

## Online Appendix

### Appendix A. Data

#### *Data Matching Procedure*

To match the individuals across data sets, we adopt several strategies. The different data sources record names differently. In the survey, a respondent's name is split across seven categories (prefix, first name, middle name, nickname, maiden name, last name, and suffix). The *Yellow Book* data places all seven categories in one cell. The first matching procedure requires a perfect match between the survey and other data. As a result, anyone who adopted a nickname, got married or divorced, or changed their name in the two years between the fielding of the survey and the collection of the new data would not be matched by this first procedure. To capture these individuals, we created every combination of a survey respondent's name from the seven cells provided by the survey and then consolidated to a single name variable to merge the survey results with the OPM and *Yellow Book* data. As a final check to ensure that we match everyone who took the survey and is still in government, we analyze whether the first and last name of a survey respondent is anywhere in the full string of the name. We checked each new match manually to see if the person identified matched the person who took the survey. This final process yielded 191 additional matches. Anyone in the *OPM* or *Yellow Book* data not matched to the survey data did not contain the first and last name of anyone in the unmatched respondents from the survey data.

In total, we matched 916 career SES names out of 1,374 that took the survey to the first period. That is a 66.7% match. Names that appear more than once in an agency or that were redacted by OPM account for the data loss. The full OPM data contains 902,925 unique name-

agency pairs out of 1,325,109 possible rows. That is 68.1% of that data that could have been matched giving confidence to our rate of matching in the SES sample.

### *Variables:*

#### Dependent Variable

*Departure*: equals 1 if individual departs in the period, 0 otherwise. Source: Office of Personnel Management Data 1973-2016 and *Federal Yellow Book* 2016-2017.

#### Independent Variables

*Choke Point*: Sum of self-reported job responsibilities. Specifically, the survey asked “Does your job deal *directly* with decisions about [Yes, No]:

Information management (e.g., Information Technology, Database Management)

Managing completion of agency priorities once priorities are set

Grants to state and local governments, other organizations, or individuals

Deciding what enforcement responsibilities to prioritize

Allocation of personnel to different jobs or offices

Budget formulation/proposals

Setting overall priorities in [agency name]

Procurement and contract management

Developing Notices of Proposed Rulemaking, summarizing related comments, writing final rules”

Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Ideology*: Survey respondent’s self-placement on seven-point ideology scale ranging from very liberal (1) to very conservative (7). Survey asked: “In general, would you describe your political

views as: very conservative, conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, liberal, very liberal, don't know." If a subject answered 'don't know' or failed to answer the question, they are excluded from the analysis. Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Partisanship*: Survey respondent's self-placement on the five-point partisanship scale ranging from Democrat (1) to Republican (5). Survey asked: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what? Democrat, Republican, Independent, Other". If respondents indicated that they are an independent, they received the following question: "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party? Closer to the Republican Party, Neither, Closer to the Democratic Party, Don't Know". From these two questions, each respondent was placed on the five-point partisanship scale. If a subject answered 'don't know' or failed to answer the question, they are excluded from the analysis. Source: 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Agency Ideology*: Federal employees serve as expert raters of agencies that they interact with and their responses are aggregated using a Bayesian hierarchical multirater model with informed priors. Source: Mark D. Richardson, Joshua D. Clinton, and David E. Lewis, "Characterizing Responsiveness in the Modern Administrative State." Midwestern Political Science Association Conference. Palmer House, Chicago, IL. 16 April 2015. Data can be accessed at: [www.mrichardson.info](http://www.mrichardson.info).

### Controls

*Priority*: Equals 1 if the department or agency is responsible for carrying out policy goals in President Trump's *Contract with the American Voter*, 0 otherwise. Priority agencies include the Department of Justice, Office of Personnel Management, Federal Election Commission,

Department of the Interior, Department of Commerce, Department of the Treasury, Department of State, Department of Energy, Department of Education, Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Defense, Department of Veteran's Affairs, Office of Government Ethics, Environmental Protection Agency, and Office of the Director of National Intelligence. Source: "Contract with the American Voter", <https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/landings/contract/O-TRU-102316-Contractv02.pdf>, accessed October 7, 2017.

