

How SALT spices up municipal bond markets

Lorenzo Bretscher* Francesco Brunamonti§ Norman Schürhoff*

*University of Lausanne, SFI, CEPR

§University of Lausanne, SFI

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Motivation: Local investment is tied to local wealth?

- Wealthier counties have **higher leverage** and **more fund ownership**.
 - Valuable projects in low-income counties may remain unfundable.
- **Question:** Can intermediation loosen the link “local wealth $\iff$ local spending”?
- We use a tax-driven *demand* shock $\rightarrow$ Read off heterogeneous *supply* responses.

The shock: SALT deduction cap

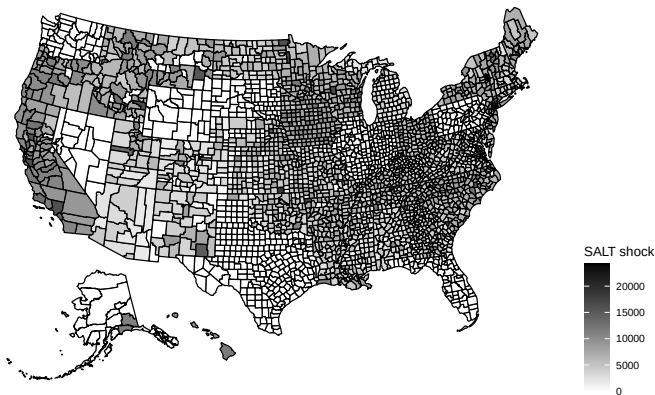
- Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (2017):
 - **Cap the deductibility of State&Local Taxes (“SALT”) from Federal taxes.**
- With 2016 tax-and-income data, we compute:

$$\text{Treatment intensity} = \tau_f \cdot \left(\underbrace{\tau_s \cdot I_c - \$10,000}_{\text{Deduction exceeding cap}} \right) \quad \text{if } \underbrace{\tau_s \cdot I_c}_{\text{Cap binds}} > \$10,000, \quad \text{otherwise } 0$$

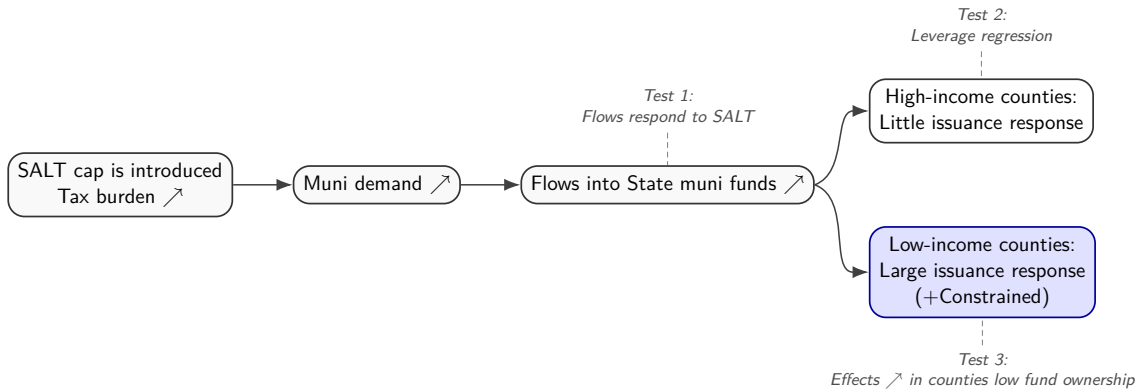
- ↗ Tax on high earners in high-tax states → ↗ Demand for tax-exempt munis.

Measuring county-level exposure

- Affects $\approx 80\%$ of counties, but heterogeneously. [► Density](#) [► Treated by state](#) [► Alternative caps](#)
- Average \$5.000/year; top-income-top-tax counties above \$20.000/year.



