

Online Appendix
Presidents and the Status Quo
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Supporting Information

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A Status Quo Estimation Diagnostics

Access to NPAT data was obtained through subscription to Project Vote Smart’s (<https://votesmart.org/>) Political Courage Test archive. Vote Smart makes these data available on the condition that they not be redistributed. Each edition of the NPAT survey is stored in a CSV file, with long-form survey question format and columns that are not uniquely identified. No survey meta-data is stored in the files themselves. Respondents are only identified via unique names, and thus, have to be matched to Vote Smart’s candidate ID masterfile (obtained at <https://github.com/votesmart/political-id-match>). Some CSVs contained obvious errors, such as including open-ended responses in Likert questions or misaligning rows for complete respondents. In general, I found that these errors were concentrated in a small number of candidates that were not matchable to Bonica (2016), as they tended to be third-party candidates with little public support.

I restricted the sample to candidates and responses that could be matched to DIME+ 2.0 (<https://data.stanford.edu/dime>). Though this limits the overall sample considerably, the vast majority of major party candidates are matched, and the sample represents a considerable improvement (in terms of sample size and representativeness) over using preference measures of officials who held elected office (see Table A1 and Figure A1).

Source	Responses	Respondents
Project Vote Smart	546215	6413
DIME+	155580	1328
Voteview	96059	488

Table A1 – NPAT Response Matching by Preference Measure, 103-115 Congress. Respondents matched using name, state, cycle year, and office via fastLink.

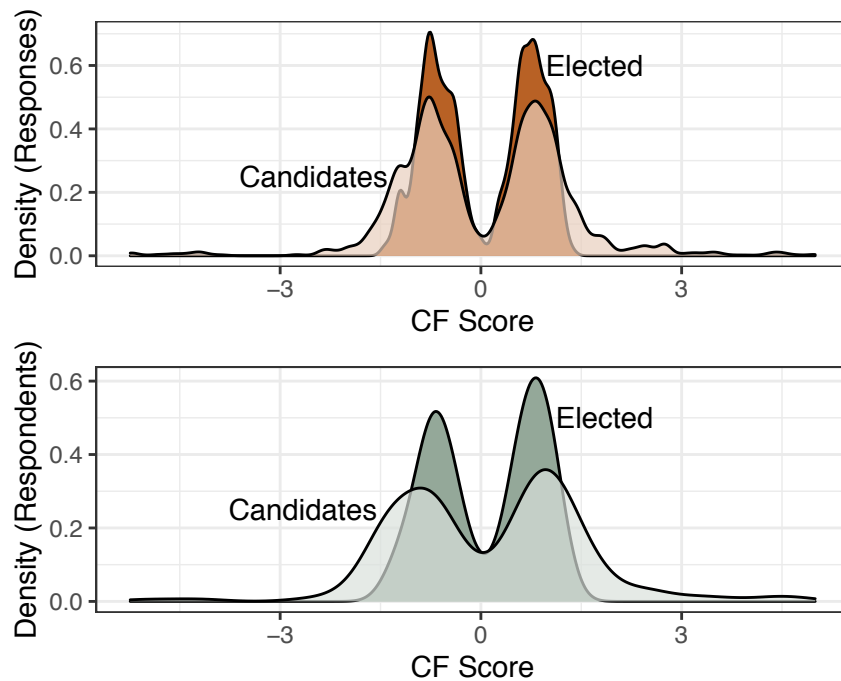


Figure A1 – Using candidates improves coverage of the distribution of political preferences from the 103th - 115th Congress. Plots the density of ideological positions in Congress and among candidates, based on CF Scores matched NPAT responses. The top panel plots responses, whereas the bottom panel shows respondents.

Policy	Answer Format	Congresses	Matched N
Active Duty Pay	6-point, Funding	107-108	732
Active Duty Pay	6-point, Simple	105-106, 110-112	2472
Agriculture	6-point, Funding	108	330
Agriculture	6-point, Simple	109-115	2666
AIDS Research	3-point, Spending	103	96
AIDS Research	6-point, Simple	104-106	1196
Alcohol Taxes	6-point, Simple	104-112, 114-115	3932
Armed Forces Personnel Training	6-point, Funding	108	332
Armed Forces Personnel Training	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-111	2288
Arts	6-point, Funding	107-108	728
Arts	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-115	3546
Capital Gains Tax	6-point, Simple	104-106, 108-115	4118
Charity Deductions	6-point, Simple	105-111	2864
Child tax Credit	6-point, Simple	106-111	2466
Cigarette Taxes	6-point, Simple	104-112, 114-115	3622
Corporate Taxation	6-point, Simple	107-114	3910
Covert Operations	6-point, Funding	105-106, 109-112	330
Covert Operations	6-point, Simple	108	2844
Defense	6-point, Funding	107-108	728
Defense	6-point, Simple	104, 109-115	3056
Defense Hardware	6-point, Funding	107-108	718
Defense Hardware	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-112	2820
Defense Plant Conversion	6-point, Funding	107	392
Defense Plant Conversion	6-point, Simple	105-106	834
Defense Research & Development	6-point, Funding	107-108	718
Defense Research & Development	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-112	2818
Defense Space	6-point, Funding	107	392
Defense Space	6-point, Simple	105-106	850
Earned Income Credit	6-point, Simple	105-111	2510
Education	3-point, Spending	103	192
Education	6-point, Funding	107-108	744
Education	6-point, Simple	104-106, 109-115	3904
Emergency Management	6-point, Simple	110-111	1048
Environment	3-point, Spending	103	96
Environment	6-point, Funding	107-108	730
Environment	6-point, Simple	104-106, 109-114	3888
Estate Taxes	6-point, Simple	105-115	3212
Firearm Regulation	6-point, Simple	111	604
Foreign Aid	6-point, Funding	107-108	728
Foreign Aid	6-point, Simple	109-115	3452
Gasoline Taxes	6-point, Simple	108-112	2924
Healthcare	3-point, Spending	103	94
Healthcare	6-point, Funding	108	334
Healthcare	6-point, Simple	104, 109-111	1786
Healthcare - Medicaid	6-point, Simple	105-106	828
Healthcare - Medicare	6-point, Simple	105-106	828
Homeland Security	6-point, Funding	108	334
Homeland Security	6-point, Simple	109-115	2224
Housing	6-point, Simple	105-106	834
Illegal Drugs	3-point, Spending	103	96
Illegal Drugs	6-point, Simple	104-106	356
Job Training	6-point, Simple	104-106	1184
Law Enforcement	6-point, Funding	107-108	726
Law Enforcement	6-point, Simple	104-106, 109-111	2632
Medical Deduction	6-point, Simple	105-111	2850
Medical Research	6-point, Funding	107-108	732
Medical Research	6-point, Simple	109-115	2232
Missile Defense	6-point, Funding	107-108	724
Missile Defense	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-112	2840
Mortgage Deduction	6-point, Simple	105-111	2844
National Parks	6-point, Funding	107-108	730
National Parks	6-point, Simple	109-111	1448
Scientific Research	6-point, Funding	107-108	728
Scientific Research	6-point, Simple	109-115	2228
Social Security	6-point, Simple	104, 114-115	572
Space	6-point, Funding	107-108	732
Space	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-115	3538
Student Loans	6-point, Simple	105-106, 108-111	2532
Taxes - High-Income Households	6-point, Simple	104-106, 108-115	3906
Taxes - Low-Income Households	6-point, Simple	105-106, 108-115	3722
Taxes - Middle-Income Households	6-point, Simple	104-106, 108-115	4030
Taxes - Retirees	6-point, Simple	105-106	782
Transportation	6-point, Funding	107-108	730
Transportation	6-point, Simple	104, 109-111	1814
Troop Retention	6-point, Funding	107-108	732
Troop Retention	6-point, Simple	109-112	1968
Unemployment	3-point, Spending	103	92
United Nations	6-point, Simple	111-115	1914
Welfare	6-point, Funding	107-108	722
Welfare	6-point, Simple	105-106, 109-115	3516

