Regulation/Rater Dataset

The attached dataset of federal regulations, **raters_30March22.txt** consists of 39,311 distinct Regulation Identifier Numbers (or RINs) found in 48 semi-annual issues of the Unified Agenda of Regulatory and Deregulatory Actions from Spring 1995 through Spring 2019. 38,331 of these RINs are derived from the 47 semi-annual issues of the Unified Agenda of Regulatory and Deregulatory Actions available at Reginfo.gov from Fall 1995 through Spring 2019.[1][2] For these 38,331 RINs, data was obtained from the Unified Agenda, the Federal Register, The New York Times, Regulations.gov, the Office of Management and Budget, HeinOnline, and The Washington Post to generate the variables in this dataset. For the remaining 980 RINs, data was obtained from a PDF copy of the Spring 1995 Unified Agenda as well as the Federal Register to generate a more limited set of variables in the dataset.

Variable List

RIN

The RIN is obtained from the value within the "RIN" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry.

Major

Captures whether the rule is "major" because it has resulted or is likely to result in an annual effect on the economy of $100 million or more or meets other criteria. This information was extracted from the value within the "MAJOR" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry. RINs returning a value of 'Undetermined' or NA, or those among the 980 RINs only included in Spring 1995 were coded as missing.

1652	$< 1 >$	Yes
32928	$< 0 >$	No
4731	$< NA >$	NA

Priority

Captures the significance of the regulation, also called its priority. This information was extracted from the value within the "PRIORITY_CATEGORY" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry. RINs returning "Economically Significant" or "Other Significant" were coded as 1, while those coded as "Substantive, Nonsignificant", "Routine and Frequent", or "Info./Admin./Other" were coded as zero.

10868	$< 1 >$	Significant
27611	$< 0 >$	Nonsignificant
832	$< NA >$	NA

Regulatory

Captures whether or not an RIN is included in The Regulatory Plan. This information was extracted from the value within the "RPLAN_ENTRY" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry. For the 980 RINs only included in Spring 1995, these were coded as missing.

562	$< 1 >$	Yes
37769	$< 0 >$	No
980	$< NA >$	NA

[1] Only one issue was published for 2012, covering the entire year.

[2] As this dataset is defined by the set of RINs found in the Unified Agenda, it may omit RINs that do not appear in the Unified Agenda but appear in the Federal Register or in a docket on Regulations.gov.

StDeadline

Captures whether the rule is subject to a statutory deadline. This information was extracted from the values within the first seven rows of the first column of the "LEGAL_DLINE_LIST" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry. No RIN had more than seven rows in this table. If any of these values included the string 'Statutory' this variable was coded as 1 for this variable.

3901	$< 1 >$	1
34430	$< 0 >$	0
980	$< NA >$	NA

JuDeadline

Captures whether the rule is subject to a judicial deadline. This information was extracted from the values within the first seven rows of the first column of the "LEGAL_DLINE_LIST" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry. No RIN had more than seven rows in this table. If any of these values included the string 'Judicial' this variable was coded as 1 for this variable.

896	$< 1 >$	1
37435	$< 0 >$	0
980	$< NA >$	NA

NYT

Captures whether the RIN was mentioned in the New York Times in the dataset of Potter (2017). For the 980 RINs only included in Spring 1995, these were coded as missing.

122	$< 1 >$	Yes
12611	$< 2 >$	No
26578	$< NA >$	NA

Hearing

Indicates that a Unified Agenda timetable entry for a RIN mentioned a hearing or a meeting. Text was obtained from the "TTBL_ACTION" XML tag present in every row subordinate to 'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. For every timetable row, this text was searched for the terms "earing" and "eeting". If either term was present, HEARING was coded as equal to 1 of the row's corresponding "TTBL_DATE" did not include "/00/" or "To Be Determined". Otherwise, its value is zero.

936	$< 1 >$	Yes
37412	$< 0 >$	No
963	$< NA >$	NA

ANPRM_count

The number of ANPRM documents using data from both the Unified Agenda and the Federal Register.

