Dataverse Supplemental Document for Table 5 and Appendix G

August 25, 2022

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A Regression Results of the Models Reported in Table 5

Table D.1: The President as the Only Veto Player (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval (Model P)	0.098	0.141	0.021	0.046	0.043	-0.181	-0.540**	-0.708***	-0.567**	-0.536	0.159	0.845
	(0.134)	(0.208)	(0.208)	(0.232)	(0.248)	(0.202)	(0.230)	(0.214)	(0.220)	(0.339)	(0.407)	(0.554)
Divided Government	-0.083*	-0.147*	-0.100	-0.143	-0.139	-0.099	-0.018	0.156	0.131	-0.105	-0.175	-0.346
	(0.043)	(0.069)	(0.078)	(0.094)	(0.100)	(0.103)	(0.109)	(0.097)	(0.107)	(0.244)	(0.270)	(0.245)
Employment	0.345**	0.430***	0.451***	0.454***	0.490***	0.511***	0.562***	0.566***	0.691***	0.600**	0.636**	0.480**
	(0.115)	(0.134)	(0.140)	(0.134)	(0.129)	(0.131)	(0.142)	(0.164)	(0.187)	(0.197)	(0.224)	(0.191)
Independent Agency	-0.635	-0.425	-0.481	-0.413	-0.342	-0.124	0.088	0.022	-0.103	0.067	0.438	0.070
	(0.547)	(0.544)	(0.572)	(0.565)	(0.596)	(0.626)	(0.687)	(0.843)	(0.992)	(1.012)	(1.060)	(0.893)
Congress	-3.151**	-4.857**	-1.510	-2.774	-3.102	5.781**	9.505***	11.134**	9.031*	6.239	-0.434	-11.433
	(1.244)	(1.944)	(1.883)	(2.152)	(2.835)	(2.434)	(2.923)	(3.744)	(4.237)	(7.410)	(8.586)	(8.290)
Congress Squared	0.014**	0.022**	0.007	0.013	0.014	-0.026**	-0.043***	-0.051**	-0.041*	-0.028	0.002	0.053
	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.034)	(0.040)	(0.038)
Constant	173.228**	259.889**	77.549	147.233	162.280	-321.789**	-524.954***	-613.757**	-501.563*	-350.841	12.442	606.931
	(67.068)	(104.714)	(101.443)	(116.295)	(153.620)	(131.749)	(157.900)	(202.043)	(228.619)	(401.359)	(465.019)	(447.896)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.388***	-1.625***	-1.624***	-1.526***	-1.477***	-1.730***	-1.707***	-1.905***	-2.053**	-1.112**	-0.800**	-0.663
	(0.230)	(0.225)	(0.244)	(0.264)	(0.267)	(0.376)	(0.439)	(0.500)	(0.675)	(0.397)	(0.296)	(0.483)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.256***	2.583***	2.771***	2.553***	2.815***	2.657***	3.156***	3.927***	4.680***	4.210***	4.504**	3.133**
	(0.511)	(0.631)	(0.689)	(0.601)	(0.801)	(0.711)	(0.927)	(1.125)	(1.426)	(1.266)	(1.513)	(1.186)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2965.244	2391.836	2184.539	1980.721	1648.916	1414.491	1223.833	1011.610	793.142	627.973	498.019	376.143

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with or without NPRMs with a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.2: Congress as the Only Veto Player (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval (Model C)	0.056	0.506	0.561	0.394	-0.017	-0.009	-0.342	-0.774*	-1.478**	-2.054***	-2.238**	-2.010*
	(0.188)	(0.260)	(0.294)	(0.319)	(0.375)	(0.382)	(0.430)	(0.462)	(0.495)	(0.575)	(0.903)	(1.114)
Divided Government	-0.078*	-0.151**	-0.118*	-0.155*	-0.134	-0.121	-0.073	0.102	0.136	-0.036	-0.045	-0.107
	(0.042)	(0.060)	(0.071)	(0.087)	(0.085)	(0.093)	(0.100)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.214)	(0.252)	(0.279)
Employment	0.345**	0.446***	0.470***	0.466***	0.489***	0.513***	0.558***	0.550***	0.633***	0.537**	0.582**	0.443**
	(0.115)	(0.132)	(0.139)	(0.133)	(0.128)	(0.133)	(0.144)	(0.162)	(0.174)	(0.184)	(0.216)	(0.187)
Independent Agency	-0.627	-0.384	-0.448	-0.389	-0.341	-0.131	0.054	-0.052	-0.270	-0.097	0.356	0.071
	(0.549)	(0.544)	(0.573)	(0.566)	(0.598)	(0.627)	(0.687)	(0.834)	(0.949)	(0.980)	(1.054)	(0.887)
Congress	-2.306**	-2.822*	-0.301	-1.702	-2.776	4.049*	3.494*	2.409	0.171	-3.151	-3.335	-7.426
	(0.856)	(1.296)	(1.301)	(1.480)	(1.966)	(1.801)	(2.112)	(2.558)	(2.605)	(4.821)	(6.356)	(6.328)
Congress Squared	0.010**	0.013*	0.001	0.008	0.013	-0.018*	-0.016	-0.011	-0.000	0.015	0.016	0.035
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Constant	127.648**	149.850*	11.912	89.145	144.739	-228.278**	-200.033*	-141.851	-21.607	157.885	170.742	391.943
	(46.553)	(70.261)	(70.554)	(80.468)	(106.875)	(97.661)	(114.089)	(138.018)	(140.562)	(261.105)	(344.780)	(342.947)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.375***	-1.639***	-1.646***	-1.527***	-1.474***	-1.733***	-1.722***	-1.931***	-2.383***	-1.334***	-0.985**	-0.785
	(0.225)	(0.209)	(0.224)	(0.253)	(0.272)	(0.391)	(0.466)	(0.504)	(0.569)	(0.392)	(0.363)	(0.697)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.252***	2.576***	2.778***	2.548***	2.808***	2.679***	3.244***	4.091***	4.860***	4.433***	4.703**	3.134**
	(0.512)	(0.627)	(0.686)	(0.597)	(0.799)	(0.718)	(0.947)	(1.165)	(1.451)	(1.313)	(1.528)	(1.179)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2966.070	2388.165	2179.643	1978.820	1648.954	1415.130	1227.445	1014.427	786.609	620.169	491.527	374.001

