Appendix (to be published online)

Buying Evidence? Policy Research as a Presidential Commodity

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A Using the FPDS-NG Data

The data for this project were obtained from the Federal Procurement Data System - Next Generation (FPDS-NG, available online at www.usaspending.gov). The FPDS-NG is the front-end of the federal government's procurement database; contracting officers input data into the back end of this system each time a new contract is initiated or an existing contract is amended. This means that a new entry is created in the FPDS-NG every time a contracting action occurs—from a vendor's change of address to the initiation of a multi-million dollar contract. Evaluating what constitutes an award in the context of this study therefore requires proverbially separating the wheat from the chaff.

To distill research studies from the broader data, I rely on the "Product and Service Code" associated with each contract. Agency contracting officers characterize each contract according to the category most appropriate for the "preponderance of work" (interviews with agency contracting officers, May 2019). There are 23 service categories in the FPDS-NG.¹ I focus on services categorized under Category B, the "special studies/ analysis, not R&D" code, which are studies purchased to research particular policy issues. These studies are separate from the Research & Development code (i.e., Category A), which is primarily concerned with applied research and its market potential. That category concentrates on activities like the development of weapons systems and exploratory medical research. To limit the analysis to substantive contract awards, I include only actions that have an award amount greater than \$1,000.

To identify the agency associated with each contract, I rely on the "funding sub agency" (i.e., the agency that provides the preponderance of funds for the award) listed for each action. In some cases, this field is missing. Rather than drop contracting actions with a missing funding agency, I instead assume that the end user of the contracting service is the awarding agency (defined as the agency that interacts with the recipient to make the

¹There are also separate codes for products and goods; I exclude these entirely from my analyses.

award).

Unfortunately, the FPDS-NG provides limited information about the precise nature of each research study that is funded. The dataset includes an "award description" field. In some cases that field describes the approach (e.g, evaluation study) or subject (e.g., high school students), but more often than not it is incomplete or left blank entirely. For this reason, I focus on aggregate patterns in the paper, rather than the substance of individual research studies.

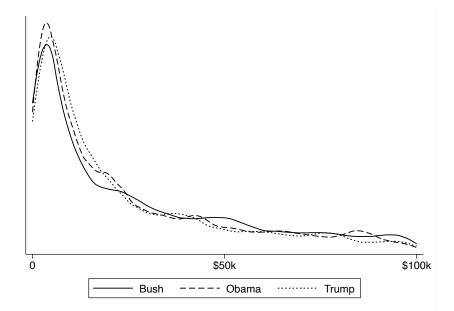
The Federal Procurement Data System began in the 1970s, but the data before Fiscal Year 2001 (when the system was redesigned) are largely considered unreliable. This empirical limitation forced me to begin the analysis in FY 2001.

B Description of the Data

Research Awards Across Administrations

Figure B-1 shows the distribution of contracts (by \$ amount) for each of the three administrations included in the dataset. Importantly, the mean contract award for a research study (adjusted for inflation) does not vary much across this time period, but remains at approximately \$22,000, a relatively small amount in the broader scale of government spending. However, this figure reflects individual awards and a single contract might have many awards, dispersed over time. Looking across the lifecycle of a contract, the modal contract has only one award. However, the tail is again long when considering total contract values, with some contracts having many awards and receiving millions of dollars.





Note: Kernel density plot of research contract award size. All dollar amounts adjusted to reflect thousands of real 2005 dollars. Figure includes new awards only, since these are the most comparable across administrations. To aid visibility, in this figure only new research contracts under \$100K are shown.

This figure indicates that there is general pattern to how presidents oversee the allocation of research funds. Nevertheless, if presidents are pursuing research to advance a policy agenda, the argument advanced here holds that we should observe strategic differences in where and how research funds are allocated across presidential administrations. This scatterplot shows the relationship between total agency policy research spending (*y*-axis) and the total number of years the agency's subtopic was mentioned in a State of the Union speech (*x*-axis). The figure shows that most agencies spent \$1 billion or less on policy research studies; exceptions include the Department of Education (ED), the Department of Energy (DOE)—both Cabinet departments that do not disaggregate their research awards to lower-level units—and the main account for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The dashed line shows a fitted regression line indicating a small but positive slope to the relationship between a president's prioritization and policy research spending.

