

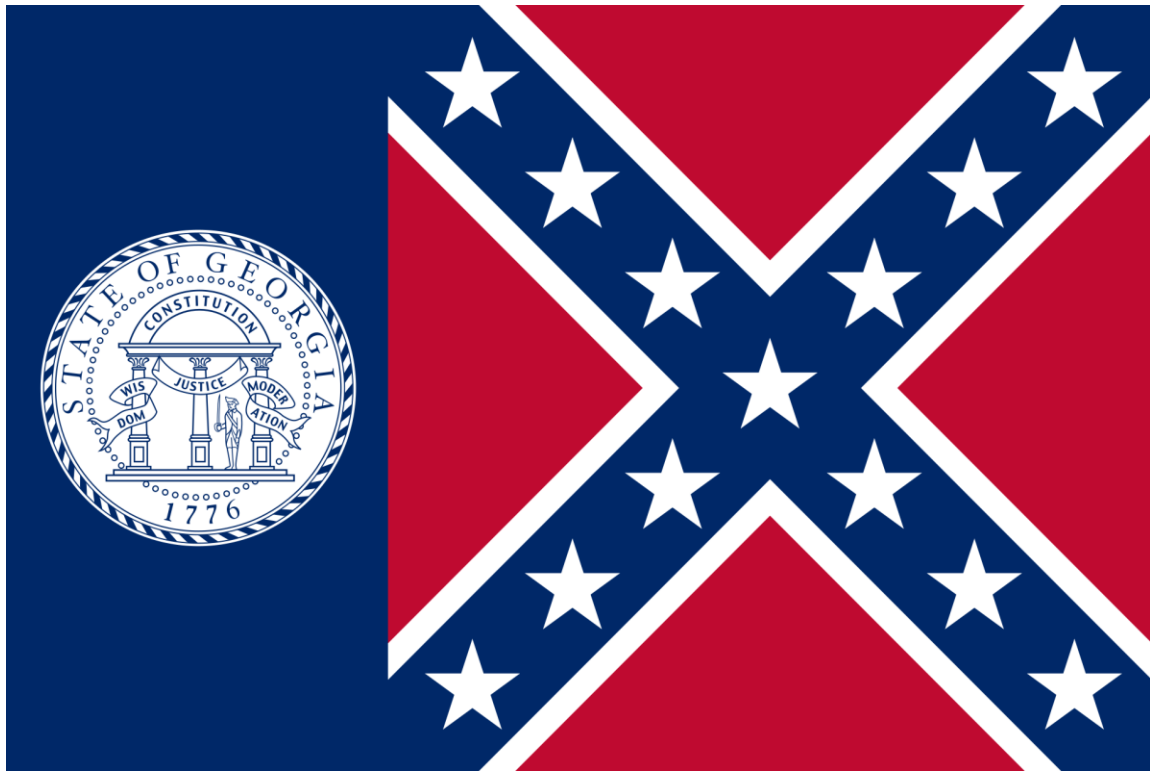
Pork Barrel Logic of Real Politics

PMCb1113 Money and Politics

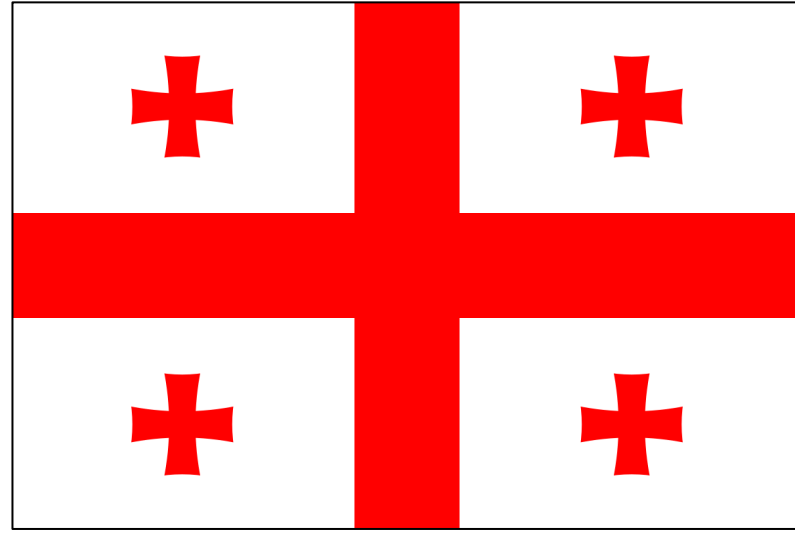
Many Faces of Pork Barrel Politics

- Context dependency
- What are the main aims?
- What are the procedures?
- In other words, why and how is pork barrel politics performed

The Flag of Georgia



Not this Georgia



This Georgia



Georgia

- Power division in USA
- State level framework resembles the federal level
- Strong role of governors in pursuing legislative agenda
- State legislature typically follows the ideas of governor
- This works especially when the same party has the governor and controls the majority in House and Senate

Georgia

- Dominance of governors over General Assembly
- Very long tradition of Democratic governors
- Roy Barnes (elected in 1998):
 - 125 years of Democrats in office
 - Showed strong position over General Assembly
 - 94 per cent acceptance of his agenda in the assembly

Incumbency Trap

- To follow the governor is comfortable when the agenda fits the public opinion
- But what happens when the governor pursues an agenda that is sharply in contrast to the will of voters?
- Dilemma for members of the legislature from constituencies where voters disagree with such agenda

The Flag of Georgia

- Georgia adopted a new flag in 1956 including the St. Andrew's cross (a reminiscence on the Confederation)
- Several initiatives to drop the cross from the flag
- 2001 – Governor Barnes initiated a change of the flag and adoption of a new one without the Confederate battle cross

A highly polarizing agenda

- No middle ground
- African Americans:
 - Dominantly voting for Democrats
 - More than 75 per cent for the change of the flag
- White population:
 - Democrats – 21 per cent for the change and 58 for keeping the flag
 - Republicans – two thirds for keeping the flag

General Assembly

- House:
 - 102 Dem (66 W, 36 AfAm) - 74 Rep
- Senate:
 - 32 Dem (21 W, 11 AfAm) - 24 Rep
- True dilemma for part of Democrats – supporting the change of flag and risking a political suicide
- Governor Barnes forced to seek support across party lines

How to Secure Votes?

