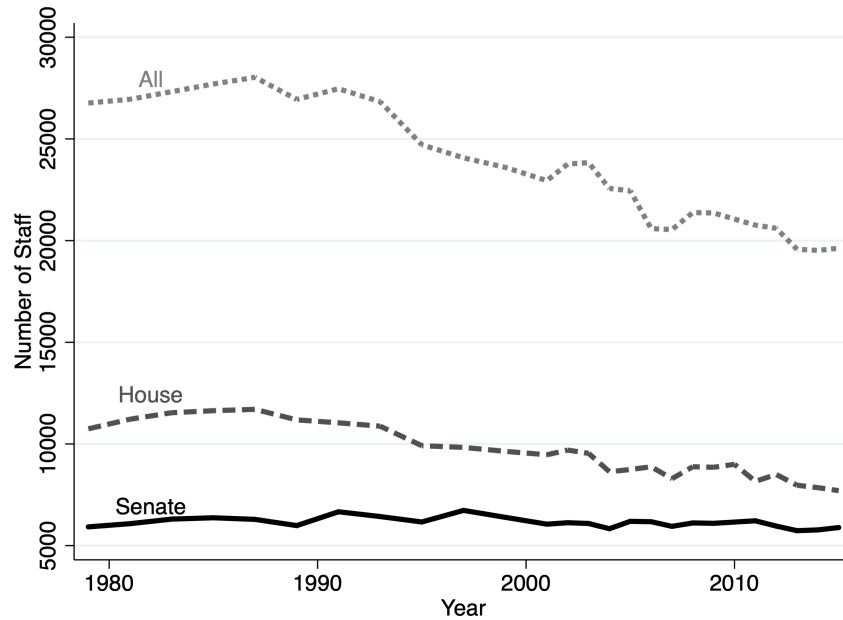


A Appendix: Figures and Summary Statistics

A.1 Number of Congressional Staff Over Time

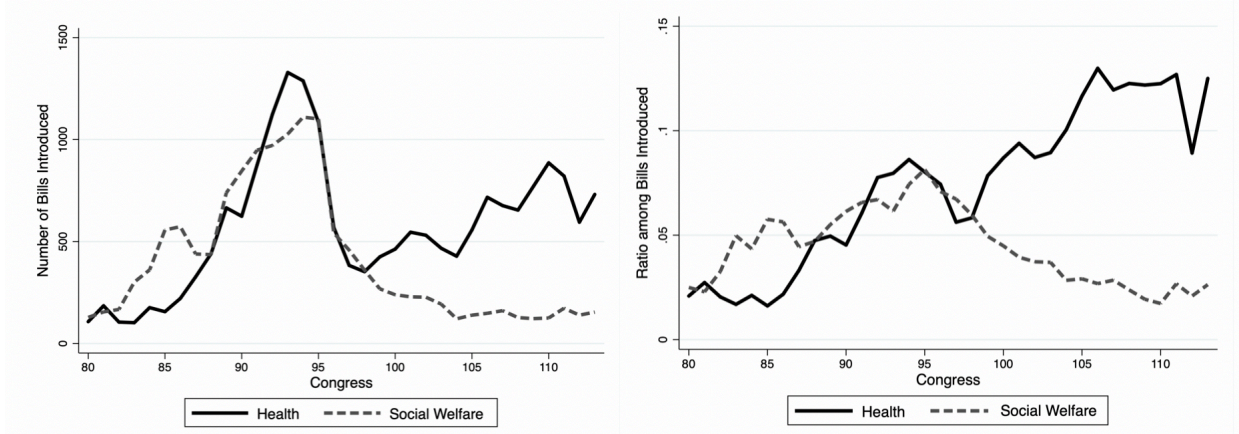
Figure A1: Number of Congressional Staff Over Time, 1979 - 2015



Notes: Both *House* and *Senate* totals include personal, committee, leadership, and the Officers of the House staff. *All* includes total House and Senate staff, as well as staff in joint committees and supporting agencies such as the Congressional Research Service, CBO, GAO, OTA, and Capitol police, and miscellaneous functions. Data source: "Vital Stats for Congress," 2017, *The Brookings Institute*.

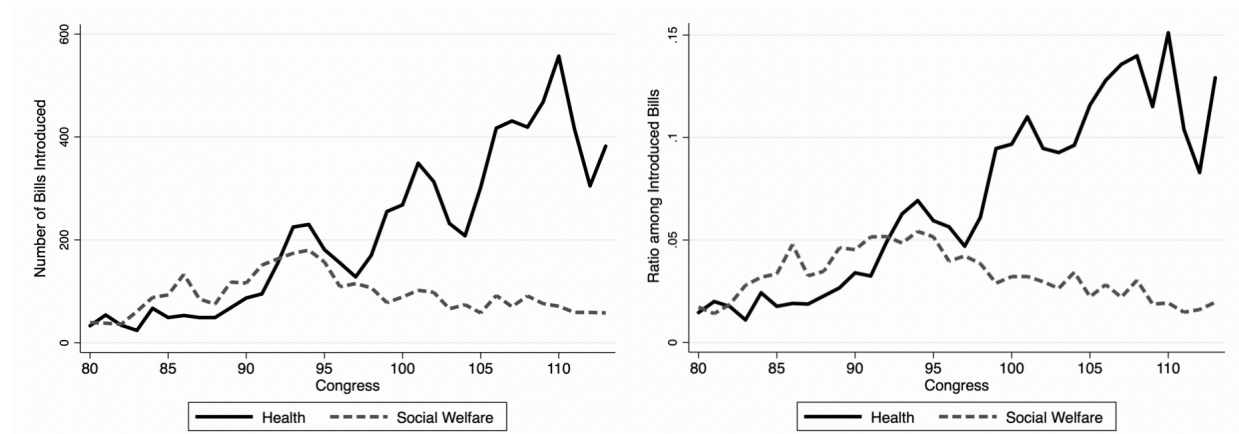
A.2 Number of Bill Introduced in Health and Social Welfare, 1947 - 2014

