

# TOUGH CHOICES: EXCEPTED SERVICE APPOINTMENTS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ALLOCATION OF ATTENTION

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# INTRODUCTION



PHOTO: BILL O'LEARY; JIM LEE/ GETTY IMAGES

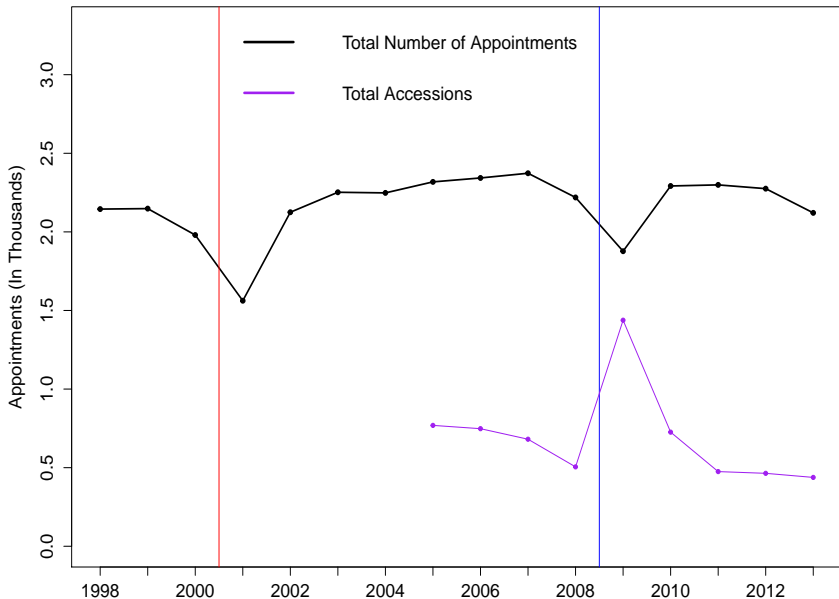
Elizabeth Warren and Antonio Weiss

# EXCEPTED SERVICE AND ATTENTION

- There are many different types of Excepted Service Appointments.
- Excepted Service Appointments are flexible.
- Excepted Service Appointments do not undergo advice and consent.



## Excepted Service Executive and Schedule C Appointments Over Time



# PRESIDENTIAL ATTENTION

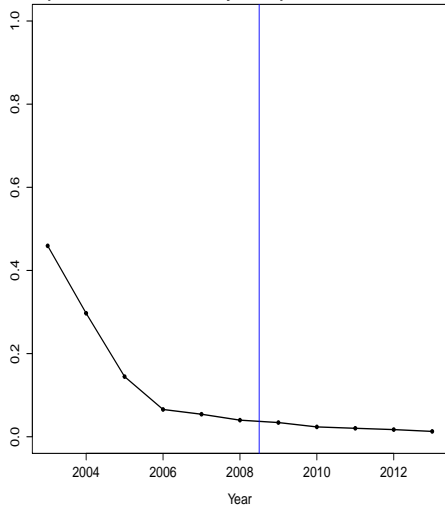
- Agencies may differ in their willingness to follow the president's directives based on the ideological leaning of the agency (Aberbach and Rockman 1976, 1995, 2000; Bertelli and Grose 2009; Clinton and Lewis 2008; Clinton et al. 2012; Hollibaugh et al. forthcoming)
- It is not obvious which way this relationship would go with regard to attention.
- No clear theory for how bureaucratic agencies are operated internally.
- Appointments present an opportunity cost. An appointment in one area is not available for an appointment elsewhere.

# EXPECTATIONS

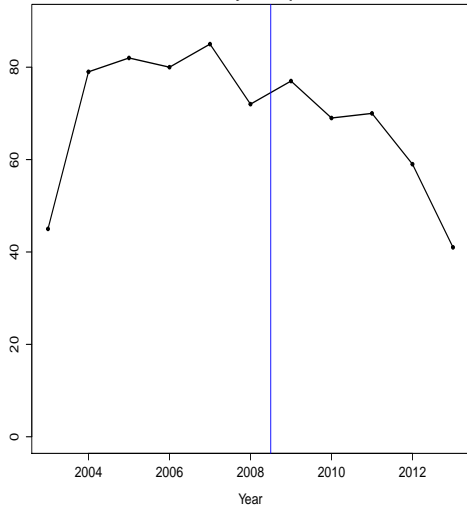
- We expect that president will use these flexible appointments especially in urgent situations.
- We expect that agencies tasked with communicating the president's message to Congress or the public to be staffed using Excepted Service.
- We expect that agency ideology will be connected with staffing by Excepted Service.

