Panel I: Analyzing FY2023 directed spending

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FY2023 House Directed Spending

“Community Project Funding,” House Appropriations Committee

FINANCIAL LIMITS

- Members limited to 15 individual requests, an increase of 5 from FY22.
- All CPF funding capped to 1 percent of discretionary spending (estimated at approximately $16 billion in FY2023)
- Appropriations subcommittee chairs issued guidance on which federal accounts accept requests

TRANSPARENCY

- Funded requests available the same day as the subcommittee markup, or 24 hours before full committee consideration, if there was no subcommittee markup.
- Members are required to post requests on their official House website simultaneously with their submission to the committee.
- Appropriations Committee posts all House members’ project requests, including a consolidated table of accessible data.

“Community Project Funding,” House Appropriations Committee

REDUCE POTENTIAL FOR ABUSE

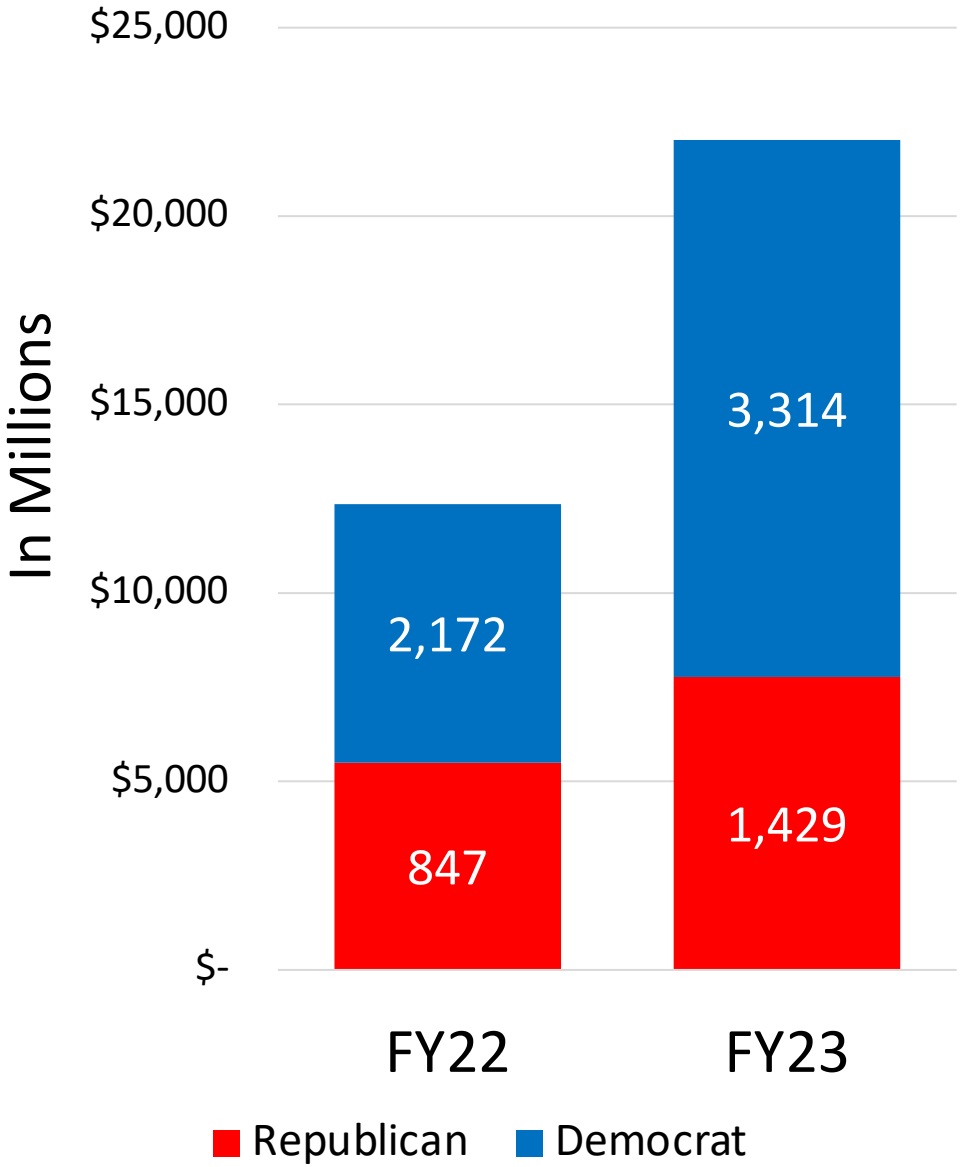
- Evidence of “community support” required
- Members must certify that they, their spouse, and their immediate family have no financial interest in the projects they request. Exceeds House rules by including immediate families of Members.
- Ban on directing funding to for-profit grantees. Members may request funding for state or local governmental grantees and for eligible non-profits.
- Requiring the Government Accountability Office to audit a sample of enacted projects and report its findings to Congress.

FY23 House Directed Spending Participation by Party

	Members Requesting	Non-participating	% Participation
GOP	123	85	59% (+2)
DEM	223	1	99.6%
TOTAL	346	86	80%

Source: House Appropriations Committee "Community Project Funding Request Table," May 27, 2022.