Figure A2: Bills Introduction in Health and Social Welfare, 1947 - 2014 (House)



Notes: Left panel presents the number of bills introduced in Health and Social Welfare categories in 1947 - 2014 in the House. Right panel presents the ratio of bills in Health and Social Welfare categories among the bills introduced in 1947 - 2014 in the House. Data Source: Congressional Bills Project (Adler and Wilkerson 2017).

Figure A3: Bill Introduction in Health and Social Welfare, 1947 - 2014 (Senate)



Notes: Left panel presents the number of bills introduced in Health and Social Welfare categories in 1947 - 2014 in the Senate. Right panel presents the ratio of bills in Health and Social Welfare categories among the bills introduced in 1947 - 2014 in the Senate. Data Source: Congressional Bills Project (Adler and Wilkerson 2017).

A.3 An Example of FARA Report

Figure A4: A Lobbying Report Submitted by a Lobbying Firm, DLA Piper LLP in 2009

DLA Piper LLP (US)
 FARA Supplemental Statement
 for the period March 1, 2009 -- August 31, 2009
 Attachments

(Page 15)

Date	Mode of Communication	Name of Contact	Title of Contact	Contact Office	Topic of Exchange
Government of Afghanistan					
3/18/09	Telephone	David Wade	Chief of Staff	Sen. John Kerry	US-Afghanistan relations and meeting request
German State of Rheinland-Pfalz					
3/11/09	Telephone	Lucian Niemeyer	Professional Staff	Senate Armed Services Committee	European military bases
4/1/09	E-mail	Ryan Kaldahl	Legislative Director	Rep. Randy Forbes	Military housing
5/28/09	E-mail	Randy Zarate; Mark Carrie	Scheduler; Legislative Assistant; Counsel	Rep. Solomon Ortiz	Meeting request
6/9/09	E-mail	Drey Samuelson	Chief of Staff	Sen. Tim Johnson	Meeting request
6/9/09	E-mail	Emily Hall	Executive Assistant	Rep. Zach Wamp	Meeting request
6/9/09	E-mail	Martin Delgado	Minority Clerk	House Appropriations Military Construction Subcommittee	Meeting request
6/9/09	Telephone	Maggie Piggott	Scheduler	Sen. Richard Burr	Meeting request
6/10/09	Telephone	Ryan Kaldahl	Legislative Director	Rep. Randy Forbes	Meeting request
6/11/09	Telephone	Lucian Niemeyer	Professional Staff	Senate Armed Services Committee	Meeting request
6/15/09	Telephone	Richard Merew	Legislative Director	Rep. Elton Gallegly	Meeting request
6/16/09	Meeting	Lucian Niemeyer	Professional Staff	Senate Armed Services Committee	US military bases in Rheinland-Pfalz
6/16/09	Meeting	Barbara Westgate	Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Strategic Plans and Programs	U.S. Air Force	US military bases in Rheinland-Pfalz
6/16/09	Meeting	Bill Castle	Legislative Assistant	Sen. Orin Hatch	US military bases in Rheinland-Pfalz
6/17/09	Meeting	Rep. Bill Delahunt	Representative	Rep. Bill Delahunt	US military bases in Rheinland-Pfalz
6/17/09	Meeting	Rep. Solomon Ortiz	Representative	Rep. Solomon Ortiz	US military bases in Rheinland-Pfalz
6/29/09	Telephone	Ryan Kaldahl	Legislative Director	Rep. Randy Forbes	F-16 reduction issues
6/29/09	Meeting	Ryan Kaldahl	Legislative Director	Rep. Randy Forbes	F-16 reduction issues
6/29/09	Meeting	Ryan Crumpler	Legislative Assistant	Rep. Howard McKeon	F-16 reduction issues

A.4 Summary Statistics on Access to Lobbying Firms

Table A1: Access Granted to Lobbying Firms, 2007-2010

	N	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
<i>Panel A. House</i>					
No. Meeting	872	5.1	7.8	0	72
No. Phone Call	872	4.0	7.1	0	69
No. Member Contact	872	2.9	4.4	0	50
No. Staff Contact	872	6.9	11.1	0	104
<i>Panel B. Senate</i>					
No. Meeting	195	9.0	8.0	0	49
No. Phone Call	195	9.3	11.6	0	95
No. Member Contact	195	3.5	3.3	0	21
No. Staff Contact	195	15.8	15.7	0	93

Notes: Unit of observation is member \times Congress.

A.5 Lobbying Issues

There were 736,116 unique lobbying reports submitted during the period between 1998 and 2014. The Lobbying Disclosure Act (2 U.S.C. § 1604(b)) requires registrants to report specific information about the nature of their lobbying activities on quarterly activity reports (LD-2), including disclosing the general lobbying issue area code(s). There are 79 pre-determined general issue codes. A lobbying report could contain multiple general lobbying codes if a client lobbied on multiple issues in a given period. Table A2 presents the number of lobbying reports submitted under each general code between 1998 and 2014.

