<u>Variable Codebook for Krause & Zarit "Selling Out?</u> <u>Contingent Politicization and Contracting Risk in U.S. Federal Procurements, 2001−2016" Dataset</u>

<mark>**PLEASE NOTE: VARIABLES LISTED IN THE VARIABLE CODEBOOK THAT APPEAR IN YELLOW HIGHLIGTED TEXT ARE EITHER DUPLICATE OR DORMANT VARIABLES UNRELATED TO THE EXECUTION OF THE EMPIRICAL ANALYSES PERFORMED IN EITHER THE ARTICLE OR ONLINE APPENDIX DOCUMENTS.**</mark>

Variables 1 – 22 were pulled from www.USASpending.gov in December of 2016. For each fiscal year, the contracts were collapsed based on the piid number which uniquely identifies each contract.

1. **piid**: unique identifying number for each contract.
2. **dollarsobligated**: the amount of funding transacted for a given contract in a given year.
3. **Dollarsobligated_adj**: the dollars obligated variable, adjusted to 2009 dollars.
4. **Baseandalloptionsvalue**: the total amount of money obligated for a country for the base amount and all possible options.
5. **contractingofficeid**: the office that executed a contract.
6. **signeddate**: the date that a contract was signed.
7. **effectivedate**: the date that a contract becomes operational.
8. **currentcompletiondate**: the expected date for the work on the current portion of a contract to be completed
9. **ultimatecompletiondate**: the estimated completion date for the base and all options of a contract.
10. **multiyearcontract**: Y: Yes, or N: No.
11. **vendor_state_code**: two letter abbreviation for the state where the vendor is located
12. **vendor_cd**: the congressional district associated with each vendor.
13. **parentdunsnumber**: a unique nine-digit number assigned to contractors that wish to do business with the government.
14. **placeofperformancecity:** the city where the contract was performed.
15. **Pop_cd**: congressional district where the contract was performed.
16. **Psc_cat**: product and service code category for each contract. Letters indicate services, numbers indicate products.
17. **Fiscal_year**: fiscal year for the first transaction associated with each contract.
18. **Reasonnotcompeted**: reason given for a contract not being open to competition.
19. **Numberofoffersreceived**: the number of offers received on a given contract
20. **Organizationaltype**: tax exempt status of the vendor that won a particular contract.
21. **Numberofemployees**: the number of employees for the vendor of the contract.
22. **Annualrevenue**: the annual revenue of the vendor of a contract.
23. **Congress**: the numerical identifier for a given Congress at the time of the contract's initiation.
24. **State_district_congress**: combination of the state, congressional district, and congressional session.

25. **Party_code**: 100 = Democrat, 200 = Republican, 328 = Other. Data gathered from: Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. Congressional Committee Assignments, 107th to 114th Congresses, 2001—2016. http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html Retrieved: 1/19/2017.

26. **House_app**: Binary indicator of whether the member of congress for a vendor's home district is on the House Appropriations committee (=1), = 0 otherwise. Data gathered from: Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. Congressional Committee Assignments, 107th to 114th Congresses, 2001—2016. http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html Retrieved: 1/19/2017

27. **House_ways**: Binary indicator of whether the member of congress for a vendor's home district is on the House Ways and Means committee (=1), = 0 otherwise. Data gathered from: Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. Congressional Committee Assignments, 107th to 114th Congresses, 2001—2016. http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html Retrieved: 1/19/2017

28. **House**: DORMANT.

29. **House_majority**: Binary indicator of whether the member of congress for a vendor's home district is a member of the House majority (=1), = 0 otherwise.

30. **Pres_party**: Binary indicator of whether the member of congress for av vendor's home district is a member of the president's party (=1), = 0 otherwise.

31. **Fips_state**: FIPS code for the state.

32. **State_district_congress2**: differently formatted version of state_district_congress

33. **Chair**: indicator of whether the member of congress for a vendor's home district is a committee chair. Data gathered from: Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. Congressional Committee Assignments, 107th to 114th Congresses, 2001—2016. http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html Retrieved: 1/19/2017

34. **Ranking**: indicator of whether the member of congress for a vendor's home district is the ranking member of a committee. Data gathered from: Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. Congressional Committee Assignments, 107th to 114th Congresses, 2001—2016. http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html Retrieved: 1/19/2017

35. **Close_congelect_dist**: whether the congressional race was within 5% points. Kriner and Reeves (2015).

36. **Level**: DORMANT.

