

# Federal Tax Policy and Capitalization of Local Public Goods

Urban Economics and Public Finance Conference  
Lincoln Institute of Land Policy

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**PennState**  
Smeal College of Business

Jason and Julie Borrelli  
Institute for Real Estate Studies

**Introduction**

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Empirical Framework

Data and setting

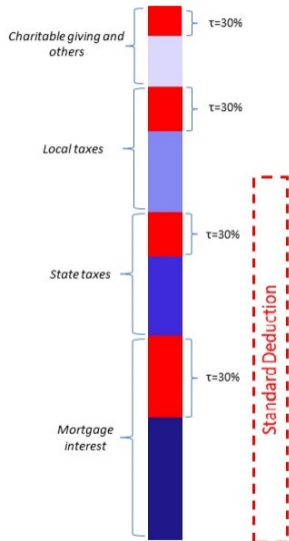
Results

Conclusions

## Introduction & Motivation

- ▶ Quantifying the change in land prices to a change in a local economic factor is essential because it allows for estimating the value residents place in non-market amenities and in turn for evaluating public policies (Black, 1999; Rossi-Hansberg et al., 2010; Brueckner and Singh, 2020; Albouy et al., 2020).
- ▶ Although these capitalization effects are **local**, we provide evidence that **national** tax policies may amplify them and thus change prior conclusions.
- ▶ To do so, we exploit an implicit fiscal transfer from the US federal to local governments → the deductibility of state and local taxes (SALT) from federal taxable income.

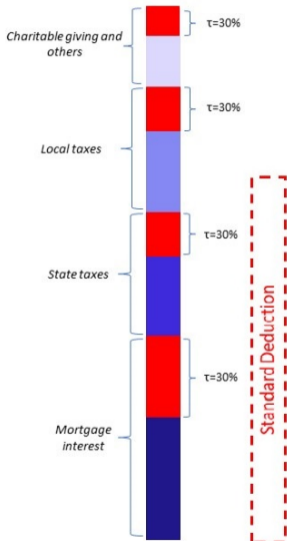
# Introduction & Motivation: Federal Tax Policy



Taxpayer compares allowed itemized expenses to the standard deduction.

Then selects method that provides largest tax relief.

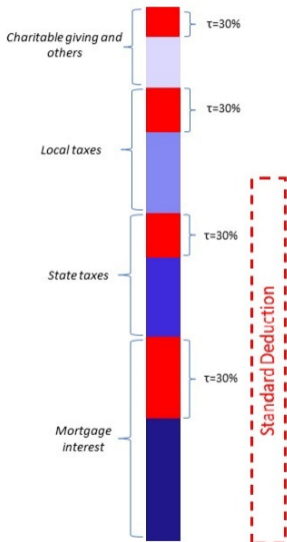
# Introduction & Motivation: Federal Tax Policy



Itemization decreases the effective cost of deductible expenses and thus increases quantity demanded. Most common federal tax deductions:

1. Mortgage interest: e.g. Sommer & Sullivan (2018)
2. Charitable givings: e.g. Almunia et. al (2020)

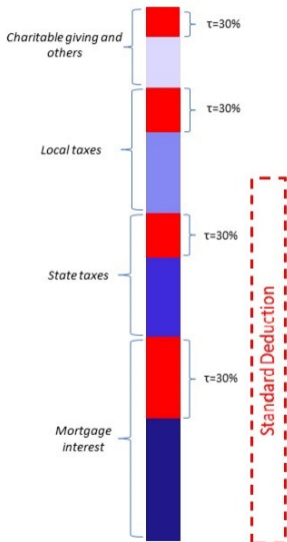
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3. State and local public goods (LPG) are subsidized too
  - ▶ In 2017, taxpayers deducted \$616.6 billion of SALT - [map](#)
  - ▶ corresponding to a federal expenditure of \$96.3 billion

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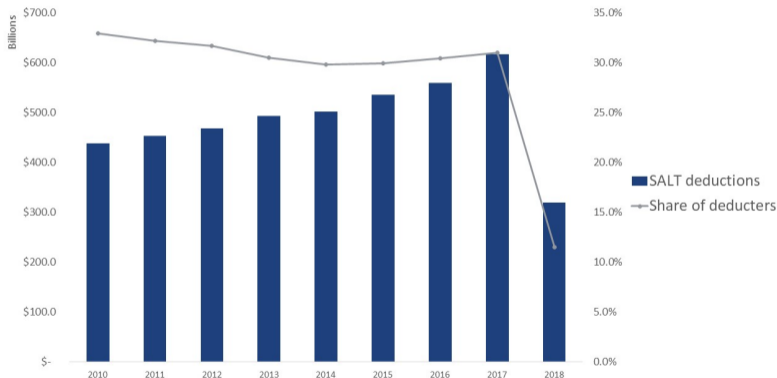
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## Research questions:

- ▶ How does itemization of SALT on federal taxes alter the capitalization of local public goods?
- ▶ What is the impact on household sorting by income?

## Motivating Evidence

- ▶ Ambrose and Valentin (*REStat* 2024) provide causal evidence of a positive relation between the demand for local public goods (using voting as a proxy) and the share of residents deducting local taxes.



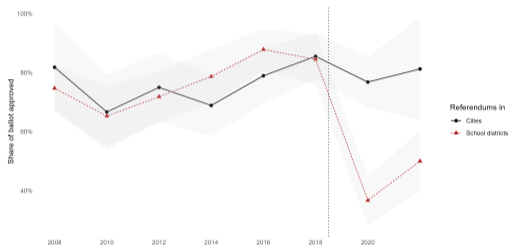


## Motivating Evidence

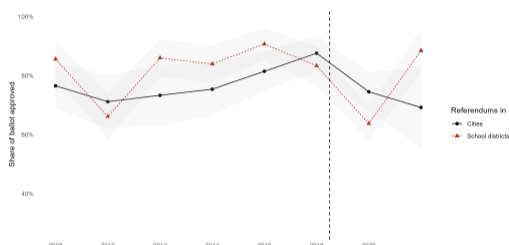
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# Motivating Evidence



Areas with high shock to SALT deduction



Areas with low shock to SALT deduction

Source: Ambrose & Valentin, "Federal Tax Deductions and the Demand for Local Public Goods", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, (2024 Forthcoming)

## In this paper...

1. We build a model of capitalization of LPG in house values with property tax deductibility.
  - ▶ Prediction: Property tax deduction amplifies capitalization of public spending in areas where residents take advantage of deduction.