Table A2: Number of Lobbying Reports Submitted by Issue, 1998 - 2014

Code	Description	No. Report	Code	Description	No. Report
ACC	Accounting	2261	HOU	Housing	14520
ADV	Advertising	2655	IMM	Immigration	15875
AER	Aerospace	5014	IND	Indian/Native American Affairs	14215
AGR	Agriculture	30213	INS	Insurance	13844
ALC	Alcohol & Drug Abuse	2749	INT	Intelligence	1330
ANI	Animals	3756	LAW	Law Enforcement/Crime	15585
APP	Apparel/Clothing/Textiles	1353	LBR	Labor/Antitrust/Workplace	26618
ART	Arts/Entertainment	4074	MAN	Manufacturing	5936
AUT	Automotive Industry	4942	MAR	Marine/Boats/Fisheries	12935
AVI	Aviation/Airlines/Airports	16078	MED	Medical/Disease Research/Clin Labs	12022
BAN	Banking	20458	MIA	Media (Information/Publishing)	1633
BEV	Beverage Industry	1878	MMM	Medicare/Medicaid	48082
BNK	Bankruptcy	4191	MON	Mining/Money/Gold Standard	584
BUD	Budget/Appropriations	173360	NAT	Natural Resources	22706
CAW	Clean Air & Water	20187	PHA	Pharmacy	8504
CDT	Commodities	1544	POS	Postal	4712
CHM	Chemical Industry	5005	REL	Religion	786
CIV	Civil Rights/Civil Liberties	4475	RES	Real Estate/Land Use/Conservation	7469
COM	Communications/Broadcasting/Radio/TV	13419	RET	Retirement	10689
CON	Constitution	1738	ROD	Roads/Highways	5793
CPI	Computer Industry	8007	RRR	Railroads	6372
CPT	Copyright/Patent/Trademark	21445	SCI	Science/Technology	17086
CSP	Consumer Issue/Safety/Protection	13310	SMB	Small Business	6973
DEF	Defense	74956	SPO	Sports/Athletics	1500
DIS	Disaster Planning/Emergencies	6424	TAR	Tariffs	309
DOC	District of Columbia	820	TAX	Taxes	98736
ECN	Economics/Econ Development	12171	TEC	Telecommunications	27185
EDU	Education	42040	TOB	Tobacco	4712
ENG	Energy/Nuclear Power	60282	TOR	Torts	6099
ENV	Environment/Superfund	44925	TOU	Travel/Tourism	2822
FAM	Family/Abortion/Adoption	2940	TRA	Transportation	60333
FIN	Finance	30273	TRD	Trade	42441
FIR	Firearms/Guns/Ammunition	1740	TRU	Trucking/Shipping	2652
FOO	Food Industry	10684	UNM	Unemployment	883
FOR	Foreign Relations	14205	URB	Urban Development	7834
FUE	Fuel/Gas/Oil	8191	UTI	Utilities	9278
GAM	Gaming/Gambling/Casinos	5230	VET	Veterans Affairs	7274
GOV	Government Issues	25057	WAS	Waste (Hazardous/Solid/Interstate/Nuclear)	4490
HCR	Health Issues	94180	WEL	Welfare	3009
HOM	Homeland Security	23478			

B Appendix: Full Regression Results and Robustness Checks

Table A3: Future Lobbyists as Staff and Legislative Activities: House (107th - 113th)

	(1) LES	(2) Total Bill	(3) SS. Bill	(4) LES	(5) Total Bill	(6) SS Bill
(ln) Staff Mean Salary	0.201*** (0.0463)	0.471*** (0.110)	0.0439 (0.0343)	0.358*** (0.0721)	0.809*** (0.115)	0.120** (0.0605)
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.0189*** (0.00265)	0.0528*** (0.00641)	0.00264 (0.00193)	0.0184*** (0.00402)	0.0422*** (0.00664)	0.00441 (0.00341)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.0252*** (0.00673)	0.0761*** (0.0134)	0.00853* (0.00511)	0.0317*** (0.0109)	0.0767*** (0.0136)	0.00771 (0.00943)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.0159*** (0.00430)	0.00215 (0.00651)	0.0164*** (0.00480)	0.0117** (0.00528)	0.0169** (0.00709)	0.0101* (0.00612)
Female Staff Ratio	-0.0388 (0.0894)	-0.232 (0.172)	0.0588 (0.0567)	0.0471 (0.124)	0.190 (0.183)	-0.0484 (0.119)
Majority Party	0.264*** (0.0184)	0.190*** (0.0320)	0.118*** (0.0139)	0.256*** (0.0239)	0.161*** (0.0348)	0.0981*** (0.0190)
DW-NOMINATE	-0.182*** (0.0704)	-0.356** (0.163)	-0.0462 (0.0466)	-0.265 (0.213)	-0.158 (0.296)	-0.450** (0.220)
Budget Committee	-0.0521** (0.0263)	-0.0125 (0.0442)	-0.0216 (0.0188)	-0.0132 (0.0300)	0.0382 (0.0511)	0.00441 (0.0252)
Committee Chair	0.739*** (0.0703)	0.358*** (0.0736)	0.645*** (0.0808)	0.802*** (0.0840)	0.349*** (0.0855)	0.757*** (0.103)
Subcommittee Chair	0.194*** (0.0273)	0.0734* (0.0415)	0.134*** (0.0267)	0.186*** (0.0344)	0.137*** (0.0417)	0.156*** (0.0353)
Seniority	0.0109*** (0.00326)	0.00701 (0.00634)	0.0114*** (0.00183)	-0.000808 (0.0177)	-0.0227 (0.0179)	0.00703 (0.0263)
Majority Leader	0.191*** (0.0493)	-0.00601 (0.0896)	0.179*** (0.0557)	0.272*** (0.0634)	0.177* (0.100)	0.168** (0.0742)
Minority Leader	-0.0581 (0.0364)	-0.00809 (0.0963)	-0.00927 (0.0202)	0.0228 (0.0370)	0.0959 (0.0952)	-0.0260 (0.0448)
Powerful Committee	-0.0696*** (0.0219)	-0.0709 (0.0535)	0.0679*** (0.0181)	-0.114*** (0.0346)	0.176*** (0.0575)	-0.0372 (0.0339)
Democrat	-0.193*** (0.0710)	-0.179 (0.160)	-0.0881* (0.0454)			
Member Became Lobbyist	-0.00568 (0.0253)	-0.0140 (0.0562)	0.00739 (0.0208)			
Female	-0.00680 (0.0250)	0.0996* (0.0591)	0.00248 (0.0153)			
African-American	-0.0716** (0.0281)	0.0107 (0.0949)	-0.0358** (0.0172)			
Latino	-0.0216 (0.0413)	-0.113 (0.0843)	-0.0365* (0.0219)			
State Legislature	0.0164 (0.0188)	-0.00872 (0.0421)	0.0232* (0.0130)			
Southern Democrat	-0.0228 (0.0264)	-0.339*** (0.0841)	-0.00551 (0.0153)			
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	3070	3070	3070	3070	3070	3070
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.411	0.157	0.360	0.579	0.620	0.426