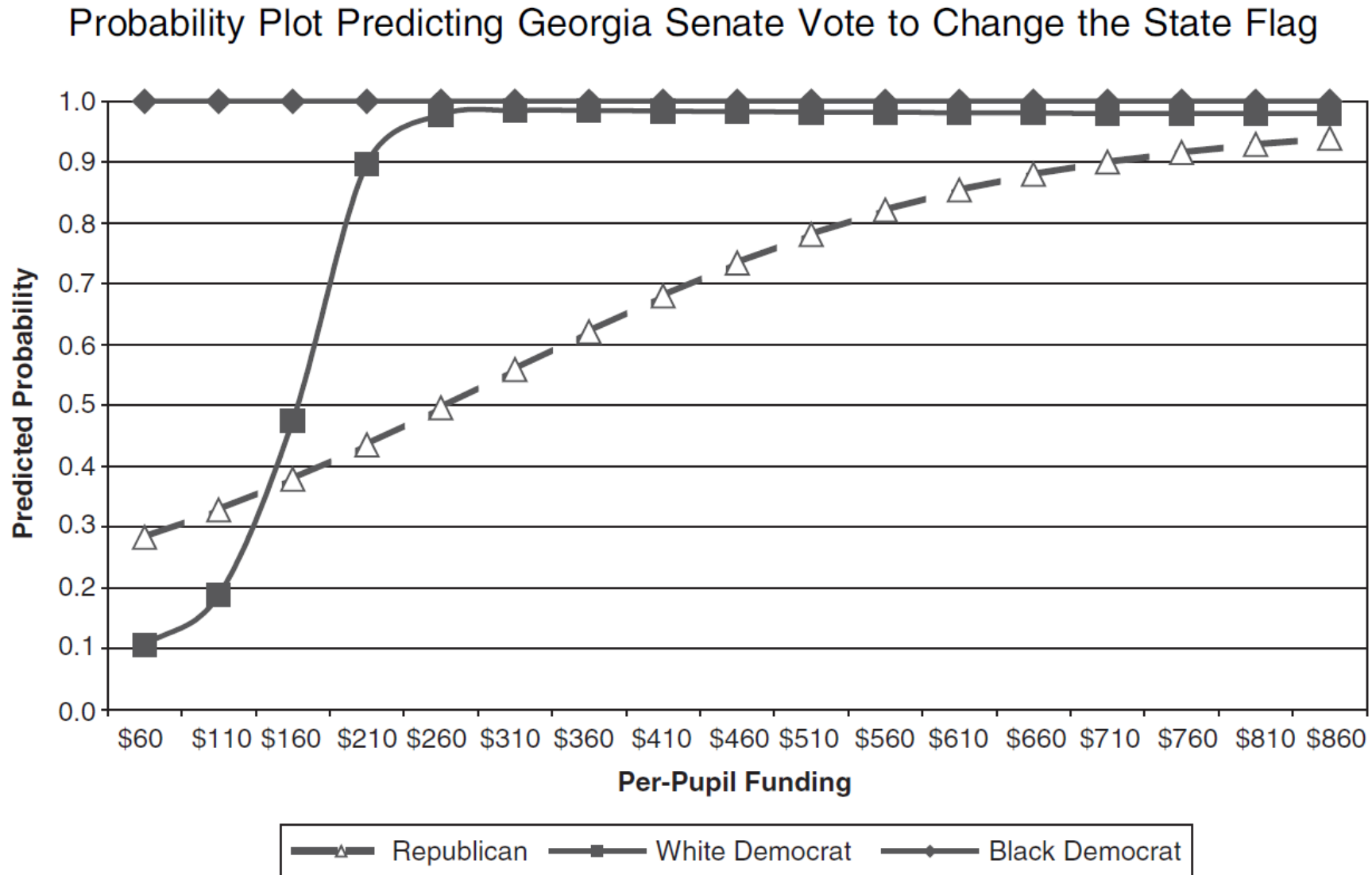
- Carrot and stick
- Inducements:
 - Positive – help in campaign, fundraising, media influence
 - Negative – loss of offices, redistricting of constituencies
- Negative inducements mostly applicable only on members of own party (opposition does not hold offices)



Solution for Barnes

- Additional funding for new classrooms in 2001 budget worth 562 mil. USD
- Main tool in persuading members of assembly to support the agenda
- Time restraints allowed to effectively use pork to affect the vote in Senate

The Effect of Pork (Bullock and Hood 2005)



