How Do Interest Groups Seek Access to Committees?*

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Abstract

Concerns that interest groups use their financial resources to distort the democratic process are longstanding. Surprisingly, though, firms spend little money on political campaigns, and roughly 95% of publicly traded firms in the U.S. have never contributed to a political campaign. Do interest groups seek political access through their modest contributions, or are these contributions only a minor and forgettable part of the political process? In this paper, we present comprehensive evidence that interest groups are extremely sophisticated in the way they make campaign contributions. We collect a new dataset on U.S. state legislative committee assignments and legislator procedural powers from 1988–2014, merged with campaign finance data, in order to analyze over 440,000 candidate-committee observations across 99 legislatures. Using a series of difference-in-differences designs based on changes in individual legislators' positions in the legislature, we not only show that interest groups seek out committee members, but we also show that they value what we call indirect access. When a legislator gains procedural powers, interest groups reallocate considerable amounts of money to her. The results reveal how interest groups in a wide range of democratic settings seek to influence the policy process not only by seeking direct access to policymakers but by seeking indirect access to legislative procedure as well.

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Introduction

Academics, pundits, and politicians alike have long considered how interest groups might use their financial resources in an attempt to influence the political process. Despite how politically salient these concerns about campaign finance are, the overall amounts of money that interest groups donate are surprisingly modest. As a fraction of their operating budgets, U.S. corporations donate remarkably small amounts of money to politics, and roughly 95% of publicly traded firms in America have never made a contribution to any candidate in any campaign.¹ These facts suggest to some that interest groups contribute to campaigns mainly for consumption value. Ansolabehere, de Figueiredo, and Snyder (2003), for example, speculates that one reason firms might give is for the enjoyment of their executives.² On the other hand, a large and growing empirical literature in political science examines precisely how interest groups distribute their relatively modest campaign funds, finding that they donate in an access-seeking manner—that is, they contribute directly to office holders who may be useful to them (e.g., Ansolabehere and Snyder 1998; Barber 2016; Fouirnaies and Hall 2014; Grimmer and Powell 2016; Romer and Snyder 1994; Snyder 1992). Given this seeming paradox, exactly how strategic are interest groups when they contribute to political candidates?

In this paper, we present new evidence that firms are highly strategic—probably even more so than previous literature has suggested. Specifically, we offer a new dataset on over 440,000 committee assignments and campaign contribution portfolios in all 99 U.S. state legislatures over the past three decades. Using this data and a series of difference-in-differences designs based on individual legislators switching into and out of committee roles, we first show that interest groups seek out the committees with policy jurisdiction over their business interests. Moreover, the industries that seek the most access to state legislative committees appear to be those most affected by state rather than federal policy decisions.

Perhaps more importantly, we use these patterns to develop and test a theory of what we call indirect access. We argue that, if policy relevance in the form of committee membership is valuable

¹These claims are based on the authors' own calculation. We merged the full dataset of campaign contributions with a dataset on all publicly traded firms. After careful cleaning of company names in the two datasets, roughly 5% of publicly traded firms are found in the contribution data.

²The authors write: "PAC contributions are solicited at events attended by prominent national politicians—people of celebrity status. Organizations' executives and managers may value being part of the Washington establishment" (127).

to interest groups, and if interest groups are strategic actors, then they should also seek access to those in the legislature imbued with procedural power, including the power to make committee assignments. Consistent with this argument, we establish that *interest groups seek out members of the legislature with the power to make committee assignments*—that is, they not only pursue their policy interests directly, but they also seek access to those who can *indirectly* affect policy by means of legislative procedure. These results show just how sophisticated firms are in determining whom to support financially, which in turn implies significant human capital investments in understanding politics. Firms seem to find such activity to be economically valuable to them.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we review the literature on interest-group access and we draw a distinction between direct access—which most previous literature is focused on—and indirect access, i.e., access to legislators with procedural power. Subsequently, we describe the new dataset we have collected to study the links between interest groups and legislative committees in the U.S. states, 1988–2014. Following that, we present empirical analyses of the effects of committee memberships on interest-group contributions. Because these analyses show that interest groups care about committee membership, this prompts an analysis of whether these same groups strategically seek to influence the committee assignment process, itself. Accordingly, we turn to analyses of how interest-group donors value legislators who possess the power to make committee assignments. Finally, we conclude by discussing what our findings imply for our understanding of interest-group influence in the democratic process, and we argue that more research should take advantage of the U.S. states to develop and test ideas about legislative politics more generally.

Theoretical Overview: Direct vs. Indirect Access

Why do interest groups donate to political candidates at all, when the amounts they give are relatively small? In response to this seeming paradox, political scientists have developed more nuanced theories in which interest groups seek access to—rather than explicit quid-pro-quo exchanges from—legislators (Hall and Wayman 1990; Snyder 1992). In this view, "...contributors must develop a relationship of mutual trust and respect with officeholders in order to receive tangible rewards for contributions" (Snyder 1992: 17).³ They develop this relationship through sustained conversations and relationships, maintained by repeated political support and contributions, even if the size of these contributions are modest.⁴ A number of empirical papers, focused on interest-group campaign contribution activity, find that interest-group behavior accords with this access hypothesis (Fouirnaies and Hall 2014; Grimmer and Powell 2016; Romer and Snyder 1994).⁵ Romer and Snyder (1994), Grimmer and Powell (2016), and Berry and Fowler (2016*b*) all examine how committee membership affects an individual legislator's portfolio of campaign receipts, showing strong evidence that, at the federal level, PACs respond strategically to committee memberships—that is, interest groups direct money to legislators who join committees whose policy jurisdictions are relevant to the interest groups' businesses.⁶

In the first set of empirical analyses in our paper, we extend these existing results on accessseeking behavior, widening the context in which the analyses are performed, increasing the sample size dramatically, and inspecting a larger variety of committee types. We continue to find the same strategic patterns of behavior. Interest groups clearly seek out members of committees whose jurisdictions pertain to their economic interests.⁷ We realize that some will say these results are little more than a replication of results already found at the federal level, but we think they are important nonetheless. Recently, political scientists and other academics have begun to realize that little or no knowledge about politics accumulates in the academic record without efforts to replicate

³Do these contributions lead to access? A novel experiment presented in Kalla and Broockman (2016) suggests that they do. The authors show that interest groups who disclose to members of Congress that they are donors are more likely to receive a meeting with the MC. Also consistent with this idea, though separate from the empirical approach taken in this paper, studies indicate that the stock market appears to value firms that are connected to incumbents (Gaikwad 2013; Goldman, Rocholl, and So 2009).

⁴This relationship building is not the only strategy that groups can employ. For example, as Smith (2015) argues, groups can also pursue an "outside" strategy in which they mobilize voters directly.

⁵Although lobbying and direct effort subsidies (through, e.g., drafting bills) are obviously important, and possibly more important than direct contributions to candidates, campaign contributions have several advantages for studying interest-group access. First, they are readily quantifiable and, since reporting standards have been consistent and strict in recent decades, a long time series is now available. Second, because contributions are denominated in dollars, researchers can readily compare them across time and contexts in a cardinal manner. Third, because contributions are costly, they credibly reveal the underlying preferences of interest-group donors. Finally, contribution strategies appear to be highly correlated with other aspects of interest-groups' political strategies. Smith (2015), for example, reports that, for every group in the paper's sample during the 2013 session of the Missouri legislature, "every interest group who made PAC contributions and supported one of the bills...also employed a lobbyist, and nearly all groups who do not make PAC contributions do not hire paid lobbyists..." (2). Thus, the patterns of donations are likely to be an observable proxy for a broader suite of interest-group influence strategies.

 $^{^{6}}$ We will the specific differences between our empirical approach and these papers in the empirical section below.

⁷Barber, Canes-Wrone, and Thrower (2016) present novel evidence that this effect of committee "match" might extend to individual donors with clear occupational interests, too. Moreover, an examination of corporate executive donation behavior suggests that they, too, donate strategically for access Gordon, Hafer, and Landa (2007).

and to extend prior studies. Replicating existing findings in new contexts is the gold standard of scientific replication. That we find the same patterns of direct access behavior at the state level as previous scholars have at the federal level suggests that we have identified an underlying regularity in the way that interest groups interact with the political system.

Despite its consistent presence, direct access is only one possible strategy for interest-group donors. Legislative policy is not set only through jurisdiction-specific committees. As the Krehbiel (1992) idea of remote majoritarianism makes especially clear, choices over legislative procedure are themselves choices over policy, since procedural choices map to choices over policies. As a consequence, the identities of those assigned to particular committees may matter. If committees provide interest groups with valuable access, then sophisticated interest groups should also seek *indirect* access to the individuals charged with making committee assignments in the legislature.⁸ Interest groups may value this indirect access in several ways. If there is a set of legislators who are allied to a given interest group, and if committee service would offer these legislators the chance to influence policy in a manner favorable to the interest group, then ensuring that these allies obtain the proper committee assignments is of obvious value. In addition, if there are particular legislators *opposed* to a given interest group, preventing these members from sitting on relevant committees could be of equal or greater value, too.

There are several reasons to believe that this indirect access might be as valuable, or even more valuable, than direct access. For one thing, the power to assign committees is typically concentrated in a single individual to whom interest groups can donate, while each committee contains many members.⁹ Second, and perhaps more importantly, influence over relevant policy committees is more obvious and more observable—and thus, possibly more politically risky for

⁸This logic only accords partially with the idea of remote majoritarianism. It is consistent in its focus on procedure as a clear extension of policy. However, in a truly majoritarian legislature, the *de jure* authority to make committee assignments should be meaningless because the median legislator should always hold the true power. If the committee assigner offers a slate of committee assignments contrary to the preferences of the median, a majority-rule vote should overrule the assigner's proposal. We suspect that this level of median control is beyond the power of normal, operating legislatures. Scarce plenary time necessitates delegation (Cox and McCubbins 2011), and the legislature may not be able to afford spending the calendar time to reconsider committee assignments on a regular basis (e.g., Palmer 2014). Although majoritarian rules may constrain the committee assigner to some degree, we suspect there is room for discretion—this room for discretion is, in turn, what may make the committee assigner an attractive target for interest groups.

⁹This is not an unambiguous prediction, however. If interest groups compete with one another over conflicting policy goals, then the price of access to a single individual might rise in response to this demand. On net, access to a single individual might therefore end up being more or less beneficial for groups in equilibrium.

both donating groups and for politicians themselves—while influence over committee assignments is more abstruse and less obvious to voters outside the legislature.