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with or without NPRMs with a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.3: The President and Congress as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval (Model CP)	0.233	0.464	0.331	0.239	0.168	-0.059	-0.545**	-0.920***	-1.100***	-1.236***	-0.685*	0.008
	(0.146)	(0.215)	(0.234)	(0.235)	(0.232)	(0.208)	(0.218)	(0.202)	(0.242)	(0.323)	(0.392)	(0.570)
Divided Government	-0.122*	-0.231**	-0.169*	-0.190*	-0.173	-0.107	0.047	0.299***	0.345**	0.160	0.008	-0.234
	(0.057)	(0.087)	(0.101)	(0.115)	(0.114)	(0.112)	(0.111)	(0.095)	(0.116)	(0.252)	(0.280)	(0.270)
Employment	0.353**	0.445***	0.463***	0.461***	0.495***	0.511***	0.549***	0.538***	0.644***	0.567**	0.621**	0.479**
	(0.117)	(0.135)	(0.141)	(0.135)	(0.131)	(0.133)	(0.143)	(0.164)	(0.185)	(0.194)	(0.225)	(0.189)
Independent Agency	-0.614	-0.392	-0.462	-0.401	-0.332	-0.134	0.041	-0.068	-0.225	-0.010	0.441	0.126
	(0.544)	(0.540)	(0.569)	(0.564)	(0.596)	(0.624)	(0.687)	(0.844)	(0.993)	(1.014)	(1.071)	(0.887)
Congress	-3.329***	-5.639***	-2.721*	-3.391*	-3.468	4.354*	6.963**	8.775**	9.046**	7.500	4.363	-3.676
	(1.040)	(1.549)	(1.552)	(1.729)	(2.227)	(2.149)	(2.515)	(2.982)	(3.108)	(5.517)	(6.680)	(6.392)
Congress Squared	0.015***	0.026***	0.013*	0.016*	0.016	-0.020*	-0.032**	-0.040**	-0.041**	-0.034	-0.020	0.017
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.029)
Constant	182.723***	301.791***	142.632*	180.379*	181.934	-244.717*	-387.309**	-485.752**	-501.584**	-418.261	-246.108	188.531
	(56.131)	(83.502)	(83.595)	(93.509)	(120.687)	(115.993)	(135.454)	(160.460)	(167.309)	(298.781)	(361.990)	(346.036)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.398***	-1.657***	-1.645***	-1.534***	-1.478***	-1.733***	-1.720***	-1.960***	-2.282***	-1.284***	-0.845**	-0.609
	(0.224)	(0.223)	(0.241)	(0.259)	(0.260)	(0.373)	(0.438)	(0.493)	(0.694)	(0.412)	(0.326)	(0.517)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.257***	2.596***	2.792***	2.563***	2.823***	2.675***	3.194***	3.970***	4.658***	4.200***	4.393**	2.941**
	(0.511)	(0.632)	(0.692)	(0.602)	(0.803)	(0.717)	(0.935)	(1.135)	(1.412)	(1.270)	(1.505)	(1.141)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2963.117	2387.242	2182.092	1979.737	1648.561	1415.084	1225.077	1010.333	787.765	624.122	497.104	377.428

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with or without NPRMs with a significance score of at least T(defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

B Regression Results of the Models Discussed in Appendix G

This document details the regression results for the four competing models laid out in Appendix G.

Table D.4: Court as the Only Veto Player (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval (Model S)	0.169	0.620	0.709	0.731	0.957	0.722	0.586	1.011	0.455	0.119	-0.456	-0.981
	(0.241)	(0.310)	(0.319)	(0.330)	(0.463)	(0.456)	(0.519)	(0.642)	(0.727)	(0.816)	(1.094)	(1.382)
Divided Government	-0.072	-0.048	-0.055	-0.091	-0.044	-0.088	-0.080	0.133	0.070	-0.180	-0.213	-0.379
	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.064)	(0.077)	(0.088)	(0.100)	(0.110)	(0.112)	(0.104)	(0.215)	(0.254)	(0.245)
Employment	0.407**	0.479***	0.528***	0.522***	0.557***	0.550***	0.595***	0.645***	0.709***	0.612***	0.625**	0.456**
	(0.134)	(0.132)	(0.145)	(0.139)	(0.133)	(0.128)	(0.142)	(0.179)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.220)	(0.194)
Independent Agency	-0.314	-0.267	-0.197	-0.086	-0.073	-0.020	0.213	0.214	0.006	0.027	0.379	0.116
	(0.595)	(0.565)	(0.632)	(0.623)	(0.643)	(0.651)	(0.715)	(0.933)	(1.019)	(1.030)	(1.090)	(0.911)
Congress	-0.454	2.135	2.820*	2.023	4.330*	7.994***	6.748**	8.408**	5.400	2.357	0.988	-8.876*
	(1.187)	(1.799)	(1.635)	(1.681)	(2.094)	(2.419)	(2.725)	(3.483)	(3.668)	(4.743)	(4.725)	(4.539)
Congress Squared	0.002	-0.010	-0.013*	-0.009	-0.020*	-0.036***	-0.031**	-0.038**	-0.024	-0.010	-0.004	0.041*
	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.021)
Constant	24.108	-121.212	-159.165*	-115.249	-243.332*	-443.830***	-378.284**	-470.317**	-308.058	-141.912	-64.665	471.221*
	(64.604)	(97.858)	(88.937)	(91.477)	(113.733)	(131.363)	(147.865)	(188.699)	(199.196)	(257.576)	(256.520)	(246.797)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.189***	-1.766***	-1.799***	-1.706***	-1.585***	-1.579***	-1.383***	-1.361***	-1.630**	-1.051**	-1.051*	-0.636
	(0.245)	(0.241)	(0.240)	(0.270)	(0.286)	(0.372)	(0.378)	(0.433)	(0.559)	(0.367)	(0.503)	(0.936)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.426***	2.595***	2.816***	2.551***	2.811***	2.679***	3.268***	4.434***	5.051***	4.119***	4.338**	3.180*
	(0.515)	(0.560)	(0.651)	(0.554)	(0.756)	(0.694)	(0.943)	(1.312)	(1.569)	(1.313)	(1.678)	(1.513)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2615.245	2183.012	1991.531	1786.154	1511.455	1330.784	1155.411	941.664	749.894	609.200	479.991	371.177

