Strickland, James M. Forthcoming. “A Paradox of Political Reform: Shadow Interests in the U.S. States.” *American Politics Research*.

Codebook

This document contains explanations for how each variable was labeled in the dataset used for the study. The dataset is available for download as either a Stata (version 11) .dta file or Excel spreadsheet on my professional website. For more information regarding how lobby laws and other variables were coded, please see the article’s appendix.

Variable name: ***fips***

Federal Information Processing Standard numeric codes for each U.S. state ranging 01 to 56.

Year

Year of the observation.

Abbr

Abbreviation of the U.S. state in which the observation occurred.

State

Name of the U.S. state in which the observation occurred.

Groups

Total number of unique interest groups registered within the state and during the year listed. Groups are also known as employers, principals, or clients, depending on the state’s legal language.

SourceGroups

This is a string variable listing the source of each count of registered interest groups.

“Wilson” indicates that the total is a count of groups published in Wilson (1990).

“GL” indicates that the total was provided by Virginia Gray and David Lowery in one of several publications: Gray and Lowery (1996); Lowery and Brasher (2004, 76 – 77); Lowery, Gray, and Cluverius (2015); or from Newmark (2008, 91).

“Report” indicates that the group count is from an annual state publication, such as annual reports from the Secretary of State or an ethics agency.

"Listcount" indicates that the group count was calculated based on the list of lobbyists and clients, which the author possessed.

"NIMSP" indicates that the group count was provided by the National Institute on Money in State Politics on their webpage, during the spring of 2014.

"Statedoc" indicates that the group count is from a document provided by a state office that lists counts from multiple years.

"Cogel93" indicates that the group count is from a Blue Book published by the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, in 1993.

"BrasherGL99" indicates that the group count was found in Brasher, Gray, and Lowery (1999).

"Website" indicates that the group count was calculated using an online search tool that numbered or otherwise marked each unique client.

"Cogel88" indicates that the group count is from a Blue Book published by the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, in 1988.

"Hrebnarthomas93" indicates that the group count is from Hrebenar and Thomas (1993).

"Tpj" indicates that the group count was provided by the non-profit, advocacy organization Texans for Public Justice, on their webpage or in documents.

RealGSP

This is the real gross state product of the U.S. state as measured by the Bureau of Economic Analysis in millions of real 1997 U.S. dollars.

RealGSP000000

This is the real gross state product of the U.S. state as measured by the Bureau of Economic Analysis in **trillions** of real 1997 U.S. dollars.

RealGSP2000000

This variable is *RealGSP000000 * RealGSP000000*.

InitiativeState

This is a dichotomous indicator for whether direct-democracy techniques *could* occur within a state. States were marked "1" is referenda or initiatives could occur. These data were taken from Boehmke (2005).

FoldedRanney6yr
This is a folded Ranney (1976) index that captures partisan division within the state's legislature from the past six years. The index is folded so that higher valued indicate more one-party dominance.

Prof_proceeding

This is a measure of legislative professionalism as captured by Squire (2007). State legislatures are scored between 0 and 1 based on how similar they are to the United States Congress in terms of session length, legislator pay, and staff resources.

Definitions

This is a scale of lobbyist definitions or registration criteria within a state's set of lobby laws, as measured by Newmark (2005). (See the main text for more information on how this was measured.)

Prohibitions

This is a scale of campaign finance and gift-giving prohibitions that apply to lobbyists, as measured by Newmark (2005). (See the main text for more information on how this was measured.)

Reporting

This is a scale of reporting burdens for lobbyists as measured by Newmark (2005). (See the main text for more information on how this was measured.)

DefPro

This variable is *Definitions * Prohibitions.*

DefRep

This variable is *Definitions * Reporting.*

Complete

Dichotomous variable for whether an observation is part of a complete panel that includes observations from all fifty U.S. states. Years from complete panels are marked "1." Complete panels include observations from years 1989, 1990, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2013.

Works Cited

Boehmke, Frederick J. 2005. *The Indirect Effect of Direct Legislation: How Institutions Shape Interest Group Systems.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Brasher, Holly, David Lowery, and Virginia Gray. 1999. "State Lobby Registration Data: The Anomalous Case of Florida (And Minnesota Too!)" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 2: 303 - 14.

Council on Governmental Ethics Laws. 1988. *Campaign Finance, Ethics, and Lobby Law Blue Book.* Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments.

--------. 1993. *Campaign Finance, Ethics, and Lobby Law Blue Book*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments.

Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 1996. *The Population Ecology of Interest Representation: Lobbying Communities in the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lowery, David, and Holly Brasher. 2004. *Organized Interests and American Government.* Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, and John Cluverius. 2015. "Temporal Change in the Density of State Interest Communities." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 15, no. 2: 263 – 86.

Newmark, Adam. 2005. "Measuring State Legislative Lobbying Regulation, 1990 – 2003." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5, no. 2: 182 – 191.

--------. 2008. "Interest Groups and Lobbying in North Carolina." In *The New Politics of North Carolina*, eds. Christopher A. Cooper and H. Gibbs Knotts. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ranney, Austin J. 1976. "Parties in State Politics." In Herbert Jacob and Kenneth Vines (eds.), *Politics in the American States*, pp. 51 – 94. 3rd ed. Boston: Little, Brown.

Squire, Peverill. 2007. "Measuring State Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 7, no. 2: 211 – 27.

Wilson, Robert, ed. 1990. *American Lobbyists Directory: A Guide to the More Than 65,000 Registered Federal and State Lobbyists and the Businesses, Organizations, and Other Concerns They Represent*. Detroit: Gale Research, Inc.