

# Who Becomes a Lobbyist? Comparative Evidence from the US and Germany

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**Philipp Amthor**  
Mitglied des Deutschen Bundestages

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Herrn **Bundesminister Peter Altmaier**  
**Bundesministerium für**  
**Wirtschaft und Energie**  
Scharnhorststraße 34-37  
10115 Berlin

BMW - Ministerbüro		LA1	
FSB	FSH	FSH	FSH
E	I	II	III
Eingangs	FSB	FSH	FSH
02. Okt. 2018		Bürgerbüro Pasewalk	
AE für St	Tsp.-Nr.	Bürgerbüro Neubrandenburg	
AE für PSI	S-18 1109-032	Stargarder Straße 10b	
Antwort FE	BL, ngl	17033 Neubrandenburg	
Volum	Unterschrift & Datum	Bürgerbüro Pasewalk	
Stellungs	Kopier	Am Markt 1	
		17039 Pasewalk	
		Berlin, 07/10/18	

**Augustus Intelligence Inc.**

Sehr geehrter Herr Minister, *Lieber Peter,*

ich komme zurück auf unser Gespräch am Rande der jüngsten Sitzung unserer CDU/CSU-Bundestagsfraktion am 25. September 2018, bei der ich Sie auf ein spannendes und politisch vielversprechendes Investitionsvorhaben der Firma **Augustus Intelligence Inc.** („Augustus“) angesprochen habe, mit dessen Gründer Dr. Wolfgang Haupt ich Sie gern zu einem Gespräch zusammenbringen würde.

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Bürgerbüro Pasewalk

Am Markt 1

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Berlin, 07/10/18

Anlage K1

Anlage 1

1) PSTH mdBü  
→ Rabe Kontakt  
aufnahme  
zum Büro Md  
04 Anth  
und

Erörterung  
des Vorhabens  
CSSt. gem. mit  
Herrn Dr. Haupt

2) PSTH mdBü  
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# Self-Selection into becoming a Lobbyist

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- Extensive Research on lobbyists' skills and connections (Bertrand, Bombardini and Trebbi, 2014; Blanes, Draca and Fons-rosen, 2012; McCrain, 2018)

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# Lobbyists' Role and Value of Lobbyists

## Evidence from United States

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### 2. Role of Political connections

- previous employment (Bertrand, Bombardini and Trebbi, 2014; Blanes, Draca and Fons-rosen, 2012; McCrain, 2018)
- Campaign donations to buy 'access' to legislators (Langbein, 1986; Kalla and Broockman, 2016; Kim, Stuckatz and Wolters, 2023)
- Value of previous legislative staff connections for lobbying revenues & proximity to decision-makers (Bolton and McCrain, 2023; McCrain, 2018)

# Data: Registered Lobbyists & Labor Market Data

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## • Data on LinkedIn User Population, Revelio Labs

- Education & workplace history for non-lobbyists
- Predicted salary, seniority, sex, ethnicity
- Standardized skills, occupation, industry, and firm identifiers
- *Snapshot from May, 2024*

# U.S. & German Rules for Registering as a Lobbyist

Category	United States	Germany
<b>Definition of Lobbying</b>	<i>Oral, written, or electronic communication</i> with covered officials reg. legislation, policy, regulation.	<i>Any contact aimed at influencing</i> Bundestag or Federal Government decision-making.
<b>Thresholds</b>	More than one lobbying contact and at least 20% of an individual's time spent lobbying within a 3-month period.	Regular lobbying (3+ contacts), long-term engagement, commercial lobbying, 30+ separate lobbying contacts in 3 months, OR compensation received.
<b>Who?</b>	Lobbying firms, in-house lobbyists, trade associations, and certain coalitions.	Natural persons, legal entities, organizations, networks, and platforms involved in lobbying.
<b>Exemptions</b>	Public officials in official capacity, churches, non-compensated lobbying below thresholds, purely informational requests.	Private individuals advocating personal interests, petitions, participation in public hearings, local concerns (max. two districts).