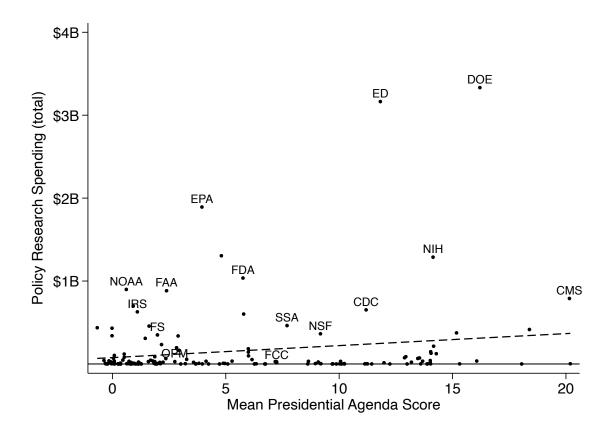


Figure B-2: Policy Research Spending & Presidential Agenda, by Agency

This table lists the 161 agencies (or, in some cases, departments or offices within agencies) included in the dataset, along with the major topic and subtopic each agency was matched with in the Policy Agendas schema. For many agencies, this is a straightforward exercise, as the agency name is included in the description in the Policy Agendas codebook for that subtopic. For example, subtopic code 1800 (Foreign Trade: General) mentions the Federal Trade Commission directly, subtopic code 1203 (Law, Crime, and Family Issues: Illegal Drug Production, Trafficking, and Control) mentions the Drug Enforcement Administration, and subtopic 1003 (Transportation: Air Transportation and Safety) mentions both the Transportation Security Administration and the Federal Aviation Administration. For other agencies, this exercise requires author discretion, but usually only minimally so: for instance, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is coded as "currency, commemorative coins, medals, U.S. Mint" (subtopic 2006) and the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality is coded as "health research and development" (subtopic 398). The final column indicates the number of times that subtopic was mentioned in a presidential State of the Union address during the time period under study (2000-2019); the parentheses indicate the mean number of mentions over the time period.

Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda
(Dept)			(mean)
African Development	International Af-	U.S. Foreign Aid	11 (0.55)
Foundation	fairs and Foreign	(1901)	
	Aid (19)		
Agency For Health-	Health (3)	Research and de-	13 (0.65)
care Research and		velopment (398)	
Quality (HHS)			
Agricultural Market-	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Mar-	0 (0)
ing Service (USDA)		keting, Research,	
		and Promotion	
		(404)	
Continued on next page			

Table B-1: Agencies and Policy Agendas Topic and Subtopic Pairings

Agency/ Office Name	le B-1 – continued fro Major topic (code)		Pres Agenda
(Dept)			(mean)
Agricultural Research Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Mar- keting, Research, and Promotion (404)	0 (0)
Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau (TREAS)	Macroeconomics (1)	Taxation, Tax pol- icy, and Tax Re- form (107)	20 (1)
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Animal and Crop Disease, Pest Con- trol, and Domesti- cated Animal Wel- fare (405)	0 (0)
Architectural and Transportation Barri- ers Compliance Board	Civil Rights, Mi- nority Issues, and Civil Liberties (2)	Handicap or Disease Discrimi- nation (205)	0 (0)
Armed Forces Retire- ment Home	Defense (16)	Manpower, Mil- itary Personnel and Dependents (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines), Military Courts (1608)	16 (0.8)
Assistant Administra- tor For Air and Radi- ation (EPA)	Environment (7)	Air pollution, Global Warming, and Noise Pollu- tion (705)	11 (0.55)
Assistant Adminis- trator For Pesticides and Toxic Substances (EPA)	Environment (7)	Hazardous Waste and Toxic Chem- ical Regulation, Treatment, and Disposal (704)	1 (0.05)
Assistant Administra- tor For Research and Development (EPA)	Environment (7)	Research and De- velopment (798)	1 (0.05)
Asst Administrator For Solid Waste and Emergency Response (EPA)	Environment (7)	Waste Disposal (703)	0 (0)
Broadcasting Board of Governors	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Broadcast Indus- try Regulation (TV, Cable, Radio) (1707)	0 (0)
		Continu	ied on next page

Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name	le B-1 – continued fro Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda	
			0	
(Dept) Bureau of Economic	Macroeconomics	Inflation, Prices,	(mean) 4 (0.2)	
Analysis (DOC)	(1)	and Interest Rates	4 (0.2)	
Bureau of Engraving	Government Op-	(101) Currency, Com-	0 (0)	
and Printing (TREAS)	erations (20)	memorative Coins, Medals, U.S. Mint (2006)	0(0)	
Bureau of Indian Af- fairs (DOI)	Public Lands and Water Manage- ment (21)	Native American Affairs (2102)	1 (0.05)	
Bureau of Interna- tional Labor Affairs (DOL)	International Af- fairs and Foreign Aid (19)	International Organizations other than Finance (1926)	2 (0.1)	
Bureau of Labor Statis- tics (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	Other (599)	0 (0)	
Bureau of Land Man- agement (DOI)	Public Lands and Water Manage- ment (21)	General (2100)	3 (0.15)	
Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (DOI)	Energy (8)	Natural Gas and Oil (Including Off- shore Oil and Gas) (803)	13 (0.65)	
Bureau of Reclamation (DOI)	Public Lands and Water Manage- ment (21)	Water Resources Development and Research (2104)	0 (0)	
Bureau of Safety and Environmental En- forcement (DOI)	Energy (8)	Natural Gas and Oil (Including Off- shore Oil and Gas) (803)	13 (0.65)	
Bureau of the Census (DOC)	Public Lands and Water Manage- ment (21)	Natural Resources, Public Lands, and Forest Manage- ment (2103)	2 (0.1)	
Bureau of the Fiscal Service (TREAS)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Efficiency and Bureaucratic Oversight (2002)	9 (0.45)	
Centers For Disease Control and Preven- tion (HHS)	Health (3)	Prevention, com- municable dis- eases and health promotion (331)	11 (0.55)	
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Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda				
(Dept)			(mean)				
Centers For Medicare	Health (3)	Insurance reform,	20 (1)				
and Medicaid Services		availability, and					
(HHS)		cost (302)					
Commodity Futures	Banking, Finance,	Securities and	2 (0.1)				
Trading Commission	and Domestic	Commodities Reg-					
	Commerce (15)	ulation (1502)					
Consumer Product	Banking, Finance,	Consumer Safety	2 (0.1)				
Safety Commission	and Domestic	and Consumer					
	Commerce (15)	Fraud (1525)					
Corporation For Na-	Social Welfare (13)	Social Services and	9 (0.45)				
tional and Commu-		Volunteer Associa-					
nity Service		tions (1305)					
Defense Nuclear Facil-	Energy (8)	Nuclear Energy	4 (0.2)				
ities Safety Board		and Nuclear					
		Regulatory Com-					
		mission Issues					
		(801)					
Department of Educa-	Education (6)	General (in-	12 (0.6)				
tion (ED)		cludes combina-					
		tions of multiple					
		subtopics) (600)					
Department of State	International Af-	General (Depart-	18 (0.9)				
(STATE)	fairs and Foreign	ment of State and					
	Aid (19)	U.S. Information					
		Agency appropri-					
		ations) (1900)					
Department of Veter-	Defense (16)	Veteran Affairs	1 (0.05)				
ans Affairs (VA)		and Other Issues					
		(1609)					
Departmental Offices	Macroeconomics	Monetary Supply,	3 (0.15)				
(TREAS)	(1)	Federal Reserve					
		Board, and the					
		Treasury (104)					
Drug Enforcement	Law, Crime, and	Illegal Drug Pro-	5 (0.25)				
Administration (DOJ)	Family Issues (12)	duction, Traffick-					
		ing, and Control					
		(1203)					
Economic Develop-	Communit Devel-	Urban Economic	1 (0.05)				
ment Administration	opment and Hous-	Development and					
(DOC)	ing Issues (14)	General Urban					
		Issues (1403)					
	1		ied on next page				