Table A2 – NPAT Policies and Question Formats. Reports question and answer formats by policy and election cycle. ‘3-point, Spending’ \in {Increase Spending, Maintain Status Quo, Decrease Spending}, ‘6-point, Funding’ \in {Greatly Increase Funding, Slightly Increase Funding, Keep Funding the Same, Slightly Decrease Funding, Greatly Decrease Funding, Eliminate}, ‘6-point, Simple’ \in {Greatly Increase, Slightly Increase, Keep the Same, Slightly Decrease, Greatly Decrease, Eliminate}. Questions either ask about the level of funding, taxation, or enforcement.

Cong.	Policy	N	Matched	Decrease	Maintain	Increase	Model	SQ	SQ (SE)	SQ LB	SQ UB	β	SE
115	Welfare	311	59	20	26	13	weighted	-0.22	0.16	-0.55	0.09	-1.00	0.08
111	Mortgage Deduction	608	322	33	205	84	weighted	3.67	2.23	-5.24	4.99	-0.11	0.02
114	Estate Taxes	222	57	27	14	16	weighted	-0.73	0.14	-0.99	-0.44	-1.27	0.09
110	Covert Operations	694	201	16	56	129	baseline	-3.91	1.01	-5.24	-2.09	0.24	0.06
105	Covert Operations	966	224	86	118	20	baseline	0.98	0.11	0.69	1.14	0.81	0.10
105	Armed Forces Personnel Training	953	224	9	104	111	weighted	-2.87	1.10	-5.24	-1.59	0.31	0.04
108	Welfare	709	164	44	83	37	baseline	-0.09	0.15	-0.37	0.21	-0.61	0.10
104	Education	686	177	26	77	74	baseline	0.70	0.10	0.52	0.89	-1.15	0.13
105	Welfare	923	208	123	66	19	baseline	-1.02	0.15	-1.39	-0.80	-0.75	0.10
111	Covert Operations	643	325	31	100	194	baseline	-5.24	0.65	-5.24	-3.75	0.12	0.04
105	Job Training	955	212	48	63	101	weighted	0.53	0.07	0.39	0.66	-1.37	0.05
112	Arts	616	273	144	75	54	weighted	-0.59	0.11	-0.77	-0.33	-0.73	0.03
113	Education	511	237	104	28	105	baseline	-0.01	0.11	-0.22	0.20	-0.63	0.05
110	Defense Hardware	681	195	42	78	75	weighted	-0.78	0.15	-1.09	-0.47	0.59	0.04
107	Corporate Taxation	811	163	121	36	6	weighted	-1.87	0.26	-2.34	-1.35	-0.85	0.05
108	National Parks	714	169	13	83	73	baseline	1.36	0.39	0.87	2.40	-0.54	0.10
113	Corporate Taxation	501	236	127	37	72	weighted	-0.51	0.12	-0.76	-0.29	-0.72	0.03
110	Welfare	682	198	51	99	48	baseline	-0.23	0.16	-0.56	0.07	-0.49	0.07
110	Emergency Management	685	197	8	52	137	weighted	4.99	1.60	2.33	4.99	-0.16	0.03
108	Alcohol Taxes	691	158	32	100	26	weighted	-0.15	0.15	-0.44	0.14	-0.64	0.05
106	Cigarette Taxes	754	188	14	92	82	baseline	0.99	0.13	0.78	1.30	-1.04	0.12
109	Mortgage Deduction	689	177	8	135	34	weighted	-3.35	2.29	-5.24	4.99	0.18	0.04
106	Armed Forces Personnel Training	798	205	2	66	137	baseline	-3.23	1.11	-5.24	-1.94	0.43	0.09
108	Mortgage Deduction	659	160	5	113	42	weighted	-2.38	1.33	-5.24	-1.14	0.27	0.04
110	Taxes - Middle-Income Households	630	177	73	90	14	baseline	-1.67	0.37	-2.46	-1.04	-0.45	0.07
108	Taxes - High-Income Households	684	159	69	53	37	baseline	-0.36	0.08	-0.49	-0.19	-1.15	0.12
111	Arts	654	330	126	101	103	weighted	-0.04	0.09	-0.23	0.14	-0.72	0.03
106	Active Duty Pay	799	209	2	23	184	weighted	-5.24	0.48	-5.24	-3.80	0.27	0.04
103	Healthcare	393	47	4	21	22	weighted	1.27	1.55	-2.96	4.99	-0.46	0.08
113	Environment	509	238	120	45	73	baseline	-0.63	0.12	-0.83	-0.34	-0.61	0.05
108	Defense Hardware	716	167	28	55	84	baseline	-0.99	0.25	-1.56	-0.58	0.51	0.09
108	Active Duty Pay	724	171	2	8	161	baseline	4.99	4.95	-5.24	4.99	-0.01	0.09
107	Defense Hardware	906	192	50	88	54	weighted	-0.03	0.09	-0.19	0.17	0.80	0.04
112	Space	613	273	103	115	55	baseline	-1.97	1.25	-5.24	-0.54	-0.12	0.04
111	National Parks	655	329	32	176	121	baseline	1.74	0.35	1.17	2.55	-0.30	0.04
107	Medical Deduction	895	177	43	104	30	weighted	-0.17	0.09	-0.33	0.03	-0.97	0.05
109	Corporate Taxation	713	175	46	65	64	weighted	-0.05	0.08	-0.20	0.10	-1.11	0.05
111	Estate Taxes	634	324	190	77	57	weighted	-1.09	0.10	-1.19	-0.80	-0.79	0.03
105	Missile Defense	962	226	100	54	72	weighted	0.41	0.05	0.31	0.49	1.60	0.05
104	Education	686	177	26	77	74	weighted	0.70	0.10	0.53	0.91	-1.24	0.05
110	Missile Defense	694	200	98	55	47	baseline	0.61	0.16	0.22	0.84	0.57	0.07
110	Capital Gains Tax	645	184	79	54	51	baseline	-0.46	0.10	-0.64	-0.26	-0.82	0.08
115	Foreign Aid	319	60	30	21	9	weighted	-0.81	0.31	-1.52	-0.37	-0.72	0.06
106	Space	793	205	59	115	31	baseline	-5.24	3.22	-5.24	4.99	-0.02	0.08
109	Missile Defense	752	191	96	53	42	baseline	0.57	0.12	0.32	0.77	0.75	0.08
110	Covert Operations	694	201	16	56	129	weighted	-3.83	0.83	-5.24	-2.42	0.31	0.03
111	Medical Research	653	330	39	95	196	weighted	2.40	0.32	1.82	3.08	-0.45	0.02
115	Capital Gains Tax	314	60	27	13	20	weighted	-0.34	0.13	-0.63	-0.11	-1.19	0.08
108	Charity Deductions	666	160	6	69	85	weighted	-2.66	0.72	-4.79	-1.91	0.40	0.04
110	Mortgage Deduction	622	181	13	127	41	baseline	3.01	3.46	-5.24	4.99	-0.12	0.08

