

Is It Whom You Know or What You Know?
An Empirical Assessment of the Lobbying Process

By Marianne Bertrand, Matilde Bombardini and Francesco Trebbi

Online Appendix

Appendix A1: Lobbying Report Issue List

ACC Accounting	HCR Health Issues
ADV Advertising	HOU Housing
AER Aerospace	IMM Immigration
AGR Agriculture	IND Indian/Native American Affairs
ALC Alcohol & Drug Abuse	INS Insurance
ANI Animals	LBR Labor Issues/Antitrust/ Workplace
APP Apparel/Clothing Industry/Textiles	LAW Law Enforcement/Crime/ Criminal Justice
ART Arts/Entertainment	MAN Manufacturing
AUT Automotive Industry	MAR Marine/Maritime/ Boating/Fisheries
AVI Aviation/Aircraft/ Airlines	MIA Media (Information/ Publishing)
BAN Banking	MED Medical/Disease Research/ Clinical Labs
BNK Bankruptcy	MMM Medicare/Medicaid
BEV Beverage Industry	MON Minting/Money/ Gold Standard
BUD Budget/Appropriations	NAT Natural Resources
CHM Chemicals/Chemical Industry	PHA Pharmacy
CIV Civil Rights/Civil Liberties	POS Postal
CAW Clean Air & Water (Quality)	RRR Railroads
CDT Commodities (Big Ticket)	RES Real Estate/Land Use/Conservation
COM Communications/ Broadcasting/Radio/TV	REL Religion
CPI Computer Industry	RET Retirement
CSP Consumer Issues/Safety/ Protection	ROD Roads/Highway
CON Constitution	SCI Science/Technology
CPT Copyright/Patent/ Trademark	SMB Small Business
DEF Defense	SPO Sports/Athletics
DOC District of Columbia	TAX Taxation/Internal Revenue Code
DIS Disaster Planning/Emergencies	TEC Telecommunications
ECN Economics/Economic Development	TOB Tobacco
EDU Education	TOR Torts
ENG Energy/Nuclear	TRD Trade (Domestic & Foreign)
ENV Environmental/Superfund	TRA Transportation
FAM Family Issues/Abortion/ Adoption	TOU Travel/Tourism
FIR Firearms/Guns/ Ammunition	TRU Trucking/Shipping
FIN Financial Inst.s/Investments/Securities	URB Urban Development/ Municipalities
FOO Food Industry (Safety, Labeling, etc.)	UNM Unemployment
FOR Foreign Relations	UTI Utilities
FUE Fuel/Gas/Oil	VET Veterans
GAM Gaming/Gambling/ Casino	WAS Waste (hazard/solid/interstate/nuclear)
GOV Government Issues	WEL Welfare

Appendix A2: Sample Lobbying Report

Clerk of the House of Representatives Legislative Resource Center B-106 Cannon Building Washington, DC 20515 http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov	Secretary of the Senate Office of Public Records 232 Hart Building Washington, DC 20510 http://www.senate.gov/lobby
LOBBYING REPORT	
Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (Section 5) - All Filers Are Required to Complete This Page	
1. Registrant Name <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Organization/Lobbying Firm <input type="checkbox"/> Self Employed Individual <u>Gephardt Group, LLC</u>	
2. Address <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported Address1 <u>1101 K Street, NW 8th Floor</u> Address2 _____ City <u>Washington</u> State <u>DC</u> Zip Code <u>20005</u> - Country <u>USA</u>	
3. Principal place of business (if different than line 2) City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____ - Country _____	
4a. Contact Name <u>Amanda Armistead</u>	b. Telephone Number <input type="checkbox"/> International Number (202) 728-8771
c. E-mail <u>amandaarmistead@gephardtgroup.com</u>	5. Senate ID# <u>315717-1004583</u>
7. Client Name <input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Check if client is a state or local government or instrumentality <u>Goldman Sachs Co.</u>	6. House ID# <u>392150010</u>
TYPE OF REPORT 8. Year <u>2008</u> Q1 (1/1 - 3/31) <input type="checkbox"/> Q2 (4/1 - 6/30) <input type="checkbox"/> Q3 (7/1-9/30) <input type="checkbox"/> Q4 (10/1 - 12/31) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
9. Check if this filing amends a previously filed version of this report <input type="checkbox"/>	
10. Check if this is a Termination Report <input type="checkbox"/> Termination Date _____ 11. No Lobbying Issue Activity <input type="checkbox"/>	
INCOME OR EXPENSES - YOU MUST complete either Line 12 or Line 13	
12. Lobbying INCOME relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period was: Less than \$5,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 or more <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \$ <u>70,000.00</u> Provide a good faith estimate, rounded to the nearest \$10,000, of all lobbying related income from the client (including all payments to the registrant by any other entity for lobbying activities on behalf of the client).	13. Organizations EXPENSE relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period were: Less than \$5,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 or more <input type="checkbox"/> \$ _____ 14. REPORTING Check box to indicate expense accounting method. See instructions for description of options. <input type="checkbox"/> Method A. Reporting amounts using LDA definitions only <input type="checkbox"/> Method B. Reporting amounts under section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal Revenue Code <input type="checkbox"/> Method C. Reporting amounts under section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code
Signature <u>Filed Electronically</u>	Date <u>01/15/2009</u>
Printed Name and Title <u>Amanda Armistead, Executive Assistant</u>	
v6.0.1f	Page <u>1</u> of <u>2</u>