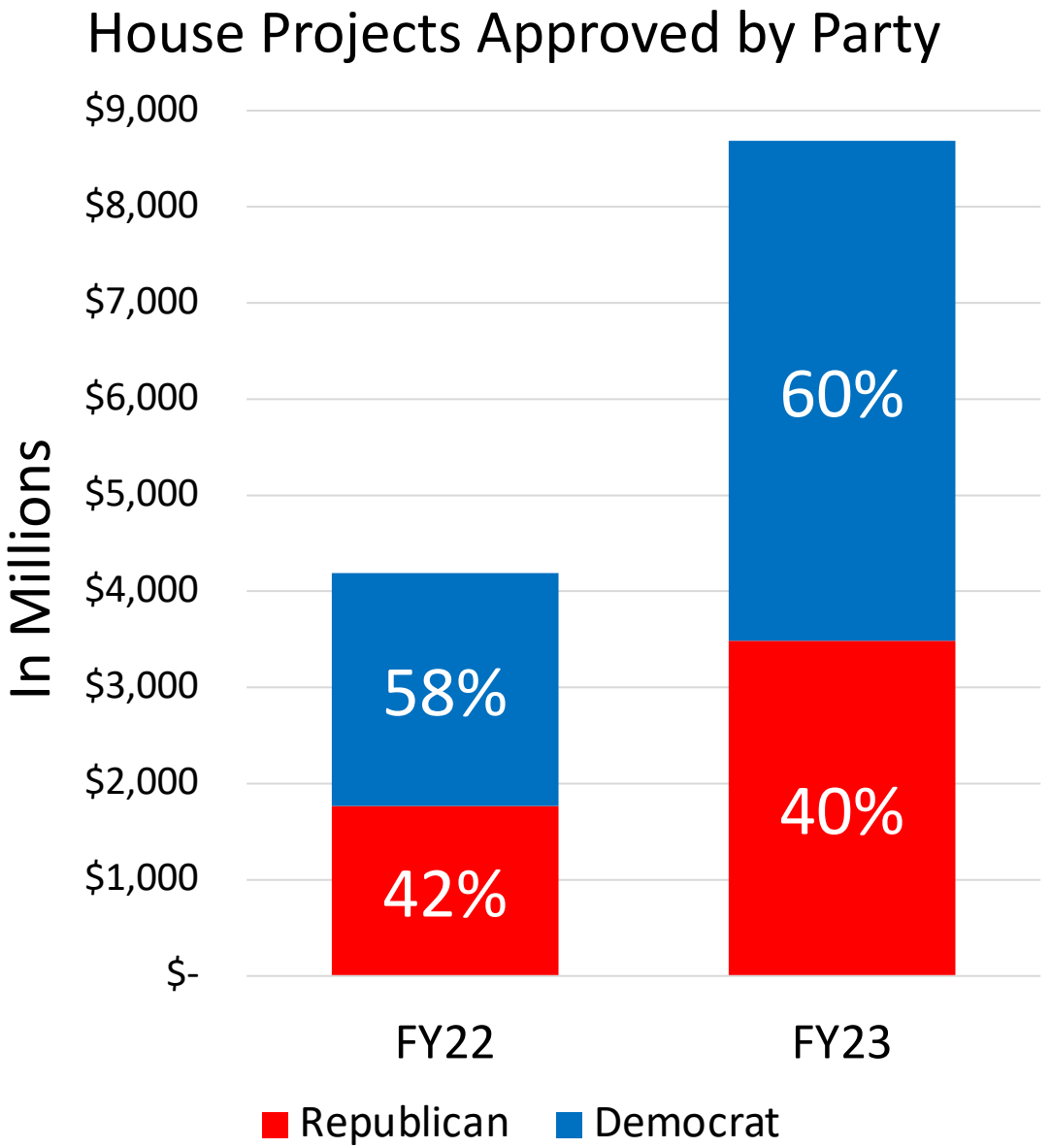
House Member Requests by Party



FY22 & FY23 Appropriations Committee Funded Projects

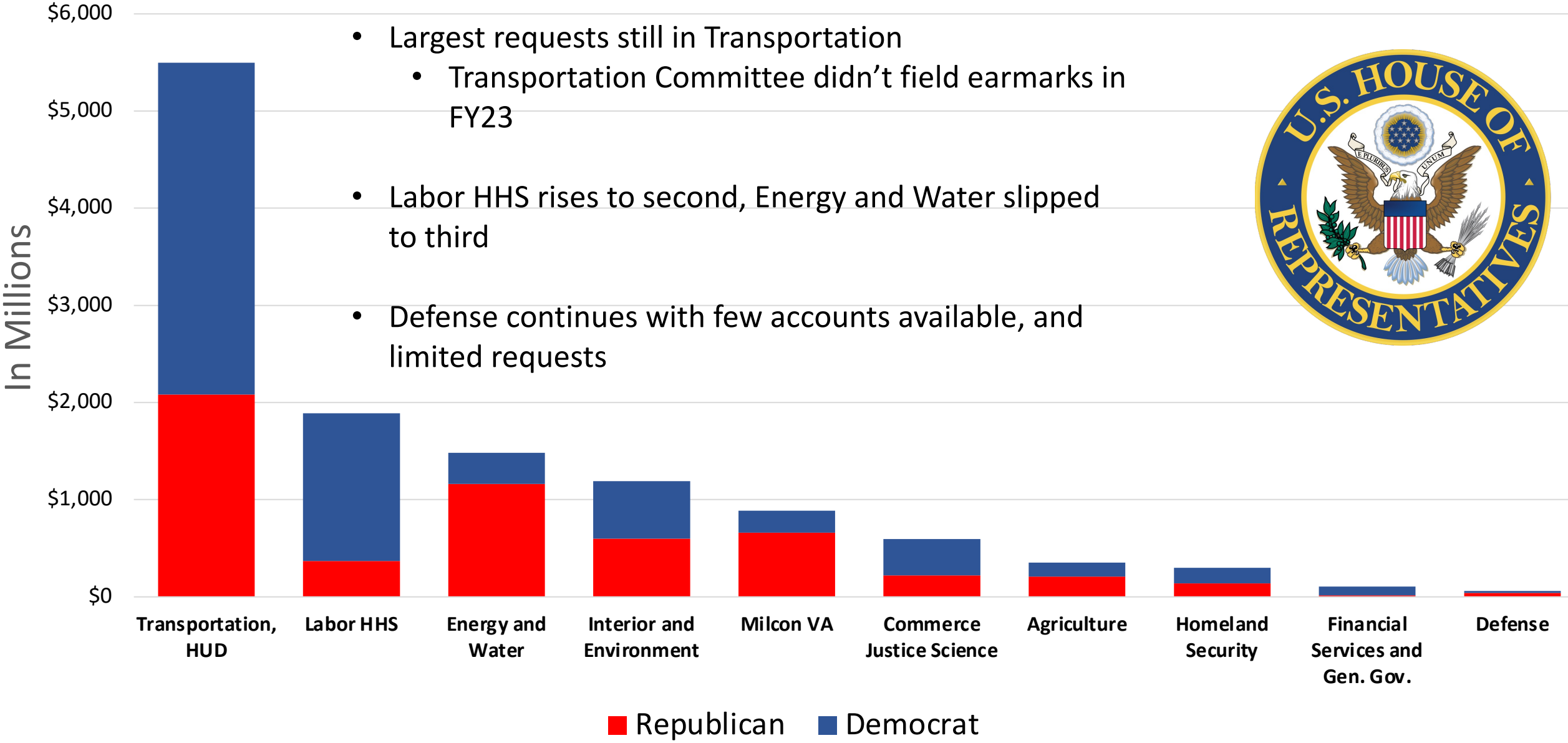
	FY22	FY23	% change
Requests	3,019	4,743	+ 57%
Funded	2,804	4,440	+ 58%
Approval rate	93%	94%	+ 1%
Amount Requested	$ 12.3 b	$ 22 b	+ 78%
Amount Approved	$ 4.2 b	$ 8.7 b	+ 107%
Approval rate	34%	39%	+ 5%

Source: House Subcommittee reports on approved requests.



FY23 House Appropriations Requests by Subcommittee

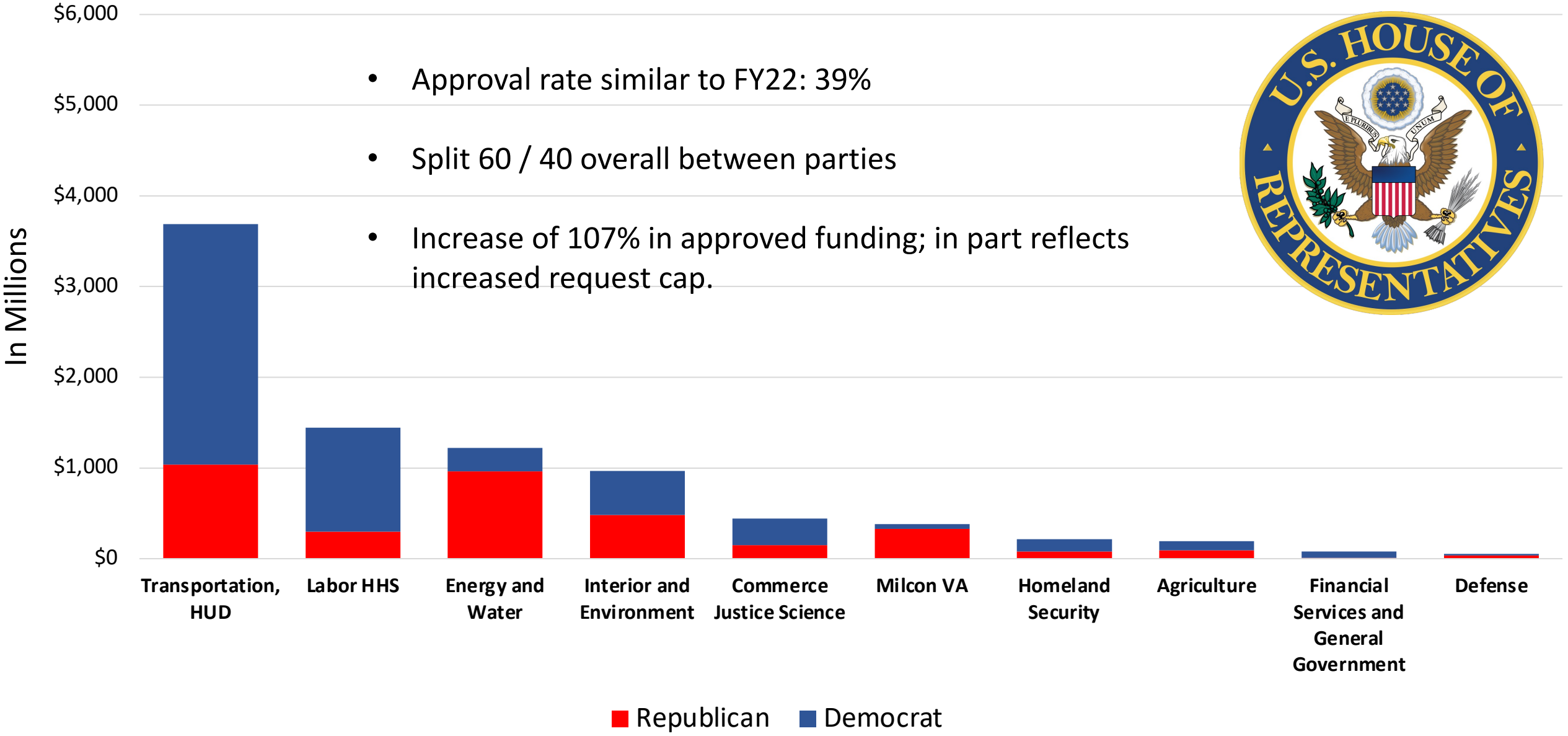
- Largest requests still in Transportation
  - Transportation Committee didn't field earmarks in FY23
- Labor HHS rises to second, Energy and Water slipped to third
- Defense continues with few accounts available, and limited requests



Source: Source: House Appropriations Committee "Community Project Funding Request Table," May 27, 2021.