Aftermath

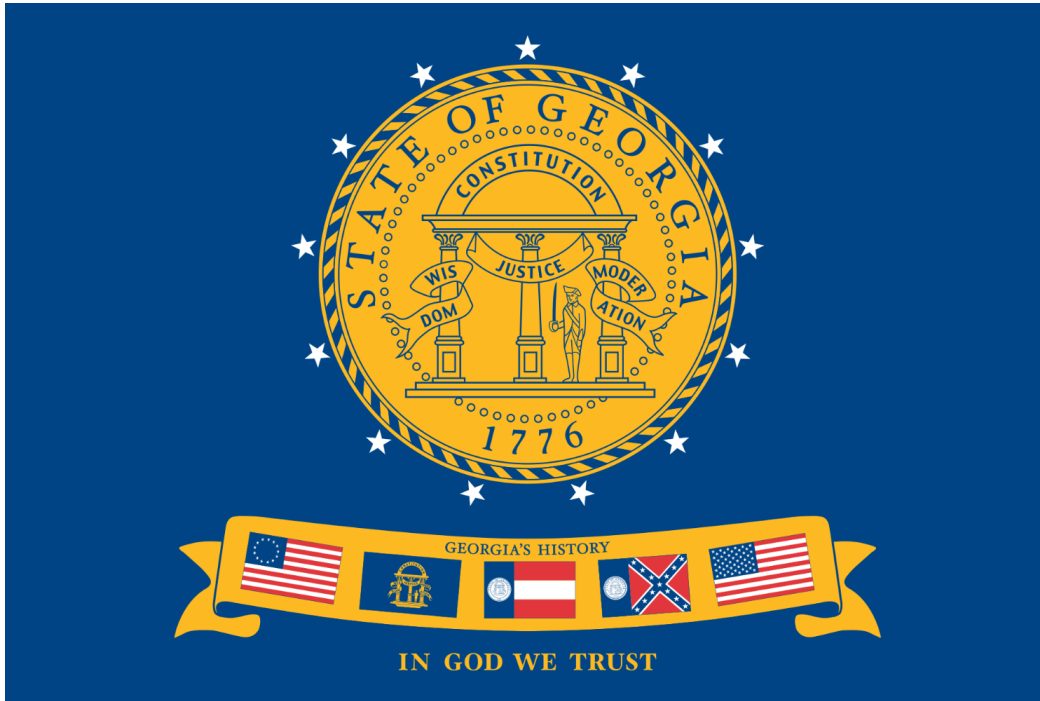
- General Assembly voted for the change of the flag
- In the upcoming election Barnes lost to his Republican challenger Sonny Perdue
- First Republican governor of Georgia since 1872
- Referendum in 2004 supported a modified version of the flag (73 per cent voters for the flag)

| No. | Governor | Term in office |
|-----|--|--|
| 43 |  James Milton Smith (1823–1890) ([148][149][150]) | January 12, 1872 ^[201] – January 12, 1877 (did not run) |
| 48 |  Alfred H. Colquitt (1824–1894) ([151][152][153]) | January 12, 1877 ^[154] – November 4, 1882 (did not run) |
| 60 |  Alexander H. Stephens (1812–1883) ([154][157][158]) | November 4, 1882 ^[156] – March 4, 1883 (died in office) |
| 61 |  James S. Boynton (1833–1902) ([160][161]) | March 4, 1883 ^[160] – May 10, 1883 (successor took office) |
| 62 |  Henry Dickerson McDaniel (1836–1926) ([163][164][165]) | May 10, 1883 ^[160] – November 9, 1886 (did not run) ^[16] |
| 63 |  John B. Gordon (1832–1904) ([167][168][169]) | November 9, 1886 ^[170] – November 8, 1890 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 64 |  William J. Northen (1839–1913) ([172][173][174]) | November 8, 1890 ^[173] – October 27, 1894 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 66 |  William Yates Atkinson (1854–1899) ([176][177][178]) | October 27, 1894 ^[176] – October 29, 1898 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 68 |  Allen D. Candler (1834–1910) ([180][181][182]) | October 29, 1898 ^[180] – October 25, 1902 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 67 |  Joseph M. Terrell (1861–1912) ([184][185][186]) | October 25, 1902 ^[187] – June 29, 1907 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 65 |  M. Hoke Smith (1859–1931) ([188][189][190]) | June 29, 1907 ^[191] – June 26, 1909 (did not run) ^[192] |
| 68 |  Joseph Mackey Brown (1851–1932) ([192][193][194]) | June 26, 1909 ^[193] – July 1, 1911 (lost election) ^[16] |
| 58 |  M. Hoke Smith (1859–1931) ([188][189][190]) | July 1, 1911 ^[196] – November 15, 1911 (resigned) ^[16] |
| 80 |  John M. Statton (1886–1966) ([197][198][199]) | November 15, 1911 ^[200] – January 25, 1912 (successor took office) |
| 59 |  Joseph Mackey Brown (1851–1932) ([192][193][194]) | January 25, 1912 ^[201] – June 28, 1913 (did not run) |
| 60 |  John M. Statton (1886–1966) ([197][198][199]) | June 28, 1913 ^[202] – June 26, 1915 (did not run) |
| 81 |  Nathaniel Edwin Harris (1846–1929) ([203][204][205]) | June 26, 1915 ^[203] – June 30, 1917 (did not run) ^[203] |
| 82 | Hugh Dorsey (1871–1948) ([207][208][209]) | June 30, 1917 ^[210] – June 25, 1921 (term-limited) ^[16] |