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.5: Congress and Court as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval (Model CS)	0.123 (0.271)	0.629 (0.357)	0.715 (0.355)	0.785 (0.380)	0.959 (0.504)	0.729 (0.483)	0.687 (0.561)	1.110 (0.704)	0.596 (0.846)	0.199 (0.912)	-0.637 (1.193)	-1.848 (1.398)
Divided Government	-0.076 (0.051)	-0.067 (0.056)	-0.077 (0.067)	-0.115 (0.080)	-0.073 (0.090)	-0.110 (0.104)	-0.098 (0.113)	0.098 (0.112)	0.055 (0.105)	-0.184 (0.220)	-0.197 (0.258)	-0.350 (0.256)
Employment	0.406** (0.135)	0.479*** (0.134)	0.529*** (0.147)	0.524*** (0.140)	0.558*** (0.135)	0.551*** (0.131)	0.599*** (0.144)	0.650*** (0.182)	0.714*** (0.196)	0.615*** (0.196)	0.620** (0.218)	0.444* (0.194)
Independent Agency	-0.322 (0.596)	-0.275 (0.567)	-0.201 (0.632)	-0.088 (0.624)	-0.080 (0.645)	-0.021 (0.653)	0.219 (0.718)	0.222 (0.936)	0.016 (1.024)	0.030 (1.033)	0.371 (1.086)	0.104 (0.910)
Congress	-0.597 (1.251)	2.090 (1.914)	2.742 (1.705)	2.081 (1.759)	4.181* (2.242)	7.892*** (2.523)	6.993** (2.874)	8.528** (3.629)	5.833 (4.012)	2.625 (5.112)	0.409 (5.147)	-11.671** (4.702)
Congress Squared	0.003 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.019* (0.010)	-0.036*** (0.012)	-0.032** (0.013)	-0.039* (0.017)	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.024)	-0.002 (0.024)	0.054** (0.022)
Constant	31.915 (68.020)	-118.561 (104.057)	-154.718* (92.730)	-118.121 (95.680)	-234.909* (121.692)	-438.082*** (136.936)	-391.389** (155.891)	-476.468** (196.461)	-331.372 (217.815)	-156.421 (277.502)	-33.433 (279.237)	622.179** (255.439)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.184*** (0.246)	-1.763*** (0.244)	-1.801*** (0.242)	-1.709*** (0.272)	-1.595*** (0.286)	-1.594*** (0.372)	-1.396*** (0.378)	-1.383*** (0.436)	-1.640** (0.561)	-1.048** (0.362)	-1.058* (0.462)	-0.749 (0.987)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.439*** (0.521)	2.647*** (0.579)	2.882*** (0.675)	2.611*** (0.573)	2.917*** (0.794)	2.758*** (0.719)	3.340*** (0.964)	4.590*** (1.355)	5.119*** (1.573)	4.129*** (1.292)	4.293** (1.573)	3.204* (1.400)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2615.850	2185.084	1993.950	1787.439	1513.659	1331.702	1155.397	942.088	749.714	609.173	479.878	370.073

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.6: The President and Court as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval (Model PS)	0.150	0.356	0.437	0.442	0.359	0.152	-0.286	0.045	-0.361	-0.978	-0.794	-0.689
	(0.270)	(0.431)	(0.427)	(0.453)	(0.589)	(0.582)	(0.612)	(0.699)	(0.883)	(1.095)	(1.371)	(1.616)
Divided Government	-0.074	-0.056	-0.065	-0.104	-0.061	-0.102	-0.086	0.106	0.060	-0.172	-0.196	-0.347
	(0.050)	(0.057)	(0.068)	(0.082)	(0.092)	(0.107)	(0.116)	(0.112)	(0.107)	(0.226)	(0.265)	(0.260)
Employment	0.406**	0.469***	0.519***	0.511***	0.537***	0.532***	0.575***	0.617***	0.690***	0.595**	0.625**	0.467**
	(0.135)	(0.137)	(0.149)	(0.142)	(0.137)	(0.130)	(0.143)	(0.178)	(0.193)	(0.196)	(0.225)	(0.191)
Independent Agency	-0.327	-0.310	-0.234	-0.132	-0.135	-0.059	0.186	0.161	-0.021	0.025	0.408	0.151
	(0.592)	(0.564)	(0.630)	(0.625)	(0.641)	(0.645)	(0.709)	(0.918)	(1.008)	(1.034)	(1.090)	(0.884)
Congress	-1.068	-0.108	0.178	-0.726	0.724	5.191**	4.874*	4.501	4.040	2.851	3.439	-4.920
	(1.006)	(1.370)	(1.411)	(1.349)	(1.869)	(2.096)	(2.591)	(3.158)	(3.710)	(5.344)	(7.175)	(7.242)
Congress Squared	0.005	0.001	-0.001	0.004	-0.003	-0.023**	-0.022*	-0.020	-0.018	-0.013	-0.016	0.023
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Constant	57.043	-0.263	-16.754	33.050	-48.248	-291.939**	-275.846*	-258.082	-233.261	-166.448	-195.928	258.232
	(54.650)	(74.370)	(76.492)	(73.462)	(101.029)	(113.131)	(139.553)	(169.761)	(199.239)	(288.198)	(386.969)	(390.344)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.184***	-1.731***	-1.776***	-1.683***	-1.575***	-1.595***	-1.408***	-1.378***	-1.701**	-1.174**	-1.064*	-0.490
	(0.247)	(0.244)	(0.251)	(0.281)	(0.300)	(0.380)	(0.387)	(0.434)	(0.611)	(0.444)	(0.530)	(0.721)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.440***	2.665***	2.908***	2.646***	2.973***	2.799***	3.409***	4.699***	5.211***	4.187***	4.235**	2.902**
	(0.521)	(0.584)	(0.682)	(0.582)	(0.810)	(0.732)	(0.989)	(1.383)	(1.593)	(1.307)	(1.519)	(1.185)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2615.838	2188.897	1998.249	1791.871	1519.051	1334.369	1156.979	945.703	750.333	608.312	479.831	371.699