Our intuitions about the value of indirect access also come from conversations with a variety of politicians and interest-group actors. One former U.S. state legislator, in particular, told us that it was a well-known fact in his legislature that becoming the President Pro Tempore—the person in charge of committee assignments in his legislature—was a sure path to collecting easy money from donors. Another former state legislator echoed these ideas, stressing how sophisticated and well-informed interest group donors tended to be in his experience, often learning details of the legislative process before he did. These anecdotes also accord with even a casual reading of the local news about legislative politics; every year, a bevy of articles pore over the committee assignment process, focusing on which legislators obtain which positions and why.¹⁰ Voters are unlikely to scrutinize these dry articles, but those involved in politics surely do.

On the academic side, we are not the first to propose the idea that interest-group money can indicate the more subtle ways in which particular legislative institutions may be influential. Ansolabehere and Snyder (1998), in particular, argues that interest-group money can reveal a broad range of powerful actors in the legislature. However, we are able to improve on previous work concerning indirect access in an important way. Considering total contributions to a variety of legislative positions may indicate whether these positions are powerful or not, but it may also indicate the selection of high-quality, high fundraising individuals into these positions. We need variation in who holds what positions in order to tease out the power of the position from these pre-existing characteristics of the legislators who obtain the position. This is not possible at the federal level, in most cases, because there are so few positions and they are held for so long by the same individuals. Focusing on the state legislatures not only boosts our sample size and extends the study of access seeking to another important democratic context, but it also allows us to study indirect access in a cleanly identified manner not possible at the federal level.

Having motivated our study and our focus on state legislatures, we now discuss the new data we have collected in order to make the inquiry possible.

¹⁰For recent examples in the California state legislative context, see http://www.calnewsroom.com/2014/12/ 19/did-speaker-toni-atkins-assign-juice-committees-alphabetically-achadjian-bonilla-get-bestassignments/, Accessed 15 January, 2016.

Interest-Group Sector	Committee Name Word Stems	House % state-years	Senate % state-years
Agriculture	agri; food; forest; livestock; fish; farm; ranch; rural	93.1	85.3
Banking	bank; finan	75.6	84.7
Business	commerce; busine; industry	94.1	86.8
Construction	construc; infrastru; hous; mainten; build	59.8	32.0
Defense	defe; armed; veteran; milit; homeland; border	67.4	53.8
Education	educ; school; universi; child; youth	99.6	98.3
Energy	energy; resources; oil; gas; renewab; coal; nuclea; utiliti; electric; mining	97.0	93.3
Health	health; hospi; medi	92.2	91.8
Insurance	insur	58.2	53.8
Transportation	transpor; highway; road	93.4	95.2

Table 1 – Linking Interest Groups to Committees By Issue Area. We link sectors identified in the campaign finance data to issue-specific legislative committees by searching for sector-relevant word stems in the committee names.

New Data on State Legislative Committees, 1988-2014

In order to study how interest groups seek access to legislative committees—and for a variety of related questions—we collected a new, comprehensive dataset on committee assignments in the state legislatures using primary sources. The dataset contains information on the members of all standing and joint committees in all of the 99 legislative chambers during the period 1988-2014. Our primary source is the quarterly-published *State Yellow Book* covering the legislative sessions from 1988 to 2014 (Leadership Directories 2014). We supplement the information in these volumes with official minutes and records of proceedings obtained from the archives of the state legislatures.

On the basis of these sources, we first make a complete list of all legislators in a given session, and for each legislator we construct a vector where each element records the name of a standing or joint legislative committee on which the legislator served during the session in question. Then, on the basis of surname, party and district, we match each legislator in the list to the unique candidate identifier in Klarner et al. (2013)'s dataset on legislative elections. Finally, we merge this dataset with the detailed state-level contribution data from Follow The Money. This approach allows us to track within-legislator variation in committee assignments and map them to electoral and campaign finance activity, and it will allow other scholars to explore the data with ease in the future. Table A.1 in the Appendix shows how the number of observations and level of industry donations varies across states. For the purpose of this paper, we need to make meaningful mappings between legislative committees and the donating firms and interest groups who operate within the purview of a given committee. Ideally, all state legislatures would apply the same naming conventions and use the same committee jurisdictions, so that we could compute the effect of, for example, serving on the banking committee on contributions from the banking sector across states. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Instead, the names and jurisdictions of committees vary widely across states and over time. Accordingly, we link donors and issue-specific committees across states and time by constructing a set of flexible search criteria for committee names based on the standardized donor industry codings provided in the Follow the Money dataset.

Based on our reading of the detailed descriptions of committee jurisdictions for the 2010-2012 session, we produced a list of sector-relevant word stems that often appear in the name of committees with policy-relevance for a given sector. We then searched through the vector of committees for each legislator in order to determine whether the legislator is a member of a given sector-relevant committee. Table 1 outlines the mappings between interest-group sectors and committee-name word stems.¹¹ The last two columns in the table show the percent of state-years in which we observe an issue-relevant committee; as the numbers indicate, we tend to find relevant committees in most cases. We should note that we do not expect to match committees in 100% of cases since not all legislatures have committees on all topics. To the extent we have missed relevant committees, however, the resulting measurement error should only bias the estimates downward, away from finding evidence for direct access.

Committee Membership Increases Contributions From Relevant Groups

We begin by estimating the effects of committee membership on donations from interest groups with a business interest connected to the jurisdiction of the committee. A simple tabulation of interest-group donations across committees is insufficient to discern whether these interest groups actually value committees, themselves. This is because of clear issues of selection and omitted variables. For example, a legislator who cares about a particular issue of relevance to a given

¹¹In the Appendix, we list out all of the committee names that are matched to each of the ten industry categories.

interest group may select onto the relevant committee; in the counterfactual world where this legislator did not sit on the relevant committee, the interest group might still want to contribute to her. A pooled comparison of interest-group contributions to relevant committees will conflate these types of selection with real differences driven by committee service *per se*.

To address these issues, we employ a difference-in-differences design in which we investigate the change in receipts from interest groups after a member switches onto a given committee. In so doing, we follow a series of empirical papers that study the effects of committees. This literature includes Romer and Snyder (1994) and Knight (2005). Most recently, Berry and Fowler (2016a) use an almost identical difference-in-differences design in the U.S. House to explore the effects of committee service on the provision of pork at the district level. Grimmer and Powell (2016) pursues a similar strategy in the U.S. House, but focuses specifically on cases of committee exile. While the more general difference-in-differences approaches in our paper and the other papers cited above simply compares all individuals who switch onto or off of committees, the Grimmer and Powell (2016) approach zooms in on legislators who are kicked off of committees because of changes in committee size and proportions determined by electoral turnover. The advantage to this approach is that it isolates a particular source of variation in committee membership outside of the strategic control of the legislators themselves. While we cannot pursue this specific strategy at the state level, because we do not have the information on committee allocation rules across all states and years, we are able to validate the more general difference-in-differences design and show that its key identifying assumption is highly plausible for our sample.

The key value of the difference-in-differences design for our purpose is that it removes any timeinvariant attributes of legislators that correlate with campaign receipts from particular interest groups. This avoids conflating a legislator's overall propensity to gain contributions from a given interest group with the actual effects of joining the relevant committee. In addition, by comparing the change in a "treated" legislator's receipts before and after joining the committee to the same trend among "control" legislators who do not change committee memberships over the same time period, the design also addresses the possibility that there is a trend in the propensity for certain interest groups to donate to legislators.

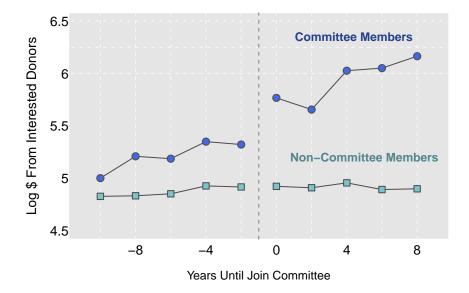
The difference-in-differences design is not without assumptions, naturally. For the design to be valid, legislators who switch onto committees of interest must not be trending differently than comparison legislators; that is, had these legislators not switched onto these committees, the overtime change in their campaign receipts needs to be the same as the change we observe for the control legislators. The previous work cited above—in particular, Romer and Snyder (1994), Knight (2005), Berry and Fowler (2016*a*), and Berry and Fowler (2016*b*)—supports the validity of this assumption. More importantly, we validate directly for our sample it in several ways below.

Under the parallel trends assumption, the difference-in-differences design isolates the causal effects of joining a committee on various kinds of interest-group contributions. Whether such effects represent the pure value of "access" is not quite clear. As Grimmer and Powell (2016: 12) points out, "When legislators are appointed to high-profile committees they not only gain the ability to exert broad influence on legislation, they also signal to PACs that the legislator is an effective and respected member of Congress." It is possible that the overall difference-in-differences estimates on overall interest-group money partially capture this signal effect, in addition to the pure access effect. This is one reason why we focus on contributions from matched interest groups—that is, on contributions only from the interest groups whose business sectors link them to a given committee's jurisdiction. These jurisdiction-specific effects are unlikely to include this sort of overall information-signaling value, and are therefore likely to reflect the value of access.

Graphical Evidence for Direct Access Seeking

First, we investigate graphical evidence both for the effect of committee membership and for the plausibility of the parallel trends assumption. Figure 1 presents a simplified version of the regressions we will subsequently run. The graph considers contributions from "interested" interest groups to legislators who will serve on relevant committees—that is, it considers donations between interest groups and the committees who oversee the relevant issue areas in the legislature.

The first time series, in dark blue circles, presents these contributions to legislators who will go on to serve on the relevant committees. That is, starting at time 0 on the horizontal axis, these are legislators who have joined the committees of interest to interest-group donors (we pool over the different committees and their matched donors for the purpose of the graph; below we disaggregate the effects by industry). To maintain comparability, after time 0, this time series only includes members who remain on the committee. This selection is necessary to make the plot. However, we Figure 1 – Effect of Committee Membership on Contributions from Interested Donors. The dark blue line (with circular points) plots contributions from interest-group donors to members of committees relevant to their industry, before and after each member joins the relevant committee. The light blue line (with square points) plots the contributions for the same interest-group industry for non-members.



would not want to apply any such post-treatment selection for a formal analysis; the regressions below make no such sample restriction.

