Variable Codebook for Manuscript & Supporting Information Document

(*"Experiential Learning and Presidential Management of the U.S. Federal Bureaucracy: Logic and Evidence from Agency Leadership Appointments"*)

Unless Noted Otherwise, All Data Comes from Anne Joseph O'Connell and George A. Krause's Original Joint Data Collection Efforts: "*U.S. Federal Agency Leadership Appointees Biographical Database*"

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obsident: observation case identifier.

indident: individual case identifier for contiguous service within a given agency (some individuals possess multiple rows/observations).

position: position code identifier. Current position level of job (e.g., the Deputy Secretary of some departments used to be called the Under Secretary; Deputy Secretary should be marked for all appointees who served in the position).

a. 1 = Secretary (Attorney General)
b. 2 = Administrator/Director (of full stand-alone agency)
c. 3 = Administrator/Director (of part of agency or sub-agency)
d. 4 = Commissioner
e. 5 = Board Member
f. 6 = Deputy Secretary (Deputy Attorney General) or General Under Secretary
g. 7 = Under Secretary (not General Under Secretary)
h. 8 = Assistant Secretary (Assistant Attorney General)
i. 9 = Deputy Administrator/Deputy Director
j. 10 = Military Branch Secretary
k. 11 = Undersecretary and Director/Administrator (of part of agency or sub-agency)
l. 12 = Assistant Secretary and Director/Administrator (of part of agency or sub-agency)
m. 13 = Chairman
n. 19=Other

agency: agency code identifier. Agency where appointee served.

o. 1 = Department of Agriculture
p. 2 = Department of Commerce
q. 3 = Department of Defense
r. 7 = Department of Education
s. 8 = Department of Energy
t. 9 = Department of Health and Human Services
u. 11 = Department of Homeland Security
v. 12 = Department of Housing and Urban Development
w. 13 = Department of the Interior
x. 14 = Department of Justice
y. 15 = Department of Labor
z. 16 = Department of State
aa. 17 = Department of Transportation
bb. 18 = Department of the Treasury

cc. 19 = Department of Veterans Affairs/Veterans Affairs Administration
dd. 20 = Central Intelligence Agency
ee. 21 = Environmental Protection Agency
ff. 22 = Federal Emergency Management Agency (as a freestanding agency, before 2003)
gg. 23 = General Services Administration
hh. 24 = National Aeronautics and Space Administration
ii. 25 = Small Business Administration
jj. 26 = Social Security Administration
kk. 27 = U.S. Agency for International Development
ll. 28 = United States Information Agency/Broadcasting Board of Governors
mm. 29 = Office of Management and Budget
nn. 30 = Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
oo. 32 = Civil Aeronautics Board
pp. 33 = Consumer Product Safety Commission
qq. 34 = Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
rr. 35 = Federal Communications Commission
ss. 37 = Federal Election Commission
tt. 38 = Federal Energy Regulatory Commission
uu. 40 = Federal Reserve System
vv. 41 = Federal Trade Commission
ww. 42 = Interstate Commerce Commission
xx. 43 = National Labor Relations Board
yy. 44 = National Transportation Safety Board
zz. 45 = Nuclear Regulatory Commission (formerly the Atomic Energy Commission)
aaa. 49 = Securities and Exchange Commission

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.

bbb. 4 = Department of the Army
ccc. 5 = Department of the Air Force
ddd. 6 = Department of the Navy
eee. 50 = Census, part of Department of Commerce
fff. 51 = Center for Medicaid and Medicare Services, part of Department of Health and Human Services
ggg. 52 = Drug Enforcement Administration, part of Department of Justice
hhh. 53 = Federal Aviation Administration, part of Department of Transportation
iii. 54 = Food and Drug Administration, part of Department of Health and Human Services
jjj. 55 = Federal Emergency Management Agency, part of Department of Homeland Security (2003 and later)
kkk. 56 = Internal Revenue Service, part of Department of Treasury
lll. 57 = National Highway Transportation and Safety Administration, part of Department of Transportation
mmm. 58 = National Institutes of Health, part of Department of Health and Human Services
nnn. 59 = National Institute of Standards and Technology, part of Department of Commerce

ooo. 60 = National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, part of Department of Commerce
ppp. 61 = Patent and Trademark Office, part of Department of Commerce

agencyposition: position identifier within a given agency**.**

agencyname: name of agency where individual served in leadership PAS position.

