Supporting Information for
Bureaucratic Revolving Doors and Interest Group Participation in Policymaking

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A Summary Statistics

To understand the general revolving-door phenomenon in the executive branch, we extract the career trajectories of revolving-door lobbyists from the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP)'s webpage.[1] We use the CRP's data for the period 1998-2016 to examine the overall pattern of the revolving-door phenomenon in federal agencies.[2] The CRP data include the career trajectories of people who were employed in the federal government or appointed to federal government entities, such as advisory boards, for the top 18 federal agencies that produced the most lobbyists.[3] For each individual, the data records the name of each employer, the start and end years for a given employer, and the job title.

Using the data on career trajectories of revolving-door lobbyists, we calculate the proportion of executive branch revolvers who began their careers in government or in the lobbying or private sector. We also calculate the proportion of lobbyists who began their careers in government, joined the lobbying or private sectors after leaving the government, and then returned to government. Last, we calculate the proportion of individuals who served as lobbyists or worked in the private sector, then joined the federal government, and then returned to the private sector. These final two categories, especially the former, are more consistent with common notions of a revolving-door career.

Table A1 presents the summary statistics on the career trajectories of revolvers from 18 federal agencies for the period 1998-2016. We extract the information from the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP)'s webpage (`www.opensecrets.org`). Overall, we see that roughly 70.4% of executive branch revolvers began their careers working in the government, while 29.6% began their careers in the lobbying or private sector. What is immediately obvious from this data is that executive branch revolvers enter and exit government at highly variable points in their careers. The congressional revolving door, which is mostly a one-way street of young staffers leaving the government or congress members moving to the lobbying industry after retirement. On the other hand, the executive branch revolving door features people who enter government after years in the private sector, individuals who come in and out of government multiple times over their careers, and people who exit the government after a period of time and never return.

When we consider federal agencies that produced revolving-door lobbyists in terms of an absolute number of lobbyists, the Departments of Defense, State, and Commerce have the highest number of revolving-door lobbyists. When we consider the ratio of revolving-door lobbyists in each agency relative to the agency's staffing size, agencies such as the Office of US Trade Representative (USTR), the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), produce relatively more revolving-door lobbyists. These agencies have a small number of employees, many of whom are in senior positions, and directly address issues

1. `https://www.opensecrets.org/revolving/top.php?display=G` (accessed May, 1, 2017)

2. LobbyView.org provides the improved version of the CRP's lobbying data (Kim 2018). For our main analysis, which requires the information on the connected firms' lobbying activities, we use the LobbyView.org data. However, LobbyView.org does not publicly provide lobbyist-level data that includes their career backgrounds. Therefore, we use the CRP's data to describe the career trajectories of bureaucratic revolvers.

3. The names of the included agencies are: Army, Commerce, Defense, Agriculture, Energy, Justice, EPA, Executive Office of the President, FCC, Health and Human Services, Justice, OMB, SEC, State, Transportation, Treasury, US Diplomatic Missions, and USTR.

Table A1: Summary Statistics for Revolvers in Bureaucracy

Variable	Mean (%)	N
Panel A. Career Trajectory		
Started in Government	70.4	5,752
Started in Lobbying or Private Sector	29.6	5,752
Government → Private Sector → Government	53.2	5,752
Private Sector → Government → Private Sector	23.4	5,752
Panel B. Career Experience		
Executive Branch	100	5,752
Congress	30.4	5,752
State/Local Government	7.8	5,752
Lobbying Firm	72.4	5,752
Private Sector	63.5	5,752

that firms and business organizations—the largest lobbying client group—care disproportionately about.

Table A2 shows the summary statistics of key variables of the firm-level data. Table A3 shows the summary statistics of bureaucrat-firm-level data.

Table A2: Summary Statistics of Firm-Level Variables, 1997-2017

	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max	N
Any Committee	0.33	0	0.47	0	1	3,507
(ln) Lobbying Spending	7.14	9.21	7.20	0	18.64	3,507
(ln) Num. of Lobbying Report	1.28	1.09	1.42	0	5.14	3,507
(ln) Num. of Lobbying Report Mentioning USTR	0.42	0	0.68	0	2.89	3,507
(ln) Num. of Lobbying Report Mentioning Trade-Related Agencies	0.73	0	1.01	0	3.97	3,507