*Employees*: count of full-time employees in 2014. As much as possible bureau level employment data is used. Employees in the Office of the Secretary or non-bureau parts of large departments are coded with the employment for the whole department. Source: Office of Personnel Management, Fedscope ([www.fedscope.opm.gov](http://www.fedscope.opm.gov)) for September 2014. Data for agencies not included in Fedscope comes from different sources and years as close to 2014 as possible. This includes Lewis and Selin 2012 (USPS, TVA, Federal Reserve), agency annual reports (Amtrak [FY 2015], Legal Services Corporation [FY 2013]), Forbes (Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac [2017]), Partnership for Public Service (CFPB) and AllGov (DOE and STATE; [www.allgov.com](http://www.allgov.com) [FY2013]).

*Executive Department*: Equals 1 if agency is in the president's cabinet, 0 otherwise. Source: *Sourcebook of United States Agencies*, David E. Lewis and Jennifer Selin, Report for the Administrative Conference of the United States (2012).

*Independent Commissions*: Equals 1 if agency is an independent commission, 0 otherwise. Independent commissions include the Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, Consumer Product Safety Commission, Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Farm Credit

Administration, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Election Commission, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Reserve, Federal Labor Relations Authority, Federal Maritime Commission, Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Merit Systems Protection Board, National Credit Union Administration, National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board, National Transportation Safety Board, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, U.S. International Trade Commission. Source: *Sourcebook of United States Agencies*, David E. Lewis and Jennifer Selin, Report for the Administrative Conference of the United States (2012).

*Salary Level*: the survey asked respondents to report their salary in bins. There were 26 bins overall in the survey (\$10,000 per bin) but 7 relevant bins for the SES (12-18 or \$130,000 - \$199,000). We take self-reported salaries above and below the SES range and collapse them into the minimum and maximum values, respectively. We also secured salary data for each respondent from the OPM employment records (Mean \$165.3k; SD \$17.21k; Min \$125k; Max \$300k). The public records and survey reported salary correlate at 0.81. Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Retire*: Equals 1 if respondent reports that they are eligible to retire in the next 12 months. Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Years in Government Service*: Equals self-reported years in government service. Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Age*: Self reported age. Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

*Experience*: Self reported years of experience in government. Source: The 2014 Survey on the Future of Government Service.

**Appendix B: Alternative Specifications Appendix B: Alternative Specifications**

**Table A1. Career SES Departure, Simple Models**

	(1) #Responsibilities	(2) Budget/Rule Dimension	(3) Ideology	(4) Party	(5) Agency Ideology
Post-election Change					
# Responsibilities	0.034 (0.033)				
Budget/Contract/IT		-0.211 (0.167)			
Rulemaking/Enforcement		0.340 (0.225)			
Ideology (L-C)			-0.111* (0.047)		
Party (D-R)				-0.157** (0.047)	
Agency Ideology (L-C)					-0.223** (0.078)
Pre-election					
# Responsibilities	0.019 (0.018)				
Scores Budget Dimension		0.181+ (0.097)			
Scores Rulemaking Dimension		-0.045 (0.117)			
Ideology (L-C)			0.008 (0.027)		
Party (D-R)				0.020 (0.024)	
Agency Ideology (L-C)					0.121** (0.044)
Post-election					
	-0.45+ (0.24)	-0.347 (0.251)	-0.041 (0.213)	-0.214 (0.206)	-0.391* (0.178)
Constant	-1.94*** (0.13)	-1.966*** (0.129)	-1.891*** (0.122)	-1.909*** (0.106)	-1.823*** (0.092)
Observations	7980	8130	7258	7165	8187
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.058	0.059	0.065	0.067	0.065
AIC	2160.2	2221.1	2015.5	1961.6	2238.6

Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted. Duration indicators omitted.

