

**Supplementary Online Appendix  
(Not Intended for Print Publication)**

**Table A-1: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Using fixed effects instead of random effects)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-1	Model A-2	Model A-3	Model A-4	Model A-5	Model A-6	Model A-7	Model A-8
President-Senate Distance	0.145*** (0.017)	0.112*** (0.031)			0.143*** (0.021)	0.125*** (0.024)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.032** (0.013)	0.197** (0.093)			0.051*** (0.016)	0.271*** (0.064)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.151*** (0.031)	-0.096*** (0.036)			-0.135*** (0.039)	-0.027 (0.027)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.276*** (0.026)	-0.191*** (0.072)			-0.227*** (0.032)	-0.008 (0.050)
Divided Government	-0.087** (0.035)	-0.125*** (0.042)	0.066*** (0.019)	-0.057 (0.076)	0.014 (0.044)	-0.082*** (0.031)	0.146*** (0.022)	-0.093* (0.052)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		0.866*** (0.157)		0.819*** (0.157)		0.066 (0.114)		0.074 (0.114)
Managerial Expertise		0.014* (0.008)		0.014* (0.008)		0.020*** (0.006)		0.021*** (0.006)
Previous Quarter Noncareer SES Gap						-0.076*** (0.001)		-0.075*** (0.002)
Congressional Polarization		0.161*** (0.035)		0.074* (0.040)		-0.024 (0.026)		-0.084*** (0.029)
President-Agency Alignment		0.021** (0.009)		0.022** (0.009)		-0.004 (0.006)		-0.003 (0.006)
New President		-0.070 (0.052)		-0.073 (0.052)		-0.258*** (0.041)		-0.253*** (0.041)
New Presidential Party		-0.338*** (0.062)		-0.320*** (0.061)		-0.254*** (0.048)		-0.244*** (0.047)
Presidential Reelection		-0.025 (0.032)		-0.051 (0.032)		-0.101*** (0.024)		-0.119*** (0.024)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.098*** (0.028)		-0.105*** (0.028)		-0.129*** (0.020)		-0.127*** (0.020)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.010 (0.008)		-0.014* (0.008)		-0.022*** (0.006)		-0.024*** (0.006)
Constant	-9.831*** (0.068)	-6.112*** (0.046)	-9.896*** (0.067)	-6.251*** (0.051)	-3.234*** (0.065)	-2.146*** (0.036)	-3.291*** (0.064)	-2.199*** (0.039)
Quasi-AIC	6047.836	3499.907	6092.062	3529.700	7336.670	8682.886	7363.953	8717.539
Wald Test	67120.089***	36751.364***	68035.732***	37286.819***	5851.705***	11451.840***	5889.313***	11500.279***
Number of Observations	2872	1646	2872	1646	2872	1646	2872	1646
Number of Agencies	22	18	22	18	22	18	22	18
Number of Presidents	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5

Note: Quasi-binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include fixed effects for agency and President. For Models A-1 through A-4, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-5 through A-8, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-1 through A-4) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-5 through A-8). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-1 through A-4) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-5 through A-8). *Central Staff Agency* omitted due to time-invariant nature of the variable across all observations. Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-2: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1987 to March 2017  
(Including Average Confirmation Duration)**

	<u>Schedule C Positions</u>				<u>Noncareer SES Positions</u>			
	Model A-9	Model A-10	Model A-11	Model A-12	Model A-13	Model A-14	Model A-15	Model A-16
President-Senate Distance	0.139*** (0.010)	0.032' (0.017)			0.081*** (0.016)	0.124*** (0.029)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.014** (0.007)	-0.292*** (0.076)			0.007 (0.011)	0.133*** (0.036)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.582*** (0.025)	-0.587*** (0.030)			-0.879*** (0.041)	-0.272*** (0.053)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.439*** (0.017)	-0.762*** (0.055)			-0.391*** (0.028)	-0.293*** (0.043)
Divided Government	0.071*** (0.019)	0.102*** (0.023)	0.041*** (0.010)	0.346*** (0.056)	0.325*** (0.032)	0.001 (0.036)	0.063*** (0.015)	0.063** (0.028)
Average Confirmation Duration	0.016*** (0.004)	-0.028*** (0.006)	0.014*** (0.004)	-0.032*** (0.006)	0.080*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.012)	0.076*** (0.006)	-0.011 (0.011)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		1.998*** (0.130)		1.992*** (0.130)		0.473' (0.270)		0.500' (0.269)
Managerial Expertise		0.006 (0.005)		0.007 (0.005)		0.016** (0.008)		0.016** (0.008)
Previous Quarter Noncareer SES Gap						-0.072*** (0.002)		-0.071*** (0.002)
Congressional Polarization		0.125*** (0.018)		0.094*** (0.025)		-0.036 (0.031)		-0.084*** (0.027)
President-Agency Alignment		0.010** (0.004)		0.010** (0.004)		-0.009 (0.007)		-0.008 (0.007)
New President		-0.193*** (0.026)		-0.185*** (0.026)		-0.329*** (0.046)		-0.321*** (0.045)
New Presidential Party		-0.214*** (0.030)		-0.217*** (0.030)		-0.210*** (0.053)		-0.203*** (0.053)
Presidential Reelection		-0.057*** (0.018)		-0.061*** (0.018)		-0.099*** (0.029)		-0.112*** (0.029)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.083*** (0.014)		-0.082*** (0.014)		-0.069*** (0.023)		-0.065*** (0.023)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.028*** (0.004)		-0.026*** (0.004)		-0.038*** (0.007)		-0.037*** (0.007)
Constant	-6.342*** (0.411)	-6.324*** (0.407)	-6.480*** (0.407)	-6.454*** (0.419)	-1.869*** (0.241)	-2.216*** (0.084)	-2.052*** (0.182)	-2.343*** (0.074)
AIC	18921.799	12782.389	18893.484	12780.272	13337.322	7311.622	13594.945	7301.223
BIC	18959.885	12863.857	18931.569	12861.740	13375.407	7398.182	13633.030	7387.782
Log Likelihood	-9453.900	-6375.194	-9439.742	-6374.136	-6661.661	-3638.811	-6790.473	-3633.611
Number of Observations	1704	1202	1704	1202	1704	1202	1704	1202
Number of Agencies	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Number of Presidents	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4
Var(Agency)	2.412	2.017	2.412	2.025	0.338	0.062	0.332	0.063
Var(President)	0.042	0.122	0.024	0.157	0.177	0.005	0.054	0.001