Registrant Gephardt Group, LLC

Client Name Goldman Sachs Co.

LOBBYING ACTIVITY. Select as many codes as necessary to reflect the general issue areas in which the registrant engaged in lobbying on behalf of the client during the reporting period. Using a separate page for each code, provide information as requested. Add additional page(s) as needed.

15. General issue area code (one per page)

16. Specific lobbying issues

TARP

17. House(s) of Congress and Federal agencies Check if None

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

18. Name of each individual who acted as a lobbyist in this issue area

First Name	Last Name	Suffix	Covered Official Position (if applicable)	New
Thomas	O'Donnell			<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard	Gephardt			<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Interest of each foreign entity in the specific issues listed on line 16 above Check if None

Printed Name and Title Amanda Armistead, Executive Assistant

Appendix A3: Chamber, Congressional Committee, Lobbying Issues

House, Agriculture: AGR, FOO, TOB, ANI, CDT
House, Appropriations: BUD
House, Armed Services (103rd, 109-110th): AER, DEF, HOM, INT
House, National Security (104th - 108th): AER, DEF, HOM, INT
House, Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs (103rd): HOU, FIN, INS, RES, MON, BAN, BNK, URB, GAM
House, Banking and Financial Services (104th - 106th): HOU, FIN, INS, RES, TUE, BAN, BNK, URB, GAM
House, Financial Services (106th - 110th): HOU, FIN, INS, RES, WED, BAN, BNK, URB, GAM
House, Budget: BUD
House, District of Columbia (103rd): DOC
House, Education and Labor (103rd, 110th): EDU, FAM, LBR, RET, ALC, WEL, REL, ART
House, Economic and Educational Opportunities (104th): EDU, FAM, LBR, RET, ALC, WEL, REL, ART
House, Education and the Workplace (105th - 109th): EDU, FAM, LBR, RET, ALC, WEL, REL, ART
House, Energy and Commerce (103rd, 107th - 110th): ACC, CSP, ENG, TEC, FOO, FUE, ALC, MMM, MED, ENV, SPO, TRD, TOU, HCR, CAW, WAS, UTI, PHA, MAN, ADV, MIA, CPI, COM, CDT, CHM, BEV, AUT, APP
House, Commerce (104th - 106th): ACC, CSP, ENG, TEC, FOO, FUE, ALC, MMM, MED, ENV, SPO, TRD, TOU, HCR, CAW, WAS, UTI, PHA, MAN, ADV, MIA, CPI, COM, CDT, CHM, BEV, AUT, APP
House, Foreign Affairs (103rd, 110th): FOR, ECN, REL
House, International Relations (104th - 109th): FOR, ECN, REL
House, Government Operations (103rd): GOV, POS, DOC
House, Government Reform and Oversight (104th - 109th): GOV, POS, DOC
House, Oversight and Government Reform (110th): GOV, POS, DOC
House, House Administration (103rd, 109-110th): GOV
House, House Oversight (104th - 108th): GOV
House, Judiciary: LAW, CON, CPT, IMM, CIV, TOR, FIR
House, Merchant Marine and Fisheries (103rd): MAR
House, Natural Resources (103rd, 110th): MAR, NAT, IND, RES, GAM, CDT
House, Resources (104th - 109th): APR, NAT, IND, RES, GAM, CDT
House, Post Office and Civil Service (103rd): POS
House, Public Works and Transportation (103rd): MAR, RRR, ROD, TRA, TRU, DIS
House, Transportation and Infrastructure (104th - 110th): APR, RRR, ROD, TRA, TRU, DIS
House, Rules, GOV
House, Science, Space, and Technology (103rd): ENG, SCI, AER, AVI, CPI
House, Science (104th - 109th): ENG, SCI, AER, AVI, CPI
House, Science and Technology (110th): ENG, SCI, AER, AVI, CPI
House, Small Business: SMB
House, Standards of Official Conduct: GOV
House, Veterans Affairs: VET
House, Ways and Means: UNM, TRD, TAX, WEL, RET
House, Intelligence (Select): INT, HOM
House, Homeland Security (Select 107th and 108th; Standing, 109th-110th): HOM
House, Energy Independence and Global Warming (Select, 110th): ENG, FUE, CDT, CAW, ENV
House, Investigate the Voting Irregularities of August 2, 2007 (Select, 110th): GOV
Senate, Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry: AGR, FOO, TOB, ANI, CDT
Senate, Appropriations: BUD
Senate, Armed Services: AER, DEF, HOM, INT