A count of ANPRMs based on the Unified Agenda was calculated in the following manner. Text was obtained from

the "TTBL_ACTION" XML tag present in every row subordinate to 'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. For every timetable row, this text was searched for the terms "ANPRM" and "Advance" and if either term was found and "Staff," "Decision," "Comment," "Effective," "Expect," or "Withdraw" were not present, the row was counted as an ANPRM if a corresponding Federal Register citation was detected from the "FR_CITATION" XML tag subordinate to 'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. This tag is present for timetable rows describing actions published in the Federal Register. The number of detected ANPRMs was then summed to create a total based on the Unified Agenda.

A count of ANPRMs based on the Federal Register was also calculated in the following manner. A search for the RIN in the Federal Register API was conducted, and the number of results whose 'action' field includes "dvance notice of proposed rule", "dvanced notice of proposed rule", "dvance Notice of Proposed Rule" or "ANPRM", and does not include "dditional", "xtension", "ithdraw", "ancellation" or "orrection" was summed to create a total count of ANPRMs based on the Federal Register.

This variable is equal to the larger value of the number of ANPRM timetable entries in the Unified Agenda which are associated with a citation to the Federal Register or the number of ANPRM documents made available through the Federal Register API following the measurement procedures for ANPRMs in the Federal Register as described above.

0	$Minimum$
1657	# Coded ≥ 1
4	Max
2	NAs

NPRM_count

The number of NPRM documents using data from both the Unified Agenda and the Federal Register, subtracted by one.

A count of NPRMs based on the Unified Agenda was calcluated in the following manner. Text was obtained from the "TTBL_ACTION" XML tag present in every row subordinate to 'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. For every timetable row, this text was searched for the terms "NPRM," "Proposed Rule," "Proposed rule," "Proposed Policy", and "NPRM/Comment". If any or several of these terms were present in the text, and exclusion terms for each detected term were not present, the row was counted as an NPRM if a corresponding Federal Register citation was detected from the "FR_CITATION" XML tag subordinate to 'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. This tag is present for timetable rows describing actions published in the Federal Register. The number of detected NPRMs was then summed to create a total based on the Unified Agenda.

The exclusion terms for "NPRM" were "ANPRM", "FNPRM", "Supplemental", "SNPRM", "Staff", "Comment", "Withdraw", "Votes", "Final", and "Delet". The exclusion terms for "Proposed Rule" and "Proposed rule" were "Preliminary", "Reinstatement", "Staff", "Comment", "Withdraw", "Intent", "Final", and "Delet". The exclusion terms for "Proposed Policy" were "Directive", "Preliminary", "Reinstatement", "Staff", "Comment", "Withdraw", "Intent", "Final", and "Delet". The exclusion terms for "NPRM/Comment" were "Preliminary", "Reinstatement", "Staff", "Withdraw", "Intent", "Final", and "Delet".

A count of NPRMs based on the Federal Register was also calculated in the following manner. A search for the RIN in the Federal Register API was conducted, and the number of results whose 'action' field includes "roposed rule","roposed Rule", or "roposed regulation" but does not include "dvance", "ithdraw", "ancellation","orrection", "opening of comment", "upplement", "abeyance", "reliminary", "additional public", "opening of pub", "opening of the adm" , "opening of the com", "opening of the pub", "erminat", "otice of public hearing on proposed rule", "xtension", "urther", "otice of availability" , "mendment", "; notice of hearing",";notice of public hearing", "; notification of hearing", "; public meeting", "interpreta", "reopen", "petition", "delay" or "concept" was summed to create a total based on the Federal Register.

This variable is equal to the larger value of the number of NPRM timetable entries in the Unified Agenda which are associated with a citation to the Federal Register or the number of NPRM documents made available through the Federal Register API following the measurement procedures for NPRMs described above, with that larger value subtracted by one.

0	$Minimum$
1321	# Coded ≥ 1
36	Max
19707	NAs

PublicComment

Indicates the total number of public comments which include the RIN in their document information on Regulations.gov. The total number of public comment documents (excluding primary and supporting documents) linked to the RIN was obtained by using the Regulations.gov API to search for documents including the RIN as a keyword for a keyword search, with a restriction limiting the results to public submissions. The total number of public comments was captured from the totalNumRecords item returned by the API.

0	$Minimum$
6213	# Coded ≥ 1

325767 Max
29096 NAs

Page

This count variable captures the length (in pages) of a regulation's first proposed rule, interim final rule, or direct final rule which was published in the *Federal Register*. For every RIN in the rules universe, a call to the Federal Register API was made to pull Federal Register entries of the "RULE" and "PRORULE" type published for that RIN. Among the "RULE" documents, those entries including either 'nterim' or 'irect' in the action field were preserved, and other "RULE" documents were excluded. The document with the earliest publication date among the preserved documents was identified and the "page_length" value for that document was recorded as the rater value for the RIN.