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-9 through A-12, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-13 through A-16, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-9 through A-12) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-13 through A-16). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-9 through A-12) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-13 through A-16). These models exclude observations from the Departments of Defense, the Air Force, the Army, and the Navy, as well as the central staffing agencies, due to a lack of data on confirmation duration. Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-3: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1987 to March 2017  
(Including Average Confirmation Duration and fixed effects instead of random effects)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-17	Model A-18	Model A-19	Model A-20	Model A-21	Model A-22	Model A-23	Model A-24
President-Senate Distance	0.139*** (0.021)	0.031 (0.037)			0.080*** (0.027)	0.110*** (0.029)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.013 (0.015)	-0.324** (0.155)			0.006 (0.018)	0.224* (0.115)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.588*** (0.056)	-0.591*** (0.063)			-0.886*** (0.068)	-0.318*** (0.050)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.441*** (0.037)	-0.783*** (0.113)			-0.396*** (0.046)	-0.256*** (0.086)
Divided Government	0.074* (0.042)	0.105** (0.048)	0.042* (0.022)	0.369*** (0.115)	0.330*** (0.052)	0.027 (0.037)	0.064** (0.026)	-0.000 (0.086)
Average Confirmation Duration	0.016* (0.008)	-0.028** (0.013)	0.014 (0.008)	-0.031** (0.014)	0.080*** (0.010)	-0.009 (0.011)	0.076*** (0.010)	-0.015 (0.012)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		1.985*** (0.273)		1.981*** (0.273)		0.475 (0.289)		0.509* (0.289)
Managerial Expertise		0.006 (0.010)		0.007 (0.010)		0.015** (0.008)		0.016** (0.008)
Previous Quarter Noncareer SES Gap						-0.070*** (0.002)		-0.069*** (0.002)
Congressional Polarization		0.127*** (0.038)		0.100* (0.051)		-0.017 (0.029)		-0.091** (0.037)
President-Agency Alignment		0.010 (0.009)		0.010 (0.009)		-0.009 (0.007)		-0.008 (0.007)
New President		-0.194*** (0.054)		-0.186*** (0.054)		-0.337*** (0.044)		-0.324*** (0.044)
New Presidential Party		-0.213*** (0.064)		-0.215*** (0.064)		-0.199*** (0.052)		-0.199*** (0.051)
Presidential Reelection		-0.057 (0.037)		-0.061 (0.037)		-0.102*** (0.029)		-0.113*** (0.028)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.083*** (0.030)		-0.082*** (0.030)		-0.070*** (0.022)		-0.067*** (0.022)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.028*** (0.009)		-0.027*** (0.009)		-0.040*** (0.007)		-0.037*** (0.007)
Constant	-6.004*** (0.038)	-5.828*** (0.058)	-6.245*** (0.029)	-6.239*** (0.062)	-1.400*** (0.051)	-1.937*** (0.050)	-1.771*** (0.041)	-2.175*** (0.048)
Quasi-AIC	3653.179	2733.472	3658.950	2734.329	4696.633	6577.491	4541.294	6602.074
Wald Test	42925.017***	33273.637***	43427.637***	33272.068***	3661.000***	10245.783***	3435.339***	10270.878***
Number of Observations	1704	1202	1704	1202	1704	1202	1704	1202
Number of Agencies	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Number of Presidents	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include fixed effects for agency and President. For Models A-17 through A-20, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-21 through A-24, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-17 through A-20) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-21 through A-24). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-17 through A-20) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-21 through A-24). These models exclude observations from the Departments of Defense, the Air Force, the Army, and the Navy, as well as the central staffing agencies, due to a lack of data on confirmation duration. Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-4: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1992 to December 2012  
(Using *President-Agency Distance*, based on Chen and Johnson's [2015] estimates)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-25	Model A-26	Model A-27	Model A-28	Model A-29	Model A-30	Model A-31	Model A-32
President-Senate Distance	-0.002 (0.015)	0.042** (0.018)			0.064*** (0.017)	0.104*** (0.026)		
President-Filibuster Distance			-0.330*** (0.058)	-0.520*** (0.087)			0.053*** (0.020)	0.102*** (0.035)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Gov't	-0.615*** (0.029)	-0.728*** (0.034)			-0.242*** (0.042)	-0.333*** (0.055)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Gov't			-0.729*** (0.048)	-0.997*** (0.064)			-0.195*** (0.034)	-0.300*** (0.050)
Divided Govt.	0.139*** (0.023)	0.151*** (0.024)	0.340*** (0.046)	0.544*** (0.064)	0.019 (0.025)	0.030 (0.034)	0.027 (0.021)	0.064** (0.032)
Central Staffing Agency	0.046 (1.353)		0.049 (1.364)		0.187 (0.209)		0.191 (0.210)	
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage	2.015*** (0.149)	1.992*** (0.151)	2.069*** (0.149)	2.054*** (0.150)	0.584** (0.286)	0.550* (0.294)	0.637** (0.287)	0.623** (0.296)
Managerial Expertise	0.008 (0.005)	0.024*** (0.006)	0.008 (0.005)	0.022*** (0.006)	0.004 (0.008)	0.006 (0.010)	0.004 (0.008)	0.004 (0.010)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap					-0.077*** (0.003)	-0.076*** (0.003)	-0.077*** (0.003)	-0.075*** (0.003)
Polarization	0.167*** (0.019)	0.125*** (0.023)	0.158*** (0.022)	0.140*** (0.031)	0.018 (0.024)	-0.014 (0.033)	-0.003 (0.025)	-0.059 (0.037)
Pres.-Agency Distance	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.053*** (0.018)	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.060*** (0.018)	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.017 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.025)
New Pres. Party	-0.477*** (0.020)	-0.502*** (0.022)	-0.474*** (0.020)	-0.493*** (0.021)	-0.647*** (0.033)	-0.695*** (0.037)	-0.638*** (0.033)	-0.678*** (0.037)
Presidential Reelection	-0.082*** (0.017)	-0.080*** (0.018)	-0.074*** (0.017)	-0.082*** (0.018)	-0.124*** (0.027)	-0.133*** (0.030)	-0.123*** (0.027)	-0.139*** (0.030)
Upcoming Presidential Election	-0.115*** (0.017)	-0.117*** (0.018)	-0.108*** (0.016)	-0.107*** (0.017)	-0.103*** (0.026)	-0.116*** (0.029)	-0.093*** (0.026)	-0.105*** (0.028)
Quarterly Roll Calls	-0.033*** (0.004)	-0.035*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.004)	-0.033*** (0.005)	-0.044*** (0.007)	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.041*** (0.007)	-0.045*** (0.007)
Avg. Conf. Duration		-0.053*** (0.007)		-0.047*** (0.007)		-0.017 (0.013)		-0.014 (0.013)
Constant	-6.712*** (0.339)	-6.619*** (0.381)	-6.892*** (0.438)	-6.635*** (0.589)	-2.260*** (0.055)	-2.270*** (0.060)	-2.297*** (0.055)	-2.336*** (0.062)
AIC	10070.416	8890.706	10121.215	8910.667	6269.376	5403.663	6275.430	5407.547
BIC	10144.476	8962.490	10195.275	8982.451	6348.373	5480.232	6354.427	5484.116
Log Likelihood	-5020.208	-4430.353	-5045.608	-4440.333	-3118.688	-2685.831	-3121.715	-2687.773
Num. Obs.	1030	885	1030	885	1030	885	1030	885
Num. Agencies	17	15	17	15	17	15	17	15
Num. Presidents	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2
Var(agency)	1.730	1.962	1.760	2.014	0.039	0.043	0.040	0.046
Var(President)	0.020	0.029	0.243	0.425	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-25 through A-28, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-29 through A-32, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-25 through A-28) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-29 through A-32). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-25 through A-28) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-29 through A-32). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-5: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1992 to December 2012  
(Using *President-Agency Distance*, based on Chen and Johnson's [2015] estimates, and fixed effects instead of random effects)**