opm: Position number provided to job by OPM, modified to make one position for all members (non-chairpersons) of an IRC and to combine different titles of the same position in executive agencies

qqq. DAEX00001 = Secretary of Agriculture
rrr. DAEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Agriculture
sss. DAEX00021 = Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition, and Consumer Services
ttt. DAEX00026 = Under Secretary for Food Safety
uuu. DCEX00001 = Secretary of Commerce
vvv. DCEX00002= Deputy/Under Secretary of Commerce
www. DCEX00033 = Under Secretary for Export Administration; Under Secretary for Industry and Security
xxx. DCEX00030 = Assistant Secretary for Trade Development/Trade Promotion; Assistant Secretary for Manufacturing and Services
yyy. DCEX00018 = Director of National Institute of Standard and Technology
zzz. DCEX00012 = Director of Census
aaaa. DCEX00014 = Under Secretary for Oceans and Administrator of NOAA
bbbb. DCEX00017 = Under Secretary for IP and Director of PTO/Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks
cccc. DDEX00291 = Secretary of Defense
dddd. DDEX00219 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Defense
eeee. DWEX00001 = Secretary of the Army
ffff. DFEX00170 = Secretary of the Air Force
gggg. DNEX00001 = Secretary of the Navy
hhhh. DDEX00862 = Under Secretary for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics
iiii. DDEX00201 = Director, Defense Research and Engineering
jjjj. DDEX00628= Assistant Secretary for Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence
kkkk. DDEX01014 = Under Secretary of Defense/Comptroller
llll. DBEX00001 = Secretary of Education
mmmm. DBEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Education
nnnn. DBEX00003 = Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education
oooo. DBEX00004 = Assistant Secretary for Post-Secondary Education
pppp. DBEX00005 = Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education
qqqq. DBEX00006 = Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services
rrrr. DBEX00009 = Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement
ssss. DEEX00001 = Secretary of Energy
tttt. DEEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Energy
uuuu. DEEX00033 = Assistant Secretary for Environmental Management; Assistant Secretary for Management
vvvv. DHEX00001 = Secretary of Health and Human Services
wwww. DHEX00024 = Deputy/Undersecretary of Health and Human Services

xxxx. DHEX00022 = Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration
yyyy. DHEX00011 = Director of NIH
zzzz. DHEX00020= Administrator of Health Care Financing Administration/Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services
aaaaa. DHEX00025 = Assistant Secretary for Children and Families
bbbbb. DMEX00001 = Secretary of Homeland Security
ccccc. DMEX09001 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Homeland Security
ddddd. EMEX00001 = Administrator of FEMA
eeeee. DUEX00003 = Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
fffff. DUEX00004 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
ggggg. DUEX00007 = Assistant Secretary for Housing and Federal Housing Commissioner
hhhhh. DIEX00001 = Secretary of the Interior
iiiii. DIEX00003 = Deputy/Under Secretary of the Interior
jjjjj. DJEX01000 = Attorney General
kkkkk. DJEX01001 = Deputy Attorney General
lllll. DJEX01003 = Solicitor General
mmmmm. DJEX01012 = Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust
nnnnn. DJEX01022 = Administrator of DEA
ooooo. DLEX00001 = Secretary of Labor
ppppp. DLEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Labor
qqqqq. DLEX00009 = Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health
rrrrr. DLEX00016 = Assistant Secretary for Pension and Welfare Benefits
sssss. DLEX00006 = Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training
ttttt. DSEX00024 = Secretary of State
uuuuu. DSEX00005 = Deputy/Under Secretary of State
vvvvv. DSEX00013 = Under Secretary for Political Affairs
wwwww. DSEX00065 = Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs
xxxxx. DTEX00001 = Secretary of Transportation
yyyyy. DTEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Transportation
zzzzz. DTEX05001 = Administrator of NHTSA
aaaaaa. DTEX02001 = Administrator of FAA
bbbbbb. DYEX00001 = Secretary of the Treasury
cccccc. DYEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of the Treasury
dddddd. DYEX00014 = Commissioner of IRS
eeeeee. DYEX00010 = Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy
ffffff. DYEX00008 = Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy
gggggg. DYEX00022 = Assistant Secretary for Financial Markets
hhhhhh. DYEX00011 = Assistant Secretary for Financial Institutions
iiiiii. DVEX00001 = Secretary of Veterans Affairs
jjjjjj. DVEX00002 = Deputy/Under Secretary of Veterans Affairs
kkkkkk. DVEX00001 = Administrator of the Veterans Administration (before 1989)
llllll. DVEX00002 = Deputy Administrator of the Veterans Administration (before 1989)
mmmmmm. CIEX00002 = Director of Central Intelligence Agency
nnnnnn. CIEX00001 = Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Agency
oooooo. EPEX00001 = Administrator of Environmental Protection Agency
pppppp. EPEX00002 = Deputy Administrator of Environmental Protection Agency
qqqqqq. GSEX00001 = Administrator of General Services Administration
rrrrrr. NNEX00001 = Administrator of the National Air and Space Administration