1 $Minimum$
18411 # Coded ≥ 1
820 Max
20900 NAs

lobby

This count variable assesses the number of times lobbyists met with OMB officials on the subject of a rule, according to meeting logs required by Executive Order 12866. These logs are available in XML format for all meetings occurring after March 2014 on Reginfo.gov, and these logs are available in HTML format for meetings which occurred between September 26, 2001 and March 31, 2014 at https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/om
A team of human coders examined each meeting log and compared that information against the set of proposed rules included by an agency on the issue of the *Unified Agenda* concurrent with the meeting date, and a search of proposed rules in the *Federal Register*. The number of meetings identified for each RIN was tabulated and used as the rater value for the RIN.

0 $Minimum$
1084 # Coded ≥ 1
158 Max
12054 NAs

Hein_RIN

This count variable captures the number of times an RIN is cited in Hein Online ScholarCheck's Law Journal Library. For every RIN in the rules universe, the eight digits of the RIN were entered in as a search term on Hein Online's ScholarCheck search of their Law Journal Library. All results were screened by human coders to exclude false positives, such as RIN numbers appearing as years, or as citations from the *SEC Docket*, which is SEC's regulatory and enforcement releases and considered as a journal in Hein Online's Law Journal Library. The resulting screened number of citations was recorded as the rater value for the RIN.

0	$Minimum$
641	# Coded ≥ 1
23	Max
0	NAs

WP_O

This count variable captures the number of articles which mentioned a particular rule among all articles published in the Washington Post in a given Congress. A ProQuest advanced search of articles in The Washington Post was conducted for those articles published from January 1, 1994 through December, 2020, which contained the keywords 'rule' and 'regulation'. These returned articles were then examined by a human coder to assign the article to a specific rule when a match is observed based on information from the UA and FA, timing, and the content of the article. Since our empirical application concentrates on the opposition or implicit vetoes of political actors, we exclude news articles focusing on the opposition of the President, Congress, and the court in our count to be consistent. These excluded articles occupy only about 5 percent of news articles collected for the raters of *Washington Post Total* and *Washington Post Front Page*, so including or excluding them does not affect our significance scores much.

0	$Minimum$
1302	# Coded ≥ 1
73	Max
0	NAs

WP_F

This count variable captures the number of articles on the front page of the Washington Post in a given Congress which mentioned a particular rule. A ProQuest advanced search of articles in The Washington Post was conducted for those articles published from January 1, 1994 through December 31, 2020, which were listed by document type as being 'Front Page/Cover Story' and which contained both of the keywords 'rule' and 'regulation'. These articles were then examined by human coder using careful reading to assign the article to a specific rule if the article referred to one.

0	$Minimum$
331	# Coded ≥ 1
18	Max
0	NAs

Firstyear

This variable captures the number of years which have elapsed from the first year in which the RIN was listed in the Unified Agenda until 2022, the year in which this dataset was finalized. Thus, a rule first published in the Unified Agenda in 2019 would be coded as a 3, and a rule whose first appearance in our data was in Spring 1995 (the first UA issue we

examine) would be coded as a 27.

3	$Minimum$
18	$Median$
27	Max
0	NAs

UAissue

This count variable captures the number of issues of the Unified Agenda in which the RIN was included with an entry. Each UA XML entry was parsed to extract the RINs listed in that entry. These data were merged to create a matrix of RINs and Unified Agenda issues, with an indicator variable to measure an RIN's presence in a given issue. Those indicators were summed to generate this count variable.

1	$Minimum$
3	$Median$
49	Max
0	NAs

UAissue.1

This count variable captures the number of issues of the Unified Agenda in which the RIN was included with an entry. Each UA XML entry was parsed to extract the RINs listed in that entry. These data were merged to create a matrix of RINs and Unified Agenda issues, with an indicator variable to measure an RIN's presence in a given issue. Those indicators were summed to generate this count variable. This variable is identical to **UAissue**.

