

(Online Appendix) Do Presidents Favor Co-Partisan
Mayors in the Allocation of Federal Grants?

December 2023

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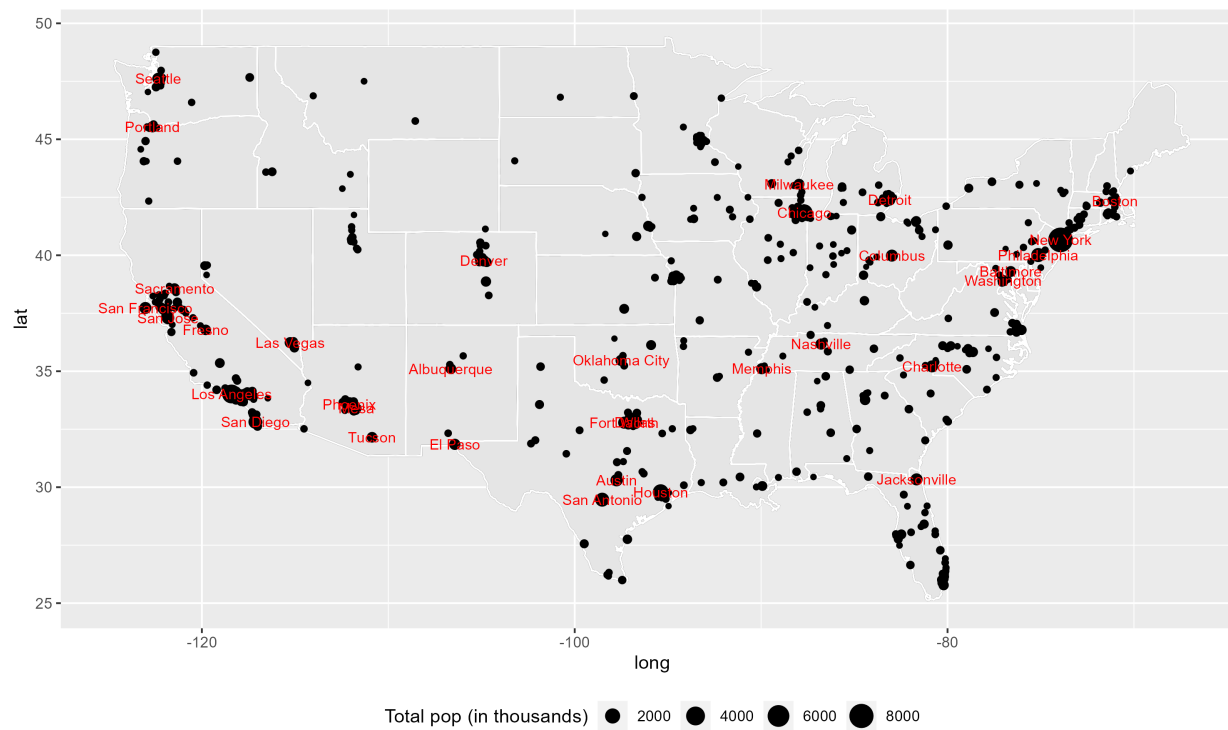
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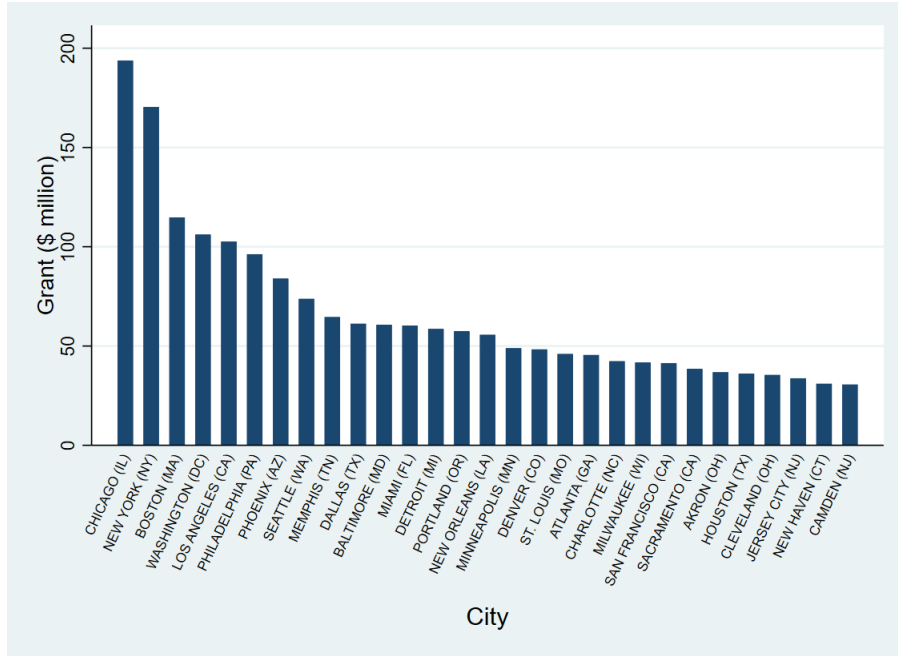
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Figure A.1: Cities, Population over 50,000