Table A3: Summary Statistics of Bureaucrat-Firm-Level Variables, 1997-2017

	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max	N
Any Committee	0.41	0	0.49	0	1	8,022
(ln) Lobbying Spending	8.49	12.70	7.51	0	18.64	8,022
(ln) Num. of Lobbying Report	1.66	1.60	1.63	0	5.14	8,022
(ln) Num. of Lobbying Report Mentioning USTR	0.61	0	0.82	0	2.89	8,022
(ln) Num. of Lobbying Report Mentioning Trade-Related Agencies	0.97	0	1.15	0	3.97	8,022
Bureaucrat's Initial USTR Salary ($K)	102.2	105.0	32.8	1.7	180.1	7,686
Ideolgical Gap Score with USTR	0.94	0.54	0.86	0	2.71	4,872

We identify the CF Score for 102 out of 195 bureaucrats in our sample. Figure A1 presents the distribution of the CF Scores of 102 revolving-door bureaucrats in the USTR.

Figure A1: Distribution of Revolving-Door Bureaucrats' CF Scores

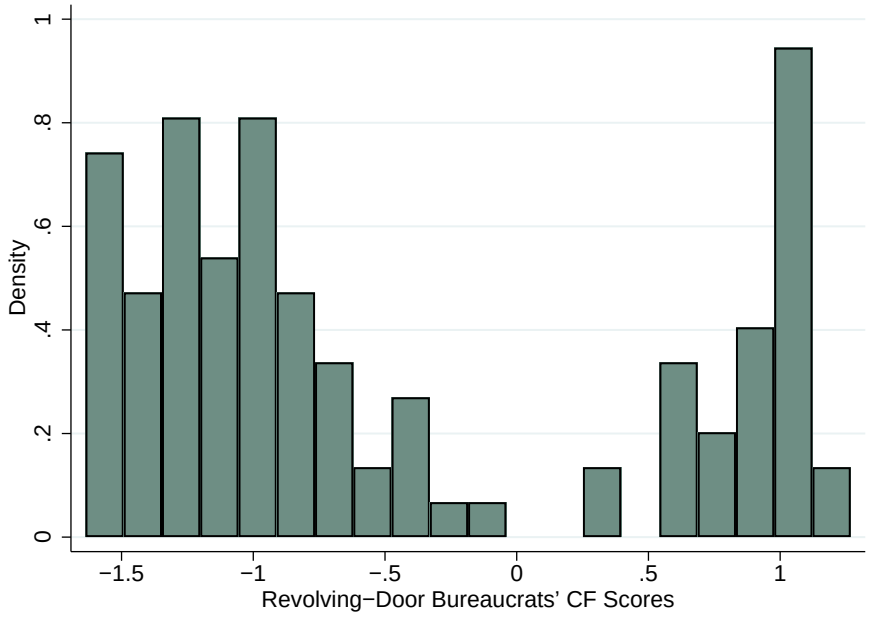


Table A4 compares the characteristics of bureaucrats with and without CF Scores. Bureaucrats with CF Scores start at a lower GS rank in the USTR compared to bureaucrats without CF Scores but there is no statistically significant difference in their starting salaries. Bureaucrats with CF Scores are more likely to hold a JD degree but there is no statistically meaningful difference in terms of the USTR division in which they work compared to bureaucrats without CF Scores.

Table A4: Descriptive Statistics on Bureaucrats with and without CF Scores

	With CF Score		Without CF Score		Two Sample T-tests	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	p-value
Starting GS Rank	7.5	6.9	10.1	6.3	2.60	0.01
Starting Salary ($)	101,366	36,101	96,423	32,784	0.96	0.33
PR Division	0.30	0.46	0.21	0.41	1.41	0.16
JD Degree	0.54	0.50	0.38	0.48	2.28	0.02

Figure A2 presents the distribution of firms' CF Scores. Figure A3 presents the distribution of the absolute difference between a bureaucrat's CF Score and the USTR median CF Score.

Figure A2: Distribution of Firms' CF Scores

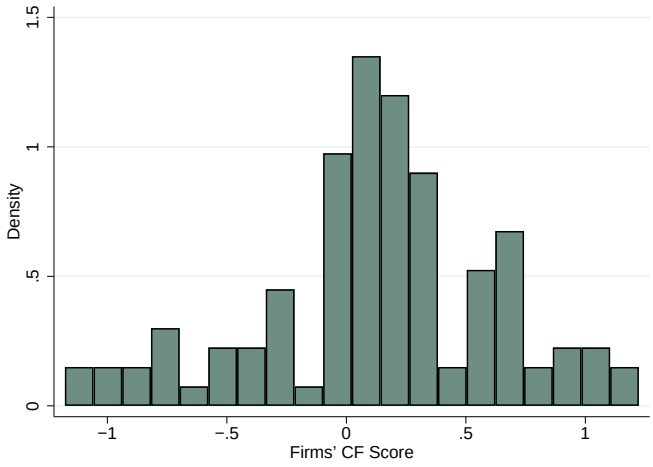


Figure A3: Distribution of the Absolute Difference between Bureaucrat's CF Score and the USTR Median CF Score

