Supplemental Information for "The President Will See Whom Now? Presidential Engagement with Organized Interests"

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A Interview and Survey Descriptions

Learning about the dynamics governing presidents' engagement with organized interests is difficult because the process by which it occurs and most instances of engagement itself occur behind closed doors. I use novel interview and survey data from former White House officials and organized interest representatives to shed light on these dynamics to both demonstrate the important role presidents' motivations play in manifesting engagement and check assumptions about the data-generating process underlying the White House visitor logs. In this section, I explain how I conducted these interviews and the survey and describe the characteristics of each sample.

A.1 Interviews Description

Between May 2018 and September 2019, I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with former White House officials and organized interest representatives, seven of whom worked in the Clinton, Obama, or Trump administrations, and nearly all of whom worked in lobbying or policy advocacy when interviewed. Interviews lasted for between 30 to 60 minutes. Most were conducted in-person in the Washington, DC area, though a few were conducted via phone. Interviewees agreed to speak "on background," such that I anonymize the information they provided. In addition to the direct quotes I present in the main paper and Supplemental Information, I draw on the full interviews to orient and contextualize my theoretical exposition and empirical analysis.

In arranging interviews, I strove to speak with individuals with different perspectives on the relationships between presidents and organized interests. The former White House officials I interviewed had experience in offices such as the Domestic Policy Council, the National Security Council, the Office of Legislative Affairs, the Office of Public Engagement, and the Office of the Press Secretary. My interviewees specialized in policy areas including chemical manufacturing, education, the environment, healthcare, reproductive rights, telecommunications, and transportation.

Below, I list the interview dates and relevant experience of the interviewees whom I directly reference:

Table SI.1: Details for Interviews Directly Quoted

Interviewee Pseudonym	Interview Date	Interviewee Experience
Interviewee A	May 3, 2018	Former White House official
Interviewee B	August 23, 2019	Former White House official
Interviewee C	September 5, 2019	Former White House official
Interviewee D	September 25, 2019	Former White House official
Interviewee E	May 11, 2018	Education lobbyist
Interviewee F	August 28, 2019	Water resources lobbyist
Interviewee G	May 3, 2018	Religious organization lobbyist
Interviewee H	September 13, 2019	Chemical industry lobbyist
Interviewee I	May 4, 2018	Former White House official
Interviewee J	May 4, 2018	Reproductive rights lobbyist
Interviewee K	August 22, 2019	Telecommunications lobbyist

Interviewee pseudonyms are based on order of appearance (i.e., the first interviewee quoted is designated as "Interviewee A").

A.2 Survey Description

To gain insights on the relationships between presidents and organized interests from a broader population, I conducted a survey of organized interest representatives drawn from Lobbying Disclosure Act filings which asked about experiences with and perspectives on interacting with the then-current Trump White House and the recently-departed Obama White House.

A.2.1 Lobbying Disclosure Act Reports

The Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) of 1995 and subsequent amendments require lobbyists or the entities who employ them to file reports with the House and Senate on the lobbying activities they conduct on behalf of their client(s).[SI.1] Under LDA, individuals are considered lobbyists if they, in working on behalf of a client, make a "lobbying contact," or an "oral, written, or electronic communication" regarding public policy, with more than one "covered official"—which includes all members of the Executive Office of the President, high-ranking officials in the executive branch—and most members of the legislative branch, and spend 20 percent or more of their time working for the client on lobbying activities in a reporting period. As of January 2017, a lobbyist employed directly by a client spending more than $13,000, or a lobbyist contracted by a client spending more than $3,000, on lobbying activities in a quarter is required to file a report on behalf of their client for that quarter. Lobbyists were required to file these reports, known formally as LD-2s, on a semiannual basis until 2008, after which they have been

[SI.1] Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. §1601) https://www.senate.gov/legislative/Lobbying/Lobby_Disclosure_Act/TOC.htm.

required to file them quarterly. LD-2s record information about filers' clients including their address and contact information, lobbying expenditures in the relevant period, the issues on which they lobbied, the government entities they lobbied, and the names of the individuals who have performed lobbying work for the client in excess of the above thresholds. Importantly, each LD-2 report designates an email address for a point of contact, which enables me to distribute an online survey to these points of contact.

Because the thresholds for lobbying activity that require lobbyists to file LDA reports on behalf of their clients are fairly low, a sampling frame defined by the filing of LDA reports should include most organized interests with more than a transient interest in federal policy. For the time period used by the sampling frame (first quarter of 2017 to third quarter of 2018), over 14,000 unique organized interests are identified as clients on LDA reports filed on their behalf. Given the breadth of organized interests identified by LDA reports, political science researchers often utilize LDA reports to define the scope of the organized interest universe at the federal level (e.g., Baumgartner and Leech 2001; Baumgartner et al. 2009, 2011; Boehmke, Gailmard, and Patty 2013; Grossmann and Pyle 2013; McKay 2011; Tripathi, Ansolabehere, and Snyder 2002; You 2017).

It is important to note that a sampling frame based on LDA reports does not capture *all* interests involved in federal policymaking, as organizations whose activities do not exceed reporting thresholds as defined by LDA are not included. However, excluding these organizations from the sampling frame and, later, the empirical analysis of instances of White House engagement, should not affect the substantive inferences we draw for a few reasons. First, because organizations whose lobbying activity falls below the LDA reporting thresholds likely have few direct contacts with federal policymakers and low levels of resources, their survey responses and inclusion in the empirical analysis of White House engagement would likely reinforce the existing trends (e.g., they would be unlikely to report higher levels of emphasis on direct contacts with the White House relative to Congress or the bureaucracy when compared to the sampling frame drawn from LDA reports; their lower levels of resources would make it unlikely for their lobbyists to appear in the White House visitor logs). Second, even if many organizations conduct advocacy activity outside of the scope of LDA (e.g., organizations who knowingly or unknowingly fail to file LDA reports, 501(c)(3) organizations whose political activity stays outside the bounds of LDA, etc.), their exclusion would only alter our substantive conclusions if the White House behaved differently towards them compared to otherwise similar organizations identified in LDA reports. Because presidential engagement decisions are premised in large part on interests' strategic value in presidents coalition-building efforts, it is unlikely that the White House treats organizations of equal value differently depending on their legal classification. Thus, were we able to incorporate these organizations who do not file LDA reports, their inclusion would likely only reinforce the inferences gleaned from the analyses.

A.2.2 Sampling Procedure

The survey sample consists of all persons listed as points of contact on LD-2 reports filed between the first quarter of 2017 and the third quarter of 2018. While these points of contact can be persons who are not registered lobbyists per LDA, nearly two-thirds of points of contact are LDA lobbyists (see Table SI.2), and individuals who are not LDA lobbyists often perform government relations or policy advocacy functions and are familiar with their employers' interactions with policymakers. For each individual, I selected his or her most recent appearance on a report to obtain the most up-to-date contact and employment information. If the same individual was identified as the point of contact for more than one client in a given quarter, I randomly sampled one report where that individual appeared. To minimize email bounces and improve response rates, the email addresses in the selected reports were screened to check for appropriate formatting and identify duplicates. Some organizations, such as large lobbying firms, provided the same generic email address for all filings; when such generic email addresses were identified, every effort was made to obtain a unique email address for that individual (searching the organization website, LinkedIn, etc.). After de-duplicating and screening email addresses, the final sample consisted of 5,938 individuals.

Initial invitations were sent to all 5,938 individuals on November 15, 2018, with reminder emails sent on November 29, 2018 and December 13, 2018. Data collection ceased on December 31, 2018. Excluding the points of contact whose email addresses were identified as invalid when invitations were sent, the overall response rate for individuals who completed the demographic and background module, which asked general questions about their experience working for their current client, is 13.2% ($\frac{719}{5458}$). The response rate for those who reached the module asking about their clients' interactions with the Obama and/or Trump White Houses is 10.2% ($\frac{557}{5458}$).[SI.2]

The questions about the Obama and Trump administrations were identical save the identities of the presidents mentioned. These questions were asked as separate blocks for each president and presented consecutively with the block order randomized across respondents. The set of questions in each block asked respondents how frequently their client interacted with the White House during an average year during that administration 1) by phone, email, or mail, 2) through in-person meetings at the White House, and 3) through in-person meetings outside of the White House. Respondents' answers for the second question—the frequency of in-person White House meetings—determined what additional questions they were provided in each block. If respondents indicated that their client "Never" had in-person meetings at the White House, they were asked questions about not having meetings during the Obama or Trump presidencies. Respondents indicating that their client had at least one in-person White House meeting (i.e., "Fewer than 5 times") were asked questions about those meetings with the Obama or Trump White House. Of the 433 respondents who answered this question for the Obama administration, 167 (38.6%) reported that their client never had in-person White House meetings, and 266 (61.4%) indicated that their client had

[SI.2] 106 respondents who reached this module indicated that they did not start working for their current client until 2017. Therefore, they were shown only questions for the Trump administration in this module.

at least one in-person meeting. Of the 541 respondents who answered this question for the Trump administration, 269 (49.7%) reported that their client never had in-person White House meetings, and 272 (50.3%) indicated that their client had at least one in-person meeting.

A.2.3 Evaluating Concerns about Response Bias

While this survey allows me to collect information from a large number of organized interest representatives, these self-reports, like all survey responses, are susceptible to response bias (i.e., responses may deviate from realized experiences; see Miller 2021, 2022). For example, we might be concerned about desirability bias, with some respondents trying to appear more influential than they are by over-reporting the frequency of White House contacts.

While it is difficult to determine the degree of response bias, I can get a sense of it by comparing respondents' self-reports of clients' in-person White House meetings during the Obama administration with my observational measure of their clients' in-person White House meetings during that time. If the bias present for this question is minimal, then we should have confidence that the bias in responses to other questions is also minimal. Of the 433 responses to this question, I am able to match 406 to organized interests in my observational data.[SI.3] In order to compare my quarterly measures of engagement across 7 years of the Obama administration and the survey respondents' reports of their clients White House meetings, I recode both data sources. For my observational data, I code an interest as "1" if my data contains any instances of it experiencing engagement in those 7 years and "0" otherwise. For the survey data, I code an interest as a "1" if the respondent reports that its client attended a White House meeting at least once (i.e., "Fewer than 5 times") and "0" otherwise. With this coding scheme, 284 of the 406 observations (70.0%) match, such that both my observational data and the survey self-reports indicate that the interest did or did not have White House meetings during the Obama administration. Of the remaining 122 observations, in 102 of the cases (25.1%) the self-report indicates that the client did not have White House meetings but my observational data detects instances of engagement, while in the remaining 20 cases (4.9%) the self-report indicates that the client had White House meetings but my observational data does not detect instances of engagement. These results should reassure us that response bias is minimal; in addition to matching reports of meetings in both data sources for the vast majority of cases (70.0%), most of the mismatches are of the opposite character as would be expected if desirability bias is present, as mismatches arose more frequently when respondents indicated their client did not have White House meetings than when they reported that they did.

A.2.4 Descriptive Sample Characteristics

It is difficult to assess the representativeness of my survey respondents and the interests they represent to the points of contact and clients in the sampling frame because scant information exists for those points of contact and clients. Four pieces of information can be gleaned from their LDA filings and the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), which cleans and aggregates those filings: the client's quarterly lobbying expenditures with that point of contact's employer; whether the filer is the client or a lobbying firm contracted by a client; the client's CRP sector coding; and whether the point of contact is a registered lobbyist under LDA.[SI.4] Table SI.2 compares the distribution of these characteristics in the full sampling frame and the 719 respondents who answered at least one of the survey questions reported in the main paper. These comparisons reveal differences for all four characteristics that are substantively small but statistically distinguishable at the $p < 0.05$ level.[SI.5] Thus, while the sample of respondents differs from the sampling frame, it contains a sizable number of respondents with each unique level of these characteristics.

To account for these small but statistically distinguishable imbalances, I weight the survey responses I present in Figures 1, 2, and SI.1 using these four characteristics provided for all respondents in the sampling frame. For Figure 1, I weight responses among the 719 respondents who answered general questions about their experience working for their current client. For Figures 2 and SI.1, I weight responses among the 557 respondents who reached the module asking about their clients' interactions with the Obama and Trump administrations.