Fund pool demand at the State level, heterogenous supply effects



Design: continuous-treatment DiD, within state $\times$ year

- Data: 2015-2021, almost entire sample of all US counties. ▸ States ▸ Counties
- Main outcome: $\text{Leverage}_{c,t} = \frac{\text{Municipal debt}_{c,t}}{\text{County income}_{c,t}}$.
- We estimate the effect of SALT exposure ([Chaisemartin et al. \(2022\)](#)):

$$\text{Leverage}_{c,t} = \alpha_c + \alpha_{S \times t} + \underbrace{\sum_{t \neq 2017} \beta_t \cdot d_c}_{\text{Treatment intensity}} + \underbrace{\sum_{t \neq 2017} \phi_t \cdot 1_{\{d_c > 0\}}}_{\text{Selection}} + \varepsilon_{c,t}$$

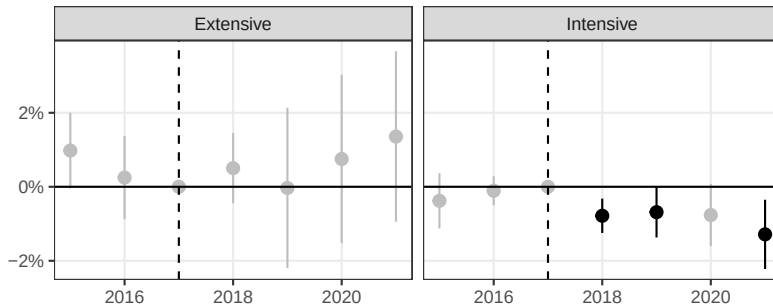
- **Estimand is relative:** Leverage change compared to same-State counties.
 - If $\beta_t < 0$, then low-SALT (low-income) counties issue *more* than the state average.

Result: Low-income counties borrow more

- Decrease in SALT exposure equal to its mean $\rightarrow$ **Leverage increase of 0.6%.**
 - Large vs. pre-TCJA median leverage of $\approx 8\%$.
 - Effect persistent throughout the whole time period.

[▶ Table](#)

Effect of SALT on Leverage.



Who responds: low-income, constrained counties

- We define “Strain” as below-median int. coverage
 - Cunha and Varley (2026).
 - Strained $\neq$ low income. [▶ Evidence](#)
- “Strain” interaction **subsumes** the SALT effect.
- Effect concentrated:
 - ✓ Low-income counties, with low market access.
 - × High-income counties, with high existing debt.
- Thus, SALT effect: Relax financing constraints.
- Robust to definitions, vintages, cutoffs. [▶ Full table](#)

[▶ Robustness](#)

Interaction:	Leverage _{c,t} × 100			
	- InterestCoverage			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
SALT _c × Post _t	-0.5*	-0.7**	-0.2	-0.4
	(-1.9)	(-2.4)	(-0.7)	(-1.2)
(SALT _c > 0) × Post _t		0.8		0.8
		(1.3)		(1.2)
SALT _c × Strained _c × Post _t			-0.5**	-0.5**
			(-2.2)	(-2.1)
Observations	5,080	5,080	5,080	5,080
R ²	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98
Within R ²	0.0006	0.0009	0.002	0.002
c FE (2,540)	✓	✓	✓	✓
S × t FE (98)	✓	✓	✓	✓

What gets issued: new-money bonds, revenue bonds, discount structure

- Effects concentrated in:
 - ① **New-money bonds** → Additional capital, not refinancing. [▶ Results](#)
 - ② **Use of proceeds**: Large effects in utilities, healthcare, housing. [▶ Results](#)
 - ③ **Revenue bonds**: Project-backed, faster authorization. [▶ Results](#)
 - ④ **Discount bonds**: Low coupon → Low debt servicing costs, fits cash-poor issuers.
- **Placebo**: No response for taxable munis. [▶ Results](#)
 - Consistent with tax-driven fund flows.
 - Rules out credit-risk confounders.

First step: SALT leads to large fund inflows

$$\text{Flows}_{S,t} = \sum_{t \neq 2017} \delta_t \times \text{SALT}_S + \alpha_S + \alpha_t + \eta_{S,t}$$

- SALT-induced fund flows are large, $\approx 3\%$ of TNA.
 - Immediate after the TCJA ([Bloomberg \(2019\)](#)).
 - No correlation before or after.
- Identification: Fund portfolios are **concentrated**, **persistent**.
 - 1 Holdings predict purchases.
 - 2 Flows amplify primary-market participation in *already-held* counties.