	<u>Schedule C Positions</u>				<u>Noncareer SES Positions</u>			
	Model A-33	Model A-34	Model A-35	Model A-36	Model A-37	Model A-38	Model A-39	Model A-40
President-Senate Distance	-0.006 (0.029)	0.041 (0.036)			0.081*** (0.024)	0.118*** (0.031)		
President-Filibuster Distance			-0.348*** (0.110)	-0.535*** (0.172)			0.045 (0.072)	0.168 (0.135)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Gov't	-0.619*** (0.056)	-0.731*** (0.067)			-0.261*** (0.050)	-0.332*** (0.061)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Gov't			-0.743*** (0.092)	-1.008*** (0.126)			-0.264*** (0.067)	-0.272*** (0.105)
Divided Govt.	0.143*** (0.044)	0.154*** (0.048)	0.354*** (0.088)	0.555*** (0.127)	0.023 (0.037)	0.022 (0.041)	0.077 (0.060)	0.026 (0.102)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage	2.000*** (0.289)	1.976*** (0.299)	2.050*** (0.290)	2.038*** (0.299)	0.646** (0.328)	0.582* (0.343)	0.706** (0.328)	0.684** (0.343)
Managerial Expertise	0.009 (0.010)	0.024** (0.012)	0.008 (0.010)	0.022* (0.012)	0.004 (0.008)	0.006 (0.010)	0.004 (0.008)	0.004 (0.010)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap					-0.075*** (0.003)	-0.075*** (0.003)	-0.074*** (0.003)	-0.073*** (0.003)
Polarization	0.171*** (0.035)	0.126*** (0.046)	0.162*** (0.042)	0.143** (0.062)	-0.007 (0.029)	-0.028 (0.038)	-0.035 (0.033)	-0.080 (0.048)
Pres.-Agency Distance	-0.008 (0.022)	-0.055 (0.035)	-0.007 (0.022)	-0.061* (0.036)	-0.017 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.028)	-0.018 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.028)
New Pres. Party	-0.476*** (0.039)	-0.502*** (0.043)	-0.474*** (0.039)	-0.493*** (0.043)	-0.650*** (0.032)	-0.698*** (0.037)	-0.638*** (0.032)	-0.678*** (0.037)
Presidential Reelection	-0.082** (0.033)	-0.080** (0.036)	-0.075** (0.033)	-0.082** (0.036)	-0.123*** (0.027)	-0.131*** (0.030)	-0.128*** (0.027)	-0.137*** (0.030)
Upcoming Presidential Election	-0.114*** (0.032)	-0.117*** (0.035)	-0.108*** (0.032)	-0.107*** (0.035)	-0.108*** (0.025)	-0.117*** (0.029)	-0.100*** (0.025)	-0.105*** (0.028)
Quarterly Roll Calls	-0.033*** (0.008)	-0.035*** (0.009)	-0.029*** (0.008)	-0.034*** (0.009)	-0.045*** (0.007)	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.043*** (0.007)	-0.045*** (0.008)
Avg. Conf. Duration		-0.053*** (0.013)		-0.047*** (0.014)		-0.019 (0.013)		-0.018 (0.013)
Constant	-6.248*** (0.035)	-6.206*** (0.050)	-5.967*** (0.102)	-5.748*** (0.161)	-2.112*** (0.033)	-2.129*** (0.045)	-2.122*** (0.070)	-2.231*** (0.128)
Quasi-AIC	2605.000	2168.643	2587.303	2162.988	5753.989	4729.263	5740.605	4715.681
Wald Test	31103.545***	27379.173***	30738.543***	27287.514***	7850.704***	7075.070***	7824.973***	7044.238***
Num. Obs.	1030	885	1030	885	1030	885	1030	885
Num. Agencies	17	15	17	15	17	15	17	15
Num. Presidents	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include fixed effects for agency and President. For Models A-33 through A-36, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-37 through A-40, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-33 through A-36) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-37 through A-40). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-33 through A-36) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-37 through A-40). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-6: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2011  
(Omitting Agency Head Managerial Expertise)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-41	Model A-42	Model A-43	Model A-44	Model A-45	Model A-46	Model A-47	Model A-48
President-Senate Distance	0.130*** (0.009)	0.111*** (0.011)			0.074*** (0.014)	0.072*** (0.017)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.035*** (0.006)	0.007 (0.007)			0.007 (0.010)	-0.008 (0.012)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Gov't	-0.127*** (0.015)	-0.490*** (0.027)			-0.030 (0.025)	-0.233*** (0.048)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Gov't			-0.235*** (0.015)	-0.395*** (0.020)			-0.095*** (0.024)	-0.172*** (0.039)
Divided Govt.	-0.105*** (0.017)	0.032 (0.020)	0.030*** (0.011)	0.027** (0.013)	-0.049* (0.027)	0.018 (0.032)	0.049*** (0.018)	0.044** (0.019)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage	0.891*** (0.057)	1.885*** (0.099)	0.879*** (0.057)	2.016*** (0.098)	-0.063 (0.088)	0.207 (0.211)	-0.061 (0.088)	0.239 (0.211)
Central Staffing Agency	1.723 (1.096)		1.726 (1.094)		0.257 (0.205)		0.256 (0.205)	
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap					-0.080*** (0.001)	-0.075*** (0.002)	-0.080*** (0.001)	-0.076*** (0.002)
Polarization	0.069*** (0.008)	0.097*** (0.009)	0.068*** (0.009)	0.055*** (0.010)	-0.010 (0.013)	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.023* (0.013)
Pres.-Agency Alignment	0.031*** (0.003)	0.025*** (0.003)	0.031*** (0.003)	0.026*** (0.003)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.012** (0.006)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.011** (0.006)
New President	-0.082*** (0.023)	-0.187*** (0.025)	-0.081*** (0.023)	-0.171*** (0.025)	-0.241*** (0.039)	-0.315*** (0.045)	-0.241*** (0.039)	-0.302*** (0.045)
New Pres. Party	-0.331*** (0.026)	-0.218*** (0.029)	-0.323*** (0.026)	-0.247*** (0.028)	-0.237*** (0.043)	-0.182*** (0.050)	-0.231*** (0.043)	-0.200*** (0.050)
Presidential Reelection	-0.044*** (0.012)	-0.058*** (0.014)	-0.055*** (0.012)	-0.040*** (0.014)	-0.094*** (0.019)	-0.093*** (0.022)	-0.101*** (0.019)	-0.086*** (0.022)
Upcoming Presidential Election	-0.090*** (0.011)	-0.081*** (0.012)	-0.091*** (0.010)	-0.075*** (0.012)	-0.115*** (0.016)	-0.076*** (0.019)	-0.111*** (0.016)	-0.068*** (0.019)
Quarterly Roll Calls	-0.023*** (0.003)	-0.032*** (0.003)	-0.023*** (0.003)	-0.029*** (0.003)	-0.023*** (0.005)	-0.032*** (0.005)	-0.024*** (0.005)	-0.029*** (0.005)
Avg. Conf. Duration		0.013*** (0.004)		0.010** (0.004)		0.015** (0.006)		0.017*** (0.006)
Constant	-7.213*** (0.419)	-6.445*** (0.385)	-7.289*** (0.424)	-6.587*** (0.375)	-2.575*** (0.213)	-2.180*** (0.072)	-2.627*** (0.227)	-2.265*** (0.062)
AIC	27707.584	17478.157	27570.011	17441.358	16281.270	10240.686	16287.619	10246.157
BIC	27796.910	17559.759	27659.338	17522.960	16376.551	10327.729	16382.900	10333.199
Log Likelihood	-13838.792	-8724.078	-13770.006	-8705.679	-8124.635	-5104.343	-8127.810	-5107.078
Num. Obs.	2850	1703	2850	1703	2850	1703	2850	1703
Num. Agencies	22	15	22	15	22	15	22	15
Num. Presidents	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Var(agency)	3.127	2.025	3.135	1.997	0.107	0.051	0.107	0.048
Var(President)	0.068	0.067	0.093	0.038	0.235	0.006	0.275	0.001