Senate, Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: HOU, URB, INS, RES, GAM, BAN, CDT, FIN, TRD, ECN, MON, BNK, ACC
Senate, Budget: BUD
Senate, Commerce, Science, and Transportation: AVI, ADV, AER, APP, AUT, COM, CPI, CSP, MAN, MAR, MIA, RRR, ROD, SCI, TEC, SPO, PHA, TRD, TRA, TOU, TRU, CHM, BEV
Senate, Energy and Natural Resources: ENG, NAT, FUE, WAS, CDT, UTI
Senate, Environment and Public Works: ENV, DIS, CAW, ROD, ECN, WAS
Senate, Finance: UNM, TRD, TAX, WEL, RET, MMM
Senate, Foreign Relations: FOR, ECN, REL
Senate, Governmental Affairs (103rd to 108th): GOV, HOM, INT, POS
Senate, Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs (109th): GOV, HOM, INT, POS
Senate, Judiciary: LAW, CON, CPT, IMM, CIV, TOR, FIR
Senate, Labor and Human Resources (103rd to 106th): EDU, FAM, LBR, RET, ALC, WEL, REL, ART, HCR, MED
Senate, Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (107th to 109th): EDU, FAM, LBR, RET, ALC, WEL, REL, ART, HCR, MED
Senate, Rules and Administration: GOV
Senate, Small Business (103rd to 107th): SMB
Senate, Small Business and Entrepreneurship (108th and 109th): SMB
Senate, Veterans Affairs: VET
Senate, Aging (Special): RET, HCR
Senate, Intelligence (Select): INT, HOM
Senate, Ethics (Select): GOV
Senate, Indian Affairs (Select): IND, GAM
Joint, Library: GOV
Joint, Printing: GOV
Joint, Taxation: TAX
Joint, Economic: ECN

