

Debt by Democracy: Bond Referendum Requirements and Municipal Borrowing

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A tale of two cities...



Dallas, Texas

Dallas City Council approves \$1.25 billion bond package and early May election

KERA | By [Nathan Collins](#)

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Office of Bond and Construction Management

Please note, our website will soon be changing. Same content new look.

Mission

The Office of Bond and Construction Management (BCM) was created to provide oversight of the City's bond programs to ensure the efficient, equitable, and transparent delivery of infrastructure improvements to the Dallas community.

Proposed 2024 Bond Project Listing

(To be updated every Friday)

Proposed 2024 Bond Map

2024 Bond Program Informational Brochure

(English, Spanish, Vietnamese)

2024 Bond FAQ's

(English, Spanish, Vietnamese)

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Early Voting
April 22-30, 2024

Election Day Saturday
May 4, 2024

PLEASE NOTE:

The City Council has the authority to add or delete specific projects, modify project scope, add new projects, or adjust the amounts needed for specific projects, within the same proposition.

Passage of a proposition does not guarantee that the City of Dallas will complete a specific project.

Read for the 2024 Bond Program



PROPOSITION A. STREETS AND TRANSPORTATION

\$521,200,000

If passed, Proposition A would fund the construction of, repair to, and land purchase for:

- roads
- bridges,
- sidewalks,
- traffic signals,
- safety projects, and
- railroad crossing noise reduction.

The projects may include, but are not limited to, sidewalks listed in the Sidewalk Master Plan. The City will potentially partner and share costs with other entities, such as North Central Texas Council of Governments.

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FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

What is a Bond Program?

A bond program is a voter issued debt program that will be used to fund improvements to the City's infrastructure, such as alleys, streets, sidewalks, parks, drainage, and facilities.

How is a Bond Program funded?

A bond program is funded by the issuance of general obligation bonds. The bonds are a debt that the City must pay back over time. The payment of the debt over time is called debt service. Debt service is funded by taxpayer dollars.

How much is the 2024 Capital Bond Program?

The total bond package is \$1.25 billion.

How are the propositions in the 2024 Capital Bond Program approved?

By the issuance of general obligation bonds (GO), which must be approved by the residents of Dallas through an election. Voters will vote on the individual propositions that make up the 2024 Capital Bond Program and GO bonds will be sold based on the propositions that are approved.

When is the election?

The election will be held on May 4th. Early voting begins on April 22nd and ends on April 30th. For locations and hours, please click the county you reside in: [Dallas County](#), [Denton County](#), [Collin County](#).

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Proposed 2024 Bond Project Listing

Name	Proposition	Amount
Dallas Police Training Academy Facility	Public Safety Facilities	\$50,000,000.00
Future Project	Economic Development	\$36,600,000.00
Future Project	Economic Development	\$29,200,000.00
Dallas Zoo	Park & Recreation	\$26,500,000.00
Irving Blvd (SH356) Over Elm Fork Trinity River	Street and Transportation	\$24,750,000.00
Proposed Housing Project	Housing	\$24,400,000.00
Peak Complete Street (Lemmon/ Haskell to Parry)	Street and Transportation	\$22,110,000.00
Dallas Museum of Art	Cultural Arts Facilities	\$20,014,618.70

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Dallas officials release proposed project list for 2024 \$1.25 billion bond program

Dallas city officials released the list a month before voting begins on the bond proposals.

Mar 23, 2024



Dallas bond election to decide fate of \$19 million to shelter homeless people

Dallas voters will decide the outcome of 10 propositions on the ballot for the May 4 municipal bond election, including funding for projects to shelter and...

Apr 23, 2024



Dallas City Council finalizes \$1.25 billion bond proposal Wednesday

Dallas City Council members Wednesday finalized the 2024 capital bond propositions that will be included in a \$1.25 billion bond referendum for voters to...

Feb 14, 2024



What's in the \$1.25 billion Dallas bond and will voters approve it?

Dallas residents will have the chance to vote for or against a \$1.25 billion bond project that includes money for street repairs, parks, a police training...

Apr 21, 2024



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Dallas 2024 Bond Propositions Approved by Voters

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Dallas, Texas

Dallas City Council approves \$1.25 billion bond package and early May election



Dallas 2024 Bond Propositions Approved by Voters



Chicago, Illinois

Chicago City Council approves \$830 million of GOs – The Bond Buyer

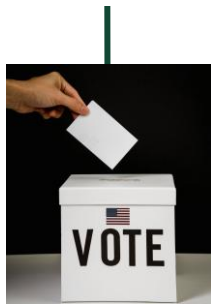
February 27, 2025

A tale of two cities...



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February 27, 2025

letseditthesadparts • 27d ago

How about not allowing a mayor and council to ever vote on something like that without a vote from the public. Apparently not all cities allow such things to be decided by current members of office without public approval. Changing people doesn't matter if the rules don't change. It's really that simple.

4 Reply Share ...

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4 Reply Share ...