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### • **Results**

- **US**: found 33,382 out of 45,366 = 74%
- **DE**: found 19,114 out of 33,710 = 57%
- Precision: 0.83, Recall: 0.82 (previously)

# Empirical Analyses

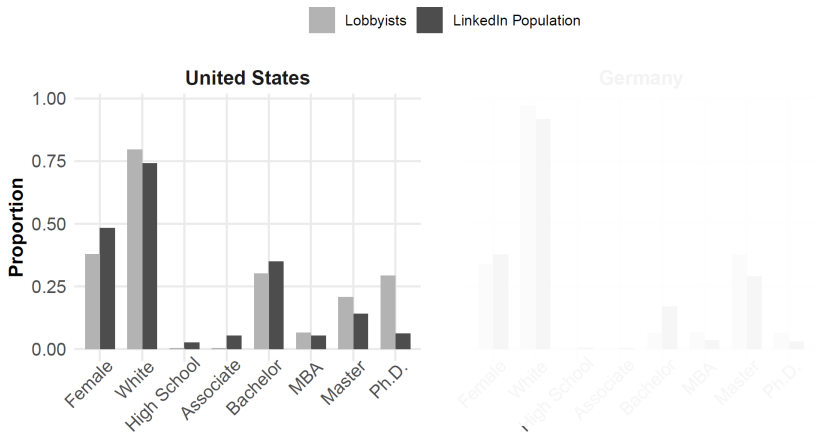
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  - a) Socio-Demographics
  - b) Political Job Experience
  - c) Skills



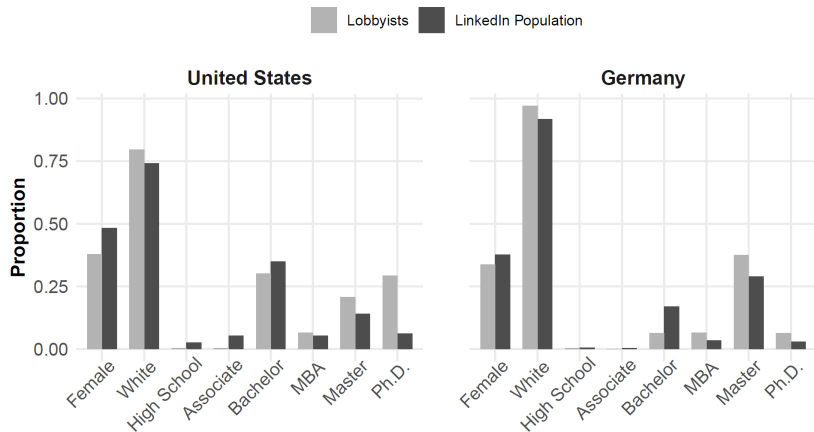
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2. **DiD Analysis:** Political work experience → becoming a Lobbyist
  - U.S. vs. Germany
  - Types of political job experience
  - In-house vs. external (K-Street) lobbyists

# Descriptives: Lobbyists' Socio-Demographics

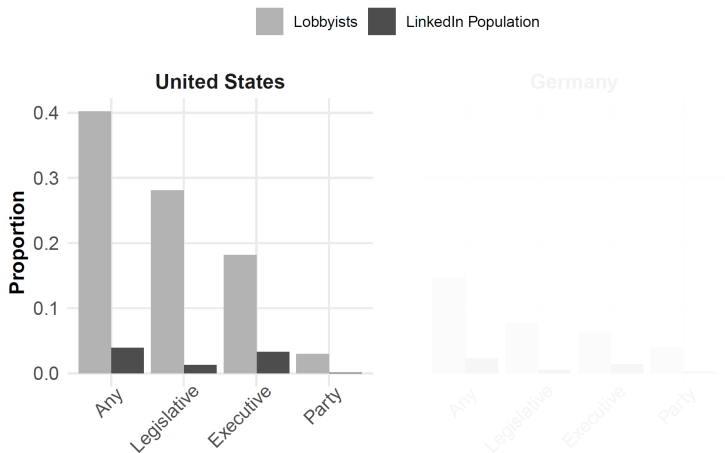


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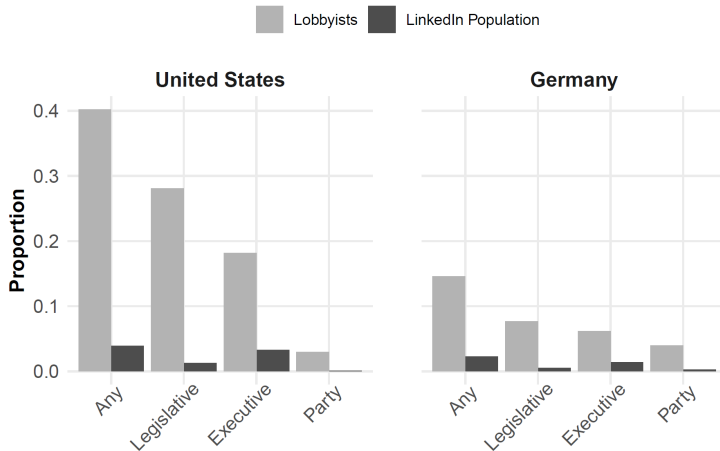


→ Differences between U.S. & Germany along differences in educational systems & population demographics.