| No. | Governor | Term in office |
|-----|---|---|
| 83 |  Thomas W. Hardwick (1872–1944) ([211][212][213]) | June 25, 1921 ^[214] – June 30, 1923 (did not run) ^[211] |
| 84 |  Clifford Walker (1877–1954) ([214][215][216]) | June 30, 1923 ^[214] – June 25, 1927 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 86 |  Lemartine Griffin Hardman (1896–1937) ([218][219][220]) | June 25, 1927 ^[222] – June 27, 1931 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 88 |  Richard Russell Jr. (1891–1971) ([223][224][225]) | June 27, 1931 ^[224] – January 10, 1933 (did not run) ^[16] |
| 87 |  Eugene Talmadge (1894–1946) ([227][228][229]) | January 10, 1933 ^[230] – January 12, 1937 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 83 |  Eurith D. Rivers (1896–1967) ([231][232][233]) | January 12, 1937 ^[234] – January 14, 1941 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 67 |  Eugene Talmadge (1894–1946) ([227][228][229]) | January 14, 1941 ^[235] – January 12, 1943 (did not run) ^[237] |
| 88 |  Ellis Arnall (1901–1962) ([240][241][242]) | January 12, 1943 ^[236] – January 14, 1947 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| – |  Eugene Talmadge (1894–1946) ([227][228][229]) | Died before taking office |
| – |  Herman Talmadge (1913–2002) ([243][244][245]) | January 14, 1947 ^[245] – March 19, 1947 (removed from office) ^[16] |
| 70 |  Melvin E. Thompson (1903–1980) ([246][247][248]) | March 19, 1947 ^[246] – November 17, 1948 (did not run) ^[248] |
| 71 |  Herman Talmadge (1913–2002) ([243][244][245]) | November 17, 1948 ^[250] – January 11, 1955 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 72 |  Marvin Griffin (1901–1962) ([251][252][253]) | January 11, 1955 ^[251] – January 13, 1959 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 73 |  Ernest Vandiver (1918–2005) ([254][255][257]) | January 13, 1959 ^[254] – January 15, 1963 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 74 |  Carl Sanders (1925–2014) ([258][259][260]) | January 15, 1963 ^[255] – January 11, 1967 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 76 |  Leslie Maddox (1919–2003) ([261][262][263]) | January 11, 1967 ^[261] – January 12, 1971 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 78 |  Jimmy Carter (1924–2024) ([267][268][269]) | January 12, 1971 ^[270] – January 14, 1975 (term-limited) ^[16] |
| 77 | George Busbee (1927–2004) ([271][272][273]) | January 14, 1975 ^[274] – January 11, 1983 (term-limited) ^[16] |

| | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 78 |  | Joe Frank Harris (b. 1936) [276] [277] | January 11, 1983 ^[278] – January 14, 1991 (term-limited) ^[law] |
| 79 |  | Zell Miller (1932–2018) [280] [281] | January 14, 1991 ^[282] – January 11, 1999 (term-limited) ^[law] |
| 80 |  | Roy Barnes (b. 1948) [283] [284] | January 11, 1999 ^[285] – January 13, 2003 (lost election) |
| 81 |  | Sonny Perdue (b. 1946) [286] [287] | January 13, 2003 ^[288] – January 10, 2011 (term-limited) ^[law] |
| 82 |  | Nathan Deal (b. 1942) [289] [290] | January 10, 2011 ^[291] – January 14, 2019 (term-limited) ^[law] |
| 83 |  | Brian Kemp (b. 1963) [292] | January 14, 2019 ^[293] – Incumbent ^[ay] |

The Flag of Georgia



The Flag of Georgia

- What was the aim of pork barrel politics?
- What was the procedure?

Sports Grants



Sports Grants in Slovakia

- In 2015 a single-party government in Slovakia launched a Support of Sport Development (SoSD) funding program
- Grants for establishment of sport facilities for (at least) football and volleyball
- A total of 4 million EUR
- Expected support of 40 thousand EUR for each facility

SoSD program – basic rules

- Official aim to provide support for sport facilities for young people
- Organization:
 - Directly organized by national government
 - Executive management by governmental representative and also a gov MP
 - Selection committee (members appointed by the government)
- Who could apply:
 - Municipalities, regions, civic associations, foundations, Church, schools etc.
 - A formal request required

SoSD program – the selection process

- Officially an anonymous evaluation of requests
- Criteria (each score 0 – 5 points):
 - Relevancy of the project and its aims
 - Quality and excellence
 - Tradition and continuity
 - Sporting and societal importance
 - Target groups
 - Feasibility of the budget
- Each request could score up to 30 points

