

## Appendix to “Strategic Lobbying to Support or Oppose Legislation in the U.S. Congress”

### Identifying different stages of the legislating process (for Figure 2)

The MapLight data connects interest group positions to specific motions on legislation.

The motions were grouped into the following categories and codes:

- 0 – Unknown
- 1 – Introduced in the House
- 2 – Introduced in the Senate
- 3 – Motion to concur
- 4 – Instruct conferees
- 5 – Overriding the veto
- 6 – Final passage in the House
- 7 – Final passage in the Senate
- 8 – Committee reports bill to the chamber (bill “ordered to be reported)
- 9 – Committee hearings
- 10 – Referred to the committee on...
- 13 – Motion to table
- 14 – Cloture motion
- 15 – Resolution agreed to (not used for “stage” variable)
- 17 – Recommit
- 18 – Mark-up session in committee before bill introduction
- 19 – On the conference report
- 20 – Motion to go to conference
- 21 – On the House Rules Committee Resolution
- 22 – On approval of an amendment to a bill
- 23 – Reporting of committee legislation in the Senate

These “motion codes” were then aggregated into the following stages of the lawmaking process:

- 1 – Bill introduction (motiontype 1, 2 & 10)
- 2 – Committee hearing (motiontype 9)
- 3 – Committee action (motiontype 8 & 18)
- 4 – Beginning of floor action in House or Senate (motiontype 21 & 23)
- 5 – Floor action in Senate on cloture (motiontype 14)
- 6 – Floor action in House and Senate on amendments or other motions (motiontype 13, 17 & 22)
- 7 – Final passage in the House or Senate (motiontype 6 & 7)
- 8 – Start of conference or motion to concur to avoid conference (motiontype 3, 4 & 20)
- 9 – Approval of conference report (motiontype 19)

10 – Override of presidential veto (motiontype 5)

**Key words used to identify group member types (for *H4*)**

Three binary variables were created capturing three kinds of lobbying entities: businesses, trade and professional associations (including unions), and advocacy groups (both with members and just donors). I did key word searches on the names of the observed organizations (using STATA's "regexm" command) to identify groups containing identifying words in their names. However, I did not solely rely on this. After the lists of organizations in each category were generated, I read through these lists and removed those that clearly did not belong in that category. Those that were ambiguous were looked up online before a decision on whether to retain them on the list was made. All words were searched in both capitalized and un-capitalized versions.

Advocacy groups:

academy  
action  
advoc  
Americans for  
attorney  
campaign  
caucus  
center  
christian  
citizen  
club  
collaborative  
collective  
committ  
cong  
demo  
forum  
foundation  
fund  
grower

guild  
institute  
labor  
lawyer  
league  
legal  
legion  
medical  
movement  
now  
nurse  
project  
society  
task force  
trust  
union  
united  
vet  
voice  
watch  
women

Associations of businesses, institutions, or individual professions:

academy of  
alliance  
associated  
association  
business  
chamber  
church  
coalition  
college of  
conference  
congress of / for  
consortium  
council of / for  
federation  
group  
hospital  
industry

institute  
insur  
league  
manufacturers  
museum  
of America  
partnership  
producers  
professional  
roundtable  
society of / for  
trade  
university

### Businesses

These were identified using words such as “Incorporated,” “Inc,” “LLC,” and “PC”.

Otherwise businesses were identified by simply looking through the complete list of organizations in the MapLight data. I also created a “pro-business” variable, which is used in the scale indicating the extent to which members or clients want the observed bill, and also used in the bill passage analysis appearing in Table 3. All businesses were coded 1 (non pro-business groups were coded 0), and the following key words were used to identify pro-business interest groups, though the resulting list was also inspected visually for accuracy with many groups being looked up to make sure they really are pro-business:

against  
alliance  
Americans for  
associated  
association  
balance  
bank  
business  
chamber  
club  
competitive  
consortium  
council of / for

credit  
energy  
enterprise  
federation  
finance  
foundation  
free  
grower  
guild  
industry  
institute  
insur  
league  
life  
manuf  
manufacturers  
market  
mine  
mining  
oil  
of America  
petroleum  
producers  
professional  
roundtable  
security  
strong  
tax  
trade  
united  
value

### **Creating the measure of how much members or clients want the observed bill**

The most complex variable in the paper is the measure of the extent to which organization members or clients, whom the lobbyist represents, would want the observed bill because it is consistent with their interests. There are a couple of steps in creating this variable. Step one is creating a simple ideology code for each organization based on key words in its name.

“Conservative” here is a desire for less government involvement in society, less regulation, lower taxes, support for pro-life positions, support for religious freedom, and support for less government spending. It also includes a desire to rollback regulations on the financial industry and support for the rights of gun owners. Conservatives groups are coded -1 on the group ideology variable. Conservative keywords are:

abortion  
against  
Americans for  
balance  
bank  
business  
capital  
christian  
competitive  
constitution  
credit  
energy  
enterprise  
family  
finance  
free  
heritage  
independence  
insur  
judic  
liberty  
life  
manuf  
market  
mine  
mining  
oil  
petroleum  
securiti  
sense  
strong  
tax

value  
waste

“Moderate or non-ideological” includes most businesses, though not necessarily organizations that represent businesses. The entire medical profession is placed here. Also found here are organizations supporting some types of social services, especially those for youth, as this does not appear to be overly partisan. Veterans and military groups are also given this code as they seem just as happy to work with Democrats as Republicans. Groups that explicitly call themselves bipartisan, and this is not contradicted by other evidence, are counted here.

Moderate groups are coded 0 on the group ideology variable. Moderate keywords are:

(a variety of medical terms)  
academic  
academy  
American  
business  
center  
college  
doctor  
foundation  
medic  
nurse  
physician  
university  
vet  
youth

“Liberal” here means organizations favoring the rights of, and support for, minority groups and women, who desire to provide services in poor communities, who promote non-military versions of peace, who defend civil rights and liberties, who protect the rights of consumers, and who favor regulations and government action in support of the environment and the animals living in it. It also includes most forms of regulation on business and protection for

workers in public and private labor unions. Liberal groups are coded 1 on the ideology variable.

Liberal keywords are:

action  
advocate  
AID  
attorney  
black  
cause  
civil  
climate  
collaborative  
collective  
common  
conservation  
consumer  
demo  
education  
environment  
gay  
green  
hispanic  
homeless  
housing  
human right  
income  
initiative  
international  
labor  
latin  
lawyer  
lesbian  
mom  
mother  
movement  
peace  
poor  
progress  
project  
public  
river



teacher  
union  
watch  
water  
wild  
women  
world

Finally, the following combination is used to create the final measure:

- Set the initial observation for every group at 0
- If Democrats control the observed chamber (otherwise leave code at 0), then:
  - code the observation as the average of the DW-Nominate scores for Democrats co-sponsoring the bill (using the absolute value, this represents the extent to which the bill reflect Democratic values, but Republican-only sponsored bills are 0)
  - Add 1 if the pro-business dummy variable is 0
  - Add 1 if the ideology variable is 1 (for liberal)
- If Republicans control the chamber (no code change otherwise), then
  - code the observation as the average of the DW-Nominate scores of Republican co-sponsors of the bill (which will be positive, and represents the extent to which the bill reflects Republican values, Democrat only sponsored bills are 0)
  - Add 1 if the pro-business dummy variable is 1
  - Add 1 if the group ideology variable is -1