1	$Minimum$
3	$Median$
49	Max
0	NAs

Data Description for Spring 1995 Issue of the Unified Agenda

XML data from the Unified Agenda is only available from Fall 1995 onwards. In order to obtain a rules dataset which covers the entire 104th Congress, it was necessary to incorporate data on rules which only appeared in the Spring 1995 issue. The Spring 1995 issue of the Unified Agenda is not available in XML format, and had to be obtained from PDF copies which are available in the May 8, 1995 issue of the Federal Register. The UA entry for each agency was listed separately on the page for the May 8, 1995 issue on FederalRegister.gov.

The May 8, 1995 Federal Register entry PDF was parsed in order to create a list of RINs covered by the Unified Agenda issue. Each agency UA entry was loaded and converted into plain text using PyPDF. Within the plain text, whenever the string 'RIN: ' was detected, the nine characters immediately following this string were captured and added to a list of RINs mentioned in the UA issue.

This list of RINs was compared against the RINs included in the XML Unified Agenda data. For those RINs which were detected in the Spring 1995 UA PDFs but not in the XML UA data, the data for several UA-based raters was obtained through hand coding. These raters are listed below:

- RIN
- Priority
- Hearing
- ANPRM_count
- NPRM_count

The handcoded data do not count 'MO' and 'O' entries as rules. The handcoded data was processed to select only those rules meeting certain criteria for inclusion in the dataset. All RINs which had data entered for either Small Entities OR Government Levels were retained, and the others were dropped.

For PRIORITY, an RIN was coded as 1 if "Economically Significant" was coded as 1 in the handcoded data, or if "Priority" was coded as "Economically Significant" in the handcoded data, or if "Priority" was coded as "Other Significant" in the handcoded data. If "Priority" was coded as "Substantive, Nonsignificant", or "Informational" in the handcoded data, it was coded as a 0. PRIORITY was coded as NA in all other cases.

For Hearing, ANPRM_count and NPRM_count, human coders used their best judgment to count the number of ANPRMs and NPRMs listed for an RIN.

Supplemental RIN Dataset

The attached dataset of supplemental data on our 39,311 RINs, **supplemental.txt** consists of 19 variables used to generate tables and figures describing our rules universe of 39,311 observations.

Variable List

RIN The RIN is obtained from the value within the "RIN" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry.

SIG This is the significance score calculated via the IRT procedure described in the paper using the 15 rater variables described above.

-1.276	$Minimum$
-0.316	$Median$
3.483	Max

DEPT_ABB This variable assigns an abbreviation for the agency proposing the RIN. These abbreviations are unique to this project, and each abbreviation is linked to a single parent agency among over 100 parent agencies in the data. These abbreviations may be inspected in Table A.3 of the appendix.

independent This is a label variable derived from OIRA_AGENCY for the purposes of describing the entire rules universe in Figure 2. Some parent agencies include lower level agencies which are both subject and not subject to OIRA review which issued RINs. For each parent agency, the median value of OIRA_AGENCY was captured among all RINs which it proposed. This variable was then coded **Executive (Subject to OIRA Review)** for all RINs proposed by a parent agency with a median OIRA_AGENCY value of 1 among its RINs, and coded **Independent (Not Subject to OIRA Review)** for all RINs proposed by a parent agency with a median OIRA_AGENCY value of 0 among its RINs. This procedure allowed all parent agencies to be labeled as executive or independent agencies in Figure 2, even though this variable differs slightly from its source variable, OIRA_AGENCY.

33071	$< Executive(SubjecttoOIRAReview) >$	No
6240	$< Independent(NotSubjecttoOIRAReview) >$	Yes

impact The RIN's impact score from Potter (2017). This data is available via the 'impact' variable in the 'slowroll.tab' file downloadable at `https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/1O8LCD`.

0.000	$Minimum$
0.177	$Median$
1.000	Max
28289	NAs

POTTER Indicates that the RIN is included as a rule with an NPRM in the data used by Potter (2017).

27309	$< 0 >$	No
11022	$< 1 >$	Yes
980	$< NA >$	Missing

OIRA_AGENCY Indicates that the agency issuing the RIN is subject to OIRA review and thus not an independent agency, per Potter (2017). If the value of the first four digits of the RIN was found among a list of OIRA agencies, the RIN was coded as being issued by an OIRA agency.