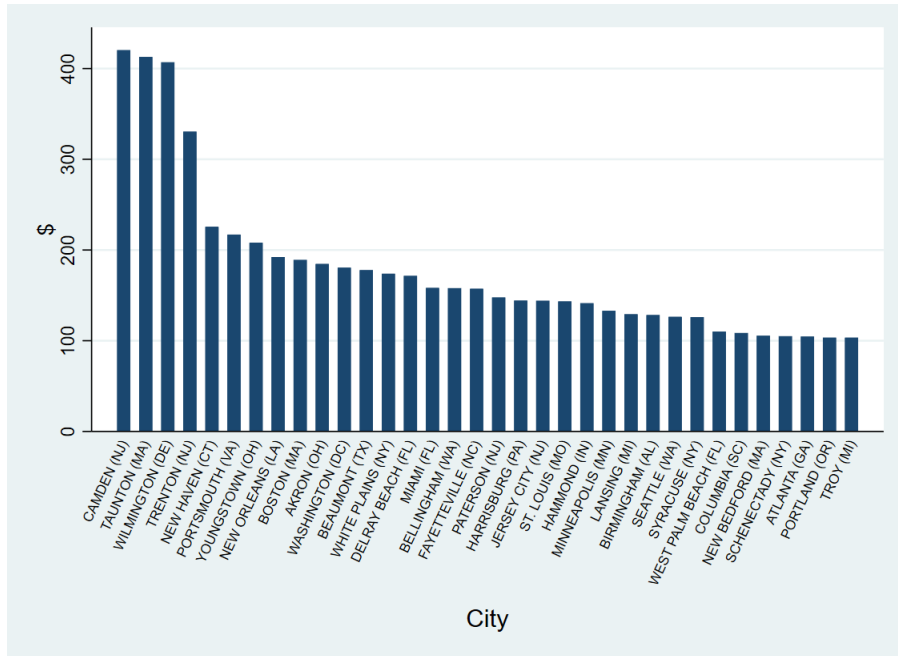


Note: The legend (representing the size of circles) does not indicate a range but rather signifies the population size. Thus, there are numerous cities with circle sizes significantly smaller than those denoting 2,000 (in thousand) in population, as well as a few cities with circle sizes larger than those indicating 8,000 (in thousand).

