented shortage of low-income housing in St. Louis County. In fact, the St. Louis metropolitan area was recently ranked as the fourth-most-affordable housing market in the county in one survey.

There are numerous examples of government social programs where participation is voluntary. Doctors are not forced to accept Medicaid payments, yet many do. Grocery stores are not required to accept food stamps, yet many, if not most, do. That is how the housing voucher program has worked for many years. Requiring a local mandate by Missouri municipalities will force landlords either to accept the burden of joining the program against their will or to creatively find other reasons to deny potential renters. The state should ban this practice, in the same manner as it has disallowed municipal rent-control rules in Missouri.

### **Reform: Expand the requirements for assessors to collect information on tax subsidies and require that the annual report of the State Tax Commission include this information**

The goal of this reform is to ensure that information on tax subsidies is reported in a timely fashion and is easily accessible by taxpayers. Tax subsidies authorized under RSMO section 100 should be added to the list of subsidies reported by county assessors. Requiring that the annual State Tax Commission report include this information by county is an easy method of accomplishing these objectives.

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## NOTES

1. Stokes, David, “TIF Decisions Should Be Made at the County, Not City, Level,” Show-Me Institute, Dec. 19, 2023, <https://showmeinstitute.org/blog/subsidies/tif-decisions-should-be-made-at-the-county-not-city-level>.
2. RSMO 99.848.
3. SB 362, 2023, and SB 306, 2023.
4. HB 1854, 2020.
5. Renz, Graham and Tuohey, Patrick, “Taxes and Taxing Districts on the Rise in Missouri”, Show-Me Institute, June 5, 2019, <https://showmeinstitute.org/publication/special-taxing-districts/taxes-and-taxing-districts-on-the-rise-in-missouri>.
6. RSMO 72.418.
7. Section 8 Housing Wikipedia article, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section\\_8\\_\(housing\)#:~:text=Landlords%20are%20not%20required%20to,remains%20voluntary%20in%20most%20places](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section_8_(housing)#:~:text=Landlords%20are%20not%20required%20to,remains%20voluntary%20in%20most%20places).



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