6489 $< 0 >$ No
31842 $< 1 >$ Yes
980 $< NA >$ Missing

DIRECT_UAFR Indicates the presence of a published direct rule for a RIN without either an ANPRM or NPRM for the RIN. The 'TTBL_ACTION' text for each timetable row in a Unified Agenda entry was searched for the term "irect", and if the term was found, the terms 'irective' and 'NPRM' were not found, and the 'FR_CITATION' text for the same row was not empty for at least one row, and NPRM_CITATION equaled zero, DIRECT_UAFR was coded as 1. Otherwise, it was coded as zero. If, after this step, DIRECT_UAFR was coded as zero, a RIN search was run on the Federal Register API for 'RULE' documents. If any documents were returned with the term 'irect' in the 'action' field and no NPRM documents were measured in the Federal Register using the coding procedure described for NPRM_CITATION, DIRECT_UAFR was coded as 1. Otherwise, DIRECT_UAFR was coded as 0.

38753 $< 0 >$ No
558 $< 1 >$ Yes

INTERIM_UAFR Indicates the presence of a published interim rule for a RIN without either an ANPRM or NPRM for the RIN. The 'TTBL_ACTION' text for each timetable row in a Unified Agenda entry was searched for the term "nterim", and if the term was found, the term 'NPRM' was not found, and the 'FR_CITATION' text for the same row was not empty for at least one row, and NPRM_CITATION equaled zero, INTERIM_UAFR was coded as 1. Otherwise, it was coded as zero. If, after this step,INTERIM_UAFR was coded as zero, a RIN search was run on the Federal Register API for 'RULE' documents. If any documents were returned with the term 'nterim' in the 'action' field and no NPRM documents were measured in the Federal Register using the coding procedure described for NPRM_CITATION, INTERIM_UAFR was coded as 1. Otherwise, INTERIM_UAFR was coded as 0.

36475 $< 0 >$ No
2836 $< 1 >$ Yes

NPRM_CITATION
Indicates the existence of at least one NPRM associated with a corresponding citation in the Federal Register as part of a UA timetable entry, or a Federal Register document. This was conducted according to the coding rules established for identifying an NPRM laid out for the variable NPRM_count in the Rater dataset. 20066 $< 0 >$ No
18265 $< 1 >$ Yes

PUBLISHED_NPRM_PRE2015
Indicates the existence of an NPRM as part of a UA entry which was recorded as published in an issue of the Unified Agenda before Spring 2015. The issue year was obtained from the name of the XML file for a given issue of the Unified Agenda. If that year value was less than or equal to 2014, a published NPRM before 2015 was

documented for the rule.

22638 $< 0 >$ No
15693 $< 1 >$ Yes
980 $< NA >$ Missing

MERGED_RIN Indicates that the RIN was ultimately merged, transferred, or combined with another RIN. Text was obtained from the "TTBL_ACTION" XML tag present in every row subordinate to 'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. For every timetable row, this text was searched for every combination of a digit linked to the letters 'A', 'B', or 'C', with a hyphen, such as "5-B" or "2-A", which indicate that an RIN was listed in the TTBL_ACTION text. If one of the above digit-letter combinations was found, and the terms "Withdraw" and "Deleted" were not found, and there was no instance of "Final" used in an earlier row, the entry was coded as being a merged RIN.

37120 $< 0 >$ No
1211 $< 1 >$ Yes
980 $< NA >$ Missing

Agency-Congress Dataset

The attached dataset of agency-Congresses, **Main results.dta** consists of 442 parent agency-Congress observations, covering 55 parent agencies from the 104th Congress to the 112th Congress (1995-2012).

The dataset **table 5.dta**, used for the robustness check which considers rule productivity in terms of rules with or without NPRMs, uses the same variable names and is coded identically, except the rule productivity variables do not screen for the existence of an NPRM for rules when constructing the count of significant final rules for a given agency-Congress observation.

Variable List

congress Captures the number of the Congress for each observation.

108.054	*Mean*
2.574	*Std.Dev.*
104.000	*Minimum*
112.000	*Maximum*

dept_num Captures the department number of the parent agency, as assigned by Chen and Johnson (2015).