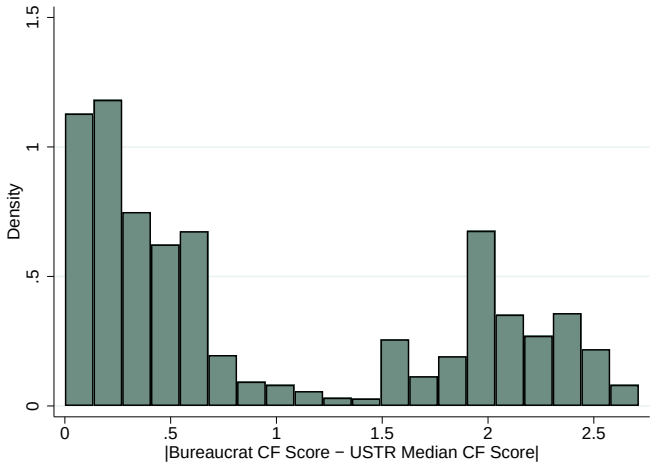


Figure A4 presents the first quarter that all the USTR bureaucrats from 1978 to 2014 received their pay, recorded in the Office of the Personnel Management (OPM) data. Figure A5 presents the first quarter that the revolving-door bureaucrats in our main dataset received their first pay, recorded in the OPM data for the period 1978-2014.

Figure A4: Distribution of the First Quarter that All USTR Bureaucrats Received Their First Pay, 1978-2014

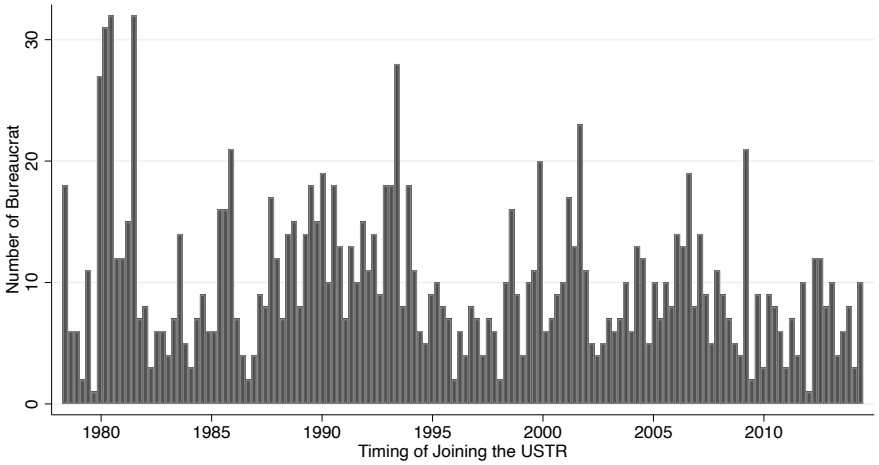
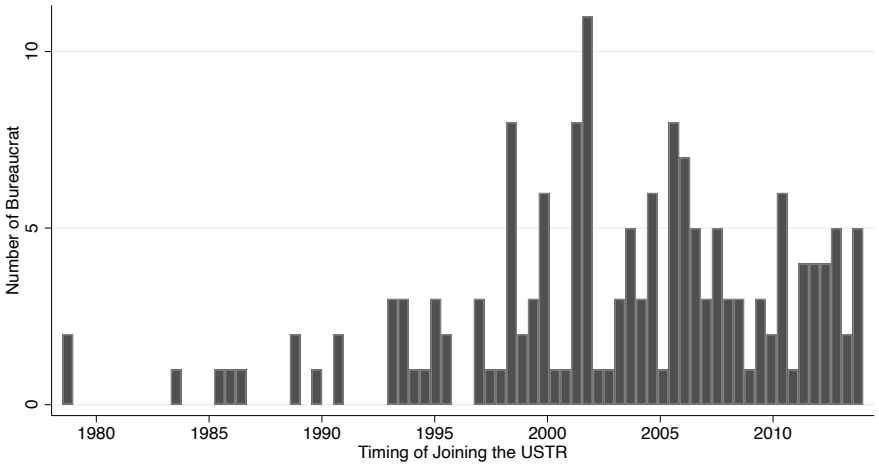