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. All three outcome variables are highly skewed in the distributions so we use log-transformed variables as outcome measures.

Table A4: Future Lobbyists as Staff and Legislative Activities: Senate (107th - 113th)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LES	Total Bill ^a	SS Bill ^b	LES	Total Bill	SS Bill
(ln) Staff Mean Salary	0.0156 (0.137)	0.0500 (0.379)	0.00964 (0.353)	0.148 (0.150)	0.860* (0.510)	0.657* (0.383)
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.00529** (0.00228)	0.0224*** (0.00491)	0.0229*** (0.00485)	0.000904 (0.00328)	0.0170** (0.00861)	0.0138* (0.00709)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.000673 (0.00641)	0.0171 (0.0157)	0.0220 (0.0155)	-0.000151 (0.00999)	0.00983 (0.0139)	0.0151 (0.0142)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.00223 (0.00516)	0.0116 (0.00927)	0.0143 (0.00997)	0.00665 (0.00570)	0.00603 (0.00578)	0.00473 (0.00701)
Female Staff Ratio	-0.630*** (0.182)	-0.794 (0.501)	-0.768 (0.510)	-0.644* (0.349)	-0.370 (0.422)	-0.139 (0.438)
Majority	0.188*** (0.0487)	0.222* (0.124)	0.118 (0.112)	0.202*** (0.0548)	0.166 (0.101)	0.109 (0.103)
DW-NOMINATE	-0.249* (0.128)	-0.275 (0.328)	-0.281 (0.332)	2.859 (9.779)	8.432 (25.52)	8.056 (21.70)
Committee Chair	0.382*** (0.0599)	0.0399 (0.129)	0.0662 (0.132)	0.341*** (0.0653)	0.163** (0.0791)	0.169** (0.0850)
Subcommittee Chair	0.0614 (0.0478)	0.0780 (0.122)	0.166 (0.108)	0.0695 (0.0541)	0.0491 (0.0857)	0.123 (0.0834)
Seniority	0.00976** (0.00459)	0.0107 (0.0109)	0.00394 (0.0114)	0.0111 (0.0110)	-0.00104 (0.0170)	-0.0218 (0.0192)
Majority Leader	-0.0230 (0.0831)	0.00717 (0.161)	-0.177 (0.149)	0.0172 (0.0739)	0.0479 (0.106)	-0.0293 (0.112)
Minority Leader	0.00495 (0.0522)	-0.0962 (0.137)	-0.177 (0.164)	0.00836 (0.0694)	-0.0850 (0.0826)	-0.0790 (0.0871)
Powerful Committee	-0.0107 (0.0309)	-0.112 (0.0878)	-0.0916 (0.0868)	-0.0225 (0.0471)	0.0532 (0.0671)	0.0614 (0.0740)
Up for Reelection	0.0429** (0.0205)	0.184*** (0.0461)	0.176*** (0.0485)	0.0511** (0.0228)	0.165*** (0.0337)	0.151*** (0.0377)
Freshman	-0.220*** (0.0364)	-0.541*** (0.103)	-0.506*** (0.102)	-0.200*** (0.0393)	-0.425*** (0.0801)	-0.447*** (0.0866)
Democrat	-0.187* (0.102)	0.0621 (0.262)	0.133 (0.262)			
Member Became Lobbyist	-0.0589 (0.0643)	-0.0865 (0.138)	-0.0702 (0.138)			
African-American	-0.0690 (0.114)	-0.514 (0.929)	-0.454 (0.873)			
Latino	-0.00476 (0.0833)	0.490* (0.292)	0.383 (0.288)			
Southern Democrat	-0.0784 (0.0646)	-0.0710 (0.139)	-0.151 (0.143)			
Famel	0.0547 (0.0495)	0.0857 (0.116)	0.0896 (0.121)			
State Legislature	0.0149 (0.0348)	0.0542 (0.0947)	0.0663 (0.0959)			
Serve in the House	-0.0552 (0.0480)	0.0400 (0.106)	0.0380 (0.112)			
House LES	0.0878** (0.0412)	-0.0415 (0.103)	-0.0132 (0.105)			
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
N	697	697	697	697	697	697
adj. R ²	0.461	0.305	0.305	0.638	0.826	0.797

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. All three outcome variables are highly skewed in the distributions so we use log-transformed variables as outcome measures.