Figure A.2: Grant: Housing (2012 constant \$)



(a) Housing

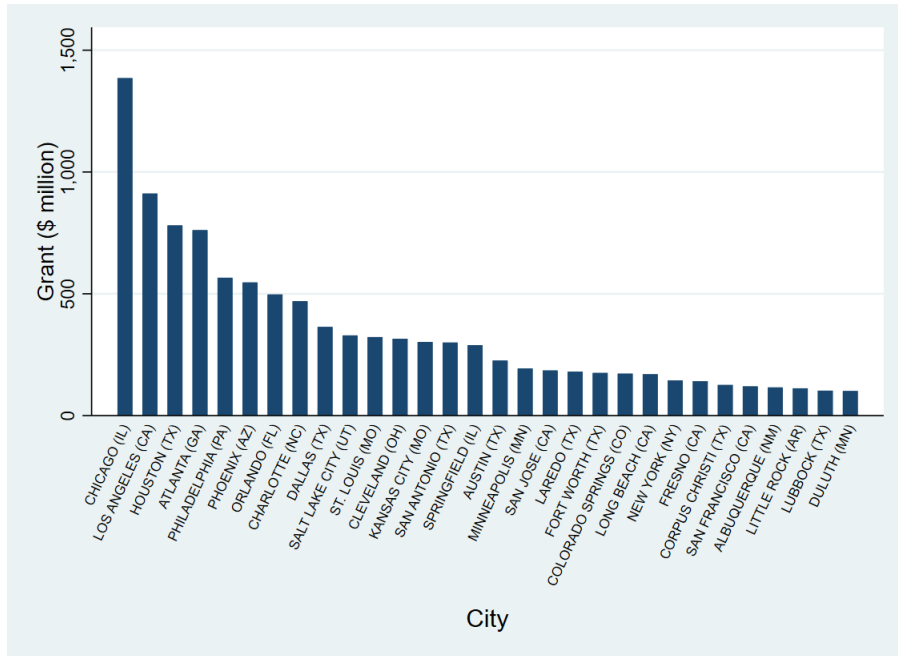


(b) Housing, Per Capita

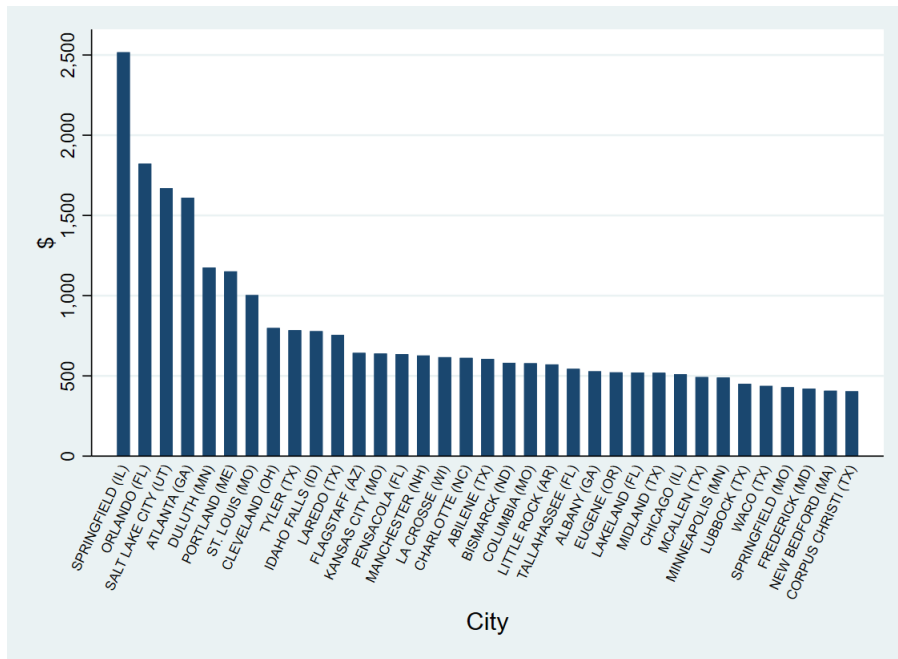
Source FAADS (USAspending) <https://www.usaspending.gov>

Note: Cities with a relatively higher percentage of poverty have received larger housing grants.