**Table A2. Models of Career SES Departure, March 2015 to July 2017, Factor Analysis Specification**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Post-election Change			
Budget/Contract/IT Responsibilities	-0.088 (0.21)	-0.046 (0.20)	-0.058 (0.20)
Rulemaking/Enforcement Responsibilities	0.35 (0.27)	0.25 (0.26)	0.26 (0.26)
Individual Ideology (L-C)	-0.10* (0.053)		
Party (D-R)		-0.17** (0.052)	
Agency Ideology (L-C)			-0.23* (0.096)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.29* (0.14)	-0.26+ (0.14)	-0.35* (0.14)
Post-election (0,1)	-0.077 (0.33)	-0.073 (0.32)	-0.29 (0.32)
Entire Period			
Scores Budget Dimension	0.097 (0.11)	0.073 (0.11)	0.066 (0.11)
Scores Rulemaking Dimension	-0.021 (0.13)	-0.025 (0.13)	-0.036 (0.13)
Ideology (L-C)	0.003 (0.031)		
Party (D-R)		0.014 (0.027)	
Agency Ideology (L-C)			0.11* (0.05)
Trump Priority	-0.048 (0.095)	-0.013 (0.097)	0.025 (0.096)
Executive Department	0.005 (0.094)	-0.062 (0.093)	-0.052 (0.096)
Regulatory Commission	-0.085 (0.14)	-0.084 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.13)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.017 (0.018)	0.025 (0.018)	0.019 (0.018)
Salary	-0.005 (0.025)	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.005 (0.025)
Retirement Eligible	0.35*** (0.10)	0.34** (0.10)	0.29** (0.10)
Years of Government Experience	-0.040*** (0.010)	-0.040*** (0.010)	-0.036*** (0.010)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001** (0.000)
Age	-0.41* (0.18)	-0.41* (0.18)	-0.46** (0.17)
Age^2	0.026* (0.012)	0.026* (0.012)	0.031** (0.012)
Constant	-0.22 (0.70)	-0.21 (0.72)	-0.009 (0.69)
Observations	6321	6322	6410
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.090	0.094
AIC	1731.1	1721.1	1761.7

Standard errors in parentheses. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted.

**Table A3. Cox Models of Career SES Departure, March 2015 to July 2017**

Post-Election Change	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
#Responsibilities		0.15	0.13	0.13
		0.10	0.10	0.10
Individual Ideology (L-C)		-0.30*		
		0.12		
Party (D-R)			-0.40**	
			0.13	
Agency Ideology (L-C)				-0.52*
				0.23
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.84**	-0.86**	-0.73*	-0.93**
	0.31	0.33	0.32	0.32
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Pre-Election				
#Responsibilities		0.009	0.000	-0.003
		(0.042)	0.043	0.041
Individual Ideology (L-C)		-0.000		
		0.063		
Party (D-R)			0.029	
			0.055	
Agency Ideology (L-C)				0.23*
				0.10
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.092	-0.036	0.025	-0.003
	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.20
Executive Department (0,1)	-0.045	-0.047	-0.19	-0.16
	0.19	0.200	0.20	0.20
Regulatory Commission (0,1)	-0.24	-0.21	-0.22	-0.32
	0.25	0.28	0.27	0.27
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.048	0.030	0.050	0.037
	0.035	0.037	0.038	0.037
Salary Level	-0.027	-0.030	-0.029	-0.029
	0.049	0.052	0.051	0.051
Eligible to Retire (0,1)	0.66**	0.82***	0.77***	0.66**
	0.21	0.23	0.23	0.22
Years in Federal Government	-0.089***	-0.091***	-0.089***	-0.078***
	0.020	0.022	0.022	0.022
Years in Federal Government^2	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001
Age	-0.85*	-0.74*	-0.73*	-0.85*
	0.34	0.35	0.35	0.33
Age^2	0.057*	0.045+	0.045+	0.056*
	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.023
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Number of Individuals	631	554	554	563
Number of Observations	6969	6097	6112	6186
X <sup>2</sup> (df 11, 15, 15, 15)	61.71**	67.79**	66.00**	64.94**

Note: AIC=2857, 2470, 2446, 2542. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*significant at the 0.05 level; \*significant at the 0.10 level in two-tailed test.