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Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	<u> </u>	Pres Agenda
(Dept)	Major topic (couc) Subtopic (couc)		(mean)
Election Assistance Commission	Government Op- erations (20)	Regulation of Po- litical Campaigns, Political Advertis- ing, PAC regula- tion, Government Ethics (2012)	10 (0.5)
Employee Benefits Se- curity Administration (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	Employee Benefits (503)	10 (0.5)
Employment and Training Administra- tion (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	Employment Training and Workforce Devel- opment (502)	13 (0.65)
Employment Stan- dards Administration (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	Fair Labor Stan- dards (505)	5 (0.25)
Energy, Department Of (DOE)	Energy (8)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (800)	16 (0.8)
Environmental Protec- tion Agency (EPA)	Environment (7)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (700)	4 (0.2)
Equal Employment Opportunity Commis- sion	Civil Rights, Mi- nority Issues, and Civil Liberties (2)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (200)	11 (0.55)
Export-Import Bank of the U.S.	Foreign Trade (18)	Export Promotion and Regulation, Export-Import Bank (1803)	9 (0.45)
Farm Credit Adminis- tration	Agriculture (4) Government Sub- sidies to Farm- ers and Ranch- ers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance (402)		1 (0.05)
		Contint	ied on next page

Agency/ Office Name	Table B-1 – continued from previous page Agency/ Office Name Major topic (code) Subtopic (code) Pres Agenda					
0 0	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda			
(Dept)			(mean)			
Farm Service Agency	Agriculture (4)	Government Sub-	1 (0.05)			
(USDA)		sidies to Farm-				
		ers and Ranch-				
		ers, Agricultural				
		Disaster Insurance				
		(402)				
Federal Acquisition	Government Op-	Government	0 (0)			
Service (GSA)	erations (20)	Procurement, Pro-				
		curement Fraud				
		and Contractor				
		Management				
		0				
	The second of the	(2007)	2 (0 1)			
Federal Aviation Ad-	Transportation	Airports, Airlines,	2 (0.1)			
ministration (DOT)	(10)	Air Traffic Control				
		and Safety (1003)				
Federal Bureau of In-	Law, Crime, and	Executive Branch	14 (0.7)			
vestigation (DOJ)	Family Issues (12)	Agencies Dealing				
		With Law and				
		Crime (1201)				
Federal Communica-	Space, Science,	General (1700)	7 (0.35)			
tions Commission	Technology and		~ /			
	Communications					
	(17)					
Federal Election Com-	Government Op-	Regulation of Po-	10 (0.5)			
mission	erations (20)	litical Campaigns,				
		Political Advertis-				
		ing, PAC regula-				
		tion, Government				
		Ethics (2012)	2 (0 15)			
Federal Emergency	Banking, Finance,	Domestic Disaster	3 (0.15)			
Management Agency	and Domestic	Relief (1523)				
	Commerce (15)					
Federal Emergency	Banking, Finance,	Domestic Disaster	3 (0.15)			
Management Agency	and Domestic	Relief (1523)				
(DHS)	Commerce (15)					
Federal Energy Reg-	Energy (8)	Electricity and Hy-	2 (0.1)			
ulatory Commission		droelectricity (802)				
(DOE)						
Federal Highway Ad-	Transportation	Highway Con-	6 (0.3)			
ministration (DOT)	(10)	struction, Mainte-				
		nance, and Safety				
		(1002)	1 .			
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page					
Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)		
Federal Housing Fi- nance Board	Communit Devel- opment and Hous- ing Issues (14)	Secondary Mort- gage Market (1410)	0 (0)		
Federal Labor Rela- tions Authority	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	Employee Rela- tions and Labor Unions (504)	2 (0.1)		
Federal Law Enforce- ment Training Center (DHS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)		
Federal Law Enforce- ment Training Center (TREAS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)		
Federal Maritime Commission	Transportation (10)	Maritime Issues, Including Safety and Security (1007)	0 (0)		
Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	Worker Safety and Protection, Occupational and Safety Health Administration (OSHA) (501)	1 (0.05)		
Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Truck and Au- tomobile Trans- portation and Safety (1006)	0 (0)		
Federal Prison System (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Prisons (1205)	3 (0.15)		
Federal Railroad Ad- ministration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Railroad Trans- portation and Safety (1005)	2 (0.1)		
Federal Trade Com- mission	Foreign Trade (18)	General (1800)	9 (0.45)		
Federal Transit Ad- ministration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Mass Transporta- tion and Safety (1001)	0 (0)		
Financial Crime En- forcement Network (TREAS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	White Collar Crime and Or- ganized Crime (1202)	3 (0.15)		
		Continu	ied on next page		

Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda	
(Dept)		-	(mean)	
Financial Manage- ment Service (TREAS)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Efficiency and Bureaucratic Oversight (2002)	9 (0.45)	
Food and Drug Ad- ministration (HHS)	Health (3)	Regulation of drug industry, medical devices, and clini- cal labs (321)	6 (0.3)	
Food and Nutrition Service (USDA)	Social Welfare (13)	Food Stamps, Food Assistance, and Nutrition Monitoring Pro- grams (1301)	6 (0.3)	
Food Safety and Inspection Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Food Inspection and Safety (in- cluding seafood) (403)	2 (0.1)	
Foreign Agricultural Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Trade (401)	1 (0.05)	
Forest Service (USDA)	Public Lands and Water Manage- ment (21)	Natural Resources, Public Lands, and Forest Manage- ment (2103)	2 (0.1)	
Geological Survey (DOI)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Weather Forecast- ing and Related Issues, NOAA, Oceanography (1708)	0 (0)	
Grain Inspection, Packers and Stock- yards Administration (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Food Inspection and Safety (in- cluding seafood) (403)	2 (0.1)	
Health Resources and Services Administra- tion (HHS)	Health (3)	Health Manpower & Training (325)	1 (0.05)	
Immediate Office of the Administrator of Epa (EPA)	Environment (7)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (700)	4 (0.2)	
Immediate Office of the Secretary of Labor (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (500)	10 (0.5)	
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page					
Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda		
(Dept)	· · · ·		(mean)		
Immediate Office of	Transportation	General (in-	6 (0.3)		
the Secretary of Trans-	(10)	cludes combina-			
portation (DOT)		tions of multiple			
		subtopics) (1000)			
Indian Health Service	Public Lands and	Native American	1 (0.05)		
(HHS)	Water Manage-	Affairs (2102)			
	ment (21)				
Institue of Museum	Education (6)	Educational Excel-	14 (0.7)		
and Library Services		lence (607)			
Internal Revenue Ser-	Government Op-	IRS Administra-	1 (0.05)		
vice (TREAS)	erations (20)	tion (2009)			
International Bound-	International Af-	International Re-	0 (0)		
ary and Water Com-	fairs and Foreign	sources Exploita-	0 (0)		
mission: U.SMexico	Aid (19)	tion and Resources			
	Alu (19)				
(STATE)	\mathbf{F}_{1}	Agreement (1902)	0 (0 45)		
International Trade	Foreign Trade (18)	General (1800)	9 (0.45)		
Administration (DOC)					
International Trade	Foreign Trade (18)	General (1800)	9 (0.45)		
Commission					
J. F. Kennedy Cen-	Education (6)	Arts and Humani-	0 (0)		
ter For the Performing		ties (609)			
Arts					
Maritime Administra-	Transportation	Maritime Issues,	0 (0)		
tion (DOT)	(10)	Including Safety			
		and Security			
		(1007)			
Merit Systems Protec-	Government Op-	Government Em-	3 (0.15)		
tion Board	erations (20)	ployee Benefits,			
		Civil Service Is-			
		sues (2004)			
Millennium Challenge	International Af-	U.S. Foreign Aid	11 (0.55)		
Corporation	fairs and Foreign	(1901)	(0.00)		
Corporation	Aid (19)				
Mine Safety and	Labor and Em-	Worker Safety	1 (0.05)		
Health Administra-		and Protection,			
	ployment (5)				
tion (DOL)		Occupational and			
		Safety Health			
		Administration			
		(OSHA) (501)			
Minority Business	Banking, Finance,	Small Business Is-	12 (0.6)		
Development Agency	and Domestic	sues and the Small			
(DOC)	Commerce (15)	Business Adminis-			
		tration (1521)			
		Continu	ied on next page		