Figure A5: Distribution of the First Quarter that Revolving-door Bureaucrats in Our Dataset Received Their First Pay, 1978-2014



B USTR Advisory Committees Data

During the period 1997-2017, there were 54 unique advisory committees in total. On average, the number of advisory committees in every fiscal year is 27. The minimum is 26 and the maximum is 31. Since 2006, 16 committees (*e.g.* Industry Trade Advisory Committees, ITACs) are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce (DOC) and the USTR; 7 committees (*e.g.,* Agricultural Technical Advisory Committees, ATACs) are under the joint supervision of the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the USTR; and 4 committees are under the sole jurisdiction of the USTR (Table B1).

Table B1: Jurisdiction of USTR Advisory Committees

	DOC	USDA	USTR	Total
1998	20	6	5	31
1999	20	6	3	29
2000	21	6	4	31
2001	21	6	4	31
2002	21	6	4	31
2003	21	7	4	31
2004	17	7	4	28
2005	17	7	3	27
2006	16	7	4	27
2007	16	7	4	27
2008	16	7	4	27
2009	16	7	4	27
2010	16	7	4	27
2011	16	7	4	27
2012	16	7	4	27
2013	16	7	4	27
2014	16	7	4	27
2015	16	7	4	27
2016	16	7	4	27
2017	16	7	4	27

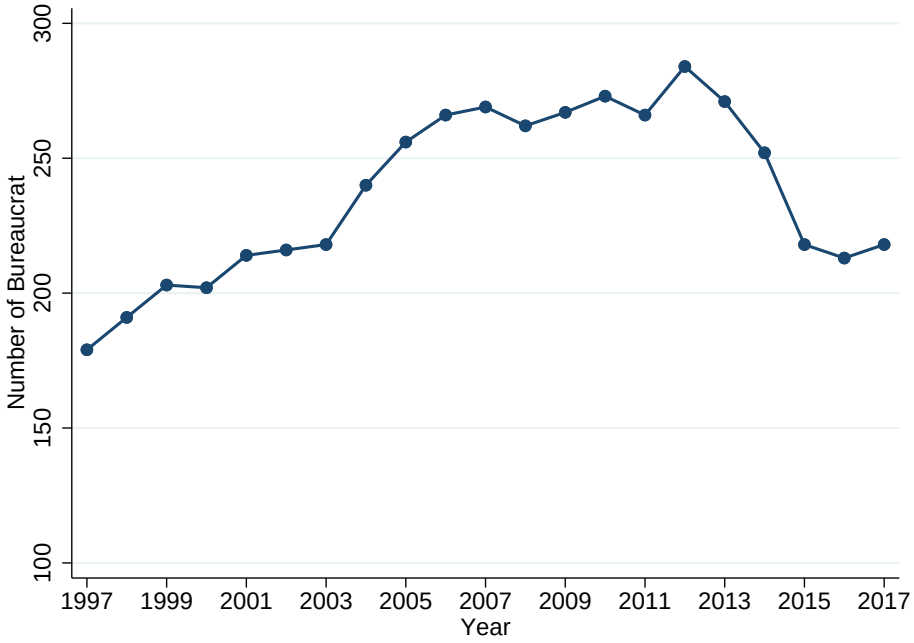
C USTR Bureaucrats and Their Career Trajectories Data

There are 825 USTR officials who served in the USTR during the period 1997-2017 whose employment information is public. Table C1 and Figure C1 show the number of USTR officials in a given year. The number of USTR officials increases during the second terms of the Bush administration (2005-2008) and the Obama administration (2009-2012).