The second time series, the light blue squares, presents the same contributions over the same time period for legislators who never serve on these committees but who are in the same state as the treated legislators. We construct an index of average contributions from the same set of donors to this alternate set of legislators, which we then average by year and pair with the treated observations, allowing us to re-scale the graph in terms of time until "treatment" for the treatment group.¹²

The resulting graph suggests several important conclusions. First of all, legislators who will go on to serve on relevant committees are already receiving significantly higher amounts of money from interested groups before they join the committee. This is consistent with evidence presented at the House level in Berry and Fowler (2016a); clearly, there is selection into service on these committees. This selection is why the difference-in-differences design is important. A pooled, cross-sectional comparison of campaign receipts to committee members vs. other legislators would

¹²Because of the complicated manner in which this control set is generated, we do not attempt to place standard errors around the plot's lines. The regressions below, however, make it clear that they are very precisely estimated.

pick up the effects of committee membership, but it would also pick up significant pre-existing differences between future committee members—who already raise considerable sums from the relevant donor groups—and legislators who will never serve on the relevant committees.

Moreover, this selection effect is also a main reason why we might expect indirect access to be valuable to groups. The fact that these members already raise extra money from relevant donors suggests that groups are aware that some members are more sympathetic to their causes than other members. By influencing the committee assignment process, groups may be able to direct these members to the relevant committees.

Second, there is clear evidence for a large effect of committee service on receipts from interested donors, even after accounting for the selection into committee service. There is a pronounced increase in contributions for members who join these committees, and no such increase is seen for the control legislators. This suggests that committee membership exerts its own effect on the donations of interested groups, separate from the selection of interested members onto these committees. The increase in donations downstream is also consistent with the finding that firms who operate within the purview of a given committee target the chair of that committee more than other committees (Fournaies 2017).

Finally, the graph shows no evidence of any pre-treatment trending for treated legislators. Although legislators who go on to join these committees have higher levels of contributions before they join, the over-time trend looks extremely similar between the two groups. This suggests that the parallel trends assumption is valid and gives plausibility to the design. We will probe the validity of the design in other ways after we present the formal regression results below. We turn now to these formal estimates.

Regression Results for Direct Access Seeking

First, we estimate the overall average effect of committee membership on contributions from relevant interest groups. For this purpose, after matching interest groups to relevant committees, we combine all the different interest group and committee pairs in a single analysis. After presenting these overall results, we will then estimate effects by industry.

	Log Group Contributions (
On Committee	1.27	0.27	0.28		
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)		
Candidate by Industry FEs	No	Yes	Yes		
Majority-Party Dummy	No	Yes	No		
Party by Year FEs	No	Yes	No		
Candidate by Year FEs	No	No	Yes		
Ν	$443,\!500$	$443,\!500$	$443,\!500$		

Table 2 – Effect of Committee Membership on Contributions From In-terested Donors.

Robust standard errors clustered by candidate in parentheses.

Formally, we estimate difference-in-differences equations of the form

log Donations From Interested Donors_{ijt} =
$$\beta_1 1 \{ On Committee j \}_{it} + \gamma_{ij} + \delta_{it} + \epsilon_{ijt},$$
(1)

where the outcome variable measures logged total contributions to incumbent i in election cycle t from interest-group donors whose industry places them in the jurisdiction of committee j. The variables γ_{it} and δ_{it} stand in for a variety of fixed effects, including candidate-by-industry fixed effects and some form of year fixed effects. In order to account for the possibility that becoming a member of the majority party might simultaneously get a member onto a committee and also boost donations, we sometimes use party-by-year fixed effects, so that trends in donations are only compared to those for other members of the same party, thus holding majority-party constant. The quantity of interest is β_1 , which measures the average effect of incumbent i holding a committee position on contributions from interest-group donors in related industries.

Table 2 presents the estimated results. The first column presents a "naive" specification in which we pool all of the data, including no individual or time fixed effects. Here we see that, on average, members of committees receive far more contributions from interest-group donors in industries related to committees' jurisdictions. But this estimate is clearly biased upwards for the selection reasons discussed above.

The second column reflects the difference-in-differences estimate that addresses this source of selection, like in Figure 1. Here, we include candidate-by-industry dummies as well as party-byyear dummies. Hence, the resulting estimate is computed by comparing changes in the amount of money a candidate receives within a given industry before and after joining the relevant committee to the same types of within-industry, within-career changes for copartisan legislators who do not join the committee. Here we see a large, positive effect. Joining the committee appears to cause roughly a 27% increase in the amount of contributions from interest groups whose business interests correspond to the committee's policy jurisdiction.

The final column shows the robustness of this estimate to specification. Here we perform a similar difference-in-differences but we use candidate-by-year fixed effects instead of party-by-year fixed effects, so that we are comparing a candidate's donations within the interested industry to her donations from other industries (again, this holds majority-party status constant). We find a very similar point estimate using this alternative setup.¹³ In all cases, joining a committee appears to cause a marked increase in contributions from relevant interest groups. This is consistent with the idea that interest groups seek direct access to legislators who wield influence in policy areas relevant to their business interests.

Effects Across Interest-Group Industries

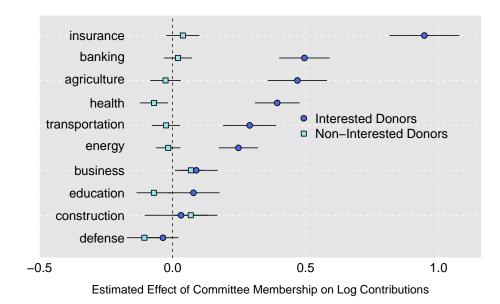
Thus far, we have considered overall effects which pool across the different types of committees and interest-group industries. In this section, we disaggregate the estimates, computing separate difference-in-differences for each industry-committee pairing. Doing so provides further information on the potential motivations of interest groups. We find that direct access effects are particularly large for the policy areas in which state legislation has the most influence—a pattern that strongly suggests that interest groups seek direct access for policy reasons.

Figure 2 provides the results. The figure plots simple difference-in-differences estimates by industry, for both interested and non-interested donor groups, separately. The dark blue circular points are for interested donor groups; the light blue squares are for non-interested donor groups. Table 3 presents the formal estimates.

Focusing first on the dark blue point estimates, we see that there is a large, positive effect of joining relevant committees for interested donors in a large variety of industries. Insurance, banking, health, and agriculture are the industries that appear to value committees the most, on

¹³Yet another possibility is to include industry-by-year fixed effects, so that we compare a candidate's contribution changes to changes in the same industry's donations to other candidates. To preserve space, we don't report these results in the paper, but they are extremely similar.

Figure 2 – Effect of Committee Membership on Donations from Interest-Group Donors. When they join new committees, legislators see a large increase in contributions from interest groups in industries related to the committee's jurisdiction (dark blue circles); no such increases are seen for donors in unrelated industries (light blue squares).



average. These large effects add further evidence that direct access seeking is specifically policy motivated; these are all policy areas in which the U.S. states have significant influence. In the state of California, for example, Insurance, Health, and Banking are among the most important of the "juice" committees—so called because, according to journalists, they are "the legislative bodies that consider bills that directly affect the bottom lines of the most powerful special-interest groups."¹⁴ As another article in the Sacramento Bee describes it, "insurance is generally seen as a desirable 'juice' committee providing access to campaign donors."¹⁵ Naturally, we should be cautious in pushing this argument too far. Without a systematic way to measure which policy areas are more important at the state vs. federal level, we can only attempt to read the tea leaves. While we have a strong sense that insurance, banking, and healthcare are all especially important at the state level, the small effect for education may be more surprising, since states do play a large role in this policy area. Nonetheless, the overall pattern, and especially the large outlying effect for insurance,

¹⁴http://www.laweekly.com/news/worst-legislator-in-california-part-ii-2170841, Accessed 19 January, 2016.

¹⁵http://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article4267094.html, Accessed 19 January, 2016.

	Estimate	SE	Ν
Overall	0.28	(0.01)	443,500
Insurance	0.95	(0.07)	$44,\!350$
Banking	0.50	(0.05)	$44,\!350$
Agriculture	0.47	(0.06)	$44,\!350$
Health	0.39	(0.04)	$44,\!350$
Transportation	0.29	(0.05)	$44,\!350$
Energy	0.25	(0.04)	$44,\!350$
Business	0.09	(0.04)	$44,\!350$
Education	0.08	(0.05)	$44,\!350$
Construction	0.03	(0.07)	$44,\!350$
Defense	-0.04	(0.03)	$44,\!350$

Table 3 – Effects of Committee Membership on Contributions.

does suggest to us that interest groups are especially aggressive in more abstruse, state-level policy areas.

The non-effect for defense is also consistent with this idea. Defense is clearly a policy area in which interest groups may have more reason to seek access to the federal rather than the state government. Tellingly, the defense committee (formally, the Defense and Aerospace committee) is not considered to have "juice" in California.¹⁶

The light blue square point estimates can be thought of as a sort of placebo test where we evaluate whether donors value committees because of their specific policy jurisdictions or not. If committees are just generally valued, then non-interested donors—that is, interest groups not affiliated with the industries related to a particular committee's policy jurisdiction—should display similar effect sizes to interested donors. Instead, we see much smaller, typically zero, effects for non-interested donors. This points to the specific, policy relevant value of committees. The gap between the estimates also provides a triple-difference estimate for the value of committee service. As we see, across almost all industries, there is a very large positive effect of committee membership on donations from interested groups and no effect on non-interested donations.

¹⁶Although precise definitions of "juice" committees vary, Defense and Education clearly do not rank. A recent listing of the juice committees includes the following committees: Appropriations; Banking and Finance; Business, Professionals, and Consumer Protection; Governmental Organization; Health; Insurance; Utilities and Commerce. See http://www.calnewsroom.com/2014/12/19/did-speaker-toni-atkins-assign-juice-committeesalphabetically-achadjian-bonilla-get-best-assignments/, Accessed 15 January, 2016.

In truth, this analysis has only scratched the surface of how the effects of committee membership vary across industries, across interest groups, and across states. In the Appendix, we offer a few more analyses on how effects vary across different types of state institutions, but there is much more work that could be done. The scale of the data is such that we cannot possibly present all of this variation in a single paper in a principled way. We hope that future work will continue to investigate the variation in these effects, and the way they differ from those at the federal level, in more detail.

Effects for Top Committees

Thus far we have explored policy specific links between committees and interest groups. But some committees—often the most highly sought after—have jurisdictions broader than any particular industry. In particular, we might suspect a large swath of interest groups to care which legislators become members of Appropriations, Ways & Means, and Rules. The first two of these are top committees tasked, generally speaking, with coordinating fiscal and budgetary issues; the latter is a committee present in almost all legislatures that controls questions of legislative procedure. We should note, however, that the specific powers of these committees vary markedly across the states. Rules committees, in particular, possess widely different powers in different state legislatures. Nonetheless, to quote from the National Conference of State Legislature's overview of Rules committees, "As the name implies, chamber rules often fall within the committee jurisdiction."¹⁷ Generally speaking, estimating the effects of joining Rules committees will give us insight into the value of procedural power, even if the precise procedural powers vary from state to state.