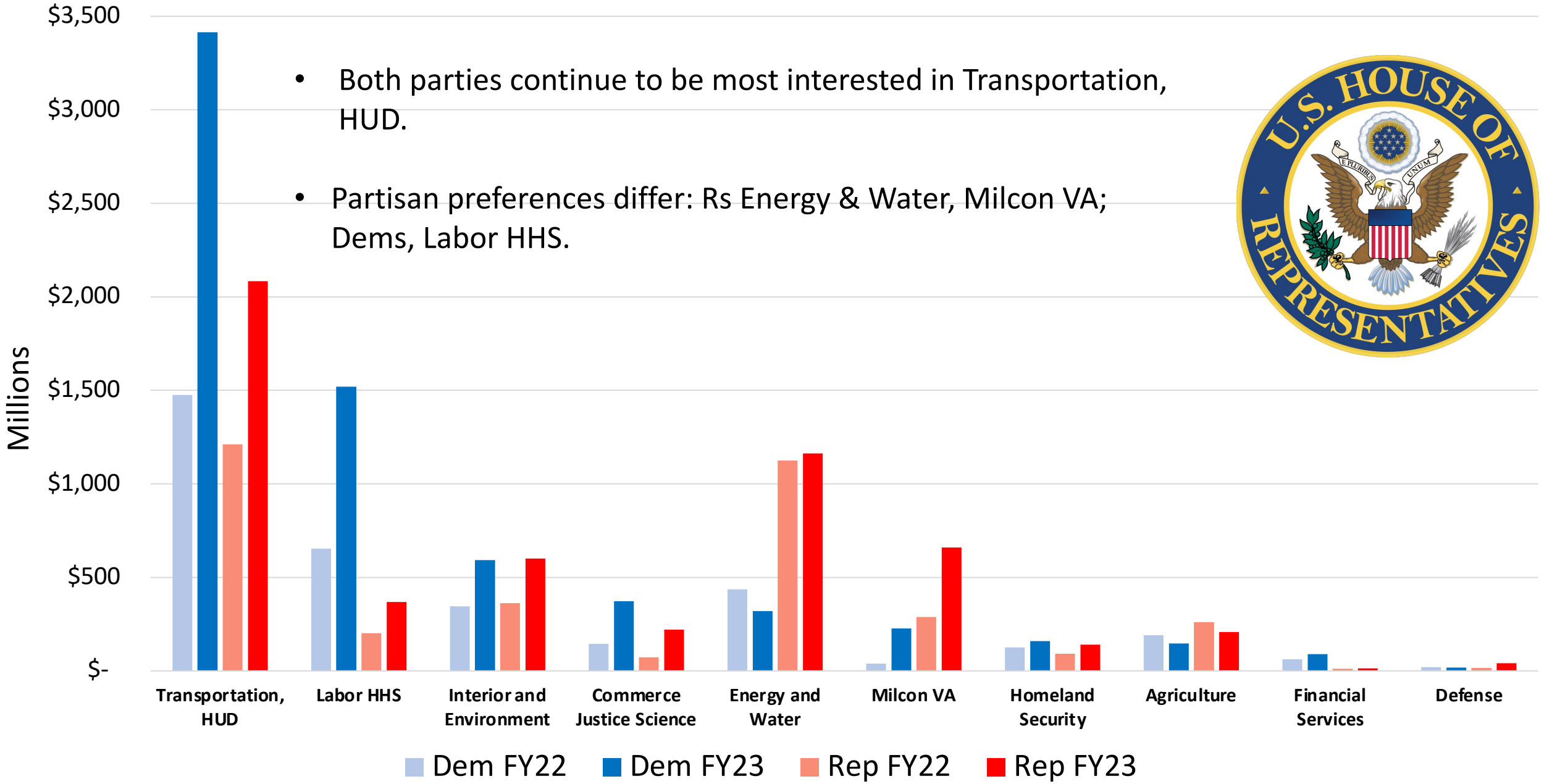
FY23 Approved House Projects by Subcommittee

- Approval rate similar to FY22: 39%
- Split 60 / 40 overall between parties
- Increase of 107% in approved funding; in part reflects increased request cap.



Source: House Subcommittee reports on approved requests.

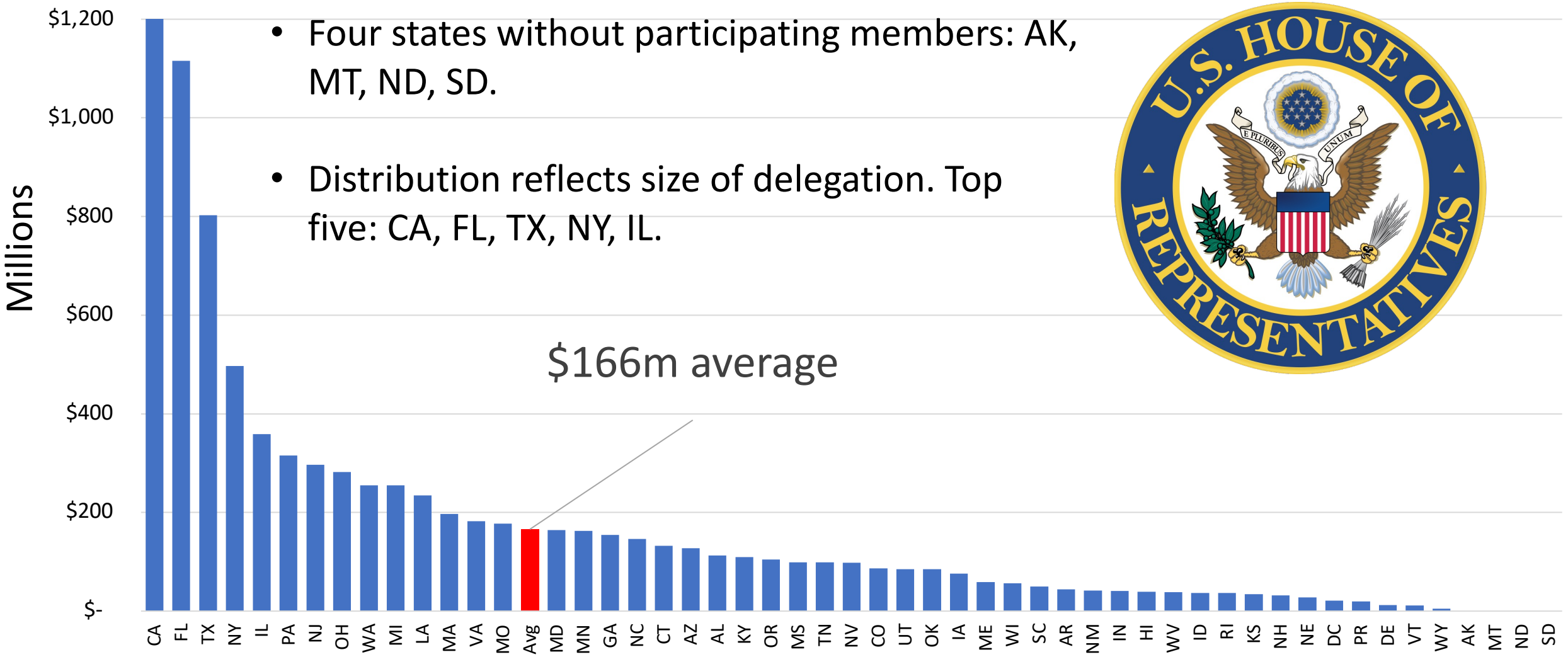
Comparisons of FY22 and FY23 Requests by Party



- Both parties continue to be most interested in Transportation, HUD.
- Partisan preferences differ: Rs Energy & Water, Milcon VA; Dems, Labor HHS.