Table C1: Number of USTR Officials by Year, 1997-2017

Year	# of Employees	Year	# of Employees
1997	179	2008	262
1998	191	2009	267
1999	203	2010	273
2000	202	2011	266
2001	214	2012	284
2002	216	2013	271
2003	218	2014	252
2004	240	2015	218
2005	256	2016	213
2006	266	2017	218
2007	269		

Figure C1: Number of USTR Officials by Year, 1997-2017



Among the 825 USTR officials who worked in the USTR during 1997-2017, we have career-path information for 459 bureaucrats. We investigate whether there are differences in the USTR

bureaucrats with and without career information. There are two groups within the 658 USTR officials whose information on level of education, General Schedule (GS) rank (GS is the predominant pay scale for federal employees), and salary is complete in the OPM data: We have career information for 333 bureaucrats we do not have career information for 325 bureaucrats. The OPM data contains information on federal employees' education level, GS rank, and basic pay. We compare the education level, GS grade, and starting salary when bureaucrats joined the USTR. Education level consists of 22 levels ranging from no formal education (code 01) to post-doctoral education (code 22).[1] Education code = 13 indicates a bachelor's degree; Education code = 15 indicates post-first professional. The GS system consists of 15 grades, from GS-1, the lowest level, to GS-15, the highest level. Table C2 shows the comparison of USTR officials in OPM data with and without career information. On average, those with career information have higher education levels, received higher salaries in the USTR, and entered the USTR at higher GS ranks. Specifically, USTR officials with no career information earned a college degree, on average (code 13). On the other hand, USTR officials with career information earned professional degrees, such as JDs or MDs (code 15).

Table C2: Descriptive Statistics on the OPM Data

	With Information		Without Information		Two Sample T-tests	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t	p-value
Education Level	15.2	2.75	12.7	4.6	8.32	0.000
GS Rank	9.4	6.3	7.9	5.7	3.18	0.001
Starting Salary ($)	86,828	38,698	60,257	36,902	8.98	0.000

Figure C2 presents the distribution of starting years in the USTR of bureaucrats with and without career information. It is clear that bureaucrats about whom we have no information started in the USTR earlier, mostly before 2010 when posting a résumé on a webpage, such as LinkedIn, was not very common.

We collected information on career trajectories of individuals who worked in the USTR during the period 1997-2017. Each row contains information about the name of the employer, the job title, and the start/end year of employment. We categorized employers into 18 types as shown in Table C3. The frequency column denotes the number of unique employers that fall under each category. The most frequent employer types are USTR, other federal government agencies, and private firms. Employers are labeled as a 'political organization' if they are an organized interest group with a political agenda and lobbying power (e.g., Emily's List). The difference between a 'political organization' and a 'trade association' is that the latter refers to business interests, whereas the former refers to advocacy groups with other political agendas. Employers are coded as 'misc.' if their jobs were difficult to categorize, such as writers.

1. `https://dw.opm.gov/datastandards/referenceData/1435/current?index=E` (accessed November, 13, 2021).

Figure C2: Distribution of Starting Year in the USTR

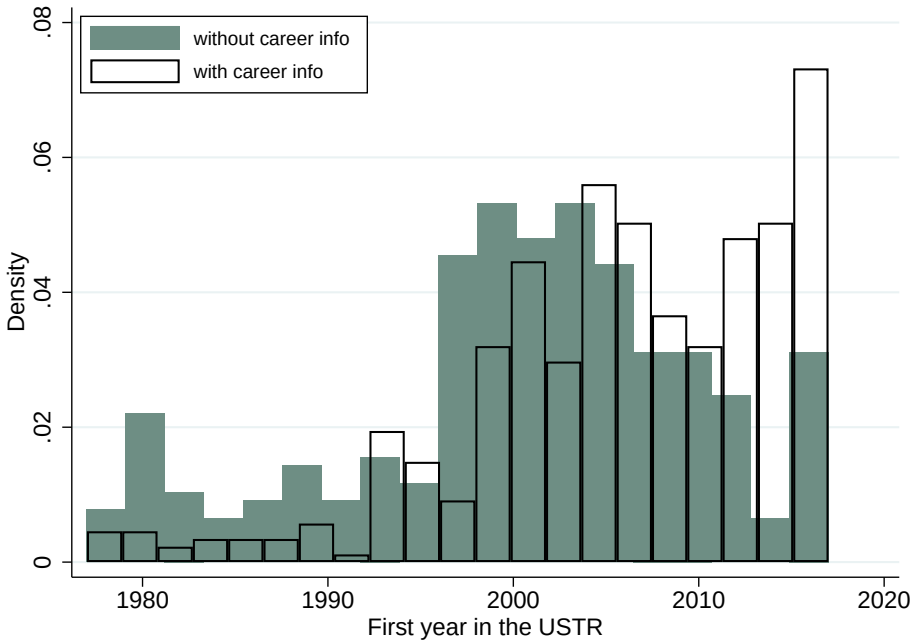
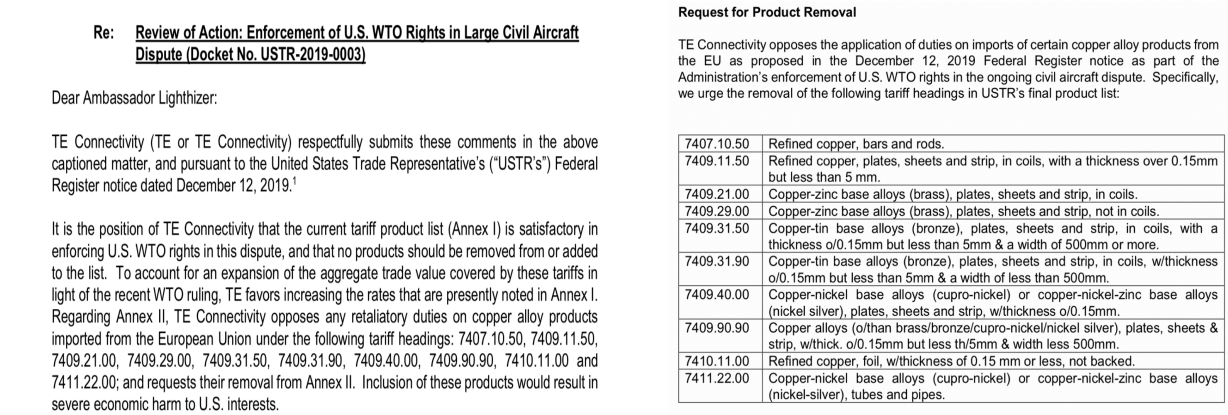


