I. Data Sources, Collection, and Variables


Each agency created during this period is 1 observation. The determination of what constitutes a new agency is not a trivial consideration (Emmerich 1971, Whitnah 1983). Political actors create and terminate agencies frequently but they rarely terminate the functions these bureaucracies perform. New organizational units often perform functions similar to previously existing agencies. In this data set an agency was considered to be a new agency if it had a new name and different functions from any previously existing agencies. So, for example, the National Archives and Records Service (NARS), created in the General Services Administration in 1949 is considered a new agency even though it retained much of the character of the National Archives Establishment, a previously existing independent agency. In addition to a change in location, the NARS had a new name and was given new responsibilities over federal government records. On the other hand, the data set excludes the Social Security

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1 The data set includes all agencies listed in the USGM index or appendix of terminated agencies. As discussed below, the data set excludes advisory, quasi-official, multi-lateral, educational and research agencies, and support offices common to all cabinet departments. The data set also excludes agencies listed in the USGM but not mentioned in the index or appendix.
Administration (SSA), created as an independent agency in 1994. While the newly independent SSA adopted some new responsibilities when it became independent, its name did not change.

Bureaucracies vary in size from cabinet departments, major administrations, and bureaus to offices and programs. The data set includes cabinet departments, administrations, bureaus, and large offices. It excludes programs and offices not large enough to be included in the USGM. So, for example, the data set includes the Office of Economic Opportunity, a significant part of President Johnson’s War on Poverty, but excludes the Learn and Serve America program run through the Corporation for National and Community Service. The data set is subject to the criticism that it includes too many trivial organizational units. However, their inclusion in the USGM provides an easy, unbiased decision rule and indicates their importance. The data set also provides budget data for each unit as a rough way of measuring the relative importance of the different organizational units. It also provides an indicator variable that allows for the exclusion of all organizational units that are subsidiary to larger departments, administrations, or commissions.

A. Collection of the Data

The first step in constructing the data set was the determination of what agencies to include. This determination proceeded in three stages described below. After I compiled a complete list, I added variables to account for agency origin, the degree of agency insulation, other agency characteristics, political context, and various controls.
Stage 1

In the first stage, I compiled a complete list of all bureaucratic agencies created in the federal government between 1946-1996. The compilation of agencies proceeded in three sweeps. In the first sweep I paged through 50 years of the *United States Government Manual (USGM)* in five year intervals and pulled out major bureaucratic agencies. This data was used in a pilot study in 1997. In the second sweep, I added agencies that had been created after 1945 but had been terminated before 1996. Each *USGM* contains an appendix listing all such agencies. In the final sweep, I added all agencies not included in the first two sweeps but still included in the index of the 1996-7 *USGM*. In total, the data set included 776 federal government agencies created between 1946 and 1996.

Stage 2

In the second stage, I refined the data set to exclude advisory, quasi-official, multi-lateral, educational/research agencies, and support offices common to all cabinet departments. Many U.S. government agencies are advisory boards, commissions, or committees. If an agency’s sole function was advisory, it was excluded from the analysis. Most advisory bodies are listed in a separate section in the *USGM* called “Boards, Commissions, and Committees.” The *USGM* also includes a section for multi-lateral agencies, or agencies comprised of representatives from both the United States and another country. The Asian Development Bank and the Micronesian Claims Commission are examples. The data set excludes all multi-lateral agencies. The data set also excludes quasi-official government agencies (e.g., Smithsonian Institution, United States Institute
of Peace), educational institutions (e.g., Air Force Academy, United States Military Academy), and research facilities (e.g. Jet Propulsion Laboratory, National Institute of Mental Health). Finally, I removed offices that exist in every cabinet department such as the Office of the Inspector General or the Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization.

Stage 3

In the third stage I updated the data set for 1997 using the 1998-9 USGM. I then proceeded to verify and supplement the information obtained from the USGM. Wherever possible, I verified information in the USGM by examining primary sources. All pieces of legislation, executive orders, and reorganization plans are easily obtainable and all information on agencies created by these means was double-checked for accuracy.

Reporting of internal departmental orders is haphazard. In most cases, information on agencies created by departmental orders comes from the USGM volume closest to their creation. There were numerous records for which data was incomplete or missing in the USGM, however. For example, the Office of Marine Affairs in the Department of Interior was created April 30, 1970 but was terminated on December 4, 1970 and was never included in the USGM as a regular entry. Rather, it is only mentioned in the appendix that lists agencies that have been terminated. I researched each missing case thoroughly. If this data was not available, I performed a comprehensive search of books, government documents, and law reviews for information on the missing agency. If this did not provide the information, I searched both the Federal Register (1946-1997) and the Code of Federal Regulations (1949-1997). Finally, I called and
corresponded with the agencies that are still in existence or their successors for the remaining cases.