Table B-1 – continued from previous page					
Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda		
(Dept)			(mean)		
National Agricul-	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural	0 (0)		
tural Statistics Service		Research and De-			
(USDA)		velopment (498)			
National Archives and	Public Lands and	National Parks,	2 (0.1)		
Records Administra-	Water Manage-	Memorials, His-			
tion	ment (21)	toric Sites, and			
		Recreation (2101)			
National Capital Plan-	Government Op-	District of	0 (0)		
ning Commission	erations (20)	Columbia Af-			
0		fairs (2014)			
National Endowment	Education (6)	Arts and Humani-	0 (0)		
For the Arts		ties (609)			
National Endowment	Education (6)	Arts and Humani-	0 (0)		
For the Humanities		ties (609)			
National Gallery of	Education (6)	Arts and Humani-	0 (0)		
Art		ties (609)			
National Highway	Transportation	Highway Con-	6 (0.3)		
Traffic Safety Admin-	(10)	struction, Mainte-			
istration (DOT)		nance, and Safety			
		(1002)			
National Institute of	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural	0 (0)		
Food and Agriculture		Research and De-			
(USDA)		velopment (498)			
National Institute of	Banking, Finance,	General (1500)	7 (0.35)		
Standards and Tech-	and Domestic				
nology (DOC)	Commerce (15)				
National Institutes of	Health (3)	General (300)	14 (0.7)		
Health (HHS)					
National Labor Rela-	Labor and Em-	Employee Rela-	2 (0.1)		
tions Board	ployment (5)	tions and Labor			
		Unions (504)			
National Oceanic and	Space, Science,	Weather Forecast-	0 (0)		
Atmospheric Admin-	Technology and	ing and Related			
istration (DOC)	Communications	Issues, NOAA,			
	(17)	Oceanography			
		(1708)			
National Park Service	Public Lands and	National Parks,	2 (0.1)		
(DOI)	Water Manage-	Memorials, His-			
	ment (21)	toric Sites, and			
		Recreation (2101)			
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page					
Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda		
(Dept)		D 1 1 D	(mean)		
National Science Foundation	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Research and De- velopment (1798)	9 (0.45)		
National Technical Information Service (DOC)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	General (1700)	7 (0.35)		
NationalTelecom-municationsandInformationAdminis-tration (DOC)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Telephone and Telecommunica- tion Regulation (1706)	1 (0.05)		
National Transporta- tion Safety Board	Transportation (10)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (1000)	6 (0.3)		
Natural Resources Conservation Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Government Sub- sidies to Farm- ers and Ranch- ers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance (402)	1 (0.05)		
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	Energy (8)	NuclearEnergyandNuclearRegulatoryCom-missionIssues(801)	4 (0.2)		
Occupational Safety and Health Adminis- tration (DOL)	ployment (5)	Worker Safety and Protection, Occupational and Safety Health Administration (OSHA) (501)	1 (0.05)		
Office of Citizen Ser- vices and Innovative Technologies (GSA)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Prop- erty Management (2008)	1 (0.05)		
Office of Government Wide Policy (GSA)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Prop- erty Management (2008)	1 (0.05)		
Office of Inspector General (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (500)	10 (0.5)		
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Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda			
(Dept)			(mean)			
Office of Inspector General (GSA)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Prop- erty Management (2008)	1 (0.05)			
Office of Inspector General (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (400)	1 (0.05)			
Office of Justice Pro- grams (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Riots, Crime Prevention, and Crime Control (1211)	2 (0.1)			
Office of Personnel Management	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Em- ployee Benefits, Civil Service Is- sues (2004)	3 (0.15)			
Office of Procurement Operations (DHS)	Defense (16)	Civil Defense & Homeland Secu- rity (1615)	15 (0.75)			
Office of Public Affairs (GSA)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Prop- erty Management (2008)	1 (0.05)			
Office of Special Coun- sel	Government Op- erations (20)	Regulation of Po- litical Campaigns, Political Advertis- ing, PAC regula- tion, Government Ethics (2012)	10 (0.5)			
Office of Surface Min- ing, Reclamation and Enforcement (DOI)	Energy (8)	Coal (805)	4 (0.2)			
Office of the Adminis- trator(Acmd) (GSA)	Government Op- erations (20)	Government Prop- erty Management (2008)	1 (0.05)			
Office of the Assistant Secretary For Admin- istration (Asa) (HHS)	Health (3)	General (300)	14 (0.7)			
Office of the Assistant Secretary For Admin- istration and Manage- ment (DOL)	Labor and Em- ployment (5)	General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (500)	10 (0.5)			
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