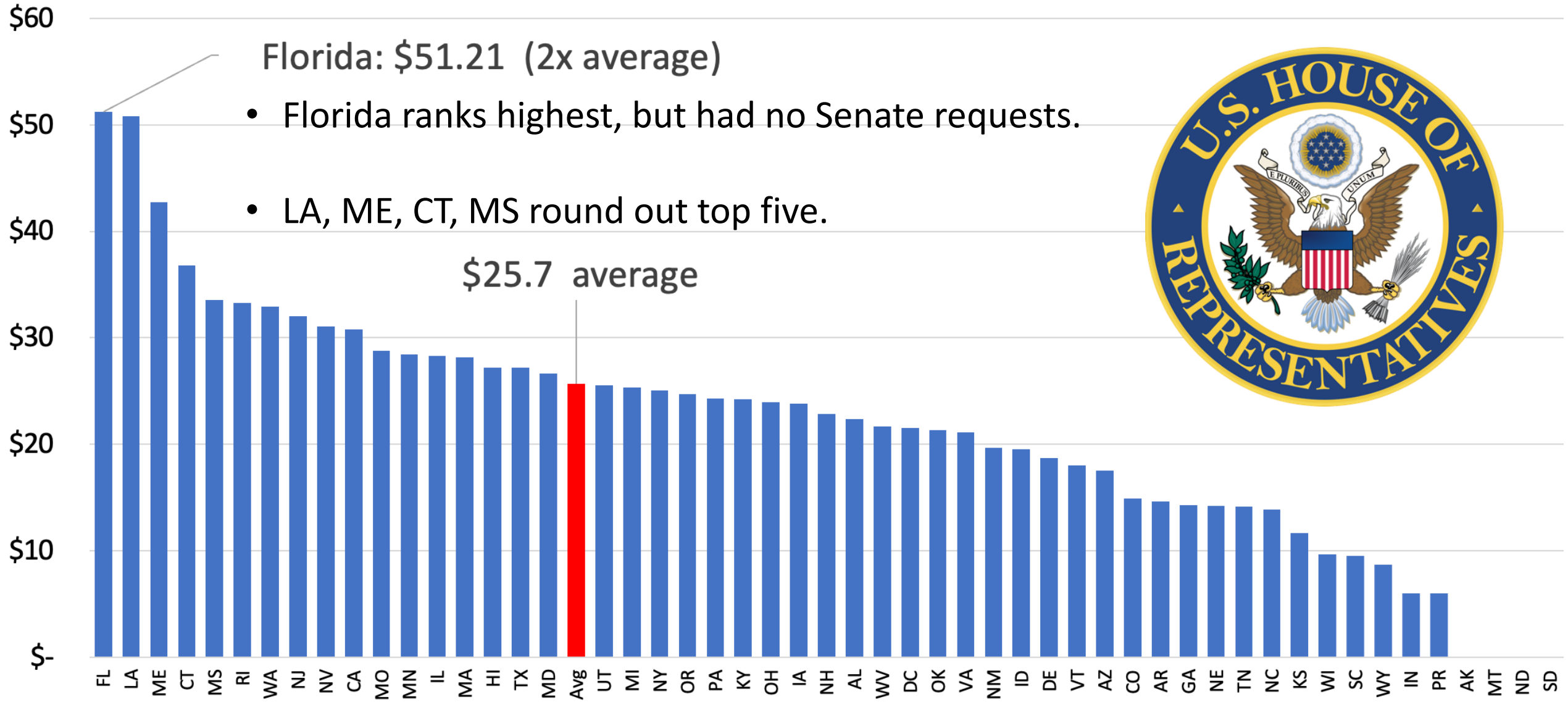
FY23 House Directed Spending Funding by State

- Four states without participating members: AK, MT, ND, SD.
- Distribution reflects size of delegation. Top five: CA, FL, TX, NY, IL.



Source: House Subcommittee reports on approved requests.

FY23 Directed Spending Funding by Per Capita



- Florida ranks highest, but had no Senate requests.
- LA, ME, CT, MS round out top five.

Source: House Subcommittee reports on approved requests, 2021 US Census estimates.

Comparison of Participating House Appropriations Committee Members in FY2023 Funded Earmarks

	House Members	Funded earmarks	Average Amount Funded	Total Funding	Percent
Non-Appropriators	289	3,632	$24.6m	$7.1b	81.6%
Appropriators	56	808	$28m	$1.6b	18.3%
Total		4,440		$8.7b	

Source: House Appropriations Subcommittee reports on funded requests.

FY2023 Senate Directed Spending

“Congressionally Directed Spending,” Senate Appropriations Committee

FINANCIAL LIMITS

- All CDS funding capped at 1 percent of discretionary spending (estimated at approximately $16 billion in FY2023)

TRANSPARENCY

- Senators required to post their requests and financial certification disclosures online.
- Each request made publicly available online in a searchable format after committee mark up.
- Funding decisions made publicly available for at least 48 hours before a floor vote.

“Congressionally Directed Spending,” Senate Appropriations Committee

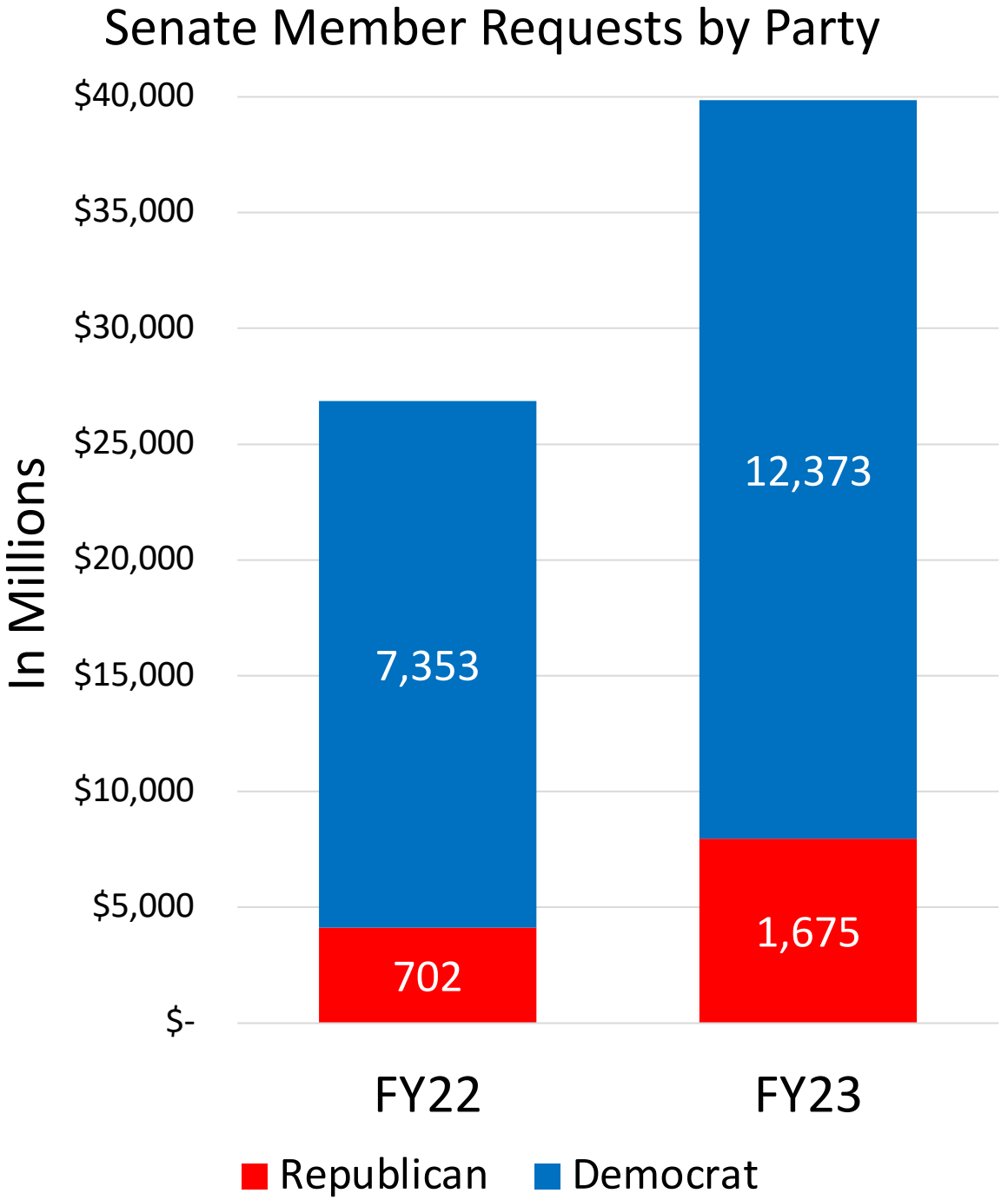
REDUCE POTENTIAL FOR ABUSE

- No personal or immediate family financial interest. Public certification required in writing that there is no such interest.
- Point of order against directed spending that was not included in either the House or Senate bills.
- Ban congressionally directed spending items to for-profit entities
- Government Accountability Office required to audit a sample of funded projects and report its findings to Congress