ssssss. NNEX00002 = Deputy Administrator of National Aeronautics and Space Administration
ttttt. SBEX00001 = Administrator of Small Business Administration
uuuuuu. SBEX00004 = Deputy Administrator of Small Business Administration
vvvvvv. SZEX00001 = Commissioner of Social Security Administration
wwwwww. SZEX00003 = Deputy Commissioner of Social Security Administration
xxxxxx. IMEX00004 = Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)
yyyyyy. IMEX00008 = Deputy Administrator of US Agency for International Development
zzzzzz. IBEX00001 = Director of United States Information Agency; Director of Broadcasting Board of Governors
aaaaaaa. BOEX00001 = Director of the Office of Management and Budget
bbbbbbb. TNEX03002 = U.S. Trade Representative

ccccccc. CAEX00002x = Member of Civil Aeronautics Board
ddddddd. PSEX00002x = Commissioner of Consumer Product Safety Commission
eeeeeee. PSEX00001 = Chairman of Consumer Product Safety Commission
pppp. EEEX00002x = Member of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

qqqq. FCEX00002x = Commissioner of Federal Communications Commission

rrrr. FEEX00002x = Commissioner of Federal Election Commission
ssss. DREX00002x = Member of Federal Energy Regulatory Commission
tttt. RFEX00001 = Chairman of Federal Reserve
uuuu. RFEX00007 = Governor of Federal Reserve
vvvv. FTEX00002x = Commissioner of Federal Trade Commission
wwww. ICEX00002x = Commissioner of Interstate Commerce Commission
xxxx. NLEX00002x = Member of National Labor Relations Board
yyyy. TBEX00003x = Member of National Transportation Safety Board
zzzz. NUEX00002x = Commissioner of Nuclear Regulatory Commission
aaaaa. SEEX00002x = Commissioner of Securities and Exchange Commission

last (name): Last name of appointee.

maiden (name): Maiden name of appointee. No transformation needed. List if available and only if different.

first (name): First/middle names of appointee.

resident: State of residence of appointee.

nominate: Nomination date (mm/dd/yy).

adminmonth: *Month* of a particular administration that the individual was nominated.

adminqtr: *Quarter* of a particular administration that the individual was nominated.

adminyear: *Year* of a particular administration that the individual was nominated.

nomyear: *Actual Year* that the individual was nominated.

secondterm: = 1 if individual was nominated during second term of a presidential administration; = 0 otherwise.

approval: Gallup Presidential Job Approval Rating at the time of an individual's nomination. Collected by author for 1/1/1977 to 12/11/2007 are taken from Lyn Ragsdale's (2009) *Vital Statistics on the Presidency*, third edition, p. 235-252 [Table 5-3]. Data from 1/4/2008 to 1/9/2009 are taken from the Roper Public Opinion Archives at www.ropercenter.uconn.edu. Following Ragsdale, only include Gallup or Gallup/USA Today poll results in the dataset.

agency1: agency code identifier that distinguishes between agency and sub-agencies. Agency/Sub-agency where appointee served

agency2: agency code identifier. Agency where appointee served (same as **agency** noted above)

soucountagency1: Event count of *State of the Union* address policy mentions relevant to up to three agencies connected to the policy issue. Source: *The American Presidency Project: State of The Union Addresses and Public Messages.* John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/sou.php). See *Note 15* in the manuscript for additional details on the construction of this measure.

soucountagency2: Similar to **soucountagency1**, except that this version of the agency salience measure allows for multiple mentions on a narrow particular policy issue. Therefore, the values for this measure tend to be much higher for sub-agencies pertaining to highly salient issues (e.g., Drug Enforcement Agency [under Justice Department], Internal Revenue Service [under Treasury Department], Armed Forces [under Defense Department]). This measure is correlated with **soucountagency1** at 0.9216 for the full sample of observations.

dividedpressenate: = 1 if Senate majority and president are controlled by opposite parties; = 0 otherwise.

presideol: First Dimension Common Space DW-NOMINATE score for each president. Source: Voteview (Keith Poole's website) – see also, Carroll, Royce, Jeffrey B. Lewis, James Lo, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2009. "Measuring Bias and Uncertainty in DW-NOMINATE Ideal Point Estimates via the Parametric Bootstrap." *Political Analysis* 17(June): 261-275.