To estimate the effects of becoming a member of these top committees, we follow the similar specifications as before, but we include all types of interest-group donations since there is no clear matching of any particular industries to these general-purpose committees. As a result we no longer need candidate-by-industry fixed effects; instead, we use a variety of different fixed effects specifications that change the sets of observations used as controls for the difference-in-differences. These include simple year fixed effects, which compare trends across all legislators in all states, party-year fixed effects, which perform this comparison only within party to account for

¹⁷http://www.ncsl.org/documents/legismgt/ILP/97Tab4Pt4.pdf

Log Group Contributi				
Ways & Means/ Appropriations	$0.001 \\ (0.021)$	$0.003 \\ (0.021)$	0.013 (0.020)	
Rules	0.271 (0.026)	$0.275 \\ (0.026)$	0.244 (0.024)	
Ν	44,349	44,349	44,349	
Individual Fixed Effects Majority-Party Dummy Year Fixed Effects Party-Year Fixed Effects State-Chamber-Year Fixed Effects	Yes Yes No Yes No	Yes Yes No No	Yes Yes No No Yes	

 Table 4 – Value of Membership on Top Committees. Interest groups place

 great value on members of committees with influence over the rules of the legislature.

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

majority-party status, and state-chamber-year fixed effects, which perform this comparison only with legislative chambers.

Table 4 shows the results. Gaining membership to Appropriations and Ways & Means appears to provide little increase in contributions (first row). This is consistent with the null findings presented in Berry and Fowler (2016*a*), although it may also be unrelated. That interest groups do not react to legislators becoming members of these top committees may indicate that these committees convey no power to their members, as suggested for the federal case in Berry and Fowler (2016*a*); alternatively, it may only indicate that whatever power is conveyed is not of use to interest groups.

In contrast, becoming a member of the Rules committee appears to be extremely important to interest groups. This indicates how strategic interest groups may be. The Rules committee has no direct control over policy, but the decisions of the Rules committee may nevertheless be important. In the U.S. House, we know that the rules that accompany a bill when it is considered on the floor are crucial. Whether a bill is considered with a closed vs. open rule affects not only the content of the final bill and its likely outcome, but also influences the decisions of committee members anticipating whether or not their bill will be edited on the floor (see for example Gilligan and Krehbiel 1987). As such, the Rules committee may grant considerable procedural power—and therefore, indirect power over policy—to its members. In turn, it behooves interest groups to pay attention to who joins or vacates the Rules committee.

In this section, we have explored the value of committee memberships to interest-group donors. Using a new dataset on state legislative committee assignments, we have shown evidence that interest groups seek access to legislators who attain positions on committees that are relevant to their business interests. These findings are consistent with previous studies of interest groups and committees at the federal level, and they provide a clear picture of interest groups seeking direct access to specific legislators. Going further, we have also shown preliminary evidence that groups are thinking strategically—in addition to seeking direct access to relevant legislators, they aggressively seek out members of the Rules committee, one important form of procedural access.

Clearly, interest groups value committees. If interest groups are sophisticated, and if they put serious effort into the way they make campaign contributions, then the results in this section imply that they should also seek to influence the committee assignment process, directly. We now turn to the topic of indirect access in greater detail.

How Interest Groups Seek Indirect Access to Committees

We have shown that interest groups seek direct access to legislators serving on committees relevant to their business interests. But do they also seek indirect access to legislators who affect the committee process? We now answer this question by investigating whether becoming the member of the legislature in charge of committee assignments causes an increase in contributions from interest-group donors.

The Committee Assignment Process: Data and Background

As the previous section has shown, committee membership matters. It is no logical leap to suspect, then, that who holds the power to make committee assignments matters, too. Qualitative facts about the state legislative committee assignment process suggest that influencing it may be highly valuable to interest groups. Coverage of the committee assignment process clearly anticipates its value. For example, discussing the 2016 committee assignment process in California, the Sacramento Bee writes: "Depending upon the committee, the positions can boost a legislator's campaign account as special interest groups try to make nice with politicians to influence the outcome of bills."¹⁸ Interest groups are surely aware of these ideas. Indeed, state legislators we have spoken to suggest that there is a frenzy of interest group interest—and donations—centered on those in charge of the assignment process, up to the point when the assignments are announced. While typical voters are probably unaware of these assignments (generally the assignment announcements are only quietly published in local newspapers, and then later posted on the legislature's website), interest groups seem to pay close attention to the process. Just to choose one arbitrarily chosen example, The Humane Society Legislative Fund lists "committee assignments" as one of its main political considerations when seeking to influence policy.¹⁹

A rich literature explores the process by which committee assignments are made at the federal level (e.g., Krehbiel 1990; Londregan and Snyder 1994; Shepsle 1978). In the state legislatures, a dazzling variety of assignment procedures come into play. We take advantage of this variation to explore the value committee assignment power holds for interest groups. In some states, the authority is delegated to a single legislator (e.g., the Speaker of the House, the President or President Pro Tempore of the Senate); in other states, a group of legislators are jointly responsible for assigning members to committees (e.g., decided in a joint process involving both the minority and majority leader, or delegated to a Committee on Committees or the Rules Committee); and in other states, committee membership is determined by seniority rule or decided in plenum. To study the assignment process, we compiled a dataset describing the institutional features of the assignment procedures across states and years. For each state and year, we define a set of dummy variables indicating whether the responsibility for assigning legislators to committees is delegated to the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate, the President Pro Tem, the majorityparty leader, the minority-party leader, the Committee on Committees, or the Rules Committee. Our main primary source is the Book of the States, a yearly publication produced by the nonpartisan Council of State Governments (Governments 2014). Chapter 3 in this book describes the institutional features of the state legislatures in a given year. In cases where the information in the Book of States was incomplete, we supplemented it with archival material from the relevant state legislative archives.

¹⁸http://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article122240389.html

¹⁹http://www.hslf.org/our-work/taking-action/be-a-citizen-lobbyist/what-influences-legislators.html

Using this data in conjunction with information on the identity of various legislative leaders collected in Fournaies and Hall (2015), we identify the individual legislator who controls the assignment process. The dummies are not mutually exclusive, but are constructed to reflect the control of the assignment process as accurately as possible. If, for example, the control over the assignment process in the upper chamber is shared between the majority- and minority-party leader (as it currently is in CO and IA), both of these legislators are coded as 1. When the responsibility is delegated to a committee (Committee on Committees or the Rules), our analyses focus on the chair of the committee.

If the procedural decisions were static over time and across states, it would be difficult to parse out the value of holding assignment power. Although we could take advantage of individual members switching in and out of the roles that possess these powers, these roles typically come with other powers as well—for example, the President Pro Tempore often has the power to assign committees, but of course this role comes with many other *de jure* authorities, too. Fortunately for our purposes, there is substantial variation in the rules governing the authority to assign committee members. This variation allows us to cleave the value of assignment power from the value of other powers committee assigners often possess. To illustrate the variation, consider the allocation process in the upper chambers of Rhode Island and Connecticut. In Connecticut, the control of committee allocation was delegated to the President Pro Tempore up until 2006, at which point the Committee on Committees took over responsibility. In the upper chamber of nearby Rhode Island, the Majority leader held the power during the period 1990-2003, after which the President of the Senate obtained the power from 2004 to 2010. This type of within- and between-state variation in the process governing the allocation of committee membership is important because it enables us to compare the value of leadership institutions before and after the control over the committee assignment process is stripped away from a leader's portfolio of parliamentary rights. We exploit this in our identification strategy and discuss in further details below. Table A.11 reports how these institutional rules varies across states and time.

Large Effects of Committee Assignment Power on Contributions

Empirically, we are interested in comparing contributions to a legislator who obtains control of the committee assignment process to the counterfactual amount of contributions that the legislator would have received, had she not controlled the assignment process. In equation 2, we define our main treatment dummy,

$$Assign_{it} = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{if legislator } i \text{ controls committee assignments prior to the election at time } t \\ 0, & \text{otherwise,} \end{cases}$$

$$(2)$$

where i indicates a legislator and t refers to an election year.

The leader who is endowed with the institutional power to control committee assignments is clearly not randomly drawn from the pool of legislators. Hence, a simple cross-sectional comparison of contributions will only yield an unbiased estimate of the value of committee assignment control under very strong, implausible assumptions. There are at least two major concerns:

- 1. Leaders are systematically different from other legislators,
- 2. The process of assigning committee members is only one of many important tasks handled by legislative leaders (e.g., they may also refer bills to committees and set the legislative calendar).

Both of these problems will likely create an upward bias in the estimated effect because the quality that separates leaders from other legislators presumably also help them attract contributions, and because the other tasks that leaders perform are probably also deemed valuable by campaign donors.

To isolate the value of committee assignment control, we exploit two sources of variation. First, to separate out the institutional value of various leadership positions, we leverage *within-legislator* variation induced by legislators moving in and out of leadership positions (following shifts in majority-party status, for example). Second, to disentangle the value of committee assignment control from other valuable institutional features of leadership positions, we exploit variation in the institutional rules governing the authority to appoint committee members.

	Log (Log Group Contributions (\$)				
Assignment	0.83	0.50	0.50	0.49		
Control	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)		
Ν	$45,\!390$	$45,\!390$	$45,\!390$	$45,\!390$		
Individual Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Majority-Party Dummy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
State-Party-Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	No	No		
State-Chamber-Year Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes		
Seniority Fixed Effects	No	No	No	Yes		
Leadership Dummies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes		

Table 5 – **Value of Committee Assignment Control.** Interest groups invest in legislators who possess the power to make committee assignments.

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

Using OLS, we estimate the models of the following form

$$Log \ Money_{it} = \beta_1 Assign_{it} + \beta_2 Speaker \ House_{it} + \beta_3 President \ Senate_{it}$$
(3)
+ $\beta_4 President \ Pro \ Tem \ Senate_{it} + \beta_5 Majority \ Leader_{it}$
+ $\beta_6 Minority \ Leader_{it} + \beta_7 Chair \ of \ Rules_{it} +$
 $\beta_8 Chair \ of \ Committee \ on \ Committees_{it} + \alpha_i + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it},$

where $Assign_{it}$ is the dummy variable as defined in equation 2; $Speaker House_{it}$, President Sen ate_{it} , $President Pro Tem Senate_{it}$, $Majority Leader_{it}$, $Minority Leader_{it}$, $Chair of Rules_{it}$, Chair of $Committee on Committees_{it}$ are dummy variables taking on the value of 1 if legislator *i* is assigned to the leadership position in question during the term prior to the election at time *t*; a_i represents legislator-fixed effects; δ_t indicates some type of year-fixed effects; finally ε_{it} indicate the error term.