Through the process of verification and supplementing, I eliminated a number of agencies from the data set. In many cases, the missing data for an agency was its creation date. Subsequent investigation revealed that an agency was created prior to 1946. In other cases, subsequent investigation revealed that two agencies were the same organizational unit but the agency had simply been renamed. Finally, further investigation sometimes revealed that an agency was of the class (advisory bodies, institutes, etc.) removed from the data set in stage 2 of the data collection. The complete data set includes 438 cases. Twenty-one cases remain for which there is incomplete information. There are no cases for which no information exists. In most cases there are only a few variables with missing values. In some cases, such as the Model Cities Administration or the Office of International Finance, the only missing information is the date of their termination. There remain a handful of cases for which no creation date is available. All cases with at least one missing value are listed below.

- Office of International Finance—Treasury (1947)
- Office of the US Commissioner General Brussels Universal and International Exhibition (1958)
- Model Cities Administration—HUD (1966)
- Alaska Power Administration (1967)
- Air Force Management Engineering Agency (1975)
- Air Force Medical Service Center (1985)
- Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center (1985)
- Administration on Developmental Disabilities—HHS (?)
- Administration on Native Americans—HHS (?)
- Federal Telecommunications Service—GSA (?)
- National Environmental Satellite, Data, and Information Service (?)
- Office of Comprehensive Employment Development Programs—Labor (?)
B. Variables—Origination Data

1. Origin—Political actors create agencies in four different ways. They are created by legislation, executive order, reorganization plan, or departmental order. The origin variable lists the statute or executive decree that created the agency. When Congress delegates new authority, they either delegate that authority to an existing executive branch actor such as the president or a department secretary or create a new organizational unit to implement the new mandate. Department secretaries frequently create new organizational units in response to newly delegated authority. An agency was coded as legislatively created only if the statute requires the creation of a new organizational unit. In a few cases Congress delegated authority to create a new bureau or office but did not require it. These agencies are not coded as legislatively created.

2. Origin Indicators (0,1)—The data set includes four indicator variables for the source of agency origin—one each for legislation, executive order, reorganization plan, and secretarial order. The dummy variables are mutually exclusive.

3. Dates—Agencies are coded according to the year they were created. They are also coded according to their start date and their termination date. The start date for a legislatively created agency is the date the legislation is enacted. The start date for agencies created by executive order is the date the executive
order is issued. Agencies created by reorganization plan have a start date equal to date the reorganization plan becomes law. The start date for agencies created by departmental order is the date the new agency is announced. The termination dates for agencies is the date listed in Appendix C of the *United States Government Manual* with the important exception that agencies whose names simply are changed are not considered terminated. Agencies that had not been terminated as of December 31, 1997 have a termination date of 12/31/97.

**Insulation Data**

1. Commission Structure (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if an agency is headed by a board or commission and 0 otherwise.

2. Number—This variable is a count of the number of agency administrators. Agencies without a board or commission structure are coded with a 1. All other agencies are coded according to the number of commissioners or board members.

3. Independent (0,1)—This variable is an indicator variable taking the value of 1 if a new agency is created outside of existing bureaucratic structures. It is coded with a 0 otherwise. So, the EPA, which was created as an independent agency, is coded with a 1 while the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) located in the Department of Treasury is coded with a 0.

4. Term (0,1)—Agencies whose administrators serve for fixed terms are coded with a 1 and all other agencies are coded with a 0.
5. Term Length—All agencies without fixed terms are coded with a 0 and all other agencies are coded according to the length of the term.

6. Limitations on Appointment Powers (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if there are any explicit limitations on the type of persons that can be appointed to lead the new agency. These limitations range from the specification of past experience to limitations on the party affiliation of appointees. Any agency whose administrator is appointed by any official other than the president or his subordinates is also coded with a 1.

7. Party balancing (0,1)—This dummy variable is coded with a 1 if presidents must take party affiliation into account when making appointments to an agency. All other agencies are coded with a 0. This variable is a refinement of the limitations on appointments power variable.

8. Location 1 (1-5)—This ordinal variable categorizes agencies according to their proximity to the president. Agencies in the Executive Office of the President (EOP) are coded with a 1. Agencies located in the cabinet are coded with a 2. Independent agencies are their component administrations, bureaus, and offices are coded with a 3. Agencies that are independent commissions or part of independent commissions are coded with a 4. Government corporations or agencies located in the legislative or judicial branch are coded with a 5.

9. Location 2 (1-5)—This variable is identical to Location 1 except that only independent commissions with a judicial or regulatory function are coded with a 4. All other independent commissions are coded with a 3.
10. Location 3 (1-5)—This variable is also identical to Location 1 except that
category 4 is limited to independent regulatory commissions.