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.7: The President, Congress and Court as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock	0.099	0.261	0.272	0.337	0.216	-0.055	-0.565	-0.365	-0.529	-1.010	-0.850	-0.933
Interval (Model CPS)	(0.316)	(0.494)	(0.509)	(0.567)	(0.666)	(0.647)	(0.696)	(0.763)	(1.033)	(1.313)	(1.465)	(1.667)
Divided Government	-0.079	-0.068	-0.077	-0.120	-0.070	-0.096	-0.053	0.130	0.088	-0.119	-0.155	-0.302
	(0.055)	(0.067)	(0.083)	(0.099)	(0.109)	(0.128)	(0.135)	(0.126)	(0.134)	(0.265)	(0.299)	(0.282)
Employment	0.405**	0.469***	0.518***	0.510***	0.535***	0.528***	0.568***	0.608***	0.684***	0.591**	0.622**	0.463**
	(0.135)	(0.138)	(0.151)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.132)	(0.144)	(0.179)	(0.195)	(0.197)	(0.225)	(0.190)
Independent Agency	-0.326	-0.305	-0.229	-0.125	-0.133	-0.062	0.173	0.150	-0.034	0.008	0.393	0.142
	(0.590)	(0.563)	(0.629)	(0.623)	(0.640)	(0.644)	(0.709)	(0.919)	(1.013)	(1.035)	(1.093)	(0.887)
Congress	-1.067	-0.136	0.197	-0.785	0.765	5.416**	5.401*	5.079	4.420	3.295	3.785	-4.401
	(1.038)	(1.362)	(1.395)	(1.363)	(1.915)	(2.176)	(2.679)	(3.286)	(4.035)	(5.852)	(7.679)	(7.732)
Congress Squared	0.005	0.001	-0.001	0.004	-0.003	-0.025**	-0.024*	-0.023	-0.020	-0.015	-0.017	0.020
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.027)	(0.035)	(0.036)
Constant	57.173	1.575	-17.336	36.594	-50.119	-303.659**	-303.908*	-288.604	-253.615	-190.753	-214.779	230.428
	(56.291)	(73.811)	(75.597)	(74.048)	(103.459)	(117.408)	(144.320)	(176.748)	(216.646)	(315.409)	(414.398)	(417.033)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.180***	-1.723***	-1.768***	-1.679***	-1.574***	-1.598***	-1.409***	-1.390***	-1.705**	-1.167**	-1.054*	-0.497
	(0.246)	(0.246)	(0.253)	(0.283)	(0.303)	(0.384)	(0.389)	(0.442)	(0.617)	(0.455)	(0.501)	(0.710)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.443***	2.675***	2.919***	2.658***	2.984***	2.803***	3.397***	4.690***	5.188***	4.141***	4.193**	2.879**
	(0.523)	(0.589)	(0.689)	(0.587)	(0.814)	(0.733)	(0.984)	(1.379)	(1.580)	(1.278)	(1.470)	(1.154)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2616.081	2189.575	1999.321	1792.557	1519.459	1334.447	1156.537	945.499	750.191	608.496	479.886	371.632

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

C Alternative Veto Players in Congress

Table D.8: Majority Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.045	0.238	0.197	0.137	-0.001	-0.013	-0.090	-0.364	-0.489	-0.735*	-0.711	-0.305
	(0.126)	(0.161)	(0.181)	(0.210)	(0.227)	(0.247)	(0.286)	(0.352)	(0.364)	(0.426)	(0.597)	(0.859)
Divided Government	-0.081	-0.094	-0.096	-0.126	-0.056	-0.098	-0.073	0.182	0.157	-0.016	-0.060	-0.283
	(0.056)	(0.064)	(0.078)	(0.096)	(0.103)	(0.114)	(0.125)	(0.135)	(0.126)	(0.204)	(0.245)	(0.317)
Employment	0.403**	0.466***	0.513***	0.504***	0.530***	0.529***	0.579***	0.613***	0.687***	0.602***	0.631**	0.469**
	(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.148)	(0.142)	(0.138)	(0.131)	(0.143)	(0.176)	(0.188)	(0.194)	(0.221)	(0.188)
Independent Agency	-0.328	-0.302	-0.231	-0.130	-0.140	-0.061	0.185	0.148	-0.048	-0.006	0.380	0.123
	(0.595)	(0.567)	(0.633)	(0.626)	(0.643)	(0.646)	(0.710)	(0.915)	(0.994)	(1.020)	(1.088)	(0.883)
Congress	-0.941	0.293	0.614	-0.347	1.039	5.332**	4.519*	4.312	3.325	1.609	2.541	-5.559
	(0.993)	(1.441)	(1.439)	(1.423)	(1.777)	(1.985)	(2.386)	(2.907)	(3.269)	(4.828)	(6.020)	(6.206)
Congress Squared	0.004	-0.001	-0.003	0.002	-0.005	-0.024**	-0.020*	-0.019	-0.015	-0.007	-0.012	0.026
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Constant	50.493	-21.264	-39.469	13.441	-64.490	-299.198**	-257.113*	-247.404	-194.707	-100.565	-148.125	291.566
	(54.086)	(78.363)	(78.204)	(77.449)	(96.413)	(107.479)	(128.892)	(156.838)	(176.556)	(261.512)	(326.565)	(336.819)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.179***	-1.723***	-1.762***	-1.669***	-1.571***	-1.599***	-1.412***	-1.430***	-1.757**	-1.108**	-0.965**	-0.424
	(0.243)	(0.239)	(0.244)	(0.282)	(0.318)	(0.396)	(0.403)	(0.461)	(0.581)	(0.373)	(0.326)	(0.562)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.443***	2.675***	2.913***	2.651***	2.981***	2.804***	3.401***	4.719***	5.212***	4.192***	4.278**	2.893**
	(0.523)	(0.589)	(0.687)	(0.586)	(0.816)	(0.733)	(0.982)	(1.385)	(1.586)	(1.284)	(1.455)	(1.112)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2616.051	2187.771	1998.373	1792.538	1519.611	1334.453	1157.099	944.362	748.516	606.680	478.685	371.715