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-41 through A-44, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-45 through A-48, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-41 through A-44) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-45 through A-48). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-41 through A-44) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-45 through A-48). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-7: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2011  
(Omitting Agency Head Managerial Expertise; with fixed effects instead of random effects)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-49	Model A-50	Model A-51	Model A-52	Model A-53	Model A-54	Model A-55	Model A-56
President-Senate Distance	0.129*** (0.019)	0.109*** (0.023)			0.072*** (0.014)	0.069*** (0.017)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.035*** (0.013)	0.006 (0.015)			0.007 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.011)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Gov't	-0.127*** (0.030)	-0.494*** (0.055)			-0.030 (0.024)	-0.278*** (0.043)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Gov't			-0.234*** (0.030)	-0.396*** (0.041)			-0.094*** (0.023)	-0.203*** (0.031)
Divided Govt.	-0.104*** (0.034)	0.035 (0.041)	0.029 (0.023)	0.026 (0.026)	-0.047* (0.027)	0.039 (0.032)	0.048*** (0.017)	0.049** (0.019)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage	0.888*** (0.115)	1.877*** (0.202)	0.875*** (0.115)	2.010*** (0.200)	-0.074 (0.088)	0.186 (0.211)	-0.071 (0.088)	0.252 (0.211)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap					-0.080*** (0.001)	-0.074*** (0.001)	-0.080*** (0.001)	-0.075*** (0.001)
Polarization	0.071*** (0.017)	0.099*** (0.019)	0.069*** (0.018)	0.056*** (0.020)	-0.007 (0.013)	0.004 (0.014)	-0.000 (0.014)	-0.019 (0.015)
Pres.-Agency Alignment	0.031*** (0.006)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.031*** (0.006)	0.026*** (0.007)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.012** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.011** (0.005)
New President	-0.081* (0.046)	-0.188*** (0.052)	-0.080* (0.046)	-0.171*** (0.051)	-0.240*** (0.038)	-0.323*** (0.042)	-0.240*** (0.038)	-0.314*** (0.042)
New Pres. Party	-0.330*** (0.052)	-0.217*** (0.059)	-0.322*** (0.052)	-0.246*** (0.058)	-0.236*** (0.042)	-0.172*** (0.047)	-0.230*** (0.042)	-0.189*** (0.047)
Presidential Reelection	-0.045* (0.024)	-0.058** (0.029)	-0.054** (0.023)	-0.040 (0.028)	-0.094*** (0.018)	-0.096*** (0.021)	-0.101*** (0.018)	-0.086*** (0.021)
Upcoming Presidential Election	-0.090*** (0.021)	-0.080*** (0.024)	-0.091*** (0.021)	-0.075*** (0.024)	-0.114*** (0.016)	-0.078*** (0.018)	-0.110*** (0.016)	-0.069*** (0.018)
Quarterly Roll Calls	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.033*** (0.007)	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.029*** (0.007)	-0.023*** (0.004)	-0.033*** (0.005)	-0.024*** (0.004)	-0.031*** (0.005)
Avg. Conf. Duration		0.013 (0.008)		0.010 (0.008)		0.015** (0.006)		0.018*** (0.006)
Constant	-9.734*** (0.067)	-5.927*** (0.043)	-9.792*** (0.067)	-6.186*** (0.037)	-2.712*** (0.042)	-1.935*** (0.037)	-2.727*** (0.042)	-2.087*** (0.031)
Quasi-AIC	6495.526	4031.118	6537.804	4041.999	14999.401	10022.196	14977.699	9970.505
Wald Test	75326.823***	49720.405***	76249.774***	50283.858***	23108.539***	14763.963***	23074.635***	14744.018***
Num. Obs.	2850	1703	2850	1703	2850	1703	2850	1703
Num. Agencies	22	15	22	15	22	15	22	15
Num. Presidents	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5