Table SI.3 provides information on the descriptive characteristics of the 719 respondents who answered general questions about working for their current client. Because this information was collected during the survey, it is only available for respondents. The high proportions of respondents who report education levels of "post-graduate degree" (67.7%), income levels of "$200,000 or more" (58.3%), and experience levels of "more than 20 years" (41.4%) suggest that most respondents are political elites who play a substantive role in lobbying, rather than low-level employees who may respond to emails but lack significant lobbying experience.

[SI.3] Observations which do not match occur because the interest did not file LDA reports prior to 2017. These interests were likely active during the Obama administration, but did not meet LDA reporting thresholds.

[SI.4] The first three of these pieces of information are easily observable from CRP's aggregated LDA filings, but the fourth can only be determined by comparing the names of the points of contact with the names of the lobbyists listed on the same LDA filing. To determine whether the point of contact is a registered lobbyist, I used approximate matching techniques to compare the name of the point of contact on each LDA filing to the names of the registered lobbyists also appearing on the filing, and visually inspected the best match for each LDA form to determine if the point of contact was also a registered lobbyist.

[SI.5] The $|t|$ and χ^2 test statistics from the difference in means and χ^2 tests are: $|t| = 4.27$ for Lobbyist Employer; $\chi^2_3 = 21.08$ for Lobbying Expenditures; $\chi^2_{13} = 33.21$ for CRP Category; and $|t| = 7.55$ for Registered Lobbyist.

Table SI.2: Comparison of Respondents with Sampling Frame

Characteristic	% of Respondents (N)	% of Sampling Frame (N)
Lobbyist Employer		
Client	60.6% (436)	53.4% (2913)
Firm	39.4% (283)	46.6% (2545)
Lobbying Expenditures		
First Quartile	26.6% (191)	25.0% (1365)
Second Quartile	30.2% (217)	25.0% (1365)
Third Quartile	24.1% (173)	25.0% (1364)
Fourth Quartile	19.2% (138)	25.0% (1364)
CRP Category		
Agribusiness	4.5% (32)	4.2% (228)
Communications and Electronics	3.9% (28)	6.6% (360)
Construction	1.4% (10)	2.1% (112)
Defense	2.2% (16)	2.1% (117)
Energy and Natural Resources	7.1% (51)	8.1% (444)
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	8.2% (59)	9.6% (526)
Health	18.9% (136)	18.5% (1011)
Ideological and Single-Issue	13.1% (94)	9.2% (500)
Labor	1.8% (13)	2.1% (116)
Lawyers and Lobbyists	1.5% (11)	1.2% (66)
Misc Business	10.6% (76)	11.8% (645)
Other	6.1% (44)	6.2% (339)
Transportation	6.5% (47)	6.1% (331)
Unknown	14.2% (102)	12.1% (663)
Registered Lobbyist		
Yes	74.1% (533)	62.5% (3409)
No	25.9% (186)	37.5% (2049)

A.2.5 Question Wordings

Below, I provide the questions asked of respondents about their clients' lobbying and interactions with the Obama and Trump administrations and identify where I present its results.[SI.6]

Because all respondents were listed as a point of contact on at least one LDA report and the email solicitation and consent sheet told them they were in the sample because they were listed a point of contact, I expected that respondents would understand terminology used in the questions as it is used in the context of LDA.[SI.7] For instance, I expected respondents to understand "contact" in Question 1 as defined by LDA: "Any oral, written, or electronic communication to a covered official that is made on behalf of a client with regard to" federal policymaking. Thus, this question captures a broader range of activities than in-person meetings in government officials' workplaces, including in-person interactions outside of work (e.g., fundraisers) and remote communications (e.g., emails). Additionally, because LDA's definition of "covered executive branch official" explicitly groups together in a single clause and applies to all employees of the Executive Office of the President (EOP), but considers officials elsewhere in the executive branch across several clauses and applies only to those in high-level positions, I expected respondents to interpret "the White House" in Question 1 as encompassing all EOP personnel and "the federal bureaucracy" as encompassing all other executive branch employees.[SI.8]

1. How important is it for [your client] to have direct contact with individuals in the following political institutions as part of its overall lobbying strategy? (*Asked separately for Congress; the White House; and the federal bureaucracy*) (Results in Figure 1)

[SI.6] As noted above, all respondents reaching the module asking about interactions with the Obama and Trump administrations saw questions about the Trump administration, but only those respondents who reported working for their client prior to 2017 saw questions about the Obama administration.

[SI.7] Lobbying Disclosure Act (as amended), section 3(3), `https://www.senate.gov/legislative/Lobbying/Lobby_Disclosure_Act/3_Definitions.htm`.

[SI.8] Compliance materials produced and disseminated by the federal lobbying community emphasize these interpretations. For instance, in discussing covered executive branch officials, the American Bar Association's lobbying manual notes that "[readers] should be aware that *every* employee in the Executive Office of the President, from the President's Chief of Staff to the most junior intern in the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), is a 'covered executive branch official' within the meaning of the lobbying law. This would include not only the immediate White House staff, but also employees of the Council of Economic Advisors (15 U.S.C. §1023); the National Economic Council (NEC)(Exec. Order No. 12,835, 58 Fed. Reg. 6189 (1993)); the Office of Environmental Quality (42 U.S.C. §4372); the Office of Management and Budget (31 U.S.C. §501); the Office of National Drug Control Policy (12 U.S.C. §1501); the Office of Science and Technology Policy (42 U.S.C. §6611); and the Office of the United States Trade Representative (19 U.S.C. §2171)" (emphasis original; page 218 of *The Lobbying Manual: A Complete Guide to Federal Lobbying Law and Practice*. 2016. Edited by Rebecca Gordon and Thomas Susman. ABA Book Publishing).

Table SI.3: Descriptive Statistics of Respondents

Characteristic	% of Respondents (N)
Gender	
Female	28.9% (208)
Male	70.4% (506)
NA	0.7% (5)
Age	
18-29	4.0% (29)
30-49	38.9% (280)
50-64	35.3% (254)
65 or over	21.3% (153)
NA	0.4% (3)
Education	
Some college, no 4-year degree	1.9% (14)
College graduate	29.9% (215)
Post-graduate degree	67.7% (487)
NA	0.4% (3)
Race/Ethnicity	
Asian	1.4% (10)
Black	3.3% (24)
Hispanic	1.7% (12)
White	89.7% (645)
Other	2.5% (18)
NA	1.4% (10)
Income	
Less than $25,000	0.3% (2)
$25,000-$50,000	0.7% (5)
$50,000-$75,000	3.5% (25)
$75,000-$100,000	6.3% (45)
$100,000-$200,000	26.3% (189)
$200,000 or more	58.3% (419)
NA	4.7% (34)
Ideology	
Very liberal	13.2% (95)
Somewhat liberal	22.0% (158)
Slightly liberal	14.5% (104)
Neither liberal nor conservative	16.7% (120)
Slightly conservative	13.8% (99)
Somewhat conservative	14.2% (102)
Very conservative	4.6% (33)
NA	1.1% (8)
Party Identification	
Strong Democrat	36.4% (262)
Democrat	8.2% (59)
Lean Democrat	8.2% (59)
Independent	10.6% (76)
Lean Republican	7.0% (50)
Republican	10.3% (74)
Strong Republican	15.0% (108)
Other	2.4% (17)
NA	1.9% (14)
Lobbying Experience	
Less than 5 years	10.3% (74)
5-10 years	17.5% (126)
11-15 years	17.1% (123)
16-20 years	13.2% (95)
More than 20 years	41.4% (298)
NA	0.4% (3)
Past Government Experience	
Member of Congress	4.9% (35)
Congressional staffer	42.7% (307)
Presidential appointee	7.9% (57)
EOP staffer	4.5% (32)
Civil servant	13.6% (98)
Other	14.5% (104)
No experience	33.9% (244)
Current Role with Client	
Lobbyist	57.7% (415)
Executive officer responsible for lobbying	30.2% (217)
Executive officer not responsible for lobbying	4.5% (32)
Other	7.4% (53)
NA	0.3% (2)

- Not at all important
- Slightly important
- Somewhat important
- Very important
- Extremely important

2. To the best of your knowledge, how frequently did lobbyists or other individuals affiliated with [your client] interact with President [Barack Obama/Donald Trump] or members of his White House staff in an average year...? (*Asked separately for via mail, email, or phone; via in-person meetings at the White House complex; via in-person meetings outside of the White House complex*) (Results in Figure SI.1)
    - Never
    - Fewer than 5 times
    - 5 to 10 times
    - 11 to 15 times
    - 16 to 20 times
    - More than 20 times
3. Which of the following types of individuals affiliated with [your client] typically attended in-person meetings at the White House complex under the [Obama/Trump] administration? Select all that apply (Results discussed in Supplemental Information Section C)
    - Executive officers
    - Registered lobbyists
    - Government affairs employees who were not registered lobbyists
    - Other [text box to specify]
4. When individuals affiliated with [your client] attended in-person meetings at the White House complex under the [Obama/Trump] administration, which side tended to initiate those meetings? (Results in Figure 2)
    - Always the White House
    - Usually the White House, but occasionally [my client]
    - Sometimes the White House, sometimes [my client]
    - Usually [my client], but occasionally the White House
    - Always [my client]

5. When [your client] was invited to an in-person meeting at the White House complex under the [Obama/Trump] administration, how frequently did they attend the meeting? (Results in Figure 2)
    - Always
    - Usually
    - Sometimes
    - Rarely
    - Never
6. When [your client] requested an in-person meeting at the White House complex under the [Obama/Trump] administration, how frequently did the White House fulfill the meeting request? (Results in Figure 2)
    - Always
    - Usually
    - Sometimes
    - Rarely
    - Never
7. Has [your client] turned down invitations from the [Obama/Trump] administration for in-person meetings at the White House complex? (Results discussed in Supplemental Information Section B)
    - Yes
    - No
    - Not sure
8. Has the [Obama/Trump] administration turned down requests for in-person meetings at the White House complex from [your client]? (Results discussed in Supplemental Information Section B)
    - Yes
    - No
    - Not sure

B Mediums of White House Engagement

The communication and coordination at the core of presidential engagement can take place through a variety of mediums, including electronic and physical mail, fax, phone, text message, and in-person meetings between the White House and organized interest representatives. However, despite technological advances enabling political actors to interact remotely in real-time, policymakers across institutions and organized interests alike perceive direct contacts as the most valuable means of engagement (e.g., Baumgartner et al. 2009; Levine 2009; Schlozman and Tierney 1986). In addition, because direct contacts in the form of White House meetings are costly for the White House to provide, who presidents choose to include in meetings provides a strong signal of their engagement priorities. For these two reasons, on which I elaborate below, I focus my theoretical exposition and empirical analysis on presidential engagement in the form of White House meetings.

First, both policymakers and organized interests assign a higher value to direct contacts relative to other forms of access. In extant surveys and interviews, organized interests indicate that direct contacts with policymakers are among their most common and important lobbying tactics (Baumgartner et al. 2009; Drutman 2015; Levine 2009; Schlozman and Tierney 1986). At least three features of direct contacts make them a prized medium of access. First, access provides policymakers and organized interests with each other's attention, enabling them to better transmit resources, such as information and expertise, than they can through other means (Hall and Wayman 1990). Second, access makes each other's preferences more salient, or mentally accessible, such that policymakers and organized interests afford each other preferential treatment in future interactions and are more likely to consider their preferences in their decision-making processes (Miler 2010). Third, access encourages the cultivation of interpersonal relationships between the policymakers and organized interest representatives that can enhance cooperation and trust (Levine 2009).

While most extant work on direct contacts focuses on Congress, my interviewees suggest that these perceptions carry over to the White House. For instance, one lobbyist echoed the first and second benefits of in-person access to the White House by reporting that, relative to other modes of communication, in-person access "tends to be more effective in terms of sharing knowledge... and just sort of raising our issues" (Interviewee E). Another lobbyist indicated that in-person access to a White House official allows her to "get a much better feeling for the person when you can read their body language and interact with them in human form" (Interviewee J). Finally, a third interviewee indicated a benefit of in-person meetings unique to the White House: the opportunity to walk through an exclusive government institution and conduct institutional maintenance by broadcasting to members that they gained access to this rarefied building (Interviewee K).