	Flow _{S,t}	
	(1)	(2)
SALT _S × 2015	0.01 (0.69)	
SALT _S × 2016	0.03 (1.2)	
SALT _S × 2017	-	-
SALT _S × 2018	0.03* (2.0)	0.03** (2.0)
SALT _S × 2019	0.004 (0.17)	
SALT _S × 2020	0.007 (0.20)	
SALT _S × 2021	0.01 (0.63)	
Observations	238	68
R ²	0.63	0.85
Within R ²	0.01	0.09
S FE	34	34
t FE	7	2

The fund channel

$$\text{Leverage}_{c,t} = \beta \times \underbrace{\widehat{\text{Flow}}_{S,t} \times \text{CountyShare}_{c,t-1}}_{\text{Predicted fund allocation to county } c} + \alpha_c + \alpha_{S \times t} + \varepsilon_{c,t}$$

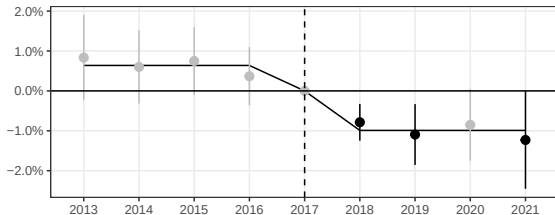
- **Usually:** Positive coefficient → Funds buy more of what they already have (Van Nieuwerburgh and Veldkamp (2010)).
- **In 2018:** Negative → Funds buy bonds from new counties, new issuers.
- Concentrated in states where **single-state funds matter more** (Babina et al. (2021)). [▶ Table](#)

	Leverage _{c,t}		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
$\widehat{\text{Flow}}_{S,t} \times \text{CountyShare}_{c,t-1}$	-6.1** (-2.2)	-6.1** (-2.5)	-6.1** (-2.5)
Covariance	State	County	White
Observations	2,102	2,102	2,102
R ²	0.99	0.99	0.99
Within R ²	0.002	0.002	0.002
c FE (1,051)	✓	✓	✓
S × t FE (58)	✓	✓	✓

Aggregate implication: Borrowing shifts toward low-income counties.

Debt concentration ↘

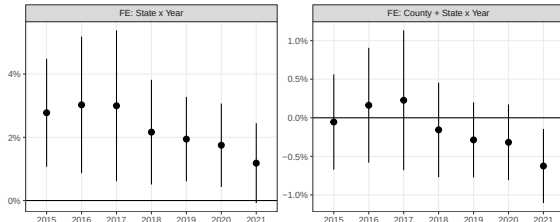
Effect of State SALT on State municipal debt HHI.



Avg. state: Debt HHI falls $\approx 2\%$ (prior median 24%).

Income-leverage link ↘

Coefficient of county leverage regressed on per-capita log-income.



Takeaways

- ① SALT cap: large, sudden demand shock for munis. Large flows into State mutual funds.
- ② **Low-income** counties responded by issuing more munis.
 - New-money bonds, revenue.
 - No taxable munis.
- ③ Funds matter, by **pooling demand at the state level**.
 - Decouples issuance from local income.
 - Cross-county debt concentration falls.
- ④ **Policy**: Even if a tax policy is broad-based, it can carry distributional consequences at the local level.
 - In this case, positive spillover: Wealthy counties invest → Funding transmitted to low-income counties.

Bibliography I

-  Babina, Tania et al. (2021). “Heterogeneous taxes and limited risk sharing: evidence from municipal bonds”. In: *The Review of Financial Studies* 34.1, pp. 509–568.
-  Bloomberg (2019). *States’ last-ditch bid to kill Trump’s SALT cap eroded by data*. URL: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-23/states-last-ditch-bid-to-kill-trump-s-salt-cap-eroded-by-data>.
-  Bloomberg (2025). *Senate GOP to offer \$40.000 SALT cap with lower income threshold*. URL: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-06-23/senate-gop-to-offer-40-000-salt-cap-with-lower-income-threshold>.
-  Chaisemartin, Clement de et al. (2022). “Difference-in-Differences for Continuous Treatments and Instruments with Stayers”. In: *Available at SSRN 4011782*.
-  Cunha, Igor and Michael Varley (2026). “Municipal financing and monetary policy transmission”. In: *Available at SSRN 5030800*.
-  Van Nieuwerburgh, Stijn and Laura Veldkamp (2010). “Information acquisition and under-diversification”. In: *The Review of Economic Studies* 77.2, pp. 779–805.