senatefloormedian: Senate floor median ideological score based on First Dimension Common Space DW-NOMINATE score. Source: Voteview (Keith Poole's website:) – see also, Carroll, Royce, Jeffrey B. Lewis, James Lo, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2009. "Measuring Bias and Uncertainty in DW-NOMINATE Ideal Point Estimates via the Parametric Bootstrap." *Political Analysis* 17(June): 261-275.

pressenfloormedianabsdistance: Absolute ideological distance between president **(presideol)** and Senate floor median **(senatefloormedian)**

congress: Particular Congress in which nomination took place.

irc: = 1 if individual is serving in an Independent Regulatory Commission; = 0 otherwise.

exec: = 1 if individual is serving in an Executive Branch Agency; = 0 otherwise.

toplevel: *Top Supervisory Position* indicator variable takes on a value of 1 if the position for which the respective appointee was selected is the highest level official in an agency and 0 otherwise. For example, Federal Trade Commission Chairs are coded as 1, but FTC Commissioners are coded as 0. Heads of sub-agencies within a cabinet department, such as the head of the FDA (located within the Department of Health and Human Services), are coded as 0.

toplevel2: Same as **toplevel**, except that executive sub-agency heads are also coded as "1's" – i.e., *Top Supervisory Position* = 1.

caesa: = 1 if *Current Administration Appointment Experience*; = 0 otherwise. This measure captures whether the individual is a "retread" appointee within the same administration. This indicator variable equals 1 when the appointee has previously served in a full-time appointed position (Senate confirmed or not) in any agency during the current administration prior to nomination (see *Note 10*).

party2b: = 1 if individual has same or strongly presumed partisan affiliation as appointing president; = 0 otherwise.

money: = 1 if individual made a FEC recorded contribution to nominating prior to nomination occurring (obtained via authors' analysis of FEC files); = 0 otherwise.

elect1b: = 1 if individual had any prior local, state, or federal elective office experience; = 0 otherwise.

ptyorg3: = 1 if individual had any previous experience working for the national party organization for the president's party; = 0 otherwise.

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prespty: = 1 for Republican administration appointee; = 0 for Democratic administration appointee.

carter: = 1 Carter administration appointment; = 0 otherwise.

reagan: = 1 Reagan administration appointment; = 0 otherwise.

bush41: = 1 George H.W. Bush (41) administration appointment; = 0 otherwise.

clinton: = 1 Clinton administration appointment; = 0 otherwise.

bush43: = 1 George W. Bush (43) administration appointment; = 0 otherwise.

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patronagecount: sum of **money** and **ptyorg3** variables.

patronage: = 1 if patronagecount = 2 (i.e., individual had both given campaign donation & had prior national party organization experience in the appointing president's party); = 0 otherwise.

recess: 1 = if individual did serve as a presidential recess appointment in same position before or after confirmed appointment; = 0 otherwise.

overallsampleqtr: Linear time trend that begins at 1 in 1977: Q1 and increases by increments of one for each successive quarter. Its coding coincides with the timing of an individual's nomination.

agencyideol: = −1 for ideologically ***liberal*** agencies based on Bayesian 95% credibility interpretation of Clinton-Lewis agency ideology scores; = 0 for ideologically ***moderate*** agencies based on Bayesian 95% credibility interpretation of Clinton-Lewis agency ideology scores; and + 1 for ideologically ***conservative*** agencies based on Bayesian 95% credibility interpretation of Clinton-Lewis agency ideology scores (see pages 17-19 of their 2008 *Political Analysis* article. Joshua D. Clinton and David E. Lewis. "Expert Opinion, Agency Characteristics, and Agency Preferences." 16(Winter): 3-20.).

prespartyiddirect: = −1 for Democratic administration appointment; = +1 for Republican administration appointment (a variation of **prespty**).

presallyagencyideol: Interaction variable term between **prespartyiddirect** & **agencyideol**. ***(Ally principle* test in SI document*)***

var61: Blank Column.

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loyalmedian: Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Loyalty* latent trait.

loyalsd: Bayesian Posterior Standard Deviation Estimate of *Loyalty* latent trait.

loyal25lcl: Bayesian Posterior 2.5 Percentile Estimate of *Loyalty* latent trait.

loyal975ucl: Bayesian Posterior 97.5 Percentile Estimate of *Loyalty* latent trait.

mecompmedian: Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Managerial Competence* latent trait.

mecompsd: Bayesian Posterior Standard Deviation Estimate of *Managerial Competence* latent trait.

mecomp25lcl: Bayesian Posterior 2.5 Percentile Estimate of *Managerial Competence* latent trait.

mecomp975ucl: Bayesian Posterior 97.5 Percentile Estimate of *Managerial Competence* latent trait.

pecompmedian: Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Policy Competence* latent trait.

pecompsd: Bayesian Posterior Standard Deviation Estimate of *Policy Competence* latent trait.

pecomp25lcl: Bayesian Posterior 2.5 Percentile Estimate of *Policy Competence* latent trait.

pecomp975ucl: Bayesian Posterior 97.5 Percentile Estimate of *Policy Competence* latent trait.

