COMMENTS ON:

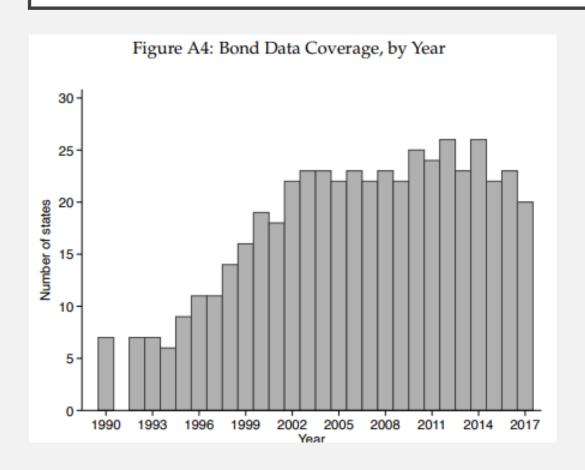
HOW POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS SHAPE EDUCATION SPENDING: SUPERMAJORITY REQUIREMENTS IN U.S. SCHOOL INVESTMENTS

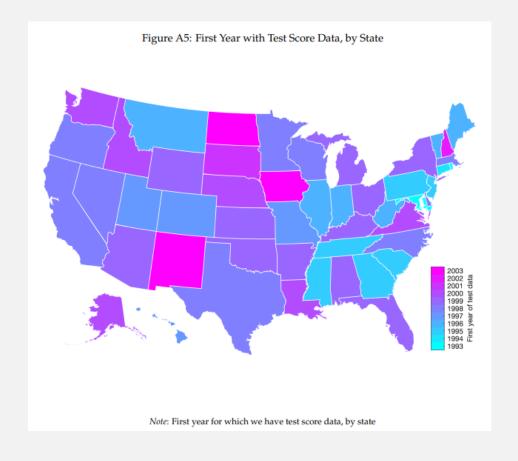
BIASI, LAFORTUNE, & SCHÖNHOLZER

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NBER Fiscal Dynamics Conference
September 2025

GOALS AND CHALLENGES

- (Goal) Understand effects of supermajority requirements for bond propositions on level and composition of a public good (school financing)...
- (Challenge) Detailed data on school bonds and state institutions
 - Biasi, Lafortune, & Schönholzer (2025 QJE & AEA P&P 2021)
- Examine change in super majority requirements in CA (2000 Prop 39)
- (Challenge) Limited within-state institutional variation and few states with requisite bond data pre-2000
 - Develop structural setter model and estimate key parameters to conduct what-if analysis for California





COMPOSITION OF BOND PROPOSALS

- Cross-walking 8 categories in 2025 QJE to 3 categories today
- How are bonds with multiple categories handled? How is the bond size apportioned among categories?

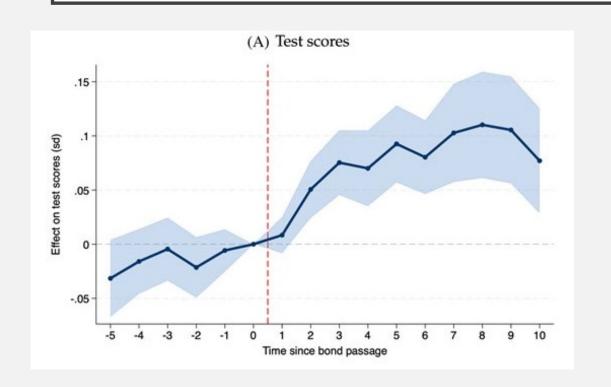
Table A1: Number of Bond Categories: Summary Statistics