Table A3 – Random Sample of SQ Estimation Results. Reports 50 randomly selected status quo estimation results and diagnostics. ‘Matched’ indicates the number of matched respondents to Bonica (2016). ‘Decrease’, ‘Maintain’, and ‘Increase’ indicate the number of matched responses who asked that funding or enforcement be decreased, remain the same, or increased. ‘weighted’ indicates respondents weighted by the number of givers used to estimate CF Score. β is the regression coefficient describing the directional relationship between the question and CF Scores, while ‘SE’ is its standard error.

Though the underlying preference measures are different, the results in Table A3 are either comparable or improve upon those found in Richman (2011). Notably, my procedure differed in two ways. First, I did not exclude status quos predicted to be at the extreme liberal or conservative positions. This is because these independent variables are coarsened prior inclusion in a model, and UAT implies that these extreme positions should not be acted on. Second, I did not exclude status quos where CF Scores did not predict underlying survey responses with conventional levels of statistical significance, i.e., $p < 0.05$. (This accounted for fewer than 10% of policy-congress cases, so the results in Figure 5 are robust to excluding them.) This cutoff is arbitrary, and in general, the increase in sample size means most coefficients are precisely estimated.

Instead, for each test of UAT, I weight the status quos by an inverse uncertainty measure, the bootstrapped standard error of the status quo. One drawback is that this SE can be deflated for extreme status quos, because the preference distribution is bounded by the observed distribution of CF Scores, $[-5.24, 4.99]$. The results in Figure 5 are robust to weighting by an alternative uncertainty measure (either the standard error for the coefficient or the p-value).

Importantly, the use of contribution-based measures does not alter the findings presented in this

study. To demonstrate this, Figure A2 plots status quo estimates produced with CF Scores against those produced with first-dimension, commonspace DW-NOMINATE scores. Though fewer status quos can be estimated because of the reduced sample size, the resulting status quo estimates are very similar. The primary difference is the use of vote-based measures truncates the range of status quo estimates. This is because the respondents rating each policy tend to be more moderate than the overall distribution of candidates. In general, this implies that the contribution-based measure is better at capturing the location of more extreme policies, which is an additional justification for relying on them over a vote-based measure.

Congress	p	f	v	m_c	m_p	$2v - m_c$	$2m_p - m_c$
103	-0.79	0.21	-0.43	-0.11	-0.47	-0.76	-0.83
104	-0.79	0.55	-0.31	0.20	-0.48	-0.82	-1.15
105	-0.79	0.62	-0.39	0.28	-0.58	-1.06	-1.43
106	-0.79	0.62	-0.40	0.28	-0.59	-1.08	-1.47
107	0.86	-0.43	0.67	0.30	0.80	1.04	1.30
108	0.86	-0.43	0.70	0.34	0.81	1.06	1.27
109	0.86	-0.43	0.76	0.44	0.86	1.07	1.28
110	0.86	-0.49	0.71	-0.12	0.87	1.54	1.86
111	-1.11	-0.11	-0.68	-0.51	-0.74	-0.84	-0.98
112	-1.11	0.65	-0.50	-0.43	-0.75	-0.57	-1.07
113	-1.11	0.57	-0.59	-0.58	-0.84	-0.60	-1.10
114	-1.11	0.88	-0.52	0.57	-0.84	-1.61	-2.25
115	0.88	-0.68	0.95	0.66	0.99	1.23	1.32

Table A4 – Pivots and Reflection Points, 103-115th Congress. Quantities computed after removing legislators who left office fewer than 6 months into a given Congress; 6.4% of member CF Scores imputed using 1st and 2nd dimension Commonsense NOMINATE scores, party, and age. m_p indicates the median of the president’s party closest to president; m_c indicates the median of chamber closest to president.

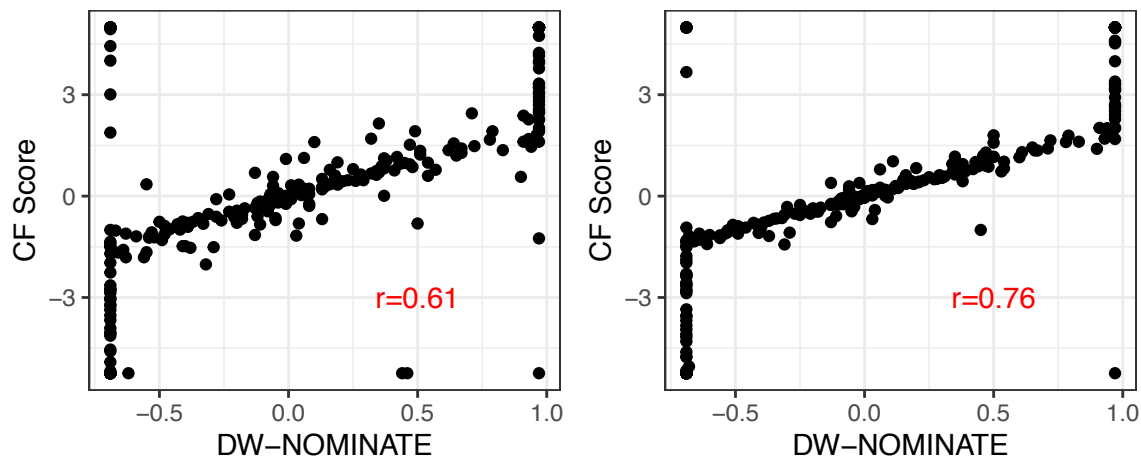


Figure A2 – Status quo position estimates using CF Scores and DW-NOMINATE are similar. However, the use of vote-based measures truncates status quo variation because members of Congress are typically more moderate than the distribution of candidates. Compares the set of status quo positions that can be estimated with either measure, using baseline method (left panel) and models that weight by the number of campaign contributors (right panel).