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1. We build a model of capitalization of LPG in house values with property tax deductibility.
  - ▶ Prediction: Property tax deduction amplifies capitalization of public spending in areas where residents take advantage of deduction.
2. We test the model using school district spending:
  - ▶ Cross-sectional analysis → traditional capitalization model fails to capture heterogeneity created by the deductibility of SALT.
  - ▶ Panel data exploiting time-varying changes in the use of SALT → capitalized value of school test scores varies with SALT deductibility.
  - ▶ Exploit border discontinuity and changes in SALT → capitalization amplified by SALT deductibility

## Contributions to the literature

- ▶ The capitalization of public goods and property taxes into house value well known:
  - ▶ *Tiebout, 1956; Oates, 1969; Brueckner 1979, 1982, 1983; ... Koster & Pinchbeck, 2022*
- We introduce property tax deductibility into classical model
  
- ▶ The literature reports mixed findings on whether public goods are provided efficiently.
  - ▶ *Brueckner 1979, 1982, 1983; Barrow and Rouse (2004); Cellini et al (2010); Heintzelman (2010); Lang (2018); Bayer et al. (2020)*
- By accounting for the deductibility of local taxes, we provide a mechanism to reconcile these results.

## Contribution to the literature

- ▶ We contribute to the literature examining the consequences of the SALT deductions.
  - ▶ *Feldstein and Metcalf (1987); Metcalf (2011); Holtz-Eakin and Rosen (1990); Albouy (2009); Ambrose and Valentin (2024)*
- We show that residents value these fiscal benefits through higher capitalization.
  
- ▶ The equity of the property tax system
  - ▶ *Oates & Fischel, 2016; Avenancio-León & Howard, 2019; ... McMillen & Singh, 2020*
- Wealthier communities, which benefit more from the SALT subsidy, have greater house prices than they would absent such subsidy.
- Raises incentive for households to sort based on income – creating more stratified communities.

Introduction

**Theoretical framework**

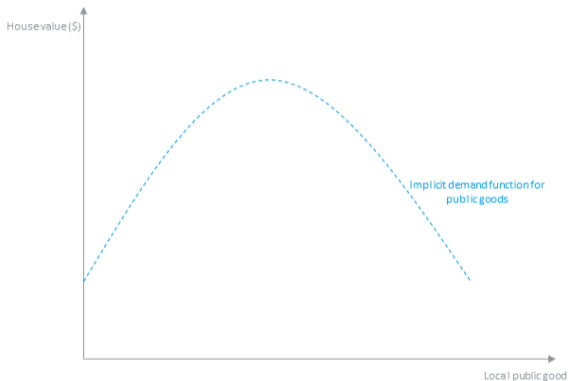
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# Public goods, property taxes, and house value

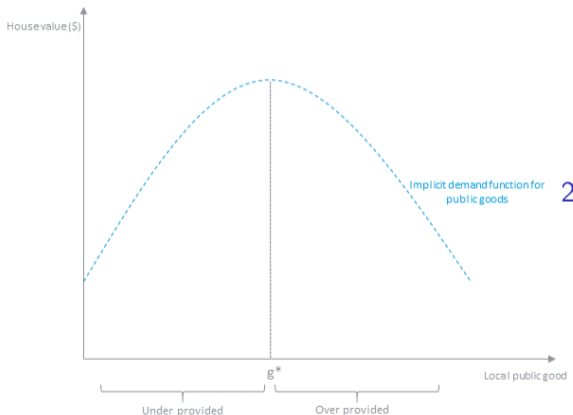


## 1. Assumptions:

- ▶ Households are mobile
- ▶ Fixed stock of houses
- ▶ Local public goods financed by property taxes



# Public goods, property taxes, and house value



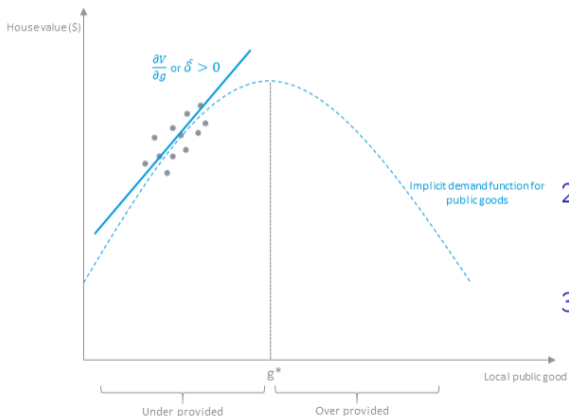
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# Public goods, property taxes, and house value



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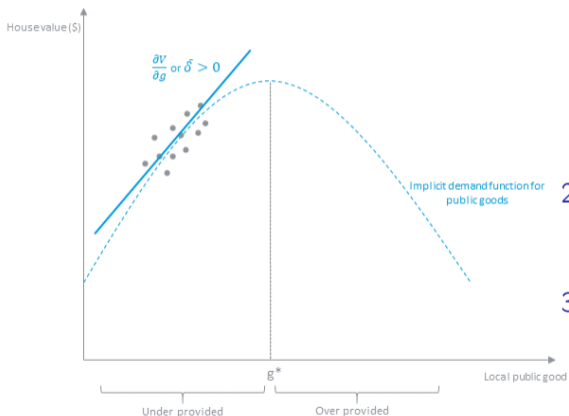
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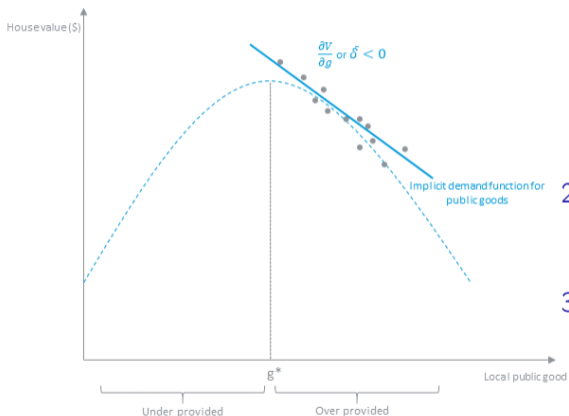
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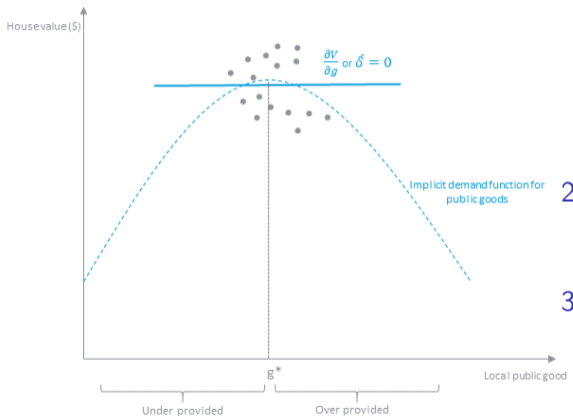
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- ▶ Positive if underprovision
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# Public goods, property taxes, and house value