Chicago Boosts Bond Sale to \$698 Million With High Yield at 5.6%

By Arvelisse Bonilla Ramos

June 4, 2025 at 6:04 PM CDT

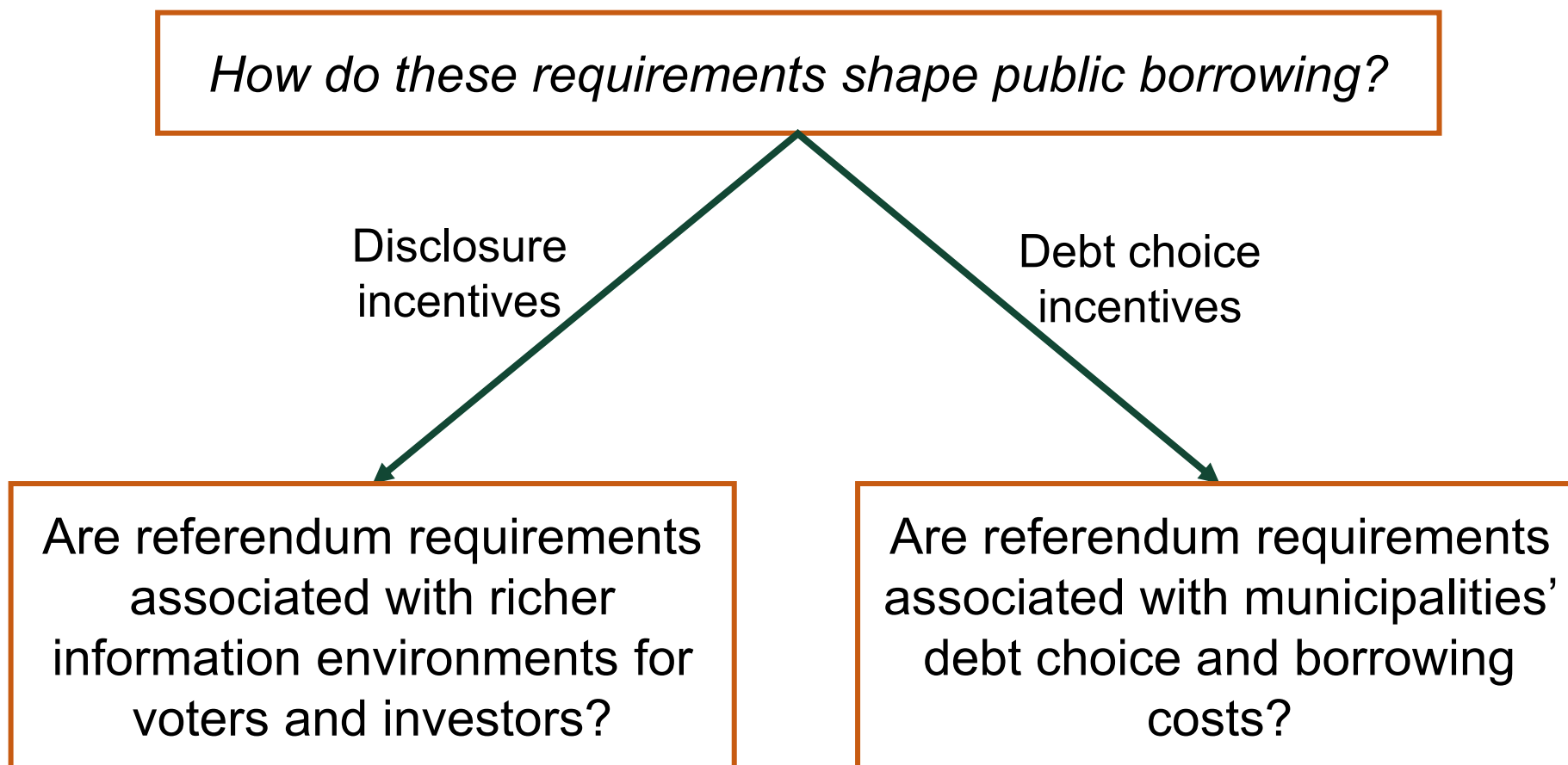


Goals of the paper

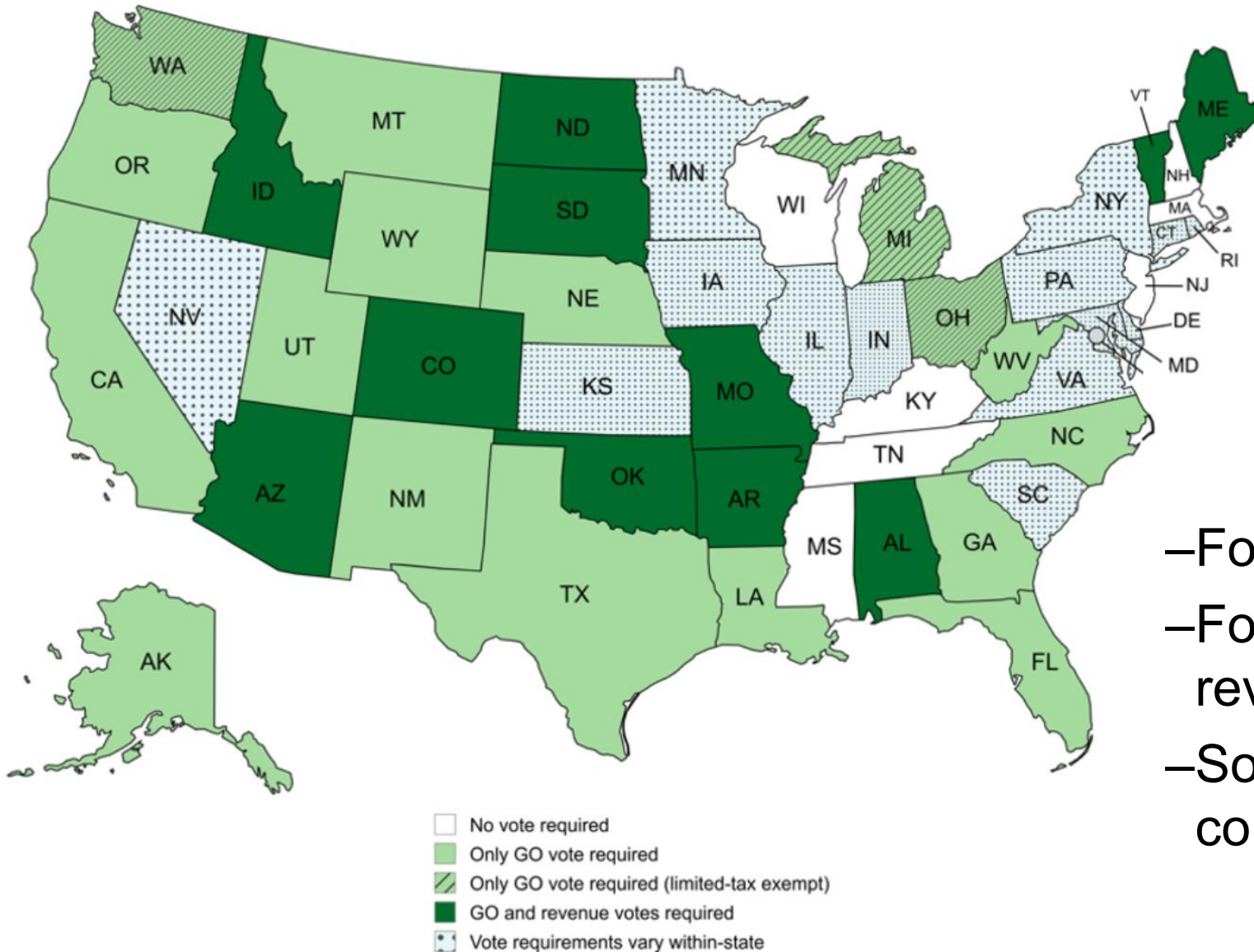
- First, document the variation in bond referendum requirements in the U.S.

Goals of the paper

–First, document the variation in bond referendum requirements in the U.S.



Variation in bond referendum requirements



- Focus on U.S. cities
- Focus on UTGO, LTGO, revenue bonds
- Sourced from state constitutions, statutes, etc.

RQ1: Are referendum requirements associated with richer information environments?

Voters

Investors

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Voters

- Referendum requirements raise the marginal benefit of issuer disclosure:
 - Informed officials can use disclosure to reduce voter uncertainty about project costs and benefits
 - Ballot questions lack party/incumbency cues, increasing voters' reliance on issuer disclosure

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RQ1: Are referendum requirements associated with richer information environments?

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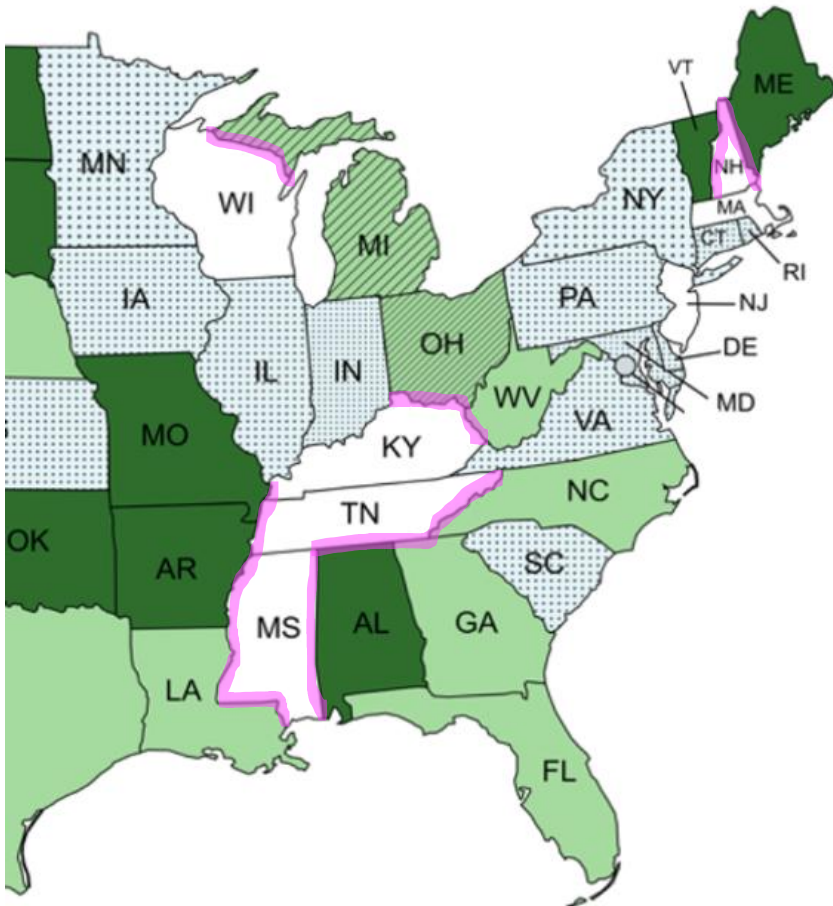
- Muni market is notoriously opaque
 - Disclosure compliance is low (Cuny, 2016; Schmitt, 2011)
 - Enforcement is weak (Maffett et al., 2024; Ivanov et al., 2025)
- As of 2025, retail investors hold 66% of outstanding muni bonds; investors and voters can overlap due to tax incentives
- But, investor response to formal financial disclosure is weak (Cuny et al., 2025)

Website disclosure

Vote required

?

Website disclosure



- Focus on variation in GO bond referendum requirements (green vs. white states)
- Measure city website disclosure using the Wayback Machine
 - Compare along state borders to keep data collection tractable
 - Lessens the concern that unobserved geographic factors explain differences in websites (Gao et al., 2019; Homes, 1998)

Website disclosure

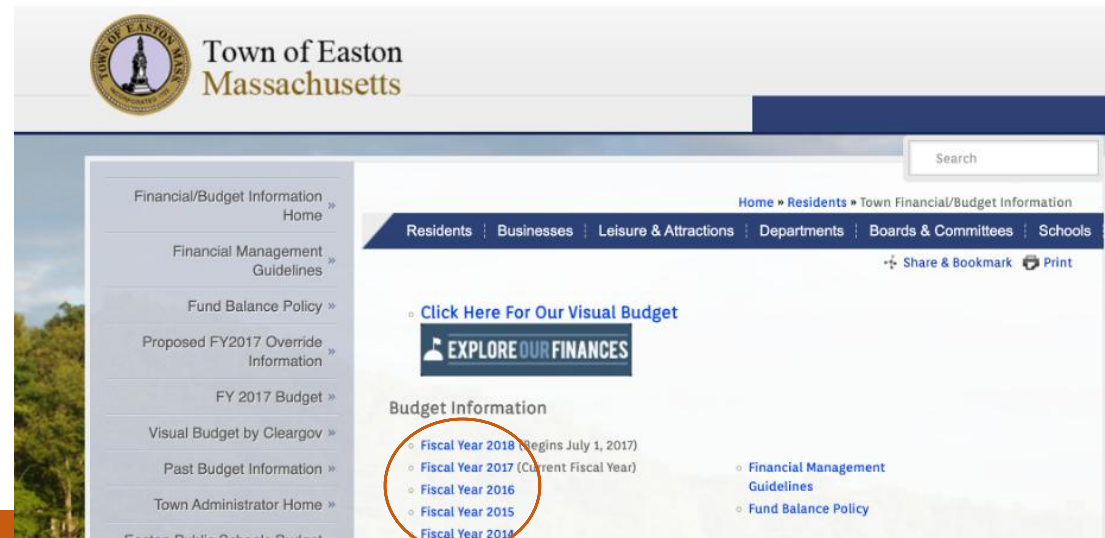
–Scrape annual snapshots for 335 cities from 2015-2020

–Bond-related information

- Bond URL Count
- Bond Count (text)