FY23 Senate Earmark Requests by Party

	Senators Requesting	Non-participating	Total	% Participation
GOP	16	34	50	32%
DEM	48	2	50	96%
TOTAL	64	36	100	64%

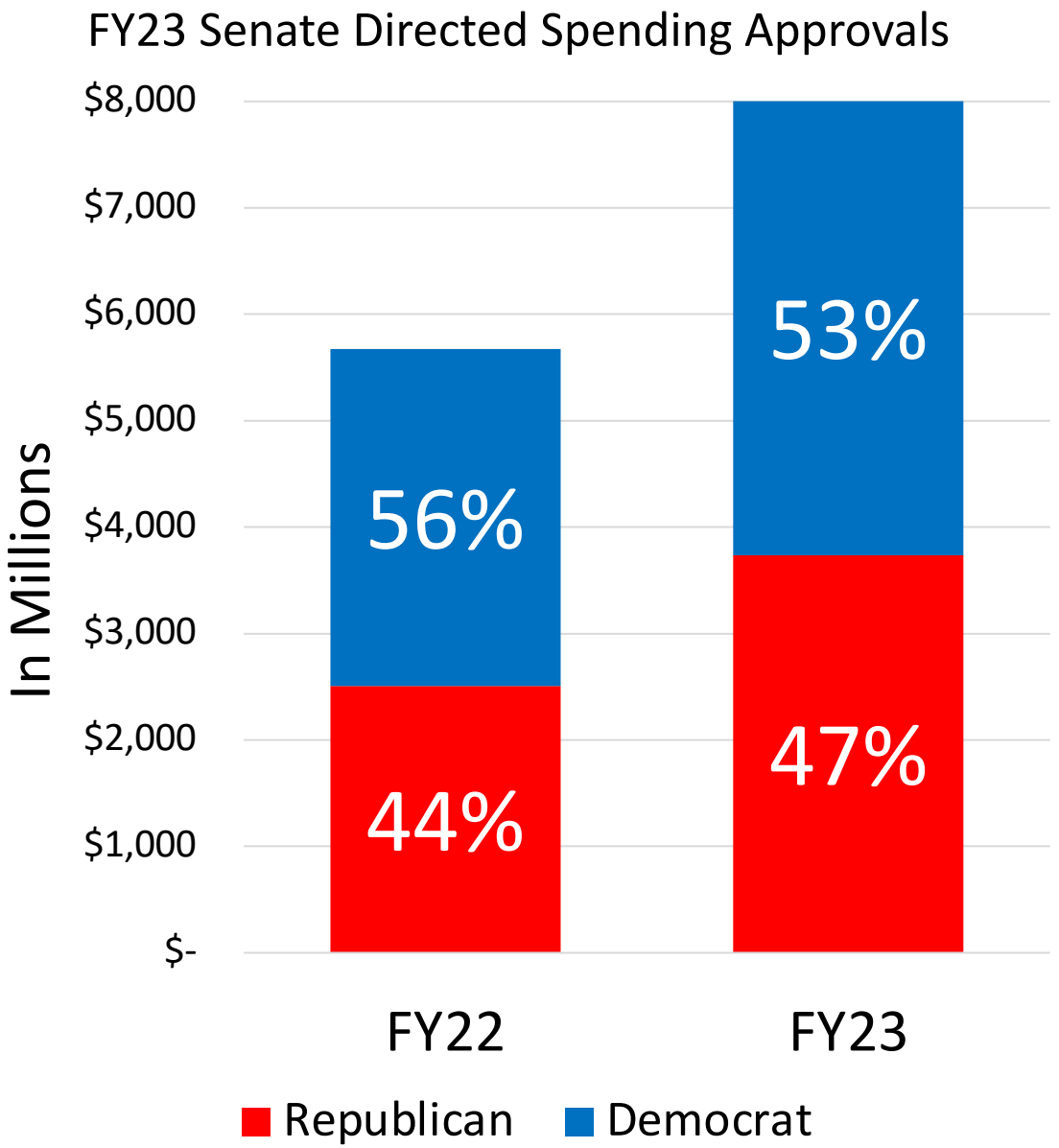
Source: "Congressionally Directed Spending Requests," US Senate Committee on Appropriations, accessed July 13, 2022.



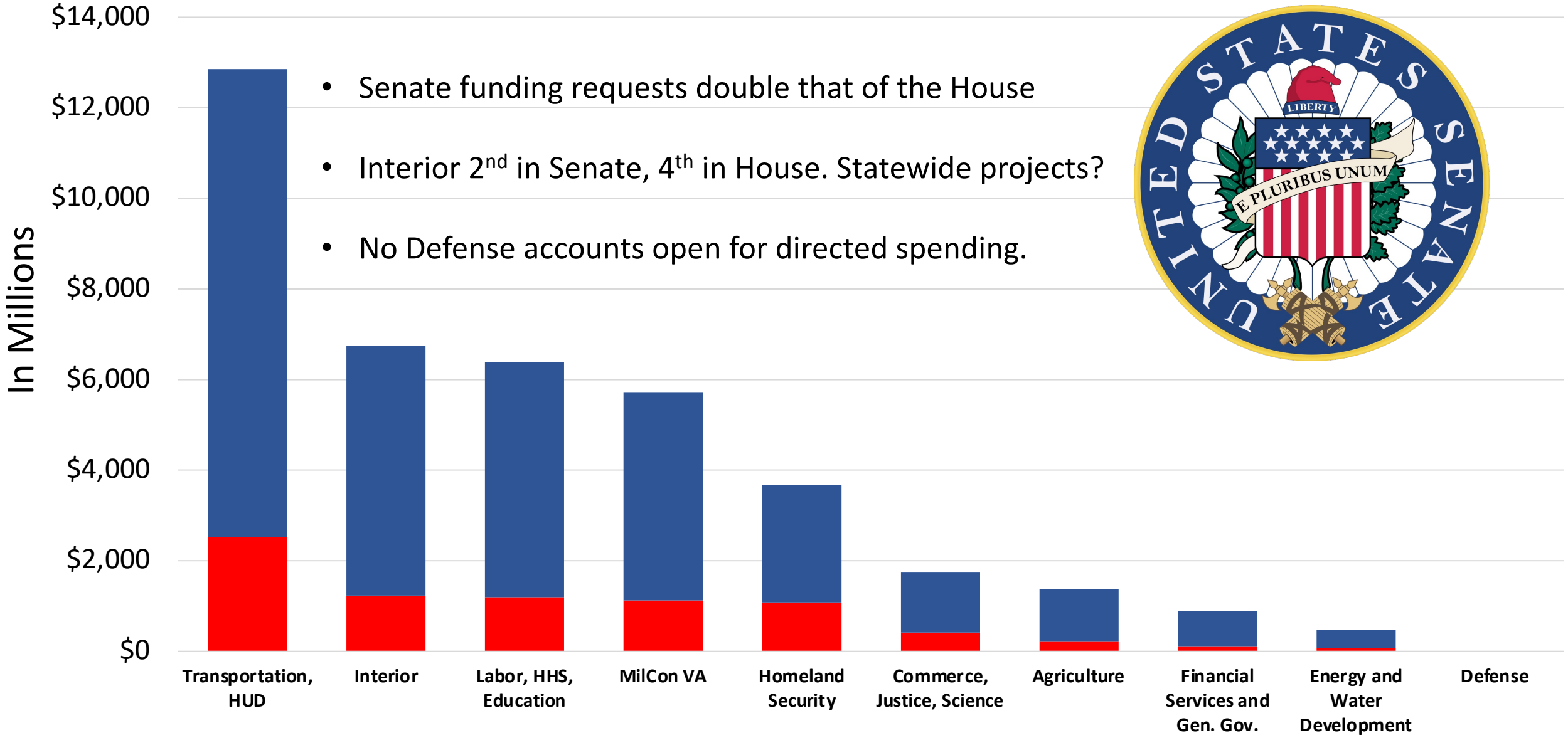
Comparison of FY22&23 Funded Senate Earmarks

	FY22	FY23	% change
Requests	8,055	14,048	+ 74%
Funded	2,959	4,412	+ 49%
Approval rate	37%	31%	- 6%
Amount Requested	$26.9 b	$39.9 b	+ 48%
Amount Approved	$5.7 b	$8 b	+ 40%
Approval rate	21%	20%	- 1%

Source: Senate Subcommittee reports on approved requests.