Figure A.3: Grant: Transportation (2012 constant \$)



(a) Transportation

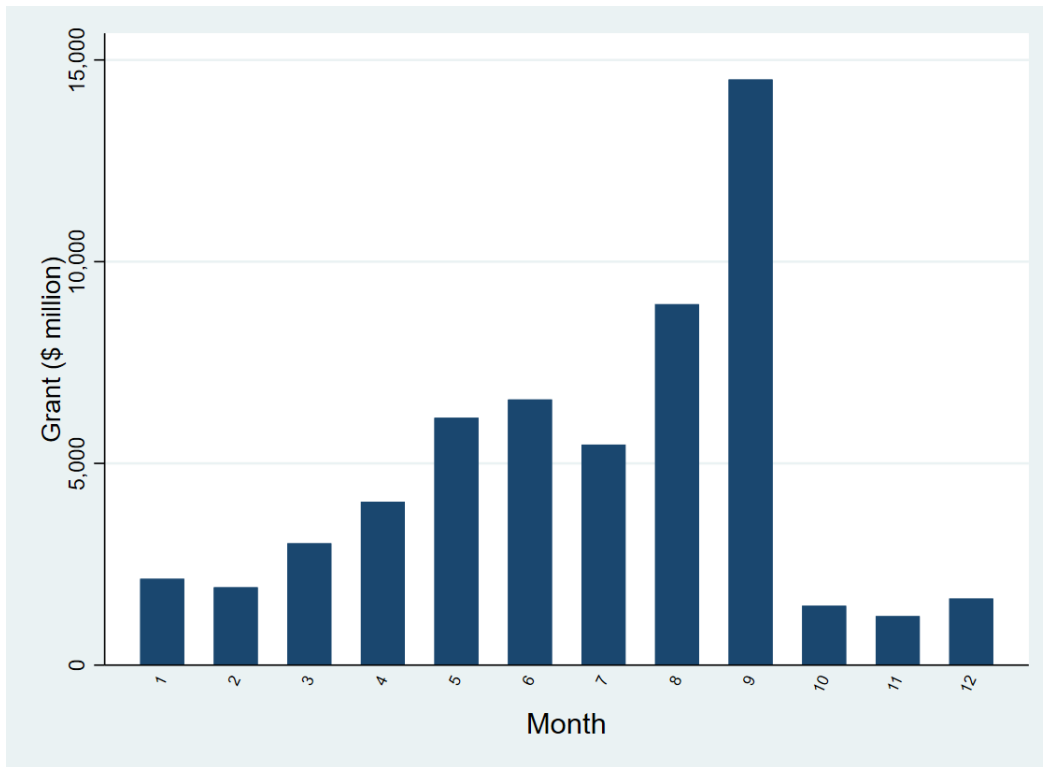


(b) Transportation, Per Capita

Source FAADS (USAspending) <https://www.usaspending.gov>

Note: Cities with a large population or a higher population density have received relatively larger amounts of transportation grants.