–General financial information

- Fiscal URL Count
- Fiscal Count (text)
- Financial documents



Website disclosure results

	Bond URLs (1)	Bond Count (2)	Fiscal URLs (3)	Fiscal Count (4)	Financial Docs (5)	
Vote	0.892** (2.16)	0.778*** (2.80)	2.34*** (2.60)	0.736* (1.65)	0.601** (2.36)	
Num Issuances	0.151 (0.52)	0.290* (1.82)	0.240 (0.71)	0.795*** (3.33)	0.446** (2.40)	Bond history Monitoring
State Fiscal Monitor	0.182 (0.36)	0.705** (2.41)	1.91* (1.87)	0.703* (1.94)	0.302 (1.07)	
County ln(GDP)	0.251 (0.27)	0.439 (0.91)	0.935 (0.96)	-0.253 (-0.54)	1.11*** (2.97)	
County ln(Pop)	2.52 (1.50)	-0.865 (-0.85)	2.69* (1.92)	1.44 (1.56)	0.569 (0.63)	Local economic conditions
County ln(Pers. Inc)	-2.31 (-1.16)	0.457 (0.45)	-3.43** (-1.97)	-1.27 (-1.22)	-1.73* (-1.76)	
N	1,572	1,656	1,442	1,656	1,627	
Pseudo R ²	0.103	0.150	0.211	0.229	0.158	
State-Border FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Comparing w/in state-border pair
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Cluster	County	County	County	County	County	

Website disclosure results

	Translates to 0.30 more URLs	Translates to 4 more mentions	Translates to 12 more mentions	Translates to 1.4 more PDFs	
	Bond URLs (1)	Bond Count (2)	Fiscal URLs (3)	Fiscal Count (4)	Financial Docs (5)
Vote	0.892** (2.16)	0.778*** (2.80)	2.34*** (2.60)	0.736* (1.65)	0.601** (2.36)
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Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County	County	County	County

Bond history
Monitoring

Local
economic
conditions

Comparing w/in
state-border pair

Media coverage



- Media outlets endogenously produce more news about policy actions when reader interest is high
 - By putting a fiscal decision before the voters, a bond referendum may raise reader interest in bond-related news and increase the supply of coverage
 - Ex: Sun Valley, ID (2017): \$17.5mm roads bond passed by 0.4%

Sun Valley moves forward with November roads bond measure

Peter Jensen Aug 11, 2017

The Sun Valley City Council is moving ahead with a bond measure to pay for roads projects that will be before voters on Nov. 7.

SUN VALLEY

Learn about Sun Valley roads bond Wednesday

Express staff Oct 19, 2017



SUN VALLEY

Sun Valley voters will decide \$17.5 million roads bond

Peter Jensen Oct 27, 2017

Media coverage results

	Total Articles - 12mo			
	Full Sample (1)	Full Sample (2)	Border-City Sample (3)	Border-City Sample (4)
Vote	0.316*** (2.71)	0.274** (2.53)	0.581** (2.57)	0.551** (2.23)
Bond Issuance - 12mo	0.260*** (2.99)	0.260*** (3.13)	0.229 (1.25)	0.098 (0.64)
Num Sources	0.907*** (17.40)	0.802*** (16.10)	1.02*** (7.82)	1.04*** (7.44)
Amount	0.220*** (4.70)	0.171*** (4.54)	0.002 (0.01)	-0.081 (-0.61)
County ln(GDP)		0.531** (2.12)		-0.538 (-0.91)
County ln(Pop)		-0.041 (-0.18)		0.913 (0.84)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		-0.329 (-0.98)		0.118 (0.10)
N	2,727	2,727	568	568
Pseudo R ²	0.611	0.621	0.512	0.524
Year-Month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Purpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-Border FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County	County	County

Full sample of green and white states; UTGO bond issuances from 2000-2020 (Mergent)

Media coverage results

		Total Articles - 12mo			
		Full Sample		Border-City Sample	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Bond-related articles matched to cities (RavenPack)			
Recent bonds Media landscape Size of bond	Vote	0.316*** (2.71)	0.274** (2.53)	0.581** (2.57)	0.551** (2.23)
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		N	2,727	568	568
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Month, purpose, state- border pair FEs	Year-Month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Purpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	State-Border FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
	Cluster	County	County	County	County

articles within 12 months before UTGO issue to capture bond campaign period

Full sample of green and white states; UTGO bond issuances from 2000-2020 (Mergent)

Media coverage results

		Total Articles - 12mo			
		Full Sample		Border-City Sample	
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Translates to 31.5% more articles			
Vote		0.316*** (2.71)	0.274** (2.53)	0.581** (2.57)	0.551** (2.23)
Recent bonds Media landscape Size of bond	Bond Issuance - 12mo	0.260*** (2.99)	0.260*** (3.13)	0.229 (1.25)	0.098 (0.64)
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	County ln(Pers. Inc)		-0.329 (-0.98)		0.118 (0.10)
	N	2,727	2,727	568	568
Month, purpose, state- border pair FEs	Pseudo R ²	0.611	0.621	0.512	0.524
	Year-Month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Purpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	State-Border FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
	Cluster	County	County	County	County

Results hold in border cities

Validation using Texas bond elections

Is website disclosure more likely during elections?

	Increase in Bond Text	
	(1)	(2)
Election Year	0.231*** (4.21)	0.227*** (4.15)
Bond Issuance Year		0.014 (0.49)
County ln(GDP)		-0.057 (-0.41)
County ln(Pop)		-0.236 (-0.82)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		0.619*** (2.71)
N	1,440	1,440
Adj. R ²	0.073	0.076
City FE	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County

Translates to 84% increase in likelihood of adding bond text

Is media coverage more likely during elections?

	Bond Coverage	
	(1)	(2)
Election [0, +3]	0.033** (2.16)	0.034** (2.19)
Bond Issuance [0, +3]		0.051*** (3.38)
County ln(GDP)		0.022 (1.09)
County ln(Pop)		0.053 (1.19)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		-0.057 (-1.37)
N	32,208	32,208
Adj. R ²	0.209	0.211
City FE	Yes	Yes
Year-Month FE	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County

Translates to 83% increase in likelihood of coverage

Is this information relevant for voters?

Bond website text

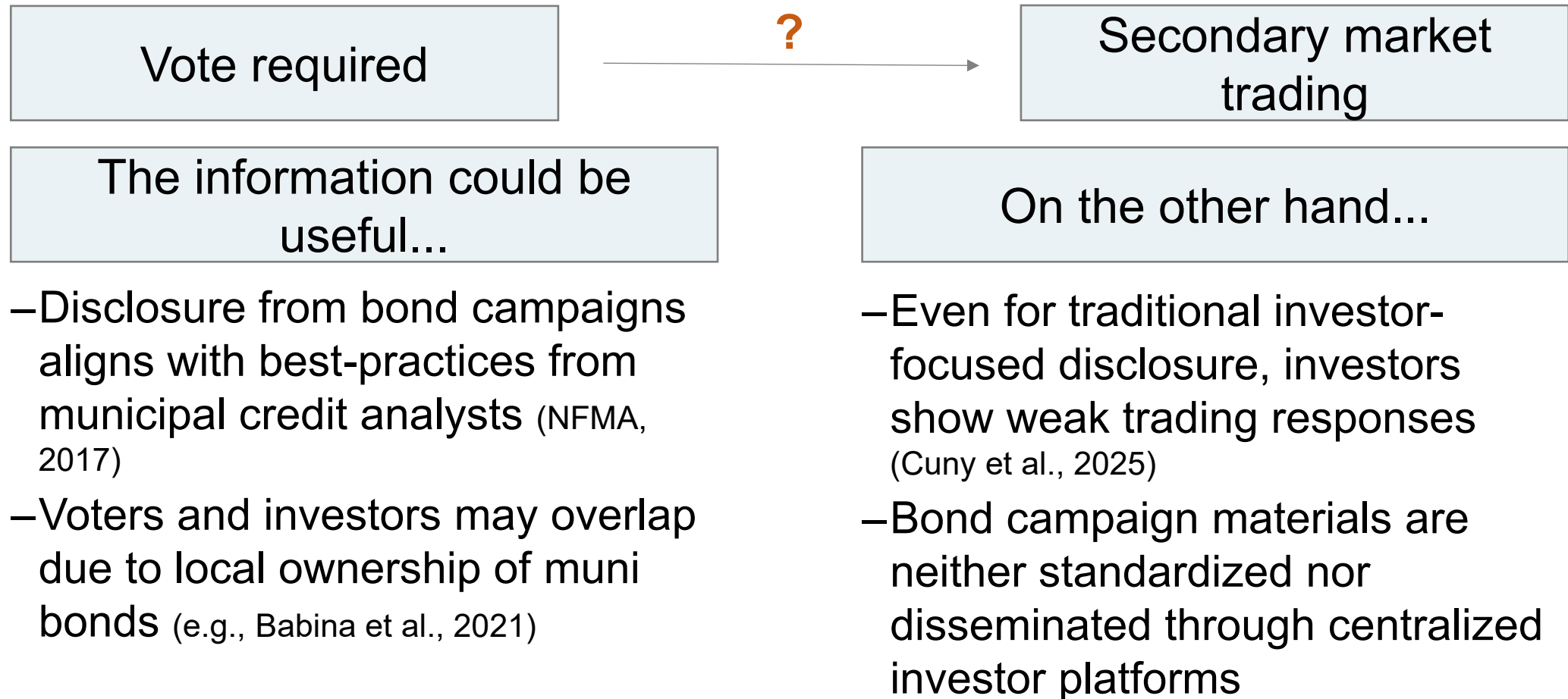
	Failed		Margin	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
High Bond Text	-0.128** (-2.02)	-0.111* (-1.79)	0.091*** (3.44)	0.070** (2.62)
Amount		0.004 (0.36)		0.012 (0.95)
County ln(GDP)		0.065 (0.77)		-0.049 (-1.02)
County ln(Pop)		-0.141* (-1.74)		0.056 (0.88)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		0.026 (0.25)		0.022 (0.42)
N	561	549	561	549
Adj. R ²	0.098	0.124	0.270	0.297
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Purpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County	County	County