Note: Quasi-binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include fixed effects for agency and President. For Models A-49 through A-52, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-53 through A-56, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-49 through A-52) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-53 through A-56) Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-49 through A-52) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-53 through A-56). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-8: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Including *Previous Year PAS Vacancy Percentage*)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-57	Model A-58	Model A-59	Model A-60	Model A-61	Model A-62	Model A-63	Model A-64
President-Senate Distance	0.135*** (0.015)	0.066*** (0.019)			0.149*** (0.029)	0.150*** (0.033)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.283*** (0.048)	0.026 (0.086)			0.314*** (0.079)	0.240*** (0.072)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Gov't	-0.096*** (0.017)	-0.596*** (0.032)			0.002 (0.030)	-0.344*** (0.061)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Gov't			-0.181*** (0.035)	-0.647*** (0.058)			-0.019 (0.057)	-0.387*** (0.063)
Divided Govt.	-0.139*** (0.020)	0.084*** (0.024)	-0.092** (0.038)	0.164*** (0.061)	-0.121*** (0.036)	-0.011 (0.041)	-0.100* (0.060)	0.036 (0.054)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage	2.080*** (0.127)	1.782*** (0.131)	1.909*** (0.128)	1.716*** (0.132)	0.350 (0.265)	0.379 (0.278)	0.324 (0.266)	0.422 (0.280)
Managerial Expertise	0.015*** (0.004)	0.006 (0.005)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.010** (0.005)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.012 (0.009)	0.024*** (0.007)	0.014 (0.009)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap					-0.074*** (0.002)	-0.068*** (0.003)	-0.072*** (0.002)	-0.065*** (0.003)
Previous Year PAS Vacancy Percentage	0.169*** (0.028)	0.239*** (0.031)	0.246*** (0.029)	0.295*** (0.032)	0.195*** (0.047)	0.298*** (0.054)	0.241*** (0.049)	0.367*** (0.057)
Polarization	0.184*** (0.017)	0.161*** (0.020)	0.082*** (0.020)	0.054* (0.029)	0.012 (0.030)	0.004 (0.036)	-0.069* (0.036)	-0.083** (0.036)
Pres.-Agency Alignment	0.017*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.005)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.008)
New President	-0.063** (0.025)	-0.177*** (0.027)	-0.059** (0.025)	-0.157*** (0.027)	-0.172*** (0.046)	-0.253*** (0.050)	-0.161*** (0.046)	-0.245*** (0.050)
New Pres. Party	-0.323*** (0.029)	-0.198*** (0.032)	-0.300*** (0.029)	-0.203*** (0.032)	-0.316*** (0.053)	-0.241*** (0.058)	-0.306*** (0.053)	-0.223*** (0.058)
Presidential Reelection	-0.018 (0.016)	-0.048** (0.019)	-0.044*** (0.016)	-0.052*** (0.019)	-0.091*** (0.028)	-0.071** (0.033)	-0.116*** (0.028)	-0.089*** (0.032)
Upcoming Presidential Election	-0.095*** (0.013)	-0.078*** (0.015)	-0.097*** (0.013)	-0.077*** (0.015)	-0.119*** (0.023)	-0.056** (0.025)	-0.114*** (0.022)	-0.051** (0.025)
Quarterly Roll Calls	-0.007* (0.004)	-0.025*** (0.004)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.021*** (0.004)	-0.016** (0.006)	-0.034*** (0.008)	-0.019*** (0.006)	-0.033*** (0.007)
Avg. Conf. Duration		-0.011* (0.006)		-0.026*** (0.007)		-0.002 (0.013)		-0.009 (0.013)
Constant	-6.516*** (0.386)	-6.245*** (0.456)	-6.580*** (0.398)	-6.489*** (0.433)	-2.255*** (0.095)	-2.151*** (0.106)	-2.295*** (0.157)	-2.341*** (0.095)
AIC	14239.763	10782.285	14096.063	10749.086	7701.038	6110.177	7700.350	6091.133
BIC	14321.883	10866.004	14178.183	10832.805	7788.290	6198.820	7787.603	6179.776
Log Likelihood	-7103.882	-5374.143	-7032.032	-5357.543	-3833.519	-3037.088	-3833.175	-3027.567
Num. Obs.	1252	1017	1252	1017	1252	1017	1252	1017
Num. Agencies	14	13	14	13	14	13	14	13
Num. Presidents	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4
Var(agency)	2.039	2.279	2.080	2.281	0.055	0.066	0.060	0.072
Var(President)	0.015	0.129	0.049	0.044	0.022	0.017	0.099	0.007

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-57 through A-60, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-61 through A-64, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-57 through A-60) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-61 through A-64) Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-51 through A-60) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-61 through A-64). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1



**Table A-9: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Including *Previous Year PAS Vacancy Percentage* and fixed effects instead of random effects)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-65	Model A-66	Model A-67	Model A-68	Model A-69	Model A-70	Model A-71	Model A-72
President-Senate Distance	0.135*** (0.035)	0.064 (0.039)			0.174*** (0.027)	0.140*** (0.032)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.319*** (0.099)	-0.033 (0.169)			0.390*** (0.069)	0.430*** (0.127)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Gov't	-0.096** (0.039)	-0.600*** (0.067)			0.002 (0.030)	-0.389*** (0.056)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Gov't			-0.162** (0.074)	-0.684*** (0.116)			0.012 (0.054)	-0.292*** (0.090)
Divided Govt.	-0.140*** (0.045)	0.087* (0.049)	-0.117 (0.079)	0.205* (0.122)	-0.139*** (0.035)	0.013 (0.039)	-0.145*** (0.055)	-0.094 (0.092)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage	2.069*** (0.286)	1.770*** (0.272)	1.887*** (0.285)	1.710*** (0.273)	0.302 (0.293)	0.344 (0.284)	0.271 (0.291)	0.373 (0.282)
Managerial Expertise	0.015 (0.009)	0.006 (0.010)	0.016* (0.009)	0.009 (0.010)	0.023*** (0.007)	0.012 (0.008)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.014* (0.008)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap					-0.073*** (0.002)	-0.066*** (0.002)	-0.071*** (0.002)	-0.063*** (0.002)
Previous Year PAS Vacancy Percentage	0.170*** (0.062)	0.240*** (0.065)	0.252*** (0.063)	0.292*** (0.067)	0.200*** (0.047)	0.311*** (0.051)	0.253*** (0.048)	0.390*** (0.053)
Polarization	0.186*** (0.039)	0.163*** (0.042)	0.073 (0.045)	0.068 (0.058)	-0.007 (0.029)	0.020 (0.032)	-0.094*** (0.034)	-0.113*** (0.043)
Pres.-Agency Alignment	0.017* (0.010)	0.013 (0.010)	0.019** (0.009)	0.016 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.008)
New President	-0.063 (0.056)	-0.178*** (0.055)	-0.058 (0.055)	-0.160*** (0.056)	-0.171*** (0.046)	-0.260*** (0.047)	-0.159*** (0.046)	-0.239*** (0.047)
New Pres. Party	-0.323*** (0.066)	-0.197*** (0.066)	-0.300*** (0.065)	-0.200*** (0.065)	-0.319*** (0.053)	-0.230*** (0.054)	-0.307*** (0.052)	-0.226*** (0.054)
Presidential Reelection	-0.018 (0.035)	-0.048 (0.040)	-0.043 (0.035)	-0.053 (0.039)	-0.089*** (0.028)	-0.073** (0.031)	-0.115*** (0.028)	-0.084*** (0.030)
Upcoming Presidential Election	-0.094*** (0.030)	-0.078** (0.031)	-0.097*** (0.030)	-0.077** (0.031)	-0.121*** (0.023)	-0.056** (0.024)	-0.115*** (0.022)	-0.052** (0.024)
Quarterly Roll Calls	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.022** (0.009)	-0.016** (0.006)	-0.035*** (0.007)	-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.031*** (0.007)
Avg. Conf. Duration		-0.011 (0.013)		-0.024* (0.014)		-0.001 (0.012)		-0.015 (0.013)
Constant	-6.113*** (0.050)	-5.795*** (0.063)	-6.270*** (0.056)	-6.259*** (0.068)	-2.153*** (0.041)	-1.852*** (0.056)	-2.211*** (0.044)	-2.173*** (0.052)
Quasi-AIC	2690.842	2374.282	2723.761	2383.255	6660.437	5910.775	6694.940	6001.144
Wald Test	31002.124***	30439.730***	31697.701***	30572.661***	8944.122***	8813.067***	9017.004***	8937.198***
Num. Obs.	1252	1017	1252	1017	1252	1017	1252	1017
Num. Agencies	14	13	14	13	14	13	14	13
Num. Presidents	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4

