Codebook for

Agency Control through the Appointed Hierarchy: Presidential Politicization of Unilateral Appointees

by

Gary E. Hollibaugh, Jr.
University of Pittsburgh

Lawrence S. Rothenberg
University of Rochester

Files:

- HR-all-positions.dta
  - Aggregate position data per quarter, used to create Figure 1
  - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- HR-appointments.dta
  - Data used in analysis, used for everything else
- HR-Main-Code.R
  - Main R code used to estimate all models (except the SUR models), create all plots, and save all tables
- HR-Utility-Functions.R
  - Some additional utility functions called by HR-Main-Code.R
- HR-SUR-Model.do
  - Stata code for estimating and outputting the SUR model results in the Appendix

Variables in **HR-all-positions.dta** used to create Figure 1. Source for all is Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)

- date
  - Date of quarterly FedScope report
- agency
  - Two-letter FedScope code for the agency in question and/or an aggregate indicator for "All"
- positions
  - Proportion of positions meeting the criteria indicated in **type**
- type
  - Position type (Schedule C positions as % of total positions or Noncareer SES executives as percentage of total SES executives)

Variables in **HR-appointments.dta** used in main and/or supplementary analyses:

- agency
  - Agency's two-letter FedScope abbreviation
- central_staff_agency
  - Equals 1 if an agency is the OPM, the OMB, or the GSA, and zero otherwise.
- date
  - Date of quarterly FedScope report
- divided
  - Equals 1 if the President and Senate median are of different parties, and zero otherwise.
- looming_election
  - Equals 1 if the report is the last one (i.e., the September report) before a presidential election in an election year, and 0 otherwise, and zero otherwise
- partyswitch

    - Equals 1 if the indicated quarter is the first [last] of a President's administration and the previous [incoming] president is from the opposing party, and zero otherwise
- perm_excep_schedc
    - Number of employees with "Permanent - Excepted Service - Schedule C" listed as their term of appointment in the given agency-quarter
    - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- perm_ses_career
    - Number of employees with "Permanent - Senior Executive Service - Career" listed as their term of appointment in the given agency-quarter
    - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- perm_ses_noncareer
    - Number of employees with "Permanent - Senior Executive Service – Non-Career" listed as their term of appointment in the given agency-quarter
    - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- pres_name
    - Name of the President
- pres_switch
    - Equals 1 if the indicated quarter is the first or last of a President's administration, and zero otherwise
- prev_empty
    - Number of PAS positions in a given agency that were empty in the previous year
    - **Source**: Kinane (2021)
- prev_exec_pct
    - Percentage of employees in a given agency who were on an executive (EX) pay plan in the previous quarter.
    - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- prev_interim
    - Number of PAS positions in a given agency that were filled by an interim or acting appointee in the previous year
    - **Source**: Kinane (2021)
- prev_permanent
    - Number of PAS positions in a given agency that were filled by a Senate-confirmed appointee in the previous year
    - **Source**: Kinane (2021)
- prev_ses_noncareer_pct_gap
    - Ten minus the percentage of SES employees in an agency (in the previous quarter) who are noncareerists

    - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- sameagency
    - Based off Clinton-Lewis (2007) scores. Equals 1 if the 95% Bayesian Credible Interval indicates a liberal agency and the President is a Democrat, or if the interval indicates a conservative agency and the President is a Republican. Equals -1 if the 95% Bayesian Credible Interval indicates a conservative agency and the President is a Democrat, or if the interval indicates a liberal agency and the President is a Republican. Equals 0 if the 95% BCI contains zero.
    - **Source**: Clinton and Lewis (2007)
- start_second_term
    - Equals 1 if the indicated quarter is the last of the President's first term (except for George H. W. Bush's) or the first of the President's second term, and zero otherwise
- temp_excep_schedc
    - Number of employees with "Non-permanent - Excepted Service - Schedule C" listed as their term of appointment in the given agency-quarter
    - **Source**: Buzzfeed data (https://archive.org/details/opm-federal-employment-data)
- total
    - Number of employees listed in the Buzzfeed database in the given agency-quarter
- total12
    - Number of employees listed in the Buzzfeed database in the given agency-quarter who are GS-12 through GS-15
- z_meanduration
    - Mean amount of time until confirmation for appointments in a given agency-congress. Normalized to have mean zero and standard deviation one.
    - **Source:** Ostrander (2016)
- z_polarization
    - Mean ideological distance between members of opposing parties in the Senate (measured at the Congress-level). Normalized to have mean zero and standard deviation one.
    - **Source**: Voteview.com
- z_pres_agencydist
    - Absolute difference between the President's Common Space score and Chen and Johnson's (2015) Common Space measures of agency ideology
    - **Source:** Chen and Johnson (2015)
- z_pres_congdist
    - Absolute difference in Common Space (Poole 1998) scores between the President and the Senate median. Normalized to have mean zero and standard deviation one.
    - **Source**: Voteview.com

- z_pres_fildist
    - Absolute difference in Common Space (Poole 1998) scores between the President and the filibuster pivot. Normalized to have mean zero and standard deviation one.
    - **Source**: Voteview.com
- z_rollcalls
    - The number of Senate roll calls during the relevant quarter. Normalized to have mean zero and standard deviation one.
    - **Source**: Voteview.com
- zmecompmedian
    - Krause and O'Connell's (2016) *Managerial Expertise* measure (at the secretary/commissioner level) for the relevant agency-quarter
    - **Source:** Krause and O'Connell (2016)