101.000	*Minimum*
177.000	*Maximum*

ruleprod [14 versions] Captures the number of final rules with at least one NPRM whose significance scores are at least as high as one of 14 given significance thresholds and promulgated by an agency in a Congress. Three pieces of information were needed to calculate this variable for each agency-Congress from the rules universe of all 39,311 RINs included in the Unified Agenda between Spring 1995 and Spring 2019: the RIN significance score, the date on which the RIN was promulgated as a final rule (if any), and the RIN's number of NPRMs. The RIN significance score was extracted from the regulation/rater dataset described above.

For each of the 39,311 RINs in our rules universe, the date of the last listed action for an RIN which includes "inal", "nterim" and "egulation", "nterim" and "ule", "irect" and "egulation", or "irect" and "ule" was captured from the Unified Agenda XML files as well as the Federal Register API. Dates from the Unified Agenda which referred to effective dates or the due dates for comments were excluded. The date recorded in this variable contains the later of the dates from the two data sources. If the final action date took place after the publication date of the Spring 2019 issue, the variable is coded as NA, as the rule was not finalized at the time the last UA issue in the dataset was published.

For each rule in our rules universe, the existence of at least one NPRM document for an RIN was assessed using data from both the Unified Agenda and the Federal Register. In each XML entry of the Unified Agenda for a RIN, text was obtained from the "TTBL_ACTION" XML tag present in every row subordinate to 'TIMETABLE'. For every timetable row, this text was searched for the terms "NPRM", "Proposed Rule", "Proposed rule," Proposed Policy", and "NPRM/Comment". If any or several of these terms were present in the text, and exclusion terms for each detected term were not present, the row was counted as an NPRM if a corresponding Federal Register citation was detected from the "FR_CITATION" XML tag subordinate to

'TIMETABLE' within a UA entry. This tag is present for timetable rows describing actions published in the Federal Register.

The exclusion terms for "NPRM" were "ANPRM", "FNPRM", "Supplemental", "SNPRM", "Staff", "Comment", "Withdraw", "Votes", "Final", and "Delet". The exclusion terms for "Proposed Rule" and "Proposed rule" were "Preliminary", "Reinstatement", "Staff", "Comment", "Withdraw", "Intent", "Final", and "Delet". The exclusion terms for "Proposed Policy" were "Directive", "Preliminary", "Reinstatement", "Staff", "Comment", "Withdraw", "Intent", "Final", and "Delet". The exclusion terms for "NPRM/Comment" were "Preliminary", "Reinstatement", "Staff", "Withdraw", "Intent", "Final", and "Delet".

For RINs with no detected NPRMs using the method just described, an NPRM was also determined to exist if there exists at least one document returned by a search for the RIN in the Federal Register API whose 'action' field includes "roposed rule","roposed Rule", or "roposed regulation" does not include "dvance", "ithdraw", "ancellation","orrection", "opening of comment", "upplement", "abeyance", "reliminary", "additional public", "opening of pub", "opening of the adm" , "opening of the com", "opening of the pub", "erminat", "otice of public hearing on proposed rule", "xtension", "urther", "otice of availability" , "mendment", "; notice of hearing","notice of public hearing", "; notification of hearing", "; public meeting", "interpreta", "reopen", "petition", "delay" or "concept". Otherwise, the RIN was judged to have no published NPRMs.

The above procedures provide the RIN (which includes an agency-specific prefix), significance score, final rule promulgation date (if one exists), and indicator for the existence of a published NPRM, for every rule in our rules universe. Using these data, for each agency-Congress, the number of final rules promulgated by the agency during that Congress which had at least one NPRM, and a significance score higher than a determined threshold was tabulated. This was done for thirteen different significance thresholds as well as one in which there was no threshold. The summary statistics for each of the fourteen versions of this variable (defined by a significance threshold) are included below.

ruleprod_all (All)

19.251	*Mean*
30.368	*Std.Dev.*
0.00	*Minimum*
155	*Maximum*

ruleprod_np75 (T=-0.75)

17.1	*Mean*
26.729	*Std.Dev.*
0.00	*Minimum*
139	*Maximum*

ruleprod_np50 (T=-0.50)

13.98	*Mean*
21.229	*Std.Dev.*
0.00	*Minimum*
115	*Maximum*

ruleprod_np25 (T=-0.25)