Total issuance of municipal bonds

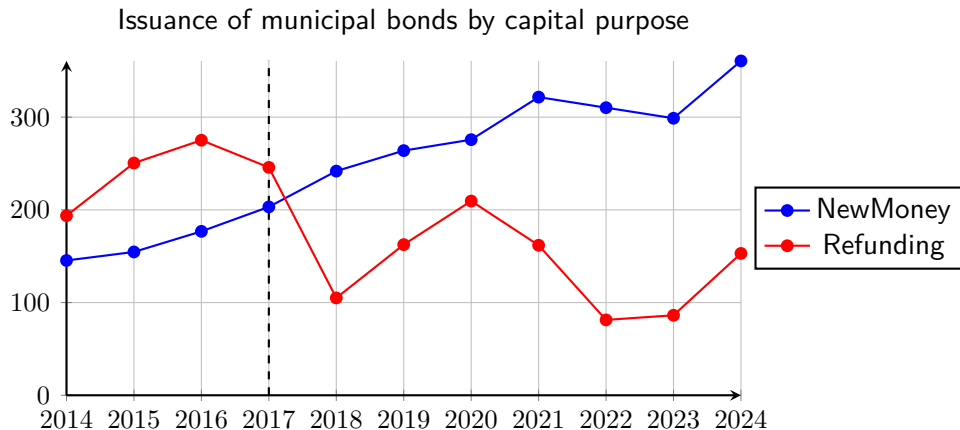


Figure: Issuance of muni bonds by year, in billions of USD, split by capital purpose. [SIFMA](#) and [MSRB](#). [Back](#)

Holders of municipal bonds

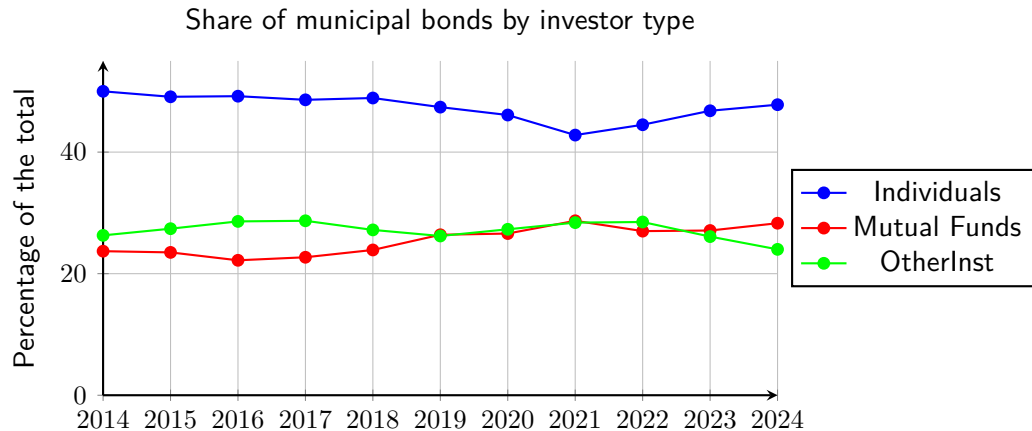


Figure: Holders of municipal bonds by year, in percentage of the total (*SIFMA*). “OtherInst” is the sum of banks, insurers, and other holders. [▶ Back](#)

Density of treatment intensity

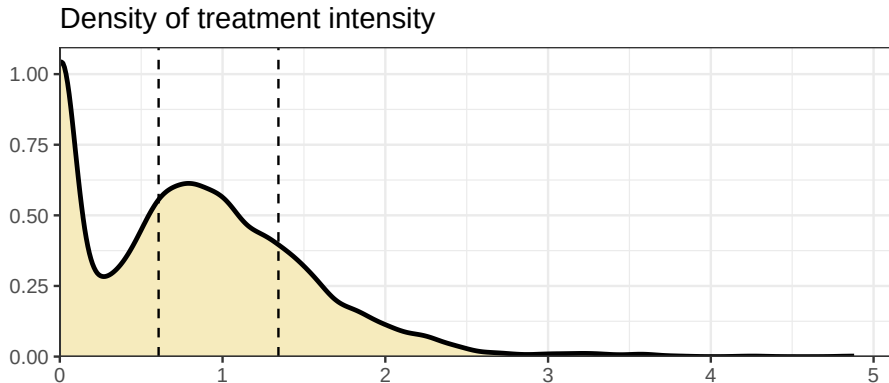


Figure: *Density of treatment intensity d . Scaled such that $d = 0$ is untreated, $d = 1$ is $E[d \mid d > 0] \approx \$5,000$ per person per year. Vertical dashed bars represent the interquartile range of $d \mid d > 0$.*