Second, in-person meetings are stronger signals of the White House's engagement priorities because they are costlier to provide than other mediums of engagement (i.e., they require more of the White House's scarce time and effort to conduct). While all mediums require the White House to expend some degree of time and effort, in-person meetings are uniquely costly

for complex organizations such as the White House to conduct. For instance, in-person meetings are more difficult to scale than mass email campaigns, which the White House often uses to distribute information about announcements and events. In-person meetings also require more advance planning than other forms of engagement; organizers must coordinate the busy schedules of the president and/or staffers with those of interest representatives to find a mutually agreeable time to assemble in the same physical space, reserve sometimes scarce room space, and request and set up needed materials (e.g., audiovisual equipment, refreshments). Given these costs, one interviewee expressed that "the default was typically email for much of the communication" because other mediums of engagement, such as phone calls and in-person meetings, were "just too darn time-consuming" (Interviewee A).

Beyond these inherent costs of in-person meetings faced by all complex organizations (e.g., corporations, non-profits), the White House faces unique transaction costs when conducting in-person meetings stemming from its security clearance platform. While the White House's densely layered security shields presidents and staffers from unannounced intrusions by lobbyists that members of Congress experience on Capitol Hill, they also require White House staff to exert additional effort to peel back those layers to let interest representatives in. All White House visitors must be cleared through the Worker and Visitor Entry System (WAVES), a platform administered by the Secret Service. To "clear" prospective meeting invitees, White House staff must collect each person's date of birth and Social Security number and provide this information to the Secret Service via a WAVES request. Then, the Secret Service runs background checks on all invitees before adding them to the list of visitors approved for the date and time of the meeting. This clearance process adds additional costs for White House staff by requiring them to collect this information from invitees, file WAVES requests in advance of meetings, and following up on problematic requests. Additionally, the Secret Service has a finite capacity to process and conduct background checks, and high volumes of WAVES requests can delay visitor clearances. Two of my interviewees indicated that the White House clearance process often disincentivized in-person meetings. One interviewee noted that "[g]oing to a meeting at the White House is not trivial. You have to go through security, you have to get cleared in. There's some, clearly, care given to who is coming into the building and not" (Interviewee A). A second interviewee remarked that "[u]nless [having a meeting is] a real priority, you're just not. Maybe phone calls, for sure. You're not going to set up a whole meeting. First of all they have to go through clearance. Some of these White Houses, clearances is a whole platform" (Interviewee B). These features of the White House's clearance system, together with the traditional costs associated with in-person meetings, make these meetings a particularly costly medium of engagement. Consequently, these meetings provide strong signals of the White House's engagement priorities because the White House anticipates a sufficiently high expected value of engagement to justify the cost of an in-person meeting rather than a cheaper engagement medium.

B.1 Comparing Mediums of White House Engagement

While qualitative evidence suggests presidential engagement though White House meetings is scarcer than other engagement mediums, scant data exists comparing these mediums. Understanding the relative frequency with which different types of engagement occur is important for substantive and empirical reasons. Substantively, knowing how often the White House engages through different mediums would enable us to investigate whether and to what degree meetings are scarcer than lower-cost alternatives, such as emails, and offer a better sense of how often the White House and organized interests interact (i.e., the full scope of engagement activities).

Empirically, knowing more about how different mediums of engagement correlate would provide insight into how well information on in-person White House meetings describes the White House's engagement with individual interests. This empirical wrinkle was spotlighted by a series of reports during the Obama administration alleging that White House staffers arranged meetings with lobbyists and other political actors at sites just outside the White House complex to keep them off of the visitor logs.[SI.9] While the White House denied these meetings were intended to skirt ethics policies, these stories raise the concern that presidents and their staffs might sometimes conduct engagement in ways that conceal their activity (e.g., setting meetings outside the White House to keep them off the visitor logs, using phone calls instead of emails so as to not create a paper trail).

To gain insight into the relationships among different mediums of engagement, I asked respondents about the frequency with which they experienced engagement in an average year with the Obama and Trump White Houses through three mediums: remote communications (mail, phone, or email); in-person meetings at the White House; and in-person meetings outside of the White House. Figure SI.1 presents respondents' answers to these questions for the Obama (left column) and Trump (right column) administrations. Glancing at the distributions, we note that each is right-skewed, with most respondents indicating that they experienced each medium of engagement fewer than 5 times in an average year; this reinforces my overarching claim that engagement is rare. Further, comparing the distributions for remote communications (top row) to those for in-person meetings at the White House (center row) or outside of the White House (bottom row), the right-skew of the distributions for in-person meetings is more pronounced than for remote communications. For instance, while 23.6% of respondents indicated that their interest experienced 11 or more remote communications with the Obama White House in an average year, only 9.4% of respondents indicated experiencing a similar number of in-person White House meetings. Together, these responses indicate that in-person engagement is more scarce than remote engagement.

[SI.9] Eric Lichtblau. "Across From White House, Coffee With Lobbyists." *The New York Times*, June 24, 2010, `https://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/25/us/politics/25caribou.html`.

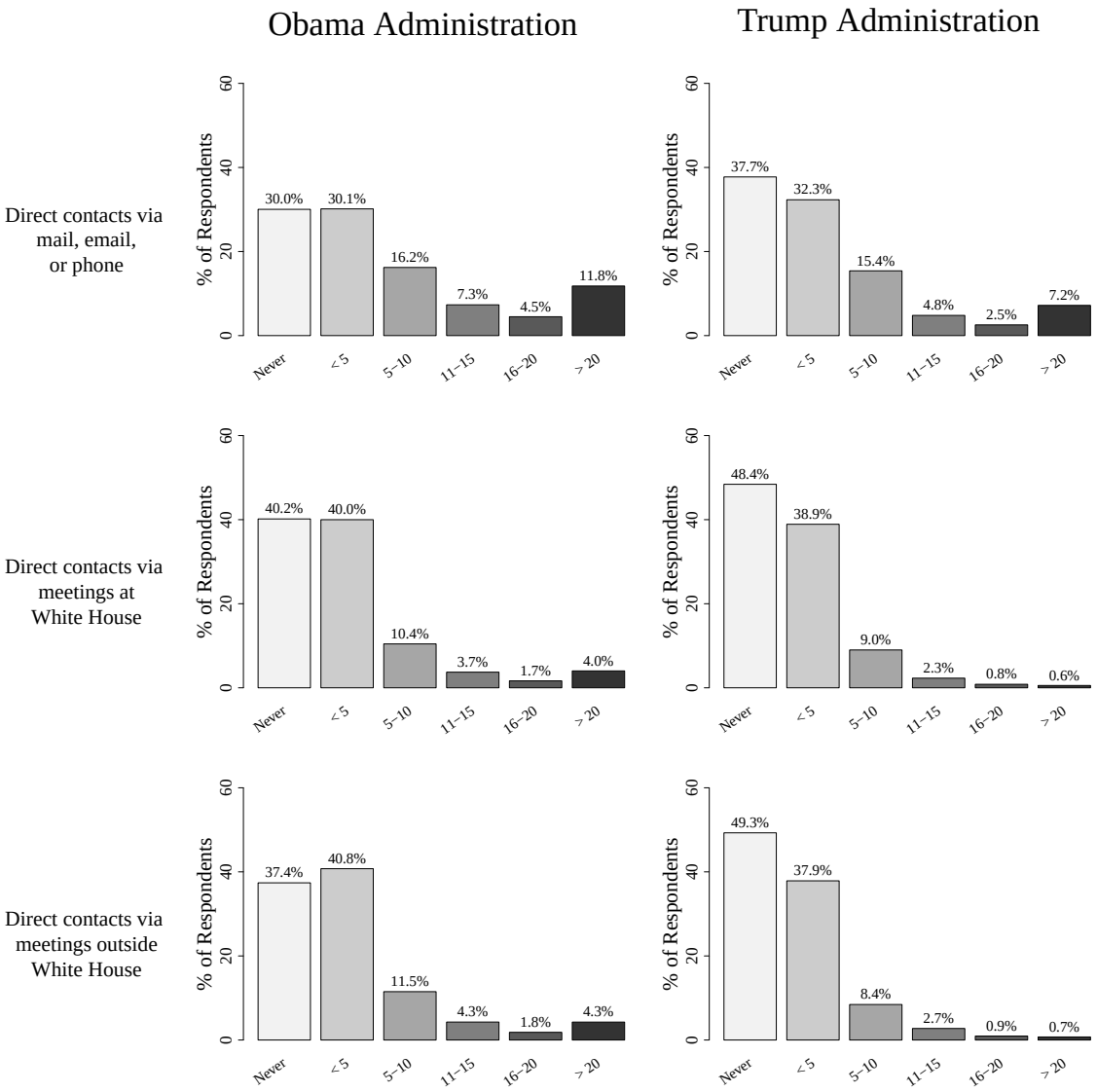


Figure SI.1: **Relationships Between Mediums of Presidential Engagement** Bar graphs indicate how frequently respondents indicated the Obama (left column) and Trump (right column) administrations engaged with their organized interests through remote communications (top row), in-person White House meetings (center row), and in-person meetings outside the White House (bottom row). These questions were asked only of respondents who reached the survey module asking about their interactions with the Obama and/or Trump White Houses. Responses are weighted to reflect the characteristics of the sampling frame (see Supplemental Information Section A). N between 433 (535) and 442 (544) per question for the Obama (Trump) administration.

To gauge how closely these engagement mediums are related, I examined the correlations among the survey responses within each administration. For the Obama administration, the correlation between the frequency of engagement through remote communications and White House meetings is 0.77, and the correlation between the frequency of engagement through meetings at the White House and meetings not at the White House is also 0.77. For the Trump administration, the magnitudes of these correlations are smaller but still substantively large (0.65 for remote communications and White House meetings, 0.62 for meetings at the White House and meetings not at the White House). These correlations indicate that the White House's engagement mediums are complements, such that interests experiencing one type of engagement often experience other types. Therefore, data on any one type of engagement—in the current case, White House meetings—provides an informative signal of the White House's overall engagement activity.

B.2 When Engagement Does Not Occur

Focusing on only insights from interests who experienced White House meetings could yield inaccurate conclusions through selection bias (i.e., learning about engagement from those who experience engagement). To mitigate selection bias, I asked respondents who indicated not experiencing White House meetings about their perceptions of why they did not experience them. First, I asked respondents if their interest had turned down invitations for White House meetings. Second, I asked

respondents if the White House had turned down their meeting requests.

Responses to these questions are consistent with engagement as a presidency-driven process. For the first question, only 1 of 151 respondents indicated that their interest turned down an invitation from the Obama administration, and only 2 of 254 respondents indicated that their interest turned down an invitation from the Trump administration. These responses suggest that presidents have a strong first-mover advantage; as many of my interviewees suggested, when the White House asks interests to meet, they meet. For the second question, few respondents indicated that they asked the White House for a meeting (only 9 of 151 respondents for the Obama administration and 15 of 252 respondents for the Trump administration). These responses imply that interests not experiencing engagement are not expending outside-in lobbying resources trying to obtain it, but instead turn their efforts to other venues and allow the president to choose whether to engage.

C Data Description

In this section, I provide information about the data I utilize in my empirical analyses and the string matching procedure used to identify presidential engagement.

C.1 White House Visitor Logs

My empirical analyses utilize the White House visitor logs from the presidencies of Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. In this subsection, I provide details about these visitor logs, as well as information about the disposition of comparable data from other recent presidencies.

C.1.1 Clinton

In response to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests 2007-0779-F and 2016-0727-F, the Clinton Presidential Library made available the White House visitor logs for the 1999-2001 and 1996-1998 periods, respectively.[SI.10] These records are available as comma-separated values files and were obtained directly from the Library. Because the names of organized interests' registered lobbyists provided in Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) reports are only available starting in 1998, only the visitor log entries spanning from January 1, 1998 to December 31, 2000 are used. The 1,293,975 million entries in this time period correspond to 813,535 unique appointments.[SI.11] Because these visitor logs were disclosed pursuant to FOIA and the Presidential Records Act (PDA), some information, such as entrants' Social Security numbers and dates of birth, and some entries, such as those that would endanger national security, are withheld.[SI.12]

C.1.2 Bush 43

The White House visitor logs from the George W. Bush administration are the subject of a pending FOIA request.[SI.13] To date, the George W. Bush Presidential Library has made available a handful of records from January 20, 2001, and has no timetable for the release of additional records.[SI.14]

C.1.3 Obama

Fulfilling a campaign promise to increase transparency, the Obama administration implemented a voluntary disclosure policy in September 2009 whereby the White House visitor logs would be posted on the White House website on a monthly basis.[SI.15] By the time President Obama left office, his administration had posted over 5,901,105 visitor log entries encompassing 1,599,210 unique appointments.[SI.16] Because the disclosure policy only applies to entries made starting on September 15,

[SI.10] "Worker and Visitor Entry System (WAVES), 1996-1998 - Collection Finding Aid," *Clinton Digital Library*, `https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/57587`; "White House Worker and Visitor Entry System (WAVES), 1999-2000 - Collection Finding Aid," *Clinton Digital Library*, `https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/44133`.