**Table A4. Career SES Departure Including Acting Officials or using Bootstrapped SEs**

	(1) Include Acting Officials	(2) Bootstrap SE
Post-election Change		
# Responsibilities	0.065+ (0.039)	0.072+ (0.039)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.13* (0.057)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.26+ (0.14)	-0.37* (0.17)
Post-election (0,1)	-0.11 (0.33)	-0.019 (0.33)
Entire Period		
# Responsibilities	0.002 (0.020)	0.003 (0.023)
Ideology (L-C)	0.002 (0.031)	0.002 (0.035)
Trump Priority	-0.027 (0.094)	-0.015 (0.096)
Executive Department	-0.002 (0.092)	-0.012 (0.094)
Regulatory Commission	-0.041 (0.13)	-0.073 (0.15)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.019 (0.018)	0.013 (0.026)
Salary	-0.004 (0.025)	-0.005 (0.026)
Retirement Eligible	0.36*** (0.10)	0.37** (0.12)
Years of Government Experience	-0.041*** (0.010)	-0.044*** (0.012)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Age	-0.36* (0.17)	-0.38* (0.19)
Age^2	0.022+ (0.012)	0.024+ (0.013)
Acting Official	-0.47** (0.18)	
Constant	-0.37 (0.69)	-0.22 (0.81)
Observations	6640	6097
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.090	0.094
AIC	1750.7	1677.4

Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted.

**Table A5. SES Departure with Different Measures of Scope of Responsibility and Ideology**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post-election Change				
# Responsibilities (with 0 resp)	0.040 (0.040)			
# Responsibilities (key PM only)		0.091 (0.065)		
# Responsibilities			0.066 (0.041)	0.071+ (0.040)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.11* (0.052)	-0.11* (0.052)		
Ideology(Alt1)			-0.13* (0.054)	
Ideology(Alt2)				-0.13* (0.054)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.31* (0.14)	-0.31* (0.14)	-0.37** (0.14)	-0.38** (0.14)
Post-election	0.078 (0.31)	0.042 (0.30)	0.002 (0.34)	-0.062 (0.33)
Entire Period				
# Responsibilities (with 0 resp)	0.010 (0.019)			
# Responsibilities (key PM only)		-0.008 (0.032)		
# Responsibilities			-0.000 (0.021)	0.000 (0.020)
Ideology (L-C)	0.005 (0.031)	0.007 (0.031)		
Ideology (Alternate 1)			0.003 (0.032)	
Ideology (Alternate 2)				0.003 (0.031)
Trump Priority	-0.041 (0.094)	-0.047 (0.096)	-0.005 (0.095)	-0.022 (0.093)
Executive Department	0.009 (0.093)	0.003 (0.093)	-0.030 (0.094)	-0.032 (0.093)
Regulatory Commission	-0.067 (0.13)	-0.083 (0.13)	-0.066 (0.13)	-0.11 (0.13)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.017 (0.018)	0.015 (0.018)	0.019 (0.018)	0.017 (0.017)
Salary	-0.006 (0.025)	-0.004 (0.025)	0.001 (0.025)	0.004 (0.024)
Retirement Eligible	0.35*** (0.10)	0.35*** (0.10)	0.34*** (0.10)	0.33** (0.10)
Years of Government Experience	-0.041*** (0.010)	-0.042*** (0.010)	-0.043*** (0.010)	-0.043*** (0.010)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Age	-0.42* (0.18)	-0.42* (0.18)	-0.37* (0.18)	-0.38* (0.17)
Age^2	0.027* (0.012)	0.027* (0.012)	0.023 (0.012)	0.025* (0.012)
Constant	-0.20 (0.70)	-0.13 (0.70)	-0.37 (0.70)	-0.34 (0.70)
Observations	6321	6363	6234	6542
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.091	0.094	0.096

Note: AIC: 1728, 1730, 1722, 1781. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Model 1 msr. of scope of responsibility includes respondents w/0 “yes” answers. Model 2 msr. responsibility includes only responsibilities with clear policy connection. Models 3,4 include ideology msr that codes DK/missing responses as moderate, respectively. Duration indicators omitted.