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.9: The President and Majority Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.218	0.331	0.256	0.168	0.062	-0.012	-0.342	-0.765**	-0.929***	-1.121***	-0.713*	0.001
	(0.144)	(0.184)	(0.210)	(0.230)	(0.258)	(0.249)	(0.256)	(0.258)	(0.275)	(0.332)	(0.386)	(0.603)
Divided Government	-0.173*	-0.208*	-0.181	-0.180	-0.087	-0.094	0.085	0.508**	0.549**	0.419	0.153	-0.353
	(0.089)	(0.115)	(0.138)	(0.162)	(0.178)	(0.185)	(0.191)	(0.182)	(0.199)	(0.301)	(0.353)	(0.385)
Employment	0.410**	0.473***	0.519***	0.507***	0.531***	0.529***	0.571***	0.593***	0.661***	0.588**	0.626**	0.472**
	(0.136)	(0.137)	(0.150)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.132)	(0.144)	(0.177)	(0.191)	(0.196)	(0.224)	(0.189)
Independent Agency	-0.313	-0.294	-0.221	-0.126	-0.137	-0.061	0.172	0.111	-0.093	-0.011	0.391	0.133
	(0.591)	(0.563)	(0.630)	(0.626)	(0.643)	(0.647)	(0.712)	(0.925)	(1.017)	(1.035)	(1.095)	(0.888)
Congress	-1.980*	-1.444	-0.740	-1.218	0.714	5.406*	6.576*	9.073**	9.329**	8.738	6.774	-5.551
	(1.160)	(1.540)	(1.588)	(1.619)	(2.257)	(2.630)	(3.200)	(3.682)	(4.009)	(5.320)	(6.568)	(7.021)
Congress Squared	0.009*	0.007	0.004	0.006	-0.003	-0.024*	-0.030*	-0.041**	-0.043*	-0.040	-0.031	0.026
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.030)	(0.032)
Constant	106.417*	72.418	33.558	60.459	-46.985	-303.189*	-368.133*	-504.466**	-518.957**	-485.657*	-377.022	290.934
	(62.880)	(83.395)	(86.026)	(87.819)	(122.111)	(142.161)	(172.803)	(198.513)	(216.497)	(288.323)	(356.061)	(380.603)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.193***	-1.735***	-1.773***	-1.674***	-1.570***	-1.598***	-1.423***	-1.483**	-1.897**	-1.284**	-1.022**	-0.425
	(0.248)	(0.247)	(0.252)	(0.282)	(0.304)	(0.386)	(0.399)	(0.480)	(0.672)	(0.427)	(0.380)	(0.569)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.449***	2.691***	2.931***	2.663***	2.985***	2.803***	3.374***	4.612***	5.071***	4.054***	4.149**	2.863**
	(0.523)	(0.592)	(0.691)	(0.589)	(0.815)	(0.732)	(0.975)	(1.358)	(1.543)	(1.247)	(1.453)	(1.126)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2614.155	2187.245	1998.239	1792.546	1519.557	1334.454	1156.149	941.609	745.375	604.914	479.097	371.886

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.10: The President, Majority Medians and Chamber Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.210	0.323	0.246	0.151	0.027	-0.093	-0.485*	-0.922***	-1.118***	-1.328***	-0.820*	0.040
	(0.167)	(0.196)	(0.226)	(0.247)	(0.287)	(0.278)	(0.294)	(0.288)	(0.309)	(0.358)	(0.416)	(0.648)
Divided Government	-0.163*	-0.194*	-0.169	-0.168	-0.069	-0.056	0.144	0.560**	0.613**	0.487	0.182	-0.372
	(0.093)	(0.116)	(0.141)	(0.164)	(0.182)	(0.190)	(0.196)	(0.183)	(0.204)	(0.307)	(0.354)	(0.383)
Employment	0.409**	0.472***	0.519***	0.507***	0.530***	0.527***	0.568***	0.589***	0.656***	0.582**	0.624**	0.472**
	(0.136)	(0.137)	(0.150)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.132)	(0.144)	(0.178)	(0.191)	(0.196)	(0.224)	(0.189)
Independent Agency	-0.315	-0.296	-0.223	-0.128	-0.139	-0.064	0.167	0.106	-0.101	-0.018	0.388	0.133
	(0.591)	(0.564)	(0.630)	(0.625)	(0.643)	(0.646)	(0.713)	(0.925)	(1.017)	(1.034)	(1.095)	(0.888)
Congress	-1.908	-1.347	-0.646	-1.108	0.905	5.843*	7.306*	9.780**	10.187**	9.666*	7.176	-5.752
	(1.226)	(1.589)	(1.623)	(1.652)	(2.323)	(2.730)	(3.301)	(3.778)	(4.150)	(5.606)	(6.793)	(7.241)
Congress Squared	0.009	0.006	0.003	0.005	-0.004	-0.027*	-0.033*	-0.045**	-0.047**	-0.044*	-0.033	0.027
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.033)
Constant	102.561	67.178	28.480	54.503	-57.313	-326.766*	-407.487*	-542.556**	-565.195**	-535.710*	-398.724	301.771
	(66.362)	(86.009)	(87.856)	(89.559)	(125.653)	(147.551)	(178.244)	(203.655)	(224.119)	(303.766)	(368.239)	(392.454)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.190***	-1.732***	-1.771***	-1.674***	-1.570***	-1.600***	-1.430***	-1.494***	-1.927**	-1.327**	-1.034**	-0.424
	(0.247)	(0.246)	(0.253)	(0.282)	(0.304)	(0.388)	(0.401)	(0.481)	(0.688)	(0.442)	(0.389)	(0.568)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.450***	2.690***	2.930***	2.662***	2.982***	2.799***	3.368***	4.606***	5.066***	4.050***	4.147**	2.865**
	(0.524)	(0.593)	(0.692)	(0.589)	(0.815)	(0.731)	(0.973)	(1.355)	(1.541)	(1.243)	(1.452)	(1.126)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2614.638	2187.846	1998.598	1792.717	1519.603	1334.372	1155.464	940.867	744.427	604.295	479.012	371.884