[SI.11] Because the Clinton visitor logs do not include a unique identifier for each appointment, I use information in the logs that are ostensibly identical for all persons in the same appointment, such as the time and date of the appointment and the name of the person scheduling the appointment, to create appointment identifiers.

[SI.12] While the Clinton Library indicates that all 1,293,975 of these entries occurred between January 1, 1998 and December 31, 2000, 257,987 have blank or otherwise invalid information about the date of the visit. Unfortunately, this missingness prevents me from determining in which LDA filing period the visit occurred, and thus determining which lobbyist names should be matched with those of the visitors for those entries. Consequently, these 257,987 visits are not incorporated in the organized interest-time period measures of engagement I use in my final analyses.

[SI.13] "White House Visitor's Log Records from January 20, 2001 - January 20, 2009," *George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum*, `https://georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu/Digital-Library---2/FOIA-Requests-2014/2014-0237-F-Digitized`.

[SI.14] Personal correspondence with an archivist at the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, January 16, 2020.

[SI.15] Norm Eisen, "Opening Up the People's House," *The White House*, September 4, 2009, `https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2009/09/04/opening-peoplersquos-house`; "White House Voluntary Disclosure Policy Visitor Access Records," *The White House*, `https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/VoluntaryDisclosure`.

[SI.16] Because the Obama visitor logs do not include a unique identifier for each appointment, I use information in the logs that are ostensibly identical for all persons in the same appointment, such as the time and date of the appointment and the name of the person scheduling the appointment, to create appointment identifiers.

2009, my analysis does not include entries from the first nine months of the Obama administration. Additionally, because the Obama administration was unable to finish disclosing visitor log entries leaving office, my analysis concludes with entries from September 30, 2016.

Under the disclosure policy, the Obama administration reserved the right to withhold records related to "national security interests," "purely personal guests of the first and second families," and "a small group of particularly sensitive meetings," such as the visits of Supreme Court nominees. These exemptions should not bias my analysis because few meetings with organized interest representatives fall into these categories. However, if the Obama White House used these exemptions to conceal engagement, they would likely conceal meetings with representatives from well-resourced and copartisan interests, as they would be most likely to spark public backlash. Given that I expect presidents are more likely to engage with interests with those characteristics, this concealment would bias downward their effects, making it more difficult to detect evidence for my expectations.

C.1.4 Trump

Upon taking office, the Trump administration terminated the Obama administration's voluntary disclosure policy for White House visitor log records. However, facing a lawsuit concerning this change, the Trump administration entered into a legal settlement requiring them to release visitor logs records for four units in the Executive Office of the President (EOP) subject to FOIA, rather than PRA, due to their independent statutory authority and Senate-confirmed leadership: the Office of Management and Budget, the Office of Science and Technology Policy, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy.[SI.17]

While visitors to these offices are also included in the Clinton and Obama logs, the absence of records from the White House Office (WHO) itself makes it difficult to compare engagement in the Trump administration to the Clinton and Obama administrations. Further, engagement through these EOP offices is likely different than that conducted by WHO. One key difference is that these offices have higher proportions of career civil servants; whereas nearly all officials in WHO at the pleasure of the president, over 80% of the personnel in these offices during the Clinton and Obama administrations are career civil servants. While civil servants are susceptible to presidents' influence (Moe 1985), they entertain other motivations extending beyond the life of any administration, such as career advancement and making good public policy (Carpenter 2001; Lewis 2008), that might incentivize them to engage with interests differently than members of WHO.

Because comparisons between the the Clinton and Obama visitor logs and more limited Trump visitor logs may be misleading, I do not incorporate the Trump visitor logs into my analysis. However, they may prove useful for future researchers studying other aspects of the presidency.

C.1.5 Biden

The Biden administration revived the Obama administration's practice of releasing its visitor logs on a rolling basis through a voluntary disclosure policy.[SI.18]. At the time of this writing, the White House has released records for in-person visits taking place between January 20, 2021 and October 31, 2021. However, these voluntary disclosures do not include information about virtual meetings, which have largely taken the place of in-person White House meetings amid the COVID-19 pandemic.[SI.19] Members of Congress and ethics watchdogs have expressed concern over this decision, and House Democrats are trying to pressure the White House to release information about virtual meetings through language in a committee report.[SI.20] Should this effort fail to secure the release of virtual meetings records, FOIA requests (and likely court proceedings) similar to those filed against the Trump administration when it suspended disclosure altogether are likely. If these virtual meeting records ultimately remain out of public view, researchers interested in using the Biden administration's visitor logs will need to consider if and how the prominence of virtual meetings during this period constrains the inferences they can draw.

C.1.6 What Types of Visits are Included?

The Clinton and Obama administrations' WAVES records include information about all visits made to the White House, the Old Executive Office Building, or the New Executive Office Building by persons without permanent access passes (e.g., White House staff, members of the White House press corps, etc.), with the exception of those visits omitted by FOIA and administration-specific disclosure policies (see Sections C.1.1 and C.1.3 above). While the WAVES records help identify which people visit the White House, they typically do not provide information about the purpose of the visits, such that we do not

[SI.17] Josh Gerstein, "Trump Administration Agrees to Post Visitor Logs for Some White House Offices," *Politico*, February 15, 2018, https://www.politico.com/story/2018/02/15/trump-visitor-logs-white-house-413016.

[SI.18] "Biden-Harris Administration Reinstates Visitor Log Policy, Will Be First Administration to Post Records from First Full Year in Office," *The White House*, May 7, 2021, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/disclosures/2021/05/07/biden-harris-administration-reinstates-visitor-log-policy-will-be-first-administration-to-post-records-from-first-full-year-in-office/

[SI.19] Leonard, Ben. "Biden Administration Releases First Batch of White House Visitor Logs." *Politico*, May 7, 2021, https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/07/biden-releases-white-house-visitor-logs-485822. Comparing the number of visitors in the White House visitor logs for the first full month available in the Obama administration's records (October 2009) to the analogous month of the Biden administration (October 2021) illustrates this dramatic difference in the number of in-person visitors (74,013 in October 2009 versus 2,852 in October 2021).

[SI.20] Markay, Lachlan. "House Targets Secret White House Visitors." *Axios*, July 1, 2021, https://www.axios.com/house-secret-white-house-visitors-c6899b95-9f37-47ab-9207-a03603bdcb24.html.

know the substance of the presidential engagement embodied by the visit. While some of these visits may focus on policy discussions or outreach strategies, which have direct political implications, many correspond to more ceremonial functions, such as tours and social events. The Obama WAVES records, but not the Clinton WAVES records, include a "Description" field, but this field is used infrequently and often includes minimal detail. Of the 5,901,105 unique visits in the Obama WAVES records, 30.4% of the visits (1,795,098) have blank Description fields, and most Description field entries are vague or uninformative.[SI.21] Further, the Description field for the majority of visits (60.9%, or 3,592,392) mention "tour," but almost never provide information about the context for the tour (i.e., if it was a standard tourist visit or a tour purposefully provided by the White House for a specific constituency).

In my empirical analyses, I treat all WAVES records from the Clinton and Obama administrations as instances of presidential engagement irrespective of record-level details, where available, that might provide insight on its purpose (i.e., the Description field for the Obama records). I do so because the very act of providing White House access to an organized interest representative, no matter the purpose, is presidential engagement from the perspectives of both the White House and interests. From the White House's perspective, because providing access of any kind requires staff time and effort to arrange, access signals that the interest is sufficiently important to the White House's coalition-building efforts to justify those costs. From interests' perspective, access of any kind—even if devoid of political or policy substance—is valuable because it allows them to build rapport with White House personnel and provides a tangible achievement they can tout to members, donors, and other constituencies to create a perception of influence. Several of my interviewees from both the White House and organized interests expressed the importance for interests of even social or ceremonial White House access. One former White House staffer conveyed that access to many social or ceremonial events, such as the White House Easter Egg Roll, is often in high-demand, both from White House staff who want to provide access to interests and from interests who want that access (Interviewee I). Another White House staffer indicated that interests value access to ceremonial events because "they're trying to... market influence. If they get invited to the Rose Garden, they're... going to make some public display around that, whether... it's a press statement, or telling their members, or putting it in their annual report" (Interviewee C). From the other side, a lobbyist told me that his colleagues routinely accept White House invitations so that they can "run up and down the halls taking pictures of themselves in the White House... even though the president's policies would put them out of business" (Interviewee K).

However, utilizing all WAVES records, including those associated with tours and social events, could induce measurement error if doing increases the risk of false positive matches. For instance, if individuals who share a lobbyist's name but are not lobbyists themselves attend White House tours as part of vacations in Washington, DC, these visits would be erroneously treated as instances of presidential engagement with that lobbyist's client. Thus, if there are specific types of visits that are unlikely to be instances of presidential engagement (i.e., visits by lobbyists), removing them when creating the measure of presidential engagement would reduce the risk of false positives. To assess whether this measurement error, if present, might alter my results, I re-estimate my model using the Obama WAVES records in the main paper (Figure 4) with a measure of engagement that excludes all records with the word "tour" in its Description field, as tours are a type of visit that likely include many persons who are not lobbyists (e.g., recreational tourists).[SI.22] This alternative specification yields coefficient estimates substantively similar to those obtained with the original specification, suggesting that using all WAVES records does not alter my conclusions (see Table SI.7 for a side-by-side comparison of these specifications).[SI.23]

C.2 Lobbying Disclosure Act Reports

In Supplemental Information Section A, I describe LDA reporting requirements and information interests must provide on LD-2 reports. Here, I focus on the lobbyists listed in these reports and how I use them to identify instances of engagement in the White House visitor logs.

Under LDA, lobbyists are individuals who, in working on behalf of a client, make a "lobbying contact," or an "oral, written, or electronic communication" regarding public policy, with more than one "covered official," which includes most members of the executive and legislative branches, and spend 20 percent or more of their time working for the client on lobbying activities per reporting period.[SI.24] While this policy ensures that LD-2 reports will provide the names of persons who are primarily responsible for clients' lobbying activities, one concern about using lobbyists listed on LD-2 reports to identify instances of presidential engagement is that other persons affiliated with interests who are not identified as lobbyists may attend White House meetings. For instance, a company's CEO might attend a White House meeting, but, because the scope of her work for the company is sufficiently broad, she might not meet the definition of "lobbyist" under the LDA and thus not be identified on the company's LD-2 report. If such non-lobbyists represent their clients at the White House often, we might be concerned about a high instance of false negatives, or cases where White House engagement is not detected because the individuals who visited the White House on behalf of the interest were not registered lobbyists. A related concern is that lobbyists' names

[SI.21] Another 31.4% of the visits (1,854,603) merely say "Group Tour," and many of the other common entries indicate changes to the date/time of a previously scheduled visit.

[SI.22] I am cannot do this with the Clinton WAVES data because it does not include a Description field.

[SI.23] The measures of presidential engagement obtained when using all WAVES records and when excluding all identified tours are also similar. Of the 306,766 interest-quarter observations in the final data, 285,314 (93.0%) have the same value for the binary indicator of whether the interest-quarter observation experienced presidential engagement, while the remaining 21,452 (7.0%) are coded as experiencing engagement when tours are included but not when they are excluded. The correlation coefficient for the two binary measures of engagement is 0.85.