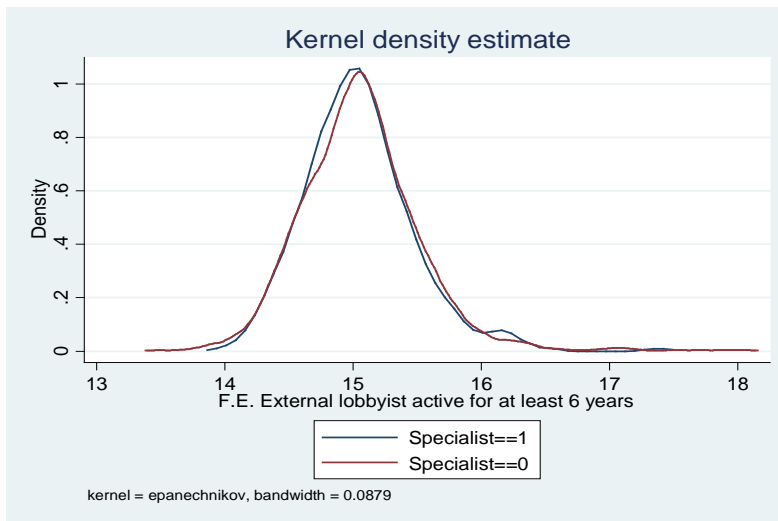
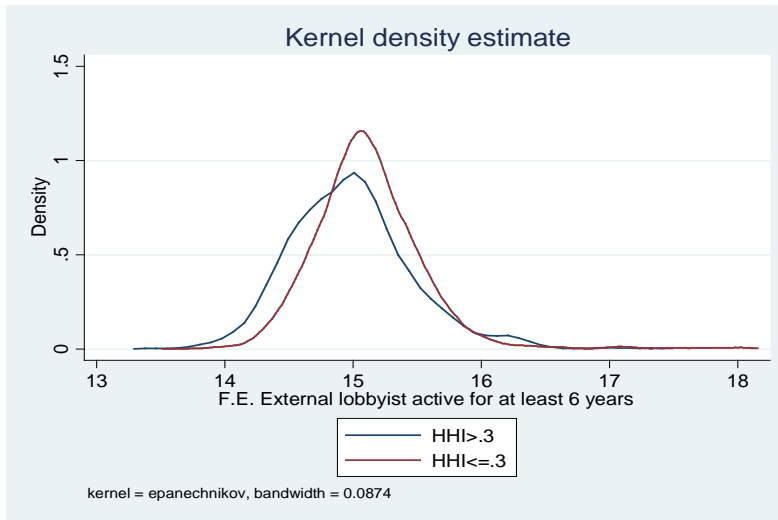


FIGURE A1. DISTRIBUTION OF EXTERNAL LOBBYISTS' ESTIMATED VALUE ADDED BY LEVEL OF EXPERTISE

Note: Lobbyists fixed effects were only computed for external lobbyists that are active in at least 6 out of the 10 sample years. See text for details.

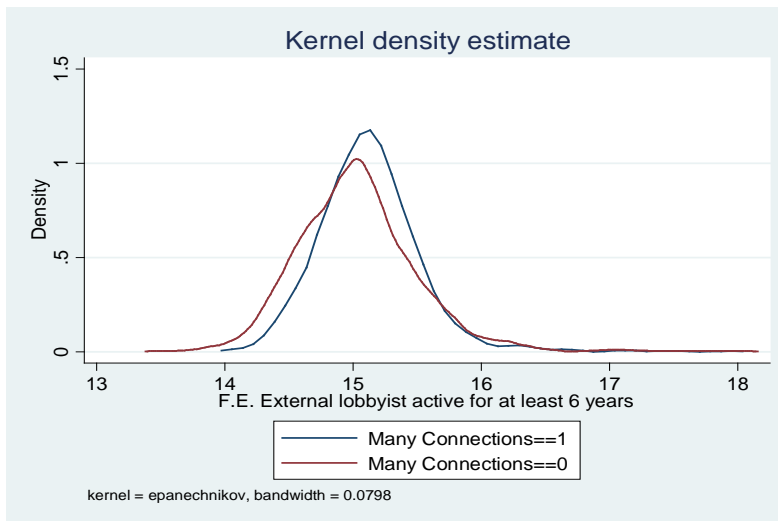
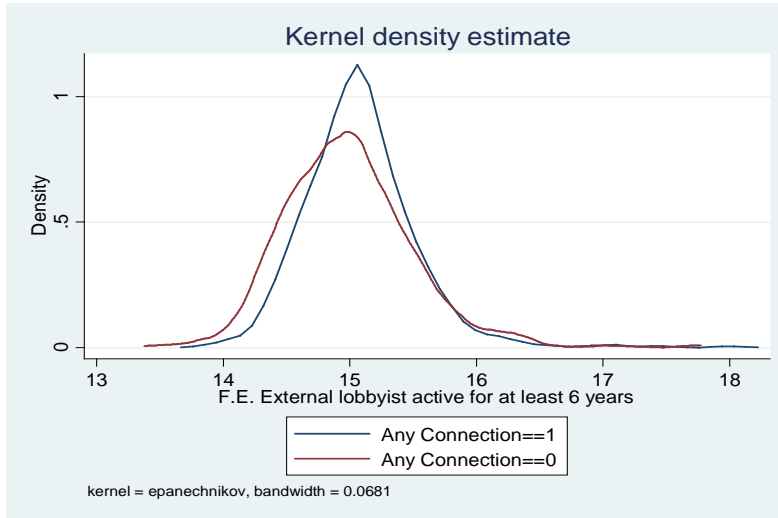


