

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.

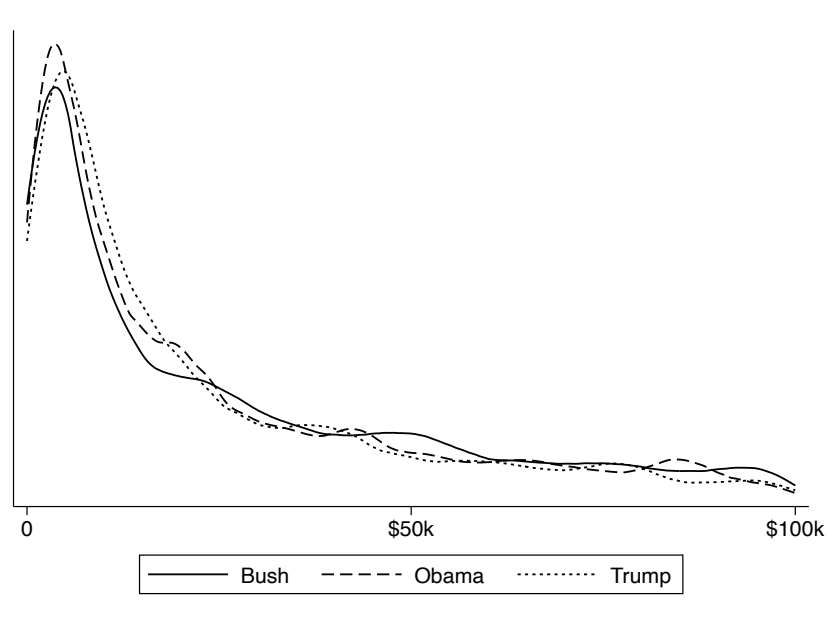
The Federal Procurement Data System began in the 1970s, but the data before Fiscal Year 2001 (when the system was redesigned) are largely considered unreliable. This empirical limitation forced me to begin the analysis in FY 2001.

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.