# Descriptives: Lobbyists' Political Job Experiences

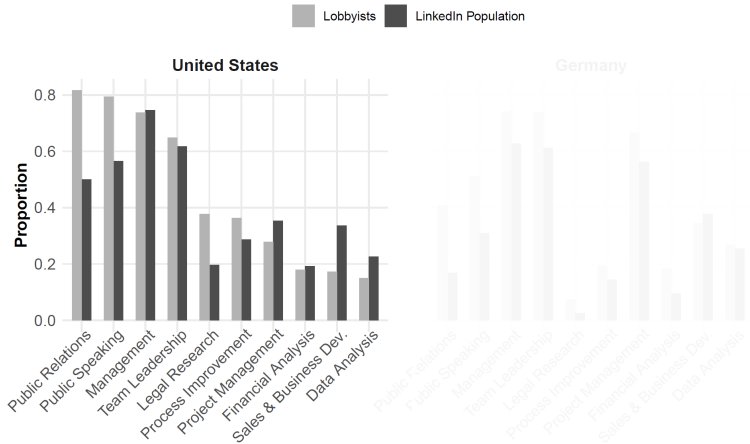


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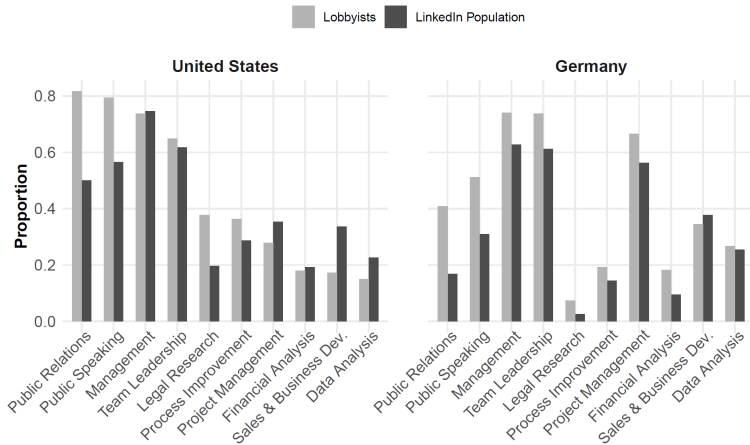


→ More **political job experiences** (connections) among U.S. lobbyists, compared to Germany. **Party offices** more prevalent in Germany.

# Descriptives: Lobbyists' Skills



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→ Less soft skills, more general management skills in Germany. More legal skills among U.S. lobbyists.

# Difference-in-Differences Analysis

- **Difference-in-Differences** (Callaway and Sant'Anna, 2021)

$$Lobbyist_{it} = \alpha_i + \lambda_t + \sum_{k \neq -1} \delta_k Political\ Job_{it}^k + \epsilon_{it}$$

- *Political Connection<sub>it</sub>* is 1 when an individual *i* has a political work experience in year *t*, and 0 otherwise, baseline is *t* = −1
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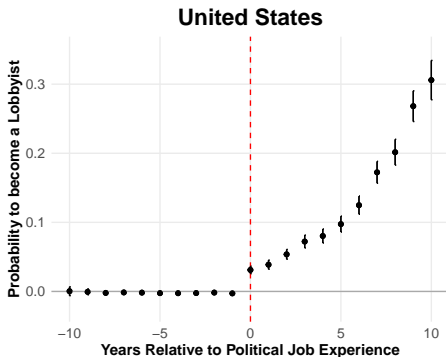
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- Time frames: 2008-2023 (Germany); 2008-2020 (US)
- Control: *never-treated* individuals

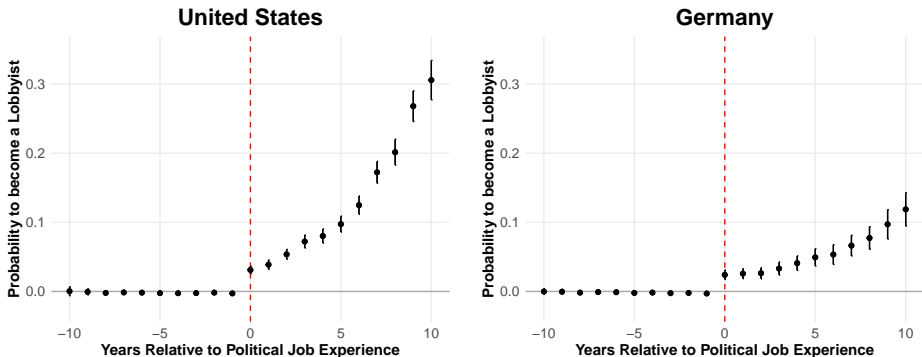
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→ Individuals with a pol. job experience, see an increase of **0.13 (US)**. ( $\mu = 0.029$ ), compared to **0.056 (DE)** ( $\mu = 0.027$ ) in the prob. to become a lobbyist (ATT).

