

“Legislative Redistricting, Party Politics, and the Spatial
Distribution of Transportation Expenditure”
by Walter Melnik

and

“Do More Efficient Taxes Lead to Bigger Government?:
Evidence from the Introduction of Withholding for the
State Personal Income Tax”
by Libor Dusek and Sutirtha Bagchi

Discussion by David Schönholzer¹

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Melnik (2018) Summary

- Effect of party identification on highway spending?
- Approach:
 - Panel of Ohio areas and highway expenditures
 - Treatment: change in electoral districts for state reps
 - Diff-in-diff comparing D-D, R-D, D-R, R-R transitions
- Findings:
 - Large drop in R-D areas relative to R-R (66%) (and others)
 - Concentrated among “large” projects
 - Interpretation as party alignment effect (Berry et al. 2010)
 - Heterogeneity by incumbency status

Strengths

- Rich highway investment GIS data
 - 9,870 projects at 30k locations over ten years
 - Point and line features with observables
- Interesting and important policy setting and institutions
 - Infrastructure investment urgent field of study
 - Governor's and legislators' allocation problem interesting
- Underexplored, creative treatment, policy relevant
 - Rich theory literature on boundary setting
 - Few efficiency assessments of redistricting

Areas of Improvement

- Research questions:
 - Effect of party on road construction
 - Efficiency costs of partisan alignment and redistricting
 - Political effects of infrastructure investment
- Identification issue: Gerrymandering
 - Sophisticated manipulation of electoral boundaries
 - Strategic considerations important
 - Change in area's strategic position not captured by FE
 - Construct instrument from redistricting model?
- Justification for asymmetry in D-R versus R-D
 - Currently: loss of incumbency premium
 - Alternatively: redistricting bias
- Highway investment source and timing
 - Bunching/RD in TRAC decisions
 - Legislation, state DOT, or governor? ARRA?
 - Expenditures: investments take time (Bar-Ilan Strange 1996)

Dusek and Bagchi (2018) Summary

- Why did governments grow in 2nd half of 20th century?
- Supply or demand side factors driving growth?
 - Supply side: efficiency of tax collection
 - Demand side: increased voter demand for services
- Approach:
 - Panel of U.S. state fiscal positions
 - Treatment: increased tax efficiency through withholding
 - Design: diff-in-diff of staggered introduction of treatment
- Findings:
 - Large, immediate, and persistent effect
 - Mainly direct: on personal income tax revenue
 - No change in tax base, rates, or expenditures
 - Some indirect: corporate and sales tax revenue
 - 10-12% of growth in revenue over 1944-1980

Strengths

- Clean model exposition
 - Clear derivation of estimands
 - Good discussion of treatment endogeneity
- Compelling evidence of direct effect
 - Transparent presentation of main result
 - Strong and robust income tax response
- Interesting further results
 - Extent of tax substitution
 - Quantification of channel relative to overall growth

Areas of Improvement

- Overall interpretation of results
 - “Efficiency” of tax withholding?
 - Economic efficiency? No general equilibrium
 - Tax production efficiency? No micro data
- Interpretation in terms of supply/demand:
 - Government trades off political cost against revenue
 - Debt burden and budget constraint seem important
- Introduction of personal income tax itself important
 - Dincecco and Troiano (2018)
 - Should sample be 48 or 29 states (pure treatment sample)?
- Further thoughts:
 - Broadening of tax base along which dimension?
 - Firm effects of withholding?
 - Behavioral bias due to anchoring?
 - Cost of tax filing (Benzarti 2018)?