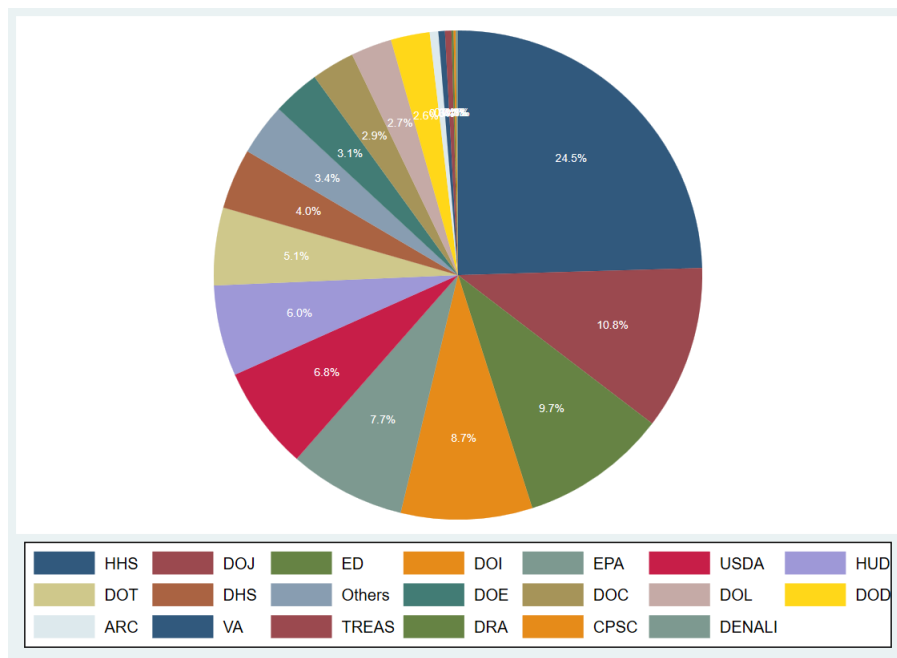
Figure A.4: Block and Project Grant to Cities (2005-2020), by month (2012 constant \$)



Source FAADS (USAspending) <https://www.usaspending.gov>

Note: Federal agencies award more than 40% of block and project grants in the last quarter of each fiscal year, and their spending is concentrated in the last month of the fiscal year. This is because agencies take months to review grant applications from subnational governments, and they want to spend all the remaining money to claim the next year's budget increase.¹

Figure A.5: Block and Project Grant to Cities (2005-2020), by Agency



Source FAADS (USAspending) <https://www.usaspending.gov>

Note: This pie chart shows the number of grants allocated to cities: the Department of Health and Human Services has distributed the most – a quarter of total federal grants – followed by the Department of Justice and the Department of Education.

B Appendix: Tables

Table B.1: Direct Block and Project Grants to Cities, By Agency

Awarding Agency	N of Grant	Percent	Grant Amount (mil)	Percent
Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC)	4	0.57	108.0585	0.19
Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC)	1	0.14	0.234243	0
Corporation For National And Community Service (CNCS)	7	1	131.3495	0.23
Delta Regional Authority (DRA)	1	0.14	31.01882	0.05
Denali Commission (DC)	1	0.14	1.392	0
Department of Agriculture (USDA)	48	6.85	3287.545	5.74
Department of Commerce (DOC)	20	2.85	2091.971	3.65
Department of Defense (DOD)	18	2.57	135.7589	0.24
Department of Education (ED)	68	9.7	2874.681	5.02
Department of Energy (DOE)	22	3.14	2439.279	4.26
Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)	172	24.54	6429.189	11.23
Department of Homeland Security (DHS)	28	3.99	8630.811	15.07
Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)	42	5.99	9453.128	16.51
Department of Justice (DOJ)	76	10.84	1305.562	2.28
Department of Labor (DOL)	19	2.71	167.2109	0.29
Department of the Interior (DOI)	61	8.7	244.6479	0.43
Department of the Treasury (TREAS)	3	0.43	2.121759	0
Department of Transportation (DOT)	36	5.14	18157.91	31.71
Department of Veterans Affairs (VA)	3	0.43	20.02576	0.03
Election Assistance Commission (EAC)	1	0.14	0.025	0
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)	54	7.7	1456.345	2.54
Executive Office Of The President (EOP)	1	0.14	257.5924	0.45
Institute Of Museum And Library Services (IMLS)	5	0.71	3.056906	0.01
National Aeronautics And Space Administration (NASA)	2	0.29	4.103655	0.01
National Archives And Records Administration (NARA)	1	0.14	1.222121	0
National Endowment For The Arts (NEA)	1	0.14	20.70227	0.04
Small Business Administration (SBA)	3	0.43	5.096253	0.01
Social Security Administration (SSA)	1	0.14	0.921455	0
Surface Transportation Board (STB)	2	0.29	3.156556	0.01