Table 5 presents the estimated results. In the first column, we estimate the overall effect of obtaining the position associated with making committee assignments; this estimate reflects both the actual value to interest groups of making committee assignments, *plus* any other attributes that come along with this position. To account for the possibility that becoming a member of the majority party makes a legislator more likely to obtain assignment control and more likely to get more contributions, we use state-party-year fixed effects, so that we only make comparisons among members of the same party in the same state. As the estimate shows, obtaining this position is extremely valuable to interest groups.

In the next column, we add dummies for the various types of leadership in order to parse out the value of committee assignment power itself. Here the hope is to hold membership in a given leadership position constant and alter who in the legislature holds the power to assign committees. As the estimate indicates, taking control of the committee assignment process appears to lead to a large increase in contributions from interest groups. The third and fourth columns explore alternate specifications for the difference-in-differences. While the second column uses simple individual fixed effects along with state-party-year fixed effects, the third and fourth use different specifications in which treated legislators are compared only to other legislators in their own state and chamber (column 3) and to only legislators in their own chamber with the same level of seniority (column 4). In all cases, a large and positive estimate is found. Comparing the fourth column's estimate to the first column's—which includes powers other than appointment power—it appears that appointment power is responsible for roughly 63% of the overall effect of obtaining the relevant leadership positions. Moreover, the estimated effect of 0.49 is substantially larger than the average effect for direct access (0.27 from column 2 of Table 2).

How do we interpret these results? They seem to indicate that a legislator receives a large amount of new money when she gains the power to make committee assignments. As the logged estimates show, as a proportion of her contributions these effects appear quite large. To see how large these effects are, we also re-estimate them in actual dollars; Table A.5 presents the results. The levels are worth discussing in some detail.

Gaining the power to assign committees is estimated to increase contributions by approximately \$190,000, on average. If we consider the estimated value of other legislative positions, it appears that assignment power is the most valuable power in the legislature. Becoming majority leader separate from the power to make committee assignments is estimated to bring roughly a \$50,000 increase, on average (so someone who becomes the leader and can make committee assignments would be estimated to gain \$240,000 on average). Minority leaders get roughly \$80,000 extra, on average; effects for other leadership positions are smaller. In sum, the power to make committee assignments of a leader's portfolio of powers.

What about relative to the donors' political campaigns in total? In the Appendix, we reestimate these main results using the percentage of total money given in that state and year as the outcome variable. The results indicate that the effects are substantial; gaining the power to make committee assignments is estimated to cause roughly a 2.6 percentage-point increase in a legislators' share of all contributions given in the legislature.

Could these results on indirect access be the result of a violation of the parallel trends assumption? It is possible that individuals seize power of the assignment process at a time when their interest-group contributions are trending upwards in a manner systematically different than other legislators, which would produce an upward bias in our estimates. The use of differing sets of candidate and time dummies suggests this is not the case, but in the Appendix, we also go further and estimate leads of the treatment variable. Figure A.1 presents the resulting estimates, which show no evidence of pre-treatment trending.²⁰

It is also possible that becoming the committee assigner is a compound treatment—individuals who gain (or lose) the power to make committee assignments might gain (or lose) other procedural powers at the same time, in which case our estimates would not successfully isolate the value interest groups place on the committee assignment process itself. Relatedly, states where particularly leadership positions are granted the power to make committee assignments could be states where that leadership position is especially important for other reasons. While our analysis uses state fixed effects, interaction effects like ours, where we examine the effect of becoming the leader across states, still implicitly uses cross-state variation. To address these concerns, in Appendix Table A.4, we re-estimate the same regressions but adding control variables that capture the other powers leaders might have. The first variable is an indicator for whether each legislator possesses the authority to refer bills to committees. This is among the most important other procedural powers legislative leaders tend to possess, and it is one we are able to observe by recording the legislator who refers bills to committees in each chamber in a given year. This information is obtained from the annual publication The Book of the States produced by Council of State Governments (2015). The second variable is Mooney (2013)'s index of Speaker power. We use this variable to see if, among speakers, gaining the power to make committee assignments is valuable to interest groups even holding fixed the power of the Speaker, who may or may not be the committee assigner. In both cases, we continue to find highly similar results, which suggest that interest groups really do

²⁰We would also like to follow best practices by estimating specifications that include individual-specific linear time trends. Unfortunately the large number of individuals makes this computationally impossible as of now.

valuable the procedural power to make committee assignments, itself. Although there is no perfect way to isolate this one mechanism, these results and the results from the previous section on Rules committee membership suggest that interest groups are sophisticated in their contributions, seeking out those imbued with procedural power and particularly those with the power to influence the membership of the committees whose policies they care about.

Discussion and Conclusion

Campaign finance continues to rank among the most salient political concerns of American citizens. There seems to be a widely held view that business interests, in particular, are able to use their financial resources to alter the political process in ways that benefit them. Without understanding the specific mechanisms by which these interest groups attempt to influence the process, it is hard to assess how accurate such claims are, or to begin to consider their normative implications. We do not pretend to provide a full account of the complex interplay of voters, interest groups, and political actors in a single paper, but we do pinpoint two particular strategies—direct and indirect access by which interest groups seek access to legislators. These strategies are widespread, spanning the legislatures of all fifty U.S. states, and they are far-reaching, applying to a variety of committees and a range of different business interests.

The first of these two mechanisms, direct access, is well established in a longstanding literature in American politics. Drawing on the techniques from this literature, we have shown that the same patterns of access seeking persist in state legislatures. Indeed, these results point to the remarkable generalizability of the access hypothesis, not just across democratic contexts but across industries, since the state legislative data offers the opportunity to study a broader swath of industries and committees. The desire of interest groups to gain access to legislators is hardly limited to the big money, high salience context of our federal legislatures. Moreover, the variation in these effects across industries suggests that the desire for access is motivated by policy interests; the industries we found to seek the most access to relevant committees—insurance, banking, and health—are precisely the industries most affected by state-level policy. This pattern of evidence makes clear that, at the very least, interest groups deploy their campaign funds as if they provide strategic value. An underappreciated implication of these results, we have argued, is that sophisticated interest groups should seek out procedural influence, given that they value committee membership so highly.

This leads us to the second mechanism, indirect access. We have argued that this latter type of access is at least as important a channel for interest-group influence. Interest groups are highly attuned to which legislators are sympathetic to their policy goals. The opportunity to help route these members to the proper committees is a clear strategic priority. Not only do the individuals in charge of making committee assignments possess a concentrated power of value to these groups, but because these decisions occur early in the session and are removed from policy decisions, they are likely to be less visible to the public.

To explore the value that interest groups place on indirect access, we began by investigating the effects of members joining the Rules committee, across all state legislatures. The effect of joining Rules on interest-group contributions is large—larger than almost all of the committee-specific direct access effects, and much larger than the effects for joining Appropriations or Ways & Means. Clearly, interest groups value influence over legislative procedure. Going further, we used data on leadership positions in state legislatures to try to isolate the effects of a legislator attaining the power to assign committees, aware of the possibility that committee assigners tend to be given other procedural powers at the same time. We documented a large, positive effect of obtaining the power to assign committees on interest-group contributions, indicating the value that strategic groups place on this procedural role in the legislature. In sum, interest groups' behavior shows that they are both highly aware and highly sophisticated when it comes to legislative politics. This in turn suggests large human capital investments and points to the value firms must find in the political marketplace.

Taking advantage of the rich variation in institutional structure across the U.S. states, we are also able to look, tentatively at least, at some of the ways in which indirect access differs from direct access. Though we omit these analyses from the body of the paper, they are presented in the Online Appendix, and may help to encourage future research about direct vs. indirect access. As we show, term limits do little to erode the value of direct access to committee members, but they entirely remove the observed value of indirect access. We suspect that this may be due to the fact that access to the committee assignment process requires a longer time horizon, necessitating a relationship built and maintained over many electoral cycles in order to bear fruit. The value of indirect access also appears to be increasing in the professionalization of the legislature, as measured using the Squire (2012) index, consistent with the notion that access to procedural power is more valuable in contexts where these procedures are well-established and regular. Again, this pattern is not found for direct access.

More generally, we hope that our study and the newly collected data that it offers will encourage more researchers to turn to the U.S. states for evidence on broad political phenomena. A long and fruitful literature has studied the state legislatures, but research in this vein is often regarded (sometimes unfairly) as being specific to the state context—akin to an area study. In fact the U.S. legislatures offer an unparalleled opportunity to test and revise general theories about the democratic legislative process. For our particular theory of indirect access, the federal level would be insufficient to establish any meaningful empirical patterns, due to the low degree of variation in which legislators possess the power to make committee assignments. For this question, and for many others like it, the variation in the institutional structures of the fifty U.S. states provide an invaluable laboratory.

How, and how much, do interest groups influence the political process? This is a large and important question, and there is much more work to be done to answer this question with any confidence. However, the patterns of evidence we have presented strongly suggest that interest groups view access to incumbents as valuable. Indeed, interest groups seem to value access to legislative committees enough to contribute both to committee members, directly, and to those legislators who control the committee assignment process. Unless interest groups are systematically wasting money, the results therefore suggest that they gain at least some amount of influence over the policy process through this behavior.

At the same time, the overall amounts that these groups give seem small (Ansolabehere, de Figueiredo, and Snyder 2003). Our results, and the accumulated results of the empirical literature on which we are building, raise a paradox. On the one hand, interest groups invest surprisingly little money, overall, in the political process. On the other hand, they invest what little money they commit to the process very carefully. Clearly, they do not dispense these contributions on a whim. Instead, they carefully seek out the members whose legislative roles offer potentially useful influence. Although the total amount of money spent is small, the investments in human capital necessary to deploy these amounts so strategically are not. Squaring these two conflicting observations is perhaps one of the most important tasks for future work in this literature.

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Online Appendix

Intended for online publication only.

A.1 Sample Information

Table A.1 shows how the sample size and corresponding donations vary across chambers and years. While we collected information on committee assignments for all chambers for the period 1990-2012, the campaign finance data from followthemoney.org is only available for some years in the early 1990s. The *Period* columns (columns 2 and 8) show the first and last year that a state appears in the sample. For example, we observe AK from 1990, while we only observe AR from 1996 and onwards.