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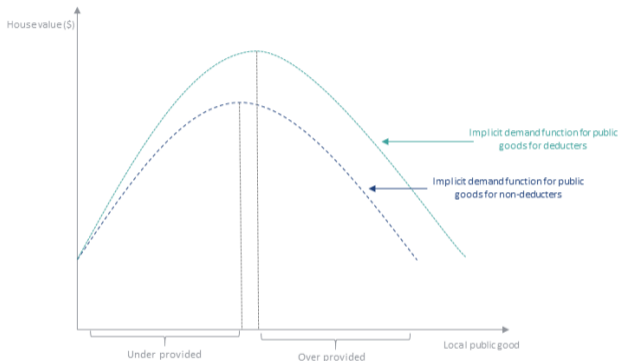
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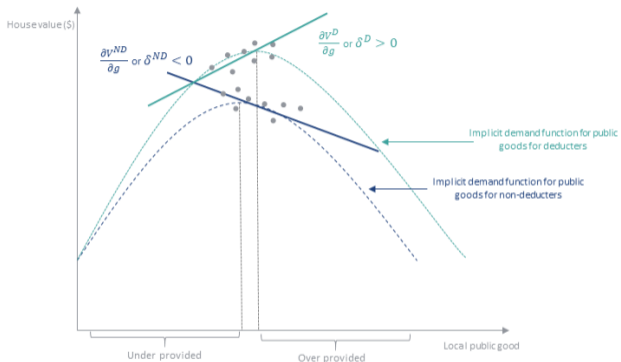
- ▶ Positive if underprovision
- ▶ Negative if overprovided
- ▶ Zero if efficiently provisioned

# Local public goods capitalization with property tax deductibility



Introducing deductibility lowers the effective cost of providing public goods:

# Local public goods capitalization with property tax deductibility



Introducing deductibility lowers the effective cost of providing public goods:

- ▶ Capitalization of LPG increases with the share of deductors ( $\delta^D > \delta^{ND}$ ) - [Details](#)

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## Empirical Framework & Identification

- ▶ Identification relies on variations in housing values, public goods, and the share of property tax deducters.
  - ▶ We rely on a preponderance of evidence using a variety of cross-sectional and temporal methods that leverage data variations to support our conclusions.
- ▶ Because the theoretical predictions are derived in a comparative statics framework, our main test relies on cross-sectional regression analysis.
  - ▶ Advantage: Alleviates sorting issues that can emerge in time-series, endogenous jurisdiction formation, and variation in discount rates

## Empirical framework

$$\log(P_j) = \alpha_{m(j)} + \delta^{ND} Exp_j + \delta^D (Exp_j \times DedShare_j) + \phi DedShare_j + X_j' \beta + \epsilon_j$$

- ▶  $\log(P_j)$ : House price index from Zillow at school district level (2017)
- ▶  $\alpha_{m(j)}$ : CBSA fixed effects
- ▶  $Exp_j$ : School district adjusted spending per pupil
- ▶  $DedShare_j$ : Share of households deducting property taxes in school district  $j$
- ▶  $X$ : School district level controls (income, education, demographics, test score ...)

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Main hypothesis:  $\delta^D > 0$  and  $\delta^{ND} < 0$

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## Data - School district

### 1. House value

- ▶ Zillow Zipcode Single-family Home House price pre-TCJA

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### 2. Public school spending

- ▶ Annual Survey of School System Finances
- ▶ Spatially deflated to compare spending across the nation

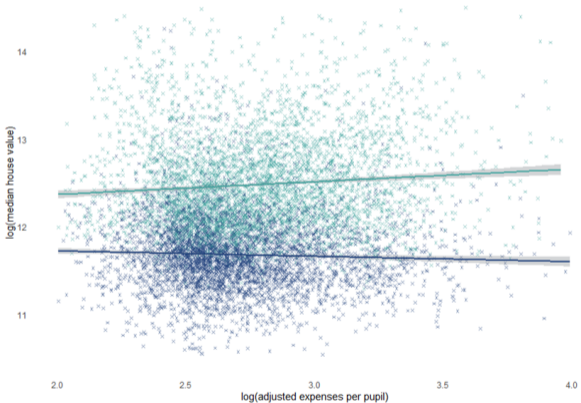
## Data - School district

1. House value
  - ▶ Zillow Zipcode Single-family Home House price pre-TCJA
2. Public school spending
  - ▶ Annual Survey of School System Finances
  - ▶ Spatially deflated to compare spending across the nation
3. Share of households deducting property taxes from IRS

$$DedShare_j = \frac{\# \text{ of tax returns with prop deduction}_j}{\# \text{ of tax returns}_j}$$

# Main data

1) Zillow Zipcode Single-family Home House price



3) IRS: share of households deducting property taxes

DedShare

Above median

Below median

2) Annual Survey of School System Finances



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- Identification using a shock to deductibility stats

- Channels magnifying or mitigating capitalization

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# The demand for public goods increases with deductibility benefits

<i>Dependent variable: log(median house value)</i>	
(1a)	
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\hat{\delta}$	0.011 (0.010)
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\delta^{ND}$	
Expenses per pupil x DedShare - $\delta^D$	
Demographics	X
Income Decile FE	X
Spatial FE	CBSA
Observations	8,890
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.91

# The demand for public goods increases with deductibility benefits

	<i>Dependent variable: log(median house value)</i>	
	(1a)	(1b)
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\hat{\delta}$	0.011 (0.010)	
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\delta^{ND}$		-0.027** (0.010)
Expenses per pupil x DedShare - $\delta^D$		0.147*** (0.032)
Demographics	X	X
Income Decile FE	X	X
Spatial FE	CBSA	CBSA
Observations	8,890	8,890
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.91	0.91

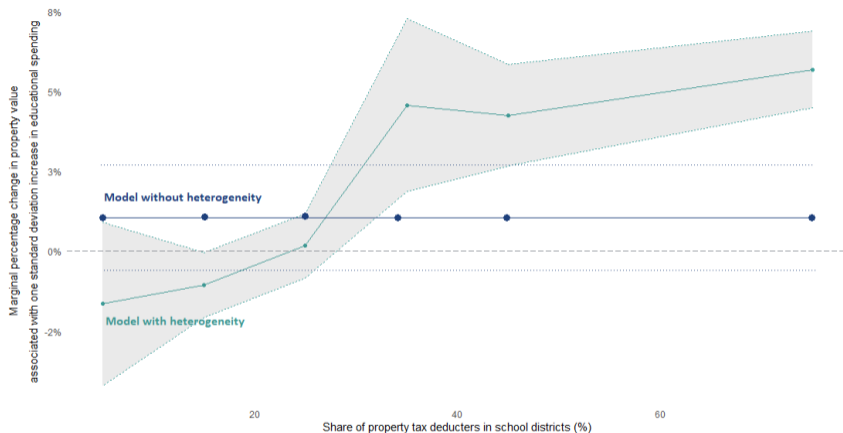
# The demand for public goods increases with deductibility benefits