[▶ Back](#)

States in the data

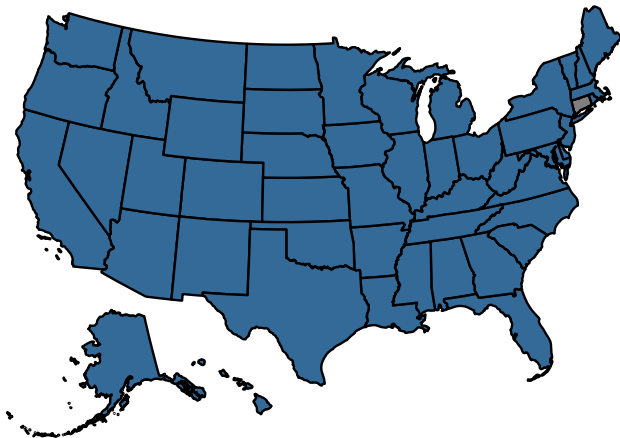


Figure: *States in the data.* [► Back](#)

Counties in the data

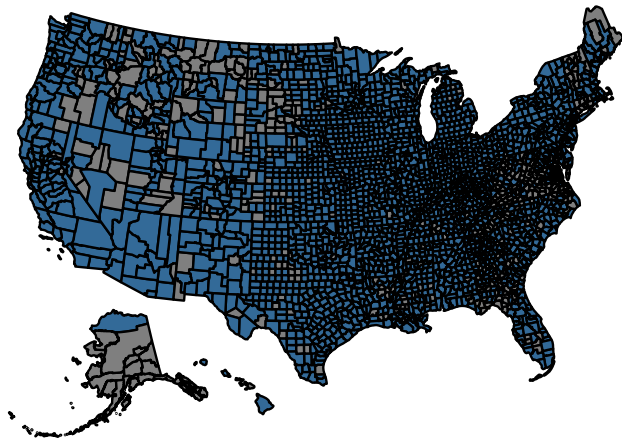


Figure: *Counties in the data.* [► Back](#)

Share of counties that are treated

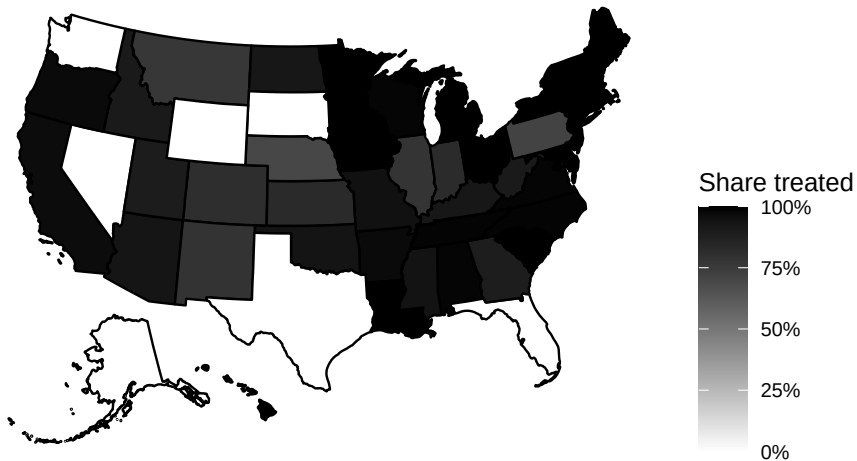


Figure: For every State, share of counties who are treated. [▶ Back](#)