9.378 *Mean*
14.345 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
72 *Maximum*

ruleprod_0 (T=0.00)
7.269 *Mean*
11.082 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
52 *Maximum*

ruleprod_p25 (T=0.25)
5.222 *Mean*
8.407 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
47 *Maximum*

ruleprod_p50 (T=0.50)
3.348 *Mean*
5.769 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
38 *Maximum*

ruleprod_p75 (T=0.75)
2.446 *Mean*
4.559 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
33 *Maximum*

ruleprod_1 (T=1.00)
1.790 *Mean*
3.633 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
27 *Maximum*

ruleprod_1p25 (T=1.25)
1.195 *Mean*
2.610 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
20 *Maximum*

ruleprod_1p50 (T=1.50)
0.805 *Mean*
1.883 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
14 *Maximum*

ruleprod_1p75 (T=1.75)
0.473 *Mean*
1.269 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
10 *Maximum*

ruleprod_2 (T=2.00)

0.285 *Mean*
0.878 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
7 *Maximum*

ruleprod_2p25 (T=2.25)
0.156 *Mean*
0.552 *Std.Dev.*
0.00 *Minimum*
4 *Maximum*

divided Captures if the presidency and at least one chamber of Congress were controlled by different parties during the majority of a given Congress in an agency-Congress observation.

0.660 *Mean*
0.474 *Std.Dev.*
0.000 *Minimum*
1.000 *Maximum*

independent Captures agency-Congresses for which the specified agency is not subject to OIRA review, and is thus independent, according to Potter (2017).

0.389 *Mean*
0.488 *Std.Dev.*
0.000 *Minimum*
1.000 *Maximum*

agi [16 versions] Captures the length of the interval bounded by the ideal point of an agency and the veto players stipulated in each of the three competing models in the main paper, four additional models incorporating the Supreme Court listed in Appendix G, and nine robustness check models using alternative legislative veto players described in the Dataverse Supplemental Document during an agency-Congress. For each agency-Congress, we begin with the ideal point estimated by Chen and Johnson (2015) for that agency in that Congress as its location in Common Space.

We first calculate seven different AGI variables, one for each competing model covered in the main paper and Appendix G. For AGI variables which include the president as a veto player, we use the Common Space estimate for the President serving throughout all or most of a given Congress (McCarty et al. 2006). For AGI variables which include Congress as a veto player, we use the Common Space estimate for the median House member as well as the median Senator from those legislators serving in a given Congress (McCarty et al. 2006). For AGI variables which include the Court as a veto player, we use the Judicial Common Space estimate for the median Supreme Court Justice serving in a given Congress (Epstein et al. 2007). For each AGI variable, the interval encompassing the agency ideal point and the included veto player ideal points was calculated to estimate a value for each agency-Congress. The summary statistics for the seven versions of this variable (defined by the included veto players) are listed below.

agi_cp (Model CP)
0.663 *Mean*

0.209 *Std.Dev.*
0.170 *Minimum*
1.203 *Maximum*

agi_cps (Model CPS)
0.775 *Mean*
0.119 *Std.Dev.*
0.504 *Minimum*
1.203 *Maximum*

agi_c (Model C)
0.294 *Mean*
0.163 *Std.Dev.*
0.015 *Minimum*
0.740 *Maximum*

agi_p (Model P)
0.494 *Mean*
0.317 *Std.Dev.*
0.003 *Minimum*
1.203 *Maximum*

agi_s (Model S)
0.398 *Mean*
0.197 *Std.Dev.*
0.001 *Minimum*
0.875 *Maximum*

agi_cs (Model CS)
0.447 *Mean*
0.161 *Std.Dev.*
0.053 *Minimum*
0.875 *Maximum*

agi_ps (Model PS)
0.750 *Mean*
0.141 *Std.Dev.*
0.452 *Minimum*
1.203 *Maximum*

We then calculate nine additional AGI variables which substitute alternative legislative actors for the House and Senate chamber medians (used in the main paper) to serve as legislative veto players. Three use House and Senate majority medians as the two congressional veto players, three use House and Senate majority leaders as the two congressional veto players, and three use an agency's House and Senate oversight committee medians to serve as legislative veto players. We use each of these legislators' Common Space estimates to calculate the AGI (McCarty et al. 2006).