[SI.24] Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. §1601) `https://www.senate.gov/legislative/Lobbying/Lobby_Disclosure_Act/TOC.htm`.

provided on LD-2 reports and standardized by CRP may differ from their full legal names which the White House enters into WAVES for the Secret Service to conduct background checks. Because the names of lobbyists are provided on LD-2 forms through text entry boxes, filers may use versions of the lobbyists' names other than their legal names. This concern may be acute for female lobbyists, who disproportionately experience name changes due to changes in marital status.

Measurement error stemming from these concerns should be minimal for two reasons. First, organized interests often send more than one person to White House meetings, and because I identify measure engagement at the organized interest-level rather than the visitor-level, I detect each instance of presidential engagement with an interest so long as at least one member of the interest's contingent is a registered lobbyist whose CRP standardized name is their legal name. Second, I asked my respondents who reported that their interests had meetings at the Obama and Trump White Houses to indicate which of the following types of employees attended these meetings: "executive officers," "registered lobbyists," "government affairs employees who were not registered lobbyists," or "other" persons. 75.2% and 68.6% of respondents indicated that registered lobbyists attended meetings, and 71.3% and 67.6% reported that executive officers (who are often listed as lobbyists on LDA reports) attended meetings during the Obama and Trump administrations, respectively. These responses suggest that most instances of engagement should be detected by matching registered lobbyists' names to the White House visitor logs. Together, my measurement of engagement at the interest-level and lobbyists' knowledge of what types of interest representatives typically attend White House meetings mitigates error associated with interest representatives' status as registered lobbyists and the forms of their names used across data sources.

C.3 White House Visitor Logs-LDA Reports Matching Procedure

Because the White House visitor logs themselves do not identify instances of presidential engagement, I use the names of registered lobbyists to detect which White House visits are instances of engagement. Unfortunately, no key exists to match registered lobbyists to the names of visitors in the logs, and the spelling and punctuation of the name of the same individual in the White House visitor logs and the LDA filings may vary, making the string-matching task difficult. To account for differences in lobbyists' names across data sources, I preprocess the names to remove punctuation and use both exact and approximate string matching, which identifies a match when the difference between strings is below a specified tolerance threshold.[SI.25] Specifically, I use the `fuzzyjoin` package in `R` and match names with the Damerau-Levenshtein distance metric at four different thresholds—zero edits (i.e. exact matching), one edit, two edits, and three edits. Sometimes, the same visitor log entry may match to multiple LDA lobbyists; when this occurs, I retain only the match with the smallest edit distance.[SI.26] Once I identify the "best" matches for each period, I aggregate instances of White House engagement up to the organized interest-level.[SI.27] The number of visits and unique appointments which match with names of organized interest representatives in contemporary LDA filings at each edit distance threshold are provided in Table SI.4.

Using measures of engagement with different thresholds entail trade-offs. When the threshold is low, such as when using only exact matches, some false negatives (e.g., instances of engagement not counted because of minor differences) are inevitable. However, when the threshold increases, the rate of false negatives declines as the rate of false positives (e.g., visits incorrectly identified as instances of engagement) increases. Recognizing these trade-offs, the analyses in the main paper use a measure of presidential engagement which includes only exact matches, but I re-estimate my models using the more permissive tolerance levels in Supplemental Information Section E.

C.4 Measuring Engagement and Engagement Quality

As I describe in Supplemental Information Section C.1.6, all instances in which an organized interest representative enjoys White House access constitute presidential engagement. However, the circumstances of engagement can vary widely, from a one-on-one meeting in the Oval Office with the president to a back row seat at a packed briefing led by a staff assistant and anything in between. Importantly, even if the White House wanted to offer the highest "quality" of engagement to every interest, it faces clear logistical barriers to providing every interest with red-carpet treatment; the president and each staffer can only hold so many meetings each day, rooms can only hold so many people at a time, only so many people can be seated at the president's table at a state dinner, etc. Consequently, the White House must choose which interests experience what quality of engagement opportunities, and the quality of engagement the it provides interests may further reflect of its engagement priorities (beyond the choice to engage at all).

While there are multifarious contextual details which can indicate engagement quality, I describe at the beginning of the Research Design section in the main paper that my interviewees emphasized the visitee, or the person within the White House

[SI.25] In some cases, approximate string matching may mitigate concerns about the use of different names for the same individual across data sources mentioned above. For instance, if a lobbyist's standardized LDA name uses a nickname, approximate matching may account for the difference between the nickname and the full legal name provided in the White House visitor logs (e.g., if a lobbyist's full legal name is "Calvin Ripken" but the standardized name CRP draws from LD-2 forms is "Cal Ripken," appearances of "Calvin Ripken" in the White House visitor logs would not be matched with the lobbyist "Cal Ripken" under exact string matching, but would be matched when using the Damerau-Levenshtein distance metric and allowing for up to three edits, which in this case would be the addition of the letters "v," "i," and "n."). However, approximate string matching cannot mitigate cases where the names provided by both data sources are distinct, such as when surnames change due to changes in marital status.

[SI.26] If multiple matches have the same edit distance, I randomly retain one match.

[SI.27] To avoid overcounts stemming from multiple lobbyists from the same organization attending the same meeting, I use my appointment identifiers (see Supplemental Information Footnotes SI.11 and SI.16) to group matches for the same organization and retain only one matched entry per appointment; thus, instances of presidential engagement are counted at the meeting-level, rather than the visitor-level.

Table SI.4: Number of Lobbyists Matched with Visitors in the White House Visitor Logs

	Number of Visits (%)	Number of Appointments (%)
Clinton		
Exact matches	38,455 (3.0%)	32,163 (4.0%)
Edit distance ≤ 1	55,633 (4.3%)	46,657 (5.7%)
Edit distance ≤ 2	142,507 (11.0%)	119,289 (14.7%)
Edit distance ≤ 3	375,674 (29.0%)	296,989 (36.5%)
Obama		
Exact matches	129,732 (2.2%)	99,519 (6.2%)
Edit distance ≤ 1	192,688 (3.3%)	133,468 (8.3%)
Edit distance ≤ 2	564,363 (9.6%)	285,140 (17.8%)
Edit distance ≤ 3	1,748,113 (29.6%)	653,653 (40.9%)

This table provides the number and proportion of visits and unique appointments in the Clinton and Obama visitor logs with visitor names that matched the names of registered lobbyists in contemporaneous LDA reports at each edit distance threshold.

who met with the interest representative, as a key signal of quality. Accordingly, I utilize the identity of the visitee provided for each White House visitor log record to classify meetings as "high-quality" or "low-quality" instances of engagement. The president, at the pinnacle of the White House and the broader executive branch, is unambiguously a high-quality visitee. I also classify the vice-president and first lady as high-quality visitees; while they have little formal power, the vice-president is a constitutional officer and both roles are proximate to the president and afford a high degree of respect and credibility in and out of the White House.[SI.28] However, determining which EOP staff in the White House complex are "senior advisers" who provide high-quality engagement is less straightforward. One tactic would be to consult organizational charts and deem staff above a certain level in the hierarchy to be senior adviser; however, official organizational charts are seldom publicized and it can be difficult to compare the rank of staff in different White House offices.[SI.29] Instead, I use information about staff salaries provided by the White House[SI.30] and the Office of Personnel Management[SI.31] to determine which visitees constitute senior advisers, and thus high-quality engagement. After matching this salary information with the names of visitees in the Clinton and Obama WAVES records, I classify all meetings with visitees whose salaries fall within the top quartile of all EOP salaries for the time period in which the meeting took place as high-quality engagement, and all other meetings as low-quality engagement.

I use staff salaries to determine seniority for several reasons. First, salaries correspond to staffers' proximity to the president and the breadth of their managerial and policy portfolios and powers. Staff at the upper levels of EOP, such as the Chief of Staff, Director of the Domestic Policy Council, and the Director of OMB, tend to hold supervisory roles, have ultimate authority and responsibility for the actions of their respective units, and enjoy more direct interactions with the president, and their salaries are commensurate with these powers. Second, EOP salaries are in large part determined by the Executive and General Schedules, and the hierarchy of commissioned titles which presidents bestow on staffers typically correspond with levels in these schedules. For instance, presidents can employ 25 staffers at the top rank, Assistant to the President, whose salaries are capped at level II of the Executive Schedule, and another 25 staffers at the next-highest rank, Deputy Assistant to the President, whose salaries are capped at level III of the Executive Schedule.[SI.32] Thus, in staffing the White House, the persons presidents choose for more senior roles by necessity receive higher compensation. Third, unlike coding alternatives, such as organizational charts, staff salaries are an easy-to-use unidimensional scale that facilitates comparisons within and across EOP units (see Footnote SI.29). Fourth, my use of staff salaries to denote seniority reflects strategies employed by other recent studies considering the role of staff in Congress and the executive branch (e.g., Brown and Huang 2020; McCrain n.d.).

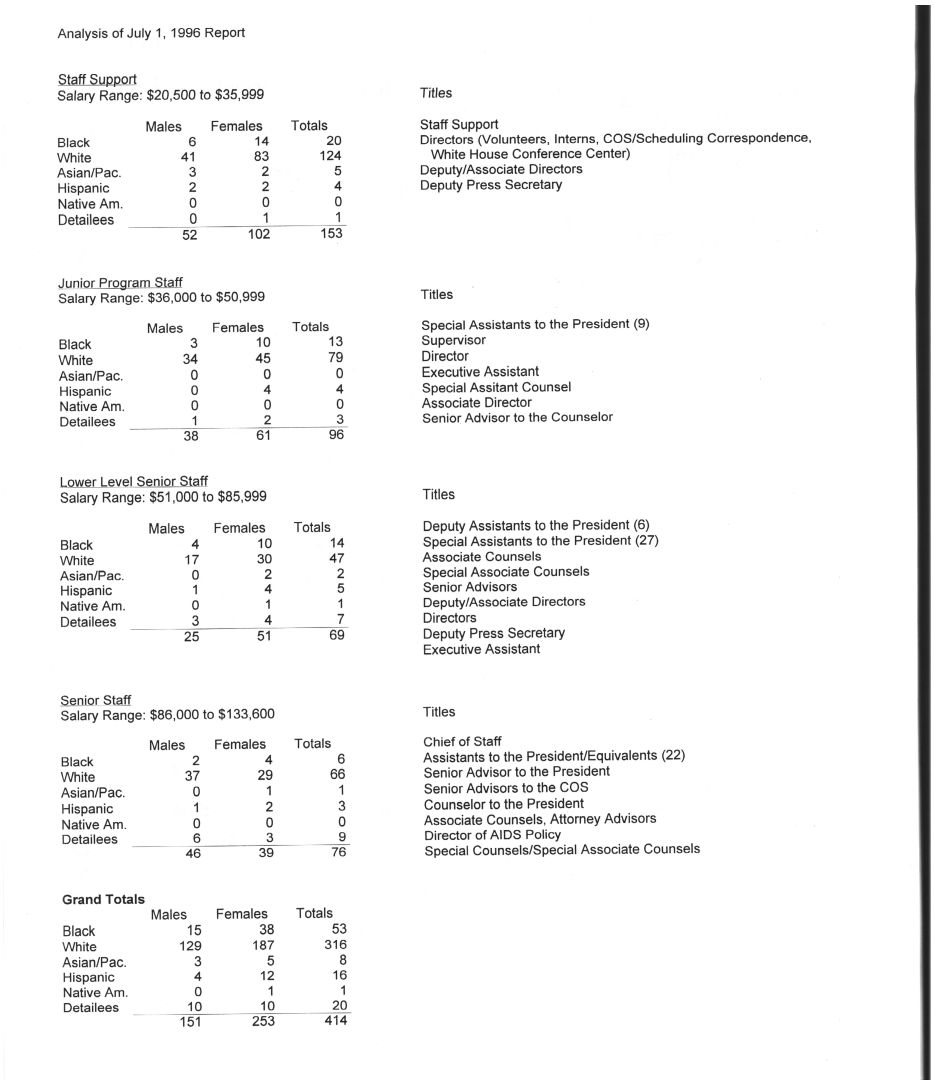
[SI.28] No other members of the first or second families appear in the WAVES records for either administration.

