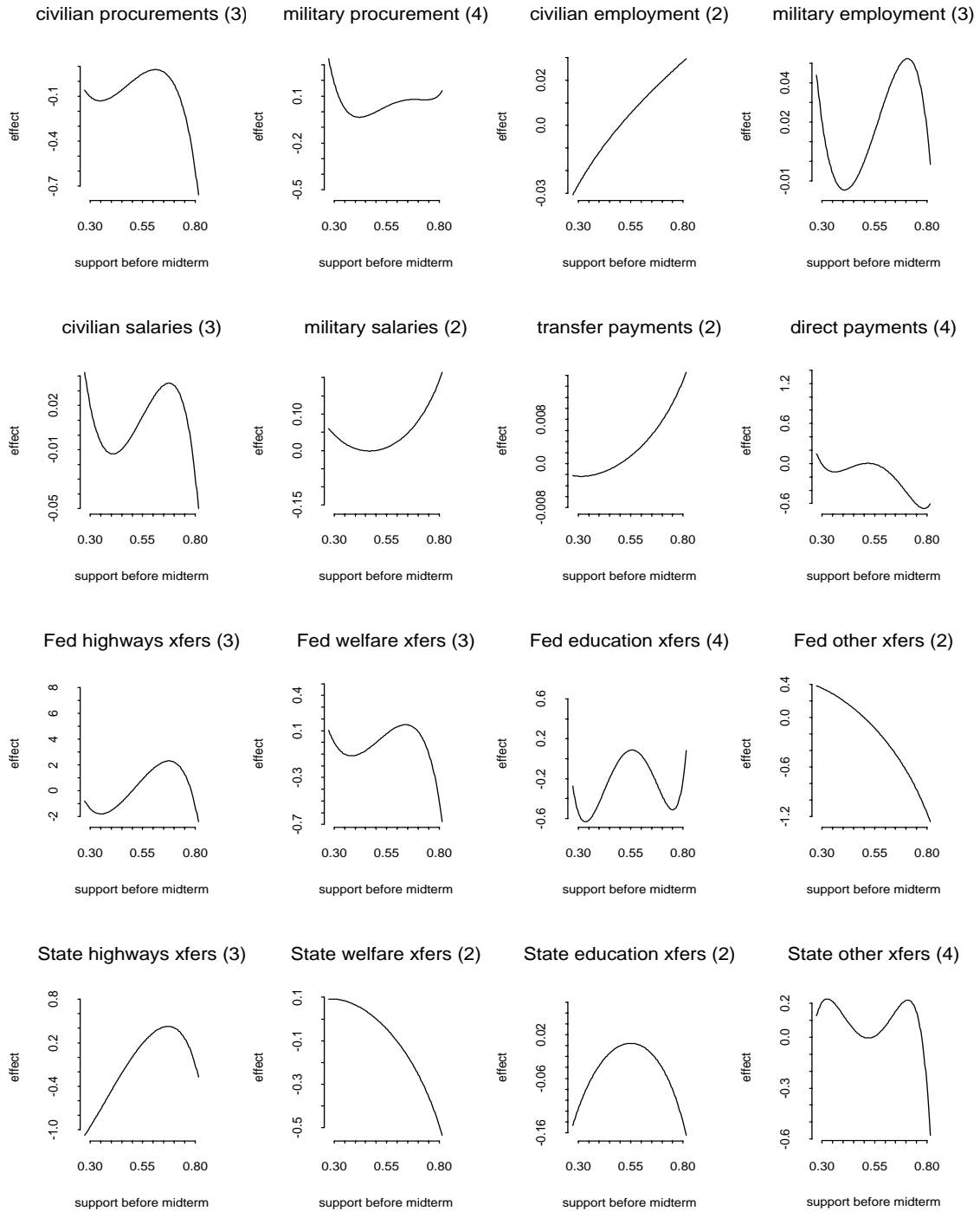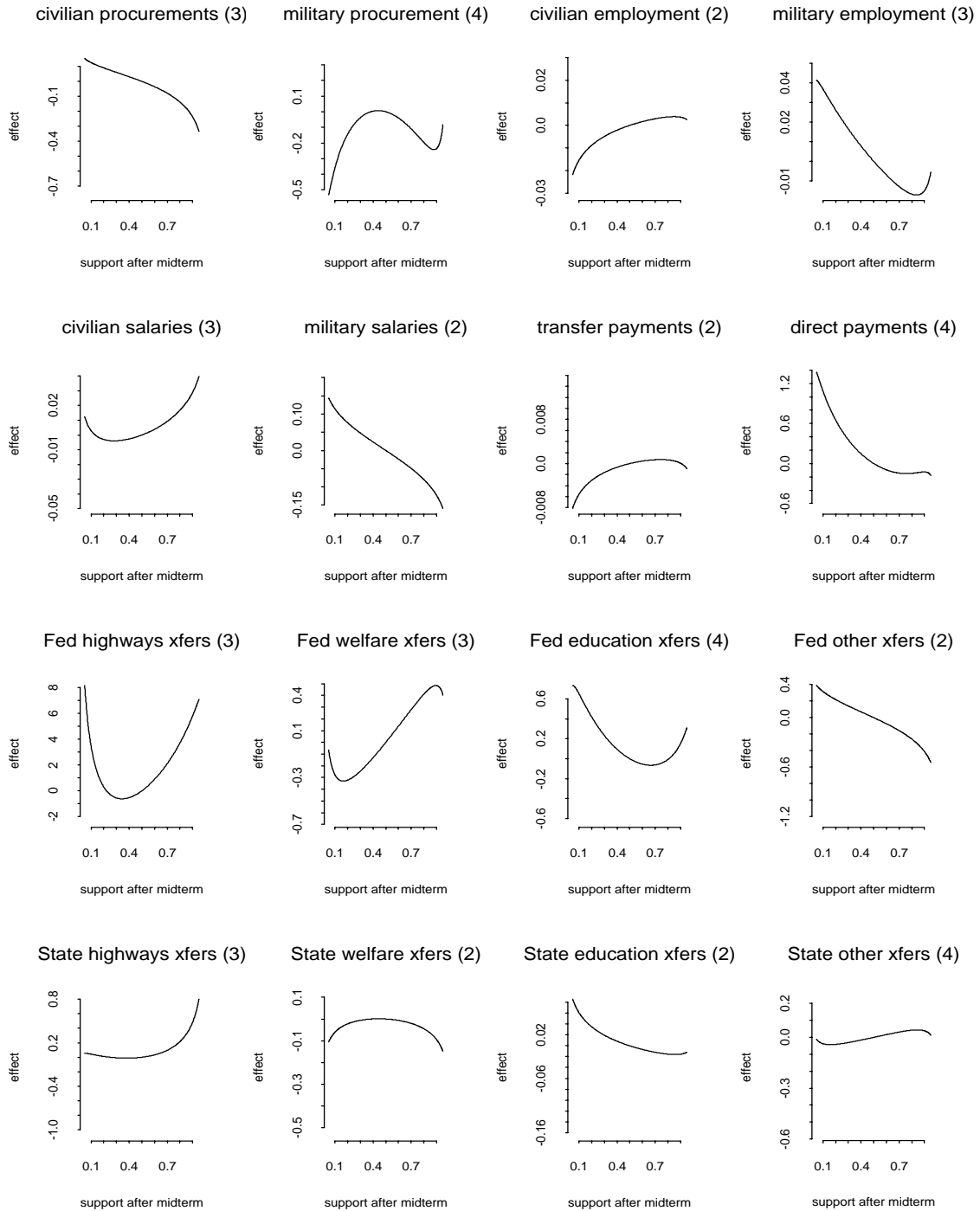Figure 1: Effects of Support on Federal Local Expenditures, Pre-midterm