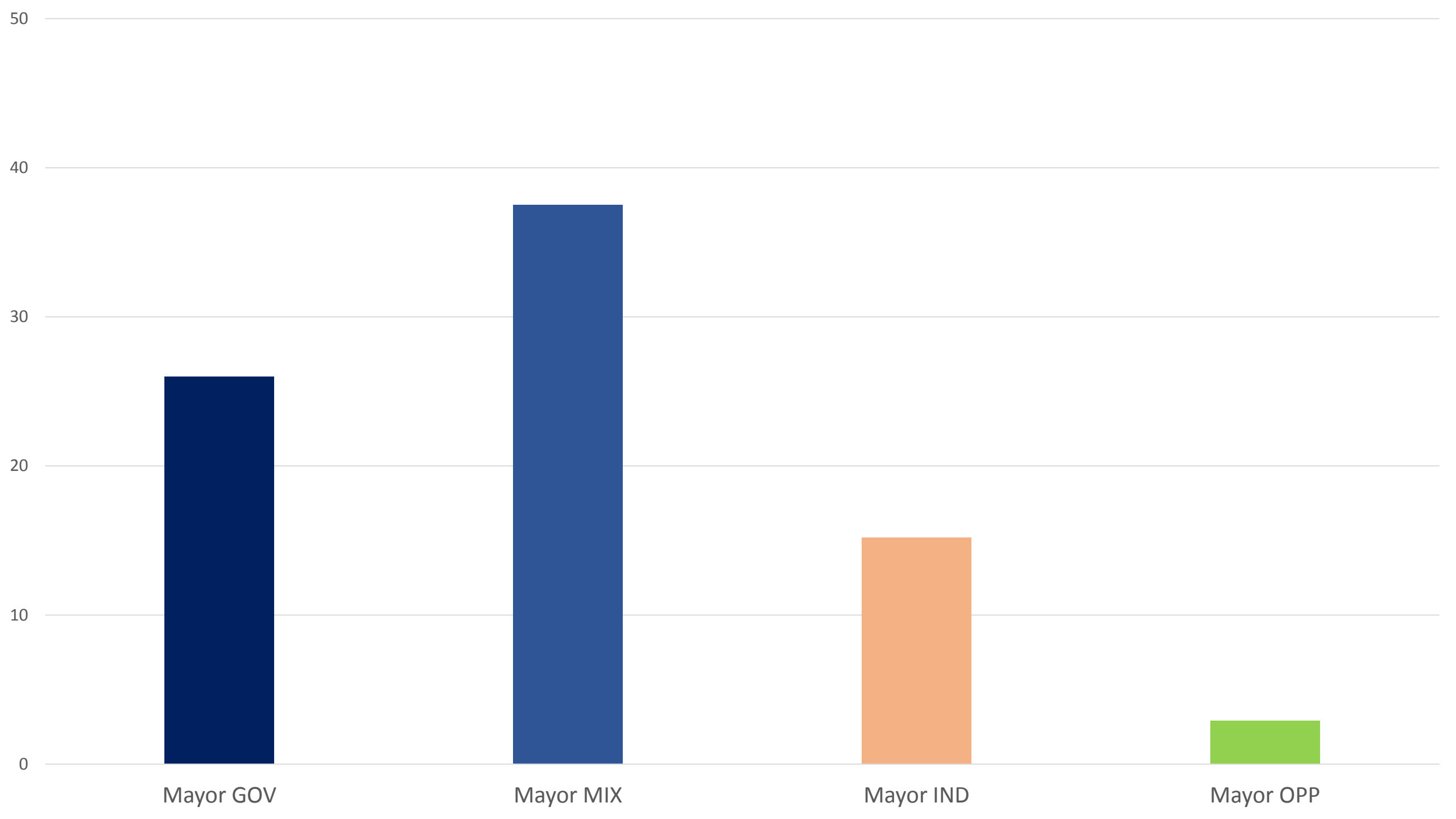
SoSD program – results

- 524 municipalities filed a formal request for grants
- 95 (out of 100) grants given to municipalities
- 429 requests from municipalities refused (due to low score)
- Mean success rate of 18 per cent

SoSD program – political background

- Mayors as highest municipal representatives
- Directly elected for four years (FPTP)
- Partisan background of mayors:
 - GOV – nominated only by gov party
 - MIX – nominated by gov party and opp parties
 - OPP – nominated only by opp parties
 - IND – independent candidate
- Any impact on the distribution?

| | Unsuccessful requests (N = 429) | Successful requests (N = 95) | Total requests (N = 524) |
|-----------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mayor GOV | 97 (74.0 %) | 34 (26.0 %) | 131 |
| Mayor MIX | 40 (62.3 %) | 24 (37.5 %) | 64 |
| Mayor IND | 189 (84.8 %) | 34 (15.2 %) | 223 |
| Mayor OPP | 103 (97.1 %) | 3 (2.9 %) | 106 |



SoSD program

- What was the aim of pork barrel politics?
- What was the procedure?

Sports Grants in Australia



Political Background of Australia

- Parliamentary democracy
- Three party system – ALP vs. National/Liberal coalition
- Strong parties and partisan loyalty
- ‘European’ incentives for pork barrel politics – collective centralized goals over individual interests of representatives

Sports Grants in Australia

- The Community Recreational and Sporting Facilities Program (CRSFP)
- Established in 1988 by Labor government (ALP)

- Distribution of money in four waves
- Total of 1,447 grants worth more than 60 mil. AUS dollars

- Two waves realized before federal elections in 1990 and 1993
- Opportunity for pork barrel politics