Bond-related media coverage

	Failed		Margin	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Bond Coverage[-3, 0]	-0.127*** (-3.60)	-0.123*** (-2.81)	0.065** (2.19)	0.046* (1.90)
Amount		0.020* (1.86)		0.0010 (0.09)
Num Sources		-0.000 (-0.33)		-0.000 (-0.82)
County ln(GDP)		0.090 (1.16)		0.000 (0.00)
County ln(Pop)		-0.113 (-0.96)		-0.005 (-0.05)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		-0.036 (-0.27)		0.030 (0.34)
N	699	699	699	699
Adj. R ²	0.141	0.172	0.289	0.303
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Purpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County	County	County

Both bond-related website disclosure and bond-related media coverage are associated with a lower likelihood of failure and greater voter agreement

Is this information relevant for bond investors?



Secondary-market trading results

		Trade (1)	Retail Trade (2)	Inst. Trade (3)
State tax privilege Presence of regulated financial disclosure Bond characteristics	Vote	0.015* (1.90)	0.033*** (3.84)	0.004 (0.68)
	High Tax Priv.	0.086*** (10.60)	0.103*** (11.56)	0.034*** (5.12)
	Continuing Disclosure	0.169*** (15.82)	0.123*** (12.17)	0.066*** (8.17)
	Amount	0.119*** (36.56)	0.114*** (32.54)	0.140*** (54.22)
	Maturity	0.152*** (27.11)	0.152*** (27.65)	0.084*** (18.79)
	Callable	-0.122*** (-16.66)	-0.140*** (-19.67)	-0.033*** (-4.93)
	Sinkable	-0.134*** (-12.15)	-0.160*** (-15.11)	-0.050*** (-5.09)
	Insured	0.073*** (7.35)	0.061*** (5.66)	0.022*** (2.81)
	Rating	0.001** (2.14)	0.001* (1.93)	-0.001*** (-2.86)
	N	50,467	50,467	50,467
Year trends and within-purpose	Adj. R ²	0.241	0.229	0.202
	County Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Purpose FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Cluster	Issue	Issue	Issue

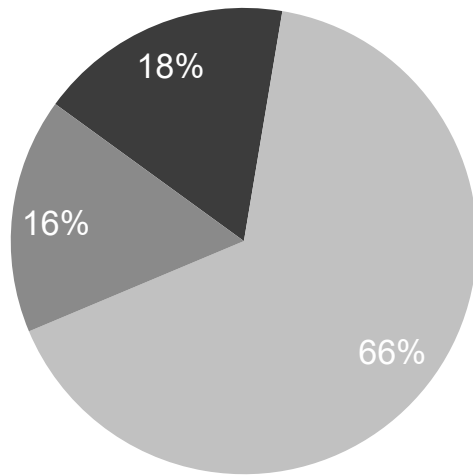
- When voter approval is required, bonds are 1.5% more likely to trade in the secondary market
- 3.3% more likely to trade by retail investors
- Consistent evidence in the border-city sample

RQ2: Financing choices and borrowing costs

- So far, we find that for bonds subject to a vote, cities have incentives to disclose more bond-related information
- However, because the referendum process is costly, cities also have incentives to retain control over borrowing
 - May prefer bond types that do not require referendums in the first place
 - But, these types of bonds also tend to be more expensive
- **Are referendum requirements associated with cities' bond choice and borrowing costs?**