**Table A6. Models of Career SES Departure, Interactive Specifications**

	(1)	(2)
Post-election Change		
# Responsibilities	-0.082 (0.075)	-0.032 (0.069)
Ideology	-0.52*** (0.16)	-0.12* (0.05)
Trump Priority	-0.37* (0.15)	-1.33** (0.51)
#Responsibilities*Ideology	0.068** (0.026)	
#Responsibilities*Trump Priority		0.18* (0.09)
Post-election	0.81+ (0.46)	0.51 (0.43)
Entire period		
# Responsibilities	-0.028 (0.051)	0.045 (0.037)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.058 (0.091)	0.000 (0.032)
Trump Priority	-0.020 (0.096)	0.31 (0.27)
#Responsibilities*Ideology	0.011 (0.016)	
#Responsibilities*Trump Priority		-0.062 (0.045)
Executive Department	-0.003 (0.096)	-0.018 (0.095)
Regulatory Commission	-0.091 (0.13)	-0.077 (0.13)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.010 (0.018)	0.012 (0.018)
Salary	-0.008 (0.025)	-0.004 (0.025)
Retirement Eligible	0.38*** (0.11)	0.37*** (0.11)
Years of Government Experience	-0.044*** (0.011)	-0.044*** (0.010)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Age	-0.37* (0.18)	-0.38* (0.18)
Age^2	0.022+ (0.012)	0.024+ (0.012)
Constant	-0.056 (0.74)	-0.43 (0.73)
Observations	6097	6097
Pseudo $R^2$	0.099	0.096
$AIC$	1672.4	1676.9
LR Test v. baseline in Table 2 (2 df)	9.06*	4.57

Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted.

**Table A7. Models of Career SES Departure, Alternate Specifications for Agency Insulation, Job Station, and Gender**

	(1) Personnel Insulation	(2) Policy Insulation	(3) DC	(4) Female
<b>Post-election Change</b>				
# Responsibilities	0.069 (0.049)	0.069 (0.049)	0.071+ (0.042)	0.072+ (0.042)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.16** (0.060)	-0.16** (0.060)	-0.13* (0.054)	-0.13* (0.054)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.35* (0.16)	-0.36* (0.16)	-0.38** (0.14)	-0.38** (0.14)
Post-election	0.10 (0.40)	0.098 (0.40)	-0.002 (0.34)	-0.015 (0.34)
<b>Entire Period</b>				
# Responsibilities	0.001 (0.024)	-0.001 (0.024)	0.004 (0.021)	0.004 (0.021)
Ideology (L-C)	0.007 (0.035)	0.007 (0.035)	0.003 (0.032)	0.003 (0.032)
Trump Priority	-0.018 (0.11)	-0.021 (0.099)	-0.012 (0.095)	-0.014 (0.096)
Agency (Policy) Insulation		-0.021 (0.047)		
Agency (Personnel) Insulation	-0.008 (0.057)			
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.019 (0.021)	0.019 (0.020)	0.014 (0.018)	0.013 (0.018)
Salary	-0.005 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.007 (0.026)	-0.005 (0.025)
Retirement Eligible	0.47*** (0.12)	0.47*** (0.12)	0.37*** (0.11)	0.37*** (0.11)
Years of Government Experience	-0.050*** (0.012)	-0.050*** (0.012)	-0.043*** (0.011)	-0.044*** (0.011)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Age	-0.52** (0.19)	-0.53** (0.19)	-0.37* (0.18)	-0.38* (0.18)
Age^2	0.030* (0.013)	0.031* (0.013)	0.023+ (0.012)	0.024* (0.012)
Executive Department			-0.011 (0.095)	-0.014 (0.095)
Regulatory Commission			-0.073 (0.13)	-0.073 (0.13)
Washington, DC			0.076 (0.083)	
Female				0.026 (0.073)
Constant	0.42 (0.73)	0.43 (0.73)	-0.31 (0.73)	-0.24 (0.71)
Observations	4853	4853	6097	6097
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.099	0.100	0.094	0.094
AIC	1353.0	1352.9	1678.6	1679.3

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Models 1, 2 include measure of personnel and policy insulation from Selin 2015, respectively. Models 3, 4 include controls for Washington, DC and female, respectively. Duration indicators omitted.

