**Appendix to "Strategic Support or Oppose Legislation in the U.S. Congress" (*Journal of Legislative Studies)*

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Identifying different stages of the legislating process

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

The motions were grouped into the following categories and codes:

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

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

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

9 – Approval of conference report (motiontype 19)
10 – Override of presidential veto (motiontype 5)

Key words used to identify group member types

Three binary variables were created capturing three kinds of lobbying entities:

businesses, trade and professional associations (including unions), and advocacy groups (both

with members and just donors). I did key word searches on the names of the observed

organizations (using STATA's "regexm" command) to identify groups containing identifying

words in their names. All words were searched in both capitalized and un-capitalized versions.

However, I did not solely rely on this. After the lists of organizations in each category were

generated, I read through these lists and removed those that clearly did not belong in that

category. Those that were ambiguous were looked up online before a decision on whether to

retain them on the list was made. Finally, my research assistants and I then samples 500

organizations and their codes, looked up the organizations, coded them ourselves, and then

compared these results to our codes from STATA. We agreed in 91% of cases.

Advocacy groups:

academy
action
advoc
Americans for
attorney
campaign
caucus
center
christian
citizen
club
collaborative
collective
committ
cong

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

Associations of businesses, institutions, or individual professions:

academy of
alliance
associated
association
business
chamber
church
coalition
college of
conference
congress of / for
consortium

council of / for
federation
group
hospital
industry
institute
insur
league
manufacturers
museum
of America
partnership
producers
professional
roundtable
society of / for
trade
university

Businesses

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

Otherwise businesses were identified by simply looking through the complete list of

organizations in the MapLight data. I also created a "pro-business" variable, which is used in the

scale indicating the extent to which members or clients want the observed bill, and also used in

the bill passage analysis appearing in Table 3. All businesses were coded 1 (non pro-business

groups were coded 0), and the following key words were used to identify pro-business interest

groups, though the resulting list was also inspected visually for accuracy with many groups being

looked up to make sure they really are pro-business:

against
alliance
Americans for
associated
association
balance
bank

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

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

The most complex variable in the paper is the measure of the extent to which

organization members or clients, whom the lobbyist represents, would want the observed bill

because it is consistent with their interests. There are a couple of steps in creating this variable.

Step one is creating a simple ideology code for each organization based on key words in its name. This was done in a manner very similar to coding groups by organizational type. Specifically, STATA's "regexm" command was used to isolate keywords in organization names. The words used for liberal, conservative, and non-ideological organizations are listed below. Again, the lists of results were looked through by me for anomalies (and then re-checked with the Internet), and my research assistants and I took a random sample of 500 organizations and recoded them ourselves and compared them to the results from the coding using STATA. We agreed in 93% of cases.

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

Abortion
Against
Americans for
Balance
Bank
Business
Capital
Christian
Competitive
Constitution
Credit
Energy
Enterprise
Family
Finance
Free
Heritage
Independence

Insur
Judic
Liberty
Life
Manuf
Market
Mine
Mining
Oil
Petroleum
Security
Sense
Strong
Tax
Value
Waste

"Non-ideological," which may be "moderate" but is not explicitly labeled as such, includes most businesses, though not necessarily organizations that represent businesses. The entire medical profession is placed here. Also found here are organizations supporting some types of social services, especially those for youth, as this does not appear to be overly partisan. Veterans and military groups are also given this code as they seem just as happy to work with Democrats as Republicans. Groups that explicitly call themselves bipartisan, and this is not contradicted by other evidence, are counted here. Therse groups are coded 0 on the group ideology variable. Keywords are:

(a variety of medical terms)
Academic
Academy
American
Business
Center
College
Doctor
Foundation
Medic

Nurse
Physician
University
Vet
Youth

"Liberal" here means organizations favoring the rights of, and support for, minority groups and women, who desire to provide services in poor communities, who promote non-military versions of peace, who defend civil rights and liberties, who protect the rights of consumers, and who favor regulations and government action in support of the environment and the animals living in it. It also includes most forms of regulation on business and protection for workers in public and private labor unions. Liberal groups are coded 1 on the ideology variable. Liberal keywords are:

Action
Advocate
AID
Attorney
Black
Cause
Civil
Climate
Collaborative
Collective
Common
Conservation
Consumer
Demo
Education
Environment
Gay
Green
Hispanic
Homeless
Housing
human right
Income

Initiative
International
Labor
Latin
Lawyer
Lesbian
Mom
Mother
Movement
Peace
Poor
Progress
Project
Public
River
Teacher
Union
Watch
Water
Wild
Women
World

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

- Set the initial observation for every group at 0

- If Democrats control the observed chamber (otherwise leave code at 0), then:

    o code the observation as the average of the DW-Nominate scores for Democrats

      co-sponsoring the bill (using the absolute value, this represents the extent to

      which the bill reflect Democratic values, but Republican-only sponsored bills are

      0)

    o Add 1 if the pro-business dummy variable is 0

    o Add 1 if the ideology variable is 1 (for liberal)

- If Republicans control the chamber (no code change otherwise), then

- code the observation as the average of the DW-Nominate scores of Republican co-sponsors of the bill (which will be positive, and represents the extent to which the bill reflects Republican values, Democrat only sponsored bills are 0)
- Add 1 if the pro-business dummy variable is 1
- Add 1 f the group ideology variable is -1