37. **Agency_packing**: per Berry and Gersen (2017), a measure of politicization calculated by adding the number of PAS, Noncareer SES, and Schedule C employees, and dividing by the number of Career SES managers in a given agency. Sources: Lewis (2008), and FedScope, accessed on January 27, 2017

38. **Ins_d1**: estimate of the independence of decision makers in a given agency or bureau. Source: Jennifer Selin, from: "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):971-987 (2015). http://publish.illinois.edu/jselin/data/

39. **Ins_d2**: estimate of the independence of policy decisions. Source: Selin.

40. **Pop_state**: state where a contract is performed (place of performance).

41. **Pres_donor**: Binary indicator if employees at the vendor donated to the president's campaign in the previous election cycle (=1), = 0 otherwise. All campaign donation

information was gathered from the Federal Election Commission site: https://www.fec.gov/.

42. **Donor_amount**: aggregated dollar amount of campaign contributions from employees to the current president during the previous presidential campaign cycle.

43. **Year1**: Binary indicator if the contract occurred in the first year of an administration (=1), = 0 otherwise.

44. **Year2**: Binary indicator if the contract occurred in the second year of an administration (=1), = 0 otherwise.

45. **Year3**: Binary indicator if the contract occurred in the third year of an administration (=1), = 0 otherwise.

46. **Year4**: Binary indicator if the contract occurred in the fourth year of an administration (=1), = 0 otherwise.

47. **Unified**: Binary indicator if Congress is unified with the president at the time of the contract's initiation (=1), = 0 otherwise.

48. **Congxagency_id**: combination of the session of Congress and agency identification number.

49. **Level_ins_d2**: interaction of the level in an agency from where a contract originates and the second dimension Selin measure.

50. **Nobid**: Binary indicator if the contract was awarded through a no-bid process (=1), = 0 otherwise. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

51. **Typeofcontractpricing**: describes the type of pricing structure for the contract. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

52. **Productservicecode**: the code used by the government for the product or service associated with the contract. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

53. **Vendorname2**: the name of the vendor who won the contract. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

54. **Typeofsetaside**: describes the type of set aside (if used) to award the contract to a specific category of vendor. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

55. **Level_ins_d1**: interaction of the level in an agency from where a contract originates and the first dimension Selin measure.

56. **Maj_agency_code**: unique numeric code for the agency that is primarily responsible for a contract. This code comes directly from USASpending.gov. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

57. **Contractingofficeagency_code**: unique code used to identify specific contracting offices by the federal government. The original code has both a number and text to provide details on the office. This variable is only the numeric value. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

58. **Fed_agency_unit**: a code used by the federal government to identify which specific unit within an agency is administering a contract. The original code includes a unique numeric identifier and descriptive text of the office. This variable is numeric code Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

59. **Extentcompeted_code**: [String variable used by the federal government in USASpending.gov to differentiate how much competition occurred during the procurement process for a specific contract. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.
    a. A: full and open competition
    b. B: Not available for competition
    c. C: Not competed
    d. D: Full and Open Competition after exclusion of sources
    e. E: Follow On to Competed Action
    f. F: Competed under SAP
    g. G: Not Competed under SAP
60. **Pres_donor_pac**: indicator if individuals or a PAC associated with a vendor donated to a presidential candidate. Federal contribution data by individuals and PACs to presidential candidates was gathered from the Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Retrieved June 2017.
61. **Pres_donor_pac_amount**: the amount of combined contributions from individuals and PACs to a presidential candidate in the prior cycle. Federal contribution data by individuals and PACs to presidential candidates was gathered from the Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Retrieved June 2017.
62. **Agency_id**: Numerical identifiers for agencies.
63. **Vendor_cong_id**: numerical id code created for each congressional district for vendors.
64. **Nobid2**: indicator if a contract is a no bid contract award.
65. **Selin1_abszero**: Selin's first measure of insulation from political review, set with the lowest value as zero. Source: Jennifer Selin, from: "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):971-987 (2015). http://publish.illinois.edu/jselin/data/ Accessed: 1/19/2017.
66. **Selin2_abszero**: Selin's second measure of insulation from political review, set with the lowest value as zero. Source: Jennifer Selin, from: "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):971-987 (2015). http://publish.illinois.edu/jselin/data/ Accessed: 1/19/2017.
67. **Appoint_dum**: Binary indicator if the contracting office associated with a contract has an appointee (=1), = 0 otherwise. Source: PLUM book. https://www.govinfo.gov/collection/plum-book Retrieved July 18, 2017.
68. **Multipleoffers**: Binary indicator if there were multiple offices on a competitively bid contract (=1), = 0 otherwise. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.
69. **Level_b_old**: DORMANT
70. **Selin2_abszero2**: Selin's second measure of insulation from political review, set with the lowest value as zero. DUPLICATE
71. **Lncontract**: natural log of the number of contracts won by a specific vendor.
72. **MODEL3**: DORMANT
73. **Donation_ratio**: the donation amount of employees and PACs to the president, over the number of donations.