**Table A8. Models of Career SES Departure, Alternate Measures of Outside Options**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Approach Outside Org.	% Agency Spec Skills	Real Salary
<b>Post-election Change</b>			
# Responsibilities	0.076 (0.062)	0.076 (0.061)	0.066 (0.042)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.12 (0.078)	-0.12 (0.077)	-0.13* (0.056)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.17 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.21)	-0.33* (0.15)
Post-election	0.26 (0.47)	0.25 (0.47)	-0.009 (0.35)
<b>Entire Period</b>			
# Responsibilities	0.017 (0.030)	0.012 (0.030)	0.003 (0.021)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.011 (0.046)	-0.013 (0.046)	0.011 (0.033)
Trump Priority	0.044 (0.13)	0.022 (0.13)	-0.042 (0.098)
Executive Department	-0.15 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.13)	-0.020 (0.097)
Regulatory Commission	0.006 (0.20)	-0.076 (0.20)	-0.070 (0.14)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	-0.001 (0.026)	-0.004 (0.026)	0.078 (0.018)
Salary	-0.007 (0.036)	-0.004 (0.036)	0.001 (0.043)
Retirement Eligible	0.53*** (0.16)	0.56*** (0.16)	0.36** (0.11)
Years of Government Experience	-0.045** (0.016)	-0.044** (0.017)	-0.044*** (0.011)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Age	-0.81*** (0.23)	-0.75** (0.24)	-0.41* (0.20)
Age^2	0.050** (0.016)	0.045** (0.016)	0.025+ (0.013)
Outside Job Interest	0.20+ (0.11)		
% Skills Learned on Job		-0.001 (0.002)	
Actual Salary (1,000s)			0.000 (0.004)
Constant	1.313 (0.91)	1.27 (0.95)	-0.23 (0.81)
Observations	3022	3022	5913
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.108	0.103	0.093
AIC	825.2	829.7	1596.4

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted. The questions for Models 1, 2 ask “Have you been approached about a job outside [your agency] since July 1, 2013” (Yes, No) and “What percentage of the expertise that you have acquired in [your agency] can only be acquired by working in [your agency]? (0 – 100 %).

**Appendix Table A9. Models of SES Departure with Public Service Motivation and Job Satisfaction Controls, 2015-2017**

	(1) Support Mission	(2) Value Policy	(3) Leave Intention 2014
<b>Post-election Change</b>			
# Responsibilities	0.075 (0.060)	0.075 (0.061)	0.078+ (0.046)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.12 (0.078)	-0.12 (0.077)	-0.11+ (0.059)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.16 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.20)	-0.35* (0.16)
Post-election	0.25 (0.47)	0.25 (0.47)	0.059 (0.38)
<b>Entire Period</b>			
# Responsibilities	0.025 (0.031)	0.016 (0.031)	0.006 (0.023)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.020 (0.047)	-0.017 (0.046)	-0.037 (0.035)
Trump Priority	-0.004 (0.14)	0.007 (0.13)	-0.011 (0.10)
Executive Department	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.009 (0.11)
Regulatory Commission	-0.061 (0.19)	-0.066 (0.19)	-0.098 (0.15)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	-0.001 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.027)	0.000 (0.019)
Salary	-0.007 (0.036)	-0.004 (0.036)	0.004 (0.028)
Retirement Eligible	0.53*** (0.16)	0.55*** (0.16)	0.19 (0.12)
Years of Government Experience	-0.045** (0.016)	-0.045** (0.016)	-0.033** (0.012)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)
Age	-0.76** (0.25)	-0.76** (0.24)	-0.44* (0.21)
Age^2	0.045** (0.017)	0.046** (0.016)	0.029* (0.014)
Support Agency Mission	-0.18+ (0.097)		
Value Policy Influence		-0.018 (0.056)	
Leave Intention 2014			0.30*** (0.040)
Constant	1.92 (1.12)	1.32 (0.99)	-0.52 (0.87)
Observations	3050	3036	5636
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.107	0.103	0.138
AIC	827.6	830.6	1445.1