Table A5: Future Lobbyists as Staff, Majority Party Status, and Alumni Staff as Lobbyists (House)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LES	No. Bills ^a	SS Bills ^b	LES	No. Bills	SS Bills
Panel A: Majority Party Status						
No. Lobbyist Staff	0.0169** (0.00692)	0.0547*** (0.0171)	0.00203 (0.00409)	0.0273** (0.0113)	0.0638*** (0.0172)	0.00564 (0.00909)
No. Lobbyist Staff × Majority Party	0.0154 (0.0103)	0.0392** (0.0170)	0.0119 (0.00939)	0.00875 (0.0130)	0.0253 (0.0178)	0.00407 (0.0129)
Member-level Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	3070	3070	3070	3070	3070	3070
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.412	0.158	0.360	0.579	0.620	0.426
Panel B: Alumni Staffer Lobbyist						
No. Lobbyist Staff	0.0248*** (0.00718)	0.0723*** (0.0140)	0.00772 (0.00547)	0.0375** (0.0146)	0.0864*** (0.0180)	0.0171 (0.0126)
No. Alumni Staff as Lobbyists	0.0000675 (0.00759)	0.0390** (0.0167)	-0.000217 (0.00598)	-0.0113 (0.0160)	-0.0104 (0.0236)	0.0152 (0.0167)
Member-level Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630	2630
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.405	0.154	0.358	0.568	0.622	0.410

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. **a.** Total number of bills that a member sponsored in a given Congress. **b.** Number of significant and substantial bills (Volden and Wiseman 2014).

Table A6: Testing Partisan Heterogeneity (House)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	LES	No. Bills ^a	SS Bills ^b	LES	No. Bills	SS Bills
Panel A: Democrats						
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.0219*** (0.00356)	0.0519*** (0.00909)	0.00284 (0.00231)	0.0200*** (0.00548)	0.0436*** (0.00913)	0.00501 (0.00429)
(ln) Mean Staff Salary	0.196*** (0.0645)	0.366** (0.166)	0.0681 (0.0491)	0.360*** (0.102)	1.076*** (0.179)	0.0871 (0.0846)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.0191** (0.00833)	0.0806*** (0.0192)	0.00509 (0.00536)	0.0254** (0.0129)	0.0735*** (0.0191)	0.00536 (0.00993)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.0161*** (0.00499)	0.0120 (0.0120)	0.0143** (0.00596)	0.00653 (0.00603)	0.0103 (0.00807)	0.00569 (0.00775)
Member-level Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	1517	1517	1517	1517	1517	1517
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.430	0.233	0.396	0.559	0.664	0.356
Panel B: Republicans						
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.0170*** (0.00405)	0.0508*** (0.00934)	0.00357 (0.00335)	0.0172*** (0.00628)	0.0397*** (0.00828)	0.00460 (0.00603)
(ln) Mean Staff Salary	0.211*** (0.0673)	0.505*** (0.149)	0.0218 (0.0523)	0.377*** (0.103)	0.614*** (0.141)	0.137 (0.0927)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.0301*** (0.0105)	0.0743*** (0.0177)	0.00962 (0.00819)	0.0387** (0.0176)	0.0808*** (0.0194)	0.00819 (0.0156)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.0169*** (0.00601)	-0.00367 (0.00763)	0.0192*** (0.00639)	0.0160** (0.00716)	0.0190* (0.00981)	0.0158* (0.00813)
Member-level Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	1553	1553	1553	1553	1553	1553
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.370	0.099	0.324	0.564	0.575	0.425

Notes: The unit of observation is member \times congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. **a.** Total number of bills that a member sponsored in a given Congress. **b.** Number of significant and substantial bills (Volden and Wiseman 2014).

Table A7: Staff-Level, Future Lobbyists as Staff and Legislative Activities

	(1) LES	(2) Total Bill ^a	(3) SS. Bill ^b
Panel A: House			
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.0184*** (0.00403)	0.0422*** (0.00664)	0.00444 (0.00341)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff (Senior) ^c	0.0382** (0.0173)	0.0803*** (0.0217)	0.000665 (0.0165)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff (Junior)	0.0294** (0.0118)	0.0753*** (0.0159)	0.0103 (0.0104)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.0118** (0.00527)	0.0170** (0.00708)	0.0100 (0.00613)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Congress, Member FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	3070	3070	3070
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.579	0.620	0.426
Panel A: Senate			
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.000926 (0.00329)	0.0174** (0.00863)	0.0142** (0.00712)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff (Senior)	0.00123 (0.0191)	0.0293 (0.0283)	0.0387 (0.0329)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff (Junior)	-0.000409 (0.0105)	0.00619 (0.0150)	0.0106 (0.0151)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.00662 (0.00573)	0.00570 (0.00562)	0.00434 (0.00681)
Controls	✓	✓	✓
Congress, Member FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	697	697	697
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.637	0.826	0.797

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. **a.** Total number of bills that a member sponsored in a given Congress. **b.** Significant and Substantial Bills (Volden and Wiseman 2014). **c.** Staffers whose title was either “(Deputy) Chief of Staff” or “(Deputy) Legislative Director.”