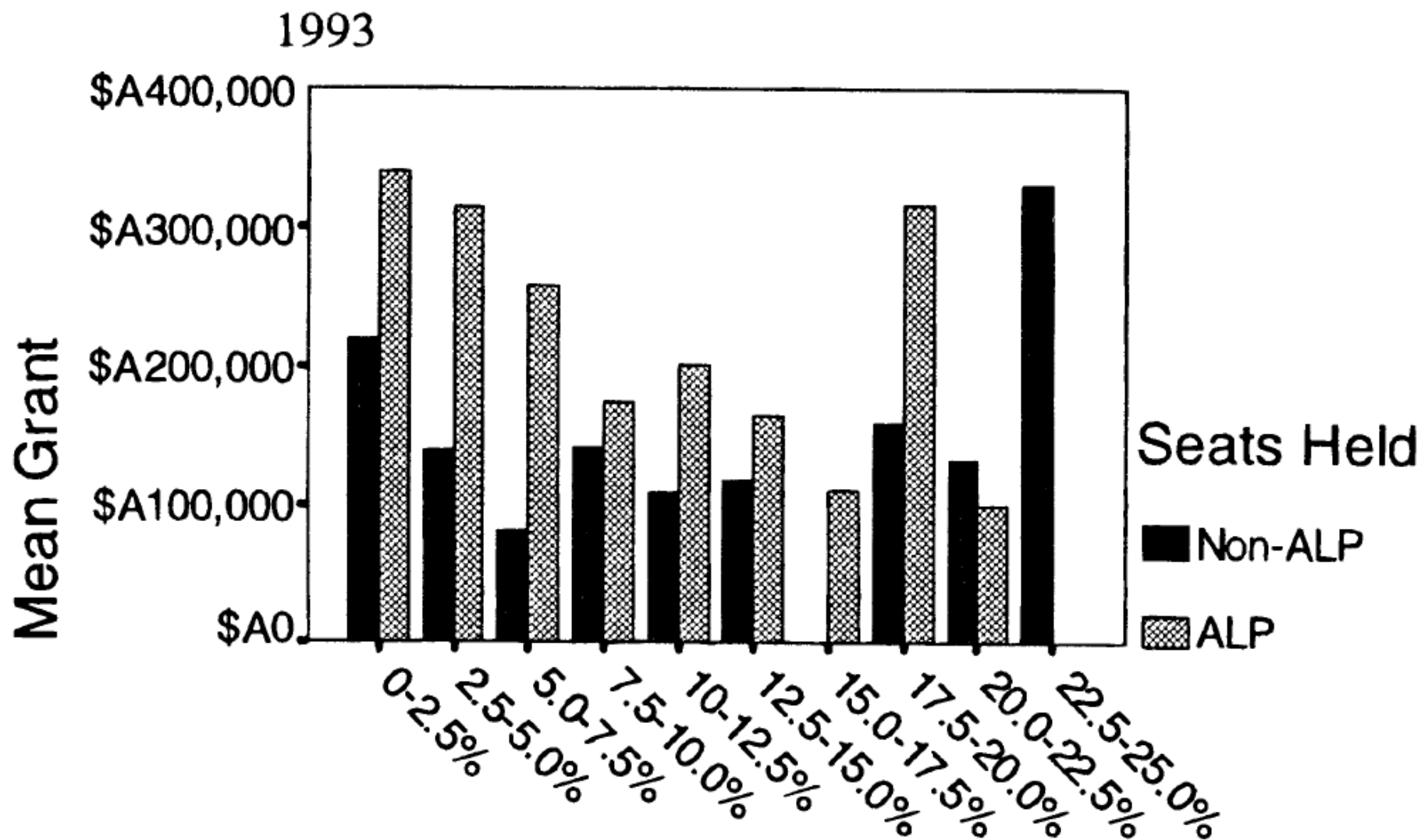
CRFSP - rules

- The program aimed at supporting local area projects especially in weaker socioeconomic environment (high unemployment)
- Organized by Ministry of Sport
- Criteria:
 - Population distribution, availability of sporting facilities in region
 - Project size, speed of implementation, employment potential
 - Impact on priority groups and disadvantaged groups (youth, rural areas, Aboriginal communities, high unemployment, high share of migrants)

CRFSP – Distribution of Grants

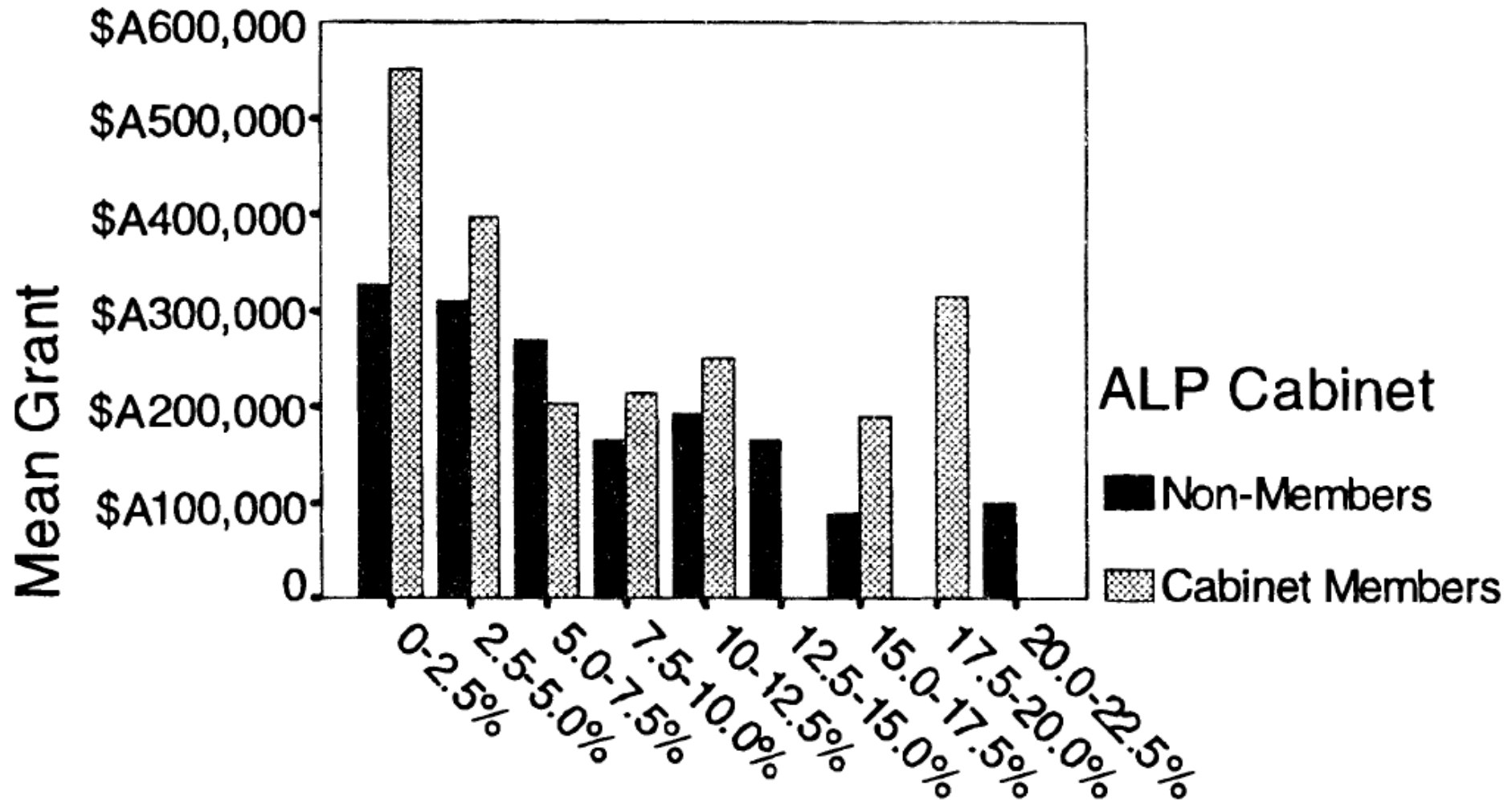
- Overrepresentation of grants awarded to ALP held districts:
 - 1990 – ALP held 52.7 % of districts and gained 70 % of resources
 - 1993 – ALP held 54.4 % of districts and gained 67 % of resources
- Mean sum of grants awarded to ALP districts around twice the size the grants awarded to Coalition districts
- The question of marginal seats