[SI.29] For instance, the White House Transition Project (WHTP) sometimes issues reports using organizational charts, but these charts are themselves created by the WHTP from publicly-available materials and may not reflect the White House's *true* hierarchy (e.g., Kumar, Martha Joynt. "White House Staff and Organization: Ten Observations." *The White House Transition Project*, Report 2017-10, `http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/WHTP2017-10_Ten_Observations_on_WH_Staff-_9-6-2017.pdf`). Additionally, these charts do not account for non-White House Office EOP staff who appear in my data.

[SI.30] The Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1994 requires the White House to issue an annual report on the salaries of persons employed by or detailed to the White House Office. Annual reports from the Clinton administration come from the Clinton Presidential Library ("Reports on White House Personnel, 1995-2000 - Collection Finding Aid." *Clinton Digital Library*, `https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/44117`.). Annual reports from the Obama administration come from the White House website ("White House Salaries." *The White House*, `https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/21stcenturygov/tools/salaries`.). These reports also contain salary information for staff in the Office of Policy Development (the Domestic Policy Council and National Economic Council).

[SI.31] Outside of the White House Office, Office of Policy Development, and the Office of the Vice-President, the salary information for all other EOP units is maintained by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM). In 2017, Buzzfeed News published quarterly OPM reports it received through FOIA (Singer-Vine, Jeremy, "We're Sharing a Vast Trove of Federal Payroll Records," *Buzzfeed News*, May 24, 2017, `https://www.buzzfeed.com/jsvine/sharing-hundreds-of-millions-of-federal-payroll-records?utm_term=.oe3w86gYqa#.yi5wM9oY5Q`). Using these reports, I extracted the salary information for all EOP staff included therein. Unfortunately, neither data sources contain salary information for the relatively small staff in the Office of the Vice-President; therefore, any meetings where staff from that office are identified as the visitee are considered low-quality engagement.

[SI.32] United States Code Title 3, Chapter 2, §105, `https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title3/chapter2&edition=prelim`.



Analysis of July 1, 1996 Report

Staff Support
Salary Range: $20,500 to $35,999

	Males	Females	Totals
Black	6	14	20
White	41	83	124
Asian/Pac.	3	2	5
Hispanic	2	2	4
Native Am.	0	0	0
Detailees	0	1	1
	52	102	153

Titles

Staff Support
Directors (Volunteers, Interns, COS/Scheduling Correspondence, White House Conference Center)
Deputy/Associate Directors
Deputy Press Secretary

Junior Program Staff
Salary Range: $36,000 to $50,999

	Males	Females	Totals
Black	3	10	13
White	34	45	79
Asian/Pac.	0	0	0
Hispanic	0	4	4
Native Am.	0	0	0
Detailees	1	2	3
	38	61	96

Titles

Special Assistants to the President (9)
Supervisor
Director
Executive Assistant
Special Assitant Counsel
Associate Director
Senior Advisor to the Counselor

Lower Level Senior Staff
Salary Range: $51,000 to $85,999

	Males	Females	Totals
Black	4	10	14
White	17	30	47
Asian/Pac.	0	2	2
Hispanic	1	4	5
Native Am.	0	1	1
Detailees	3	4	7
	25	51	69

Titles

Deputy Assistants to the President (6)
Special Assistants to the President (27)
Associate Counsels
Special Associate Counsels
Senior Advisors
Deputy/Associate Directors
Directors
Deputy Press Secretary
Executive Assistant

Senior Staff
Salary Range: $86,000 to $133,600

	Males	Females	Totals
Black	2	4	6
White	37	29	66
Asian/Pac.	0	1	1
Hispanic	1	2	3
Native Am.	0	0	0
Detailees	6	3	9
	46	39	76

Titles

Chief of Staff
Assistants to the President/Equivalents (22)
Senior Advisor to the President
Senior Advisors to the COS
Counselor to the President
Associate Counsels, Attorney Advisors
Director of AIDS Policy
Special Counsels/Special Associate Counsels

Grand Totals

	Males	Females	Totals
Black	15	38	53
White	129	187	316
Asian/Pac.	3	5	8
Hispanic	4	12	16
Native Am.	0	1	1
Detailees	10	10	20
	151	253	414

Figure SI.2: **Clinton Administration Analysis of White House Staff Salaries, Prepared for July 1, 1996 Report to Congress** This analysis was found at the Clinton Presidential Library in the file corresponding with FOIA request 2014-0939-F ("Reports on White House Personnel, 1995-2000 - Collection Finding Aid." *Clinton Digital Library*, `https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/44117`.). The file contained similar reports for the years 1996, 1997, and 1999. The document shows how the White House perceived staffers' salaries as indicative of their seniority.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the White House itself thinks of salaries as synonymous with, or at least a close proxy for, seniority. I discovered in the Clinton Presidential Library's file containing the administration's annual reports to Congress on staff salaries that for most years the White House submitted these reports (1996, 1997, 1999, and 2000), it also compiled a summary of staff compensation by gender and ethnicity that binned staffers into four categories by salary range (from lowest to highest): Staff Support, Junior Program Staff, Lower Level Senior Staff, and Senior Staff. In Figure SI.2, I provide a copy of the first analysis the Clinton administration prepared for its July 1, 1996 report.

As was the case when matching lobbyists' names with the names of visitors in WAVES records, name variations and typographical errors across White House and OPM salary data and the names of visitees in WAVES records presented some challenges in the matching process. After matching these records for contemporaneous time periods on the basis of exact matching (i.e., the name strings in both records were identical), I utilized a combination of approximate string matching and visual checks to match as many visitees with staff salary information as possible.[SI.33]

In Table SI.5, I report for how many of the visits and appointments I matched with the names of lobbyists provided by LDA reports (i.e., the visits and appointments reported in Table SI.4) I can identify the visitee corresponding with the visits and appointments using designations provided for the president, vice-president, or first lady and salary data provided by the White

[SI.33]For each WAVES record, I tried to match its visitee with a staffer listed in the most recent White House or OPM salary report. Because these reports are issued annually and quarterly, respectively, they do not account for staffer entries and exists between reports' issuance. Consequently, I extended each staffer's first and last reported salary to the preceding and following time periods (i.e., a White House Office staffer hired on January 1, 1999, would not have a salary reported until July 1, 1999, so including that staffer in all attempted matches in the prior year, July 1, 1998-June 30, 1999, would match with all times they appeared as the visitee for meetings after their start date).

Table SI.5: Number of Visitees Identified in the White House Visitor Logs

	Number of Matched Visits (%)	Number of Matched Appointments (%)
Clinton		
Exact matches	24,250 (63.1%)	19,151 (59.5%)
Edit distance ≤ 1	34,925 (62.8%)	27,862 (59.7%)
Edit distance ≤ 2	85,494 (60.0%)	68,682 (57.6%)
Edit distance ≤ 3	222,960 (59.3%)	170,208 (57.3%)
Obama		
Exact matches	58,201 (44.9%)	48,529 (48.8%)
Edit distance ≤ 1	75,746 (39.3%)	61,355 (46.0%)
Edit distance ≤ 2	175,398 (31.1%)	128,281 (45.0%)
Edit distance ≤ 3	490,017 (28.0%)	311,562 (47.7%)

This table provides the number and proportion of visits and unique appointments in the Clinton and Obama visitor logs with visitee names that either corresponded to the president, vice-president, or first lady or matched the names of EOP staff whose salaries were reported by the White House or the Office of Personnel Management among those visits and appointments whose visitors were were matched names of lobbyists on LDA reports at each of the edit distance thresholds (see Supplemental Information Section C.3 for more details).

House and OPM. When I ascertain the visitee's identity as the president, vice-president, first lady, or a staffer whose salary falls in the top quartile among all EOP staff, I code the instance of engagement as high-quality. In cases where I ascertain the visitee's identity as a staffer whose salary falls outside of the top quartile among all EOP staff or cannot ascertain the visitee's identity, I code the instance of engagement as low-quality.[SI.34]

D Estimation Strategy

D.1 Model Specification

As noted in the Estimation Strategy subsection of the main paper, the data structure poses several challenges to inference including repeated observations of organized interests, industries, and time periods; a key time-invariant covariate of interest measured at the industry-level; and, for the engagement quality analysis, multiple non-independent outcomes. This complexity makes Bayesian multilevel models an appropriate empirical approach (Gelman and Hill 2006; Shor et al. 2007). Here, I present a representative specification of the multilevel models I estimate.

For the representative specification, I focus on the logistic regression model used with the data from the Clinton administration to generate Figure 3. This specification can be modified with few adjustments to represent those used for other analyses, such as those for the Obama administration, examining a count outcome with a negative binomial distribution, or utilizing a bivariate distribution for the outcome to jointly model high- and low-quality engagement.[SI.35,SI.36] To recognize the nesting structure of the data, each organized interest-time period observation—the central unit of observation—is subscripted i, t to correspond with its respective organized interest and time period, respectively. Each organized interest-time period observation is further nested in an organized interest j and a time period p, and each organized interest is further nested in an industry k. Given these subscripts, the model specification is:

[SI.34] Some cases where I cannot ascertain the identity of the visitee may be high-quality engagement. To the extent that this occurs, my coding rule—high-quality if the visitee could be ascertained as the president, vice-president, first lady, or a senior staffer, low-quality if otherwise—would introduce noise when comparing the qualities of engagement (i.e., some high-quality engagement may be mis-coded as low-quality engagement, but not vice versa).

[SI.35] The only difference between the model specifications for the Clinton and Obama presidencies concerns the number of previous periods for which campaign contributions are considered in the present period, t. As noted in the Organized Interests' Resources and Preferences subsection, the measures of organized interests' contribution activity (whether they make contributions and the amount contributed) are calculated by looking at the interest's campaign finance activity for the preceding two-year period (i.e., a quasi-electoral cycle). Because observations for the Clinton presidency are semiannual, or twice a year, these measures account for the preceding four periods. However, because observations for the Obama presidency are quarterly, or four times a year, these same measures account for the preceding eight periods. Thus, the comparable model for the Obama presidency subscripts the variables for campaign finance activity to look back over the preceding eight time periods (i.e., $\text{any_contribs}_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-8}$ and $\text{contrib_amt}_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-8}$).

[SI.36] The bivariate specification estimates coefficients for same set of explanatory variables in the equations for high- and low-quality engagement and accounts for repeated observations nested within the same interest, industry, and time period across across the equations for both outcomes by explicitly modeling the correlation among the varying intercepts estimated for each interest, industry, and time period across outcomes.

$$
\begin{aligned}
Pr(\text{engagement}_{i,t} = 1) = &\text{logit}^{-1}(\alpha + \beta_1 \cdot \text{engagement}_{i,t-1} + \beta_2 \cdot \log(\text{lobby_exp})_{i,t-1} + \\
&\beta_3 \cdot \text{any_contribs}_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-4} + \\
&\beta_4 \cdot \text{any_contribs}_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-4} \cdot \log(\text{contrib_amt})_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-4} + \\
&\boldsymbol{\xi}\mathbf{Z}_{i,t-1} + \alpha_{j[i]} + \gamma_{p[t]}) \text{ for all } i \text{ in } 1, ..., N \\
\alpha_j \sim &N(\mu_{\alpha,0} + \mu_{\alpha,1,k[j]}, \sigma^2_\alpha) \text{ for all } j \text{ in } 1, ..., J \\
\mu_{\alpha,1,k} \sim &N(\delta_{\mu_{\alpha,1}0} + \delta_{\mu_{\alpha,1}1} \cdot \text{pty_align}_k, \sigma^2_{\mu_{\alpha,1}}) \text{ for all } k \text{ in } 1, ..., K \\
\gamma_p \sim &N(\mu_{\gamma_0}, \sigma^2_\gamma) \text{ for all } p \text{ in } 1, ..., P
\end{aligned}
$$

The outcome measure, $\text{engagement}_{i,t}$, is a binary indicator for whether the president engaged with organized interest-time period observation i, t. The key covariates in the model are $\text{lobby_exp}_{i,t-1}$, the amount of lobbying expenditures reported by interest j in the preceding period; $\text{any_contribs}_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-4}$, a binary indicator for whether interest j made campaign contributions to any candidates for federal office in the preceding four periods (i.e., the preceding two years); $\text{contrib_amt}_{i,t-1\rightarrow t-4}$, the amount of contributions made by interest j to candidates for federal office in the preceding four periods; and pty_align_k, a trichotomous indicator of the partisan alignment of the industry k of which interest j is a member. To account for the dynamic nature of engagement with interest j across periods, the model includes a lagged measure of the dependent variable, $\text{engagement}_{i,t-1}$. The model also includes a series of binary indicators drawn from interests' LDA filings for whether they retained their own in-house lobbyists or relied solely on lobbying firms and for which of 76 (Clinton) or 81 (Obama) issue areas they reported lobbying on in the preceding period ($\boldsymbol{\xi}\mathbf{Z}_{i,t-1}$). Finally, the model includes varying intercepts for the unique organized interests ($\alpha_{j[i]}$), industries ($\mu_{\alpha,1,k[j]}$), and time periods ($\gamma_{p[t]}$) in which each observation i, t is nested.