Table A8: Members-Turned-Lobbyists and Legislative Activities

	(1) LES	(2) Total Bill ^a	(3) SS Bill ^b	(4) LES	(5) Total Bill	(6) SS Bill
Panel A: House						
Member Became Lobbyist	0.00109 (0.0283)	-0.00722 (0.0622)	0.0203 (0.0244)			
Member Final Term	-0.0296 (0.0211)	-0.0293 (0.0413)	-0.0153 (0.0156)	-0.0702** (0.0312)	-0.0556 (0.0460)	-0.0335 (0.0278)
Member Became Lobbyist × Member Final Term	-0.00912 (0.0423)	-0.00937 (0.0700)	-0.0386 (0.0375)	0.0181 (0.0540)	-0.0144 (0.0795)	-0.0286 (0.0504)
No. Future Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.0253*** (0.00674)	0.0761*** (0.0134)	0.00867* (0.00511)	0.0321*** (0.0109)	0.0772*** (0.0136)	0.00818 (0.00943)
No. Future Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.0158*** (0.00431)	0.00207 (0.00651)	0.0164*** (0.00479)	0.0120** (0.00533)	0.0172** (0.00709)	0.0103* (0.00615)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	3070	3070	3070	3070	3070	3070
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.412	0.156	0.360	0.581	0.620	0.427
Panel B: Senate						
Member Became Lobbyist	-0.0496 (0.0729)	-0.0736 (0.141)	-0.0640 (0.138)			
Member Final Term	-0.0957* (0.0494)	-0.204 (0.131)	-0.169 (0.134)	-0.0826 (0.0547)	0.0131 (0.0911)	0.0161 (0.0962)
Member Became Lobbyist × Member Final Term	0.0127 (0.0745)	0.0516 (0.212)	0.0582 (0.194)	-0.0268 (0.0894)	-0.0629 (0.197)	0.0315 (0.170)
No. Future Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.000214 (0.00640)	0.0162 (0.0157)	0.0213 (0.0154)	-0.00271 (0.00999)	0.00932 (0.0143)	0.0159 (0.0146)
No. Future Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.00123 (0.00515)	0.00940 (0.00882)	0.0124 (0.00964)	0.00679 (0.00569)	0.00639 (0.00573)	0.00455 (0.00706)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member FE				✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	697	697	697	697	697	697
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.464	0.307	0.305	0.640	0.825	0.796

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. **a.** Total number of bills that a member sponsored in a given Congress. **b.** Number of significant and substantial bills (Volden and Wiseman 2014).

Table A9: Future Lobbyists as Staff and Legislative Activities by Issue Areas

	House	Senate
<i>DV = (ln) No. Sponsored Bill</i>	(1)	(2)
1. Macroeconomics	.0114 (.0112)	.00126 (.0246)
2. Civil Rights	.00402 (.00896)	.0168 (.0151)
3. Health	.0488** (.0159)	-.0281 (.0210)
4. Agriculture	-.000125 (.00867)	.0177 (.0165)
5. Labor	.0212 (.0122)	.00772 (.0216)
6. Education	.0165 (.0132)	.0218 (.0208)
7. Environment	.0316*** (.0111)	.00808 (.0228)
8. Energy	.0205 (.0118)	.0238 (.0209)
9. Immigration	.000237 (.00326)	.00740 (.00527)
10. Transportation	-.00549 (.0107)	.00598 (.0195)
11. Law & Crime	-.00908 (.0125)	.0194 (.0170)
12. Social Welfare	.000511 (.00934)	.0123 (.0137)
13. Housing	.00321 (.00876)	-.00385 (.0156)
14. Commerce	.0355*** (.0131)	-.00629 (.0221)
15. Defense	.0154 (.0136)	-.00803 (.0216)
16. Technology	.0118 (.00878)	-.00271 (.0169)
17. Foreign Trade	.0329 (.017)	.0148 (.0386)
18. International Affairs	.00438 (.00804)	-.00371 (.0173)
19. Government Operations	.0165 (.0142)	.00566 (.0194)
20. Public Lands	.0160 (.0111)	.00880 (.0190)
Member-level Controls	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓
Member FE	✓	✓
Committee FE	✓	✓

Notes: The unit of observation is member \times congress. Each number under Columns (1) and (2) indicates the coefficient from the separate regressions for each issue area (dependent variables are log-transformed number of bills introduced by each member in each issue area) for each independent variable of interest (*No. Lobbyist Personal Staff*). Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The number of observations is 3,058 in the House regressions and 697 in the Senate regressions. A14

Table A10: Future Lobbyists as Lobbyists and Access to Lobbying Firms: House (110th - 111th)