Table C3: Types of Previous Employers of the USTR Revolvers

Type	Freq.
federal government	644
private firm	599
lobbying/law firm	323
Congress	228
education	226
trade association	159
campaign	137
intern/clark	130
other	130
consulting firm	118
nonprofit	114
international organization	71
think tank	63
state/local government	62
political organization	42
military	29

D An Example of a Comment Submitted to the USTR

Figure D1: A Comment Submitted to the USTR



Re: **Review of Action: Enforcement of U.S. WTO Rights in Large Civil Aircraft Dispute (Docket No. USTR-2019-0003)**

Dear Ambassador Lighthizer:

TE Connectivity (TE or TE Connectivity) respectfully submits these comments in the above captioned matter, and pursuant to the United States Trade Representative's ("USTR's") Federal Register notice dated December 12, 2019.[1]

It is the position of TE Connectivity that the current tariff product list (Annex I) is satisfactory in enforcing U.S. WTO rights in this dispute, and that no products should be removed from or added to the list. To account for an expansion of the aggregate trade value covered by these tariffs in light of the recent WTO ruling, TE favors increasing the rates that are presently noted in Annex I. Regarding Annex II, TE Connectivity opposes any retaliatory duties on copper alloy products imported from the European Union under the following tariff headings: 7407.10.50, 7409.11.50, 7409.21.00, 7409.29.00, 7409.31.50, 7409.31.90, 7409.40.00, 7409.90.90, 7410.11.00 and 7411.22.00; and requests their removal from Annex II. Inclusion of these products would result in severe economic harm to U.S. interests.

Request for Product Removal

TE Connectivity opposes the application of duties on imports of certain copper alloy products from the EU as proposed in the December 12, 2019 Federal Register notice as part of the Administration's enforcement of U.S. WTO rights in the ongoing civil aircraft dispute. Specifically, we urge the removal of the following tariff headings in USTR's final product list:

7407.10.50	Refined copper, bars and rods.
7409.11.50	Refined copper, plates, sheets and strip, in coils, with a thickness over 0.15mm but less than 5 mm.
7409.21.00	Copper-zinc base alloys (brass), plates, sheets and strip, in coils.
7409.29.00	Copper-zinc base alloys (brass), plates, sheets and strip, not in coils.
7409.31.50	Copper-tin base alloys (bronze), plates, sheets and strip, in coils, with a thickness o/0.15mm but less than 5mm & a width of 500mm or more.
7409.31.90	Copper-tin base alloys (bronze), plates, sheets and strip, in coils, w/thickness o/0.15mm but less than 5mm & a width of less than 500mm.
7409.40.00	Copper-nickel base alloys (cupro-nickel) or copper-nickel-zinc base alloys (nickel silver), plates, sheets and strip, w/thickness o/0.15mm.
7409.90.90	Copper alloys (o/than brass/bronze/cupro-nickel/nickel silver), plates, sheets & strip, w/thick. o/0.15mm but less th/5mm & width less 500mm.
7410.11.00	Refined copper, foil, w/thickness of 0.15 mm or less, not backed.
7411.22.00	Copper-nickel base alloys (cupro-nickel) or copper-nickel-zinc base alloys (nickel-silver), tubes and pipes.