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.11: Majority Leaders as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.021	0.205	0.165	0.105	-0.017	-0.030	-0.080	-0.329	-0.439	-0.685	-0.671	-0.299
	(0.121)	(0.156)	(0.174)	(0.203)	(0.223)	(0.244)	(0.285)	(0.349)	(0.360)	(0.425)	(0.587)	(0.857)
Divided Government	-0.076	-0.083	-0.086	-0.117	-0.053	-0.095	-0.077	0.166	0.134	-0.046	-0.085	-0.292
	(0.054)	(0.061)	(0.075)	(0.091)	(0.099)	(0.111)	(0.122)	(0.129)	(0.120)	(0.203)	(0.241)	(0.304)
Employment	0.402**	0.465***	0.512***	0.503***	0.530***	0.529***	0.580***	0.615***	0.690***	0.604***	0.632**	0.470**
	(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.148)	(0.142)	(0.138)	(0.131)	(0.143)	(0.177)	(0.188)	(0.194)	(0.222)	(0.189)
Independent Agency	-0.330	-0.306	-0.233	-0.132	-0.141	-0.061	0.185	0.153	-0.040	-0.001	0.383	0.123
	(0.594)	(0.567)	(0.633)	(0.626)	(0.642)	(0.645)	(0.709)	(0.915)	(0.995)	(1.021)	(1.088)	(0.883)
Congress	-0.952	0.205	0.541	-0.395	1.037	5.330**	4.549*	4.432	3.484	1.826	2.763	-5.454
	(0.994)	(1.446)	(1.450)	(1.441)	(1.788)	(1.997)	(2.400)	(2.897)	(3.234)	(4.754)	(5.893)	(6.115)
Congress Squared	0.004	-0.001	-0.002	0.002	-0.004	-0.024**	-0.020*	-0.020	-0.016	-0.008	-0.013	0.025
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Constant	51.100	-16.814	-35.758	15.885	-64.374	-299.052**	-258.624*	-253.427	-202.754	-111.360	-159.165	286.339
	(54.101)	(78.613)	(78.776)	(78.345)	(96.929)	(108.045)	(129.546)	(156.301)	(174.850)	(257.887)	(320.215)	(332.196)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.178***	-1.719***	-1.760***	-1.670***	-1.573***	-1.600***	-1.412***	-1.425***	-1.746**	-1.100**	-0.966**	-0.425
	(0.243)	(0.239)	(0.245)	(0.283)	(0.320)	(0.398)	(0.404)	(0.459)	(0.579)	(0.372)	(0.326)	(0.563)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.443***	2.675***	2.913***	2.651***	2.981***	2.804***	3.401***	4.722***	5.218***	4.195***	4.280**	2.894**
	(0.523)	(0.589)	(0.687)	(0.587)	(0.816)	(0.733)	(0.982)	(1.386)	(1.589)	(1.284)	(1.456)	(1.113)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2616.159	2188.272	1998.740	1792.741	1519.605	1334.440	1157.120	944.582	748.872	606.965	478.813	371.718

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.12: The President and Majority Leaders as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.374	0.516	0.463	0.357	0.313	0.146	-0.217	-0.648**	-0.923**	-1.201**	-1.029*	-0.650
	(0.176)	(0.236)	(0.257)	(0.279)	(0.311)	(0.295)	(0.287)	(0.270)	(0.366)	(0.451)	(0.472)	(0.644)
Divided Government	-0.258**	-0.312*	-0.295*	-0.281	-0.219	-0.177	0.025	0.457**	0.556*	0.473	0.331	-0.014
	(0.108)	(0.141)	(0.167)	(0.191)	(0.207)	(0.217)	(0.214)	(0.192)	(0.242)	(0.364)	(0.415)	(0.442)
Employment	0.417**	0.481***	0.528***	0.514***	0.540***	0.533***	0.574***	0.595***	0.660***	0.584**	0.620**	0.468**
	(0.136)	(0.138)	(0.151)	(0.144)	(0.140)	(0.133)	(0.145)	(0.178)	(0.192)	(0.195)	(0.224)	(0.188)
Independent Agency	-0.294	-0.273	-0.199	-0.110	-0.118	-0.052	0.174	0.112	-0.101	-0.022	0.378	0.137
	(0.589)	(0.561)	(0.630)	(0.625)	(0.642)	(0.647)	(0.713)	(0.924)	(1.020)	(1.038)	(1.098)	(0.885)
Congress	-1.994*	-1.351	-0.863	-1.455	0.035	4.831*	5.362*	6.914*	7.138*	6.403	6.257	-3.474
	(1.067)	(1.378)	(1.432)	(1.441)	(2.035)	(2.303)	(2.860)	(3.318)	(3.850)	(5.286)	(6.885)	(7.114)
Congress Squared	0.009*	0.006	0.004	0.007	0.000	-0.022*	-0.024*	-0.031*	-0.032*	-0.029	-0.029	0.016
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.033)
Constant	106.654*	66.667	39.548	72.677	-10.848	-272.409*	-302.406*	-387.202*	-399.625*	-358.184	-347.879	179.917
	(57.760)	(74.651)	(77.549)	(78.158)	(110.023)	(124.372)	(154.268)	(178.741)	(207.468)	(286.035)	(373.006)	(385.325)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.211***	-1.756***	-1.792***	-1.680***	-1.571***	-1.594***	-1.411***	-1.443***	-1.866**	-1.300**	-1.102**	-0.478
	(0.253)	(0.251)	(0.255)	(0.282)	(0.301)	(0.380)	(0.390)	(0.465)	(0.661)	(0.433)	(0.423)	(0.615)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.453***	2.701***	2.947***	2.675***	3.002***	2.813***	3.383***	4.631***	5.083***	4.058***	4.137**	2.842**
	(0.523)	(0.594)	(0.694)	(0.590)	(0.818)	(0.732)	(0.976)	(1.360)	(1.545)	(1.245)	(1.444)	(1.118)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2611.947	2185.262	1996.294	1791.423	1518.657	1334.274	1156.905	943.634	746.954	605.804	478.519	371.490