B Action Coding Protocol and Diagnostics

This appendix provides additional detail about how the dependent variables were constructed.

Definition:

“Unilateral action” is an attempt by presidents and their agents to change existing public policy through executive administration. It can occur via presidential directive (e.g. executive order, proclamation, memoranda) or through internal discussions and initiatives that lead to non-presidential directives (e.g. departmental memoranda, agency rulings, regulations, or notices). Actions excluded by this definition include, but are not limited to:

- Commemorative directives or initiatives, including designated “weeks” or “days” focused on particular policies.
- Regulatory actions not explicitly directed by presidents.
- Amendments to orders of succession and adjustment of rates of pay (except in the case of active duty military).
- Task forces and commissions ordered to deliver recommendations for proposed legislation.

Procedure:

Presidential directives: the universe of presidential directives from 1993-2016 were obtained from two sources. The primary source is the *Compilation of Presidential Documents*, published online (<https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/browse/collection.action?collectionCode=CPD>) by the GPO. I obtained a list of directives by scraping every entry. Note, the version scrapped is now deprecated after the late-2018 transition from FDsys to govinfo. The *Compilation* contains more than 30,000 entries during this period, and includes appointee nominations, speeches, press releases, legislative commentary, reorganization plans, and more. The list was then subset to all identifiable directives. I identified several types: executive orders, letters, presidential memoranda, proclamations, determinations, military orders, directives, and those labeled as “other.” The second source was declassified lists of national security directives, which can be found here: <https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/direct.htm>.

1. To obtain most likely matches for hand coding, I used the full text of each entry and a policy-specific dictionary to generate match frequencies. In general, all relevant actions were contained in the 20 orders with the highest match rate. To ensure that no directives were missed, the threshold for matches was lowered to produce a minimum of 50 matches.
2. From this set of matches, at least one coder read and labeled directives which were relevant to the policy topic. There were a total of 5 unique raters across 64 policy areas, with the typical rater hand-coding 20 policy areas. Most of these were straightforward and can be collected quickly. For example, all adjustments to national parks and monuments occur via proclamation. All adjustments to military basic pay follow the same template. There are no changes to excise taxes (e.g., alcohol, tobacco, gas) via directive.
3. To gauge the relative difficulty of each topic area, inter-coder reliability statistics were obtained for those areas coded by multiple raters. Difficult topics with low ratings were typically broad (e.g., Homeland Security and Defense). For these topics, disputed directives were resolved by the author.
4. Finally, to eliminate remaining false positives, the entire list of culled directives was reviewed by the author.

Non-presidential directives: Non-directive initiatives were collected via two sources.

1. I used keyword searches for presidential action (i.e., “executive authority” or “executive action” or “administration directive” or “administrative waivers” or “waiver policy”) to obtain relevant entries for each policy area in the *CQ Almanac*. This resulted in 38 matches. From these, only 4 relevant, non-duplicated actions were found (they were: NCLB waivers, Race-to-the-Top, and two Clinton-era Welfare regulatory changes).
2. I used keyword searches to obtain relevant articles referencing presidential actions from a repository of law reviews in *LexisNexis Uni*. These terms were “(bush or obama or trump or clinton) and president and (‘executive action’ or ‘presidential directive’ or ‘unilateral action’ or ‘executive authority’) and not ‘book review’ ”. Date range was restricted to January 1, 1993 to the present. Including all law reviews, this returned 8,107 results. Only the first 200 were read by two raters because no non-duplicated examples of executive action were found after entry #146. From this procedure, 101 distinct, non-duplicated (within the set of law reviews) executive actions were found.

The sources above were consolidated and duplicates were removed to arrive at the final list of 1,305 actions.

Dictionary:

Reported in Table B5, below.

Policy	Terms	Matches	Top 4 Terms (if applicable)
Defense	armed forces, air force, armies , army, militar, navy, north atlantic trat, mutual securit, arms control, arms reduc, nonprolifer, nonprolifer, proliferation, nuclear disarm, chemical weap, peacekeeping, enriched uranium, department of defense, secretary of defense, centcom, command, use of military force, defense intell, afghanistan, pakistan, yemen, syria, iraq, korea, georgia, somalia, war powers resol, war, troop, deploy, nofly, nato	334	militar, war, iraq, secretary of defense
Emergency Management	federal emergency management, fema, disaster assistance, emergency, natural disaster, stafford, national dam safety, earthquake hazards, mckinney homeless, emergency planning, disaster prepare, ready campaign, hurricane, flood, national flood insuran, domestic prepare	283	emergency, flood, hurricane, federal emergency management
Trade	tariff, quota, reciprocal trade, embargo, most favored, north american free, transpacific, trade, nafta, gatt, wto, generalized system of pref, dutyfree, trade representative, ustr, adjusting import	282	trade, tariff, ustr, nafta
Homeland Security	domestic security, national protection, national security, department of homeland security, secretary of homeland security, intelligence sharing, real id, cybersecurity, critical infrastructure, wmd , weapons of mass destruction, terroris, border security, infrastructure security, natural disaster, election security, emergency communicat, human traffick, transportation security, signals intellig, national preparedness, intelligence reform, 911 commissi, stafford, emergency management, immigration and nationality, maritime transport, safe port act	249	national security, terroris, secretary of homeland security, critical infrastructure
Environment	environment, climate change , extinct , endangered, global warming, smog, air quality, pollut, greenhouse gas, sustainabl, hazardous waste, contaminat, conservation, reforestation, ozone, sea level, coal , green technology, drought , wildfire, flood, hurricane, environmental protection agency, department of energy, department of interior, secretary of the interior, secretary of interior, secretary of energy, clean air act, toxic substances control, clean water act, energy independence and security, fifra, nuclear waste policy, safe drinking water, shore protection, superfund, climate action	221	environment, conservation, secretary of the interior, pollut
Regulatory Affairs	oira, regulatory affairs, regulatory, regulation, agency rulemaking, management and budget, unified regulat, unified agend, centralized review, rulemaking, regulatory policy, oira administrat	191	regulation, regulatory, management and budget, oira