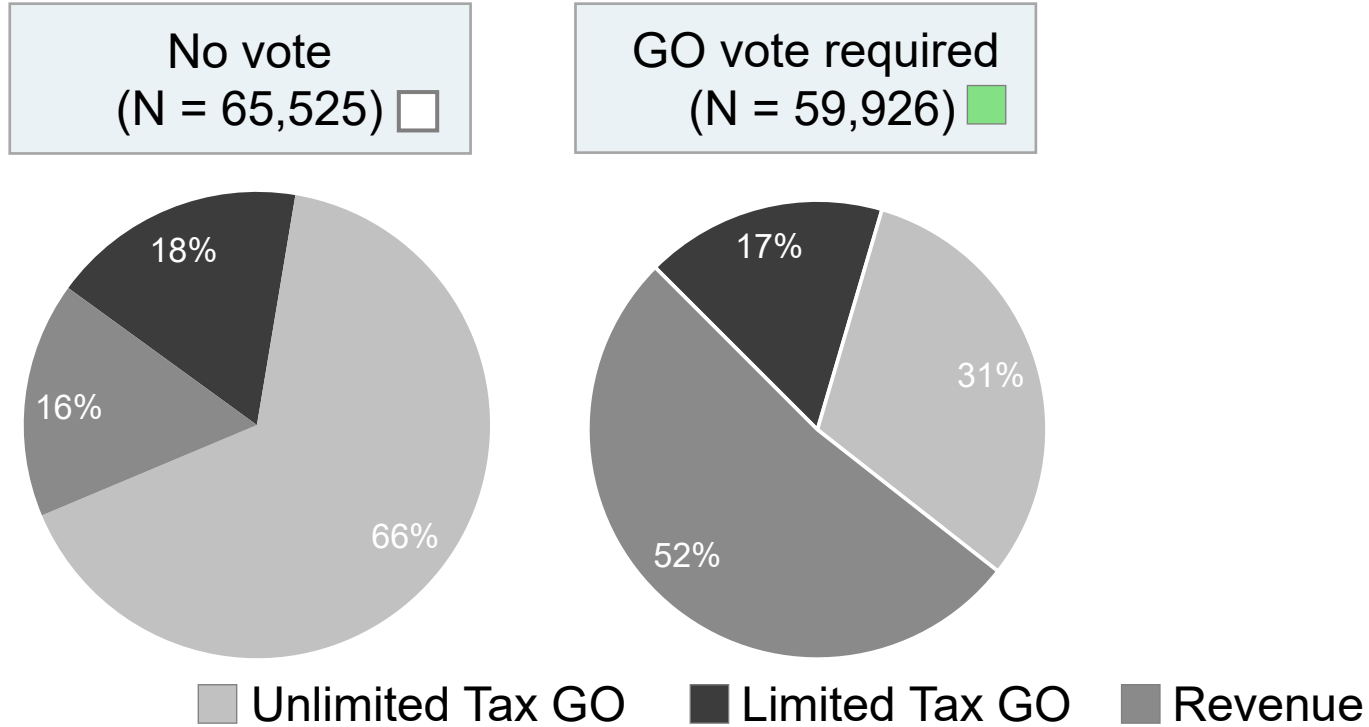
Financing choices

No vote
(N = 65,525) ☐



■ Unlimited Tax GO ■ Limited Tax GO ■ Revenue

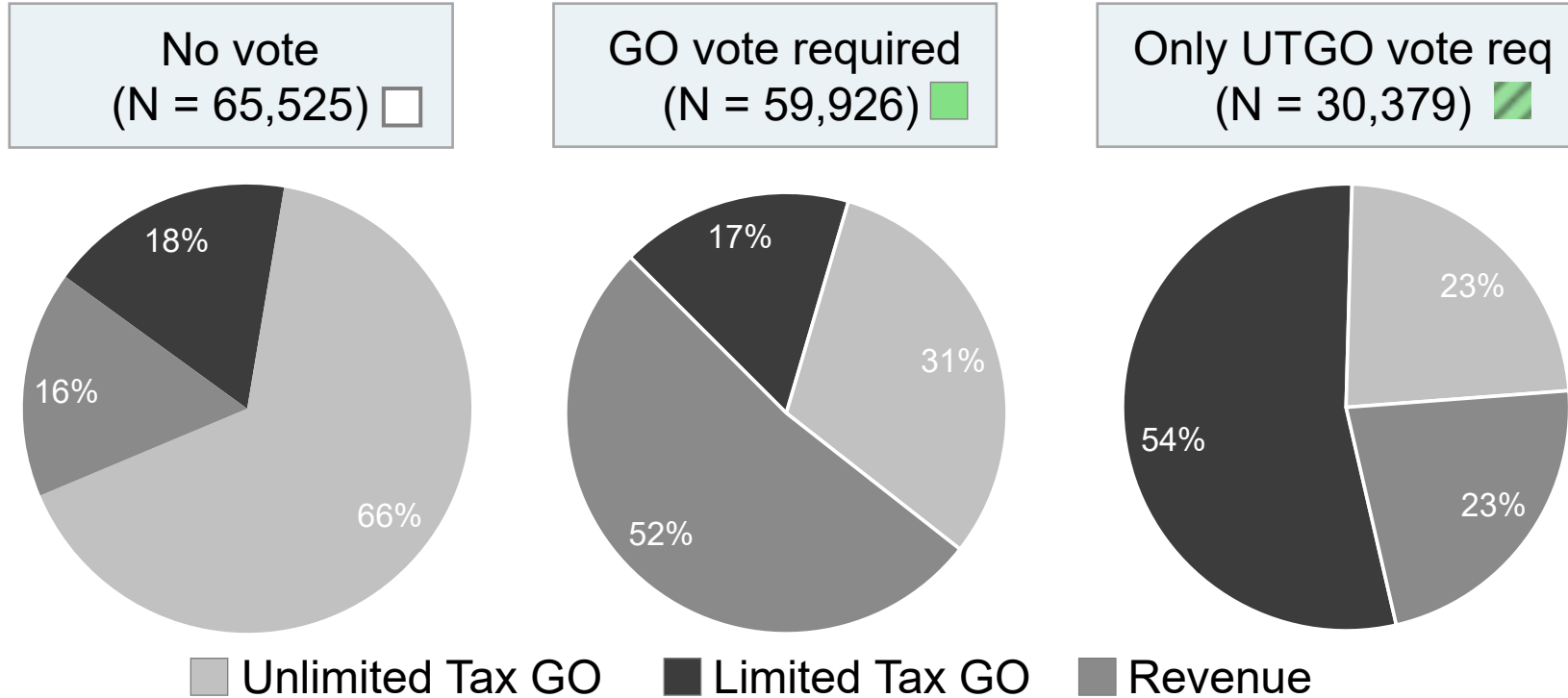
Financing choices



–Results:

- When a GO vote is required, fewer UTGO bonds, 3x more revenue bonds

Financing choices



—Results:

- When a GO vote is required, fewer UTGO bonds, 3x more revenue bonds
- When only a UTGO vote is required, fewer UTGO, 3x more LTGO bonds
- Compared to the no-vote benchmark, cities may gravitate towards types of bonds where they have more control

Debt choice: GO vote required

- Regress a city's aggregate % bond type from 2000-2020 on *GO Vote*
- City-level regression (no fixed effects)
- Light green vs. white states
- Control for local economic conditions, state laws about muni finances, and tax privilege

	Pct UTGO			Pct LTGO	Pct Revenue
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
GO Vote	-0.379*** (-10.60)	-0.359*** (-11.30)	-0.348*** (-9.52)	-0.069*** (-3.41)	0.411*** (11.70)
County ln(GDP)		0.117** (2.02)	0.045 (1.18)	-0.006 (-0.24)	-0.036 (-0.94)
County ln(Pop)		-0.426*** (-5.64)	-0.202*** (-3.64)	-0.022 (-0.52)	0.222*** (4.21)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		0.229** (2.47)	0.099* (1.65)	0.055 (1.15)	-0.152*** (-2.69)
ln(Non-issuer county debt)		0.007* (1.69)	0.005 (1.40)	0.003** (2.10)	-0.009** (-2.53)
Proactive State			0.127*** (2.63)	0.003 (0.10)	-0.133*** (-2.80)
LTGO Allowed			-0.030 (-0.98)	0.266*** (11.80)	-0.234*** (-9.79)
State GO Vote			-0.085** (-2.46)	0.048** (2.25)	0.028 (0.83)
High Tax Priv.			0.274*** (8.64)	-0.131*** (-5.20)	-0.119*** (-3.71)
N	2,083	2,083	2,083	2,083	2,083
Adj. R ²	0.181	0.228	0.332	0.285	0.278
Cluster	County	County	County	County	County

Debt choice: GO vote required

- Regress a city's aggregate % bond type from 2000-2020 on *GO Vote*
- City-level regression (no fixed effects)
- Light green vs. white states
- Control for local economic conditions, state laws about muni finances, and tax privilege

	35% less UTGO			7% less LTGO		41% more Rev	
	Pct UTGO			Pct LTGO		Pct Revenue	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		(5)	
GO Vote	-0.379*** (-10.60)	-0.359*** (-11.30)	-0.348*** (-9.52)	-0.069*** (-3.41)		0.411*** (11.70)	
County ln(GDP)		0.117** (2.02)	0.045 (1.18)	-0.006 (-0.24)		-0.036 (-0.94)	
County ln(Pop)		-0.426*** (-5.64)	-0.202*** (-3.64)	-0.022 (-0.52)		0.222*** (4.21)	
County ln(Pers. Inc)		0.229** (2.47)	0.099* (1.65)	0.055 (1.15)		-0.152*** (-2.69)	
ln(Non-issuer county debt)		0.007* (1.69)	0.005 (1.40)	0.003** (2.10)		-0.009** (-2.53)	
Proactive State			0.127*** (2.63)	0.003 (0.10)		-0.133*** (-2.80)	
LTGO Allowed			-0.030 (-0.98)	0.266*** (11.80)		-0.234*** (-9.79)	
State GO Vote			-0.085** (-2.46)	0.048** (2.25)		0.028 (0.83)	
High Tax Priv.			0.274*** (8.64)	-0.131*** (-5.20)		-0.119*** (-3.71)	
N	2,083	2,083	2,083	2,083		2,083	
Adj. R ²	0.181	0.228	0.332	0.285		0.278	
Cluster	County	County	County	County		County	

Debt choice: Only UTGO vote required

	Pct UTGO			Pct LTGO		Pct Revenue	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Only UTGO Vote	-0.467*** (-13.10)	-0.454*** (-12.80)	-0.412*** (-8.43)	0.084* (1.89)	0.306*** (11.10)		
County ln(GDP)		0.058 (0.82)	0.024 (0.59)	-0.021 (-0.54)	0.011 (0.28)		
County ln(Pop)		-0.232** (-2.13)	-0.133** (-2.20)	0.102* (1.94)	0.057 (1.33)		
County ln(Pers. Inc)		0.132 (1.07)	0.090 (1.42)	-0.062 (-1.12)	-0.064 (-1.34)		
ln(Non-issuer county debt)		0.014*** (2.91)	0.014*** (3.10)	-0.0007 (-0.43)	-0.014*** (-3.48)		
Proactive State			0.244*** (6.33)	0.027 (0.66)	-0.265*** (-7.41)		
LTGO Allowed			-0.248*** (-5.35)	0.444*** (11.60)	-0.176*** (-7.34)		
State GO Vote			0.043* (1.78)	-0.068*** (-3.19)	0.040* (1.82)		
High Tax Priv.			-0.095** (-2.53)	0.045 (1.26)	0.054* (1.93)		
N	1,746	1,746	1,746	1,746	1,746		
Adj. R ²	0.269	0.282	0.375	0.421	0.154		
Cluster	County	County	County	County	County		

8% more LTGO

31% more Rev

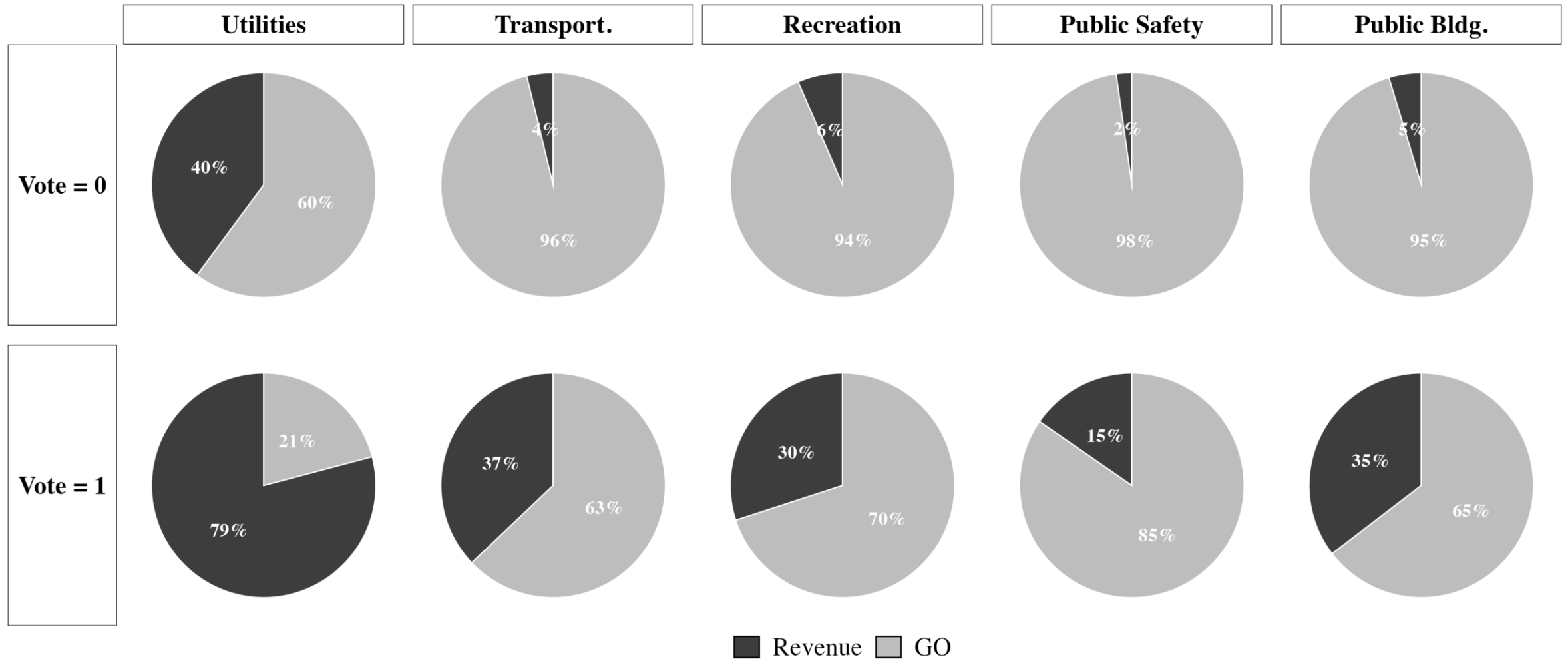
Debt choice: By supermajority requirement