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.13: The President, Majority Leaders, and Chamber Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.395	0.541	0.497	0.375	0.321	0.081	-0.355	-0.777**	-1.113**	-1.431**	-1.207*	-0.768
	(0.209)	(0.259)	(0.287)	(0.306)	(0.349)	(0.332)	(0.334)	(0.312)	(0.420)	(0.518)	(0.558)	(0.725)
Divided Government	-0.257*	-0.309*	-0.298*	-0.280	-0.214	-0.141	0.089	0.502**	0.623**	0.553	0.387	0.023
	(0.116)	(0.146)	(0.175)	(0.197)	(0.216)	(0.225)	(0.222)	(0.195)	(0.252)	(0.385)	(0.434)	(0.455)
Employment	0.418**	0.481***	0.528***	0.514***	0.540***	0.531***	0.570***	0.591***	0.654***	0.578**	0.616**	0.466**
	(0.136)	(0.138)	(0.151)	(0.144)	(0.140)	(0.133)	(0.145)	(0.179)	(0.192)	(0.196)	(0.224)	(0.189)
Independent Agency	-0.293	-0.273	-0.198	-0.110	-0.119	-0.056	0.167	0.105	-0.111	-0.033	0.372	0.134
	(0.589)	(0.561)	(0.629)	(0.625)	(0.642)	(0.647)	(0.713)	(0.924)	(1.021)	(1.038)	(1.098)	(0.886)
Congress	-1.997*	-1.336	-0.882	-1.445	0.072	5.073*	5.788*	7.209*	7.563*	6.905	6.573	-3.280
	(1.108)	(1.411)	(1.457)	(1.466)	(2.077)	(2.353)	(2.899)	(3.349)	(3.917)	(5.526)	(7.142)	(7.399)
Congress Squared	0.009*	0.006	0.004	0.007	-0.000	-0.023*	-0.026*	-0.033*	-0.034*	-0.032	-0.030	0.015
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Constant	106.783*	65.850	40.495	72.120	-12.867	-285.386*	-325.193*	-402.921*	-422.243*	-384.925	-364.703	169.679
	(59.927)	(76.373)	(78.815)	(79.472)	(112.230)	(127.000)	(156.282)	(180.360)	(210.980)	(298.858)	(386.739)	(400.541)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.210***	-1.754***	-1.792***	-1.682***	-1.573***	-1.596***	-1.415***	-1.445***	-1.887**	-1.347**	-1.134**	-0.490
	(0.253)	(0.251)	(0.256)	(0.283)	(0.302)	(0.382)	(0.392)	(0.464)	(0.676)	(0.456)	(0.449)	(0.636)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.455***	2.703***	2.949***	2.675***	3.002***	2.808***	3.376***	4.626***	5.078***	4.052***	4.132**	2.841**
	(0.524)	(0.595)	(0.695)	(0.590)	(0.818)	(0.732)	(0.974)	(1.358)	(1.543)	(1.241)	(1.441)	(1.118)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2612.407	2185.844	1996.568	1791.606	1518.803	1334.411	1156.560	943.329	746.349	605.371	478.353	371.448

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.14: Committee Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.081	0.480	0.452	0.55	0.367	0.289	0.175	0.234	0.278	0.012	0.196	-0.296
	(0.137)	(0.190)	(0.217)	(0.264)	(0.271)	(0.262)	(0.317)	(0.387)	(0.497)	(0.633)	(0.652)	(1.015)
Divided Government	-0.078	-0.080	-0.089	-0.137*	-0.083	-0.122	-0.105	0.086	0.032	-0.184	-0.222	-0.327
	(0.052)	(0.059)	(0.069)	(0.083)	(0.092)	(0.105)	(0.110)	(0.108)	(0.106)	(0.236)	(0.264)	(0.278)
Employment	0.404**	0.474***	0.519***	0.513***	0.538***	0.535***	0.583***	0.620***	0.702***	0.609***	0.638**	0.469**
	(0.135)	(0.134)	(0.147)	(0.140)	(0.137)	(0.131)	(0.144)	(0.177)	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.223)	(0.191)
Independent Agency	-0.326	-0.277	-0.211	-0.102	-0.113	-0.044	0.196	0.173	0.001	0.021	0.405	0.122
	(0.595)	(0.566)	(0.630)	(0.622)	(0.641)	(0.646)	(0.710)	(0.916)	(1.006)	(1.012)	(1.086)	(0.885)
Congress	-0.881	0.696	1.011	0.176	1.442	5.658**	4.763*	4.805*	3.957	1.913	2.883	-5.821
	(0.989)	(1.445)	(1.436)	(1.398)	(1.726)	(1.943)	(2.362)	(2.870)	(3.105)	(4.611)	(5.642)	(6.045)
Congress Squared	0.004	-0.003	-0.005	-0.001	-0.006	-0.026**	-0.021*	-0.022	-0.018	-0.008	-0.013	0.027
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.028)
Constant	47.305	-42.818	-60.687	-14.604	-86.238	-316.774**	-270.375*	-274.359*	-229.506	-117.797	-167.377	305.377
	(53.889)	(78.658)	(78.120)	(76.223)	(93.824)	(105.349)	(127.775)	(154.973)	(167.879)	(249.742)	(306.186)	(328.074)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.179***	-1.763***	-1.800***	-1.723***	-1.586***	-1.598***	-1.399***	-1.382***	-1.666**	-1.062**	-0.951**	-0.430
	(0.242)	(0.241)	(0.244)	(0.277)	(0.301)	(0.381)	(0.382)	(0.430)	(0.555)	(0.374)	(0.357)	(0.581)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.437***	2.628***	2.867***	2.591***	2.932***	2.769***	3.372***	4.656***	5.145***	4.148***	4.160**	2.920**
	(0.521)	(0.576)	(0.674)	(0.572)	(0.800)	(0.724)	(0.973)	(1.370)	(1.584)	(1.298)	(1.497)	(1.174)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2615.887	2183.855	1994.860	1787.364	1517.725	1333.483	1156.948	945.355	750.130	609.228	480.168	371.795