Dictionary continued on next page

Policy	Terms	Matches	Top 4 Terms (if applicable)
Transportation	airline, air service, air traffic, air travel, avaiation, bridges, rapid transit, mass transit, mass transport, public transit, public transport, infrastructure, rail, railway, shipping, subway, transporta, truck, highway, speed limit, cargo, freight, toll road, congestion , pedestrian, drivers license, department of transportation, secretary of transportation, transit benefit, scenic byway, nextgen air, drive sober, distracting driv, dot , recovery act, automobiles, roadway, bridges , build america, tiffa , infrastructure finance, railroad rehab, rail safety, surface transport	153	infrastructure, transporta, secretary of transportation, rail
Energy	coal, natural gas, oil, energy, ethanol, department of energy, secretary of energy, alternative fuel, wind, solar, nuclear power, oil exploration, nuclear react, alternative energy, renewable, cap and trade, pollution credits	150	energy, oil, renewable, secretary of energy
Social Security	social securi, ssa, social security admin, commissioner, security benefits, retirement	148	ssa, commissioner, social securi, social security admin
Affirmative Action	affirmative action, discriminat, secretary of labor, department of labor, contractor, subcontractor, compliance report, contracting agencies, minority owned, equal employment, certificate of merit, diversity, race, gender, national origin, disability, disabilities, nondiscrim, college admission, educational access, access to educ	136	contractor, disabilities, discriminat, gender
Education	educat, grade , college , graduate, postsecondary, postsecondary, school, student, tuition, undergraduate, universit, vocational , apprenticeship, internship, curricular, achievement, equal access, ferpa, fafsa, teachers, accreditation, scholarships, pell grant, campus , no child left behind, every student succeeds, race to the top, workforce innocation and opportunities, individuals with disabilities in education, title ix, k12	134	educat, school, student, universit
Agriculture	agricult, cattle , cultivat, grain, wheat, barley, beef, pork, livestock , poultry, food inspect, farm, food import, crop , pesticide, manure, genetically modified, gmo, e coli, mad cow, bovine spongiform encephalopathy, secretary of agriculture, department of agriculture, farmers market	112	agricult, secretary of agriculture, farm, department of agriculture
Law Enforcement	law enforcement, marshals service, bureau of investi, bureau of alcohol, police, protective , inspector general, department of justice, information sharing, personnel training, department of homeland security, bureau of justice assist, institute of justic	107	law enforcement, department of justice, department of homeland security, information sharing
Civil Rights	office of civil, department of justic, equal employ, discrim, hate crim, attorney gener, violation of civil, civil rights	91	attorney gener, discrim, department of justic, hate crim
Covert Operations	central intelligence agency, national security agency, intelligence agen, intelligence serv, covert operations, clandestine, espionage, counterintelligen, directorate of oper, directorate of analysis, covert action, senior analytic serv, defense clandestine, national security act	87	intelligence agen, central intelligence agency, national security agency, clandestine
Defense Research	defense advanced research, darpa, small business innovation, defense innovation, research and develop, research laboratory, information analysis, defense contract, research and technology, department of defense, secretary of defense	85	department of defense, research and develop, information analysis, defense contract
Defense Hardware	defense authorization, ndaa, procurement, military hardware, aircraft, armored vehic, defense acquisi, multiyear procure, block buy	84	procurement, defense authorization, aircraft, ndaa
National Parks	forest management, forest service, national park service, national park, historic site, monument, scenic trail, recreation, wilderness area, antiquities act, secretary of interior, secretary of the interior	83	monument, national park, recreation, national park service, antiquities act
Healthcare	affordable care, patient , medicare, medicaid, healthcare, prescription, health insur, chip, chipra, cost sharing, center for medi, cms, centers for medica, part a, part b, part c, part d, deductible, copay, inpatient, outofpocket, insurance portability, state health, chief actuary, secretary of health, health and human	74	secretary of health, medicare, patient , medicaid
Defense Retention	retention, retain, service member, administrative separat, waiver to retain, adjustment in force, enlisted, cyber scholarship, department of defense, secretary of defense, cysp, personnel retention, military compensation, army retention	71	secretary of defense, department of defense, service member, retain
Illegal Drugs	drug, interdicton, narcotics reward, bureau of international narco, drug enforcement, inl , department of state, counter narco, counternarco, rida init, central america regional security init, carsi , drug traffick, drug addic, controlled substan, drug treatment, war on drugs, illegal drug, drug test, drug education, cocaine, heroin, opiod, marijuana, schedule i, schedule 1, cannabis	71	drug, drug traffick, cocaine, heroin
Military Aid	foreign military, peacekeeping, international military ed, imet, pko, arms export, fmf, military aid, security assistanc, department of defense, secretary of defense	69	department of defense, peacekeeping, arms export, imet
United Nations	united nations, peacekeeping, general assembly, security council, helms-biden, nations security council, un	67	united nations, security council, nations security council, peacekeeping

Dictionary continued on next page

Policy	Terms	Matches	Top 4 Terms (if applicable)
Gun Control	gun violence, firearm, assault weapons, handgun, national firearms, gunfree, brady hand, bureau of alcohol, atf, commerce in arms, officers safety act, attorney general, background check, firearms license	64	attorney general, firearm, atf, background check
Scientific Research	research grants, nsf, national science foundation, research grants, office of science, national science and technology, research and development, federal research public access, america invents, national laborator, national science board, supercomputing applications, digital library, national nanotechnology, rapid response grant, data scienc	62	office of science, research and development, national science foundation, national nanotechnology
Abortion	abortion, roe, baipa, partialbirth, planned parent, hyde, pregnancy, secretary of health, department of health, mexico city	56	secretary of health, department of health, abortion, roe
Space	national aeronautics and space administration, nasa, satellite, space agenc, space launch, space policy, astronaut	55	national aeronautics and space administration, satellite, space policy, nasa
Community Policing	community polic, law enforcement, cops, community orient, department of justic, policing service, technical assist, collaborative reform, civic imagination	49	law enforcement, department of justic, technical assist, community orient
China Diplomacy	china, chinese, tda, trade and development, tiananmen, strategic economic dial, ambassador	48	china, chinese, tda, trade and development, tiananmen
Arts	arts, art, american heritage, national heritage, entertain, literature, music, olympic, panamerican games, paralympics, sport, theater, movie, film, national endowment for the arts, nea, creative forces, poetry out loud, jazz masters, big read	44	sport, american heritage, arts, national endowment for the arts
Housing	apartment, community development, home construction, home insulation, homeless, housing, mortgage, neighborhood development, real estate, rent control, urban development, urban revitalization, secretary of housing, department of housing and urban development, hud, housing administration, affordable housing, marktmarket, mortgage insurance, multifamily housing, choice neighborhoods, fair housing act, housing assistance, ginnie mae, fannie mae, low income housing, neighborworks, home energy	42	housing, urban development, secretary of housing, mortgage
Taiwan Diplomacy	taiwan, republic of china	41	taiwan,
Immigration	immigration, undocumented, border, border sec, customs enfor, visa, unlawful imm, uscis, ice, deferred action, daca, green card, asylum, citizenship, resident alien, deportation, immgirant, official language, recognized language, everify, children of illega, immigration and natural, ins, ice, immigration quota, h1b, h1b, deport	36	immigration, border, visa, ice
Missile Defense	strategic defense, missile defense, missile, antiballistic, ballistic missile, abm, abmt, sdi	36	missile, ballistic missile, missile defense,
AIDS Research	aids, national institutes of health, centers for disease control, medical research, hiv, hiv aids, sexually transmitted, office of aids research, prevention	35	hiv/aids, hiv, aids, centers for disease control
Fuel Standards	cafe, corporate average fuel, fuel economy, automobile, emmissions, trucks, cars, vehicles, sport utility, secretary of transport, nhtsa, eisa, energy independence and secur, light truck, model years	35	vehicles, secretary of transport, cars, trucks
Job Training	job training, department of labor, secretary of labor, trade adjustment assistance, taa, vocational, apprenticeship, certification, unemploy, jobless, jobs, job corps, employment and training, rapid response serv, workforce innovation, vets, hire vets, vets medallion, youthbuild, wioa, innovation and oport	35	jobs, secretary of labor, department of labor, apprenticeship
Active Duty Pay	adjustments of rates, adjustments of certain rates, uniformed services, monthly basic pay	33	uniformed services, adjustments of certain rates, adjustments of rates,
Internet	internet, cyber, internet sales, digital, internet privacy, data protect, network nuetr, identity theft, hacking, data breach, spam	32	cyber, internet, digital, identity theft
Welfare	child welfare, employment insurance, food bank, food stamp, impoverish, lowincome, old age security, pension, poverty, public assistance, public welfare, shelter, unemployment benefits, unemployment insurance, welfare, food assistance, snap, guarenteed income, tanf, temporary assistance for needy families, supplemental nutrition	29	welfare, low-income, pension, poverty
Minimum Wage	minimum wage, living wage, federal minimum wage, fair labor standards, department of labor, secretary of labor, wage for contract	25	secretary of labor, department of labor, minimum wage, fair labor standards
Earned Income Credit	earned income, etc, 1040, internal revenue service, etc, income limits, tax reform act, tax relief, internal revenue code	24	internal revenue service, etc, earned income, 1040
Unemployment	unemployment, benefits, unemploy, unemployment insur, reemployment	24	benefits, unemploy, unemployment, unemployment insur
Alcohol Taxes	distilled spirits, wines, beer, gallonage, excise tax, taxation, internal revenue service	22	taxation, distilled spirits, wines