# URGENCY

Proportion Homeland Security Headquarters that is SC or ESE

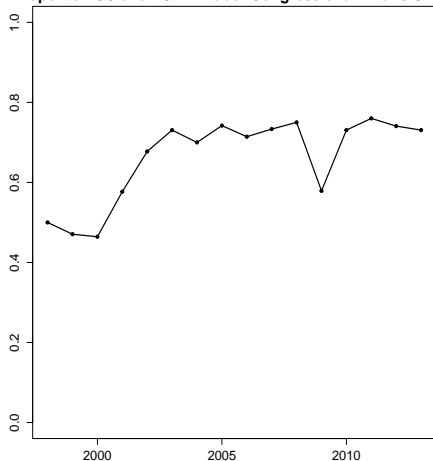


Number in Homeland Security Headquarters that is SC or ESE

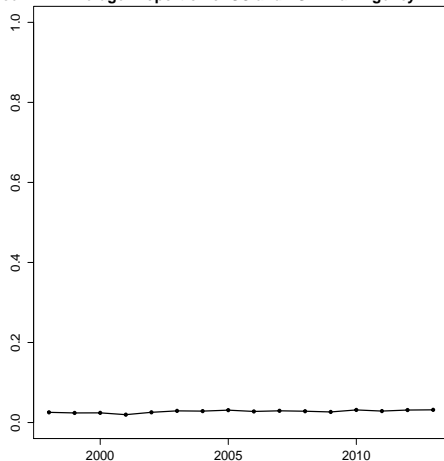


# LIAISON AGENCIES

Proportion SC and ESE in Labor Congressional Affairs Office



Average Proportion of SC and ESE in an Agency





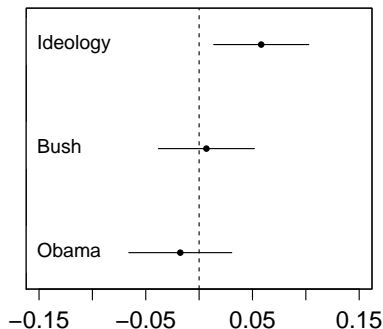
# ATTENTION AND IDEOLOGY

- The result is meant to serve as a validation of using Schedule C and ESE appointments to study attention.
- Ideology is measured as the absolute distance between the agency ideal point and the president's ideal point.
- Negative Binomial Regression Model.
  - Outcome Variable: Counts of Schedule C and ESE appointments in each agency 1998-2013.
  - Model includes ideology measure, presidential dummies, and agency fixed effects.

# IDEOLOGY

|                      | <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
|                      | SC and ESE Apts            |                   |
| Ideology             | 0.218<br>(0.06)            | 0.058<br>(0.023)  |
| Bush                 | 0.048<br>(0.110)           | 0.007<br>(0.023)  |
| Obama                | 0.018<br>(0.118)           | -0.018<br>(0.025) |
| Constant             | 3.08<br>(0.108)            | -0.011<br>(0.506) |
| <hr/>                |                            |                   |
| Agency Fixed Effects | No                         | Yes               |
| Observations         | 1,213                      | 1,213             |
| Log Likelihood       | -5,047.143                 | -3,140.066        |
| $\theta$             | 0.513(0.019)               | 51.100 (6.226)    |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.    | 10,102.290                 | 6,442.132         |

## Regression Results



# CONCLUSION

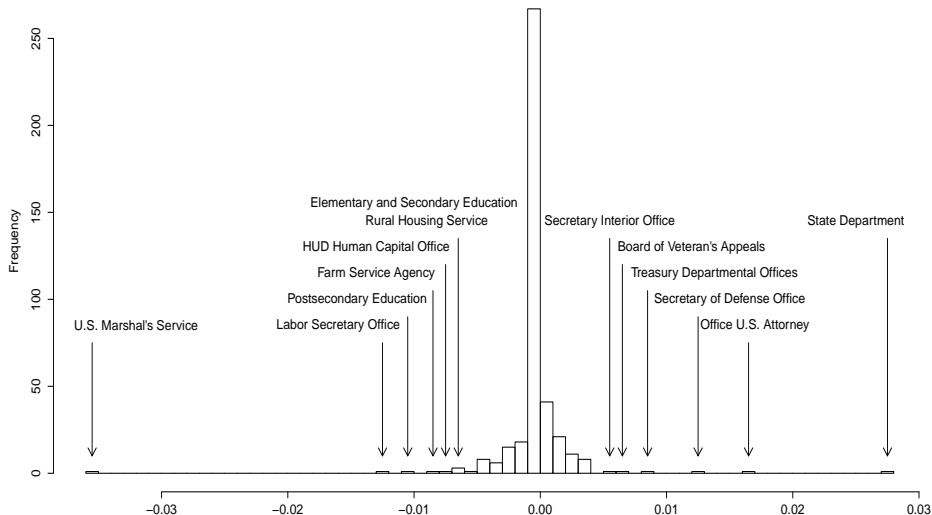
- Attention is important, understudied and has implications for presidential behavior and agency performance.
- We know little about how presidents apportion their more flexible personnel.
- Schedule C and Excepted Service Executive Appointments appear to be good for measuring attention.