	<i>Dependent variable: log(median house value)</i>		
	(1a)	(1b)	(2b)
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\hat{\delta}$	0.011 (0.010)		
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\delta^{ND}$		-0.027** (0.010)	-0.024** (0.011)
Expenses per pupil x DedShare - $\delta^D$		0.147*** (0.032)	0.113*** (0.039)
Demographics	X	X	X
Income Decile FE	X	X	X
Spatial FE	CBSA	CBSA	+ State
Observations	8,890	8,890	8,890
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.91	0.91	0.92

# The demand for public goods increases with deductibility benefits

	<i>Dependent variable: log(median house value)</i>			
	(1a)	(1b)	(2b)	(3b)
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\hat{\delta}$	0.011 (0.010)			
Expenses per pupil (standardized) - $\delta^{ND}$		-0.027** (0.010)	-0.024** (0.011)	-0.021* (0.013)
Expenses per pupil x DedShare - $\delta^D$		0.147*** (0.032)	0.113*** (0.039)	0.134*** (0.039)
Demographics	X	X	X	X
Income Decile FE	X	X	X	X
Spatial FE	CBSA	CBSA	+ State	County
Observations	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.91	0.91	0.92	0.93

## Introducing federal deductions creates heterogeneity



Takeaway: LPG under-provided where residents benefit from the federal tax subsidy but over-provided for school districts with few residents who deduct property taxes.

## Robustness checks and external validity

1. Non-linear (log-log) specification - [Results](#)
2. Alternate proxy for tax deductibility benefits ( $DedShare \times T$ ) [Results](#)
3. Different types of educational expenses - [Results](#)
4. External validity: Police funding at the county level - [Results](#)



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Panel data identification

Border discontinuity

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## Approach 1: A panel data approach

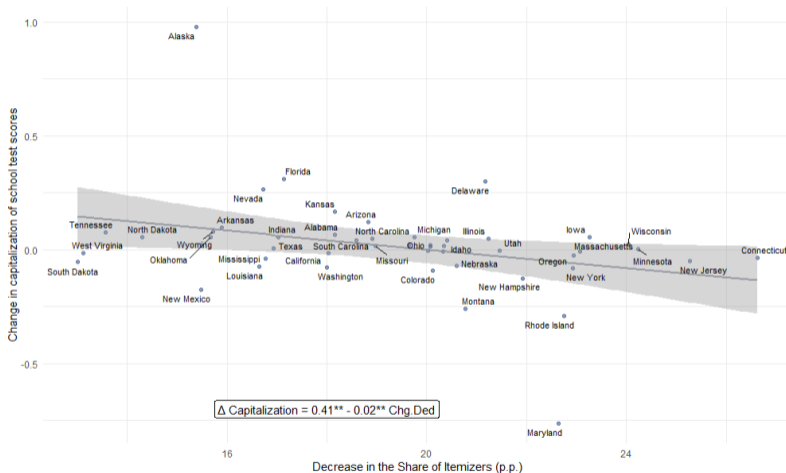
For each state:

1. compute the change in capitalization between 2017 (pre) and 2020 (post)
2. compute the decrease in the share of SALT deducters

**Hypothesis:** Larger decrease in the share of deducters » decrease in capitalization

- ▶ Advantage: Exploits exogenous shock associated with TCJA.
- ▶ Disadvantage: potential subjectivity bias in choice of aggregation level, and confounding factors of TCJA

## Approach 1: A panel data approach - Placebo



Signification relation: as share of deductors declines, capitalization of school quality declines.

## Approach 2: A difference-in-border-discontinuity approach

Exploit differences along school district borders in each state:

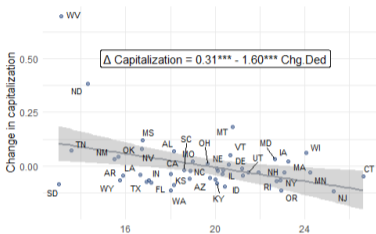
1. compute the **change in capitalization** between 2017 (pre) and 2019 (post)
  - ▶ using house-level transactions ( $\approx 8$  million);
  - ▶ keeping houses located within 1 mile of a school district border;
  - ▶ including border fixed effects (Black, 1999);
  - ▶ and demographic variables (Bayer et al., 2007).
2. compute the decrease in the share of SALT deducters

**Hypothesis:** Larger decrease in the share of deducters » decrease in capitalization

## Approach 2: A difference-in-border-discontinuity approach -

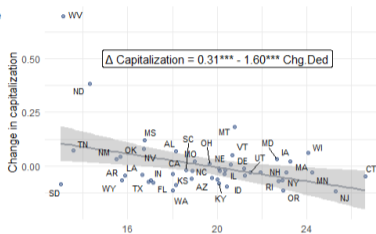
Placebo

A. Baseline

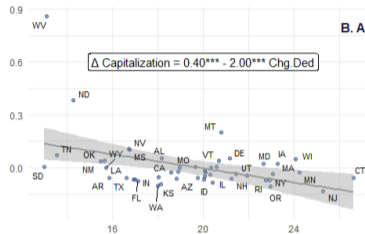


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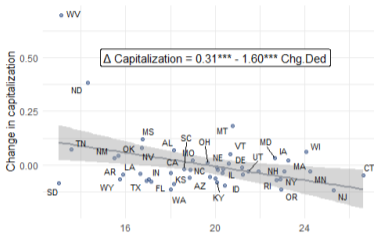


B. Adds border fixed effects

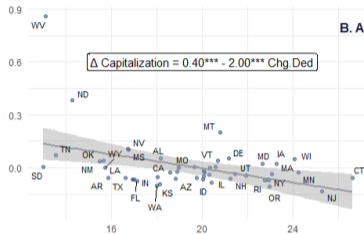


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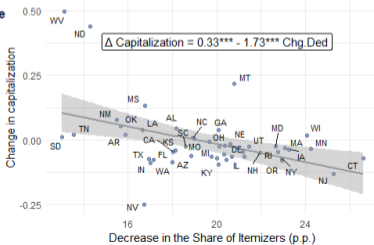
A. Baseline



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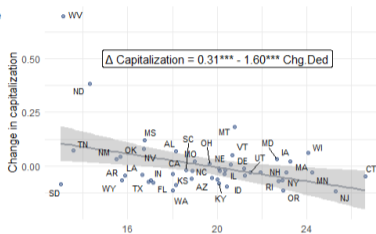