For each of these three substitutes, we generate an AGI for the alternative legislative veto players as the sole veto players, an AGI in which the president and the alternative legislative veto players are veto players, and an AGI in which the president, the alternative legislative veto players, and the House and Senate chamber medians are all veto players. For each AGI variable, the interval encompassing the agency ideal point and the included veto player ideal points was calculated to estimate a value for

each agency-Congress. The summary statistics for the nine additional versions of this variable (defined by the included veto players) are listed below.

pagi_cp (Majority Medians and President)
0.7884 *Mean*
0.2615 *Std.Dev.*
0.0450 *Minimum*
1.2031 *Maximum*

pagi_c (Majority Medians Only)
0.4836 *Mean*
0.2409 *Std.Dev.*
0.0050 *Minimum*
0.9171 *Maximum*

pagi_mcp (Majority Medians, President, and Chamber Medians)
0.7992 *Mean*
0.2399 *Std.Dev.*
0.1700 *Minimum*
1.2031 *Maximum*

agi_t (Agency Oversight Committee Medians Only)
0.404 *Mean*
0.197 *Std.Dev.*
0.010 *Minimum*
1.043 *Maximum*

agi_tp (Agency Oversight Committee Medians and President)
0.735 *Mean*
0.206 *Std.Dev.*
0.151 *Minimum*
1.403 *Maximum*

agi_ctp (Agency Oversight Committee Medians, President, and Chamber Medians)
0.738 *Mean*
0.204 *Std.Dev.*
0.170 *Minimum*
1.403 *Maximum*

agi_l (Majority Leaders Only)
0.678 *Mean*
0.252 *Std.Dev.*
0.216 *Minimum*
1.120 *Maximum*

agi_lp (Majority Leaders and President)
0.911 *Mean*
0.271 *Std.Dev.*
0.216 *Minimum*
1.203 *Maximum*

agi_lcp (Majority Leaders, President, and Chamber Medians)
0.921 *Mean*

0.250	*Std.Dev.*
0.321	*Minimum*
1.203	*Maximum*

employment_ln Captures the logged average yearly number of employees for an agency during a Congress. OPM Fedscope data were used to determine a yearly number of employees for each agency, which were obtained for 1998-2012 at `https://www.fedscope.opm.gov/employment.asp`. For 1995-1997, yearly agency employment data were obtained through a request to the OPM's FedStats Team. For each agency-Congress, the agency's yearly employment numbers for both years covered by a Congress were averaged, and logged to generate the value for this variable.

8.755	*Mean*
2.246	*Std.Dev.*
3.970	*Minimum*
12.677	*Maximum*

Dataset for Table A.1

The attached supplemental dataset of RINS, **tableA1data.csv** consists of 7710 RINs, which were observed in the 2000 Federal Register or the 2000 Unified Agenda, or both.

Variable List

RIN The RIN is obtained from the "RIN" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry, or from the 'regulation_ID_numbers' field returned by the Federal Register API.

RIN_IN_FR Captures whether or not the RIN was present among proposed and final rules published in the Federal Register in 2000. This was conducted by using the Federal Register API to return all documents of the types "RULE" and "PRORULE" which had a publication year of 2000.

3486	< 1 >	Present in FR
4224	< 0 >	Absent from FR

RIN_IN_UA Captures whether or not the RIN had an entry in the Spring 2000 or Fall 2000 issues of the Unified Agenda. This was measured by parsing the XML files of both issues and extracting a list of unique entries under "RIN".

7537	< 1 >	Present in UA
353	< 0 >	Absent from UA

Dataset for Table A.2

The attached supplemental dataset of RINS, **tableA2data.csv** consists of 10785 RINs, which were observed in the 2000 Federal Register or the Unified Agenda between 1999-2000, or both.

Variable List

RIN The RIN is obtained from the "RIN" XML tag subordinate to 'RIN_INFO' for a UA entry, or from the 'regulation_ID_numbers' field returned by the Federal Register API.

RIN_IN_FR Captures whether or not the RIN was present among proposed and final rules published in the Federal Register in 2000. This was conducted by using the Federal Register API to return all documents of the types "RULE" and "PRORULE" which had a publication year of 2000.

3486	< 1 >	Present in FR
7299	< 0 >	Absent from FR

RIN_IN_UA Captures whether or not the RIN had an entry in the Spring 1999, Fall 1999, Spring 2000, Fall 2000, Spring 2001, or Fall 2001 issues of the Unified Agenda. This was measured by parsing the XML files of the six issues and extracting a list of unique entries under "RIN".

10555	< 1 >	Present in UA
230	< 0 >	Absent from UA