FY23 Senate Requests by Subcommittee

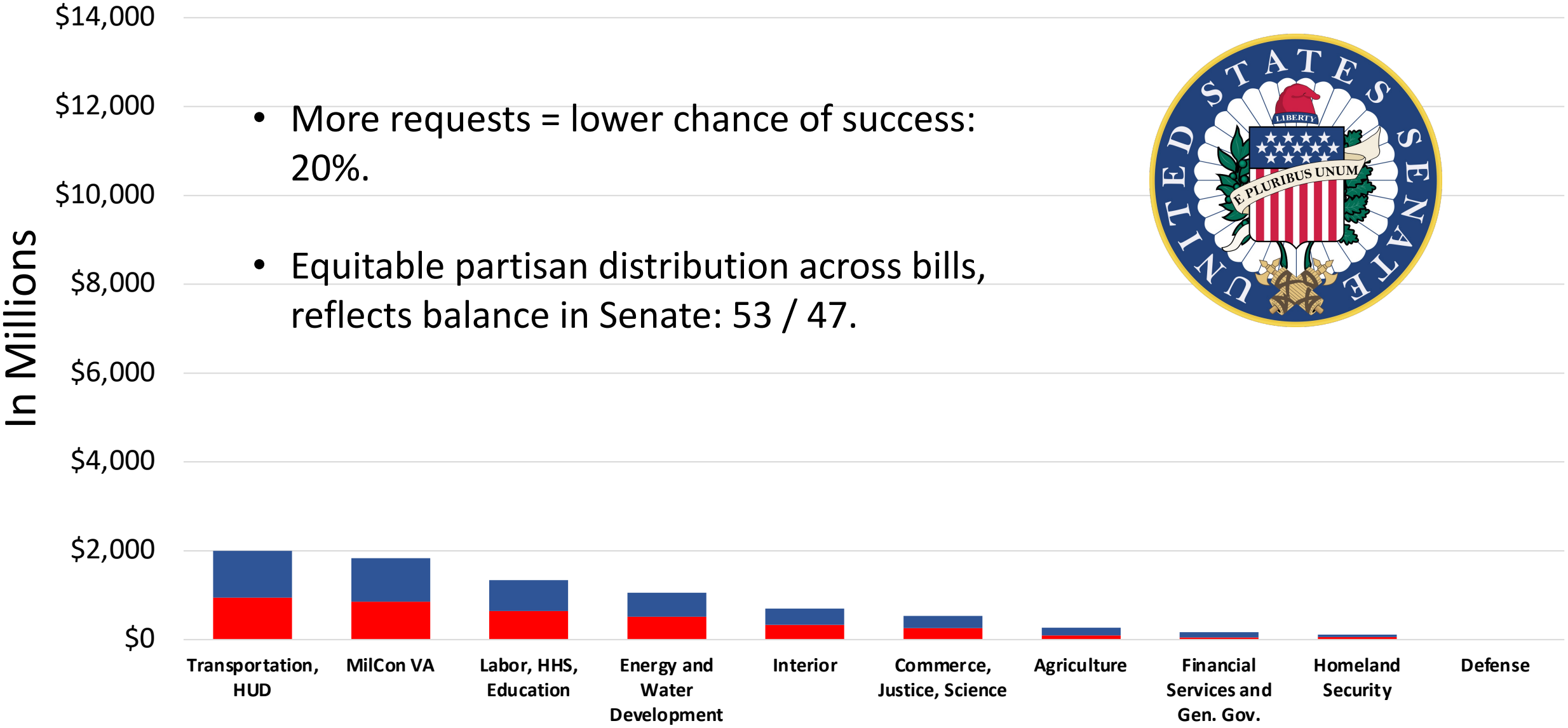


- Senate funding requests double that of the House
- Interior 2nd in Senate, 4th in House. Statewide projects?
- No Defense accounts open for directed spending.

Source: "Congressionally Directed Spending Requests," US Senate Committee on Appropriations, accessed July 13, 2022.

FY23 Senate Approvals by Subcommittee

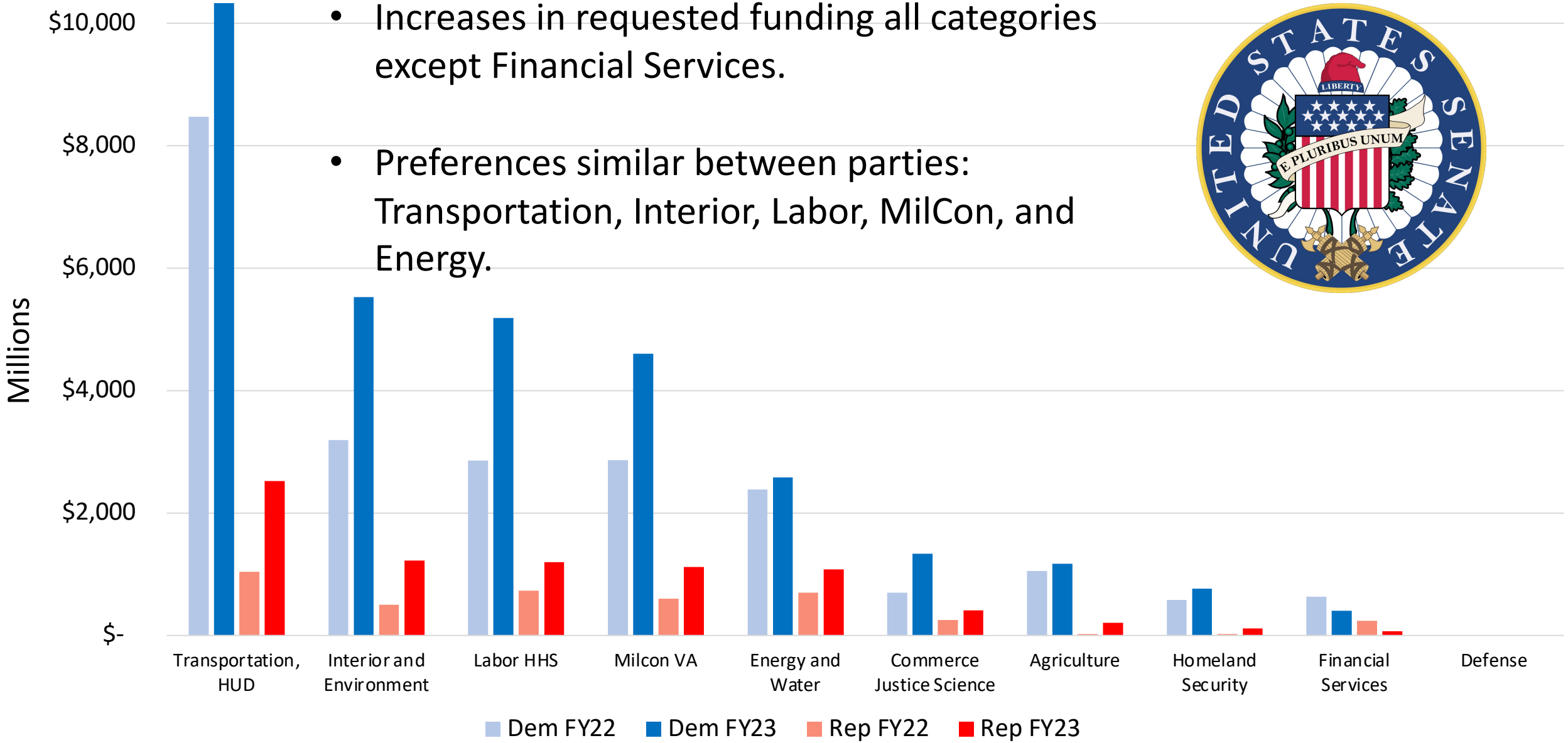
- More requests = lower chance of success: 20%.
- Equitable partisan distribution across bills, reflects balance in Senate: 53 / 47.