FIGURE A2. DISTRIBUTION OF EXTERNAL LOBBYISTS' ESTIMATED VALUE ADDED BY LEVEL OF CONNECTIONS (THROUGH CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS) TO POLITICIANS

Note: Lobbyists fixed effects were only computed for external lobbyists that are active in at least 6 out of the 10 sample years. See text for details.

APPENDIX TABLE A1— TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN TWO LARGE LOBBYING FIRMS

Firm	Employee name	Position	Issue	Bar	Issue-specific Training	Reg't'd lobbyist
Cassidy & Assoc.	Boylan, John	Senior Vice President	aerospace	0	1	1
		Founder & Executive				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Cassidy, Gerald S. J.	Chairman	aerospace	1	0	1
		Vice President and Deputy				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Edwards, Shawn	Director of Cassidy Defense	aerospace	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Hegarty, Mark	Senior Vice President	aerospace	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	McNamara, Dan	Executive Vice President	aerospace	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Meyers, George	Vice President	aerospace	0	1	1
		Executive Vice President and				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Paul, Terry	Director of Defense Group	aerospace	0	1	1
		Senior Vice Chairman & Chief				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Russo, Marty	Executive Officer	aerospace	1	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Simmons, Vernon	Vice President	aerospace	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Videnieks, Markus	Vice President	aerospace	0	0	1
			energy efficiency, power			
Cassidy & Assoc.	Anderson, Kai	Executive Vice President	storage, green buildings	0	1	1
			energy efficiency, power			
Cassidy & Assoc.	Burlij, Emily	Associate	storage, green buildings	1	0	1
			energy efficiency, power			
Cassidy & Assoc.	Crespo, Jacqueline	Senior Associate	storage, green buildings	0	1	0
			energy efficiency, power			
Cassidy & Assoc.	Dennis, Tom	Executive Vice President	storage, green buildings	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Anderson, Kai	Executive Vice President	nuclear power	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Burlij, Emily	Associate	nuclear power	1	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Crespo, Jacqueline	Senior Associate	nuclear power	0	1	0
Cassidy & Assoc.	Dennis, Tom	Executive Vice President	nuclear power	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Anderson, Kai	Executive Vice President	technology	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Boylan, John	Senior Vice President	technology	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Chapman, Justin	Account Coordinator	technology	0	0	0
Cassidy & Assoc.	Crespo, Jacqueline	Senior Associate	technology	0	1	0
Cassidy & Assoc.	Dennis, Tom	Executive Vice President	technology	0	0	1
		Vice President and Deputy				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Edwards, Shawn	Director of Cassidy Defense	technology	0	0	1
		Vice Chairman & Chief				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Hartley, Gregg L.	Operating Officer	technology	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Hegarty, Mark	Senior Vice President	technology	0	1	1
		Executive Vice President for				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Hochstein, Amos	International Operations	technology	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Ide, Betsy	Vice President	technology	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Levy, Dawn	Senior Vice President	technology	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	McNamara, Dan	Executive Vice President	technology	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Meyers, George	Vice President	technology	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Neal, Laura	Senior Vice President	technology	0	0	1
		Executive Vice President and				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Paul, Terry	Director of Defense Group	technology	0	1	1
		Senior Vice Chairman & Chief				
Cassidy & Assoc.	Russo, Marty	Executive Officer	technology	1	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Simmons, Vernon	Vice President	technology	0	1	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Sutton, Barbara	Executive Vice President	technology	0	0	1
Cassidy & Assoc.	Temple, Roy	Senior Vice President	technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Chambers, Scott	Partner	biotechnology	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Chism, B. Dell	Patent Agent	biotechnology	0	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	McKeague, W. John	Associate	biotechnology	1	1	0
Cassidy & Assoc.	Temple, Roy	Senior Vice President	technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Bell, Chris	Of Counsel	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Chajet, Henry	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Driver, Michael	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Farber, David	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Forest, Carl	Partner	clean technology	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Frank, Michele	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Graziano, James	Partner	clean technology	1	1	0