74. **Ln_ratio**: natural log of **donation_ratio**.
75. **Level_b**: hierarchical levels assigned to the contracting offices. 1 = Executive Level, 2 = Managerial Level, 3 = Field Office.
76. **Level1**: Binary indicator if an office is an Executive Level office (=1), = 0 otherwise.
77. **Level2**: Binary indicator if an office is a Managerial Level office (=1), = 0 otherwise.
78. **Level3**: Binary indicator if an office is a Field Office (=1), = 0 otherwise.
79. **Level1_donor**: interaction between level1 and **pres_donor_pac**
80. **Level2_donor**: interaction between Level2 and **pres_donor_pac**
81. **Level3_donor**: interaction between Level3 and **pres_donor_pac.**
82. **Donation_ratio_sq**: squared version of the **donation_ratio** variable.
83. **Year_pres**: identifier to show which year of a presidential administration—1 through 4—that a contract occurs.
84. **Competitivelybid**: Binary indicator if a contract was awarded using a competitive process (=1), = 0 otherwise. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.
85.
86. **Count**: count of the number of contracts won by a specific vendor.
87. **Ln_count**: natural log of count.
88. **Nobid3:** DUPLICATE
89. **Competitivelybid2**: DUPLICATE
90. **Year_code**: DUPLICATE -- same as **year_pres**
91. **Vendorname2_year:** combination of the **vendorname2** variable and **fiscal_year** variable.
92. **Winner_amount**: the amount donated to the winning presidential candidate by the vendor associated with the contract. Federal contribution data by individuals and PACs to presidential candidates was gathered from the Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Retrieved June 2017.
93. **Loser_amount**: the amount donated to the losing major presidential candidate by the vendor associated with the contract. Federal contribution data by individuals and PACs to presidential candidates was gathered from the Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Retrieved June 2017.
94. **Winner_count**: the number of donations made to the winning presidential candidate by the vendor associated with the contract. Federal contribution data by individuals and PACs to presidential candidates was gathered from the Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Retrieved June 2017.
95. **Loser_count**: the number of donations made to the winning presidential candidate by the vendor associated with the contract. Federal contribution data by individuals and PACs to presidential candidates was gathered from the Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Retrieved June 2017.
96. **Winner_dum**: indicator if the vendor gave the winning candidate.
97. **Loser_dum**: indicator if the vendor gave to the losing candidate.
98. **Bush_pac**: DORMANT
99. **Largecontract**: indicator if a contract is valued at more than $7 million.

100. **Ln_winner_count**: natural log of winner_count.

101. **Ln_loser_count**: natural log of loser_count

102. **Cons**: DORMANT.

103. **Fixedfirmprice**: Binary indicator if the contract used a fixed-firm-price pricing system (=1), = 0 otherwise Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

104. **Cost_contract**: Binary indicator if the contract used a cost reimbursement pricing system (=1), = 0 otherwise. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

105. **MODEL4:** DORMANT

106. **MODEL5:** DORMANT

107. **Dod**: Binary indicator if the contract is associated with the Department of Defense (=1), = 0 otherwise. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

108. **Dc_area**: Binary indicator if the contract is associated with a vendor in the greater Washington (=1), = 0 otherwise. D.C. area. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

109. **Goods_services**: Binary indicator -- 0 = services, 1 = goods. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

110. **Random:** DORMANT

111. **Insample:** DORMANT

112. **Est_margins:** DORMANT

113. **Est:** DORMANT

114. **Est**: DORMANT

115. **Multiyear2: Indicator to identify if the duration of a contract is more than one year.** Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

116. – 130. year fixed effect binary indicators.

131. **Start_date**: the start date of the contract. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

132. **End_date**: date of completion for the contract. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.

133. **contract_length**: End_date minus start_date

134. **year_count**: count of the years of a given contract.

135. **level1_donor_app:** Interaction between a Level 1 contract, whether a contract winner donated to the president, and if the contract is located in a district represented bya member of the House Appropriations committee.