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.15: The President and Committee Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.172	0.346	0.271	0.246	0.128	-0.005	-0.415	-0.529*	-0.244	-0.406	0.452	-0.059
	(0.185)	(0.215)	(0.238)	(0.240)	(0.246)	(0.255)	(0.309)	(0.297)	(0.375)	(0.520)	(0.592)	(0.777)
Divided Government	-0.111	-0.130	-0.121	-0.154	-0.086	-0.099	0.011	0.238*	0.115	-0.083	-0.306	-0.339
	(0.069)	(0.082)	(0.100)	(0.115)	(0.118)	(0.135)	(0.140)	(0.128)	(0.158)	(0.303)	(0.320)	(0.333)
Employment	0.407**	0.472***	0.518***	0.509***	0.533***	0.529***	0.571***	0.602***	0.688***	0.599**	0.644**	0.471**
	(0.134)	(0.136)	(0.149)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.131)	(0.145)	(0.178)	(0.192)	(0.194)	(0.225)	(0.190)
Independent Agency	-0.321	-0.297	-0.224	-0.124	-0.133	-0.061	0.168	0.127	-0.038	-0.003	0.408	0.132
	(0.591)	(0.564)	(0.630)	(0.624)	(0.642)	(0.644)	(0.708)	(0.917)	(1.007)	(1.025)	(1.094)	(0.887)
Congress	-1.609	-1.166	-0.523	-1.318	0.531	5.363*	6.443*	6.921*	4.742	3.717	0.806	-5.315
	(1.246)	(1.513)	(1.495)	(1.457)	(1.897)	(2.329)	(2.900)	(3.354)	(4.138)	(6.358)	(7.490)	(7.590)
Congress Squared	0.007	0.006	0.003	0.006	-0.002	-0.024*	-0.029*	-0.031*	-0.021	-0.017	-0.004	0.025
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.035)
Constant	86.500	57.493	21.910	65.845	-37.155	-300.901**	-361.049*	-388.558*	-271.848	-215.082	-55.434	278.197
	(67.609)	(81.894)	(80.955)	(79.117)	(102.670)	(126.047)	(156.641)	(180.919)	(223.430)	(344.259)	(405.866)	(411.543)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.182***	-1.739***	-1.777***	-1.685***	-1.576***	-1.597***	-1.405***	-1.403**	-1.675**	-1.101**	-0.951**	-0.425
	(0.244)	(0.246)	(0.254)	(0.287)	(0.306)	(0.383)	(0.389)	(0.456)	(0.591)	(0.415)	(0.336)	(0.567)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.441***	2.669***	2.913***	2.651***	2.980***	2.804***	3.410***	4.697***	5.190***	4.149***	4.199**	2.865**
	(0.522)	(0.588)	(0.687)	(0.587)	(0.815)	(0.734)	(0.984)	(1.381)	(1.575)	(1.272)	(1.472)	(1.128)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2615.105	2187.464	1998.334	1792.149	1519.424	1334.456	1155.948	944.141	750.268	608.770	479.876	371.882

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table D.16: The President, Committee Medians and Chamber Medians as the Only Veto Players (Lowest to High Thresholds)

	(1) T=-1	(2) T=-.25	(3) T=0	(4) T=.25	(5) T=.50	(6) T=.75	(7) T=1	(8) T=1.25	(9) T=1.50	(10) T=1.75	(11) T=2	(12) T=2.25
Agency Gridlock Interval	0.192	0.371	0.289	0.245	0.120	-0.035	-0.438	-0.566*	-0.272	-0.432	0.440	-0.059
	(0.192)	(0.221)	(0.246)	(0.246)	(0.258)	(0.266)	(0.325)	(0.306)	(0.380)	(0.530)	(0.611)	(0.806)
Divided Government	-0.117*	-0.138	-0.127	-0.155	-0.084	-0.092	0.018	0.249*	0.123	-0.075	-0.305	-0.339
	(0.071)	(0.085)	(0.102)	(0.118)	(0.121)	(0.138)	(0.143)	(0.131)	(0.160)	(0.306)	(0.325)	(0.340)
Employment	0.407**	0.472***	0.518***	0.508***	0.533***	0.528***	0.570***	0.601***	0.687***	0.599**	0.643**	0.471**
	(0.134)	(0.136)	(0.149)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.132)	(0.145)	(0.178)	(0.193)	(0.194)	(0.225)	(0.190)
Independent Agency	-0.321	-0.296	-0.224	-0.125	-0.134	-0.062	0.167	0.126	-0.039	-0.004	0.408	0.132
	(0.591)	(0.564)	(0.629)	(0.624)	(0.642)	(0.644)	(0.708)	(0.916)	(1.008)	(1.025)	(1.094)	(0.887)
Congress	-1.701	-1.294	-0.618	-1.334	0.554	5.493*	6.579*	7.130*	4.888	3.870	0.814	-5.310
	(1.269)	(1.525)	(1.508)	(1.487)	(1.943)	(2.365)	(2.946)	(3.380)	(4.175)	(6.442)	(7.615)	(7.769)
Congress Squared	0.008	0.006	0.003	0.006	-0.002	-0.025*	-0.030*	-0.032*	-0.022	-0.017	-0.004	0.025
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.036)
Constant	91.450	64.377	27.039	66.723	-38.350	-307.887**	-368.362*	-399.822*	-279.743	-223.367	-55.839	277.932
	(68.825)	(82.577)	(81.678)	(80.761)	(105.151)	(128.016)	(159.122)	(182.348)	(225.414)	(348.800)	(412.635)	(421.216)
ln(alpha)												
Constant	-2.183***	-1.742***	-1.780***	-1.685***	-1.576***	-1.598***	-1.404***	-1.402**	-1.676**	-1.103**	-0.951**	-0.425
	(0.243)	(0.246)	(0.254)	(0.287)	(0.306)	(0.384)	(0.389)	(0.456)	(0.592)	(0.416)	(0.337)	(0.567)
Agency Level												
var(Constant)	2.441***	2.670***	2.913***	2.651***	2.980***	2.804***	3.408***	4.693***	5.188***	4.147***	4.199**	2.865**
	(0.522)	(0.588)	(0.688)	(0.587)	(0.815)	(0.734)	(0.983)	(1.379)	(1.573)	(1.271)	(1.472)	(1.128)
N	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442	442
BIC	2614.889	2187.187	1998.191	1792.178	1519.451	1334.445	1155.841	943.961	750.207	608.721	479.905	371.882

Standard errors in parentheses. Each model's dependent variable is the number of eligible final rules with NPRMs and a significance score of at least T (defined in the column labels), promulgated by an agency within a Congress. Models include agency-level random effects and agency-clustered S.E.s. One-tailed test: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$