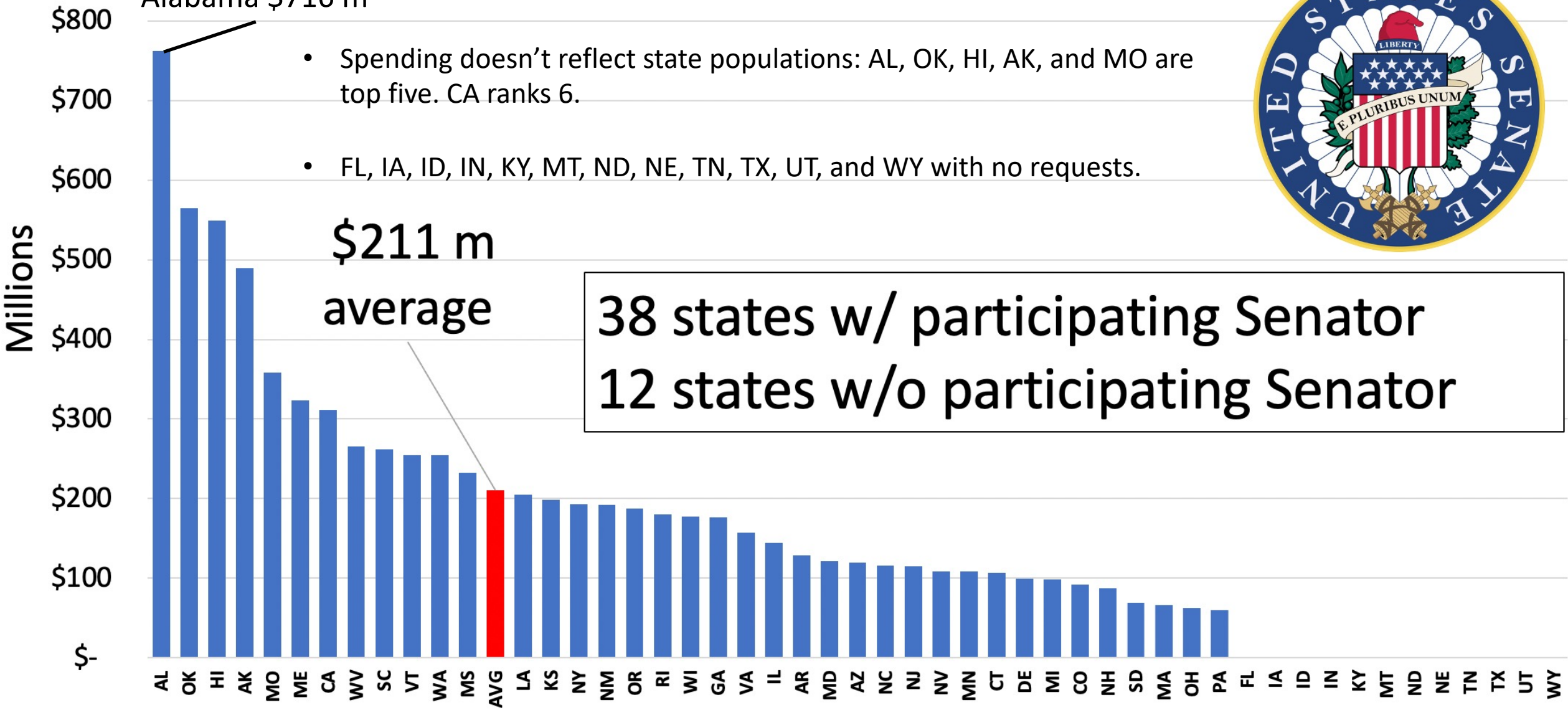
Source: Senate Subcommittee reports on approved requests.

Comparison of FY22 and FY23 Senate Requests by Party

- Increases in requested funding all categories except Financial Services.
- Preferences similar between parties: Transportation, Interior, Labor, MilCon, and Energy.



FY23 Senate Directed Spending Funding by State



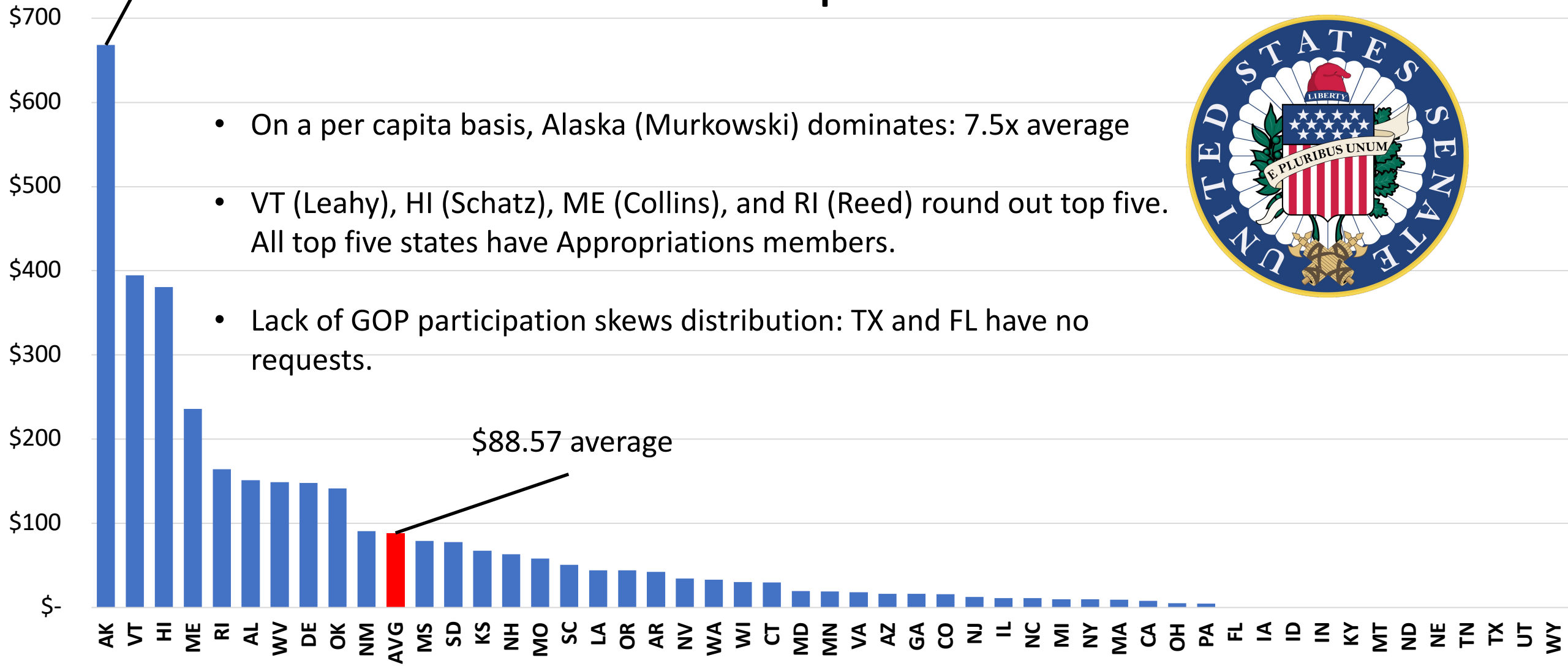
- Spending doesn't reflect state populations: AL, OK, HI, AK, and MO are top five. CA ranks 6.
- FL, IA, ID, IN, KY, MT, ND, NE, TN, TX, UT, and WY with no requests.

$211 m average

38 states w/ participating Senator
12 states w/o participating Senator

Source: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee reports on funded requests.

FY23 Senate Directed Spending Funding Per Capita



- On a per capita basis, Alaska (Murkowski) dominates: 7.5x average
- VT (Leahy), HI (Schatz), ME (Collins), and RI (Reed) round out top five. All top five states have Appropriations members.
- Lack of GOP participation skews distribution: TX and FL have no requests.

Source: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee reports on funded requests.