Notes: Quasi-likelihood estimates. The number in parentheses shows the degree of the targeting polynomial.

Figure 2: Effects of Support on Local Federal Expenditures, Post-midterm

civilian procurements (3)

military procurement (4)

civilian employment (2)

military employment (3)

civilian salaries (3)

military salaries (2)

transfer payments (2)

direct payments (4)

Fed highways xfers (3)

Fed welfare xfers (3)

Fed education xfers (4)

Fed other xfers (2)

State highways xfers (3)

State welfare xfers (2)

State education xfers (2)

State other xfers (4)

Notes: Quasi-likelihood estimates. The number in parentheses shows the degree of the targeting polynomial.

Figure 3: Effects of Support on Pre-midterm to Post-midterm Changes in Local Federal Expenditures
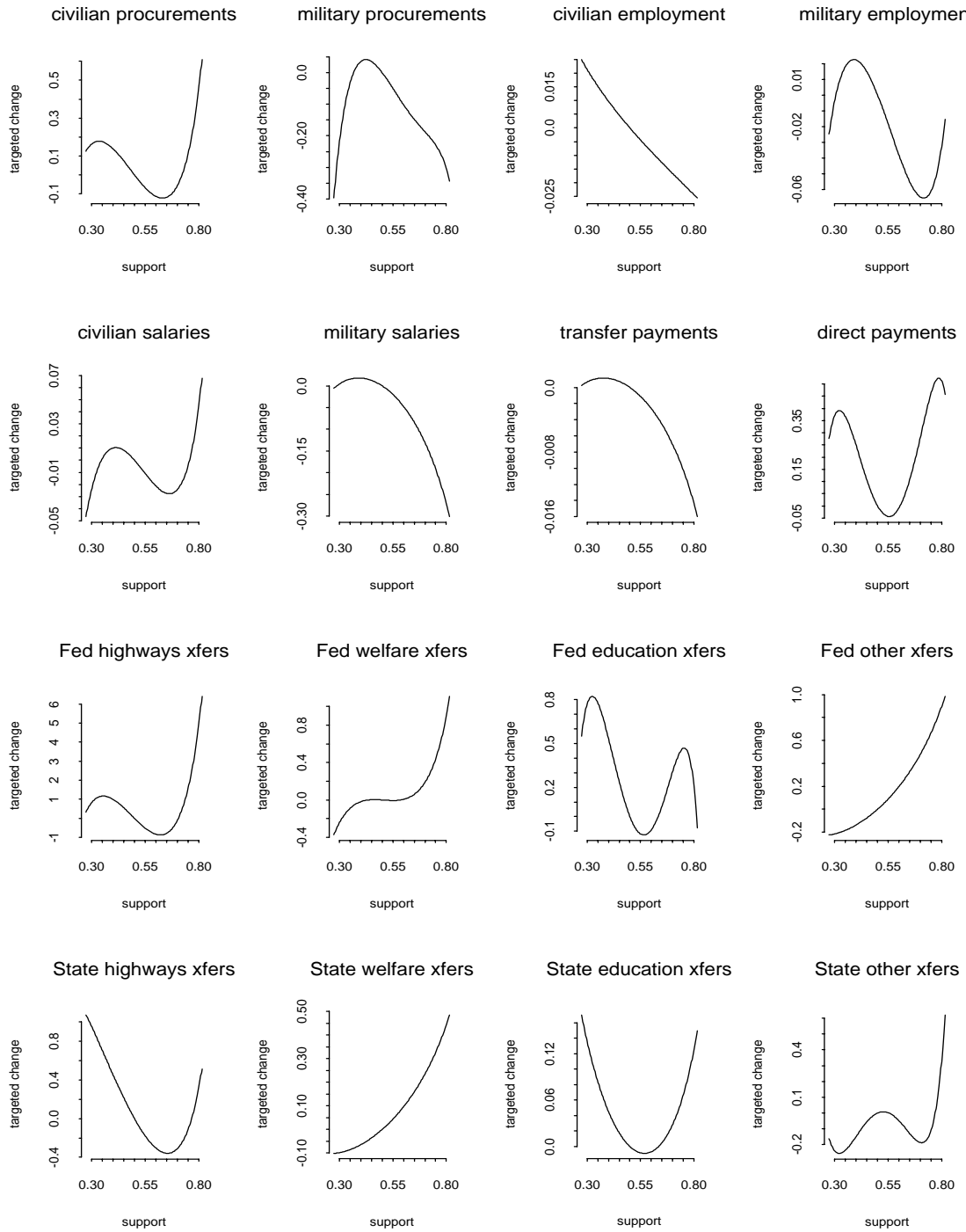
Notes: Computed using the targeting polynomial estimates shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Table 1: Types of local federal expenditure

variable[a]	description
transfer payments[b,e]	transfer payments to individuals
civilian employment[b,f]	Federal government civilian employment
military employment[b,f]	Federal government military employment
civilian salaries[c,e]	salaries and wages, all civilian and Postal Service employees
military salaries[c,e]	salaries and wages, all military personnel
civilian procurements[c,e]	procurement contracts, all except Defense Department
military procurements[c,e]	procurement contracts, Defense Department
direct payments[c,e]	direct payments other than for individuals
education transfers[d,e]	transfers to local governments for education
highways transfers[d,e]	transfers to local governments for highways
social welfare transfers[d,e]	transfers to local governments for public welfare, employment security, health and hospitals, housing
other transfers[d,e]	all other transfers to local governments

Notes:

[a] All variables are used per capita, based on county population[b].