(Dept)(mean)Office of the Chief Financial Officer (USDA)Agriculture (4)General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (400)1 (0.05)Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (TREAS)Banking, Finance, Commerce (15)U.S. Banking Sys- tem and Financial Institution Regula- tion (1501)5 (0.25)Office of the Inspector General (DOC)Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)General (1500)7 (0.35)Office of the Secretary (DOC)Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)General (1500)7 (0.35)Office of Thrift Super- vision (TREAS)Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)General (1500)7 (0.35)Offices, Boards and Divisions (DOJ)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (1200)6 (0.3)Patent and Trademark Office (DOC)Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)General (in- cludes combina- tions of multiple subtopics) (1200)3 (0.15)Peace CorpsInternational Af- fairs and Foreign Aid (19)U.S. Foreign Aid (1901)11 (0.55)	Agency/ Office Name	le B-1 – continued fro Major topic (code)		Pres Agenda
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Table B-1 – continued from previous page					
Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda		
(Dept)			(mean)		
Railroad Retirement	Labor and Em-	Employee Benefits	10 (0.5)		
Board	ployment (5)	(503)			
Research and Innova-	Transportation	Research and De-	0 (0)		
tive Technology Ad-	(10)	velopment (1098)			
ministration (DOT)					
Risk Management	Agriculture (4)	Government Sub-	1 (0.05)		
Agency (USDA)		sidies to Farm-			
		ers and Ranch-			
		ers, Agricultural			
		Disaster Insurance			
		(402)			
Saint Lawrence Sea-	Transportation	Maritime Issues,	0 (0)		
way Development	(10)	Including Safety			
Corporation (DOT)		and Security			
-		(1007)			
Securities and Ex-	Banking, Finance,	Securities and	2 (0.1)		
change Commission	and Domestic	Commodities Reg-			
-	Commerce (15)	ulation (1502)			
Small Business Ad-	Banking, Finance,	Small Business Is-	12 (0.6)		
ministration	and Domestic	sues and the Small			
	Commerce (15)	Business Adminis-			
		tration (1521)			
Smithsonian Institu-	Public Lands and	National Parks,	2 (0.1)		
tion	Water Manage-	Memorials, His-			
	ment (21)	toric Sites, and			
		Recreation (2101)			
Social Security Ad-	Social Welfare (13)	Elderly Issues and	8 (0.4)		
ministration		Elderly Assistance			
		Programs (Includ-			
		ing Social Security			
		Administration)			
		(1303)			
Substance Abuse and	Health (3)	Alcohol/Controlled	5 (0.25)		
Mental Health Ser-		and Illegal Drug			
vices Administration		Abuse, Treatment,			
(HHS)		and Education			
		(342)			
Surface Transporta-	Transportation	General (in-	6 (0.3)		
tion Board	(10)	cludes combina-			
		tions of multiple			
		subtopics) (1000)			
		Continu	ed on next page		

Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)Major topic (code) (mean)Pres (mean)Transportation Secu- rity Administration (DCT)Defense (16)Civil Defense & (15)15 (0.75)U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (DHS)Immigration (9)Immigration and Refugee (900)16 (0.8)U.S. Coast Guard (DHS)Transportation (10)Maritime Issues, (900)0 (0)U.S. Coast Guard der Protection (DHS)Transportation Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Eish and Wildlife Environment (7)Species and Forest Species and Forest (1201)2 (0.1)U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (DOI)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Marshals Service (DOI)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Marshals Service (DOI)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Secret Service (DHS)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Secret Service (IREAS)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Secret Service (IDHS)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)14 (0.7)U.S. Secret Service (IDHS)Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12) Agencies Dealing 	Table B-1 – continued from previous page				
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Continued on next page	Agency	Aid (19)			
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Tuble D 1 Continueu Hom previous puge					
Agency/ Office Name	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda		
(Dept)			(mean)		
Veterans Employment	Labor and Em-	Employment	13 (0.65)		
and Training Services	ployment (5)	Training and			
(DOL)		Workforce Devel-			
		opment (502)			
Women's Bureau	Civil Rights, Mi-	Gender and Sex-	14 (0.7)		
(DOL)	nority Issues, and	ual Orientation			
	Civil Liberties (2)	Discrimination			
		(202)			

Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Variable name	Source	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
Award Size (ln)	FPDS-NG	9.983	2.017	6.908	18.966
Deobligation	FPDS-NG	0.237	0.4256	0	1
Deobligated Funds	FPDS-NG	0.057	0.180	0	1
Presidential Agenda	PAP	0.203	0.402	0	1
New Administration	FPDS-NG	0.124	0.330	0	1
In-house Capacity	OPM	0.022	0.031	0	0.742
Budgetary Change	OMB	0.005	0.771	-4.465	18.643
Contracting Officers per 100	OPM	1.309	1.636	0	30.255
Award Total (ln)	FPDS-NG	10.096	2.025	-4.605	21.432

Table B-2: Descriptive Statistics for Model Variables

C Robustness Checks

	(1) All Contracts	(2) New Contracts	(3) Deobligation	(4) Deobligated Funds
	contracts	contracts		1 41143
Presidential Agenda	0.075 (0.043)	0.108*** (0.040)		
New Administration	``	``	0.382**	0.059***
			(0.015)	(0.006)
Observations	234,900	130,070	106,090	96,785
Number of Agencies	318	299	299	297
Study Type FE	NO	NO	NO	NO
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Table C-1: Presidential Prioritization & Size of Research Contract Awards, Including DOD and Other Agencies

Note: Two-tailed tests: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. FE = fixed effect.

a: Models include all research awards from the Department of Defense, including the Army, Air Force, and Navy, as well as a handful of small other agencies for which the relevant covariate data was not available.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	All	All	New	New
	Contracts	Contracts	Contracts	Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.096*	0.089*	0.101^{+}	0.082
	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.051)	(0.051)
In-house Capacity		-1.014		-1.040
		(0.898)		(0.903)
Budgetary Change		-0.016***		-0.004
		(0.007)		(0.007)
Contracting Officers per 100		0.001		-0.010
		(0.019)		(0.025)
Observations	146,767	146,227	101,345	101,123
Number of Agencies	170	161	164	155
Study Type FE	NO	YES	NO	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration Time Trends	YES	YES	YES	YES