Seat Marginality



Seat Marginality

1993



Aftermath

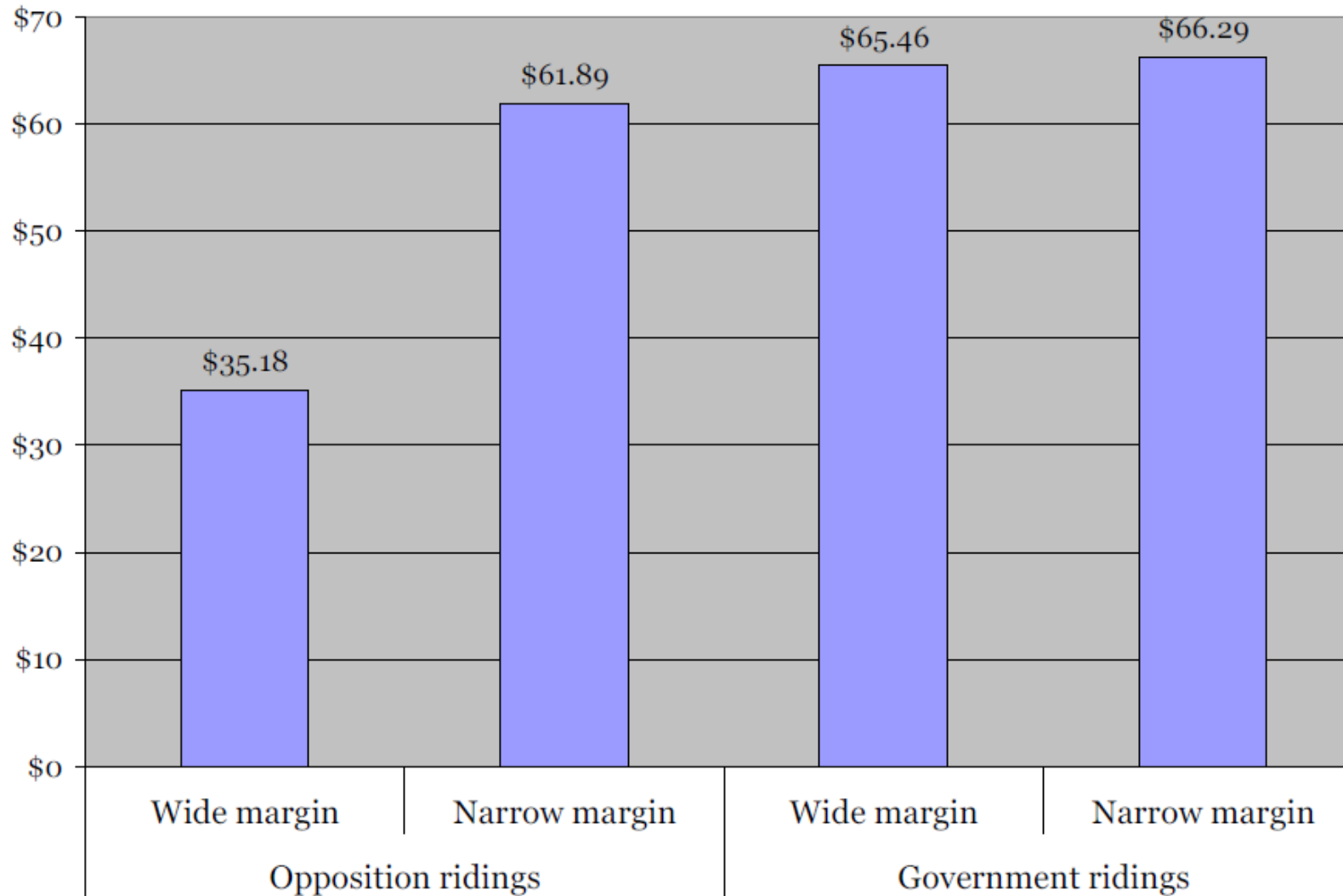
- In 1993 the Auditor-General made an audit with important findings
- Audit showed that Ministry of Sport was unable to explain part of the grants
- Minister Kelly resigned but refused any pork barrel practices
- ALP defended the distribution by claiming that targeted localities fit the characteristics of regions with higher ALP support