APPENDIX TABLE A1 (CONTINUED)—TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN TWO LARGE LOBBYING FIRMS

Patton Boggs LLP	Greene, Joshua	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Harris, Laurence	Senior Counsel	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Horn, Robert	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Johnson, Gregory	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Kelly, Suedeen	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Mayer, David	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	McIntosh, Carolyn	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Passaic, Joseph	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Ryan, Deborah	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Savit, Mark	Partner	clean technology	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Stewart, Scott	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Witt, Kenneth	Partner	clean technology	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Chambers, Scott	Partner	drugs/biologics	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Herbert, Toni-Junell	Partner	drugs/biologics	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Nuttall, Carey	Associate	drugs/biologics	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Pape, Stuart	Partner	drugs/biologics	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Rubin, Paul	Partner	drugs/biologics	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Shanks, Mark	Partner	drugs/biologics	1	1	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Nuttall, Carey	Associate	medical devices and diagnostics	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Pape, Stuart	Partner	medical devices and diagnostics	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Rubin, Paul	Partner	medical devices and diagnostics	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Kelly, Suedeen	Partner	nuclear	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Lessy, Roy	Partner	nuclear	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Allard, Nicholas	Partner	smart grid	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Arbuckle, J. Gordon	Partner	smart grid	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Barton, Betty	Public Policy Advisor	smart grid	0	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Besozzi, Paul	Partner	smart grid	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Cetta, Jennifer	Associate	smart grid	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Didden, Carly	Associate	smart grid	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Bright, William	Public Policy Advisor	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Cetta, Jennifer	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Desai, Monica	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Didden, Carly	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Ellison, Mark	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Forest, Carl	Partner	technology and communications	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Gavin, Stephen Diaz	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Graziano, James	Partner	technology and communications	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Hager, Robert	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Harris, Laurence	Senior Counsel	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Ireland, Kathleen	Public Policy Counselor	technology and communications	0	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Kim, Hwan	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	King, Ryan	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Lane, Margaret	Senior Paralegal	technology and communications	0	0	0

APPENDIX TABLE A1 (CONTINUED)—TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN TWO LARGE LOBBYING FIRMS

Patton Boggs LLP	Lodge, Deborah	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Martin, Kevin	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Moran, Janet	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Reeder, James	Senior Counsel	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Reisenfeld, Kenneth	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Richter, Jennifer	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Sachs, Lesley Bowling	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Stolbach, Richard	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Turner, Jeffrey	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Yarowsky, Jonathan	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Didden, Carly	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Ellison, Mark	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Forest, Carl	Partner	technology and communications	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Gavin, Stephen Diaz	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Graziano, James	Partner	technology and communications	1	1	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Hager, Robert	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Harris, Laurence	Senior Counsel	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Ireland, Kathleen	Public Policy Counselor	technology and communications	0	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Kim, Hwan	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	King, Ryan	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Lane, Margaret	Senior Paralegal	technology and communications	0	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Lodge, Deborah	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Martin, Kevin	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Moran, Janet	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Reeder, James	Senior Counsel	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Reisenfeld, Kenneth	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Richter, Jennifer	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Sachs, Lesley Bowling	Associate	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Stolbach, Richard	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	0
Patton Boggs LLP	Turner, Jeffrey	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1
Patton Boggs LLP	Yarowsky, Jonathan	Partner	technology and communications	1	0	1

Notes: Employee listings and biographies as of November 2010. Bar indicates bar association membership. Issue-specific training indicates the academic or professional technical background, including military. Reference web pages: <http://www.pattonboggs.com/attorneys/List.aspx> and <http://www.cassidy.com/team/>

APPENDIX TABLE A2— CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND POLITICIANS' POLITICAL PROMINENCE

Dependent Variable:	Lobbyist Made at Least One Campaign Contribution to Politician in Congress (t)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Average Grosewart Rank of Politician in Congress (t+1) (*1/1000)	0.006 0.035		
Politician Chairs a Committee in Congress (t+1) (*1/1000)	-0.455 [1.068]		
Average Grosewart Rank of Politician in Congress (t) (*1/1000)		-0.022 [0.023]	
Politician Chairs a Committee in Congress (t) (*1/1000)		-0.476 [0.470]	
Average Grosewart Rank of Politician in Congress (t-1) (*1/1000)			-0.042 [0.048]
Politician Chairs a Committee in Congress (t-1) (*1/1000)			1.168 [1.864]
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.003	0.002	0.004
Observations	18,021,285	35,953,757	16,178,596