Dictionary continued on next page

Policy	Terms	Matches	Top 4 Terms (if applicable)
Cigarette Taxes	smoking , cigarette, excise tax, taxation , internal revenue service, internal revenue service	21	smoking, internal revenue service, taxation , cigarette
Student Loans	department of education, secretary of education, student loans, financial aid, federal student aid, fafsa, free application for federal, repayment, consolidation, subsidized loan, unsubsidized loan, teach grant, consolidation, loan servicers, borrower, deferment, federal family education loan, ffe plus, financial need	19	secretary of education, borrower, department of education, repayment
Marijuana	controlled substanc, marijuana, cannabis, schedule i, schedule 1, national drug control, drug enforcement, medical marij	15	national drug control, controlled substanc, marijuana, drug enforcement
Gas Tax	fuel tax, gasoline tax, internal revenue service, strategic petro, spr	14	internal revenue service, strategic petro, fuel tax
Prisons	prison, inmate , vocational , sentencing, guidelines for sen, sentencing guid, felon, nonviolent, nonviolent, parole, jobplacement assist, addiction treat, alcohol addict, drug addiction treat, incarcer, bureau of prison, recidivism, correctional, inmate program	14	prison, parole, incarcer, correctional, recidivism
Defense Conversion	defense conversion, economic conversion, defense plant, dpc, demobilization, 1033, les0, defense logistics, excess federal property	13	les0, demobilization, defense logistics, dpc
LGBT Rights	gay , lesbian , transgender, bisexual, homosexual, sexual orientation, samesex, samesex, defense of marriage, doma, hate crime, gender identity	12	hate crime, same-sex, sexual orientation, transgender
Medical Research	national institutes of health, centers for disease control, nih , cdc , medical research, cancer, alzheimer, obesity, stem cell, embryonic , human embryo, human stem, clinical, diseases, research grants	12	clinical, stem cell, cancer, diseases
Foreign Aid	foreign aid, mexico city, global gag, funding abortions, international aid, interational disaster assitance, global aid , global hunger, international red cross, doctors without borders, humanitarian aid, amnesty international, usaid , agency for international development	9	usaid , mexico city, foreign aid
Armed Forces Personnel Training	military training, personnel training, military academ, combat readiness, training death, national defense auth,, army education, war college, defense language, army education, basic combat training, advanced individual train	7	military training, combat readiness, personnel training
Income Taxes	income tax, internal revenue service	6	income tax,
Capital Gains Tax	capital gains, taxation , internal revenue service	5	taxation, capital gains
Corporate Taxation	corporate tax, corporations, taxation, tax rate, business tax, internal revenue service, large business and international, tax code	3	tax rate, corporations, internal revenue service, taxation
Mortgage Deduction	mortgage interest, internal revenue service, firsttime home, homebuyer, homeowner	2	internal revenue service, mortgage interest, first-time home
Charity Deductions	internal revenue service, charity, charitable, nonprofit donat, charitable contributions, qualified organization, tax exempt status, 170c, deductibility status, private operating foundations, private foundations, 501c3	1	internal revenue service, charity, charitable
Child Credit	internal revenue service, child tax, qualifying child	1	internal revenue service, child tax
Estate Tax	estate tax, deceased, internal revenue service, death tax, gross estate, taxable estate	1	internal revenue service, estate tax, deceased
Medical Deduction	medical deduc, dental deduct, internal revenue service, itemized deduc	1	internal revenue service, medical deduc, dental deduct
Cuba Diplomacy	cuba	0	-
Defense Space	military shutt, defense space, defense shutt, defense satell	0	-

Table B5 – Dictionary. For each policy area, keywords consist of: the departments, agencies, and officials responsible for carrying out the policy, major governing statutes, and common terms used in each policy area. This table reports the number of GPO documents with keyword matches, as well as the terms most frequently used in these documents. These were then hand-coded as {unilateral action, not unilateral action} by 1-3 raters.

Figure B3 reports the distribution of all executive orders rated by Chiou and Rothenberg (2014), which can be found at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/26652>. These scores were matched by unique executive order number to the sample of executive orders included in this study. By construction, Chiou and Rothenberg (2014) scores have a mean of 0. They iteratively remove executive orders from the dependent variable based upon thresholds of significance. After a significance threshold of 1, the theories begin performing more poorly. Given the sample mean of 0.4, therefore, I have no reason to

believe that the significance of the executive actions in this study explain the findings.