136. **level2_donor_app:** Interaction between a Level 2 contract, whether a contract winner donated to the president, and if the contract is located in a district represented bya member of the House Appropriations committee.

137. **level3_donor_app:** Interaction between a Level 2 contract, whether a contract winner donated to the president, and if the contract is located in a district represented bya member of the House Appropriations committee.

138. **donor_app:** Interaction between the donor indicator and the House_app indicator to create a variable where 1 = a contract associated with a vendor that donated to the

president and is located in the district associated with a member of the House Appropriations committee.

139. **vendorid**: identification number created for each vendor.
140. **Term1** – DORMANT
141. **Term2** – DORMANT
142. **Term3** – DORMANT
143. **Term4** – DORMANT
144. **Term_cat** – DORMANT
145. **Term1_present** – DORMANT
146. **Term2_present** – DORMANT
147. **Term3_present** – DORMANT
148. **Term4_present** – DORMANT
149. **Donor_lead:** a lead variable created to show whether a vendor donates to the president in the following race. A 1 indicates in a prior electoral cycle if a vendor gave to the president in the following cycle. A 0 indicates that the vendor did not give to the president in the future race.
150. **Startdate2**: the start date of the contract, formatted as a numerical variable.
151. **Enddate2**: the end date of the contract, formatted as a numerical variable.
152. **Startdate_year**: the year associated with the start date.
153. **Enddate_year**: the year associated with the end date.
154. **Contract_duration**: **Enddate2 – Startdate2, yielding the number of days of a contract.**
155. **Federal_agency:** string name of federal agency. Created using USASpending.gov database, retrieved December 2016.
156. **Ideology:** ideology of a given agency, based on Clinton-Lewis scores. −1 = liberal agencies, 0 = neutral agencies, +1 = conservative agencies. Based on the average scored opinion provided by experts polled by Clinton and Lewis. Source: Clinton, J.D. and Lewis, D.E., 2008. "Expert opinion, agency characteristics, and agency preferences." *Political Analysis*, pp.3-20. Data accessed from: https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/, on 1/24/2017.
157. **Pol_align:** Binary indicator whether an agency is aligned with a president during a given administration (=1), = 0 otherwise. Based on the average scored opinion provided by experts polled by Clinton and Lewis. Source: Clinton, J.D. and Lewis, D.E., 2008. "Expert opinion, agency characteristics, and agency preferences." *Political Analysis*, pp.3-20. Data accessed from: https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/, on 1/24/2017.
158. **Pol_opposed:** Binary indicator whether an agency is opposed to a president during a given administration (=1), = 0 otherwise. Based on the average scored opinion provided by experts polled by Clinton and Lewis. Source: Clinton, J.D. and Lewis, D.E., 2008. "Expert opinion, agency characteristics, and agency preferences." *Political Analysis*, pp.3-20. Data accessed from: https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/, on 1/24/2017.
159. **Agency_sum:** the sum total value of contracts in a given agency.
160. **Vendor_sum:** the sum total of the value of contracts for a given vendor.

161. **Ln_vendorsum:** natural log of **vendor_sum**, which measures the total value of contracts for a given vendor.
162. **Ln_agencysum:** natural log of **agency_sum**, which is the sum total value of contracts awarded by a given agency.
163. **Subagency_year:** combination of subagency coding and year for a given contract.
164. **Tech:** the number of technical employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.
165. **Totalemp:** total number of employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.
166. **Tech_perc:** the percentage of employees in a given agency that are classified as technical staff. This is created using the tech variable and the **totalemp** variable.
167. **Gdpdef:** price-inflation adjustment variable to adjust dollar values to 2009 dollars. using Consumer Price Index, from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm , accessed on 3/6/2017.
168. **Dollarsobligated_adj**: dollars obligated to vendor multiplied by **gdpdef** to adjust to 2009 dollars.
169. **Lndollarsobligated_adj:** natural log of **dollarsobligated_adj**.
170. **Tri_bid:** 0 = competitively bid with multiple bidders, 1 = open bidding processes with only one bidder, and 2 = no-bid processes (closed bidding).
171. **Pres_obama**: Binary indicator equal 1 if the contract was awarded during the Obama administration, 0 if it was awarded during the George W. Bush administration.
172. **Federal_agency2**: DUPLICATE of **federal_agency**.
173. **Agency**: O'Connell-Krause coding for agencies (see Krause and O'Connell 2016: *AJPS*; 2019 *PSQ:* Krause, George A., and Anne Joseph O'Connell. 2016. "Experiential Learning and Presidential Management of the U.S. Federal Bureaucracy: Logic and Evidence from U.S. Federal Agency Leadership Appointments." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(October): 914-931.
Krause, George A, and Anne Joseph O'Connell. 2019. "Loyalty-Competence Tradeoffs for Top U.S. Federal Bureaucratic Leaders in the Administrative Presidency Era." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 49(September): 527-550.