Dependent Variable:	Lobbyist Made a First-Time Campaign Contribution to Politician in Congress (t)		
	(4)	(5)	(6)
Average Grosewart Rank of Politician in Congress (t+1) (*1/1000)	0.02 [0.078]		
Politician Chairs a Committee in Congress (t+1) (*1/1000)	0.17 [0.915]		
Average Grosewart Rank of Politician in Congress (t) (*1/1000)		-0.002 [0.032]	
Politician Chairs a Committee in Congress (t) (*1/1000)		-1.335 [0.829]	
Average Grosewart Rank of Politician in Congress (t-1) (*1/1000)			-0.043 [0.043]
Politician Chairs a Committee in Congress (t-1) (*1/1000)			-1.337 [1.658]
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.006	0.003	0.003
Observations	7,989,612	18,756,409	16,178,596

Notes: The sample includes all politician-lobbyists pairs. Average Grosewart Rank measures the average rank of the politician's committee assignments at Congress t. Dependent variable is a contribution in a politician-lobbyist pair in columns (1)-(3) and a first observed contribution in a politician-lobbyist pair in columns (4)-(5).

*** Significant at the 1 percent level.

** Significant at the 5 percent level.

* Significant at the 10 percent level.

APPENDIX TABLE A3— CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS BY EX-STAFFERS IN COMPETITIVE VS. NON-COMPETITIVE ELECTORAL RACES

Dependent Variable: Lobbyist Makes at Least One Campaign Contribution to that Legislator in that Congress						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Log(margin of victory)	0.005 [0.016]			-0.014 [0.025]		
Margin of victory<5 percent (Y=1)		-0.010 [0.064]			0.017 [0.059]	
Margin of victory<10 percent (Y=1)			-0.033 [0.050]			0.011 [0.057]
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,217	1,217	1,217	1,217	1,217	1,217
R-squared	0.008	0.008	0.009	0.357	0.356	0.356

Notes: Sample includes members of the House in Congresses 106 to 109 and lobbyists that are former staff members for the representatives as coded by Blanes-i-Vidal et al. (2012). Campaign contributions during congressional cycle t are regressed on victory margin in race for Congress $t+1$. Margin of victory is the difference between the number of votes to winner and number of votes to second candidate divided by their sum.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level.

** Significant at the 5 percent level.

* Significant at the 10 percent level.

APPENDIX TABLE A4— DO LOBBYISTS FOLLOW POLITICIANS THEY ARE CONNECTED TO AS THOSE POLITICIANS SWITCH COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS?
HETEROGENEITY OF EFFECT ACROSS LOBBYISTS AND CONGRESSMEN

Sample:	Lobbyist is from the Same Party as Congressman?					
	Yes (1)	Yes (2)	Yes (3)	No (4)	No (5)	No (6)
Lobbyist made at least one campaign contribution to that Congressman in Congress (t)? (Y=1)	0.075 [0.018]***	0.066 [0.016]***	0.04 [0.015]***	0.020 [0.029]	0.011 [0.030]	-0.0006 [0.029]
Number of new issues for the legislator in Congress (t+1) that the Lobbyist covers in Congress (t)	0.128 [0.006]***	0.181 [0.005]***	0.078 [0.006]***	0.13 [0.005]***	0.177 [0.005]***	0.083 [0.005]***
Number of issues covered by the legislator in Congress (t) that the Lobbyists covers in Congress (t)	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.036 [0.002]***	-0.05 [0.003]***	-0.002 [0.001]*	-0.035 [0.002]***	-0.05 [0.002]***
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Lobbyist F.E.s	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.148	0.187	#	0.144	0.187	#
Observations	450,912	450,912	450,913	454,880	454,880	454,881