Agency Characteristics

1. Line in the Budget (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if the agency
has an entry in the index of the *Budget of the United States Government, 1946-
1999*. This determination was made by looking at the budget for the fiscal years
2-3 years after the creation of the agency. The Budget for 1999 was compiled in
early 1998 so it is the first full budget for agencies created in 1997.

2. Budget—This is the size of an agency’s budget. All agencies without a line in the
budget are coded with a 0. All other agencies are coded with the size of their
earliest available budget. For most agencies, the figure included is budget
authority. For those agencies with significant unexpended revenues or that
generate their own revenue, such as government corporations, the figure included
is the agency’s total obligations.

3. GDP Deflator—This measure from the 1999 *Budget of the United States
Government* provides a means of adjusting budget figures for inflation.

4. 1992 Budget—This measure is the size of an agency’s budget adjusted to 1992
dollars.

5. Corporation (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if the agency is a
government corporation.

6. Judicial (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if the agency performs an
adjudicative function as one of its primary functions. The Employees
Compensation Appeals Board, the Philippine War Damage Commission, and the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission are examples of agencies that have an adjudicative function.

7. Trend—This term is coded with a 1 for agencies created in 1946, a 2 for agencies created in 1947, etc.

8. Foreign Affairs (0,1)—All agencies were also coded according to their primary function or mission. There are four categories drawn loosely from Clausen (1973): foreign affairs, social, monetary, and general. The categories are mutually exclusive. All agencies dealing with defense, foreign affairs, and international development are coded with a 1. All other agencies are coded with a 0.

9. Social Policy (0,1)—All agencies dealing primarily with civil rights, education, benefits, health, housing, crime, aging policy, and arts are coded with a 1. All other agencies are coded with a 0.

10. Monetary (0,1)—All agencies dealing primarily with commerce, monetary policy, budgeting, banking, tax, and treasury issues are coded with a 1. All other agencies are coded with a 0.

11. General (0,1)—All agencies that were not coded with a 1 for the foreign affairs, social policy, or monetary dummy variables are coded with a 1. All other agencies are coded with a 0.

12. Foreign Affairs 2 (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if the agency deals primarily with foreign affairs or defense according to the coding scheme
codified in the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990. All other agencies are coded with a 0.

Political Variables—Congress²

1. Divided Government (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if different parties control the presidency and the House of Representatives or the Senate when an agency is created. All other agencies are coded with a 0.

2. Size of House Majority—This is the size of the House majority as a percentage of the total chamber size when the agency was created. Its minimum is 50 and its maximum is 68.

3. Size of Senate Majority—This is the size of the Senate majority as a percentage of the total chamber size when the agency was created.

4. Length—This variable is a count of the number of elections that have passed since the majority in power last did not have a majority in both chambers of Congress.

5. Anticipation—This variable is the number of seats the majority party will retain in the House after the next election. So, for example agencies created in 1993 or 1994 are coded with 204 since the Democratic majority in Congress lost control of the House and Senate in the 1994 midterm elections. Agencies created in 1995 or 1996 are coded with 227 since the Republican majority held this number of seats after the 1996 election.

6. Seat Trend—This variable indicates the number of seats gained or lost in the House of Representatives by the majority in the last election.

**Political Variables—President**

1. Approval Rating—Since 1938 the Gallup Opinion Poll has asked some variant of the question, “Do you approve or disapprove of the way President ______ is handling his job as president?” Each agency is coded with the percentage approving of presidential performance according to the Gallup poll taken closest to the date that an agency was created.

2. President Indicators (0,1)—These dummy variables are coded with a 1 if the agency was created during the administration of the listed president. They are coded with a 0 otherwise. There are 10 dummies and they are mutually exclusive.

3. Vetoes—This is a count of the number of regular and pocket vetoes issued in the year that an agency was created.

**Miscellaneous**

1. Emmerich (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if Emmerich (1973) lists the agency as created after 1946.

2. Whitnah (0,1)—This indicator variable is coded with a 1 if Whitnah (1983) lists the agency as created after 1946.

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3. War (0,1)—This is an indicator variable coded with a 1 if the United States is involved in a significant military conflict during the year. The following years are coded with a 1: 1950-1953; 1965-1975; 1990-1991.

4. Congress—This variable indicates the Congress presiding during the year. In 1946 it was the 79th Congress and in 1997 it was the 105th Congress.

5. Number of agencies created by executive order—Count of number of agencies created by executive order in the year the agency was created.

6. Number of agencies created by departmental order—Count of number of agencies created by departmental order in the year the agency was created.

7. Number of agencies created by reorganization plan—Count of number of agencies created by reorganization plan in the year the agency was created.

8. Number of agencies created by legislation—Count of number of agencies created by legislation in the year the agency was created.