Table A.1 – $\#$ observations by state and cha	amber.
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CLALA			Senate		House				Senate		House
State	Period	Total	Avg. Industry	Total	Avg. Industry	State	Period	Total	Avg. Industry	Total	Avg. Industry
		Obs.	Donation	Obs.	Donation			Obs.	Donation	Obs.	Donation
AK	1990-2012	98	27,351	371	20,007	AL	1994-2010	135	299,293	394	82,799
AR	1996-2012	102	49,878	508	17,934	AZ	1994 - 2012	189	11,712	379	10,974
CA	1994 - 2012	79	903,387	443	454,142	CO	1992 - 2012	76	38,606	440	21,138
CT	1994 - 2012	317	18,220	$1,\!141$	5,112	DE	1996-2012	92	18,285	286	14,564
FL	1994 - 2012	132	188,053	750	106,855	GA	1990-2012	531	65,341	$1,\!496$	34,384
HI	1994 - 2012	97	30,983	385	13,138	IA	1994 - 2012	163	65,980	741	$30,\!659$
ID	1990-2012	325	18,727	660	11,889	IL	1992 - 2012	275	326, 367	999	149,719
IN	1990-2012	216	73,405	967	39,936	KS	1992 - 2012	128	59,426	991	19,943
KΥ	1990-2012	152	31,598	929	9,848	LA	1995 - 2007	72	131,585	191	$67,\!680$
MA	1996 - 2012	307	24,813	1,236	8,094	MD	1994 - 2010	183	86,990	509	$37,\!137$
ME	1994 - 2012	246	4,959	1,048	1,590	MI	1994 - 2012	100	128,291	701	45,413
MN	1992 - 2012	311	5,275	$1,\!120$	2,564	MO	1992 - 2012	89	185,256	$1,\!176$	31,292
MS	1995 - 2007	156	36,027	373	17,313	MT	1990-2012	123	3,424	827	1,946
NC	1994 - 2012	411	82,761	990	43,369	ND	1994 - 2010	163	3,759	364	2,391
NE	1996 - 2010	100	41,124	0		NH	1994 - 2012	177	22,432	713	311
NJ	1993 - 2011	192	$152,\!494$	578	65,544	NM	1990-2012	150	41,710	659	21,975
NV	1990-2012	78	$225,\!242$	379	90,302	NY	1996-2012	496	165, 183	1,165	39,595
OH	1992 - 2012	75	217,054	716	70,803	OK	1996-2012	122	74,456	639	$30,\!638$
OR	1990-2012	93	184,351	506	90,334	PA	1994 - 2012	169	198,779	$1,\!608$	43,434
RI	1992 - 2012	393	4,152	718	2,798	SC	1992 - 2012	180	68,865	1,039	$20,\!685$
SD	1998-2012	178	7,733	354	5,739	TN	1992 - 2012	115	106,797	841	29,114
TX	1994 - 2012	138	545,368	1,145	136,413	UT	1992-2012	91	55,189	578	17,367
VA	1995 - 2011	127	246,082	660	94,575	VT	1994 - 2012	229	2,168	864	327
WA	1990-2012	185	103,423	926	$56,\!645$	WI	1994 - 2012	110	28,064	728	9,206
WV	1994-2012	114	29,196	741	10,122	WY	1990-2012	119	3,761	519	2,974

As discussed in the main text, the data is compiled by merging three main datasets: The data on state legislative elections, the campaign finance data and the data on committee assignments. In order to minimize merging errors stemming from minor differences in the spelling of candidate names in the two datasets (e.g. matching "William Hanson" and "William Hansen"), we calculate the Jaro-Winkler distance, a measure of similarity of strings, between the names of the candidates in the two datasets, and match the most similar name strings within a given district, party and year.

The variables *FTM name* and *total currentprices* in the replication dataset can be used to confirm the donations correctly match up with the right legislators in the election/committee assignment data. The name variable contains the exact string that followthemoney.org uses to identify a legislator and the donation variable contains the total dollars (including donations from individuals, unions and ideological groups) donated before we adjust for inflation. We implement a spot check by drawing a random sample of 100 legislators and double checking that the committee assignments and campaign contributions are correct for each individual.

A.2 Validating the Difference-in-Differences Design

To test whether the appointment-control treatment assigned at time t affects the allocation of donations in the pre-treatment sessions, we estimate the following models using OLS:

$$log(1 + contributions_{it}) = \alpha_i + \delta_t + \sum_{\tau=0}^{4} [\beta_{1,\tau} Appointment \ Control_{i,t+\tau}] + \mathbf{x}_{it}\theta + \varepsilon_{it}, \qquad (4)$$

The results are reported in Figure A.1. As indicated by the graph, the estimates in the pretreatment period are *not* statistically significantly different from zero. Although the lead estimates do bounce around, and the -3 period estimate is relatively large, it is noisy and the estimated real treatment effect is roughly twice as large in magnitude. This suggests that pre-treatment trending is not a major cause for concern.

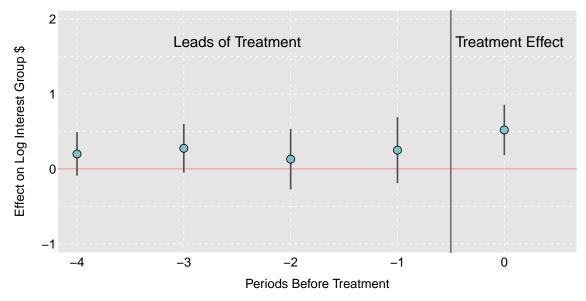


Figure A.1 – Testing for Pre-trending: Leads of the Treatment vs. Treatment Effect.

A.3 Robustness Checks

In Table A.2 we re-estimate the results from Table 5 using the share of total contributions as the outcome variable. As the table shows, obtaining the power to assign committees appears to exert a large effect on the allocation of interest groups' money.

Next, we also re-estimate the interactive effects using the share of total contributions as the outcome. In addition to an alternative interpretation of the effect, this constitutes an important robustness check for the results presented in the paper. States vary a lot in the overall levels of interest-group contributions, both due to state size and varying state regulations concerning limits on contributions. It is possible that effects are dampened in places where the levels of contributions are lower, which in turn could cause cross-state comparisons to be misleading. Redoing the regressions with percentages addresses these concerns. As the table shows, we continue to find exactly the same patterns of results; term limits appear to reduce indirect access effects while professionalization appears to increase them.

 Table A.2 – Value of Committee Assignment Control. Interest groups invest

 in legislators who possess the power to make committee assignments.

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	Group Contributions $(\%)$				
Assignment	3.65	3.08	3.26	3.24	
Control	(0.36)	(0.51)	(0.47)	(0.47)	
Ν	40,057	45,390	45,390	45,390	
Individual Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Majority-Party Dummy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
State-Party-Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	No	No	
State-Chamber-Year Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	
Seniority Fixed Effects	No	No	No	Yes	
Leadership Dummies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

Table A.3 – Value of Committee Assignment Control and State-levelInstitutions.

	Group Contributions (%)	Group Contributions (%)
Assignment	3.22	1.66
Control	(0.54)	(0.76)
Assignment \times	-0.38	
Term Limits	(1.04)	
Assignment \times		0.06
Squire Index		(0.02)
Ν	45,390	45,390
Individual Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Majority-Party Dummy	Yes	Yes
State-Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Leadership Dummies	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

Table A.4 – **Value of Committee Assignment Control.** The results are robust when we control for bill referral power and an index of Speaker power.

	Log Group Contributions $(\$)$				
Assignment	0.83	0.50	0.48	0.39	
Control	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.23)	
Ν	$45,\!390$	$45,\!390$	$45,\!390$	29,358	
Individual Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
State-Party-Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Majority-Party Dummy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Leadership Dummies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Bill Referral Power	No	No	Yes	Yes	
Speaker Power \times Speaker	No	No	No	Yes	

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

	Tot	al Group C	ontributions	(\$)
Assignment Control	$190,225 \\ (\ 36,381)$	191,007 ($63,865$)	$195,\!907 \\ (\ 63,\!921)$	$192,382 \\ (\ 63,516)$
Majority Leader		47,710 (6,646)	49,663 (6,730)	$49,074 \\ (\ 6,703)$
Minority Leader		79,360 (19,024)	74,061 (18,844)	72,987 (18,874)
Speaker of the House		20,536 (55,958)	21,318 (56,128)	20,388 (55,237)
President of the Senate		-13,654 (38,597)	-25,187 (38,640)	-23,378 (38,499)
President Pro Tem		39,394 (21,371)	36,139 (20,703)	36,751 (20,613)
Chair Rules		$19,387 \\ (\ 9,225)$	16,183 (8,611)	16,844 (8,438)
Ν	$45,\!389$	45,389	$45,\!389$	45,389
Individual Fixed Effects Majority-Party Dummy State-Party-Year Fixed Effects State-Chamber-Year Fixed Effects Seniority Fixed Effects	Yes Yes No No	Yes Yes No No	Yes Yes No Yes No	Yes Yes No Yes Yes
Leadership Dummies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table A.5 – Value of Committee Assignment Control. Interest groups investin legislators who possess the power to make committee assignments.

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

Examining Reforms Within States

The above analysis relies on comparing the effects of leadership across states. That is, while the analysis does include individual and time fixed effects that account for on-average differences across legislators (and therefore states, too) and years, the regression still separates out the effect of appointment power from the effects of obtaining leadership positions by making comparisons across states. This gives us the maximum power to estimate the value of appointment power, but it might overstate this value if there is a correlation between a state's choice to give a particular leadership position the power to make committee assignments and other factors that make that position powerful. For example, if state A makes the Speaker make committee appointments because the Speaker is a powerful actor, while state B makes the Majority Leader make committee appointments because in that state this person is more powerful than the Speaker, than the variation in appointment power will not be the only thing captured by our difference-in-differences design.

To make sure this issue does not drive our results, we now perform a more focused analysis in which we leverage only within-state changes in the power to make committee assignments. That is, we zoom in on individual members who hold the same leadership position in consecutive terms but whose power to assign committees varies over these two terms. These are individuals who either (a) lose the power to make committee assignments while maintaining the same leadership position or (b) gain the power to make committee assignments while maintaining the same leadership position. There are 17 such cases in the dataset; hence, this analysis will not be statistically precise, but it will help to validate the results above.

We define a new variable $Switch_{it}$ which takes the value 1 if legislator i gains the power to make committee assignments at time t, 0 if there is no change in legislator i's powers, and -1 if legislator i loses the power to make committee assignments at time t.

First, we simply calculate the average change in log interest-group contributions for the switchers. Legislators already holding a leadership position who gain the power to make committee assignments see, on average, an increase of roughly 1.67 log points in their total contributions from interest groups—a massive increase. Legislators already holding a leadership position who lose the power to make committee assignments see, on average, a decrease of roughly .72 log points, again a very large change.