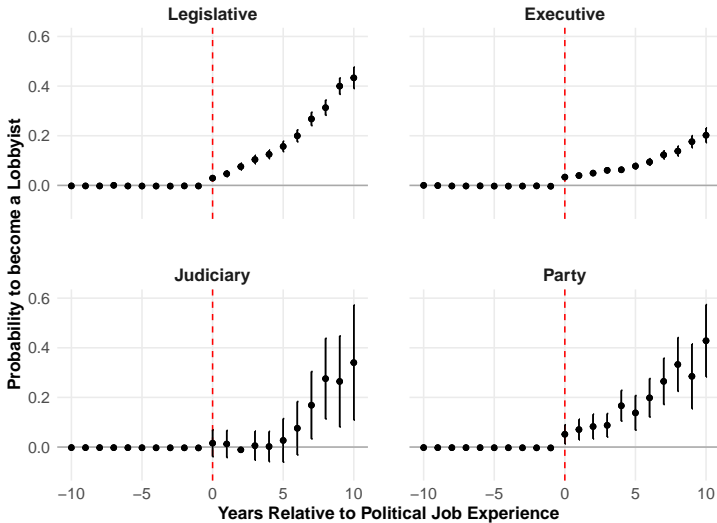
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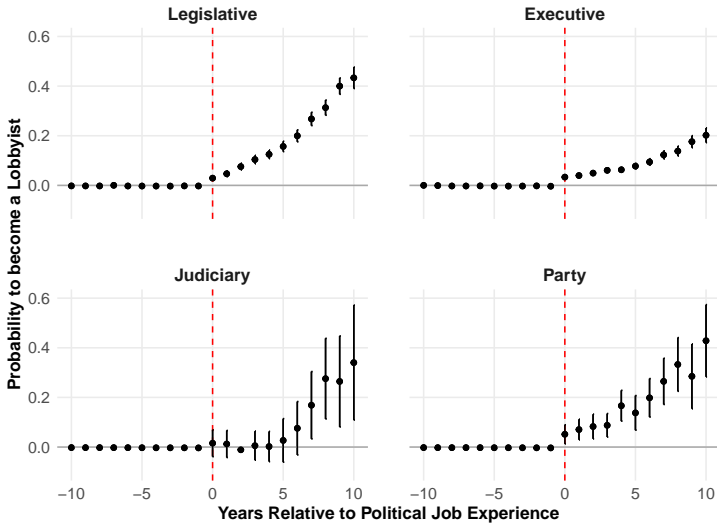
# Political Job Experience → Lobbyist, by Types