[b] source, Bureau of Economic Analysis 1990.

[c] source, Bureau of the Census 1984–90.

[d] source, Bureau of the Census 1986–91 and 1991; county totals are estimated as in Mebane 1993.

[e] units, $1000 per person.

[f] units, jobs per person.

Table 2: Point Estimates and 95% Confidence Intervals of Support Values in the Open Interval (0,1) That

Maximize Local Federal Expenditures

pre-midterm

maximum is an elite-oriented targeting value			maximum is not in the elite-oriented range		
civilian procurements	.61	(.61, .61)	civilian employment	.96	(.00, 1.00)
military procurements	.68	(.18, .97)	military salaries	—	no max[a]
military employment	.71	(.71, .71)	transfer payments	—	no max
civilian salaries	.68	(.67, .68)	Federal other transfers	.18	(.02, .56)
direct payments	.52	(.46, .58)	State welfare transfers	.29	(.24, .35)
Federal highways transfers	.67	(.00, 1.00)			
Federal welfare transfers	.64	(.63, .65)			
Federal education transfers	.56	(.52, .59)			
State highways transfers	.67	(.67, .67)			
State education transfers	.55	(.53, .57)			
State other transfers	.71	(.68, .74)			

post-midterm

maximum is an elite-oriented targeting value			maximum is not in the elite-oriented range		
transfer payments	.74	(.00, 1.00)	civilian procurements	—	no max
			military procurements	.44	(.32, .57)
			civilian employment	.85	(.00, 1.00)
			military employment	.04	(.02, .06)
			civilian salaries	—	no max
			military salaries	—	no max
			direct payments	.90	(.43, 1.00)
			Federal highways transfers	.98	(.00, 1.00)
			Federal welfare transfers	.90	(.89, .90)
			Federal education transfers	.99	(.83, 1.00)
			Federal other transfers	—	no max
			State highways transfers	.05	(.00, .87)
			State welfare transfers	.44	(.32, .57)
			State education transfers	—	no max
			State other transfers	.84	(.23, 1.00)

Source: Confidence intervals are computed using normal approximations and asymptotic standard errors

obtained by the delta method from the asymptotic covariance matrix of the coefficient estimates of the

targeting polynomials.

[a] The polynomial does not have any local maximum values in $(0, 1)$.

Table 3: Point Estimates and 95% Confidence Intervals of Support Values in the Open Interval (0,1) That Maximize Pre-midterm to Post-midterm Changes in Local Federal Expenditures

institutionally less complex LFEs					
maximum is a voter-oriented targeting value			maximum is not in the voter-oriented range		
military employment	.39	(.39, .39)	civilian employment	.98	(.00, 1.00)
civilian procurements	.33	(.32, .35)			
civilian salaries	.41	(.41, .41)			
military procurements	.42	(.34, .51)			
military salaries	.39	(.26, .53)			
transfer payments	.38	(.14, .67)			
direct payments	.32	(.27, .38)			

institutionally complex LFEs					
maximum is a voter-oriented targeting value			maximum is not in the voter-oriented range		
Federal welfare transfers	.46	(.42, .51)	Federal other transfers	—	no max[a]
Federal highways transfers	.35	(.00, 1.00)	State highways transfers	.17	(.07, .33)
Federal education transfers	.32	(.27, .38)	State welfare transfers	—	no max
			State education transfers	—	no max
			State other transfers	.53	(.49, .56)

Source: Confidence intervals are computed using normal approximations and asymptotic standard errors obtained by the delta method from the asymptotic covariance matrix of the coefficient estimates of the targeting polynomials.

[a] The polynomial does not have any local maximum values in $(0, 1)$.