	Pct UTGO	
	(1)	(2)
Vote	-0.404*** (-12.20)	-0.391*** (-12.20)
Vote * Supermajority State	-0.086** (-2.34)	-0.117*** (-3.25)
County ln(GDP)		0.052 (1.33)
County ln(Pop)		-0.262*** (-4.38)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		0.152** (2.28)
ln(Non-issuer county debt)		0.008* (1.91)
Proactive State		0.012 (0.43)
LTGO Allowed		-0.098*** (-3.54)
State GO Vote		0.103*** (4.57)
High Tax Priv.		0.166*** (6.43)
N	2,780	2,780
Adj. R ²	0.202	0.297
Cluster	County	County

Incremental substitution
when hurdle is higher



Project purposes (proportion of \$ outstanding)



Project purposes

–Don't find that *Vote* is associated with financing different projects more or less

	Par of Outstanding Bonds (millions)				
	Utilities (1)	Transport. (2)	Recreation (3)	Public Safety (4)	Public Bldg. (5)
Vote	0.181 (0.68)	0.149 (0.62)	0.230 (1.29)	0.141 (0.50)	-0.297 (-0.94)
N	1,886	1,886	1,886	1,886	1,886
Pseudo R ²	0.733	0.549	0.518	0.562	0.394
Cluster	State	State	State	State	State

–Likely because vote-requiring cities are able to substitute towards revenue bonds across project purposes

	Pct Revenue				
	Utilities (1)	Transport. (2)	Recreation (3)	Public Safety (4)	Public Bldg. (5)
Vote	0.454*** (10.70)	0.278*** (4.30)	0.246*** (3.19)	0.213** (2.19)	0.354** (2.83)
N	1,227	1,007	754	665	428
Adj. R ²	0.305	0.207	0.106	0.110	0.186
Cluster	State	State	State	State	State

Borrowing cost: GO vote required

	Wtd. Avg. Yield Spread		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
GO Vote	0.354*** (8.45)	0.326*** (7.36)	0.271*** (4.64)
County ln(GDP)		-0.128 (-1.18)	-0.127 (-1.29)
County ln(Pop)		0.227** (2.17)	0.098 (0.89)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		-0.093 (-0.63)	0.032 (0.21)
ln(Non-issuer county debt)		-0.014** (-2.00)	-0.010 (-1.43)
Proactive State			-0.383*** (-4.94)
LTGO Allowed			-0.178*** (-4.44)
State GO Vote			0.155*** (3.01)
High Tax Priv.			-0.031 (-0.48)
N	2,072	2,072	2,072
Adj. R ²	0.069	0.086	0.110
Cluster	County	County	County

← Yield spreads ↑
by 27-35 basis
points

Borrowing cost: Only UTGO vote required

	Wtd. Avg. Yield Spread		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Only UTGO Vote	0.185*** (4.87)	0.154*** (4.47)	0.294*** (8.13)
County ln(GDP)		0.138** (2.04)	0.104 (1.56)
County ln(Pop)		0.291*** (3.27)	0.228** (2.56)
County ln(Pers. Inc)		-0.472*** (-5.25)	-0.375*** (-4.28)
ln(Non-issuer county debt)		-0.009 (-1.19)	-0.009 (-1.19)
Proactive State			-0.267*** (-4.98)
State GO Vote			0.004 (0.12)
High Tax Priv.			0.131** (2.44)
N	1,727	1,727	1,727
Adj. R ²	0.025	0.087	0.103
Cluster	County	County	County

Yield spreads ↑
by 18-29 basis
points

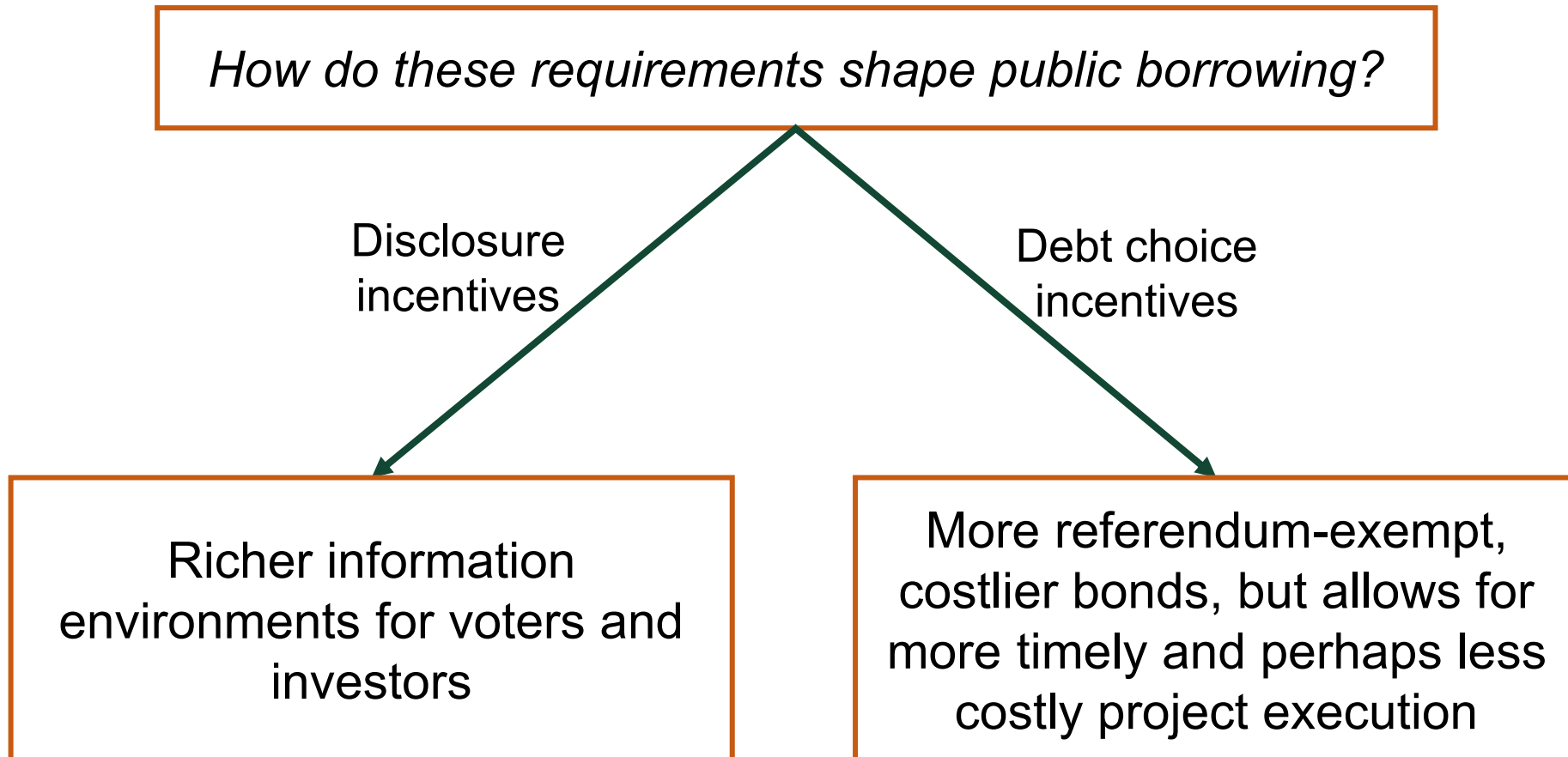
Debt choice and borrowing cost in border-city sample

	Pct UTGO (1)	Wtd. Avg. Yield Spread (2)
Vote	-0.302*** (-2.94)	0.357** (2.08)
County ln(GDP)	0.128 (0.94)	0.032 (0.14)
County ln(Pop)	0.389* (1.72)	-0.536 (-1.62)
County ln(Pers. Inc)	-0.503* (-1.96)	0.365 (0.90)
ln(Non-issuer county debt)	-0.0001 (-0.02)	0.009 (0.97)
State GO Vote	0.192 (1.26)	0.028 (0.09)
High Tax Priv.	-0.062 (-0.38)	-0.262 (-0.84)
N	427	425
Adj. R ²	0.124	0.206
State-Border FE	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County

Comparing within
a state-border
pair

Conclusion

- Descriptive paper, first to document the variation in bond referendum requirements for U.S. cities



Thank You!