Share of affected counties by cap level

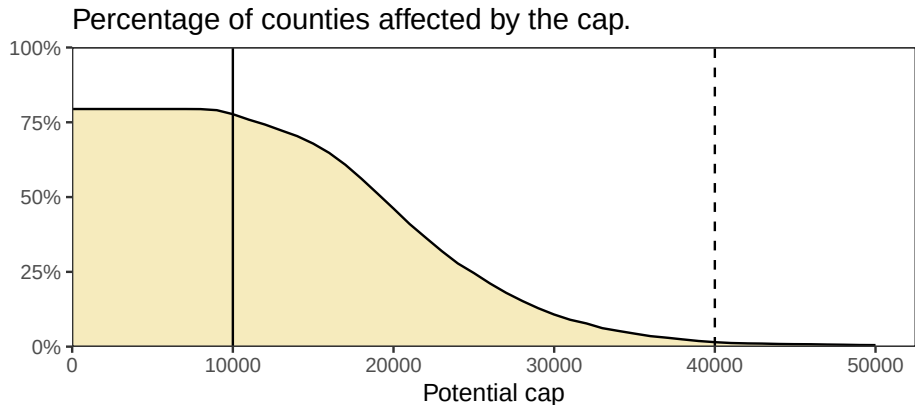


Figure: Proportion of counties with positive SALT shock. Solid line: \$10,000 cap in the 2017 “Tax Cuts and Jobs Act”. Dashed line: \$40,000 cap in the 2025 “Big Beautiful Bill” (*Bloomberg (2025)*).

Results of reduced form

Base year:	Leverage _{c,t}			
	2016	2016	2017	2017
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
SALT _c × Post _t	-0.006** (-2.2)	-0.008*** (-2.8)	-0.006* (-2.0)	-0.007** (-2.1)
(SALT _c > 0) × Post _t		0.008 (1.3)		0.005 (0.82)
Observations	5,158	5,158	5,158	5,158
R ²	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98
Within R ²	0.0008	0.001	0.0007	0.0008
c FE (2,579)	✓	✓	✓	✓
S × t FE (98)	✓	✓	✓	✓

Period	Estimate	p-value
Pre	-0.24%	43.5%
Post	-0.88%	3.2%**
Difference	-0.64%	9.9%*

Treatment effects of SALT shock, intensive margin, full time series sample (2015-2016 is “Pre”, 2018-2021 is “Post”).

Split by Use of Proceeds (UOP)

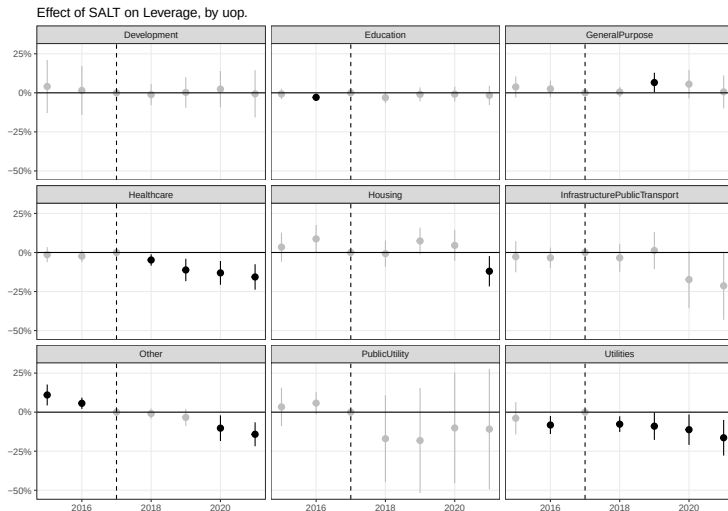


Figure: Treatment effects of SALT shock on Leverage. Sample split by bond-level UOP.

Split by Use of Proceeds (UOP)

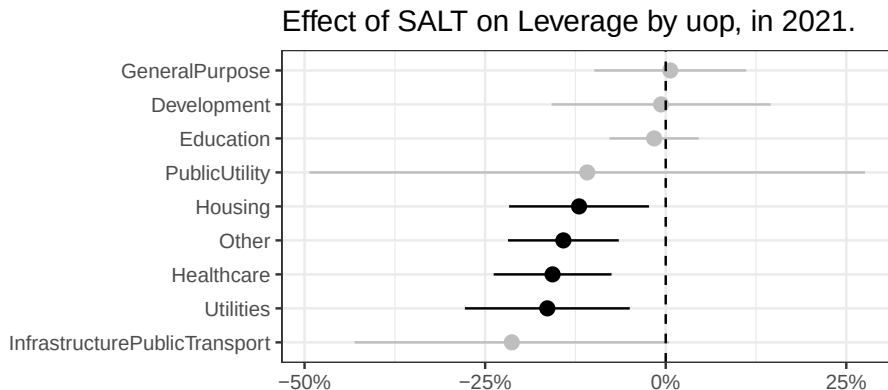


Figure: Treatment effects of SALT shock on Leverage. Sample split by bond-level UOP.