Table B.2: Number of Cities by State

	N of City	N of City %	N of City -Year	N of Pres-Mayor Alignment	N of Secure Alignment	N of Pres -Gov-Mayor Alignment	N of Pres-Gov -Sec Mayor Alignment
ALABAMA	8	1.41	128	55	18	34	12
ALASKA	1	0.18	16	2	0	0	0
ARIZONA	14	2.46	224	119	34	35	15
ARKANSAS	5	0.88	66	32	14	24	10
CALIFORNIA	90	15.82	1378	536	223	330	150
COLORADO	13	2.28	187	87	33	48	19
CONNECTICUT	11	1.93	176	86	24	61	16
DELAWARE	1	0.18	16	8	0	8	0
DC	1	0.18	16	8	6	0	0
FLORIDA	41	7.21	615	267	119	106	46
GEORGIA	10	1.76	145	70	21	29	3
IDAHO	4	0.7	44	23	8	15	8
ILLINOIS	29	5.1	458	202	86	102	54
INDIANA	15	2.64	240	120	6	59	1
IOWA	10	1.76	158	82	28	25	7
KANSAS	7	1.23	104	47	20	10	3
KENTUCKY	4	0.7	64	30	14	24	11
LOUISIANA	7	1.23	98	54	22	6	3
MAINE	1	0.18	11	7	6	1	0
MARYLAND	5	0.88	62	28	8	20	6
MASSACHUSETTS	19	3.34	272	127	82	92	61
MICHIGAN	23	4.04	342	159	57	44	16
MINNESOTA	20	3.51	282	95	32	68	23
MISSISSIPPI	2	0.35	28	12	3	4	0
MISSOURI	10	1.76	145	62	35	55	31
MONTANA	3	0.53	48	19	11	17	11
NEBRASKA	4	0.7	64	30	8	12	0
NEVADA	6	1.05	96	53	11	18	2
NEW HAMPSHIRE	2	0.35	32	9	1	1	0
NEW JERSEY	13	2.28	205	96	48	12	7
NEW MEXICO	4	0.7	61	27	2	10	2
NEW YORK	13	2.28	208	112	31	96	24
NORTH CAROLINA	18	3.16	260	102	28	45	15
NORTH DAKOTA	2	0.35	32	11	0	7	0
OHIO	16	2.81	228	111	39	39	10
OKLAHOMA	6	1.05	94	38	14	19	9
OREGON	10	1.76	151	67	16	41	8
PENNSYLVANIA	9	1.58	144	72	13	36	6
RHODE ISLAND	4	0.7	64	28	8	14	4
SOUTH CAROLINA	4	0.7	64	31	1	15	4
SOUTH DAKOTA	2	0.35	31	21	6	12	0
TENNESSEE	10	1.76	150	70	38	22	16
TEXAS	48	8.44	735	334	176	247	130
UTAH	10	1.76	156	57	32	47	28
VIRGINIA	10	1.76	149	69	24	26	8
WASHINGTON	14	2.46	224	98	48	62	40
WISCONSIN	9	1.58	133	56	26	15	6
WYOMING	1	0.18	16	8	8	4	4

Table B.3: Summary Statistics

Variable	N	min	max	mean	sd
Grant, Per Capita	8328	-47.18482	2852.289	15.8597	51.69907
President-Mayor Party Alignment	8620	0	1	0.4451276	0.4970087
President- Secure Mayor Party Alignment	8620	0	1	0.1726218	0.3779419
President-Governor-Mayor Party Alignment	8620	0	1	0.2339907	0.4233909
President-Governor-Secure Mayor Party Alignment	8620	0	1	0.0961717	0.2948437
Presidential Election Year	8620	0	1	0.2529002	0.4346995
Total Population	8328	38989	8560072	191162	456600.5
Income Per Capita	8328	10544	93085	28070.69	9092.925
Poverty Rate	8022	0.0090554	0.3092537	0.0766316	0.0395542