Appendix

Website disclosure and media descriptives

Panel A: Website disclosure descriptive statistics

Variable	Unit	Mean	Std	Min	P1	Median	P99	Max	N
Vote	City-Year	0.38	0.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1,656
Bond URLs	City-Year	0.28	1.21	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.20	8.45	1,656
Bond Count	City-Year	4.09	11.66	0.00	0.00	0.00	67.22	68.70	1,656
Fiscal URLs	City-Year	0.58	2.82	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.41	20.90	1,656
Fiscal Count	City-Year	12.97	37.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	238.42	240.15	1,656
Financial Docs	City-Year	2.14	5.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.00	31.00	1,656
Num Issuances	City-Year	4.24	5.21	0.00	0.00	2.00	25.45	43.00	1,656
State Fiscal Monitor	City-Year	0.49	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1,656

Panel B: Media coverage descriptive statistics

Variable	Unit	Mean	Std	Min	P1	Median	P99	Max	N
Vote	Issuance	0.40	0.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	3,412
Total Articles - 12mo	Issuance	1.88	6.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	39.67	57.07	3,412
Bond Issuance - 12mo	Issuance	0.22	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	3,412
Num Sources	Issuance	3.11	1.68	0.69	0.69	3.22	6.93	8.54	3,412
Amount	Issuance	15.36	1.19	10.20	12.23	15.38	18.76	19.93	3,412
County ln(GDP)	Issuance	16.33	1.60	10.05	12.34	16.52	19.16	20.23	3,412
County ln(Pop)	Issuance	12.37	1.39	6.35	8.61	12.52	15.13	16.11	3,412
County ln(Pers. Inc)	Issuance	16.10	1.50	10.19	12.26	16.25	18.80	19.92	3,412

Descriptive statistics

Panel C: Texas election descriptive statistics

Variable	Unit	Mean	Std	Min	P1	Median	P99	Max	N
Increase in Bond Text	City-Year	0.27	0.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1,530
Election Year	City-Year	0.10	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1,530
Bond Issuance Year	City-Year	0.23	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1,530
Bond Coverage	City-Month	0.04	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	32,208
Election [0, +3]	City-Month	0.04	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	32,208
Bond Issuance [0, +3]	City-Month	0.02	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	32,208
Failed	Election	0.12	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	872
Margin	Election	0.40	0.28	0.00	0.00	0.36	1.00	1.00	872
Bond Count	Election	43.44	108.16	0.00	0.00	4.00	374.00	892.00	558
Bond Coverage [-3, 0]	Election	0.27	0.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	700

Descriptive statistics

Panel D: Secondary market trading descriptive statistics

Variable	Unit	Mean	Std	Min	P1	Median	P99	Max	N
Vote	Bond	0.42	0.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Trade	Bond	0.47	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Retail Trade	Bond	0.40	0.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Inst. Trade	Bond	0.28	0.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
High Tax Priv.	Bond	0.30	0.46	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Continuing Disclosure	Bond	0.85	0.35	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Amount	Bond	12.82	1.19	7.60	9.90	12.77	15.94	18.17	50,467
Maturity	Bond	4.47	0.79	0.69	2.30	4.62	5.66	6.01	50,467
Callable	Bond	0.45	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Sinkable	Bond	0.06	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Insured	Bond	0.22	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	50,467
Rating	Bond	5.56	6.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.00	16.00	50,467

Panel E: Debt choice descriptive statistics

Variable	Unit	Mean	Std	Min	P1	Median	P99	Max	N
GO Vote	Issuer	0.37	0.48	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
Only UTGO Vote	Issuer	0.25	0.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
Pct UTGO	Issuer	0.49	0.45	0.00	0.00	0.44	1.00	1.00	2,780
Pct LTGO	Issuer	0.23	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
Pct Revenue	Issuer	0.27	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
Wtd. Avg. Yield Spread	Issuer	-0.05	0.67	-1.69	-1.08	-0.12	2.62	6.32	2,753
ln(Non-issuer county debt)	Issuer	19.59	3.37	0.00	0.00	20.26	23.26	24.23	2,780
Proactive State	Issuer	0.33	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
LTGO Allowed	Issuer	0.60	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
State GO Vote	Issuer	0.59	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2,780
High Tax Priv.	Issuer	0.37	0.48	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2,780

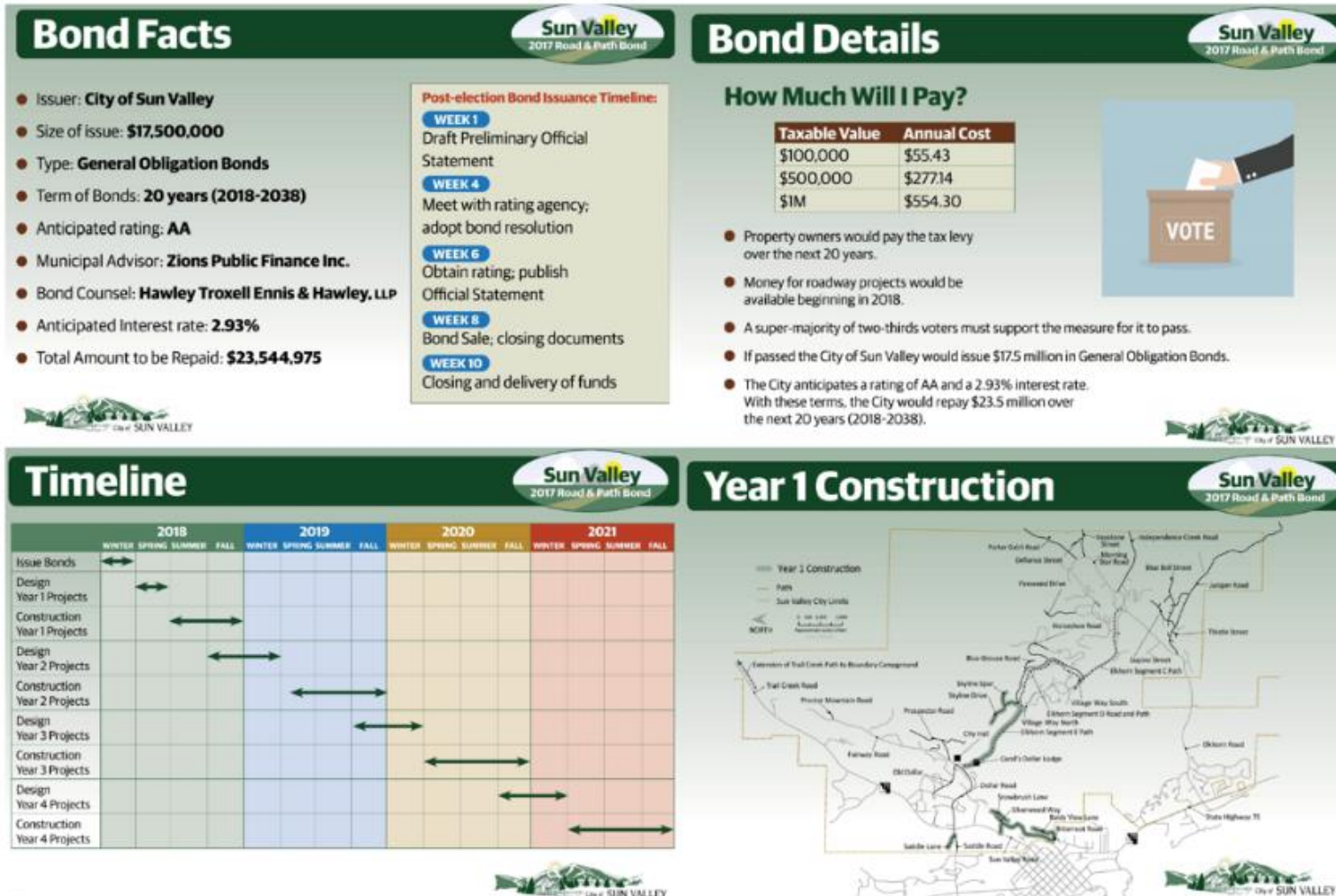
Figure 2

State	GO	Revenue	Sources	State	GO	Revenue	Sources
AL	Majority	Depends	AL Const, Article XII, S222, S222.01 AL League of Municipalities (2024)	MT	Majority	None	MT Code § 7-7-4221 (2023)
AK	Majority	None	AK Stat § 29.47.190 (2023) AK Stat § 29.47.250 (2023)	NE	Majority	None	NE Rev Stat § 18-506.01 (2023)
AZ	Majority	Depends	AZ Rev Stat § 35-452 (2023) AZ Rev Stat § 9-523 (2023) AZ Rev Stat § 9-441.03 (2023)	NV	Depends	None	NV Rev Stat § 350.020 (2023)
AR	Majority	Majority	AR Const, Amendment 62 AR Code § 14-72-606 (2023)	NH	None	None	NH Rev Stat § 33:3 (2023)
CA	2/3	None	CA Govt Code § 43608 (2023) CA Govt Code § 43614 (2023) CA Govt Code § 54380 (2023)	NJ	None	None	NJ Rev Stat § 40A:2-17 (2023)
CO	Majority	Majority	CO Rev Stat § 31-15-302 (2023)	NM	Majority	None	NM Const, Article IX NM Stat § 3-30-06 (2023)
CT	Depends	Depends	CT Gen Stat § 7-389. (2023)	NY	Depends	Depends	NY Loc Fin L § 34.00 (2023)
DE	Depends	None	DL Code (2023)	NC	Majority	None	NC Const, Article 5, Section 4
FL	Majority	None	FL Const, Article XII, Section 12 FL Stat § 100.201 (2023) FL Revenue Bond Act of 1953	ND	60%	Majority	ND Century Code § 21-03-04 2 ND Century Code § 21-03-07
GA	Majority	None	GA Code § 36-82-1 (2023) GA Code § 36-82-3 (2023) GA Code § 36-82-63 (2023)	OH	Majority for UTGO	None	OH Revised Code § 5705.51 (2023)
HI	N/A	N/A	N/A	OK	60%	Depends	11 OK Stat § 22-128 (2023) 11 OK Stat § 22-155 (2023)
ID	2/3	Depends	ID Const Art VIII § 3 65 ILCS 5/8-4-1 (2023)	OR	Majority	None	OR State Treasury OR Const, Article XI, Section 11b
IL	Depends	None	IL Municipal Bond Reform Act 65 ILCS 5/8-5-16 (2023)	PA	Depends	Depends	PA Cons Stat Title 53 ch 81 (2023)
IN	Depends	None	IN Code § 36-4-6-19 (2023) IN Code § 6-6-1.1-20-3.5 (2023) IN Code § 5-1.4-4-5 (2023)	RI	Depends	Depends	RI Gen L § 45-12-2.1 (2024) RI Gen L § 45-12-20 (2024)
IA	Depends	None	IA Code § 384.25 (2023) IA Code § 384.26 (2023)	SC	Depends	None	SC Const, Article X, Section 14
KS	Depends	Depends	KS Stat § 10-120 (2023) KS Stat § 10-1212 (2023)	SD	60%	60%	SD Codified L § 6-8B-2 (2023)