Notes: Figures are screenshots from the comment submitted by TE Connectivity to the USTR regarding its opinion on imposing additional tariffs on EU products.

E Additional Regression Results

Table E1: Effect of Direct Connection on Political Participation

Outcome =	Advisory Committees	Lobbying			
	(1) Any Comm	(2) No. Report	(3) Spending	(4) USTR	(5) #Trade Agencies
Work USTR	-0.00288	0.0457	0.292	0.0515*	0.0548
	(0.0272)	(0.0593)	(0.248)	(0.0273)	(0.0365)
Connection	0.0637	0.0465	0.0741	-0.00868	-0.0164
	(0.0391)	(0.0587)	(0.283)	(0.0377)	(0.0558)
Work USTR × Connection	-0.0926**	-0.170***	-0.750**	-0.109***	-0.135**
	(0.0394)	(0.0648)	(0.319)	(0.0379)	(0.0528)
Effect of Entry When Connection=1	-0.09***	-0.12**	-0.45*	-0.05*	-0.07*
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.24)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bureaucrat-Firm FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5649	5649	5649	5649	5649
adj. R-sq	0.435	0.827	0.805	0.704	0.719

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses.
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table E2: Effect of Indirect Connection on Political Participation

Outcome =	Advisory Committees	Lobbying			
	(1) Any Comm	(2) No. Report	(3) Spending	(4) USTR	(5) #Trade Agencies
Work USTR	0.0318	-0.00102	-0.235	0.0631	0.0617
	(0.0343)	(0.0466)	(0.191)	(0.0499)	(0.0675)
Connection	0.0939*	0.0787	0.0781	0.124	0.151
	(0.0543)	(0.0787)	(0.237)	(0.0791)	(0.101)
Work USTR × Connection	0.0296	-0.129	-0.340	-0.0235	-0.0384
	(0.0993)	(0.107)	(0.475)	(0.106)	(0.171)
Effect of Entry When Connection=1	0.06	-0.13	-0.57	0.03	0.02
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.38)	(0.08)	(0.14)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bureaucrat-Firm FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2373	2373	2373	2373	2373
adj. R^2	0.325	0.850	0.853	0.665	0.675

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses.
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

We code a firm Democratic if its CF Score is less than -0.053 (25th percentile in the CF Score distribution) and code a firm Republican if its CF Score is more than 0.462 (75th percentile in the CF Score distribution). Then we create a variable, "aligned," which captures whether a firm's political stance is matched with the incumbent president. For example, if a firm is Republican, this firm is aligned with the president for years 2000-2008 (under George W. Bush) and 2017 (under Donald Trump) in our study period.

Table E3: Effect of Alignment with the Administration on Political Participation

Outcome =	Advisory Committees		Lobbying		
	(1) Any Comm	(2) No. Comm	(3) No. Report	(4) Spending	(5) USTR
Work USTR	0.00330	0.00908	-0.00941	-0.0279	0.0487*
	(0.0250)	(0.0423)	(0.0489)	(0.183)	(0.0273)
Connection	0.0408	0.0608	0.0753	0.0578	0.0137
	(0.0351)	(0.0599)	(0.0570)	(0.237)	(0.0457)
Work USTR × Connection	-0.0826**	-0.0840	-0.194***	-0.643**	-0.106**
	(0.0397)	(0.0701)	(0.0607)	(0.279)	(0.0484)
Aligned	0.0541	0.175*	-0.0808	0.471	-0.00535
	(0.0722)	(0.104)	(0.109)	(0.455)	(0.0605)
Effect of Entry When Connection=1	-0.079**	-0.074	-0.20***	-0.67**	-0.05
	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.27)	(0.04)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bureaucrat-Firm FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	6216	6216	6216	6216	6216
adj. R^2	0.382	0.394	0.846	0.830	0.712

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses.
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table E4: Using Alternative Lobbying Measures as Outcomes