# SHARE OF ATTENTION

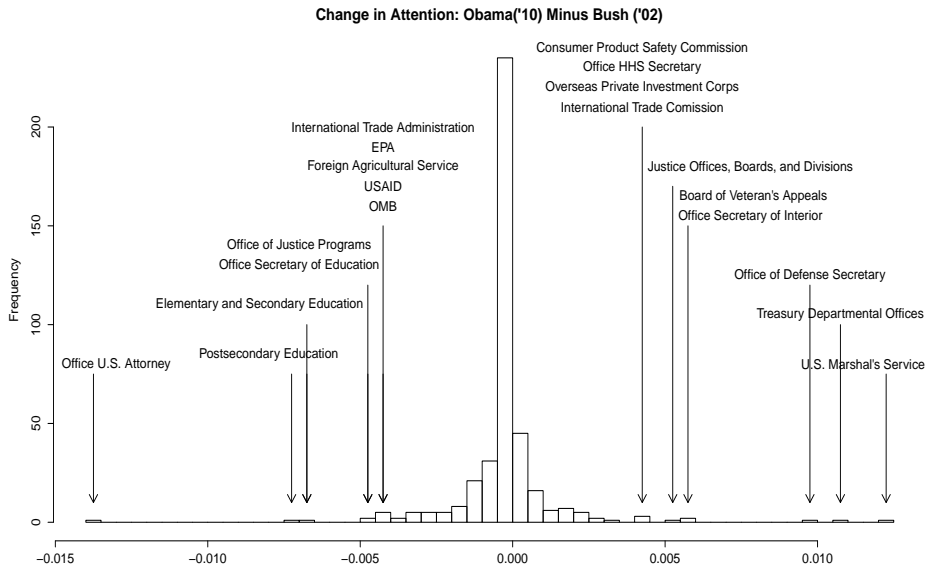
- Looking at which agencies receive the largest share of the total Schedule C and ESE appointments is another way to look at attention.
- Of the total Schedule C and ESE appointments, which agencies are getting more or less?
- The changes in the share of attention should be suggestive of differences in the president's agenda at different time periods.
- This analysis seeks to capture policy dimensions, not the ideological dimension.

# APPOINTMENTS AND PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES

Change in Attention: Obama('09) Minus Bush('01)



# APPOINTMENTS AND PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES



# BUSH AND OBAMA UNIFIED AND DIVIDED

| More Attention in 2006 |                              |          | More Attention in 2007 |                                |         |
|------------------------|------------------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| DJ09                   | Office U.S. Attorney         | -0.00641 | DN00                   | Department of Energy           | 0.00414 |
| DJ01                   | Just. Ofs, Boards, and Divs. | -0.00465 | DD01                   | Ofc. Secretary Defense         | 0.00374 |
| HSDA                   | Nuclear Detection Office     | -0.00434 | NF00                   | Natl Science Found.            | 0.00371 |
| DD34                   | Defense Commissary Agency    | -0.00257 | TC00                   | U.S. Intl Trade Comm.          | 0.00286 |
| DJ07                   | Ofc. of Justice Programs     | -0.00219 | TR91                   | Treas. Departmental Ofcs.      | 0.00261 |
| CM54                   | NOAA                         | -0.00217 | AH03                   | Inst. Museum and Library Serv. | 0.00244 |
| NV18                   | Naval Medical Command        | -0.00173 | SB00                   | Small Business Admin.          | 0.00234 |
| IB00                   | Broadcasting Board of Govs.  | -0.00172 | VAAD                   | Board Veteran's Appeals        | 0.0021  |
| CM51                   | Office Sec. Commerce         | -0.00153 | AH01                   | Natl Endowment Arts            | 0.00202 |
| EP00                   | EPA                          | -0.00153 | AG07                   | Rural Housing                  | 0.00186 |

| More Attention in 2010 |                                   |          | More Attention in 2011 |                              |         |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|------------------------|------------------------------|---------|
| DN00                   | Department of Energy              | -0.00752 | DJ08                   | U.S. Marshal's Service       | 0.00907 |
| TR91                   | Treasury Departmental Offices     | -0.00619 | AF13                   | USAF HQ and Support          | 0.00478 |
| EDEA                   | Secretary of Education            | -0.00527 | EDEE                   | Undersec. of Education       | 0.0039  |
| AF0N                   | HQ USAF                           | -0.00349 | DJ09                   | Office U.S. Attorney         | 0.00381 |
| CM51                   | Secretary Commerce                | -0.00267 | VAAD                   | Board Veteran's Appeals      | 0.00346 |
| IN01                   | Secretary Interior                | -0.00267 | AM00                   | USAID                        | 0.0026  |
| HSDA                   | Nuclear Detection Office          | -0.00262 | SB00                   | Small Business Admin.        | 0.00256 |
| DJ01                   | Justice Offices, Boards, and Divs | -0.00228 | AG01                   | Office Secretary Agriculture | 0.00213 |
| DD60                   | DOD Tricare Management            | -0.00218 | SZ00                   | Social Security Admin.       | 0.00174 |
| ST00                   | State Department                  | -0.00192 | FW00                   | Office of Special Counsel    | 0.00174 |

## ZERO INFLATED NEGATIVE BINOMIAL

| <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                     |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
|                            | AllCount            |
| abs(Ideo)                  | 0.059***<br>(0.023) |
| Bush                       | 0.008<br>(0.023)    |
| Obama                      | -0.014<br>(0.025)   |
| Constant                   | -0.015<br>(0.505)   |