Table C-2: Presidential Prioritization & Size of Research Contract Awards, with Administration Time Trends

Notes: Two-tailed tests: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *, p<0.05 + p<0.10. FE = fixed effect. This analysis includes secular time trends across administrations (i.e., accounting for administration's first year, second year, etc.). These controls soak up some of the variation in politicization, which differs by time in the administration, but the coefficients retain their magnitude and positive sign.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	All	All	New	New
	Contracts	Contracts	Contracts	Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.109**	0.055	0.115*	0.042
	(0.042)	(0.038)	(0.050)	(0.039)
In-house Capacity	-0.418	0.191	-0.113	0.116
	(0.709)	(0.518)	(0.654)	(0.610)
Budgetary Change	-0.021***	-0.019***	-0.009	-0.007
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Contracting Officers per 100	0.022	0.040	0.019	0.038
	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.031)
	146.007	146.000	101 100	101 100
Observations	146,227	146,227	101,123	101,123
Number of Agencies	161	161	155	155
Study Type FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration FE	NO	NO	NO	NO
Year FE	NO	YES	NO	YES

Table C-3: Presidential Agenda Results, w/o Time Fixed Effects & w/ Year Fixed Effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	All	All	New	New
	Contracts	Contracts	Contracts	Contracts
Presidential Agenda (alt coding)	0.087*	0.081^{+}	0.094	0.094
	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.065)	(0.065)
In-house Capacity		-0.407	-0.291	-0.291
		(0.675)	(0.626)	(0.626)
Budgetary Change		-0.022***	-0.010	-0.010
		(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Contracting Officers per 100		0.013	0.007	0.007
		(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Observations	146,227	146,227	101,123	101,123
Number of Agencies	161	161	155	155
Study Type FE	NO	YES	NO	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Table C-4: Presidential Agenda & Size of Research Contract Awards (Alternate Coding)

Note: Two-tailed tests: *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05, † p < 0.10. FE = fixed effect. The key independent variable, *Presidential Agenda* is recoded here; *Presidential Agenda (Alt coding)*, is coded such that it indicates whether the number of subtopic mentions (for that agency's subtopic) was above the average number of mentions for every possible subtopic in that year's State of the Union. Subtopic areas that were above average for that year were coded as a "1" and those that were at or below that year's average number of subtopic mentions were coded as "0." Naturally, this coding approach—which artificially inflates some subtopic areas and deflates others—attenuates the significance some of the results, but the signs remain positive with a consistent magnitude.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	All	New	Deobligation	Deobligated Funds
	Contracts	Contracts		
		0.00.11		
Presidential Agenda	0.098*	0.094*		
	(0.041)	(0.044)		
New Administration			0.402***	0.069***
			(0.021)	(0.008)
Divided Govt	0.069***	0.092***	0.059***	0.013***
	(0.031)	(0.042)	(0.009)	(0.002)
Award Total (ln)			0.028***	-0.004***
			(0.004)	(0.001)
In-house Capacity	-0.244	-0.107	-0.670	-0.143
	(0.652)	(0.649)	(0.436)	(0.091)
Budgetary Change	-0.015	-0.003	-0.010***	-0.002***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Contracting Officers per 100	0.015	0.010	-0.012	-0.001
	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.009)	(0.002)
Observations	146,227	101,123	75,972	75,523
Number of Agencies	161	155	153	153
Study Type FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Table C-5: Robustness Check with the Addition of Divided Government Control

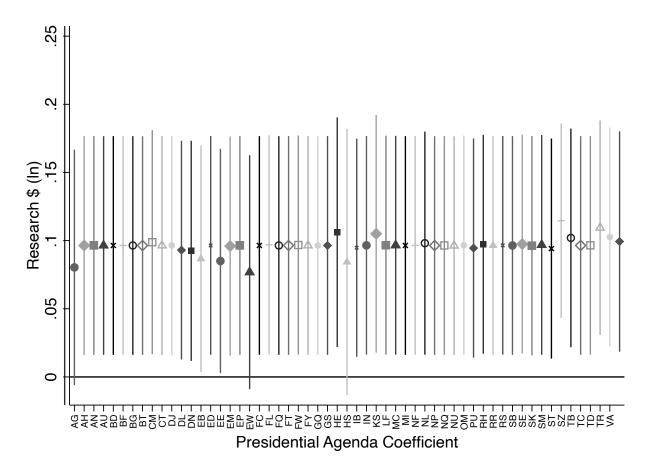


Figure C-1: Departmental Leave-One-Out Analysis

Notes: This figure shows the coefficient for *Presidential Agenda* with the department indicated on the *x*-axis excluded. The specification employed is that from Model 2 in Table 1 of the paper. Department naming convention follows the Office of Personnel Management's two-letter agency naming convention. This leave-one-out analysis shows that research awards from no one department drive the results reported in the paper; the magnitude, sign, and significance of the coefficients are stable regardless of which agency is left out. Although not shown here, a similar analysis run at the bureau level indicates that no one bureau is behind the results.