Split by source of repayment

Effect of SALT on Leverage, by source of repayment.

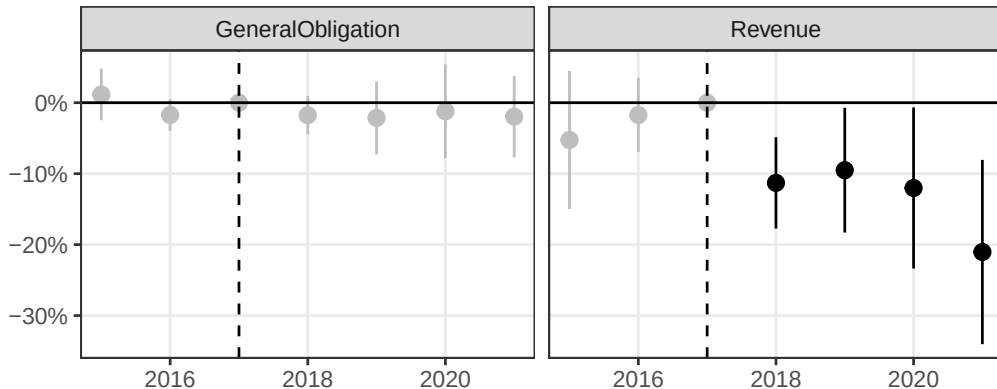


Figure: *Treatment effects of SALT shock on Leverage. Sample split by bond-level source of repayment.* [▶ Back](#)

Split by capital purpose

Effect of SALT on Leverage, by capital purpose.

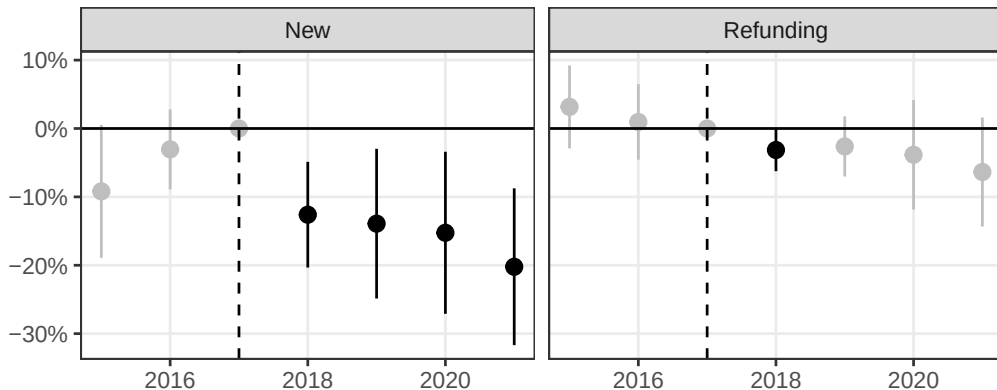


Figure: *Treatment effects of SALT shock on Leverage. Sample split by bond-level capital purpose.*

Split by source of bond taxability

Effect of SALT on Leverage, by tax code.

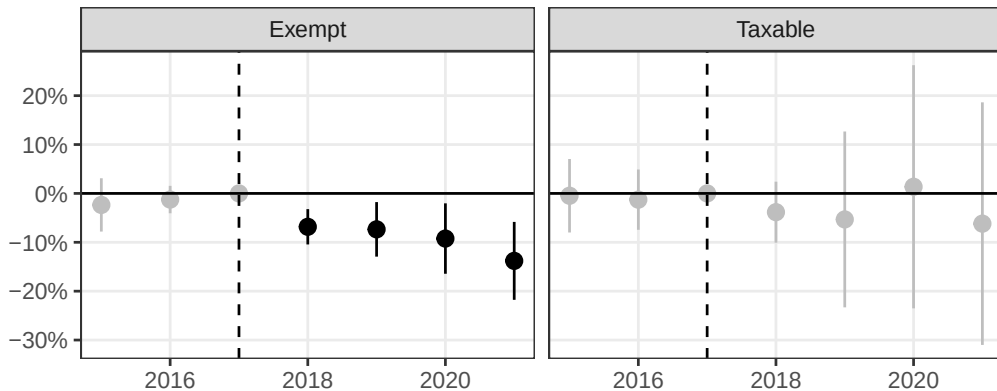


Figure: Treatment effects of SALT shock on Leverage. Sample split by bond-level taxability.