Table B.4: President-Mayor Party Alignment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total Grant Per Capita	Total Grant Per Capita	Total Grant Per Capita	Total Grant Per Capita
Pres_Mayor	0.208 (0.882)			
Pres_Secure_Mayor		3.210*** (1.187)		
Pres_Gover_Mayor			3.545*** (1.141)	
Pres_Gover_ Secure_Mayor				5.223*** (1.661)
Population (Logged)	26.79 (16.78)	25.76 (16.80)	24.28 (16.75)	24.59 (16.78)
Income (Logged)	-17.81 (25.11)	-17.51 (25.04)	-15.96 (25.18)	-16.45 (25.08)
Poverty rate	-26.64 (76.44)	-28.09 (76.20)	-18.20 (77.16)	-22.92 (76.61)
Constant	-120.7 (349.8)	-111.8 (349.6)	-111.4 (349.2)	-109.4 (348.9)
Observations	8,022	8,022	8,022	8,022
R-squared	0.027	0.028	0.028	0.028
Number of Cities	568	568	568	568
City FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors (clustered by city) in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table B.5: President-Mayor Party Alignment, By the President's party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Dem Pres	Rep Pres	Dem Pres	Rep Pres	Dem Pres	Rep Pres	Dem Pres	Rep Pres
	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant
	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita
Pres_Mayor	1.989 (2.235)	-0.803 (1.759)						
Pres_Secure_Mayor			4.439* (2.493)	-1.955 (2.109)				
Pres_Gover_Mayor					5.689*** (2.185)	2.761* (1.585)		
Pres_Gover_Secure_Mayor							6.312** (3.167)	1.199 (2.544)
Population (Logged)	98.11** (39.89)	4.863 (17.47)	98.26** (39.72)	4.750 (17.42)	95.54** (39.99)	4.084 (17.43)	94.12** (40.00)	4.574 (17.41)
Income (Logged)	-67.77 (51.07)	-19.60 (38.45)	-67.45 (51.01)	-19.59 (38.42)	-67.01 (51.09)	-19.79 (38.44)	-67.18 (51.06)	-19.67 (38.43)
Poverty rate	-94.03 (227.1)	-66.72 (102.1)	-88.50 (227.7)	-65.76 (102.1)	-88.05 (228.0)	-59.75 (102.1)	-90.84 (227.5)	-65.79 (102.1)
Constant	-414.4 (339.7)	155.1 (508.8)	-419.6 (338.5)	156.3 (507.9)	-393.2 (338.1)	164.7 (508.3)	-374.0 (330.1)	158.8 (507.8)
Observations	4,307	3,715	4,307	3,715	4,307	3,715	4,307	3,715
R-squared	0.032	0.032	0.032	0.032	0.033	0.032	0.032	0.032
Number of Cities	555	568	555	568	555	568	555	568
City FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors (clustered by city) in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table B.6: President-Mayor Party Alignment, Interaction with Democratic President