Outcome =	Lobbying		
	(1) Mention "Trade"	(2) #USTR Mention	(3) #Trade Agencies
Work USTR	0.00784	0.0500*	0.0582*
	(0.0146)	(0.0287)	(0.0338)
Connection	0.0298	0.0405	0.0534
	(0.0202)	(0.0440)	(0.0546)
Work USTR × Connection	-0.0449*	-0.139***	-0.151***
	(0.0256)	(0.0414)	(0.0527)
Effect of Entry When Connection=1	-0.03	-0.08***	-0.09**
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓
Bureaucrat-Firm FE	✓	✓	✓
Mean Outcome Variable	0.47	0.68	0.97
Observations	8022	8022	8022
adj. R^2	0.708	0.682	0.719

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. *Mention "Trade"* is a binary measure that captures whether a firm mentioned "Trade" as a lobbying issue. *#USTR Mention* measures the number of times that a firm mentioned the USTR as a contacted agency in its lobbying reports. *#Trade Agencies* measures the number of times that a firm mentioned the USTR, Trade Development Agency, International Trade Commission, or Department of Commerce as contacted agencies in its lobbying reports.

Table E5: Replication of Bureaucrat × Firm × Year-level Analysis For Bureaucrats with Complete Information

Outcome =	Advisory Committees		Lobbying		
	(1) Any Comm	(2) No. Comm	(3) No. Report	(4) Spending	(5) USTR
Work USTR	0.0110	-0.00359	0.00297	0.157	0.0276
	(0.0235)	(0.0410)	(0.0539)	(0.218)	(0.0307)
Connection	0.0593	0.0485	0.0716	0.268	0.0516
	(0.0443)	(0.0737)	(0.0659)	(0.287)	(0.0510)
Work USTR × Connection	-0.0709*	-0.0341	-0.236***	-1.161***	-0.120**
	(0.0387)	(0.0626)	(0.0812)	(0.352)	(0.0501)
Effect of Entry When Connection=1	-0.059*	-0.03	-0.23***	-1.00***	-0.09**
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.31)	(0.04)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bureaucrat-Firm FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observation	4872	4872	4872	4872	4872
adj. R^2	0.392	0.421	0.850	0.837	0.703

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses.
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table E6: Does the substitution effect decay as bureaucrats' tenure in the USTR grows longer?

Outcome =	Advisory Committees	Lobbying		
	(1) Any Comm	(2) Num. Report	(3) Spending	(4) USTR
Panel A: Lagged $t-1$	-0.07**	-0.17***	-0.59***	-0.06**
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.22)	(0.03)
Panel B: Lagged $t-2$	-0.04	-0.15***	-0.50**	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.21)	(0.02)
Panel C: Lagged $t-3$	-0.04	-0.12***	-0.34	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.21)	(0.02)

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Bureaucrat-firm and year fixed effects are included. Each panel reports the effect of entry when connection = 1 ($\beta_1 + \beta_3$) from separate regressions with different lagged variables. Number of observations is 8,022.

Table E7: Dividing Bureaucrats Based on Their Work Experience

Outcome =	Advisory Committes		Lobbying		
	(1) Any Comm	(2) Num. Comm	(3) Num. Report	(4) Spending	(5) USTR
Panel A: Work Years $\leq$ 3 Years					
Effect of Entry When	-0.002	0.001	-0.224***	-0.744**	-0.089**
Connection=1	(0.041)	(0.061)	(0.067)	(0.292)	(0.04)
Observation	3591	3591	3591	3591	3591
adj. R^2	0.418	0.425	0.865	0.851	0.724
Panel B: Work Years $>$ 3 Years					
Effect of Entry When	-0.114***	-0.102	-0.098	-0.406	-0.049
Connection=1	(0.040)	(0.074)	(0.079)	(0.340)	(0.049)
Observation	2793	2793	2793	2793	2793
adj. R^2	0.431	0.427	0.824	0.792	0.729

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table E8: Using Different Thresholds To Determine Aligned vs. Non-aligned Revolvers with the USTR

	(1) Aligned	(2) Non-Aligned
Participation in Advisory Committees:		
Any Comm	-0.06*	-0.04
	(0.03)	(0.05)
Num. Comm	-0.04	-0.05
	(0.06)	(0.09)
Lobbying Activities:		
Num. Report	-0.25***	-0.11
	(0.07)	(0.17)
(ln) Spending	-1.14***	-0.33
	(0.34)	(0.61)
USTR Lobbbying	-0.09**	-0.06
	(0.04)	(0.11)
Observations	3,072	1,800

Notes: Cell entries are regression coefficients with firm-clustered standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. The mean value (0.94) of the absolute difference of the CF Score between bureaucrats and the USTR median is used as a threshold.