C. border FE + restrict to 1 mile from border

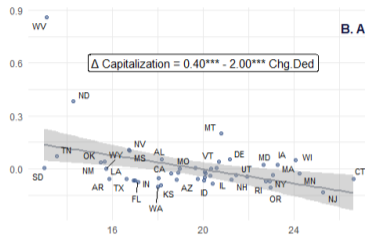


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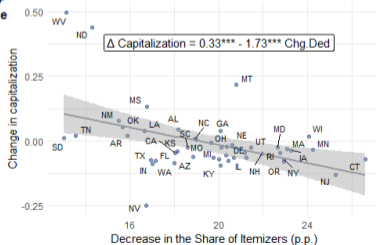
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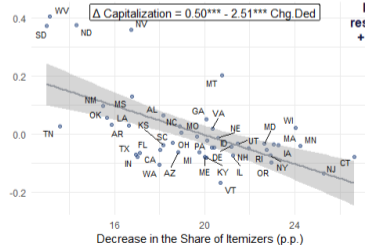
B. Adds border fixed effects



C. border FE + restrict to 1 mile from border



D. border FE + restrict to one mile + demographics





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## Potential channels to magnify or mitigate effect

1. School districts reliance on local taxation and capitalization
  - ▶ Separate districts based on the share of revenue coming from property taxation - [Results](#)
2. Federal marginal tax rates
  - ▶ Separate districts based on the residents' mean federal tax rate on income - [Results](#)
3. Does private schools enrollment reduce capitalization?
  - ▶ Separate school districts based on enrollment in public schools - [Results](#)
4. Does land supply elasticity mitigate capitalization?
  - ▶ Separate school districts based on share of land available for development - [Results](#)
5. Commercial properties taxation and capitalization
  - ▶ Separate districts based on the share of developed land being highly developed - [Results](#)
6. States that reformed their school systems
  - ▶ Separate school districts based on whether the states passed a equalization reform - [Results](#)

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# Conclusions

- ▶ We derive a theoretical model establishing a causal connection between the capitalization of local public goods and the deduction of property taxes.
- ▶ We confirm the predictions using cross-sectional variation in tax deductions and educational spending, and temporal variation emerging from the TCJA.
  - ▶ Absent the SALT deductibility, residents would likely demand lower levels of local public spending.
- ▶ Implications for household income sorting:
  - ▶ SALT deduction increase with income → accentuates income sorting.
  - ▶ TCJA reduced incentives for income sorting for majority of taxpayers.
  - ▶ Our paper informs the debate surrounding 2025 sun-setting of TCJA.

THANK YOU!



## Appendix

Motivating evidence

theory additional

Main results additional

Mechanism results

## Appendix

Motivating evidence

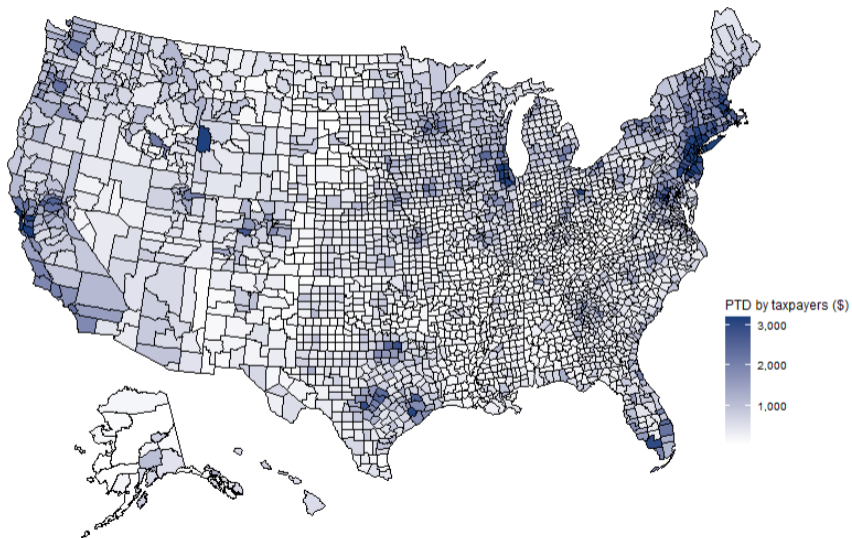
theory additional

Main results additional

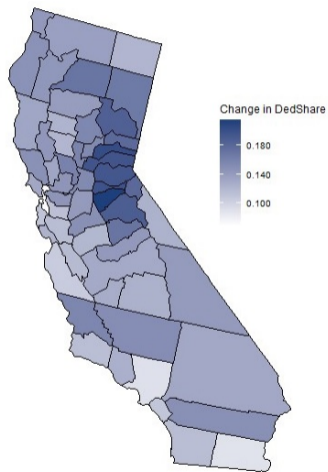
Mechanism results



# Property Tax Deductions per Taxpayer by US Counties in 2017 - [Back](#)



# Change in share of SALT deducters in California - pre/post TCJA - [Back](#)



# Placebo test - testing for potential pre-trends - [Return](#)

Post =	Dependent variable: Winning Margin									
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Post x <i>ChangeDed</i>	-25.41 (35.38)	-21.25 (30.88)	-19.20 (21.35)	-26.24 (18.22)	-19.41 (16.14)	-12.79 (16.53)	-14.31 (19.55)	-16.91 (19.57)	13.61 (27.98)	8.57 (29.14)
School district FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Election FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Additional control	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tight election results	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Observations	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243	1,243
R <sup>2</sup>	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72	0.72
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.44	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.43

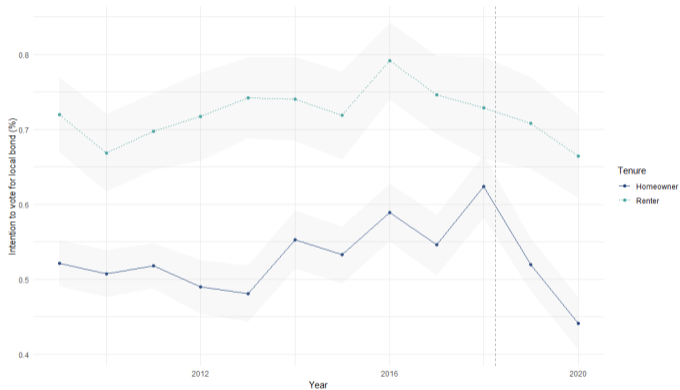
# Has the TCJA triggered a change in local referendums? - [Return](#)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	Referendum on ballot	Number of referendums	Bond amount per house (\$)	Parcel levy amount (\$000's)	Voters' Turnout
	<i>Logit</i>	<i>Poisson</i>		<i>OLS</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post x <i>ChangeDed</i>	1.37 (6.36)	0.506 (1.861)	-0.05* (0.03)	-6.09 (8.98)	0.38 (0.29)
School district FE	X	X	X	X	X
Time FE	Year	Year	Election	Election	Election
Observations	12,779	12,779	1,158	296	1,524
Log Likelihood	-656.96	-3,554.323			
R <sup>2</sup>			0.85	0.69	0.79
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>			0.66	0.32	0.63