Figure B-1: Size of Research Contracts (\$), by Administration

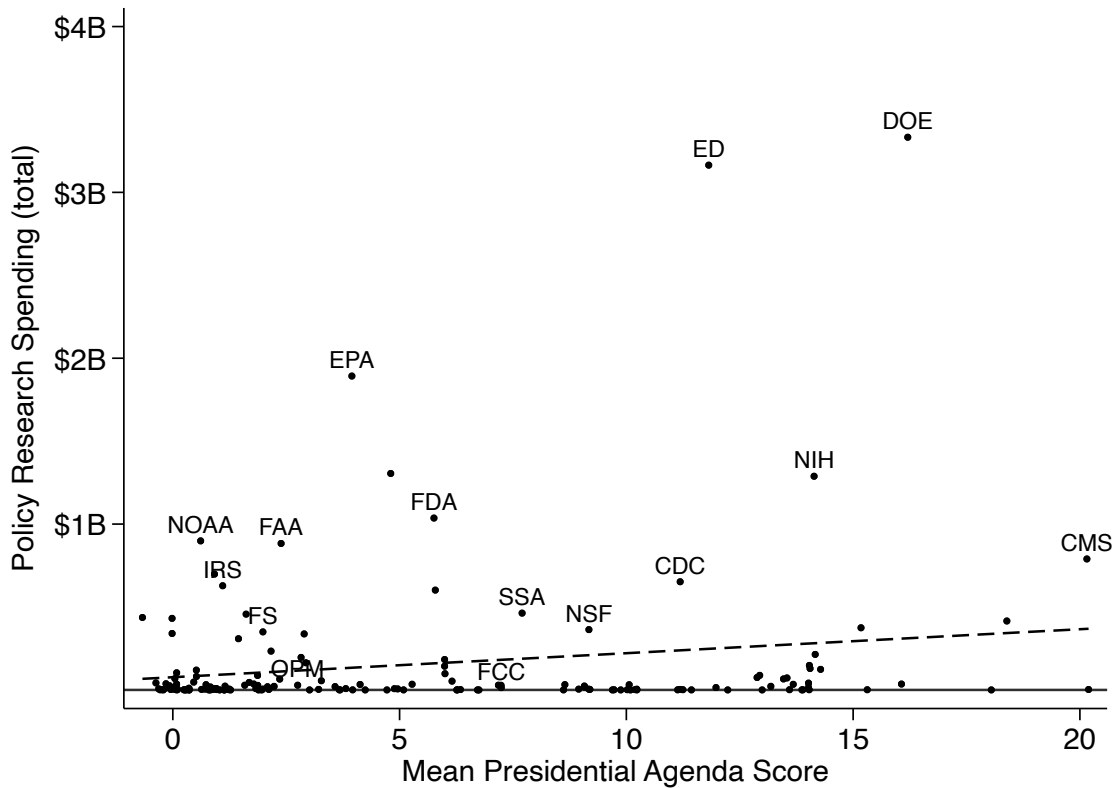


Note: Kernel density plot of research contract award size. All dollar amounts adjusted to reflect thousands of real 2005 dollars. Figure includes new awards only, since these are the most comparable across administrations. To aid visibility, in this figure only new research contracts under \$100K are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

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

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
African Development Foundation	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	U.S. Foreign Aid (1901)	11 (0.55)
Agency For Healthcare Research and Quality (HHS)	Health (3)	Research and development (398)	13 (0.65)
Agricultural Marketing Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Marketing, Research, and Promotion (404)	0 (0)
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Agricultural Research Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Marketing, Research, and Promotion (404)	0 (0)
Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau (TREAS)	Macroeconomics (1)	Taxation, Tax policy, and Tax Reform (107)	20 (1)
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Animal and Crop Disease, Pest Control, and Domesticated Animal Welfare (405)	0 (0)
Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board	Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties (2)	Handicap or Disease Discrimination (205)	0 (0)
Armed Forces Retirement Home	Defense (16)	Manpower, Military Personnel and Dependents (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines), Military Courts (1608)	16 (0.8)
Assistant Administrator For Air and Radiation (EPA)	Environment (7)	Air pollution, Global Warming, and Noise Pollution (705)	11 (0.55)
Assistant Administrator For Pesticides and Toxic Substances (EPA)	Environment (7)	Hazardous Waste and Toxic Chemical Regulation, Treatment, and Disposal (704)	1 (0.05)
Assistant Administrator For Research and Development (EPA)	Environment (7)	Research and Development (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 Industry Regulation (TV, Cable, Radio) (1707)	0 (0)
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Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Bureau of Economic Analysis (DOC)	Macroeconomics (1)	Inflation, Prices, and Interest Rates (101)	4 (0.2)
Bureau of Engraving and Printing (TREAS)	Government Operations (20)	Currency, Commemorative Coins, Medals, U.S. Mint (2006)	0 (0)
Bureau of Indian Affairs (DOI)	Public Lands and Water Management (21)	Native American Affairs (2102)	1 (0.05)
Bureau of International Labor Affairs (DOL)	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	International Organizations other than Finance (1926)	2 (0.1)
Bureau of Labor Statistics (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	Other (599)	0 (0)
Bureau of Land Management (DOI)	Public Lands and Water Management (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 Management (21)	Water Resources Development and Research (2104)	0 (0)
Bureau of Safety and Environmental Enforcement (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 Management (21)	Natural Resources, Public Lands, and Forest Management (2103)	2 (0.1)
Bureau of the Fiscal Service (TREAS)	Government Operations (20)	Government Efficiency and Bureaucratic Oversight (2002)	9 (0.45)
Centers For Disease Control and Prevention (HHS)	Health (3)	Prevention, communicable diseases and health promotion (331)	11 (0.55)
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Centers For Medicare and Medicaid Services (HHS)	Health (3)	Insurance reform, availability, and cost (302)	20 (1)
Commodity Futures Trading Commission	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Securities and Commodities Regulation (1502)	2 (0.1)
Consumer Product Safety Commission	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Consumer Safety and Consumer Fraud (1525)	2 (0.1)
Corporation For National and Community Service	Social Welfare (13)	Social Services and Volunteer Associations (1305)	9 (0.45)
Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board	Energy (8)	Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Regulatory Commission Issues (801)	4 (0.2)
Department of Education (ED)	Education (6)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (600)	12 (0.6)
Department of State (STATE)	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	General (Department of State and U.S. Information Agency appropriations) (1900)	18 (0.9)
Department of Veterans Affairs (VA)	Defense (16)	Veteran Affairs and Other Issues (1609)	1 (0.05)
Departmental Offices (TREAS)	Macroeconomics (1)	Monetary Supply, Federal Reserve Board, and the Treasury (104)	3 (0.15)
Drug Enforcement Administration (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Illegal Drug Production, Trafficking, and Control (1203)	5 (0.25)
Economic Development Administration (DOC)	Communit Development and Housing Issues (14)	Urban Economic Development and General Urban Issues (1403)	1 (0.05)
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Election Assistance Commission	Government Operations (20)	Regulation of Political Campaigns, Political Advertising, PAC regulation, Government Ethics (2012)	10 (0.5)
Employee Benefits Security Administration (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	Employee Benefits (503)	10 (0.5)
Employment and Training Administration (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	Employment Training and Workforce Development (502)	13 (0.65)
Employment Standards Administration (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	Fair Labor Standards (505)	5 (0.25)
Energy, Department Of (DOE)	Energy (8)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (800)	16 (0.8)
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)	Environment (7)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (700)	4 (0.2)
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties (2)	General (includes combinations 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 Administration	Agriculture (4)	Government Subsidies to Farmers and Ranchers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance (402)	1 (0.05)