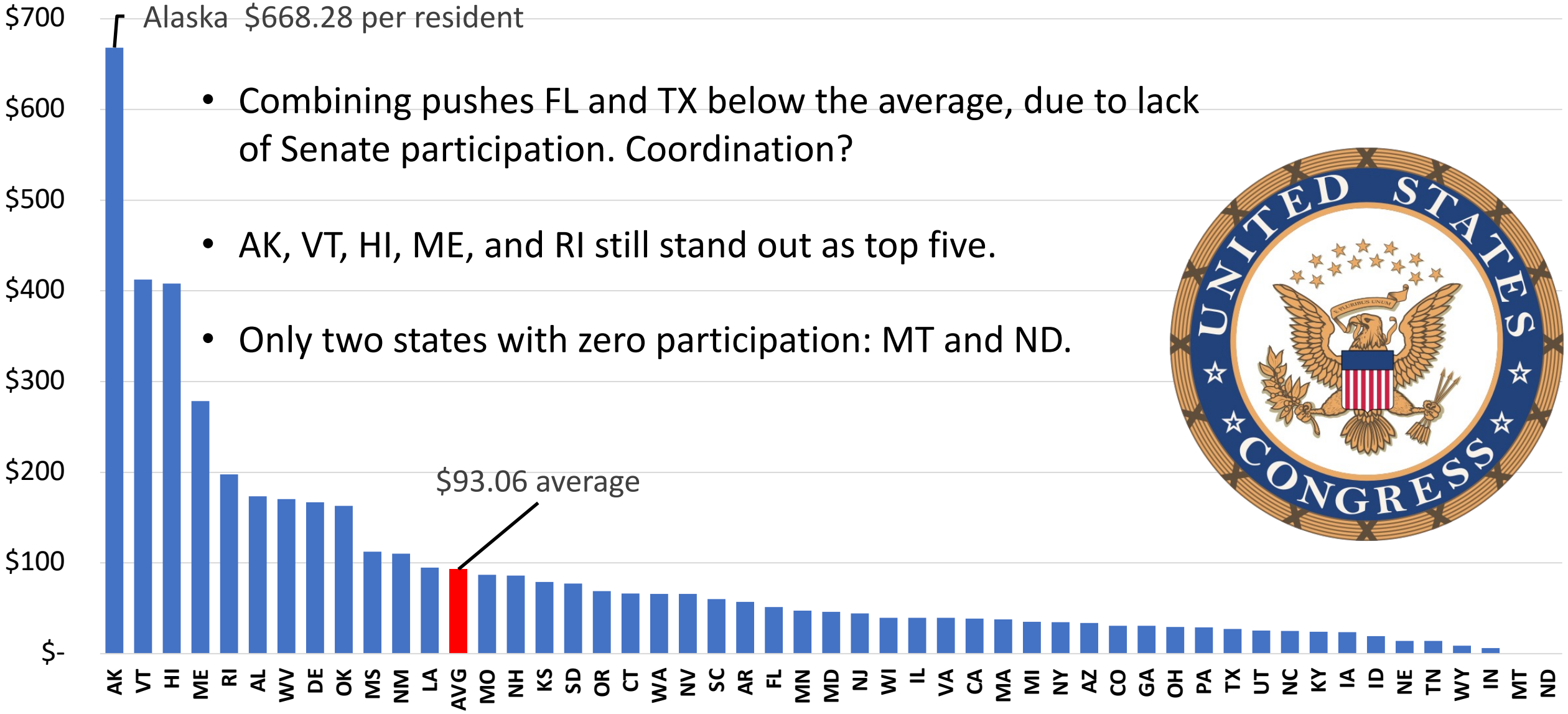
Comparison of Participating Senate Appropriations Committee Members in FY2023 Funded Projects

	Senators	Funded earmarks	Per Capita Average	Average # Funded	Total Funding	Percent
Non-Appropriators	41	2,444	$24.45	59.6	$3.4 b	42.5%
Appropriators	23	1,968	$102.74	85.6	$4.6 b	58.5%

Source: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee reports on funded requests.

Congressional Directed Spending Overall in FY23

Combined House and Senate Approved Directed Spending per Capita



- Combining pushes FL and TX below the average, due to lack of Senate participation. Coordination?
- AK, VT, HI, ME, and RI still stand out as top five.
- Only two states with zero participation: MT and ND.

Differences in House & Senate Approved Multiple Requests FY23

Senate

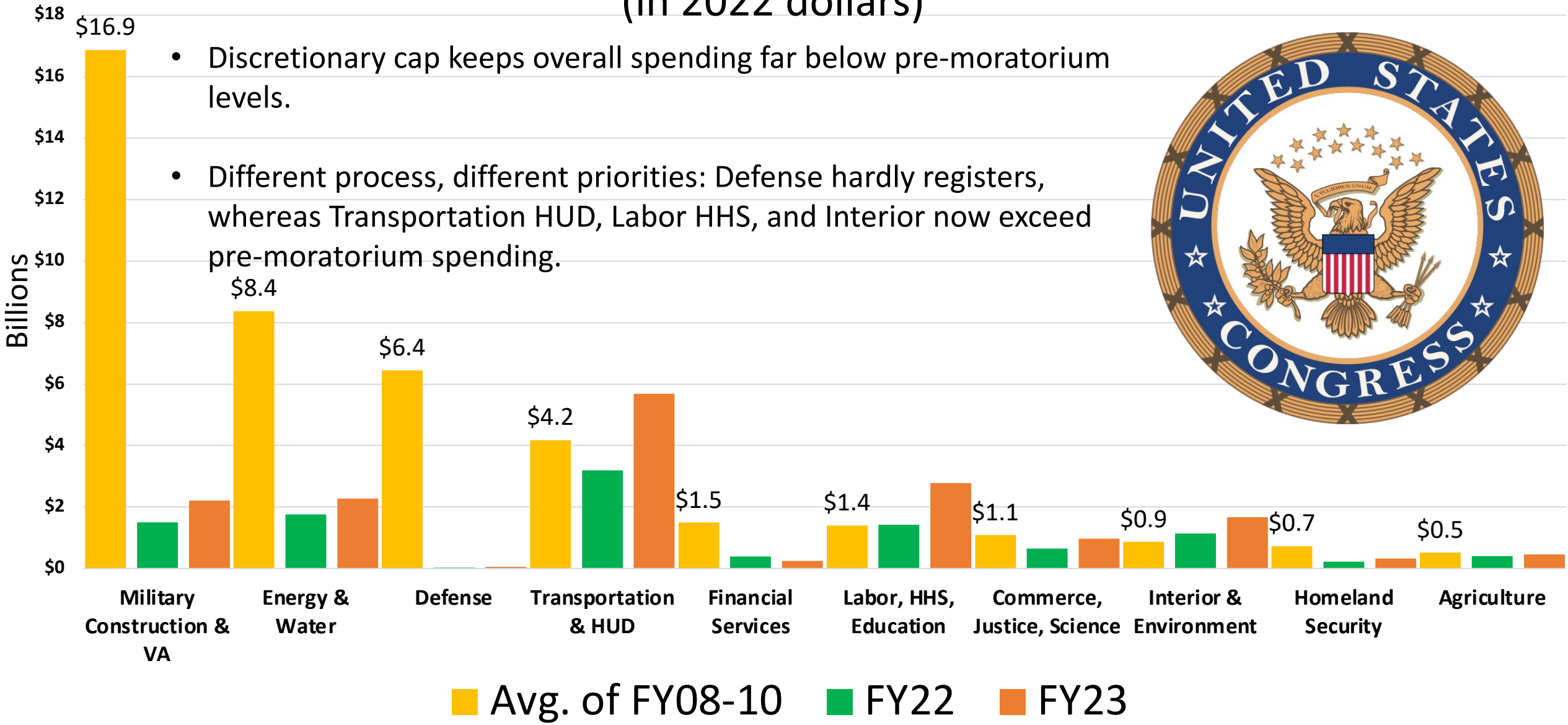
Total Approved	2+ requests	Intrastate	Multistate	Partisan	Bipartisan
3,121	1,282	1,276	6	1,081	201

House

Total Approved	2+ request
4,386	49

Comparison of Pre-Moratorium Earmarks and FY22 & 23 Directed Spending (in 2022 dollars)

- Discretionary cap keeps overall spending far below pre-moratorium levels.
- Different process, different priorities: Defense hardly registers, whereas Transportation HUD, Labor HHS, and Interior now exceed pre-moratorium spending.



Source: "Table 5," in "Earmarks Disclosed by Congress: FY2008-FY2010 Regular Appropriations Bills," CRS, April 16, 2010; Bureau of Labor Statistics; House & Senate FY22 and FY23 Appropriations Subcommittee reports on funded earmarks.

CONCLUSIONS

- Broad participation continued

- Requests increased 57%, funding increased 107%
- Still much less funding than old system; changed spending priorities continue.
- More partisan divide: 60 / 40
- No Appropriations advantage, generally equitable distribution

- Transparency good, but could use improvement in publicizing funding decisions.

- GOP rules still undermine broad participation. No change.
- Requests increased 74%, funding increased 40%.
- Still much less funding than old system; changed spending priorities continue.
- More equitable partisan divide: 53 / 47
- Continued equity concerns: appropriators overrepresented, uneven participation, per capita outliers like AK, VT, HI.
- Transparency good, but could use improvement in publicizing funding decisions.