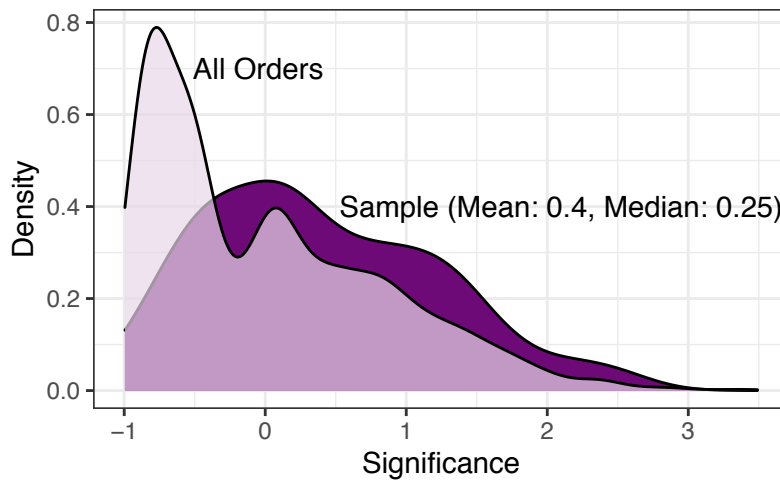


Figure B3 – Executive Orders rated by Chiou and Rothenberg (2017) are moderately more significant, relative to the typical order. Plots the density of executive order significance in the actions included for analysis and the population of orders from Chiou and Rothenberg (2017).

Policy	GPO	FAS	Law	CQ	EO	Memo	Proclamation	Enforcement	Rulemaking	Other
Abortion	6	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0
Active Duty Pay	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0
Affirmative Action	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Agriculture	11	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	1
AIDS Research	9	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0
Alcohol Taxes	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Arts	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
China Diplomacy	12	0	0	0	1	7	2	0	0	2
Cigarette Taxes	4	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1
Civil Rights	19	0	2	0	7	12	0	2	0	0
Corporate Taxation	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
Covert Operations	22	4	0	0	14	6	0	0	0	6
Cuba Diplomacy	5	0	10	0	0	1	3	10	0	1
Defense	113	15	10	0	50	52	2	1	0	33
Defense Hardware	16	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	11
Defense Research	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Defense Space	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Earned Income Credit	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Education	44	0	1	2	23	21	0	0	0	3
Emergency Management	29	0	0	0	11	11	1	0	0	6
Energy	75	0	0	0	21	50	0	0	0	4
Environment	82	4	9	0	49	33	0	0	5	8
Estate Tax	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Firearm Regulation	11	0	1	0	0	11	0	0	1	0
Foreign Aid	4	4	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
Fuel Standards	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Healthcare	26	0	9	0	9	16	0	3	3	4
Homeland Security	87	24	7	0	48	18	0	7	0	45
Housing	19	0	0	0	10	9	0	0	0	0
Illegal Drugs	42	0	0	0	3	25	0	0	0	14
Immigration	10	0	11	0	1	6	1	8	0	5
Income Taxes	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Internet	18	3	1	0	7	9	0	0	1	5
Job Training	5	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0
Law Enforcement	24	1	1	0	10	12	0	1	0	3
LGBT Rights	6	0	8	0	1	5	0	1	3	4
Marijuana	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Medical Research	6	0	1	0	2	4	0	1	0	0
Military Aid	12	12	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	16
Minimum Wage	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
Missile Defense	2	8	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	8
National Parks	72	0	0	0	7	9	56	0	0	0
Prisons	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Regulatory Affairs	20	0	0	0	9	11	0	0	0	0
Scientific Research	10	1	0	0	4	6	0	0	0	1
Space	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Student Loans	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Taiwan Diplomacy	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Trade	230	1	3	0	22	38	167	0	0	7
Transportation	38	0	0	0	17	17	0	0	0	4
Unemployment	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
United Nations	10	2	1	0	0	7	2	1	0	3
Welfare	3	0	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	2

Table B6 – Limiting measures of executive action to one source or directive type omits relevant data. ‘GPO’ indicates the action was sourced to the compilation of presidential documents; ‘FAS’ indicates the action was sourced to national security directives published by the Federation of American Scientists; ‘Law’ indicates the source was from a law review; ‘CQ’ indicates the source was the Congressional Quarterly Almanac; ‘EO’ indicates executive order; ‘Memo’ indicates presidential memorandum; ‘Enforcement’ indicates the action was a presidentially announced change in enforcement policy of existing law. Table excludes policy areas for which no actions were found.

C Additional Results

Theory	β	SE	RSE	R^2	r	N	Model	DV
Unilateralism	-0.04	0.08	0.48	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.01	0.08	0.48	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.03	0.08	0.48	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.09	0.06	1.00	0.06		342	WLS	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.04	0.06	1.00	0.05		342	WLS	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.07	0.07	1.00	0.05		342	WLS	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.01	0.05		0.00	0.02	350	2WFE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	-0.01	0.05		0.00	0.02	350	2WFE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.06	0.06		0.00	0.02	350	2WFE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.07	0.07	0.43	0.04		350	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.05	0.08	0.43	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.16	0.08	0.42	0.05		350	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.10	0.05	0.87	0.07		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.00	0.05	0.87	0.06		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.15	0.06	0.87	0.07		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.09	0.04		0.02	-0.03	350	2WFE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.11	0.04		0.02	-0.03	350	2WFE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.08	0.05		0.01	-0.03	350	2WFE	Executive Orders

Table C7 – Estimation Results plotted in Figure 5. Dependent variables are dichotomous indicators for unilateral action, while key independent variables are dichotomous indicators for whether the status quo lies in the action regions from Figure effig:models. All models include Congress fixed effects. OLS w/CRSE indicates least squares estimates with standard errors clustered by policy area; WLS indicates least squares with observations weighted by the inverse bootstrapped standard error of the status quo estimate; 2WFE includes policy area fixed effects.

Theory	β	SE	AIC	N	Model	DV
Unilateralism	-0.35	0.39	1034.27	350	NB w/CRSE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	-0.04	0.38	1035.68	350	NB w/CRSE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.32	0.36	1035.10	350	NB w/CRSE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.72	0.12	4186.36	342	WNB	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	-0.09	0.13	4215.65	342	WNB	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.61	0.16	4205.28	342	WNB	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.23	0.16	721.74	350	2WFE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	-0.08	0.16	723.70	350	2WFE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.15	0.20	723.43	350	2WFE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.48	0.53	686.59	350	NB w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.19	0.55	688.20	350	NB w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.92	0.60	685.01	350	NB w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.71	0.14	2673.86	342	WNB	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.08	0.14	2694.51	342	WNB	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.92	0.20	2674.25	342	WNB	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.52	0.22	463.32	350	2WFE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.44	0.22	464.86	350	2WFE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.58	0.34	465.63	350	2WFE	Executive Orders

Table C8 – Results with the Dependent Variable as a count do not substantively differ from those in Figure 5. ‘NB w/CRSE’ indicates negative binomial regression with standard errors clustered by topic and Congress fixed effects. ‘WNB’ weights by the bootstrapped standard error of the status quo. ‘2WFE’ also includes topic fixed effects; executive orders are under-dispersed, so a poisson regression is fit for this model.