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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Farm Service Agency (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Government Subsidies to Farmers and Ranchers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance (402)	1 (0.05)
Federal Acquisition Service (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Procurement, Procurement Fraud and Contractor Management (2007)	0 (0)
Federal Aviation Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Airports, Airlines, Air Traffic Control and Safety (1003)	2 (0.1)
Federal Bureau of Investigation (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
Federal Communications Commission	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	General (1700)	7 (0.35)
Federal Election Commission	Government Operations (20)	Regulation of Political Campaigns, Political Advertising, PAC regulation, Government Ethics (2012)	10 (0.5)
Federal Emergency Management Agency	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Domestic Disaster Relief (1523)	3 (0.15)
Federal Emergency Management Agency (DHS)	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Domestic Disaster Relief (1523)	3 (0.15)
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (DOE)	Energy (8)	Electricity and Hydroelectricity (802)	2 (0.1)
Federal Highway Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Highway Construction, Maintenance, and Safety (1002)	6 (0.3)
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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 Finance Board	Communit Development and Housing Issues (14)	Secondary Mortgage Market (1410)	0 (0)
Federal Labor Relations Authority	Labor and Employment (5)	Employee Relations and Labor Unions (504)	2 (0.1)
Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (DHS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
Federal Law Enforcement 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 Employment (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 Automobile Transportation and Safety (1006)	0 (0)
Federal Prison System (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Prisons (1205)	3 (0.15)
Federal Railroad Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Railroad Transportation and Safety (1005)	2 (0.1)
Federal Trade Commission	Foreign Trade (18)	General (1800)	9 (0.45)
Federal Transit Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Mass Transportation and Safety (1001)	0 (0)
Financial Crime Enforcement Network (TREAS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	White Collar Crime and Organized Crime (1202)	3 (0.15)
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Financial Management Service (TREAS)	Government Operations (20)	Government Efficiency and Bureaucratic Oversight (2002)	9 (0.45)
Food and Drug Administration (HHS)	Health (3)	Regulation of drug industry, medical devices, and clinical labs (321)	6 (0.3)
Food and Nutrition Service (USDA)	Social Welfare (13)	Food Stamps, Food Assistance, and Nutrition Monitoring Programs (1301)	6 (0.3)
Food Safety and Inspection Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Food Inspection and Safety (including seafood) (403)	2 (0.1)
Foreign Agricultural Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Trade (401)	1 (0.05)
Forest Service (USDA)	Public Lands and Water Management (21)	Natural Resources, Public Lands, and Forest Management (2103)	2 (0.1)
Geological Survey (DOI)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Weather Forecasting and Related Issues, NOAA, Oceanography (1708)	0 (0)
Grain Inspection, Packers and Stockyards Administration (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Food Inspection and Safety (including seafood) (403)	2 (0.1)
Health Resources and Services Administration (HHS)	Health (3)	Health Manpower & Training (325)	1 (0.05)
Immediate Office of the Administrator of Epa (EPA)	Environment (7)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (700)	4 (0.2)
Immediate Office of the Secretary of Labor (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (500)	10 (0.5)