To test this more rigorously—while still keeping in mind the very small sample sizes—we run simple regressions of the form

$$Log Money_{it} = \beta_1 Switch_{it} + \gamma_i + \delta_t + \epsilon_{it}$$
(5)

where all variables are defined as before. This equation implicitly defines a new difference-indifferences design in which only the switching legislators are used in the treatment group, thus avoiding making any cross-state comparisons in the value of various leadership positions. Consistent with the simple averages calculated above, we estimate $\beta_1 = 0.29$, indicating a large increase when members gain the power to make committee assignments, holding their leadership position constant, and a large decrease when they lose this power. This point estimate is very similar in magnitude to the overall indirect access effects estimated before. With so few treated units it is difficult to perform statistical inference. With robust standard errors clustered by candidate—generally the preferred inferential approach, although clustered standard errors perform poorly when there are this few clusters (Bertrand, Duflo, and Mullainathan 2004; Cameron, Gelbach, and Miller 2008) the t-statistic is 1.31 (p < 0.19). Nevertheless, the fact that the effect is so dramatic in these cases, along with the higher-powered analyses presented previously, strongly suggest that making committee assignments is a valuable asset. Indirect access appears to be a high priority for interest groups.

A.4 Committee-Industry Mappings

The tables below provide an exhaustive list of the committee names that are matched to the ten industry sectors from Follow the Money.

Who Values Indirect Access?

Above, we showed that indirect access is more important than direct access for interest groups in state legislatures, on average. But who are the groups that value one type of access or the other? Do groups trade off the two? In this section we explore this in more detail to understand the strategic behavior of interest groups.

First, we evaluate the link between direct and indirect access, with two possible theoretical predictions in mind. On the one hand, industries that value committees more, and therefore seek more direct access, might be expected to seek more indirect access, too. The logic is straightforward. The firms who care more about influencing committee members should also care more about influencing the composition of committees in the first place. While this logic seems clear, firms nevertheless are financially constrained. More donations to one set of legislators, such as committee members, may necessarily mean fewer donations to another set, such as committee assigners.

To assess these hypotheses, we estimate the effect of a legislator obtaining the power to make committee assignments on interest-group contributions for the same ten industry groupings we used in Figure 2. We use the same specification from equation 3, including dummies for the leadership positions to isolate the effect of appointment power itself. We then compare these estimates to the estimated effects of committee membership on contributions from the relevant interested industry from Figure 2.

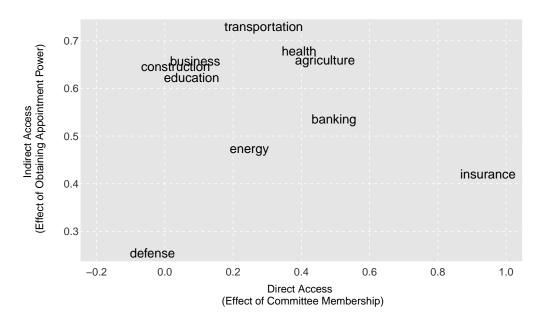
As Figure A.2 shows, we see a weak but *positive* correlation. Although the insurance industry appears to be a large outlier in how much it values direct access, overall, industries that seek out relevant committee members also seek out those with the power to make committee assignments. The correlation may not be strong but it is decidedly not negative.²¹ Rather than trading off direct and indirect access, the industries that give more to committee also generally seem to give more to committee assigners.

We can also investigate which specific parts of industries appear to place the most value on indirect access. In particular, we re-estimate equation 3 using contributions from each of the 80 sub-industry codings provided in the Follow The Money data. Figure A.3 plots the resulting point estimates. Because there are many estimates, there are obvious concerns of multiple testing here. We view the plot as preliminary and descriptive. For this reason, we do not include confidence intervals, although many would be considered statistically significant if viewed in isolation.

The figure shows interesting possible variation in the value of indirect access. The top right of the plot shows the sub-industries where the effects of a legislator obtaining the power to make committee assignments on contributions is highest. As we see, the very highest estimate is for

²¹Including the insurance industry point, the correlation between the two estimates is roughly 0; however, omitting insurance, the correlation is 0.4.

Figure A.2 – **How Industries Value Direct vs. Indirect Access.** Each point in the plot depicts the estimated effect of committee membership (horizontal axis) and committee assignment power (vertical axis) for a given interest-group industry.



contributions from the Securities & Investment sub-industry. Mining, Air Transport, and Tobacco are among the other most invested sub-industries. In contrast, Railroads, Dairy, Oil & Gas, and Telecom are among those who seek the least direct access, according to the estimates. Though we do not explore this variation in detail in this paper, we hope that by documenting it we will spur future efforts to understand why some firms value indirect access more than others.

Direct and Indirect Access Across States

By studying state legislative committees, we also gain the advantage of being able to make comparisons across institutional contexts. In this section, we explore how the value of access appears to vary across states. We focus on two important types of institutional variation: term limits and professionalization.

Term limits provide a useful test of the indirect access hypothesis. A main part of the supposed value of "investing" in politicians depends on a long time horizon—"give early, give often" in the words of Snyder (1992). Legislative term limits remove this time horizon. If interest groups are

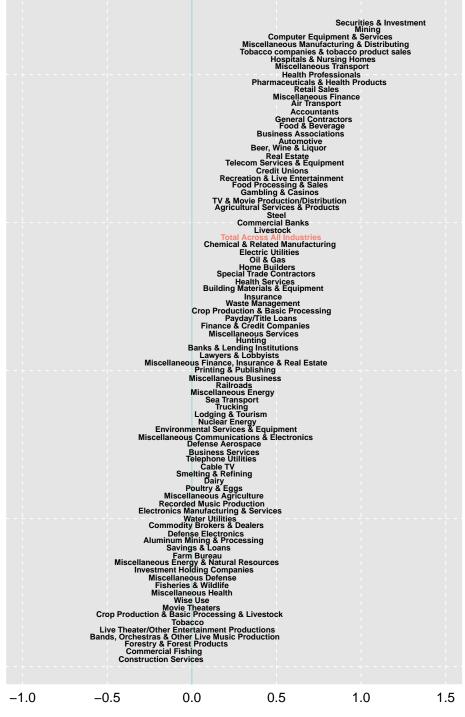


Figure A.3 – How Sub-Industries Value Indirect Access.

Effect of Obtaining Power to Make Committee Assignments

donating for access, both directly and indirectly, then the implementation of term limits should diminish the value of access and thus decrease the amount of contributions from interest groups.

Simply comparing term-limited states to non-term-limited states will not test this hypothesis because term-limited states differ from other states in systematic ways. Instead, we follow Hall (2014) and focus on within-state over-time variation in term limits, taking advantage of the fact that states which currently have term limits implemented them at various times in the past.

The first column of Table A.9 presents the term-limits results. Note that we omit the main terms on term limits and on professionalization because these are fixed over time within states and therefore absorbed by the state-year fixed effects. As the interaction term in the second row shows, the entire effect of obtaining committee assignment control is wiped out by term limits. That is to say, after term limits are put in place, interest groups no longer reallocate contributions in response to a legislator taking control of the committee assignment process. The size of the negative interaction coefficient even suggests the possibility that obtaining assignment power induces a decrease in contributions, but we cannot reject the null that the effect in the term-limited context is zero, so this is likely due to sampling variability rather than evidence of a truly negative overall effect.²²

Next, we investigate how the effect varies across legislative professionalization, using the measure from Squire (2012). Some state legislatures, like California, are highly professionalized, with fulltime staff, high salaries, and a well-developed institutional structure. Others, like New Hampshire, pay very little, employ legislators only part-time, and are only weakly organized. The Squire (2012) index measures how professionalized each state legislature is. We create ranks based on this measure and interact the ranking with our main treatment variable. The second column of Table A.9 presents the results. As we see in the third row of the second column, the effect appears to shrink in less professionalized legislatures. For each increase in rank—that is, becoming less professional—the effect of obtaining the power to assign committees decreases by .01 log points. This may not seem large, but it implies that in the least professionalized legislature there is a much smaller effect of obtaining assignment control $(0.57-(50\times.01) = .07)$. However, the standard error does not allow us to reject the null of no slope, so this result is more tentative.

 $^{^{22}}$ Specifically, the p-value for the sum of the two coefficients is 0.27, so we cannot reject the null of a zero effect when term limits are in place.

One econometric issue warrants further mention. The U.S. states vary considerably in the overall amounts of money given to campaigns. Some states are larger and/or have more economic activity. Perhaps more importantly, some states limit the amount of money that donors can give to candidates while others do not. The differences in these levels may affect the state-by-state effect estimates—in particular, states where the overall amount of money contributed is less may exhibit smaller effect sizes because everything is necessarily compacted. Though there is no obvious reason this variation should bias the across-state comparisons that are implicit in these interactive specifications, they are worth account for; accordingly, in the Appendix we re-estimate these regressions using as the outcome variable the percentage of all money given in that state and year to a particular candidate as the outcome variable. This addresses differences in the levels. We continue to find the exact same pattern of evidence in these alternate specifications.

We now replicate these analyses for direct access. We add the same interactions—on term limits and on professionalization—to equation 1, estimating the effect of joining a committee on contributions from interest groups linked to that committee. Here, the results are quite different.

Consider the first column. Unlike for indirect access, here the effect does not appear to vary at all with term limits. Even when legislators are term-limited, interest groups continue to seek out those serving on relevant committees. This may not be surprising given that committees continue to operate in term-limited legislatures, but it suggests that the reason interest groups scale back their contributions to committee assigners in response to term limits cannot simply be that committees are less valuable. Instead, we suspect that this pattern of results indicates that short-term access to committee members is valuable whereas building relationships to committee assigners requires more sustained effort over a longer period of time. This latter requirement becomes unattainable when term limits are put in places, since the person in charge of making committee assignments only possess this power for a brief period of time. That committee access is valuable even in the short term is consistent with the results presented in Grimmer and Powell (2016), who find that committee effects are immediate and sharp. Further work will be necessary to test this hypothesis in greater detail.

In the second column, we see that direct access effects are larger in less professionalized legislatures, again in contrast to the indirect access results. That is, as the Squire rank increases indicating a less professionalized legislature—the effect of obtaining a relevant committee assignment on interest-group contributions goes up. The interaction coefficient is not especially large in magnitude, but, as before, if we consider the shift from most professionalized (rank=1) to least (rank=50), the effect would be more than twice as large. These results also illuminate the contrasts between direct and indirect access. It is possible that influencing the committee assignment process is more important in more professionalized legislatures where the committee system is more established; in less professionalized legislatures the assignment process may be more chaotic. Interest groups in these legislatures may therefore shift more of their effort to seeking out committee members directly. Again, these results are only tentative, but they suggest promising avenues for future research on the variation between direct and indirect access.