Theory	β	SE	RSE	R ²	r	N	Model	DV
Unilateralism	-0.05	0.08	0.48	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.05	0.08	0.48	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.04	0.08	0.48	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.08	0.05	1.08	0.06		342	WLS	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.08	0.05	1.08	0.06		342	WLS	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.04	0.07	1.08	0.05		342	WLS	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.01	0.05		0.00	0.02	350	2WFE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.04	0.05		0.00	0.02	350	2WFE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.07	0.05		0.01	0.03	350	2WFE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.06	0.07	0.43	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	0.00	0.07	0.43	0.03		350	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.11	0.07	0.43	0.04		350	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.08	0.05	0.94	0.07		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	0.04	0.05	0.94	0.06		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.09	0.06	0.94	0.07		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.06	0.04		0.01	-0.03	350	2WFE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.05	0.04		0.01	-0.03	350	2WFE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.07	0.05		0.01	-0.04	350	2WFE	Executive Orders

Table C9 – Reproducing Results from Table C7 with Alternative Status Quos. Reports estimation results with the underlying status quo measures estimated using ordinal probits with observations weighted by the natural log of the number of givers used to assign their CF Score.

Theory	β	SE	RSE	R^2	r	N	Model	DV
Unilateralism	-0.05	0.10	0.48	0.03		345	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.01	0.11	0.48	0.03		345	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.05	0.11	0.48	0.03		345	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.10	0.06	1.00	0.06		342	WLS	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.04	0.07	1.00	0.05		342	WLS	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.08	0.08	1.00	0.05		342	WLS	All Actions
Unilateralism	0.02	0.06		0.00	0.01	345	2WFE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.05	0.06		0.00	0.02	345	2WFE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.07	0.07		0.00	0.02	345	2WFE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.09	0.09	0.42	0.04		345	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.08	0.11	0.42	0.04		345	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.19	0.10	0.42	0.05		345	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.12	0.06	0.87	0.07		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.03	0.06	0.87	0.06		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.18	0.07	0.87	0.07		342	WLS	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.09	0.05		0.01	-0.01	345	2WFE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.10	0.05		0.01	-0.01	345	2WFE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.08	0.06		0.01	-0.01	345	2WFE	Executive Orders

Table C10 – Estimation Results with Continuous Measures of Theoretical Predictors. Each independent variable is the proportion of a status quo policy bootstrapped, 95% credible interval that overlaps with the relevant action region. All other features of these models are the same as those in Table C7.

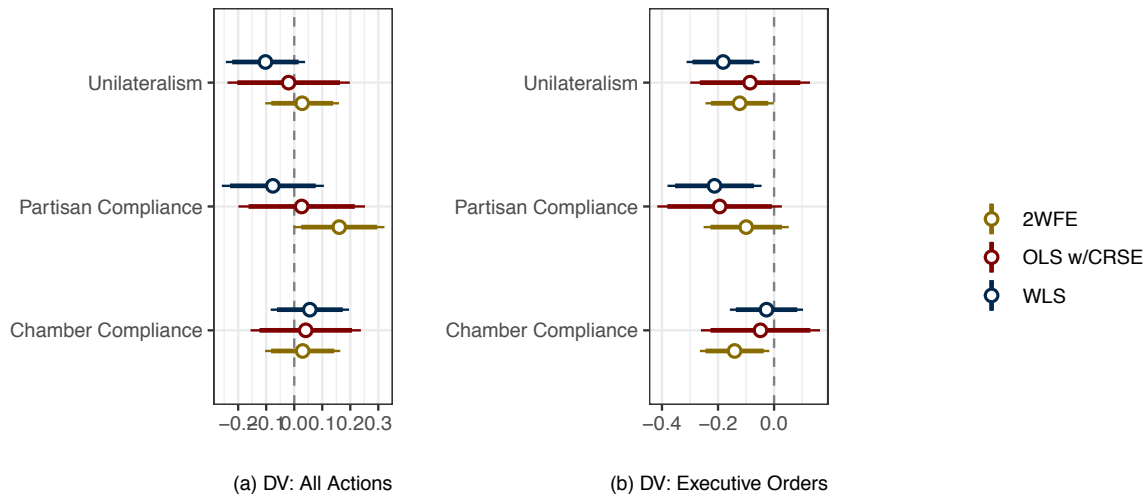


Figure C4 – Unilateral action theories poorly predict executive actions in policy areas presidents have statutory discretion over. Plots the predicted change in the probability of action from separate least squares models. Tests UAT theories on the subset of policies that president have some discretion to change. Excludes all income and excise taxes, as well as tax credits and deductions. All other features of these models reproduce those in Table 5.

Theory	β	SE	RSE	R^2	r	N	Model	DV
Unilateralism	-0.02	0.11	0.50	0.04		231	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.04	0.10	0.50	0.04		231	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.03	0.12	0.50	0.04		231	OLS w/CRSE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.10	0.07	1.01	0.06		228	WLS	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.06	0.07	1.01	0.05		228	WLS	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	-0.08	0.09	1.01	0.05		228	WLS	All Actions
Unilateralism	0.03	0.07		0.00	0.06	231	2WFE	All Actions
Chamber Compliance	0.03	0.07		0.00	0.06	231	2WFE	All Actions
Partisan Compliance	0.16	0.08		0.02	0.06	231	2WFE	All Actions
Unilateralism	-0.09	0.11	0.48	0.05		231	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.05	0.11	0.48	0.05		231	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.19	0.11	0.48	0.06		231	OLS w/CRSE	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.18	0.07	0.93	0.12		228	WLS	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.03	0.07	0.94	0.09		228	WLS	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.21	0.09	0.93	0.11		228	WLS	Executive Orders
Unilateralism	-0.12	0.06		0.02	0.01	231	2WFE	Executive Orders
Chamber Compliance	-0.14	0.06		0.03	0.01	231	2WFE	Executive Orders
Partisan Compliance	-0.10	0.08		0.01	0.01	231	2WFE	Executive Orders

Table C11 – Estimation Results excluding Policies with Little or No Presidential Discretion. Tests UAT theories on the subset of policies that president have some discretion to change. Excludes all income and excise taxes, as well as tax credits and deductions. All other features of these models reproduce those in Table C7.

β	SE	RSE	R^2	N	Predictor	Theory	Model
0.02	0.07	0.41	0.31	330	Location	Unilateralism	OLS w/CRSE
0.26	0.03				Discretion		
0.08	0.06	0.41	0.31	330	Location	Chamber Compliance	
0.26	0.03				Discretion		
0.07	0.07	0.41	0.31	330	Location	Partisan Compliance	
0.26	0.03				Discretion		
-0.07	0.05	0.93	0.18	322	Location	Unilateralism	WLS
0.17	0.03				Discretion		
0.07	0.06	0.93	0.18	322	Location	Chamber Compliance	
0.18	0.03				Discretion		
0.02	0.07	0.93	0.18	322	Location	Partisan Compliance	
0.18	0.03				Discretion		

Table C12 – Estimation Results that account for Presidential Discretion by Topic Area. Each model includes a continuous measure of presidential discretion based on expert ratings developed by Lowande and Shipan (2020). All other features of these models reproduce those in Table C7. Two-way fixed effect models are not included because discretion does not vary over time in this measure.