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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Immediate Office of the Secretary of Transportation (DOT)	Transportation (10)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (1000)	6 (0.3)
Indian Health Service (HHS)	Public Lands and Water Management (21)	Native American Affairs (2102)	1 (0.05)
Institute of Museum and Library Services	Education (6)	Educational Excellence (607)	14 (0.7)
Internal Revenue Service (TREAS)	Government Operations (20)	IRS Administration (2009)	1 (0.05)
International Boundary and Water Commission: U.S.-Mexico (STATE)	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	International Resources Exploitation and Resources Agreement (1902)	0 (0)
International Trade Administration (DOC)	Foreign Trade (18)	General (1800)	9 (0.45)
International Trade Commission	Foreign Trade (18)	General (1800)	9 (0.45)
J. F. Kennedy Center For the Performing Arts	Education (6)	Arts and Humanities (609)	0 (0)
Maritime Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Maritime Issues, Including Safety and Security (1007)	0 (0)
Merit Systems Protection Board	Government Operations (20)	Government Employee Benefits, Civil Service Issues (2004)	3 (0.15)
Millennium Challenge Corporation	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	U.S. Foreign Aid (1901)	11 (0.55)
Mine Safety and Health Administration (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	Worker Safety and Protection, Occupational and Safety Health Administration (OSHA) (501)	1 (0.05)
Minority Business Development Agency (DOC)	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Small Business Issues and the Small Business Administration (1521)	12 (0.6)

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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
National Agricultural Statistics Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Research and Development (498)	0 (0)
National Archives and Records Administration	Public Lands and Water Management (21)	National Parks, Memorials, Historic Sites, and Recreation (2101)	2 (0.1)
National Capital Planning Commission	Government Operations (20)	District of Columbia Affairs (2014)	0 (0)
National Endowment For the Arts	Education (6)	Arts and Humanities (609)	0 (0)
National Endowment For the Humanities	Education (6)	Arts and Humanities (609)	0 (0)
National Gallery of Art	Education (6)	Arts and Humanities (609)	0 (0)
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Highway Construction, Maintenance, and Safety (1002)	6 (0.3)
National Institute of Food and Agriculture (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Agricultural Research and Development (498)	0 (0)
National Institute of Standards and Technology (DOC)	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	General (1500)	7 (0.35)
National Institutes of Health (HHS)	Health (3)	General (300)	14 (0.7)
National Labor Relations Board	Labor and Employment (5)	Employee Relations and Labor Unions (504)	2 (0.1)
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (DOC)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Weather Forecasting and Related Issues, NOAA, Oceanography (1708)	0 (0)
National Park Service (DOI)	Public Lands and Water Management (21)	National Parks, Memorials, Historic Sites, and Recreation (2101)	2 (0.1)

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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
National Science Foundation	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Research and Development (1798)	9 (0.45)
National Technical Information Service (DOC)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	General (1700)	7 (0.35)
National Telecommunications and Information Administration (DOC)	Space, Science, Technology and Communications (17)	Telephone and Telecommunication Regulation (1706)	1 (0.05)
National Transportation Safety Board	Transportation (10)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (1000)	6 (0.3)
Natural Resources Conservation Service (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Government Subsidies to Farmers and Ranchers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance (402)	1 (0.05)
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	Energy (8)	Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Regulatory Commission Issues (801)	4 (0.2)
Occupational Safety and Health Administration (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	Worker Safety and Protection, Occupational and Safety Health Administration (OSHA) (501)	1 (0.05)
Office of Citizen Services and Innovative Technologies (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Property Management (2008)	1 (0.05)
Office of Government Wide Policy (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Property Management (2008)	1 (0.05)
Office of Inspector General (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (500)	10 (0.5)
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Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Office of Inspector General (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Property Management (2008)	1 (0.05)
Office of Inspector General (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (400)	1 (0.05)
Office of Justice Programs (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Riots, Crime Prevention, and Crime Control (1211)	2 (0.1)
Office of Personnel Management	Government Operations (20)	Government Employee Benefits, Civil Service Issues (2004)	3 (0.15)
Office of Procurement Operations (DHS)	Defense (16)	Civil Defense & Homeland Security (1615)	15 (0.75)
Office of Public Affairs (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Property Management (2008)	1 (0.05)
Office of Special Counsel	Government Operations (20)	Regulation of Political Campaigns, Political Advertising, PAC regulation, Government Ethics (2012)	10 (0.5)
Office of Surface Mining, Reclamation and Enforcement (DOI)	Energy (8)	Coal (805)	4 (0.2)
Office of the Administrator(Acmd) (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Property Management (2008)	1 (0.05)
Office of the Assistant Secretary For Administration (Asa) (HHS)	Health (3)	General (300)	14 (0.7)
Office of the Assistant Secretary For Administration and Management (DOL)	Labor and Employment (5)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (500)	10 (0.5)