   a. 1 = Department of Agriculture
   b. 2 = Department of Commerce
   c. 3 = Department of Defense
   d. 7 = Department of Education
   e. 8 = Department of Energy
   f. 9 = Department of Health and Human Services
   g. 11 = Department of Homeland Security
   h. 12 = Department of Housing and Urban Development
   i. 13 = Department of the Interior

j.   14 = Department of Justice
k.   15 = Department of Labor
l.   16 = Department of State
m.   17 = Department of Transportation
n.   18 = Department of the Treasury
o.   19 = Department of Veterans Affairs/Veterans Affairs Administration
p.   20 = Central Intelligence Agency
q.   21 = Environmental Protection Agency
r.   22 = Federal Emergency Management Agency (as a freestanding agency, before 2003)
s.   23 = General Services Administration
t.   24 = National Aeronautics and Space Administration
u.   25 = Small Business Administration
v.   26 = Social Security Administration
w.   27 = U.S. Agency for International Development
x.   28 = United States Information Agency/Broadcasting Board of Governors
y.   29 = Office of Management and Budget
z.   30 = Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
aa. 32 = Civil Aeronautics Board
bb. 33 = Consumer Product Safety Commission
cc. 34 = Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
dd. 35 = Federal Communications Commission
ee. 37 = Federal Election Commission
ff. 38 = Federal Energy Regulatory Commission
gg. 40 = Federal Reserve System
hh. 41 = Federal Trade Commission
ii. 42 = Interstate Commerce Commission
jj. 43 = National Labor Relations Board
kk. 44 = National Transportation Safety Board
ll. 45 = Nuclear Regulatory Commission (formerly the Atomic Energy Commission)
mm. 49 = Securities and Exchange Commission
nn. 100 = Appalachian Regional Commission
oo. 102 = National Science Foundation
pp. 103 = Federal Labor Relations Authority
qq. 104 = National Endowment for the Arts
rr. 105 = National Endowment for the Humanities
ss. 106 = Institute of Museum Services
tt. 107 = Railroad Retirement Board
uu. 108 = Federal Maritime Commission
vv. 109 = Overseas Private Investment Corporation
ww. 110 = National Records and Archives Administration
xx. 111 = Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service
yy. 112 = Commodity Futures Trading Commission
zz. 113 = Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission
aaa. 114 = Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board
bbb. 115 = National Mediation Board

ccc. 116 = Federal Housing Finance Agency

ddd. 117 = Millennium Challenge Corporation

eee. 118 = Delta Regional Authority

fff. 119 = Corporation for National and Community Services

ggg. 120 = United States Institute of Peace

174. **sbagency:** Sub-agency (or agency) where appointee served. If there is no sub-department or sub-agency, this variable should be identical to Department/Agency. Thus, all entries for SEC should be coded 49 here as well. O'Connell-Krause coding for subagencies (see Krause and O'Connell 2016: *AJPS*; 2019 *PSQ:* Krause, George A., and Anne Joseph O'Connell. 2016. "Experiential Learning and Presidential Management of the U.S. Federal Bureaucracy: Logic and Evidence from U.S. Federal Agency Leadership Appointments." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(October): 914-931. Krause, George A, and Anne Joseph O'Connell. 2019. "Loyalty-Competence Tradeoffs for Top U.S. Federal Bureaucratic Leaders in the Administrative Presidency Era." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 49(September): 527-550.