# Extensive (loss of deductibility status) or intensive (SALT cap) margin [Return](#)

	Winning Margin (%)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post x <i>ChangeDed</i>	-41.36*	-61.23	-44.62**	-55.49**
	(22.65)	(55.25)	(22.38)	(26.67)
.. x SALT change per house	-0.46*			
	(0.27)			
.. x Change in SALT		13.21		
		(69.28)		
.. x Wasted SALT per house			-0.56	
			(0.40)	
.. x Share of SALT wasted				7.67
				(30.73)
Controls	X	X	X	X
School district FE	X	X	X	X
Election FE	X	X	X	X
Tight election results	X	X	X	X
Observations	1,476	1,476	1,476	1,476
R <sup>2</sup>	0.71	0.71	0.71	0.71

# Annual survey of Californian willingness to approve school bonds - [Return](#)



**Surveyed Californian indicated reluctance to accept local ballot since 2019**

## Appendix

Motivating evidence

**theory additional**

Main results additional

Mechanism results

# Cross-sectional testable hypotheses - [Return](#)

$$\underbrace{V(g_j, DedShare_j, \mathcal{H}_j)}_{\text{Tax Base}} \approx \frac{1}{\theta} \left[ \underbrace{\sum_{i=1}^n R(g, h_i)}_{\text{Rent}} - \underbrace{C(g)}_{\text{Cost of Public Goods}} + \underbrace{DedShare \cdot C(g) \cdot mtr}_{\text{Federal Deduction Tax Shield}} \right]$$



## Cross-sectional testable hypotheses - [Return](#)

$$V(g_j, DedShare_j, \mathcal{H}_j) \approx \frac{1}{\theta} \left[ \sum_{i=1}^n R(g, h_i) - C(g) + DedShare \cdot C(g) \cdot mtr \right]$$

## Cross-sectional testable hypotheses - [Return](#)

$$V(g_j, DedShare_j, \mathcal{H}_j) \approx \frac{1}{\theta} \left[ \sum_{i=1}^n R(g, h_i) - C(g) + DedShare \cdot C(g) \cdot mtr \right]$$

$$\frac{\partial V}{\partial DedShare} = \phi > 0 \quad (1)$$

$$\frac{\partial V}{\partial g} = \delta^{ND} \begin{cases} > 0 & \text{if } g \text{ is under-provided} \\ = 0 & \text{if } g \text{ is efficiently provided} \\ < 0 & \text{if } g \text{ is over-provided} \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

$$\frac{\partial^2 V}{\partial g \partial DedShare} = \delta^D > 0 \quad (3)$$

The capitalization rate increases with the share of deducters.

## Appendix

Motivating evidence  
theory additional

**Main results additional**

Mechanism results

# Different types of educational expenses - [Return](#)

	Dependent variable: log(house value)							
	No test score	Instruction	Support	Others	Non-school	Cap. Exp.	Employees	Non-deflated
	(1b)	(2b)	(3b)	(4b)	(5b)	(6b)	(7b)	(8b)
Public good (standardized) - $\delta^{ND}$	-0.028*** (0.011)	0.008 (0.024)	-0.027** (0.011)	-0.080*** (0.016)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.024*** (0.007)	-0.030*** (0.010)	0.001 (0.016)
Public good x DedShare - $\delta^D$	0.147*** (0.032)	0.066 (0.028)	0.094*** (0.042)	0.261*** (0.032)	0.077** (0.034)	0.105*** (0.028)	0.094** (0.042)	0.074** (0.032)
Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CBSA FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Income Decile FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Observations	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,102	8,890	8,890
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.914	0.914	0.914	0.916	0.914	0.914	0.912	0.914

# External validity - Police funding at county level - [Return](#)

	Dependent variable: log(house value)					
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
Share of deducters ( $\phi$ )	2.795*** (0.361)	2.777*** (0.352)	1.817*** (0.370)	1.861*** (0.170)	2.116*** (0.297)	2.165*** (0.294)
Expenses per resident ( $\bar{\delta}$ )	-0.024* (0.014)		-0.025 (0.019)		-0.030** (0.013)	
Expenses per resident ( $\delta^{ND}$ )		-0.099*** (0.023)		-0.055*** (0.018)		-0.058** (0.026)
Expenses per resident x DedShare ( $\delta^D$ )		0.370*** (0.106)		0.140* (0.074)		0.131 (0.094)
Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X
Income Decile FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spatial FE	State	State	CBSA	CBSA	Both	Both
Observations	1,758	1,758	1,758	1,758	1,758	1,758
R <sup>2</sup>	0.876	0.878	0.961	0.961	0.966	0.966
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.872	0.874	0.918	0.918	0.925	0.926

# Robustness – log expenses per pupil - [Return](#)

## Capitalization of local public goods with local tax deductions - log-log form

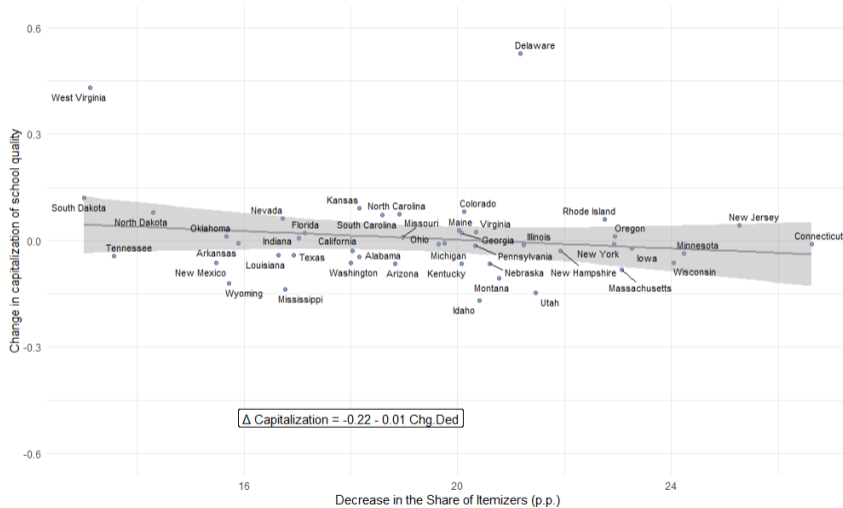
	Dependent variable: log(house value)					
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
Share of property deducters ( $\phi$ )	0.645* (0.361)	-0.368 (0.544)	0.657** (0.327)	-0.057 (0.509)	0.650** (0.292)	-0.296 (0.525)
log[Expenses per pupil] ( $\delta$ )	0.013 (0.024)		-0.006 (0.016)		0.030* (0.016)	
log[Expenses per pupil] ( $\delta^{ND}$ )		-0.077** (0.039)		-0.068 (0.045)		-0.053 (0.049)
log[Expenses per pupil] x DedShare ( $\delta^D$ )		0.349*** (0.121)		0.244 (0.190)		0.325* (0.181)
Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spatial fixed effects	CBSA	CBSA	+ State	+ State	County	County
Observations	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890
R <sup>2</sup>	0.923	0.923	0.927	0.927	0.945	0.946
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.914	0.914	0.918	0.918	0.931	0.932