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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Office of the Chief Financial Officer (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (400)	1 (0.05)
Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (TREAS)	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	U.S. Banking System and Financial Institution Regulation (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 Supervision (TREAS)	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	U.S. Banking System and Financial Institution Regulation (1501)	5 (0.25)
Offices, Boards and Divisions (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (1200)	6 (0.3)
Patent and Trademark Office (DOC)	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Copyrights and Patents (1522)	3 (0.15)
Peace Corps	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	U.S. Foreign Aid (1901)	11 (0.55)
Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation	Labor and Employment (5)	Employee Benefits (503)	10 (0.5)
Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety Administraton (DOT)	Environment (7)	Hazardous Waste and Toxic Chemical Regulation, Treatment, and Disposal (704)	1 (0.05)
Pretrial Services Agency	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Court Administration (1204)	5 (0.25)
Program Support Center (HHS)	Health (3)	General (300)	14 (0.7)
Public Buildings Service (GSA)	Government Operations (20)	Government Property Management (2008)	1 (0.05)
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Railroad Retirement Board	Labor and Employment (5)	Employee Benefits (503)	10 (0.5)
Research and Innovative Technology Administration (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Research and Development (1098)	0 (0)
Risk Management Agency (USDA)	Agriculture (4)	Government Subsidies to Farmers and Ranchers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance (402)	1 (0.05)
Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Maritime Issues, Including Safety and Security (1007)	0 (0)
Securities and Exchange Commission	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Securities and Commodities Regulation (1502)	2 (0.1)
Small Business Administration	Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce (15)	Small Business Issues and the Small Business Administration (1521)	12 (0.6)
Smithsonian Institution	Public Lands and Water Management (21)	National Parks, Memorials, Historic Sites, and Recreation (2101)	2 (0.1)
Social Security Administration	Social Welfare (13)	Elderly Issues and Elderly Assistance Programs (Including Social Security Administration) (1303)	8 (0.4)
Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (HHS)	Health (3)	Alcohol/Controlled and Illegal Drug Abuse, Treatment, and Education (342)	5 (0.25)
Surface Transportation Board	Transportation (10)	General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics) (1000)	6 (0.3)
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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

Agency/ Office Name (Dept)	Major topic (code)	Subtopic (code)	Pres Agenda (mean)
Transportation Security Administration (DOT)	Defense (16)	Civil Defense & Homeland Security (1615)	15 (0.75)
U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (DHS)	Immigration (9)	Immigration and Refugee Issues (900)	16 (0.8)
U.S. Coast Guard (DHS)	Transportation (10)	Maritime Issues, Including Safety and Security (1007)	0 (0)
U.S. Customs and Border Protection (DHS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (DOI)	Environment (7)	Species and Forest Protection (709)	2 (0.1)
U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (DHS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
U.S. Marshals Service (DOJ)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
U.S. Secret Service (DHS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
U.S. Secret Service (TREAS)	Law, Crime, and Family Issues (12)	Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime (1201)	14 (0.7)
United States Coast Guard (DOT)	Transportation (10)	Maritime Issues, Including Safety and Security (1007)	0 (0)
United States Mint (TREAS)	Government Operations (20)	Currency, Commemorative Coins, Medals, U.S. Mint (2006)	0 (0)
United States Trade and Development Agency	International Affairs and Foreign Aid (19)	U.S. Foreign Aid (1901)	11 (0.55)

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Table B-1 – continued from previous page

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

Table B-2: Descriptive Statistics for Model Variables

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

C Robustness Checks

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) New Contracts	(3) Deobligation	(4) Deobligated Funds
Presidential Agenda	0.075 (0.043)	0.108*** (0.040)		
New Administration			0.382** (0.015)	0.059*** (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

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.