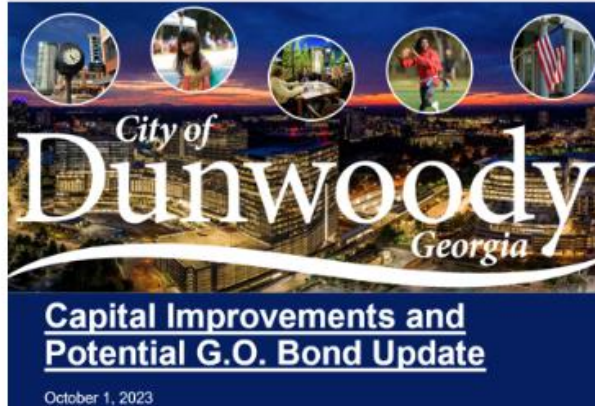
Figure 2

State	GO	Revenue	Sources	State	GO	Revenue	Sources
KY	None	None	KY Rev Stat Ch 66 (2024) KY League of Cities (2019) KY Rev Stat § 96.640 (2024)	TN	None	None	TN Code § 9-21-108 (2023)
LA	Majority	None	LA Const, Article VI, Section 33 LA Rev Stat § 39:521 (2023) LA Rev Stat § 39:524 (2023)	TX	Majority	None	TX Govt Code § 1251.001 (2023)
ME	Majority	Depends	ME Rev Stat 30-A § 5772 (2023) ME Rev Stat 30-A § 5404 (2023)	UT	Majority	None	UT Code § 11-14-201 (2023)
MD	Depends	Depends	MD Local Gov Code § 19-304 (2023) MD Local Gov Code § 19-302 (2023)	VT	Majority	Majority	24 V.S.A. § 1755
MA	None	None	MA Gen L ch 44 § 8a (2023)	VA	Depends	None	VA Const, Article VII, Section 10 WA Rev Code § 84.52.056 (2023)
MI	Majority for UTGO	None	Michigan Municipal League	WA	60% for UTGO	None	WA Rev Code § 35.41.050 (2023) WV Code § 8-18-16 (2023)
MN	Depends	None	League of Minnesota Cities	WV	Majority	None	WV Code § 8-13C-14 (2023)
MS	None	None	MS Code § 21-33-301 (2023)	WI	None	None	WI Stat § 67.05 (2023)
MO	2/3 or 4/7	Yes, threshold depends	MO Rev Stat § 95.115 (2024) MO Rev Stat § 95.130 (2024) MO Rev Stat § 250.070 (2024) MO Const, Article VI, Section 26(b)	WY	Majority	None	WY Stat § 22-21-103 (2023)

Appendix bond campaign examples



Appendix bond campaign examples



Value

- Using a \$500,000 house with a frozen value of \$400,000 as the base example, there would be a 1.049 mill increase needed based on 2023 digest numbers.



Dunwoody

Timeline

- August 2022 – Staff presented city council a review of the 2022 capital discussion. the effort, grew the Citizen Capital Com
- September through November 2022 – Capital Committee met discussing transportation, parks, and trails needs.
- March 2023 – City council annual retreat with the main topic being capital needs.
- May 2023 – City Council adopts master plan and adopts call for voter referendum general obligation bonds set for November 2023.

Dunwoody

Brook Run Park Improvements

The City of Dunwoody has called for a voter referendum on the November 7, 2023 ballot to pay in whole or part by the issuance of general obligation bonds. Some projects referenced on this being considered for funding should the referendum be approved by the voters. The City reserves the right to modify plans and/or projects based upon the needs of the city and future funding.

The Parks Master Plan was a community effort originally completed in 2011 with an update in 2017, to identify Dunwoody's parks, recreation, and open space needs and define the necessary parks priorities, policies, and improvement projects. It includes a long-range plan for Brook Run Park, pictured on this page (you can click on the image or here for a closer look).



The Parks Master Plan, in addition to robust public input, provided guidance for the Brook Run Park Phase 1 construction project, which was completed in 2020 at a cost of \$7.5 million. Key components of the project include the following:

- A new amphitheater with tiered seating, expanded levels of open space, restrooms and

Supporters and opponents of Dunwoody's parks bond referendum take to the streets

by Cathy Cobbs
September 18, 2023 | 12:56 pm



The "Vote No on Dunwoody Bonds" committee is comprised of five members, led by Tom Simon, a longtime resident of Stephen's Walk who has been specifically opposed to the location of a proposed multiuse trail on Tilly Mill Road.

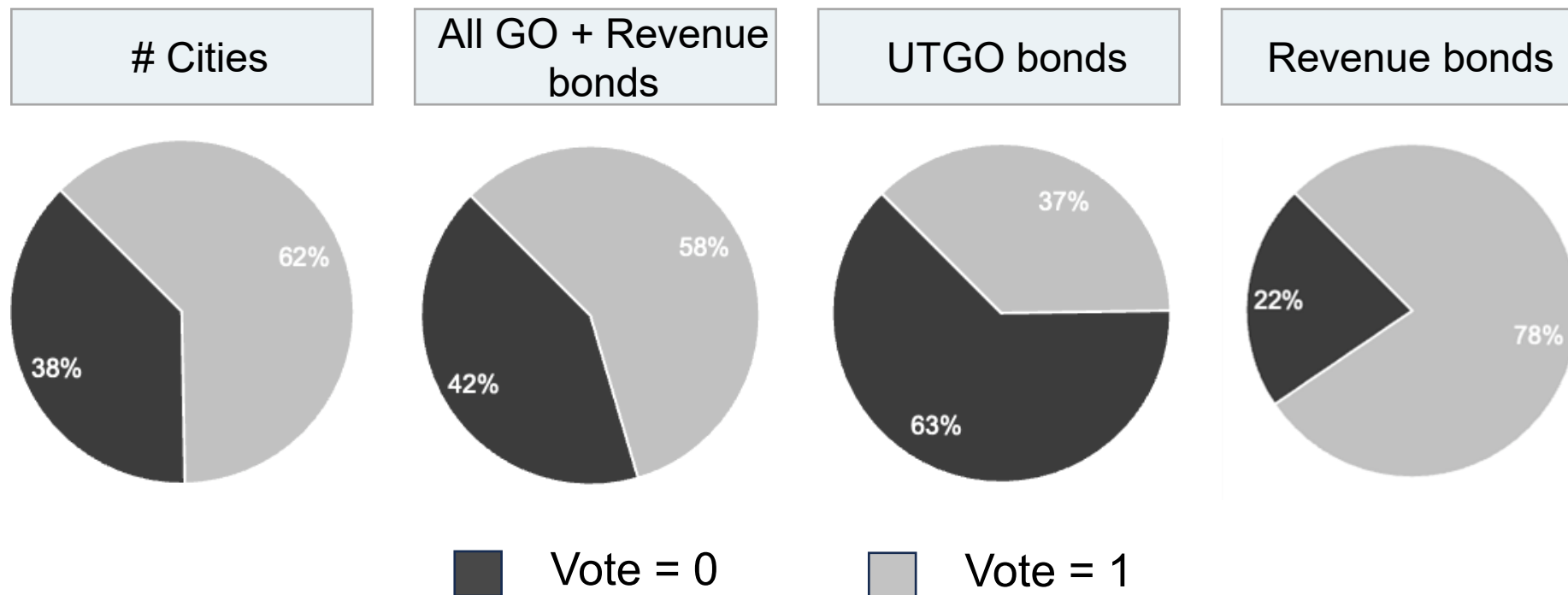
However, the "Vote No" website arguments expand its opposition beyond the trail locations. It claims that passage of the bond referendum will result in streets becoming unsafe and congested during times of construction. It also says that the city's police department is in greater need of financial support.

"We are running the city at a deficit and we are underfunding our police department," Simon said. "Why would we have a bond that will raise our taxes 50% when we have so many other needs?"

Dunwoody officials refute claims parks bond would defund police

by Cathy Cobbs
October 13, 2023 | 5:09 pm

Debt composition more broadly across vote, no vote



– Insights:

- Across all bonds, the proportion issued by cities in vote-requiring states mirrors the proportion of cities in these states
- Across UTGO bonds, only 37% are issued by cities in vote-requiring states
- Across revenue bonds, almost 80% are issued by cities in vote-requiring states