Note: Quasi-binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include fixed effects for agency and President. For Models A-65 through A-68, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-69 through A-72, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-65 through A-68) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-69 through A-72) Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-65 through A-68) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-69 through A-72). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-10: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Departments of Defense, the Air Force, the Army, and the Navy)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-73	Model A-74	Model A-75	Model A-76	Model A-77	Model A-78	Model A-79	Model A-80
President-Senate Distance	0.130*** (0.025)	0.116*** (0.032)			0.111*** (0.033)	0.070* (0.040)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.061*** (0.020)	0.054** (0.021)			0.073*** (0.026)	0.009 (0.027)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.121*** (0.044)	-0.005 (0.049)			-0.123** (0.062)	0.008 (0.068)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.186*** (0.038)	-0.085* (0.049)			-0.133*** (0.050)	-0.035 (0.064)
Divided Government	-0.074 (0.050)	-0.164*** (0.053)	0.033 (0.027)	-0.041 (0.036)	0.017 (0.068)	-0.037 (0.071)	0.077** (0.037)	0.052 (0.048)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		24.570*** (3.063)		22.417*** (3.000)		-3.854 (4.965)		-4.371 (4.891)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap						-0.117*** (0.008)		-0.118*** (0.008)
Congressional Polarization		0.059** (0.030)		0.092*** (0.030)		-0.034 (0.037)		-0.013 (0.038)
President-Agency Alignment		-0.154 (0.132)		-0.104 (0.166)		-0.244 (0.248)		-0.209 (0.280)
New President		-0.022 (0.071)		-0.010 (0.071)		-0.130 (0.104)		-0.127 (0.103)
New Presidential Party		-0.262*** (0.080)		-0.257*** (0.080)		-0.215* (0.115)		-0.207* (0.114)
Presidential Reelection		-0.149*** (0.038)		-0.160*** (0.038)		-0.081 (0.051)		-0.088* (0.051)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.128*** (0.034)		-0.126*** (0.034)		-0.121*** (0.044)		-0.115*** (0.044)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.010 (0.009)		-0.010 (0.009)		-0.026** (0.012)		-0.026** (0.012)
Constant	-9.540*** (0.705)	-9.574*** (0.623)	-9.600*** (0.705)	-9.635*** (0.639)	-3.537*** (0.492)	-2.769*** (0.318)	-3.577*** (0.488)	-2.825*** (0.344)
AIC	3609.295	3416.674	3599.191	3414.678	3069.224	2679.744	3064.691	2682.143
BIC	3635.000	3476.547	3624.896	3474.551	3094.929	2743.894	3090.396	2746.293
Log Likelihood	-1798.648	-1694.337	-1793.596	-1693.339	-1528.612	-1324.872	-1526.346	-1326.072
Number of Observations	536	532	536	532	536	532	536	532
Number of Agencies	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Number of Presidents	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Var(agency)	0.141	0.089	0.143	0.145	0.543	0.319	0.527	0.411
Var(President)	1.888	1.478	1.888	1.519	0.595	0.142	0.593	0.145

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-73 through A-76, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-77 through A-80, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-73 through A-76) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-77 through A-80). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-73 through A-76) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-77 through A-80). *Managerial Expertise* omitted because of a lack of data on the Army, Air Force, and Navy. Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-11: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Excluding the Departments of Defense, the Air Force, the Army, and the Navy)**

	<i>Schedule C Positions</i>				<i>Noncareer SES Positions</i>			
	Model A-81	Model A-82	Model A-83	Model A-84	Model A-85	Model A-86	Model A-87	Model A-88
President-Senate Distance	0.147*** (0.008)	0.109*** (0.015)			0.149*** (0.013)	0.118*** (0.026)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.031*** (0.007)	0.273*** (0.059)			0.049*** (0.010)	0.424*** (0.107)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.154*** (0.015)	-0.094*** (0.017)			-0.137*** (0.025)	-0.040 (0.029)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.285*** (0.013)	-0.143*** (0.042)			-0.241*** (0.020)	0.066 (0.073)
Divided Government	-0.089*** (0.017)	-0.125*** (0.019)	0.069*** (0.009)	-0.116** (0.047)	0.012 (0.028)	-0.070** (0.034)	0.155*** (0.014)	-0.199** (0.083)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		0.880*** (0.071)		0.830*** (0.071)		0.081 (0.108)		0.091 (0.109)
Managerial Expertise		0.012*** (0.004)		0.012*** (0.004)		0.017*** (0.007)		0.018*** (0.007)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap						-0.076*** (0.002)		-0.075*** (0.002)
Central Staffing Agency		1.187 (1.102)		1.204 (1.107)		0.139 (0.175)		0.139 (0.181)
Congressional Polarization		0.149*** (0.017)		0.051*** (0.020)		-0.014 (0.027)		-0.105*** (0.034)
President-Agency Alignment		0.027*** (0.004)		0.028*** (0.004)		-0.005 (0.007)		-0.004 (0.007)
New President		-0.084*** (0.025)		-0.085*** (0.025)		-0.268*** (0.043)		-0.260*** (0.043)
New Presidential Party		-0.334*** (0.029)		-0.317*** (0.029)		-0.247*** (0.050)		-0.242*** (0.050)
Presidential Reelection		-0.018 (0.015)		-0.043*** (0.015)		-0.101*** (0.026)		-0.117*** (0.026)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.098*** (0.013)		-0.106*** (0.013)		-0.126*** (0.021)		-0.127*** (0.021)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.011*** (0.004)		-0.014*** (0.004)		-0.021*** (0.006)		-0.021*** (0.006)
Constant	-6.408*** (0.401)	-6.449*** (0.384)	-6.500*** (0.407)	-6.583*** (0.390)	-2.341*** (0.276)	-2.290*** (0.074)	-2.422*** (0.286)	-2.433*** (0.148)
AIC	26193.175	17143.342	26006.383	17010.714	18630.973	9233.524	18582.199	9221.283
BIC	26227.712	17228.753	26040.920	17096.126	18665.510	9324.274	18616.736	9312.033
Log Likelihood	-13090.587	-8555.671	-12997.191	-8489.357	-9309.486	-4599.762	-9285.100	-4593.641
Number of Observations	2336	1538	2336	1538	2336	1538	2336	1538
Number of Agencies	18	17	18	17	18	17	18	17
Number of Presidents	6	4	6	4	6	4	6	4
Var(agency)	2.564	2.151	2.568	2.170	0.312	0.051	0.312	0.055
Var(President)	0.109	0.016	0.141	0.029	0.352	0.007	0.387	0.068

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-81 through A-84, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-85 through A-88, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-81 through A-84) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-85 through A-88). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-81 through A-84) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-85 through A-88). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-12: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Excluding the Office of Personnel Management, the Office of Management and Budget, and  
the General Services Administration)**