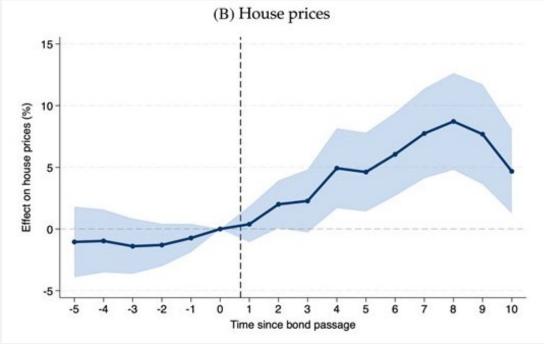
	Share of bonds w/category	# Categories, all bonds			# Categories, authorized bonds		
		Mean	Median	3th qtile	Mean	Median	3th qtile
All bonds	_	2.6	2	4	2.5	2	4
By category							
Classrooms	51.8%	3.1	3	5	3.2	3	5
Infrastructure	31.6%	4.1	4	5	4.2	4	5
HVAC	12.2%	4.7	5	6	4.6	5	6
Safety/health	19.5%	4.4	4	5	4.4	4	5
STEM	28.1%	4.3	4	5	4.3	4	5
Athletics	20.3%	4.1	4	6	4.2	4	6
Land purchases	15.1%	4.6	5	6	4.7	5	6
Transportation	24.1%	2.6	1	4	2.3	1	4

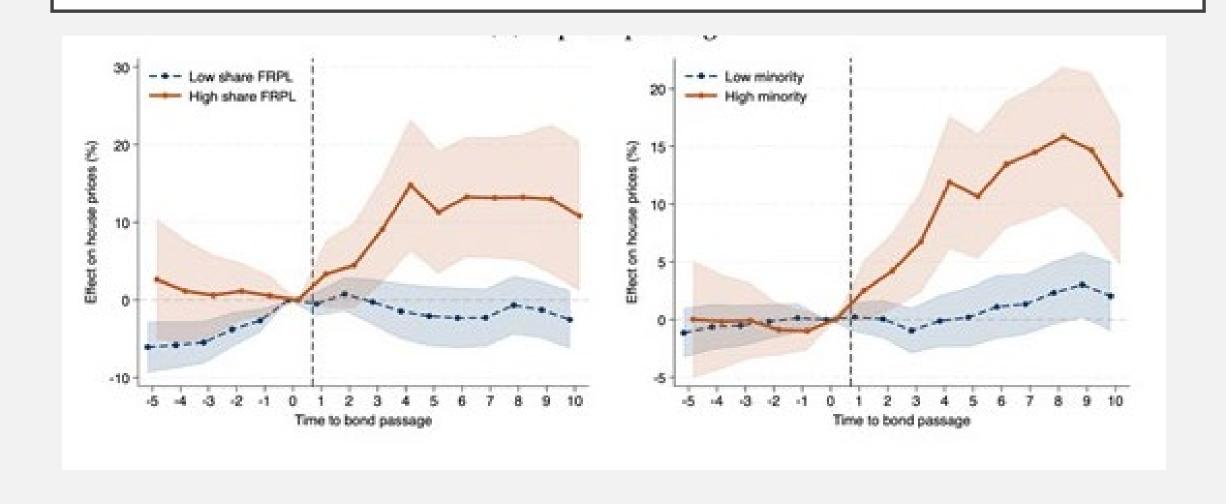
Note: Summary statistics of the number of categories across bonds. The first row refers to the full sample; the remaining rows refer to bonds containing each category. The first three columns refer to all bonds; the last three refer to authorized bonds.

COMPOSITION OF BOND PROPOSALS

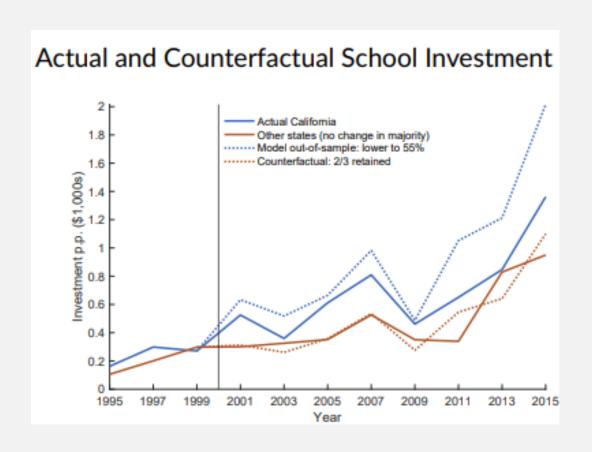
- Cross-walking 8 categories in 2025 QJE to 3 categories today
- How are bonds with multiple categories handled? How is the bond size apportioned among categories?
- Special tax provisions in bond proposal; change in debt burden
- Multidimensional choice space => multiple pivotal voters McKelvey 1976 & Schofield 1978 ("chaos theorem") vs Caplin and Nalebuff 1991 ("64% solution")