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . For the models we use the following questions from the survey “We’d like to understand what you value about your job. How important are each of the following job attributes to you?” [Not at all important, not too important, Somewhat important, Important, Very important]. Respondents were asked about “Opportunities to support the mission of [their agency]” and “Opportunities to influence public policies that are important to me”. The survey also asked “How likely is it that you will leave [your agency] in the next 12 months?” [Very likely, likely, unlikely, Very unlikely, Not sure]. Duration indicators omitted.

**Appendix Table A10. Models of SES Departure with Different Measure of Trump Priority, 2015-2017**

	(1) Depart Government	(2) Depart Government
Post-election		
# Responsibilities*Post-election	0.058 (0.042)	0.069+ (0.042)
Ideology*Post-election	-0.13* (0.054)	-0.13* (0.054)
Trump Priority (Bureau level)*Post-election	-0.66** (0.24)	
Trump Priority(Alt)*Post-election		-0.36*** (0.11)
Post-election	-0.056 (0.33)	0.034 (0.34)
Entire Period		
# Responsibilities	0.007 (0.021)	0.005 (0.021)
Ideology (L-C)	0.000 (0.032)	-0.000 (0.032)
Trump Priority (Bureau level)	0.20+ (0.10)	
Trump Priority(Alternate)		0.059 (0.065)
Executive Department	-0.099 (0.088)	-0.053 (0.095)
Regulatory Commission	-0.057 (0.13)	-0.065 (0.13)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.005 (0.019)	0.011 (0.018)
Salary	-0.009 (0.025)	-0.007 (0.025)
Retirement Eligible	0.37** (0.11)	0.37** (0.11)
Years of Government Experience	-0.044*** (0.011)	-0.044*** (0.011)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Age	-0.36* (0.18)	-0.38* (0.18)
Age^2	0.023+ (0.012)	0.024+ (0.012)
Constant	-0.22 (0.70)	-0.23 (0.71)
Observations	6097	6097
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.094	0.096
AIC	1676.6	1674.2

Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . We created a version of the Trump priority measure which tries to connect priorities to specific bureaus. In some cases, the policies were general and hard to connect to specific bureaus. Model 1 includes estimates with this other measure. To give extra priority to cases where bureaus were clearly connected, we created a measure, which is simply a sum of the initial priority measure and this bureau-specific measure. These estimates are included in Model 2. Duration indicators omitted.

**Appendix Table A11. Models of SES Departure (standardized coefficients), 2015-2017**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post-election				
# Responsibilities		1.131 (1.74)	0.979 (1.46)	0.939 (1.52)
Ideology*Post-election		-1.142* (-2.42)		
Party*Post-election			-1.130** (-3.26)	
Agency Ideology*Post-election				-0.641* (-2.24)
Trump Priority*Post-election	-0.880** (-2.58)	-0.926* (-2.59)	-0.820* (-2.30)	-1.035** (-2.94)
Post-election	-0.068 (-0.12)	-0.053 (-0.06)	-0.597 (-0.67)	-1.191 (-1.35)
Entire Period				
# Responsibilities		0.034 (0.15)	-0.006 (-0.02)	-0.027 (-0.13)
Ideology (L-C)		0.012 (0.05)		
Party (D-R)			0.138 (0.61)	
Agency Ideology (L-C)				0.459* (2.15)
Trump Priority	-0.138 (-0.57)	-0.040 (-0.15)	0.048 (0.18)	0.018 (0.07)
Executive Department	-0.011 (-0.05)	-0.032 (-0.13)	-0.216 (-0.88)	-0.186 (-0.74)
Regulatory Commission	-0.154 (-0.72)	-0.127 (-0.55)	-0.141 (-0.61)	-0.215 (-0.94)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	0.224 (1.19)	0.143 (0.71)	0.243 (1.21)	0.159 (0.83)
Salary	-0.027 (-0.14)	-0.038 (-0.20)	-0.030 (0.016)	-0.036 (-0.19)
Retirement Eligible	0.821** (3.04)	1.018*** (3.45)	0.981*** (3.32)	0.842** (2.96)
Years of Government Experience	-2.726*** (-4.47)	-2.716*** (-4.15)	-2.692*** (-4.07)	-2.372*** (-3.64)
Years of Government Experience^2	2.393*** (3.99)	2.392*** (3.70)	2.413*** (3.70)	2.156*** (3.35)
Age	-3.323* (-2.46)	-3.022* (-2.15)	-3.045* (-2.14)	-3.472* (-2.56)
Age^2	3.399* (2.48)	2.826+ (1.95)	2.844 (1.95)	3.385* (2.42)
Observations	6969	6097	6112	6186
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.094	0.094	0.092	0.095
AIC	1888.1	1677.4	1670.2	1710.9