hhh. 4 = Department of the Army

iii. 5 = Department of the Air Force

jjj. 6 = Department of the Navy

kkk. 50 = Census, part of Department of Commerce

lll. 51 = Center for Medicaid and Medicare Services, part of Department of Health and Human Services

mmm. 52 = Drug Enforcement Administration, part of Department of Justice

nnn. 53 = Federal Aviation Administration, part of Department of Transportation

ooo. 54 = Food and Drug Administration, part of Department of Health and Human Services

ppp. 55 = Federal Emergency Management Agency, part of Department of Homeland Security (2003 and later)

qqq. 56 = Internal Revenue Service, part of Department of Treasury

rrr. 57 = National Highway Transportation and Safety Administration, part of Department of Transportation

sss. 58 = National Institutes of Health, part of Department of Health and Human Services

ttt. 59 = National Institute of Standards and Technology, part of Department of Commerce

uuu. 60 = National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, part of Department of Commerce

vvv. 61 = Patent and Trademark Office, part of Department of Commerce

175. **Selin1:** estimate of the independence of decision makers in a given agency or bureau. Source: Jennifer Selin, from: "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):971-987 (2015). http://publish.illinois.edu/jselin/data/ Accessed: 1/19/2017

176. **Selin1_abszero**: Selin's first measure of agency independence, set with the lowest value to zero.

177. **Selin2**: estimate of the independence of policy decisions. Source: Jennifer Selin, from: "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):971-987 (2015). http://publish.illinois.edu/jselin/data/ Accessed: 1/19/2017

178. **Selin2_abszero**: Selin's second measure of independence of policy decisions, set with the lowest value to zero.

179. **_merge**: state merge indicator.

180. **M11**: Binary indicator for contracts that are awarded under the most favorable conditions for the government, multiple bidders and fixed costs (=1), = 0 otherwise.

181. **M01**: Binary indicator for contracts that are awarded using a closed bid process but with fixed costs (=1), = 0 otherwise.

182. **M01open**: Binary indicator for contracts awarded to a single bidder using an open process, with fixed firm price pricing (=1), = 0 otherwise.

183. **M01closed:** Binary indicator for contracts awarded through a no-bid process, with fixed firm pricing (=1), = 0 otherwise.

184. **M10**: Binary indicator for competitively bid contracts and variable costs (=1), = 0 otherwise.

185. **M00**: Binary indicator for single bidder and variable costs. (=1), = 0 otherwise.

186. **M00open**: Binary indicator for single bidder using an open process and variable costs (=1), = 0 otherwise.

187. **M00closed**: Binary indicator single bidder using a closed process and variable costs (=1), = 0 otherwise.

188. **– 239:** Binary agency indicator variables.

189. **Risky:** Binary indicator for a contract considered risky, or m00closed (=1), = 0 otherwise.

190. **Safe:** Binary indicator for the best designed contracts for the government, m11 (=1), = 0 otherwise.

240. **Annualrevenue_adj**: annual revenue for a specific vendor to 2009 dollars.

241. **Lnannualrevenue_adj**: natural log of **annualrevenue_adj**.

242. **Vendorsum_adj:** sum of the value of contracts awarded to a specific vendor, adjusted to 2009 dollars.

243. **Lnvendorsum_adj**: natural log of **vendorsum_adj**.

244. **Pres_donor_pac_amount_adj**: dollar amount of money donated by a vendor to the president or to a PAC that gave to a president, adjusted to 2009 dollars.

245. **Lnpres_donor_pac_amount_adj**: natural log of **pres_donor_pac_amount_adj**.

246. **Execlevel**: Binary variable where 1 indicates a top level office and 0 indicates an office below the executive level. This is the same as the level1 variable, though execlevel is used in the analysis in this paper.
Zarit, Matthew. 2018. Lost in Translation: How Bureaucratic Hierarchies Limit Presidential Control Over Distributive Policymaking in U.S. Federal Agencies. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pittsburgh. http://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/35225/.

247. **careerses**: the number of Career Senior Executive Service employees were present in an agency for a given year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments;* Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press.

https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

248. **noncareerses**: the number of Noncareer Senior Executive Service employees present in an agency for a given year. Sources: Lewis (2008), and FedScope, accessed on January 27, 2017 (www.fedscope.opm.gov).

249. **pas:** the number of political appointees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

250. **schc**: the number of Schedule C appointees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

251. **admin**: the number of administrative employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

252. **prof**: the number of professional employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

253. **tech**: the number of technical employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: The Politics of Presidential Appointments; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

254. **cler**: the number of clerical employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

255. **totalemp**: the total number of employees in a given agency and year. Sources: 1988 – 2004: *The Politics of Presidential Appointments*; Lewis, D. E.; 2008, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press. https://my.vanderbilt.edu/davidlewis/data/; 2005 – 2008: OPM data provided by Matthew Dull.

256. **Perc_prof**: percentage of total employees in an agency that are professionals.

257. **Psc_id**: identification code for PSC (product / service code) categories.