	<u>Schedule C Positions</u>				<u>Noncareer SES Positions</u>			
	Model A-89	Model A-90	Model A-91	Model A-92	Model A-93	Model A-94	Model A-95	Model A-96
President-Senate Distance	0.143*** (0.008)	0.088*** (0.014)			0.137*** (0.013)	0.105*** (0.027)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.032*** (0.006)	0.123*** (0.035)			0.056*** (0.010)	0.027* (0.015)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.163*** (0.015)	-0.083*** (0.016)			-0.150*** (0.024)	-0.031 (0.028)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.282*** (0.012)	-0.200*** (0.030)			-0.223*** (0.019)	-0.134*** (0.027)
Divided Government	-0.085*** (0.017)	-0.120*** (0.019)	0.060*** (0.009)	-0.029 (0.030)	0.024 (0.027)	-0.068** (0.034)	0.135*** (0.014)	0.066*** (0.017)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		2.365*** (0.126)		2.237*** (0.126)		0.629** (0.258)		0.640** (0.257)
Managerial Expertise		0.010*** (0.004)		0.011*** (0.004)		0.020*** (0.007)		0.019*** (0.007)
Previous Quarter SES Noncareer Percentage Gap						-0.077*** (0.002)		-0.076*** (0.002)
Congressional Polarization		0.169*** (0.016)		0.099*** (0.017)		0.000 (0.028)		0.015 (0.020)
President-Agency Alignment		0.016*** (0.004)		0.016*** (0.004)		-0.006 (0.007)		-0.006 (0.007)
New President		-0.077*** (0.024)		-0.079*** (0.024)		-0.267*** (0.042)		-0.268*** (0.042)
New Presidential Party		-0.334*** (0.028)		-0.317*** (0.028)		-0.252*** (0.049)		-0.238*** (0.049)
Presidential Reelection		-0.030** (0.015)		-0.055*** (0.015)		-0.113*** (0.025)		-0.136*** (0.025)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.098*** (0.013)		-0.105*** (0.013)		-0.127*** (0.021)		-0.123*** (0.020)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.009** (0.004)		-0.012*** (0.004)		-0.023*** (0.006)		-0.027*** (0.006)
Constant	-7.240*** (0.462)	-6.590*** (0.340)	-7.328*** (0.467)	-6.644*** (0.340)	-2.660*** (0.316)	-2.281*** (0.078)	-2.729*** (0.322)	-2.322*** (0.062)
AIC	26730.161	16718.289	26537.160	16608.509	19578.134	9113.154	19524.761	9107.920
BIC	26765.033	16797.653	26572.032	16687.873	19613.006	9197.810	19559.633	9192.576
Log Likelihood	-13359.080	-8344.144	-13262.580	-8289.254	-9783.067	-4540.577	-9756.380	-4537.960
Number of Observations	2470	1467	2470	1467	2470	1467	2470	1467
Number of Agencies	19	16	19	16	19	16	19	16
Number of Presidents	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Var(agency)	3.670	1.798	3.674	1.821	0.574	0.054	0.574	0.053
Var(President)	0.120	0.015	0.150	0.009	0.418	0.010	0.442	0.000

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For Models A-89 through A-92, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. For Models A-93 through A-96, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions (for Models A-89 through A-92) or the total number of SES positions (for Models A-93 through A-96). Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions (for Models A-89 through A-92) or noncareer SES positions (for Models A-93 through A-96). Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-13: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Schedule C only; GS-12 through GS-15 employees only)**

	<i>Random Effects</i>				<i>Fixed Effects</i>			
	Model A-97	Model A-98	Model A-99	Model A-100	Model A-101	Model A-102	Model A-103	Model A-104
President-Senate Distance	0.086*** (0.008)	-0.014 (0.014)			0.086*** (0.022)	-0.015 (0.037)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.038*** (0.006)	-0.244*** (0.045)			0.038** (0.016)	-0.257** (0.117)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.000 (0.015)	0.033** (0.016)			-0.001 (0.039)	0.033 (0.043)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.120*** (0.012)	-0.137*** (0.034)			-0.120*** (0.032)	-0.144 (0.089)
Divided Government	-0.210*** (0.017)	-0.184*** (0.019)	-0.085*** (0.009)	0.004 (0.036)	-0.209*** (0.045)	-0.183*** (0.050)	-0.085*** (0.024)	0.012 (0.095)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		1.361*** (0.072)		1.366*** (0.072)		1.353*** (0.190)		1.359*** (0.189)
Managerial Expertise		0.037*** (0.004)		0.037*** (0.004)		0.037*** (0.010)		0.037*** (0.010)
Central Staffing Agency		0.627 (0.778)		0.626 (0.781)				
Congressional Polarization		0.022 (0.016)		0.058*** (0.019)		0.024 (0.041)		0.062 (0.049)
President-Agency Alignment		0.015*** (0.004)		0.015*** (0.004)		0.015 (0.010)		0.015 (0.010)
New President		-0.044* (0.024)		-0.045* (0.024)		-0.044 (0.062)		-0.045 (0.062)
New Presidential Party		-0.353*** (0.028)		-0.353*** (0.028)		-0.353*** (0.073)		-0.353*** (0.073)
Presidential Reelection		-0.014 (0.015)		-0.023 (0.015)		-0.014 (0.038)		-0.023 (0.038)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.124*** (0.013)		-0.123*** (0.013)		-0.124*** (0.033)		-0.123*** (0.033)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		0.008** (0.004)		0.006 (0.004)		0.008 (0.009)		0.006 (0.009)
Constant	-5.764*** (0.440)	-5.239*** (0.316)	-5.803*** (0.446)	-5.262*** (0.354)	-7.541*** (0.084)	-3.969*** (0.054)	-7.551*** (0.083)	-3.958*** (0.061)
(Quasi-)AIC	34997.220	20263.958	34907.221	20237.773	5192.436	3128.194	5203.246	3132.161
BIC	35032.996	20350.456	34942.997	20324.271				
Log Likelihood	-17492.610	-10115.979	-17447.610	-10102.886				
Wald Test					30799.898***	17983.089***	30897.033***	18060.953***
Number of Observations	2872	1646	2872	1646	2872	1646	2872	1646
Number of Agencies	22	18	22	18	22	18	22	18
Number of Presidents	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Var(agency)	2.595	1.078	2.597	1.086				
Var(President)	0.454	0.162	0.486	0.286				

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random and/or fixed effects for agency and President. The dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions. Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions. Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-14: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1984 to March 2017  
(Schedule C only; Omitting Departments of Health and Human Services and Homeland Security)**