Committee Assignment Power Data

Table A.6 – Committee-industry match. A griculture, banking and business sectors.

Agriculture	Banking	Business
Agricultural Chemicals (Fertilizers & Pesticides)	Banks & Lending Institutions	Advertising & Public Relations Services
Agricultural Services & Related Industries	Commercial Banks & Bank Holding Companies	Alcohol
Agriculture	Credit Agencies & Finance Companies	Amusement Parks
Animal Feed & Health Products	Credit Unions	Amusement/Recreation Centers
Commodity Brokers & Dealers	Savings Banks & Savings And Loans	Apparel & Accessory Stores
Cotton	0	Artificial Sweeteners And Food Additives
Crop Production & Basic Processing Farm Bureaus		Beauty & Barber Shops Beer
Farm Machinery & Equipment		Beverage Bottling & Distribution
Farm Organizations & Cooperatives		Beverages (Non-Alcoholic)
Farmers, Crop Unspecified		Business Services
Feedlots & Related Livestock Services		Business Tax Coalitions
Florists & Nursery Services		Casinos, Racetracks & Gambling
Forestry & Forest Products		Catalog & Mail Order Houses
Grain Traders & Terminals		Chambers Of Commerce
Horse Breeders		Commercial Photography, Art & Graphic Design
Livestock		Confectionery Processors & Manufacturers
Milk & Dairy Producers		Consumer Electronics & Computer Stores
Other Commodities (Incl Rice, Peanuts, Honey)		Correctional Facilities Constr & Mgmt/For-Profit
Paper & Pulp Mills And Paper Manufacturing		Department, Variety & Convenience Stores
Poultry & Eggs		Direct Mail Advertising Services
Sheep And Wool Producers		Direct Sales
Sugar Cane & Sugar Beets		Drug Stores
Tobacco & Tobacco Products		Employment Agencies
Vegetables, Fruits And Tree Nut		Equipment Rental & Leasing
Veterinarians		Fish Processing
Wheat, Corn, Soybeans And Cash Grain		Food & Beverage Products And Services
, , , ,		Food And Kindred Products Manufacturing
		Food Catering & Food Services
		Food Stores
		Food Wholesalers
		Funeral Services
		Furniture & Appliance Stores
		General Business Associations
		General Commerce
		Hardware & Building Materials Stores
		Import/Export Services
		Indian Gaming
		International Trade Associations
		Laundries & Dry Cleaners
		Liquor Stores
		Liquor Wholesalers
		Management Consultants & Services
		Marketing Research Services
		Meat Processing & Products Miscellaneous Repair Services
		Miscellaneous Repair Services
		Outdoor Advertising Services
		Pest Control
		Pest Control Physical Fitness Centers
		Political Consultants/Advisers
		Pro-Business Associations
		Professional Sports, Arenas & Related Equip & Svcs
		Recreation/Entertainment
		Restaurants & Drinking Establishments
		Retail Trade
		Security Services
		Services
		Small Business Associations
		Tobacco Companies & Tobacco Product Sales
		Vending Machine Sales & Services
		Video Tape Rental
		Wholesale Trade
		Wine & Distilled Spirits Manufacturing
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

 $\label{eq:construction} \textbf{Table A.7} - \textbf{Committee-industry match.} \quad \text{Construction, defense, education sectors.}$

Construction	Defense	Education Education			
Architectural Services	Defense				
Builders Associations	Defense Aerospace Contractors	Law Schools			
Building Materials	Defense Electronic Contractors	Medical Schools			
Construction & Public Works	Defense Research & Development	Schools & Colleges			
Construction Equipment	Defense Shipbuilders	Technical, Business And Vocational Schools & Svcs			
Construction, Unclassified	Defense-Related Services				
Dredging Contractors	Ground-Based & Other Weapons Systems				
Electrical Contractors	Homeland Security Contractors				
Electrical Supply					
Engineering, Architecture & Construction Mgmt Svcs					
Engineers - Type Unknown					
Landscaping & Excavation Svcs					
Lumber And Wood Products					
Mobile Home Construction					
Other Construction-Related Products					
Plumbing & Pipe Products					
Plumbing, Heating & Air Conditioning					
Public Works, Industrial & Commercial Construction					
Residential Construction					
Special Trade Contractors					
Stone, Clay, Glass & Concrete Products					
Surveying					

 $\label{eq:commutation} \textbf{Table A.8} - \textbf{Committee-industry match.} \ \text{Energy, health, insurance, transportation sectors.}$

Energy	Health	Insurance	Transportation		
Alternate Energy Production & Services	Aids Treatment & Testing	Accident & Health Insurance	Air Freight		
Coal Mining	Biotech Products & Research	Insurance	Air Transport		
Electric Power Utilities	Chiropractors	Insurance Companies, Brokers & Agents	Aircraft Manufacturers		
Energy Production & Distribution	Dentists	Life Insurance	Aircraft Parts & Equipment		
Energy, Natural Resources And Environment	Drug & Alcohol Treatment Hospitals	Property & Casualty Insurance	Airlines		
Fuel Oil Dealers	Health Care Institutions		Auto Dealers, Foreign Imports		
Gas & Electric Utilities	Health Care Products		Auto Dealers, New & Used		
Gasoline Service Stations	Health Care Services		Auto Manufacturers		
Independent Oil & Gas Producers	Health Professionals		Auto Repair		
Independent Power Generation & Cogeneration	Hmos		Automotive, Misc		
Lpg/Liquid Propane Dealers & Producers	Home Care Services		Aviation Services & Airports		
Major (Multinational) Oil & Gas Producers	Hospitals		Bus Services		
Metal Mining & Processing	Medical Laboratories		Buses & Taxis		
Mining	Medical Supplies Manufacturing & Sales		Car Rental Agencies		
Mining Services & Equipment	Mental Health Services		Cruise Ships & Lines		
Natural Gas Transmission & Distribution	Nurses		General Aviation (Private Pilots)		
Non-Metallic Mining	Nursing Homes		Manufacturers Of Railroad Equipment		
Nuclear Energy	Nutritional & Dietary Supplements		Railroad Services		
Nuclear Plant Construction, Equipment & Svcs	Optical Services (Glasses & Contact Lenses)		Railroad Transportation		
Oil & Gas	Optometrists & Ophthalmologists		Railroads		
Oilfield Service, Equipment & Exploration	Other Non-Physician Health Practitioners		Sea Freight & Passenger Services		
Petroleum Refining & Marketing	Other Physician Specialists		Sea Transport		
Power Plant Construction & Equipment	Outpatient Health Services (Incl Drug & Alcohol)		Ship Building & Repair		
Rural Electric Cooperatives	Personal Health Care Products		Space Vehicles & Components		
	Pharmaceutical Manufacturing		Taxicabs		
	Pharmaceutical Wholesale		Truck & Trailer Manufacturers		
	Pharmacists		Truck/Automotive Parts & Accessories		
	Physicians		Trucking		
	Psychiatrists & Psychologists		Trucking Companies & Services		

	Log Group Contributions (\$)	Log Group Contributions (\$)
Assignment	0.53	0.57
Control	(0.12)	(0.21)
Assignment \times	-0.56	
Term Limits	(0.25)	
Assignment \times		-0.00
Squire Index		(0.01)
N	$45,\!390$	45,390
Individual Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Majority-Party Dummy	Yes	Yes
State-Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Leadership Dummies	Yes	Yes

Table A.9 – Value of Committee Assignment Control and State-levelInstitutions.

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

	Log Group Contributions (\$)	Log Group Contributions (\$)
Committee Membership	$0.300 \\ (0.016)$	$0.259 \\ (0.035)$
Committee Membership \times Term Limits	-0.035 (0.032)	
Committee Membership \times Squire Index		$0.001 \\ (0.001)$
Ν	443,500	443,500
Candidate by Year FEs Candidate by Industry FEs	Yes Yes	Yes Yes

Table A.10 – Value of Industry-Specific Committee Membership and State-level Institutions.

Robust standard errors clustered by legislators in parentheses.

			Ho	use						Senate			
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	Me.	Min. Leader	Speaker.	Conti Conti Conti	Rules Cor.	Offer.	Maj. Leader	Mii. Leader	L. C. Stillent	Senate Z	60000 67 6000	Rules Con.	Other
AK	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
AL AD	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0\\ 83.3 \end{array}$	0.0	0.0	27.8	16.7	50.0	0.0	5.6
$\begin{array}{c} AR \\ AZ \end{array}$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$16.7 \\ 100.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	83.3 0.0	0.0 0.0	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0\\ 100.0\end{array}$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	44.4 0.0	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$55.6 \\ 0.0$
CA	0.0	0.0	94.4	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
CO	0.0	25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	69.4	30.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CT	0.0	0.0	61.1	38.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	61.1	38.9	0.0	0.0
DE	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
$\mathbf{FL}$	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
$\mathbf{GA}$	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	44.4	0.0	55.6	0.0	0.0
$_{\rm HI}$	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	94.4	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
IA	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
ID	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
IL	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	44.4	44.4	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0
IN	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
$\mathbf{KS}$	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
KY	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0
LA	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MA	0.0	25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MD	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
ME	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MI MN	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$100.0 \\ 100.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	100.0 0.0	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	0.0	$0.0 \\ 55.6$	$0.0 \\ 44.4$
MO	2.8	16.7	80.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	0.0	44.4 0.0
MS	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MT	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
NC	0.0	0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	55.6	33.3	0.0	0.0
ND	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	94.4	5.6	0.0
NE							0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
NH	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NJ	0.0	0.0	61.1	38.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	61.1	0.0	38.9	0.0	0.0
$\mathbf{N}\mathbf{M}$	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
NV	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
NY	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
OH	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	55.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	44.4
OK	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.8	0.0	72.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
OR	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
PA	0.0	0.0	61.1	38.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
RI	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	44.4	0.0	55.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
$\frac{SC}{SD}$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$100.0 \\ 100.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	0.0 0.0	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 8.3 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$0.0 \\ 47.2$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$100.0 \\ 44.4$
TN TX	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$100.0 \\ 100.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	0.0 0.0	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0 \\ 0.0 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0\\ 100.0\end{array}$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$	$0.0 \\ 0.0$
UT	0.0	0.0	100.0 100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
VA	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
VT	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	94.4	0.0	0.0
WA	0.0	0.0	94.4	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	88.9	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0
WI	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	44.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	55.6
WV	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
WY	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table A.11 – Committee Assignment Control (% of years from 1988-2012).

Note: For each state, the table reports the percent of years in which the leader indicated by

column header is responsible for appointing committee members.