D.2 Estimation Process

I estimate these models with the `R` package `brms` (Bürkner 2017), an interface for Stan (Carpenter et al. 2017). All models are fitted using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm (Hoffman and Gelman 2014); unless otherwise noted, models utilize 4 chains and 2000 iterations per chain (1000 for warmup, 1000 for sampling), with inferences based on the 4000 posterior samples. All models report no divergent transitions during the sampling phase and indicate convergence with $\hat{R}$ statistics of ≤ 1.10 for all parameters.

E Empirical Analyses

In this section of the Supplemental Information, I discuss how the figures in the main paper are generated, present the summaries of the models from which these figures are derived, and provide summaries from alternative model specifications.

E.1 Calculating and Testing Hypotheses with Predicted Probabilities

Figures 3 and 4 present predicted probabilities of presidential engagement as organized interests' resources and partisan alignment with the president vary. These probabilities are calculated from the models summarized in Table SI.6 using an observed-value approach (Hanmer and Kalkan 2013). Under this approach, I fix the values of all covariates except the covariate whose effect I seek to demonstrate at their observed values, and then vary each covariate of interest independently across the levels indicated on the far left of the figures.[SI.37] For instance, in Figure 3, the top three predicted probabilities are calculated by fixing all covariates except for lobbying expenditures at their observed values and varying lobbying expenditures across its first, second, and third quartile values.

To determine if the shifts in the value of each covariate of interest represent distinguishable changes in the probability of engagement, we cannot rely on visual comparisons of the probabilities plotted in the left panes, but rather must assess the differences between the distributions of predicted probabilities calculated for each set of variable values (see Shikano 2019, for more on Bayesian hypothesis testing). For example, focus on the difference between the probability of engagement when interests are situated in a Democratic industry rather than a Republican industry during the Obama administration. As indicated in the left pane of Figure 4, the predicted probability of engagement when situated in a Democratic industry is 0.33, while the predicted probability when the industry's partisan alignment is Republican is 0.29. To determine whether this 0.04 difference is statistical distinguishable at the 95% level, I use the the parameter estimates in each of the 4000 posterior samples to calculate the difference between the predicted probabilities when partisan alignment is set to Democratic versus Republican, holding all other covariates at their fixed values. The resulting differences provide a distribution of the difference

[SI.37] In generating the predicted probabilities presented in the main text, I do not utilize the varying intercepts associated with each interest-time period observation (i.e., each observation's varying intercepts are set to their grand means). The predicted probabilities' point estimates change slightly when varying intercepts associated with each interest-time period observation are included, but the substantive conclusions drawn from them are the same as those drawn from the predicted probabilities presented in the main text.

in the predicted probability of engagement for interests when situated in a Democratic versus a Republican industry. The bottom-most point and line in the right pane of Figure 4 indicates the mean and 95% credible interval of this distribution of differences; because the credible interval does not include zero, we can conclude that the difference in the probability of engagement for interests when situated in a Democratic versus a Republican industries is distinguishable.

E.2 Alternative Model Specifications

To demonstrate the robustness of my results to alternative measurement perspectives and modeling choices, I conduct a series of alternative analyses presented on the following pages.

First, as discussed in Supplemental Information Section C, I re-estimate the models presented in the main paper with measures of engagement which allow for higher string matching tolerance thresholds and which both include and exclude visits identified as tours. I present the alternative models for the Clinton and Obama administrations in Table SI.8. In general, the coefficients for organized interests' resources and partisan alignment maintain the same signs and similar magnitudes when using an outcome measure of engagement with an edit distance thresholds of ≤ 1 and ≤ 2, though a few coefficients do not maintain statistical significance. As the engagement measure becomes more noisy at an edit distance threshold of ≤ 3, the coefficient estimates become more noisy. Separately, in Table SI.7, I present a side-by-side comparison of the Obama-era model presented in Figure 4 of the main paper and Table SI.6 of the Supplemental Information, which includes all visits in its measure of presidential engagement, with an alternative specification whose presidential engagement measure utilizes only visits that were not identified as tours in the "Description" column of the Obama administration's WAVES records. Both specifications yield similar coefficient estimates and facilitate the same substantive conclusions.

Second, because presidents can engage with interests more than once per period, I repeat my analyses with negative binomial models measuring engagement as a count. The results from these models, presented in Table SI.9, are substantively similar to those presented in the main models.

Third, given the coarseness of my industry-level partisan alignment measure, I leverage two interest-level preferences measures—CFscores (Bonica 2013) and IGscores (Crosson, Furnas, and Lorenz 2020)—to investigate whether my results hold with more granular measures of preferences. While these measures provide ideology scores for each interest (negative values indicating liberalism, positive values indicating conservatism), they have some limitations. First, these measures provide scores for only a small subset of the interests in my analyses. Second, the subset of interests with scores is not random, such that sample selection may yield inferences that do not generalize to the full population of interests. For instance, because CFscores are generated using campaign contributions, only interests that make campaign contributions have ideology scores. Again, only interests who take positions on congressional bills and whose positions are recorded by Maplight have IGscores. Thus, interests who partake in these types of activities likely have distinct characteristics from interests who do not, such as broader membership bases from which they can raise campaign funds and to whom they demonstrate their political action through bill position-taking.

In Table SI.10, I present the alternative specifications that use these preference measures rather than my trichotomous indicator of partisan alignment. The results from these alternative specifications are substantively similar to those presented in the main paper.

E.3 Calculating and Testing Hypotheses with Differences in Coefficient Estimates

To compare the effect sizes associated with lobbying expenditures, campaign contributions, and partisan alignment across high- and low-quality engagement, I provide in Figure 5 the differences in the distributions of the coefficient estimates corresponding to each of those measures for high- and low-quality engagement obtained from the bivariate multilevel logistic regression models fitted for each presidency (see Table SI.11 for model summaries). These differences are calculated by taking the 4000 posterior samples of each parameter estimate of interest, subtracting the parameter estimate from the part of the model using low-quality engagement as its outcome from the parameter estimate from the part of the model using high-quality engagement as its outcome, yielding for each covariate of interest a distribution of 4000 posterior differences.[SI.38] Figure 5 plots the means and 95% credible intervals for each of these differences, and inferences concerning statistical distinguishability are made by assessing whether the credible intervals include zero.

For instance, take lobbying expenditures, denoted "log(Lobbying Expenditures)$_{t-1}$ in Table SI.11 and whose differences are indicated by the first two points and credible intervals in Figure 5. For the bivariate model for each administration, two parameters are estimated for lobbying expenditures—one for the effect of lobbying expenditures on high-quality engagement, the other for the effect of lobbying expenditures on low-quality engagement. To compare the effect sizes of these pairs of parameters from the Clinton and Obama models, we take the pair of parameter estimates from each of the 4000 posterior samples and subtract the parameter estimate corresponding with low-quality engagement from that corresponding with high-quality engagement; this yields for the Clinton and Obama models a distribution of 4000 posterior differences for the effect of

[SI.38] The covariates corresponding with policy resources (lobbying expenditures) and partisan alignment (industry alignment with the Republican or neither party) utilize only one parameter from each equation in the bivariate regression models. However, because electoral resources are modeled with two covariates—whether an interest made contributions to candidates for federal office in the past 2 years and how much they contributed in that time—, I utilize estimates of both parameters when calculating these differences. In other words, to calculate the differences for each posterior sample, I subtract the sum the parameter estimates from the low-quality engagement equation for whether an interest made contributions and how much they contributed from the sum of the analogous parameter estimates from the high-quality engagement equation.

lobbying expenditures on the two different qualities of engagement. The first and second points and 95% credible intervals in Figure 5 reflect these distributions, whose means are nearly zero and whose credible intervals are so small that they cannot be seen in the figure. Because the credible intervals include zero, we deem the difference not statistically distinguishable.

Table SI.6: Main Paper Models

	Clinton	Obama
Intercept	-1.25^*	-2.45^*
	$[-1.88; -0.64]$	$[-2.62; -2.29]$
Any Visits_t-1	1.32^*	0.85^*
	$[1.24; 1.40]$	$[0.83; 0.88]$
$\log(\text{Lobbying Expenditures})_{t-1}$	0.07^*	0.10^*
	$[0.06; 0.08]$	$[0.10; 0.10]$
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4}$	-1.68^*	
	$[-2.25; -1.11]$	
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4}$:	0.20^*	
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4})$	$[0.14; 0.25]$	
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8}$		-1.26^*
		$[-1.56; -0.96]$
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8}$:		0.16^*
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8})$		$[0.13; 0.19]$
Aligned with Neither Party	-0.27^*	-0.21^*
	$[-0.47; -0.06]$	$[-0.41; -0.02]$
Aligned with Republicans	-0.23^*	-0.23^*
	$[-0.40; -0.07]$	$[-0.39; -0.08]$
$\sigma_{organization}$	0.22	0.25
$\sigma_{industry}$	0.91	1.45
$\sigma_{timeperiod}$	0.61	0.26
Num. interests	9484	24009
Num. industries	92	92
Num. time periods	5	27
Num. obs.	31673	306766

This table provides the summaries of the models used to generate the predicted probabilities of presidential engagement during the Clinton and Obama administrations presented in the main text. The cell entry for each covariate presents the posterior mean and 95% credible interval from the Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model using data from the presidency indicated by the column heading. Coefficients denoted with * are those whose 95% credible intervals do not include zero. The models are fitted with the R package `brms`, which interfaces with `rstan` to perform estimation using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm in Stan. Each model is fitted with 4 chains for 2000 iterations per chain (1000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling). The table omits the following observation-level control variables: whether an organized interest employs lobbyists of its own and whether an organized interest indicates lobbying on each of 80 issues on its LDA filing in the previous time period.

Table SI.7: Main Paper Model With and Without Tours (Obama White House Only)

	All Visits	Excluding Tours
Intercept	-2.45^*	-2.77^*
	$[-2.62; -2.29]$	$[-2.93; -2.60]$
Any Visits_t-1	0.85^*	0.79^*
	$[0.83; 0.88]$	$[0.77; 0.82]$
$\log(\text{Lobbying Expenditures})_{t-1}$	0.10^*	0.10^*
	$[0.10; 0.10]$	$[0.10; 0.11]$
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$	-1.26^*	-1.29^*
	$[-1.56; -0.96]$	$[-1.60; -0.98]$
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$:	0.16^*	0.16^*
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8})$	$[0.13; 0.19]$	$[0.13; 0.19]$
Aligned with Neither Party	-0.21^*	-0.27^*
	$[-0.41; -0.02]$	$[-0.49; -0.04]$
Aligned with Republicans	-0.23^*	-0.32^*
	$[-0.39; -0.08]$	$[-0.49; -0.14]$
$\sigma_{organization}$	0.25	0.28
$\sigma_{industry}$	1.45	1.42
$\sigma_{timeperiod}$	0.26	0.19
Num. obs.	306766	306766
Num. interests	24009	
Num. industries	92	
Num. time periods	27	
Num. obs.	306766	

This table compares the model summaries obtained using data from the Obama administration when utilizing all White House visits to identify instances of presidential engagement (first column, identical to model summary in Table SI.6) versus using only those visits not identified as tours using the "Description" column in the Obama era WAVES records (second column). The cell entry for each covariate presents the posterior mean and 95% credible interval from the Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model using data from the presidency indicated by the column heading. Coefficients denoted with * are those whose 95% credible intervals do not include zero. The models are fitted with the R package `brms`, which interfaces with extttrstan to perform estimation using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm in Stan. Each model is fitted with 4 chains for 2000 iterations per chain (1000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling). The table omits the following observation-level control variables: whether an organized interest employs lobbyists of its own and whether an organized interest indicates lobbying on each of 80 issues on its LDA filing in the previous time period.