	<i>Fixed Effects</i>				<i>Random Effects</i>			
	Model A-105	Model A-106	Model A-107	Model A-108	Model A-109	Model A-110	Model A-111	Model A-112
President-Senate Distance	0.154*** (0.018)	0.126*** (0.033)			0.154*** (0.008)	0.126*** (0.014)		
President-Filibuster Distance			0.032** (0.014)	0.213** (0.094)			0.033*** (0.007)	0.165*** (0.044)
President-Senate Distance x Divided Government	-0.127*** (0.031)	-0.078** (0.036)			-0.126*** (0.015)	-0.078*** (0.017)		
President-Filibuster Distance x Divided Government			-0.269*** (0.027)	-0.165** (0.072)			-0.268*** (0.013)	-0.193*** (0.034)
Divided Government	-0.118*** (0.036)	-0.157*** (0.043)	0.061*** (0.020)	-0.085 (0.076)	-0.118*** (0.017)	-0.156*** (0.019)	0.060*** (0.009)	-0.050 (0.036)
Previous Quarter Executive Schedule Percentage		0.866*** (0.155)		0.829*** (0.155)		0.872*** (0.071)		0.838*** (0.071)
Managerial Expertise		-0.001 (0.009)		-0.001 (0.009)		-0.001 (0.004)		-0.001 (0.004)
Central Staffing Agency						1.115 (1.122)		1.126 (1.125)
Congressional Polarization		0.136*** (0.036)		0.051 (0.042)		0.134*** (0.016)		0.062*** (0.019)
President-Agency Alignment		0.016* (0.009)		0.016* (0.009)		0.016*** (0.004)		0.016*** (0.004)
New President		-0.086 (0.054)		-0.087 (0.053)		-0.086*** (0.024)		-0.087*** (0.024)
New Presidential Party		-0.329*** (0.063)		-0.312*** (0.063)		-0.329*** (0.029)		-0.311*** (0.029)
Presidential Reelection		-0.034 (0.033)		-0.061* (0.033)		-0.034** (0.015)		-0.063*** (0.015)
Upcoming Presidential Election		-0.109*** (0.029)		-0.114*** (0.028)		-0.109*** (0.013)		-0.113*** (0.013)
Quarterly Senate Roll Calls		-0.012 (0.008)		-0.016** (0.008)		-0.012*** (0.004)		-0.016*** (0.004)
Constant	-9.823*** (0.067)	-6.131*** (0.047)	-9.885*** (0.066)	-6.257*** (0.053)	-6.915*** (0.479)	-6.369*** (0.400)	-7.010*** (0.485)	-6.438*** (0.402)
(Quasi-)AIC	5692.298	3283.069	5727.501	3307.681	27371.522	16566.531	27224.024	16462.090
BIC					27406.884	16651.807	27259.385	16547.366
Log Likelihood					-13679.761	-8267.265	-13606.012	-8215.045
Wald Test	64042.263***	34740.069***	64742.637***	35166.787***				
Number of Observations	2680	1525	2680	1525	2680	1525	2680	1525
Number of Agencies	20	16	20	16	20	16	20	16
Number of Presidents	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
Var(agency)					4.219	2.210	4.224	2.222
Var(President)					0.116	0.012	0.149	0.015

Note: Binomial logistic coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random and/or fixed effects for agency and President. The dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a Schedule C appointment type, out of all positions. As these are binomial regression models, the agency-quarter observations are weighted by the total number of positions. Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of Schedule C positions. Standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1

**Table A-15: Determinants of Politicized Positions, March 1987 to March 2017  
(Seemingly Unrelated Fractional Probit Models)**

	Model A-113		Model A-114		Model A-115		Model A-116	
	Schedule C	Noncareer SES	Schedule C	Noncareer SES	Schedule C	Noncareer SES	Schedule C	Noncareer SES
President-Senate Distance	0.029*** (0.004)	0.049*** (0.016)			0.027 (0.018)	0.003 (0.008)		
Pres.-Fil. Distance			0.027*** (0.003)	0.047*** (0.013)			0.040* (0.022)	0.002 (0.008)
Pres.-Sen. Dist. x Divided Gov't	-0.017 (0.021)	-0.068* (0.037)			-0.002 (0.047)	-0.031 (0.027)		
Pres.-Fil. Dist. x Divided Gov't			-0.058** (0.025)	-0.119*** (0.036)			-0.041 (0.066)	-0.031 (0.027)
Divided Government	-0.019 (0.018)	0.057* (0.031)	0.008 (0.013)	0.081*** (0.021)	-0.034 (0.040)	0.006 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.043)	0.009 (0.010)
Previous Quarter Exec. Sched. %					0.977*** (0.329)	-0.025 (0.023)	0.977*** (0.328)	-0.025 (0.023)
Managerial Expertise					-0.017 (0.045)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.018 (0.045)	-0.001 (0.004)
Prev. Quarter SES Noncareer % Gap					-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.044*** (0.003)	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.044*** (0.003)
Central Staffing Agency					0.089 (0.268)	0.058*** (0.012)	0.089 (0.268)	0.058*** (0.012)
Polarization					-0.087 (0.063)	0.011 (0.010)	-0.105 (0.065)	0.011 (0.009)
Pres.-Agency Alignment					-0.025 (0.032)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.025 (0.032)	-0.002 (0.004)
New President					-0.083*** (0.030)	-0.135*** (0.034)	-0.082*** (0.031)	-0.133*** (0.034)
New Presidential Party					-0.031 (0.056)	-0.132*** (0.033)	-0.028 (0.058)	-0.133*** (0.033)
Presidential Reelection					-0.021 (0.022)	-0.046*** (0.013)	-0.030 (0.023)	-0.047*** (0.013)
Upcoming Pres. Election					-0.063*** (0.011)	-0.076*** (0.011)	-0.065*** (0.011)	-0.076*** (0.011)
Quarterly Roll Calls					-0.016** (0.007)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.018*** (0.006)	-0.013*** (0.003)
Constant	-2.853*** (0.197)	-1.308*** (0.076)	-2.863*** (0.197)	-1.325*** (0.076)	-2.891*** (0.087)	-1.286*** (0.019)	-2.915*** (0.088)	-1.286*** (0.019)
atan ( $\rho$ )		0.016* (0.009)		0.016* (0.009)		0.008** (0.003)		0.008** (0.003)
AIC		2080.111		2079.206		1289.519		1289.493
BIC		2169.553		2168.647		1386.829		1386.802
Log Likelihood		-1025.056		-1024.603		-626.759		-626.746
LR Test		116.267***		124.133***		95383.524***		2.361e+08***
Num. Obs.		2872		2872		1646		1646
Num. Agencies		22		22		18		18
Num. Pres.		6		6		5		5
ln ( $\sigma_{Agency}$ )	-0.885	-1.322	-0.858	-1.322	-9.923	-6.865	-8.268	-8.689
ln ( $\sigma_{President}$ )	-7.577	-6.357	-7.451	-6.625	-6.348	-7.890	-8.960	-8.640

Note: Fractional probit coefficients. Observations are at the agency-quarter level and include random effects for agency and President. For the *Schedule C* equations, the dependent variable is the proportion of positions categorized as having a *Schedule C* appointment type, out of all positions. For the *Noncareer SES* equations, the dependent variable is the proportion of Senior Executive Service positions that are noncareer in nature. Positive [negative] coefficients indicate the covariate is associated with higher [lower] proportions of *Schedule C* positions (for the *Schedule C* equations) or noncareer SES positions (for the *Noncareer SES* equations). Robust standard errors in parentheses. Two-tailed tests: \*\*\*p < 0.01, \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.1