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total Grant Per Capita	Total Grant Per Capita	Total Grant Per Capita	Total Grant Per Capita
Dem Pres	77.04 (71.62)	96.47 (71.09)	89.39 (71.39)	87.14 (71.04)
Pres_Mayor	0.202 (2.568)			
Pres_Mayor * Dem Pres	0.601 (4.914)			
Pres_Secure_Mayor		-0.387 (1.874)		
Pres_Secure_Mayor * Dem Pres		7.129** (3.233)		
Pres_Gover_Mayor			1.336 (1.791)	
Pres_Gover_Mayor * Dem Pres			4.669 (3.172)	
Pres_Gover_ Secure_Mayor				2.056 (2.151)
Pres_Gover_ * Dem Pres Secure_Mayor				6.476* (3.732)
Population (Logged)	23.67 (16.07)	22.94 (16.33)	21.44 (16.21)	21.23 (16.36)
* Dem Pres				
Population (Logged)	26.20 (16.59)	25.85 (16.85)	24.09 (16.78)	24.05 (16.89)
* Rep Pres				
Income PC (Logged)	-22.22 (27.35)	-22.67 (27.16)	-21.46 (27.27)	-21.45 (27.22)
* Dem Pres				
Income PC (Logged)	-17.58 (24.74)	-16.55 (24.62)	-15.71 (24.74)	-16.15 (24.67)
* Rep Pres				
Poverty rate	-40.89 (91.62)	-48.01 (89.90)	-37.20 (90.82)	-38.81 (90.45)
* Dem Pres				
Poverty rate	-28.30 (81.87)	-20.10 (81.03)	-20.47 (80.06)	-23.88 (80.48)
* Rep Pres				
Constant	-116.6 (350.4)	-123.3 (350.4)	-111.6 (350.8)	-106.3 (350.2)
Observations	8,022	8,022	8,022	8,022
R-squared	0.028	0.029	0.029	0.029
Number of Cities	568	568	568	568
City FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors (clustered by city) in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table B.7: Placebo Test 1: President-Mayor Party Alignment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant
	Logged	Logged	Logged	Logged
Pres_Mayor	0.0603 (0.0471)			
Pres_Secure_Mayor		0.144** (0.0651)		
Pres_Gover_Mayor			0.163*** (0.0538)	
Pres_Gover_Secure_Mayor				0.218*** (0.0784)
Population (Logged)	1.173** (0.492)	1.177** (0.491)	1.109** (0.492)	1.132** (0.490)
Income (Logged)	-1.286* (0.694)	-1.265* (0.692)	-1.228* (0.692)	-1.242* (0.693)
Poverty rate	-4.377 (3.068)	-4.414 (3.059)	-3.957 (3.063)	-4.222 (3.062)
Constant	12.96 (9.326)	12.70 (9.289)	13.08 (9.283)	13.00 (9.247)
Observations	5,402	5,402	5,402	5,402
R-squared	0.114	0.115	0.116	0.115
Number of Cities	542	542	542	542
City FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors (clustered by city) in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table B.8: Placebo Test 2: President-Mayor Party Alignment, By the President's party

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Dem Pres	Rep Pres	Dem Pres	Rep Pres	Dem Pres	Rep Pres	Dem Pres	Rep Pres
	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant	Total Grant
	Logged	Logged	Logged	Logged	Logged	Logged	Logged	Logged
Pres_Mayor	0.0973 (0.123)	-0.0853 (0.125)						
Pres_Secure_Mayor			0.0325 (0.115)	-0.134 (0.214)				
Pres_Gover_Mayor					0.175** (0.0745)	0.132 (0.128)		
Pres_Gover_Secure_Mayor							0.131 (0.119)	0.154 (0.247)
Population (Logged)	1.465 (1.020)	1.148* (0.602)	1.429 (1.017)	1.137* (0.605)	1.356 (1.019)	1.099* (0.607)	1.338 (1.023)	1.122* (0.605)
Income (Logged)	-3.623*** (1.328)	-0.710 (0.913)	-3.592*** (1.326)	-0.723 (0.914)	-3.563*** (1.327)	-0.740 (0.916)	-3.594*** (1.325)	-0.726 (0.918)
Poverty rate	-9.672* (5.624)	-4.422 (4.163)	-9.672* (5.642)	-4.291 (4.147)	-9.381* (5.628)	-4.122 (4.140)	-9.572* (5.616)	-4.434 (4.160)
Constant	34.79* (18.50)	7.564 (12.11)	34.95* (18.53)	7.808 (12.14)	35.44* (18.52)	8.356 (12.14)	36.01* (18.47)	7.990 (12.15)
Observations	2,863	2,539	2,863	2,539	2,863	2,539	2,863	2,539
R-squared	0.165	0.088	0.165	0.088	0.167	0.088	0.165	0.088
Number of geo_fips	506	521	506	521	506	521	506	521
City FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors (clustered by city) in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1