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zloyalmedian: Normalized (Z-score formulation) Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Loyalty* latent trait.

zmecompmedian: Normalized (Z-score formulation) Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Managerial Competence* latent trait.

zpecompmedian: Normalized (Z-score formulation) Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Policy Competence* latent trait.

stddiffloyalmecomp: (Z^*_M): Normalized Difference Between Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Loyalty* and *Managerial Competence* latent traits.

stddiffloyalpecomp: (Z^*_P): Normalized Difference Between Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Loyalty* and *Policy Competence* latent traits.

stddiffmecomppecomp: (Z^*_C): Normalized Difference Between Bayesian Posterior Median Estimate of *Policy Competence* and *Managerial Competence* latent traits.

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loyalmediantype: = +1 if zloyalmedian >75 percentile; = 0 if lies in interquartile range; = -1 if < 0.25 percentile.

mecompmediantype: = +1 if zmecompmedian >75 percentile; = 0 if lies in interquartile range; = -1 if < 0.25 percentile.

pecompmediantype: =+1 if zpecompmedian >75 percentile; = 0 if lies in interquartile range; = -1 if < 0.25 percentile.

loyalmedianlowtype: = 1 if zloyalmedian < 0.25 percentile; = 0 Otherwise.

loyalmedianmodtype: = 1 if zloyalmedian lies in interquartile range; = 0 Otherwise.

loyalmedianhightype: = 1 if zloyalmedian > 0.75 percentile; = 0 Otherwise.

mecompmedianlowtype: = 1 if zmecompmedian < 0.25 percentile; = 0 Otherwise.

mecompmedianmodtype: = 1 if zmecompmedian lies in interquartile range; = 0 Otherwise.

mecompmedianhightype: = 1 if zmecompmedian > 0.75 percentile; = 0 Otherwise.

pecompmedianlowtype: = 1 if zpecompmedian < 0.25 percentile; = 0 Otherwise.

pecompmedianmodtype: = 1 if zpecompmedian lies in interquartile range; = 0 Otherwise.

pecompmedianhightype: = 1 if zpecompmedian > 0.75 percentile; = 0 Otherwise.

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loyalsdadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **loyalsd** & **adminqtr**.

mecompsdadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **loyalsd** & **adminqtr**.

pecompsdadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **loyalsd** & **adminqtr**.

topleveladminqtr: Interaction variable term between **toplevel** & **adminqtr**. ***(H2)***

toplevel2adminqtr: Interaction variable term between **toplevel** & **adminqtr**. ***(H2)***

pressenfloordistadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **pressenfloormedianabsdistance** & **adminqtr**. ***(H3)***

dividedpresenadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **dividedpressenate** & **adminqtr**. ***(H3)***

patronageadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **patronage** & **adminqtr**. ***(*3rd *Loyalty Drain* test in SI document*)***

soucountagency1adminqtr: Interaction variable term between **soucountagency1** & **adminqtr**. ***(Policy priorities* test in SI document*)***

presallyagencyideoladminqtr: Interaction variable term between **presallyagencyideol** & **adminqtr**. ***(Ally principle* test in SI document*)***

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zloyalsd: Normalized (Z-score formulation) Bayesian Posterior Standard Deviation Estimate of *Loyalty* latent trait.

zmecompsd: Normalized (Z-score formulation) Bayesian Posterior Standard Deviation Estimate of *Managerial Competence* latent trait.

zpecompsd: Normalized (Z-score formulation) Bayesian Posterior Standard Deviation Estimate of *Policy Competence* latent trait.

zloyalsdadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **zloyalsd** & **adminqtr**. ***(H1)***

zmecompsdadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **zmecompsd** & **adminqtr**. ***(H1)***

zpecompsdadminqtr: Interaction variable term between **zpecompsd** & **adminqtr**. ***(H1)***

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ceo: Prior CEO experience. = 1 if had CEO position in one of four previous jobs to nomination (excluded appointed and civil service jobs); = 0 otherwise.

privmgt: Prior top level private sector experience. = 1 if had CEO, VP, Chairman of Board, or President position in one of four previous jobs to nomination (excluded appointed and civil service jobs); = 0 otherwise.