Full table of results on financial constraints

Split: Definition of constraint	Leverage _{c,t}							
	-		InterestCoverage		CashRatio		Both	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SALT _c × Post _t	-0.005*	-0.007**	-0.002	-0.004	-0.003	-0.004	-0.001	-0.003
	(-1.9)	(-2.4)	(-0.7)	(-1.2)	(-0.95)	(-1.6)	(-0.45)	(-0.95)
(SALT _c > 0) × Post _t		0.008		0.008		0.008		0.008
		(1.3)		(1.2)		(1.3)		(1.3)
SALT _c × Constrained _c × Post _t			-0.005**	-0.005**	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.004**	-0.004**
			(-2.2)	(-2.1)	(-2.3)	(-2.3)	(-2.4)	(-2.4)
Observations	5,080	5,080	5,080	5,080	5,080	5,080	5,080	5,080
R ²	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.98
Within R ²	0.0006	0.0009	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001
c FE (2,540)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
S × t FE (98)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Robustness tests for the effects of financial constraints

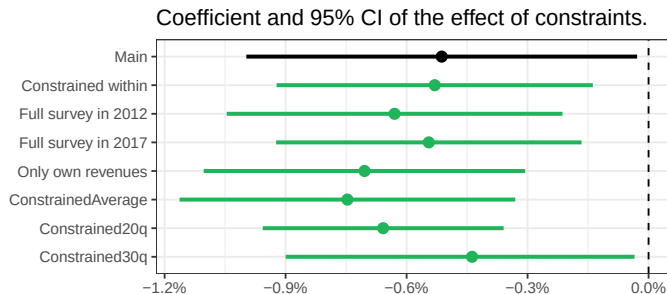


Figure: Robustness checks for the effects of financial constraints. One at a time: (i) We define “constrained” a county with an above-median interest impact within the state, not compared to the entire cross-section of counties; (ii)-(iii) We use data from the 2012 or 2017 survey of local governments, covering the entire universe of municipal issuers instead of a representative sample; (iv) We scale interest payments by own revenue and not by total revenue, therefore excluding intergovernmental transfers such as those from state to county or across counties; (v) We define “constrained” a county with an above-average interest impact rather than above-median; (vi)-(vii) We define “constrained” a county below the 20th or 30th percentile of interest coverage ratio, rather than the median. [▶ Back](#)

Financially constrained $\neq$ Low-income

	Interest _c		Cash _c	
	2015	2016	2015	2016
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
log(IncomePerCapita _c)	0.39*** (3.0)	0.46*** (4.6)	-0.01 (-0.2)	0.06 (1.0)
Observations	2,540	2,540	2,540	2,540
R ²	0.16	0.17	0.18	0.18
Within R ²	0.02	0.03	3×10^{-5}	0.0006
S FE (49)	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table: Estimate of $\text{Constrained}_c = \alpha_S + \beta \times \log(\text{IncomePerCapita}_c) + \varepsilon_c$, with a cross-section from 2015 or 2016. Interest and Cash are dummy variables which refer to having a interest coverage ratio or cash ratio below the cross-sectional median. Standard errors clustered by State. [► Back](#)

Sample split by State Fund Holdings (SFH)

<i>Split: SFH</i>	Leverage _{c,t}					
	Full sample		Low		High	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$SALT_c \times Post_t$	-0.006*	-0.007**	-0.005	-0.007	-0.006**	-0.007*
	(-1.9)	(-2.5)	(-0.91)	(-1.5)	(-2.2)	(-2.1)
$(SALT_c > 0) \times Post_t$		0.007		0.009		0.004
		(1.2)		(0.93)		(1.5)
Observations	4,994	4,994	2,598	2,598	2,396	2,396
R ²	0.98	0.98	0.97	0.97	0.99	0.99
Within R ²	0.0006	0.0009	0.0003	0.0005	0.004	0.005
<i>c</i> FE	2,497	2,497	1,299	1,299	1,198	1,198
<i>S</i> × <i>t</i> FE	94	94	48	48	46	46

Table: Estimates of the effect of SALT on leverage, splitting States by the importance of State Fund Holdings (*Babina et al. (2021)*). [▶ Back](#)