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) All Contracts	(3) New Contracts	(4) New Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.096* (0.042)	0.089* (0.044)	0.101 [†] (0.051)	0.082 (0.051)
In-house Capacity		-1.014 (0.898)		-1.040 (0.903)
Budgetary Change		-0.016*** (0.007)		-0.004 (0.007)
Contracting Officers per 100		0.001 (0.019)		-0.010 (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

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.

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) All Contracts	(3) New Contracts	(4) New Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.109** (0.042)	0.055 (0.038)	0.115* (0.050)	0.042 (0.039)
In-house Capacity	-0.418 (0.709)	0.191 (0.518)	-0.113 (0.654)	0.116 (0.610)
Budgetary Change	-0.021*** (0.009)	-0.019*** (0.008)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.008)
Contracting Officers per 100	0.022 (0.018)	0.040 (0.026)	0.019 (0.023)	0.038 (0.031)
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

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

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) All Contracts	(3) New Contracts	(4) New Contracts
Presidential Agenda (alt coding)	0.087* (0.044)	0.081 [†] (0.046)	0.094 (0.065)	0.094 (0.065)
In-house Capacity		-0.407 (0.675)	-0.291 (0.626)	-0.291 (0.626)
Budgetary Change		-0.022*** (0.009)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.008)
Contracting Officers per 100		0.013 (0.017)	0.007 (0.023)	0.007 (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

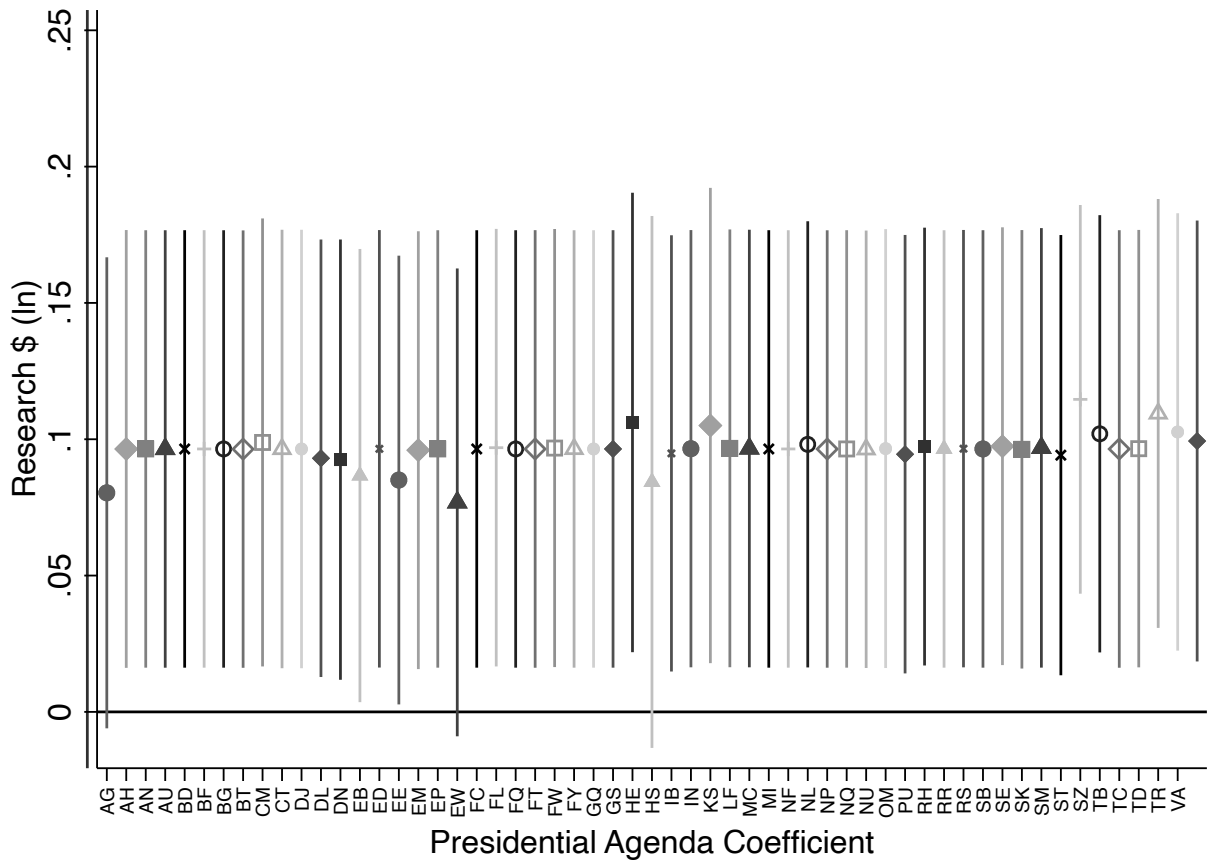
Note: Two-tailed tests: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, [†] p<0.10. FE = fixed effect. The key independent variable, *Presidential Agenda* is recoded here; *Presidential Agenda (Alt coding)*, is coded such that it indicates whether the number of subtopic mentions (for that agency's subtopic) was above 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.

