Codebook

"Presidential Directives in a Resistant Bureaucracy"

The variable names correspond to those in "replication_data.csv"

1. *agency.abb.* Abbreviation for upper-level unit of agency, e.g., EPA for the Environmental Protection Agency
2. *agency.id.* Abbreviation for upper- and low-level units of agency, e.g., EPA-AR for the Office of Air at the EPA
3. *party.* Party of the administration in which the regulatory proposal was initiated (based on the record in the Unified Agenda)
4. *agency.party.* Indicator for the agency (as in "agency.id" above) and the party of the administration
5. *year.init.* Year in which the regulatory proposal was initiated
6. *post.before.nprm.* Measure of compliance for the reporting directive
7. *not.returned.* Measure of compliance for the review directive
8. *removal.right.* Indicator for whether the president has removal rights for the agency
9. *selin.d1.* First dimension of the Selin (2015) measure for agency independence
10. *net.approval.* Presidential approval rate minus the presidential disapproval rate
11. *pres.senate.seats.* Number of Senators that share the president's party
12. *ideology1.* Clinton and Lewis (2008) measure of agency ideology
13. *agency.loyalty.* Measure for how loyal the agency is to each administration (based on the Clinton and Lewis measure)
14. *reg.stakes.* Index for the stakes of each regulation
15. *rfa.* Indicator for whether the regulation would impose costs on small business and thus be required to complete a regulatory flexibility analysis
16. *gov.levels.* Indicator for whether lower levels of government would be affected by the regulation
17. *legal.dline.* Indicator for whether a legal deadline was imposed on completion of the regulation (judicial or statutory)

18. *unfun.mandate*. Indicator for whether the regulation was listed as imposing unfunded mandates on lower levels of government

19. *sig*. Indicator for whether the regulation was listed as either Significant or Economically Significant

20. *review*. Indicator for whether the regulation was reviewed by OIRA

21. *oira.stage.proposed*. Indicator for whether OIRA is reviewing a proposed regulation (as opposed to a final rule)

22. *stage*. Indicator for stage of regulation, i.e., proposed or final (based on the record in the Unified Agenda)

Sources:

1. Clinton, Joshua D., and David E. Lewis. "Expert Opinion, Agency Characteristics, and Agency Preferences." *Political Analysis* 16, no. 1 (December 21, 2008): 3–20.

2. Selin, Jennifer L. "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 4 (October 1, 2015): 971–87.