Table SI.8: Main Paper Models with Different String Matching Tolerance Thresholds

	Clinton			Obama		
	$\leq$ 1 Edit	$\leq$ 2 Edits	$\leq$ 3 Edits	$\leq$ 1 Edit	$\leq$ 2 Edits	$\leq$ 3 Edits
Intercept	-1.00^*	-0.62^*	-0.39	-2.13^*	-1.45^*	-0.99^*
	$[-1.59; -0.44]$	$[-1.25; -0.01]$	$[-1.18; 0.34]$	$[-2.31; -1.95]$	$[-1.66; -1.24]$	$[-1.18; -0.80]$
Any Visits_t-1	1.28^*	1.81^*	2.26^*	0.92^*	1.24^*	1.72^*
	$[1.20; 1.36]$	$[1.73; 1.90]$	$[2.15; 2.37]$	$[0.90; 0.95]$	$[1.21; 1.27]$	$[1.68; 1.75]$
log(Lobbying Expenditures)$_{t-1}$	0.07^*	0.07^*	0.08^*	0.11^*	0.12^*	0.13^*
	$[0.07; 0.08]$	$[0.06; 0.08]$	$[0.07; 0.09]$	$[0.10; 0.11]$	$[0.11; 0.12]$	$[0.13; 0.14]$
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-4}$	-1.43^*	-0.80^*	-0.57			
	$[-2.00; -0.87]$	$[-1.44; -0.17]$	$[-1.31; 0.21]$			
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-4}$:	0.17^*	0.11^*	0.09^*			
log(Contribution Amount$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-4}$)	$[0.12; 0.23]$	$[0.05; 0.17]$	$[0.02; 0.16]$			
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$				-1.16^*	-1.31^*	-1.32^*
				$[-1.49; -0.86]$	$[-1.68; -0.93]$	$[-1.82; -0.83]$
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$:				0.16^*	0.17^*	0.18^*
log(Contribution Amount$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$)				$[0.13; 0.19]$	$[0.13; 0.21]$	$[0.14; 0.23]$
Aligned with Neither Party	-0.24^*	-0.25^*	-0.15	-0.18	-0.20^*	-0.24^*
	$[-0.44; -0.04]$	$[-0.47; -0.04]$	$[-0.41; 0.11]$	$[-0.37; 0.00]$	$[-0.38; -0.02]$	$[-0.45; -0.03]$
Aligned with Republicans	-0.21^*	-0.20^*	-0.14	-0.18^*	-0.15	-0.16^*
	$[-0.37; -0.04]$	$[-0.36; -0.03]$	$[-0.35; 0.08]$	$[-0.33; -0.04]$	$[-0.29; 0.00]$	$[-0.33; -0.00]$
$\sigma_{organization}$	0.22	0.23	0.28	0.24	0.22	0.23
$\sigma_{industry}$	0.95	0.83	0.77	1.48	1.64	1.62
$\sigma_{timeperiod}$	0.54	0.56	0.72	0.34	0.43	0.38
Num. interests		9484			24009	
Num. industries		92			92	
Num. time periods		5			27	
Num. obs.		31673			306766	

The cell entry for each covariate presents the posterior mean and 95% credible interval from the Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model using data from the Clinton and Obama presidencies with the strong matching tolerance threshold indicated by the column heading. indicated by the column heading. Coefficients denoted with * are those whose 95% credible intervals do not include zero. The models are fitted with the R package `brms`, which interfaces with `rstan` to perform estimation using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm in Stan. All models except the $\leq$ 3 Edits model for the Clinton presidency are fitted with 4 chains for 2000 iterations per chain (1000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling), and the $\leq$ 3 Edits model for the Clinton presidency is fitted with 4 chains for 3000 iterations per chain (2000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling). The table omits the following observation-level control variables: whether an organized interest employs lobbyists of its own and whether an organized interest indicates lobbying on each of 80 issues on its LDA filing in the previous time period.

Table SI.9: Main Paper Models with Count Outcomes

	Clinton	Obama
Intercept	-0.66^*	-1.76^*
	$[-1.13; -0.18]$	$[-1.90; -1.61]$
Num Visits_t-1	0.02^*	0.07^*
	$[0.02; 0.02]$	$[0.07; 0.07]$
$\log(\text{Lobbying Expenditures})_{t-1}$	0.06^*	0.07^*
	$[0.06; 0.07]$	$[0.07; 0.08]$
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4}$	-1.85^*	
	$[-2.27; -1.43]$	
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4}$:	0.22^*	
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4})$	$[0.18; 0.26]$	
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8}$		-0.60^*
		$[-0.78; -0.43]$
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8}$:		0.08^*
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8})$		$[0.07; 0.10]$
Aligned with Neither Party	-0.21	-0.26^*
	$[-0.44; 0.01]$	$[-0.47; -0.07]$
Aligned with Republicans	-0.18^*	-0.28^*
	$[-0.35; -0.00]$	$[-0.42; -0.13]$
$\sigma_{organization}$	0.26	0.24
$\sigma_{industry}$	1.29	1.42
$\sigma_{timeperiod}$	0.43	0.20
Num. interests	9484	24009
Num. industries	92	92
Num. time periods	5	27
Num. obs.	31673	306766

This table provides the summaries of models analogous to those used to generate the predicted probabilities of presidential engagement during the Clinton and Obama administrations presented in the main text, but which use counts of the number of times presidents engage with each interest in the specified time period rather than a binary indicator of engagement. The cell entry for each covariate presents the posterior mean and 95% credible interval from the Bayesian multilevel negative binomial regression model using data from the presidency indicated by the column heading. Coefficients denoted with * are those whose 95% credible intervals do not include zero. The models are fitted with the R package `brms`, which interfaces with `rstan` to perform estimation using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm in Stan. Each model is fitted with 4 chains for 2000 iterations per chain (1000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling). The table omits the following observation-level control variables: whether an organized interest employs lobbyists of its own and whether an organized interest indicates lobbying on each of 80 issues on its LDA filing in the previous time period.

Table SI.10: Main Paper Models with Alternative Preference Measures

	Clinton		Obama	
Intercept	-1.46^*	-1.20^*	-2.99^*	-1.95^*
	$[-2.10; -0.81]$	$[-1.84; -0.63]$	$[-3.39; -2.60]$	$[-2.20; -1.70]$
Any Visits_t-1	1.06^*	0.75^*	0.93^*	0.87^*
	$[0.76; 1.37]$	$[0.47; 1.03]$	$[0.85; 1.00]$	$[0.80; 0.94]$
$\log(\text{Lobbying Expenditures})_{t-1}$	0.13^*	0.11^*	0.20^*	0.10^*
	$[0.09; 0.17]$	$[0.08; 0.14]$	$[0.18; 0.23]$	$[0.08; 0.11]$
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4}$	-1.63^*	-2.11^*		
	$[-2.87; -0.38]$	$[-3.44; -0.82]$		
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4}$:	0.16^*	0.22^*		
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-4})$	$[0.05; 0.27]$	$[0.10; 0.33]$		
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8}$			-2.12^*	-1.92^*
			$[-2.71; -1.51]$	$[-2.55; -1.29]$
$\text{Made Natl Contributions}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8}$:			0.20^*	0.21^*
$\log(\text{Contribution Amount}_{t-1 \text{ to } t-8})$			$[0.14; 0.25]$	$[0.16; 0.27]$
CFScore	-0.61^*		-0.40^*	
	$[-1.07; -0.15]$		$[-0.66; -0.13]$	
IGScore		-0.42^*		-0.28^*
		$[-0.62; -0.22]$		$[-0.40; -0.16]$
$\sigma_{organization}$	0.66	0.39	0.48	0.48
$\sigma_{industry}$	1.39	1.45	1.47	1.39
$\sigma_{timeperiod}$	0.42	0.46	0.31	0.29
Num. interests	865	937	1229	1492
Num. industries	81	87	82	87
Num. time periods	5	5	27	27
Num. obs.	3663	4122	27636	34271

This table provides the summaries of models analogous to those used to generate the predicted probabilities of presidential engagement during the Clinton and Obama administrations presented in the main text, but which use alternative measures of organized interests' preferences. The cell entry for each covariate presents the posterior mean and 95% credible interval from the Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model using data from the presidency indicated by the column heading. Coefficients denoted with * are those whose 95% credible intervals do not include zero. The models are fitted with the R package `brms`, which interfaces with `rstan` to perform estimation using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm in Stan. Each model is fitted with 4 chains for 2000 iterations per chain (1000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling). The table omits the following observation-level control variables: whether an organized interest employs lobbyists of its own and whether an organized interest indicates lobbying on each of 80 issues on its LDA filing in the previous time period.

Table SI.11: Access Quality Models

	Clinton		Obama	
	High Quality	Low Quality	High Quality	Low Quality
Intercept	-2.46*	-1.45*	-3.88*	-2.54*
	[-3.26, -1.78]	[-2.31, -0.64]	[-4.07, -3.68]	[-2.71, -2.37]
Any High-Quality Visits_t-1	0.59*	0.48*	0.54*	0.36*
	[0.51, 0.67]	[0.40, 0.55]	[0.51, 0.57]	[0.33, 0.39]
Any Low-Quality Visits_t-1	0.54*	0.87*	0.56*	0.78*
	[0.46, 0.62]	[0.79, 0.94]	[0.52, 0.59]	[0.76, 0.80]
$\log(\text{Lobbying Expenditures})_{t-1}$	0.07*	0.07*	0.09*	0.09*
	[0.06, 0.07]	[0.07, 0.08]	[0.08, 0.09]	[0.09, 0.09]
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-4}$	-2.38*	-1.98*	-	-
	[-3.01, -1.77]	[-2.58, -1.38]	-	-
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-4}$:	0.27*	0.23*	-	-
log(Contribution Amount$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-4}$)	[0.21, 0.33]	[0.17, 0.28]	-	-
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$	-	-	-1.07*	-1.11*
	-	-	[-1.38, -0.77]	[-1.41, -0.82]
Made Natl Contributions$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$:	-	-	0.13*	0.15*
log(Contribution Amount$_{t-1}$ to $_{t-8}$)	-	-	[0.11, 0.16]	[0.12, 0.17]
Aligned with Neither Party	-0.28*	-0.22	-0.22*	-0.23*
	[-0.52, -0.05]	[-0.45, 0.03]	[-0.42, -0.01]	[-0.42, -0.02]
Aligned with Republicans	-0.23*	-0.21*	-0.27*	-0.25*
	[-0.42, -0.04]	[-0.39, -0.02]	[-0.43, -0.11]	[-0.41, -0.09]
$\sigma_{organization}$	1.20	1.18	1.31	1.44
$\rho_{\sigma_{organization,high},\sigma_{organization,low}}$	1.00		0.92	
$\sigma_{industry}$	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.25
$\rho_{\sigma_{industry,high},\sigma_{industry,low}}$	0.76		0.94	
$\sigma_{timeperiod}$	0.71	0.80	0.37	0.30
$\rho_{\sigma_{timeperiod,high},\sigma_{timeperiod,low}}$	0.27		0.23	
Num. interests	9484		24009	
Num. industries	92		92	
Num. time periods	5		27	
Num. obs.	31673		306766	

This table provides the summaries of the bivariate models used to generate the differences in the effects of electoral and policy resources and partisan alignment across "high" and "low" qualities of access presented in the main text. The cell entry for each covariate presents the posterior mean and 95% credible interval from the bivariate Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model using data from the presidency and for the quality of access indicated by the column headings; the first and second columns correspond to high- and low-quality access as estimated jointly for the Clinton administration, and the third and fourth columns correspond to high- and low-quality access as estimated jointly for the Obama administration. Coefficients denoted with * are those whose 95% credible intervals do not include zero. The models are fitted with the R package `brms`, which interfaces with `rstan` to perform estimation using the NUTS (No-U-Turn Sampler) algorithm in Stan. Each model is fitted with 4 chains for 5000 iterations per chain (4000 iterations for warm-up, 1000 iterations for sampling). The table omits the following observation-level control variables: whether an organized interest employs lobbyists of its own and whether an organized interest indicates lobbying on each of 80 issues on its LDA filing in the previous time period.

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