	(1) Total Access	(2) Member Access	(3) Staff Access
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff	0.0169 (0.357)	0.0174 (0.124)	0.118 (0.274)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff × Hired by Lobbying Firm	2.083*** (0.609)	0.572*** (0.194)	1.583*** (0.465)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	-0.171 (0.185)	0.00198 (0.0740)	-0.198 (0.130)
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	-0.0565 (0.162)	-0.00131 (0.0468)	-0.0247 (0.130)
(ln) Mean Staff Salary	3.255 (2.311)	0.522 (0.751)	2.651 (1.830)
Female Staff Ratio	-2.328 (4.803)	-0.612 (1.366)	-1.199 (3.861)
LES	2.004** (0.931)	0.723* (0.415)	1.211** (0.535)
Majority Party	-3.086 (3.570)	-0.755 (1.052)	-2.233 (2.840)
DW-NOMINATE	-0.149 (3.687)	0.582 (1.180)	-0.812 (2.847)
Budget Committee	-0.842 (1.162)	-0.222 (0.491)	-0.597 (0.830)
Committee Chair	1.507 (4.706)	-0.267 (1.342)	2.205 (3.795)
Subcommittee Chair	3.112** (1.529)	0.649 (0.467)	2.624** (1.190)
Seniority	-0.0675 (0.154)	0.00201 (0.0520)	-0.0385 (0.118)
Majority Leader	0.921 (3.074)	-0.324 (0.802)	1.833 (2.651)
Minority Leader	-1.827 (3.330)	-0.291 (1.376)	-1.171 (2.586)
Powerful Committee	4.391** (2.144)	1.324** (0.673)	3.079* (1.635)
Member Became Lobbyist	1.179 (1.612)	0.598 (0.448)	0.685 (1.302)
Female	0.0334 (1.451)	0.107 (0.537)	-0.146 (1.076)
African-American	4.519* (2.695)	2.580*** (0.986)	2.676 (1.986)
Latino	-2.058 (1.729)	-0.368 (0.591)	-1.596 (1.257)
State Legislature	0.880 (0.971)	0.316 (0.300)	0.327 (0.772)
Southern Democrat	2.558 (1.751)	0.293 (0.530)	2.108 (1.342)
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓
Committee FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	872	872	872
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.368	0.310	0.365

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A11: Future Lobbyists as Lobbyists and Access to Lobbying Firms: Senate (110th - 111th)

	(1) Total Access	(2) Member Access	(3) Staff Access
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff	-1.075 (0.738)	-0.115 (0.157)	-0.938 (0.663)
No. Lobbyist Personal Staff × Hired by Lobbying Firm	1.109** (0.460)	0.124 (0.115)	0.988** (0.405)
No. Lobbyist Committee Staff	0.205 (0.593)	-0.0688 (0.115)	0.137 (0.532)
No. Non-Lobbyist Staff	0.190 (0.119)	0.0295 (0.0250)	0.179* (0.108)
(ln) Mean Salary	1.303 (6.666)	0.0951 (1.738)	3.337 (6.231)
Female Staff Ratio	-22.06 (13.43)	-3.546 (2.996)	-17.58 (12.30)
Democrat	-1.640 (5.632)	-2.043 (1.399)	-0.194 (5.048)
LES	4.671*** (1.312)	0.0717 (0.416)	4.979*** (1.186)
Majority Party	8.067** (3.228)	2.178*** (0.812)	6.710** (2.944)
DW-NOMINATE	16.54** (7.927)	2.108 (1.655)	14.60** (6.997)
Committee Chair	-4.306 (6.333)	0.632 (1.198)	-3.853 (5.667)
Subcommittee Chair	2.207 (3.680)	1.304 (0.848)	0.751 (3.440)
Seniority	0.610 (0.377)	0.149 (0.0918)	0.489 (0.339)
Majority Leader	-5.896 (5.254)	-1.034 (1.102)	-4.035 (4.650)
Minority Leader	9.901 (6.279)	0.896 (0.868)	8.986 (6.014)
Up for Reelection	2.025 (2.071)	0.986* (0.560)	0.998 (1.900)
Freshman	-2.925 (3.355)	-0.805 (0.805)	-2.607 (3.215)
Latino	11.65 (9.200)	2.430** (1.067)	10.57 (9.149)
Southern Democrat	-1.899 (4.313)	-0.981 (0.852)	-1.357 (3.837)
Female	-3.101 (3.057)	-1.526** (0.673)	-1.775 (2.691)
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓
Committee FE	✓	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	195	195	195
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.442	0.269	0.436

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A12: Lagged Member Characteristics and Hiring Future Lobbyist Staff: House (108th - 113th)

<i>DV = Number of Future Lobbyist Staff</i>	(1)	(2)
Lagged LES	-0.0282 (0.0364)	-0.000392 (0.0393)
Lagged No. Sponsored Bill	0.000818 (0.00290)	0.00258 (0.00371)
Lagged No. Substantial Bill	0.0667 (0.0462)	0.0153 (0.0525)
Lagged Majority Party	-0.105 (0.0720)	-0.158* (0.0824)
Lagged Budget Committee	-0.0602 (0.111)	-0.151 (0.123)
Lagged Committee Chair	-0.0832 (0.185)	0.169 (0.172)
Lagged Subcommittee Chair	0.0173 (0.0922)	0.0735 (0.0953)
Lagged Seniority	-0.00578 (0.0133)	0.108** (0.0459)
Lagged Majority Leader	0.541*** (0.194)	0.104 (0.293)
Lagged Minority Leader	0.173 (0.194)	-0.375 (0.302)
Lagged Powerful Committee	0.0221 (0.0957)	-0.0274 (0.138)
Lagged Number of Staff	-0.0103 (0.0132)	-0.0151 (0.0144)
Lagged Mean Staff Salary	-0.196 (0.231)	-0.160 (0.256)
Lagged Female Staff Ratio	-0.584* (0.337)	-0.284 (0.427)
Democrat	-0.217** (0.0982)	
Member Became Lobbyist	0.568*** (0.128)	
Female	0.145 (0.135)	
African-American	-0.423*** (0.138)	
Latino	-0.353** (0.163)	
State Legislature	-0.00644 (0.0840)	
Southern Democrat	0.0842 (0.151)	
Congress FE	✓	✓
Member FE		✓
<i>N</i>	2221	2221
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.188	0.595