# Robustness – $DedShare \times T$ - Return

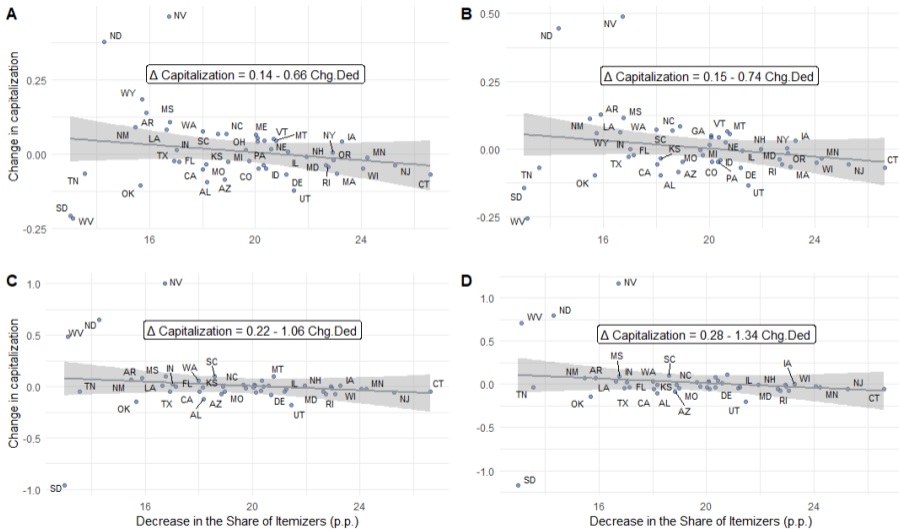
Capitalization of local public goods with local tax deductions - Alternative variable to capture local tax subsidy

	Dependent variable: log(house value)					
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
Tax deduction Subsidy ( $\phi$ )	4.096*** (1.221)	3.579** (1.451)	3.874*** (1.096)	3.406*** (1.238)	3.794*** (1.159)	3.329*** (1.200)
Expenses per pupil ( $\delta$ )	0.010 (0.010)		0.004 (0.005)		0.012* (0.007)	
Expenses per pupil ( $\delta^{ND}$ )		-0.028*** (0.008)		-0.026*** (0.007)		-0.019** (0.009)
Expenses per pupil x TaxDedSub ( $\delta^D$ )		0.778*** (0.146)		0.630*** (0.117)		0.637*** (0.131)
Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spatial fixed effects	CBSA	CBSA	+ State	+ State	County	County
Observations	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890	8,890
R <sup>2</sup>	0.923	0.924	0.927	0.928	0.946	0.946
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.914	0.915	0.918	0.919	0.932	0.933

## Using 2015 and 2017 as placebo years - [Return](#)





Using 2015 and 2017 as placebo years - [Return](#)

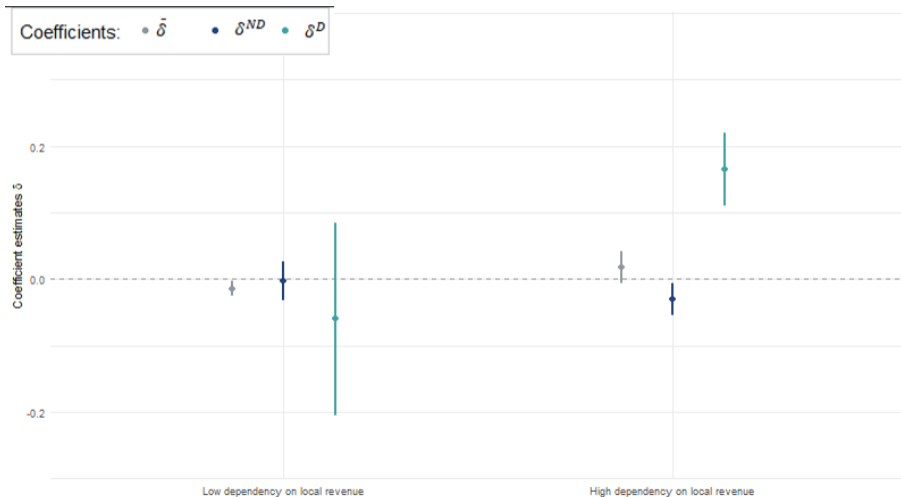
## Appendix

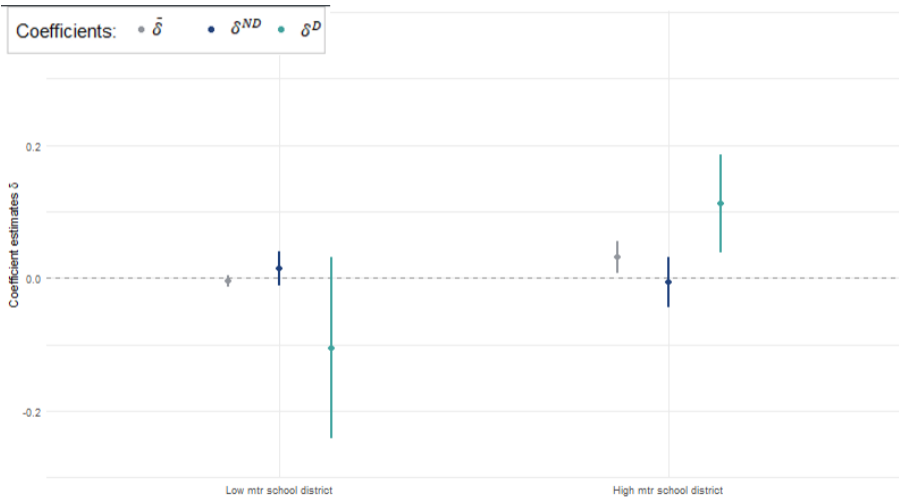
Motivating evidence

theory additional

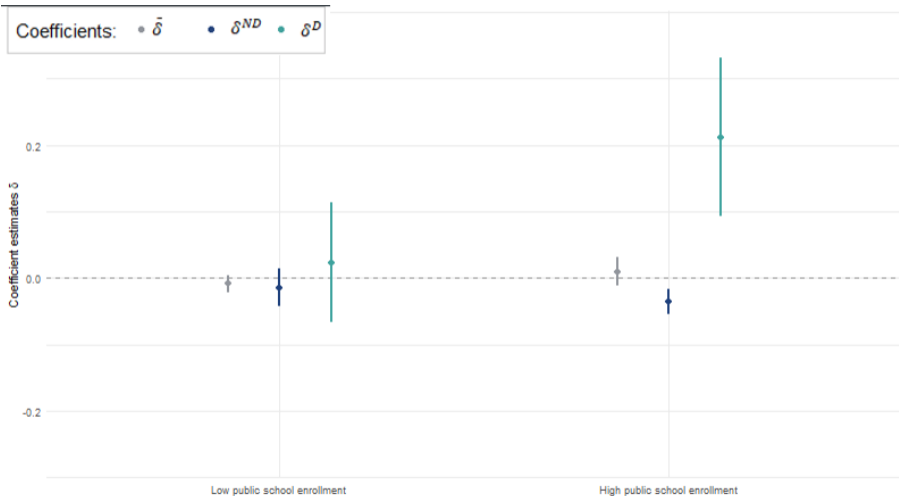
Main results additional

**Mechanism results**

School districts dependency on local taxation - [Return](#)