Standardized beta coefficients; *t* statistics in parentheses. +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted.



**Table A12. Models of SES Departure with Employee Motivation Controls, 2015-2017**

	(1) Security	(2) Salary	(3) Work/Life	(4) Private Sector	(5) Promotion
<b>Post-election Change</b>					
# Responsibilities	0.075 (0.061)	0.074 (0.061)	0.073 (0.061)	0.073 (0.060)	0.073 (0.061)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.12 (0.076)	-0.12 (0.077)	-0.12 (0.076)	-0.12 (0.077)	-0.12 (0.076)
Trump Priority (0,1)	-0.17 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.20)	-0.17 (0.21)	-0.17 (0.21)	-0.17 (0.21)
Post-election	0.24 (0.47)	0.25 (0.47)	0.25 (0.47)	0.26 (0.47)	0.25 (0.47)
<b>Entire Period</b>					
# Responsibilities	0.014 (0.030)	0.013 (0.030)	0.015 (0.030)	0.009 (0.030)	0.018 (0.030)
Ideology (L-C)	-0.010 (0.047)	-0.012 (0.046)	-0.015 (0.046)	-0.020 (0.046)	-0.011 (0.045)
Trump Priority	0.003 (0.13)	0.026 (0.13)	0.020 (0.13)	0.018 (0.13)	0.017 (0.13)
Executive Department	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.13)
Regulatory Commission	-0.043 (0.20)	-0.070 (0.19)	-0.080 (0.19)	-0.089 (0.19)	-0.067 (0.19)
Ln Agency Employment (1,000s)	-0.001 (0.026)	-0.004 (0.026)	-0.002 (0.026)	-0.006 (0.026)	0.002 (0.027)
Salary	-0.002 (0.036)	-0.003 (0.036)	-0.006 (0.036)	-0.001 (0.036)	-0.001 (0.036)
Retirement Eligible	0.55*** (0.16)	0.55*** (0.16)	0.53*** (0.16)	0.51** (0.16)	0.55*** (0.16)
Years of Government Experience	-0.044** (0.016)	-0.046** (0.016)	-0.044** (0.016)	-0.045** (0.016)	-0.046** (0.016)
Years of Government Experience^2	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)
Age	-0.71** (0.24)	-0.76** (0.24)	-0.76** (0.24)	-0.74** (0.24)	-0.74** (0.24)
Age^2	0.043** (0.017)	0.045** (0.016)	0.045** (0.016)	0.045** (0.016)	0.044** (0.016)
Value Job Security	-0.038 (0.051)				
Value Salary/Benefits		-0.029 (0.065)			
Value Work/Life Balance			-0.048 (0.053)		
Value Private Sector Move				0.042 (0.045)	
Value Internal Promotion					-0.044 (0.043)
Constant	1.14 (0.97)	1.32 (0.95)	1.41 (0.94)	1.11 (0.95)	1.37 (0.96)
Observations	3036	3050	3036	3036	3036
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.103	0.103	0.104	0.104	0.104
AIC	830.1	831.4	829.7	829.9	829.6

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Duration indicators omitted.