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) New Contracts	(3) Deobligation	(4) Deobligated Funds
Presidential Agenda	0.098* (0.041)	0.094* (0.044)		
New Administration			0.402*** (0.021)	0.069*** (0.008)
Divided Govt	0.069*** (0.031)	0.092*** (0.042)	0.059*** (0.009)	0.013*** (0.002)
Award Total (ln)			0.028*** (0.004)	-0.004*** (0.001)
In-house Capacity	-0.244 (0.652)	-0.107 (0.649)	-0.670 (0.436)	-0.143 (0.091)
Budgetary Change	-0.015 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Contracting Officers per 100	0.015 (0.018)	0.010 (0.024)	-0.012 (0.009)	-0.001 (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

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

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.

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) New Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.104* (0.044)	0.099* (0.048)
Core State	-0.082*** (0.033)	-0.078*** (0.035)
Election Year	-0.001 (0.049)	0.020 (0.049)
Core State × Election Year	0.058 (0.040)	0.031 (0.040)
Swing State	0.144*** (0.051)	0.093 (0.049)
Swing State × Election Year	-0.035 (0.054)	-0.072 (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: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. FE = fixed effect.

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) New Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.169** (0.069)	0.110 (0.111)
Republican President	-0.137 (0.084)	-0.194* (0.084)
State Republican Tendency	-0.062 (0.267)	-0.226 (0.307)
Republican President × Republican Tendency	-0.808* (0.316)	-1.004** (0.334)
Observations	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

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.

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

	(1) All Contracts	(2) New Contracts
Presidential Agenda	0.115** (0.038)	0.168** (0.061)
Hearings (ln)	-0.049 (0.028)	0.012 (0.040)
Laws (ln)	0.015 (0.027)	0.007 (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

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

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Deobligation	Deobligation	Deobligated Funds	Deobligated Funds
New Administration	1.980*** (0.097)	1.891*** (0.109)	0.871*** (0.094)	0.978*** (0.097)
Award Total (ln)		0.211*** (0.026)		-0.068** (0.026)
In-house Capacity		-10.104* (4.960)		-7.366* (2.963)
Budgetary Change		-0.080*** (0.016)		-0.059*** (0.015)
Contracting Officers per 100		-0.061 (0.049)		-0.023 (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

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).

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

	(1) Deobligation	(2) Deobligation	(3) Deobligated Funds	(4) Deobligated Funds
New Administration	0.401*** (0.018)	0.416*** (0.020)	0.070*** (0.007)	0.072*** (0.009)
Award Total (ln)	0.033*** (0.005)	0.028*** (0.004)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.005*** (0.001)
In-house Capacity	-1.553* (0.684)	0.097 (0.301)	-0.302* (0.141)	0.023 (0.058)
Budgetary Change	-0.011*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.003*** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.001)
Contracting Officers per 100	-0.022 (0.011)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.003)	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

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

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.