Larger capitalization in school districts with high federal tax rates - [Return](#)

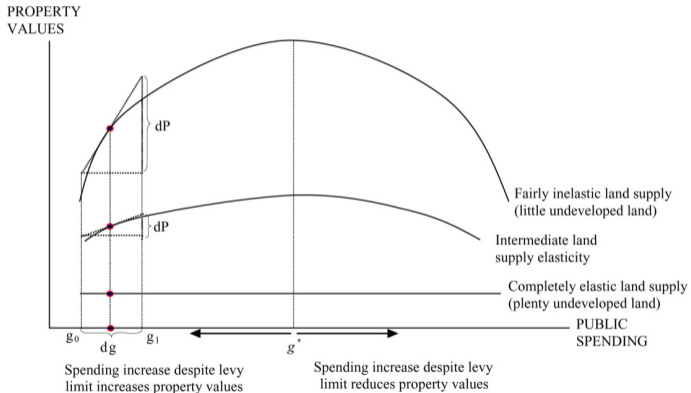
# Does private school enrollment reduce capitalization? - [Return](#)



## Does land supply elasticity mitigate capitalization? - [Return](#)

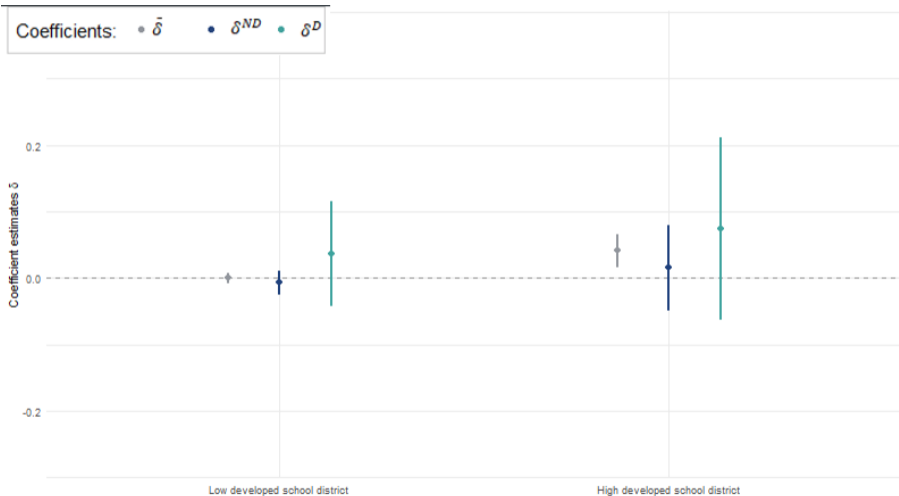
In areas with high availability of land:

- ▶ we should expect a supply response rather than capitalization (price response)



Hilber & Mayer - Journal of Urban Economics - 2009

# Does land supply elasticity mitigate the capitalization estimates? - [Return](#)



## Commercial properties taxation and capitalization estimates - [Return](#)

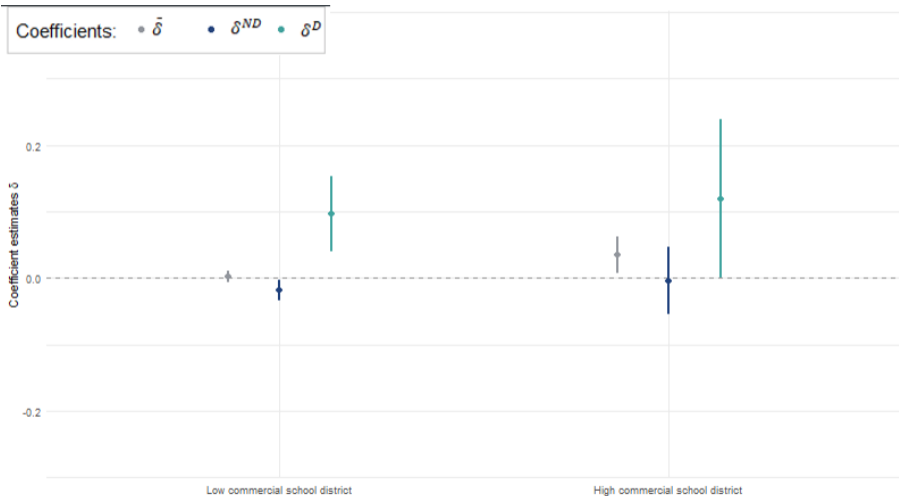
Some school districts tax both residential and commercial properties:

Government budget constraint:  $\tau(P^r + P^c) = C(g)$ .

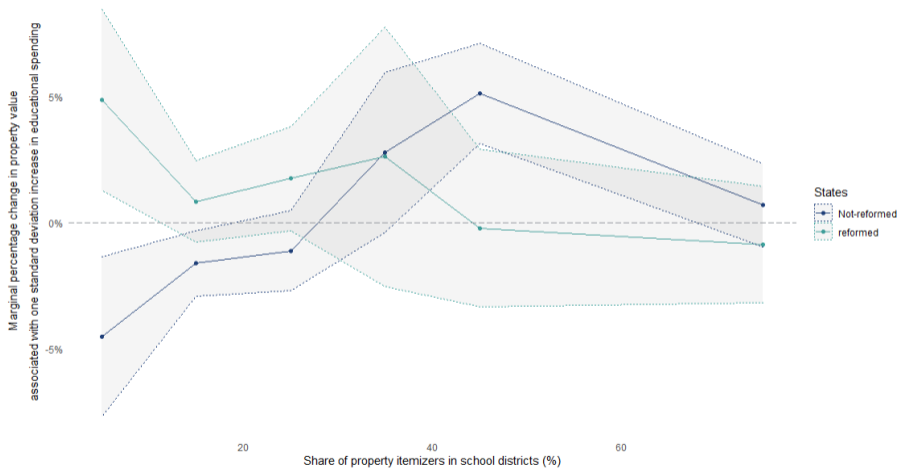
In school districts with higher level of commercial properties, capitalization should be greater (i.e. the tax burden is lower)

- ▶ Use the National Land Cover Database (NLCD) and compute the ratio of land that is highly developed over land that is developed



Commercial properties taxation and capitalization estimates - [Return](#)

# States that reformed their school systems - [Return](#)



# References