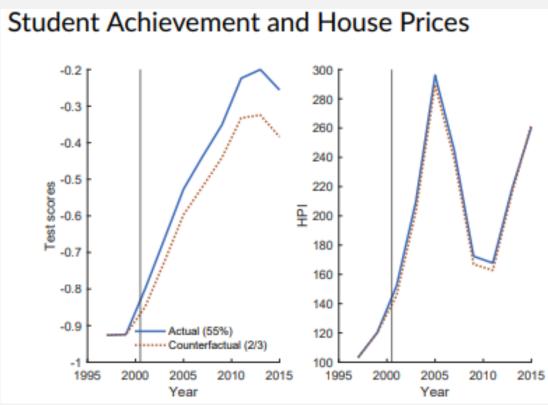






BIASI, LAFORTUNE, & SCHÖNHOLZER (NBER)





PROP 39 & CONCURRENT LEGISLATION IN CA

- Prop 39 lowers super majority requirement under the following conditions:
 - Funds used only for construction, rehabilitation, equipment, acquisition or lease of land for schools
 - A list of projects to be funded must be presented to the voters
 - Annual independent audits to ensure bond funds used only for stated purposes
 - Requires reasonably equivalent facilities for K-12 charter schools
- Concurrent legislation requires the following to implement the lower 55% threshold:
 - 2/3rds approval by school district board for ballot proposals
 - Timing of vote must be coincident with a state-wide primary, general, or special election; or regular local election
 - Associated tax rate levy is capped (e.g., \$60 per \$100K of taxable property value for a unified school district)
 - Establish a citizen oversight board

NOTE: districts can still schedule elections any time subject to the 2/3rds majority requirement

OTHER RELEVANT LAWS IN CA

- 1983-1987 Parcel taxes may be used for education lump sum per parcel or per square footage (subject to 2/3rds supermajority)
- 1998 State bond funding (\$6.7B) to subsidize K-12 capital improvements:
 - 50% of cost of new facilities
 - 80% of the cost of modernizing existing facilities
 - 100% of the cost for "hardship cases"
- 2006 Proposition ID approved \$10B in bond funds for improvement of local schools
- 2016 Proposition 51 approved \$9B in bond funds for improvement of local schools
- 2024 Proposition 2 approved -\$10B in bond funds to subsidize local school improvements

VOTER TURNOUT

- Timing of elections, turnout, and preferences of the pivotal voter (Anzia 2013) => Tradeoffs between on-cycle proposal with lower threshold and off-cycle proposals with higher threshold
- Rational choice model of turnout suggests instrumental motivations for voting (i.e., content of bond proposal) are *unimportant*; non-instrumental reasons dominate the turnout decision and voters are rationally ignorant...
- Any voter's decision to vote YES or NO is determined by heuristics (e.g., elite endorsements; trust in local government) and at best indirectly by the substance of the bond measure.
- Suggests trusted elites and interest groups are important players via endorsements, and trust is a key asset for school districts...(contra Lupia 1994)
- Maybe low SES districts have fewer trusted endorsers on the pro-school funding side and lower trust in local government?

(MIS)TRUST IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

How often can you trust your local government to do the right thing? ""Hardly Ever"

	Lowest Household Income Quintile	All Others
2008	30%	16%
2016	23%	15%
2024	37%	16%
C 1/	C /CEC/MIT (NI LOOG/	

Source: YouGov/CES/MIZ; (N=1,000/year)

MISCELLANEOUS THOUGHTS

- Economies of scale in capital projects => large districts are less constrained w.r.t. lumpy investments => differential treatment effects by district size?
- Tiebout sorting and short run vs long run effects of Prop 39
- Other horses are drinking from the same pool (fire district, parks district, etc.) => year X district unobservables that also impact timing and size of school bonds...