Sample	Lobbyist is a Specialist?					
	Yes (7)	Yes (8)	Yes (9)	No (10)	No (11)	No (12)
Lobbyist made at least one campaign contribution to that Congressman in Congress (t)? (Y=1)	0.077 [0.011]***	0.025 [0.010]**	0.021 [0.01]**	0.138 [0.010]***	0.046 [0.009]***	0.03 [0.008]***
Number of new issues for the legislator in Congress (t+1) that the Lobbyist covers in Congress (t)	0.144 [0.006]***	0.113 [0.005]***	0.09 [0.005]***	0.119 [0.002]***	0.137 [0.002]***	0.08 [0.002]***
Number of issues covered by the legislator in Congress (t) that the Lobbyists covers in Congress (t)	0.018 [0.001]***	-0.02 [0.002]***	-0.023 [0.002]***	0.002 [0.000]***	-0.024 [0.001]***	-0.032 [0.001]***
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Lobbyist F.E.s	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.071	0.193	#	0.105	0.186	#
Observations	2,613,988	2,613,988	2,613,989	6,220,562	6,220,562	6,220,563

Notes: Unit of observation is a lobbyist-politician pair. Within each Congress, we restrict ourselves to the subset of active lobbyists in that cycle and to the subset of active politicians that switch committee assignments between two consecutive Congresses. Robust standard errors in brackets are clustered at the lobbyist level. # The specification with lobbyist and politician fixed effects was estimated with a custom command which does not provide R-squared as output.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level.

** Significant at the 5 percent level.

* Significant at the 10 percent level.

APPENDIX TABLE A5— DO LOBBYISTS FOLLOW FRESHMEN THEY ARE CONNECTED TO AS THOSE POLITICIANS ARE ELECTED AND GAIN COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS?

106th-107th Congress. Dependent Variable: Number of new issues for the legislator and for the lobbyist in Congress (t+1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Lobbyists made at least one campaign contribution to that Congressman in Congress (t)? (Y=1)	0.330	0.293	0.173	0.111
	[0.031]***	[0.012]***	[0.030]***	[0.021]***
Number of new issues for the legislator in Congress (t+1) that the Lobbyist covers in Congress (t)	0.160	0.145	0.043	0.002
	[0.003]***	[0.003]***	[0.003]***	[0.002]
Observations	1,892,714	1,892,714	1,892,714	1,892,714
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lobbyist F.E.s	No	No	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	No	Yes	No	Yes
108th-109th Congress. Dependent Variable: Number of new issues for the legislator and for the lobbyist in Congress (t+1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Lobbyists made at least one campaign contribution to that Congressman in Congress (t)? (Y=1)	0.294	0.256	0.151	0.087
	[0.027]***	[0.027]***	[0.019]***	[0.019]***
Number of new issues for the legislator in Congress (t+1) that the Lobbyist covers in Congress (t)	0.171	0.159	0.050	0.013
	[0.003]***	[0.003]***	[0.002]***	[0.002]***
Observations	2,074,584	2,074,584	2,074,584	2,074,584
Congress F.E.s	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lobbyist F.E.s	No	No	Yes	Yes
Congressman F.E.s	No	Yes	No	Yes

Notes: Unit of observation is a lobbyist-politician pair. For each freshman legislator we include all lobbyists active during his/her first Congress, as previous issue overlap between lobbyists and politicians is not available for first term congressmen (see restriction imposed in Table 7). Sample is restricted to 106 and 107 Congresses and 108 and 109 separately for computational reasons. Standard errors clustered at the lobbyist level in all specifications.

*** Significant at the 1 percent level.

** Significant at the 5 percent level.

* Significant at the 10 percent level.

APPENDIX TABLE A6—POLITICAL CYCLES AND REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC LOBBYISTS

Year	Lobbying Expenses			Number of Lobbyists		
	Republican	Democrati	Gap	Republican	Democratic	Gap
1999	127.84	113.86	13.98	589	530	59
2000	157.64	122.94	34.70	619	556	63
2001	167.53	152.00	15.53	659	614	45
2002	201.22	168.73	32.49	711	646	65
2003	262.22	209.42	52.80	795	722	73
2004	305.84	212.25	93.59	881	766	115
2005	373.71	263.05	110.66	1022	848	174
2006	521.13	293.00	228.13	1110	920	190
2007	449.21	370.07	79.14	1178	1029	149
2008	368.94	404.62	-35.69	1230	1097	133

Notes: Lobbying expenses are in millions of dollars.