Grants in Canada

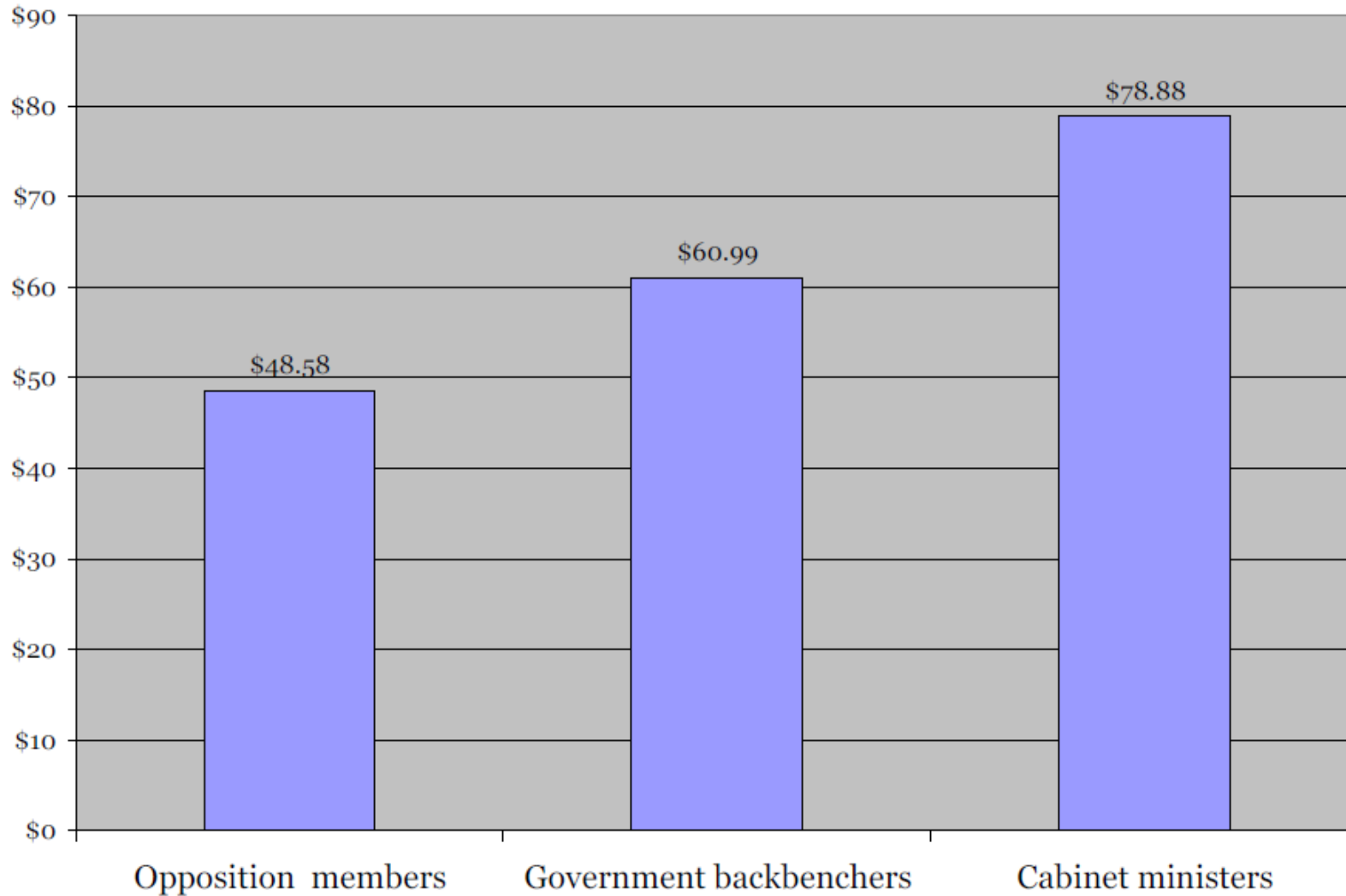
- Similar story as in Australia
- Analyzed grants:
 - Regional grants in Canada in 1988-2001
 - 42 thousand grants
 - Each year grants worth several hundred millions CAD
- Confirmed marginal seat theory and special attention given to high ranked officials and new MPs



Per Capita Spending (Milligan and Smart 2005)



Per Capita Spending (Milligan and Smart 2005)



Grants in Australia and Canada

- What was the aim of pork barrel politics?
- What was the procedure?

Local Favoritism in Norway



Main theories of Pork Barrel Politics

- Main motives of pork barrel politics lie in reelection of elected representatives
- Electoral systems produce various incentives to realize pork barrel spending
- What if the electoral rules do not contain such incentives?
- Norway as an example (Fiva and Halse 2016)

Regional Government in Norway

- Unitary state with three gov levels (national, regional, local)
- Regions as a strong player in terms of GDP and employment
- Regional councils of 35-85 members who elect the governor
- Governor is almost always the top candidate of majority party

Electoral System to Regions in Norway

- Proportional representation
- Each region represents a single electoral district

- 1975 – 1999 – closed list system
- Since 2003 – flexible lists but without any real effect

- Who gets a seat completely depends on votes for parties
- Voters can not reward individual candidates

Grants in Norway

- Analysis of 1976 – 2011 found that members of regional councils provide more money to their hometowns
- Why would they do that?
 - 1. sympathy for their hometowns
 - 2. they expect something (electoral support) in return
- Career paths in Norwegian politics support the former option

How Many Types of Pork Barrel Politics?

- Flag of Georgia – carrot and stick (compensation)
- Sport grants in Slovakia – support for allies, punishment for rivals
- Sport grants in Australia – marginal seat (collective victory)
- Regional grants in Canada – marginal seat, high rank officials
- Local grants in Norway – hometown favoritism without electoral interests