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. A17

Table A13: Lagged Member Characteristics and Hiring Future Lobbyist Staff: Senate (108th - 113th)

<i>DV = Number of Future Lobbyist Staff</i>	(1)	(2)
Lagged LES	-0.0534 (0.155)	0.0108 (0.140)
Lagged No. Sponsored Bill	-0.0153 (0.0144)	0.00979 (0.0150)
Lagged No. Substantial Bill	0.0170 (0.0160)	-0.0171 (0.0162)
Lagged Up for Reelection	0.168 (0.163)	0.302 (0.185)
Lagged Freshman	-0.0704 (0.298)	-0.0765 (0.308)
Lagged Majority Party	-0.465 (0.350)	-0.262 (0.379)
Lagged Committee Chair	0.0556 (0.416)	0.368 (0.394)
Lagged Subcommittee Chair	0.365 (0.346)	-0.106 (0.358)
Lagged Seniority	-0.0152 (0.0365)	-0.587*** (0.0742)
Lagged Majority Leader	0.246 (0.506)	-0.274 (0.454)
Lagged Minority Leader	-0.332 (0.447)	-0.110 (0.372)
Lagged Powerful Committee	0.833** (0.343)	-0.100 (0.433)
Lagged Number of Staff	0.0233 (0.0234)	-0.0415 (0.0292)
Lagged Mean Staff Salary	-0.474 (1.270)	-0.234 (1.467)
Lagged Female Staff Ratio	-3.674** (1.658)	-1.191 (2.223)
Democrat	-0.331 (0.365)	
Member Became Lobbyist	0.501 (0.570)	
Female	0.707* (0.409)	
African-American	-0.819 (0.542)	
Latino	1.310** (0.579)	
State Legislature	-0.476 (0.290)	
Southern Democrat	0.625 (0.426)	
Congress, Member FE	✓	✓
<i>N</i>	518	518
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.350	0.703

Notes: The unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors are clustered at member-level and reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

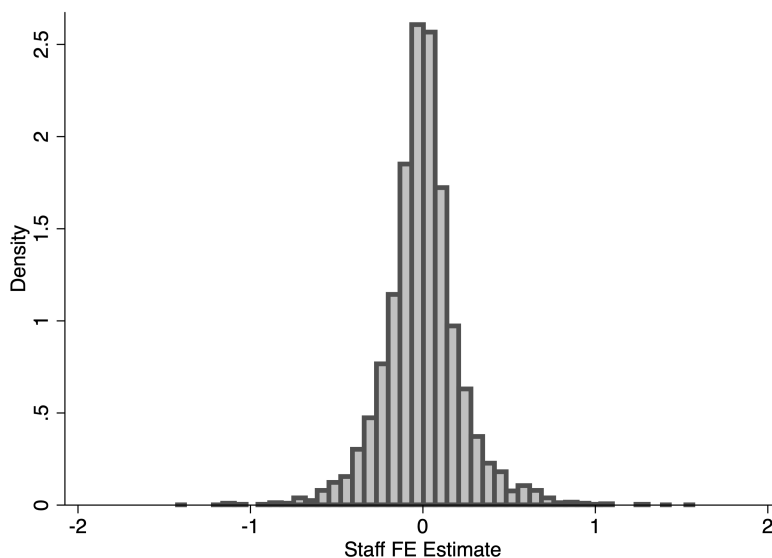
C Appendix: Estimation Detail for Staffer Fixed Effects

We estimate the following model:

$$y_{ist} = \alpha_i + \underbrace{\alpha_s}_{\text{staff FE}} + \alpha_t + \Gamma X_{ist} + \varepsilon_{ist}$$

, where i, s and t indicate member, staffer, and Congress. We are interested in estimating staff fixed effects, α_s . We created a member \times staffer \times Congress (year) data ($N = 58,809$) in the House. Out of the set of about 26,480 staffers in our sample, 3,603 staffers moved from one office to another office. Figure A5 presents the distribution of staff fixed effects in the House when the outcome variable of interest is LES. The median staffer fixed effects for the LES is zero but there is significant variation in terms of staff fixed effect estimates.

Figure A5: Distribution of Staff Fixed Effects (Regression on (ln) LES)



Next, we tie the differences in staff fixed effects to observable staff characteristics to examine whether staffers' future career choices are correlated with staff fixed effects that are retrieved from the regression on LES. Specifically, we estimate the following regression:

$$\alpha_s = \beta * Became Lobbyist_s + \Gamma X_s + \varepsilon_s$$

, where s indicates a staffer. X_s include staffer-level characteristics such as gender and holding a graduate degree. Table A14 presents the results. We have staff gender information for 99% of the sample and have information about education level for 37% of the sample. We find that staffers who later became lobbyists are positively related to higher staff fixed effects. This provides further evidence that hiring future revolving-door lobbyists is related to the legislative productivity of members.

Table A14: Correlation between Staff FE and Becoming a Lobbyist

<i>DV =</i>	(1) Staff FE	(2) Staff FE
Became Lobbyist	0.0158*** (0.00485)	0.0133** (0.00606)
Female	0.00444 (0.00318)	0.00656 (0.00518)
JD or PhD Holder		0.0105* (0.00616)
<i>N</i>	26450	9887
adj. R^2	0.000	0.001

Notes: Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.