	(4)	(2)
	(1)	(2)
	All	New
	Contracts	Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.104*	0.099*
	(0.044)	(0.048)
Core State	-0.082***	-0.078***
	(0.033)	(0.035)
Election Year	-0.001	0.020
	(0.049)	(0.049)
Core State × Election Year	0.058	0.031
	(0.040)	(0.040)
Swing State	0.144***	0.093
C	(0.051)	(0.049)
Swing State × Election Year	-0.035	-0.072
	(0.054)	(0.055)
Observations	141,939	97,438
Number of Agencies	160	154
Controls.	YES	YES
Study Type	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES
Note: Two-tailed tests: *** p<00	01.** p<0.01	t p < 0.05 FE =

Table C-6: Presidential Particularism & Size of Research Contract Awards

	(1)	(2)
	All	New
	Contracts	Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.169**	0.110
	(0.069)	(0.111)
Republican President	-0.137	-0.194*
	(0.084)	(0.084)
State Republican Tendency	-0.062	-0.226
-	(0.267)	(0.307)
Republican President × Republican Tendency	-0.808*	-1.004**
	(0.316)	(0.334)
Observations	28 (00	26 722
	38,690	26,732
Number of Agencies	134	129
Controls	YES	YES
Study Type FE	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES

Table C-7: Presidential Partisanship, Voter Preferences, & Size of Research Contract Awards

Note: Two-tailed tests: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. FE = fixed effect.

Dynes and Huber (2015) argue that it is important to account for voter preferences directly when studying presidential particularism. This table does so by including a measure of *State Republican Tendency*, a calculation of the proportion of the two-party vote share for the Republican presidential candidate in a state in each presidential election minus the average proportion of the Republican vote share across all states for that election.¹ Dynes and Huber (2015, 178) explain that "[m]easuring Republican performance relative to average performance in all districts accounts for partisan tides and differences in average candidate strength across elections." The resulting measure ranges from -1 to 1, with higher values indicating a state that is more Republican leaning than its peers.

¹Dynes and Huber (2015) implement a district level measure of *Republican Tendency*. The measure employed here is at the state level, however, since the FPDS-NG data are not tagged at the congressional district level.

Following their approach, I interact *Republican Tendency* with *Republican President*. If presidents reward copartisan constituents, then this interaction should be associated with an *increase* the size of research awards. However, contrary to this expectation, the interaction is negative and the relationship is statistically significant. This indicates that Republican presidents award smaller research contracts to copartisan constituents. This provides an indication that policy research is not the most promising venue for presidential pork barreling.

	(1)	(2)
	All	New
	Contracts	Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.115**	0.168**
	(0.038)	(0.061)
Hearings (ln)	-0.049	0.012
	(0.028)	(0.040)
Laws (ln)	0.015	0.007
	(0.027)	(0.034)
Observations	136,225	64,283
Number of Agency	156	151
Controls	YES	YES
Study Type FE	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES

Table C-8: Congressional Pressure & Size of Research Contract Awards

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Deobligation	Deobligation	Deobligated Funds	Deobligated Funds
New Administration	1.980***	1.891***	0.871***	0.978***
	(0.097)	(0.109)	(0.094)	(0.097)
Award Total (ln)		0.211***		-0.068**
		(0.026)		(0.026)
In-house Capacity		-10.104*		-7.366*
1		(4.960)		(2.963)
Budgetary Change		-0.080***		-0.059***
		(0.016)		(0.015)
Contracting Officers per 100		-0.061		-0.023
		(0.049)		(0.040)
Observations	75,858	75,857	75,523	75,523
Study Type FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration FE	YES	YES	YES	YES

Table C-9: Deobligation of Research Contracts, Alternate Estimation Strategies

Note: Two-tailed tests: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05. FE = fixed effect. *a:* The dependent variable in columns 1 and 2 is *Deobligation*, a binary indicator of whether any funds were deobligated from the contract. These models employ a logistic modeling approach.

b: The dependent variable in columns 3 and 4 is Deobligated Funds, the proportion of funds that were deobligated from a contract at its termination point. Because this is a proportion, these models employ a fractional logit modeling approach (Papke and Wooldridge, 1996).

	(1) Deobligation	(2) Deobligation	(3) Deobligated	(4) Deobligated
			Funds	Funds
New Administration	0.401***	0.416***	0.070***	0.072***
	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.007)	(0.009)
Award Total (ln)	0.033***	0.028***	-0.003*	-0.005***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.001)
In-house Capacity	-1.553*	0.097	-0.302*	0.023
	(0.684)	(0.301)	(0.141)	(0.058)
Budgetary Change	-0.011***	-0.007***	-0.003***	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Contracting Officers per 100	-0.022	0.004	-0.003	0.003
	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Observations	75,972	75,972	75,523	75,523
Number of Agencies	153	153	153	153
Study Type FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Agency FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Administration FE	NO	NO	NO	NO
Year FE	NO	YES	NO	YES

Table C-10: Deobligation Results, w/o Time Fixed Effects & w/ Year Fixed Effects

References

- Dynes, Adam M. and Gregory A. Huber. 2015. "Partisanship and the Allocation of Federal Spending: Do Same-Party Legislators or Voters Benefit from Shared Party Affiliation with the President and House Majority?" *American Political Science Review* 109(1):172– 186.
- Papke, Leslie E. and Jeffrey M. Wooldridge. 1996. "Econometric Methods for Fractional Response Variables with an Application to 401 (k) Plan Participation Rates." *Journal of Applied Econometrics* 11(6):619–632.