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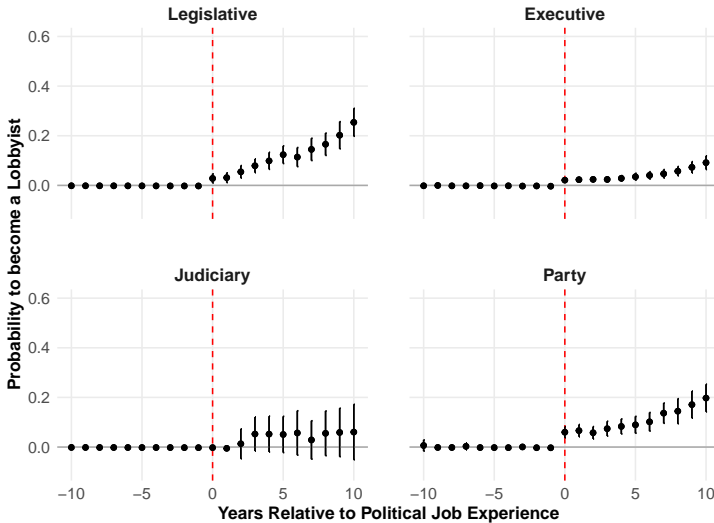
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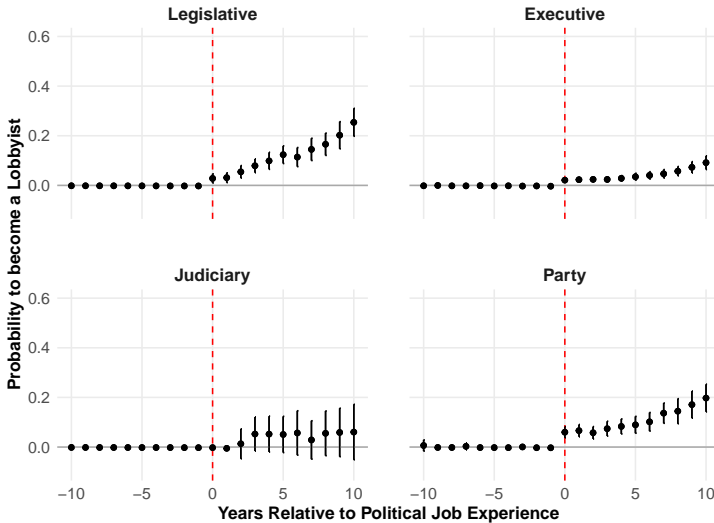
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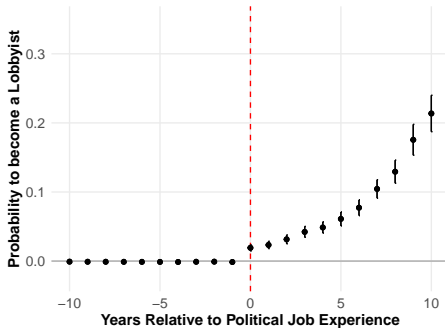
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# Political Job Experience → Lobbyist, In-House vs. K-Street, United States

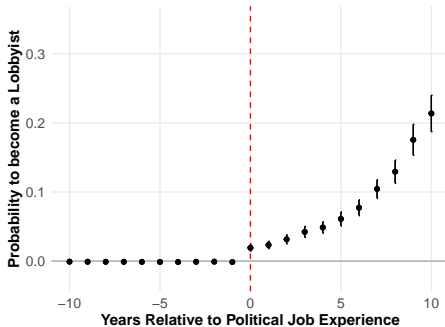
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## United States, In-House

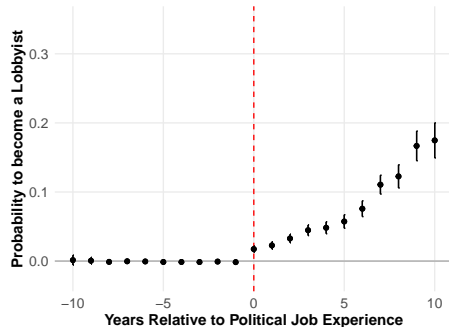


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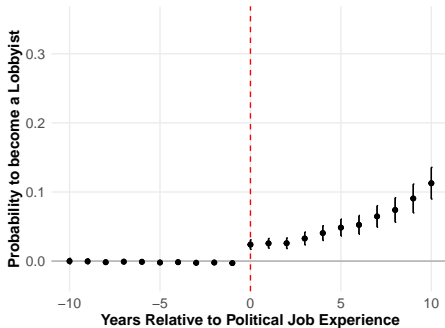
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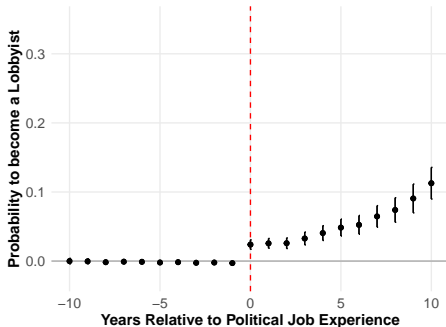
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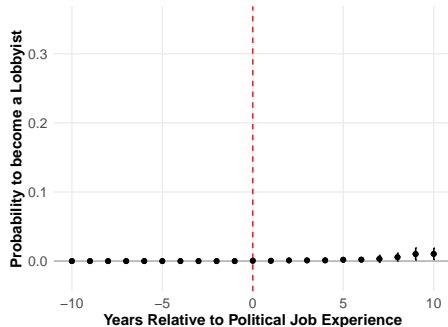


# Political Job Experience → Lobbyist, In-House vs. K-Street, Germany

## Germany, In-House



## Germany, External



# Thank You

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**Heike Klüver:** [heike.kluever@hu-berlin.de](mailto:heike.kluever@hu-berlin.de)



# References I

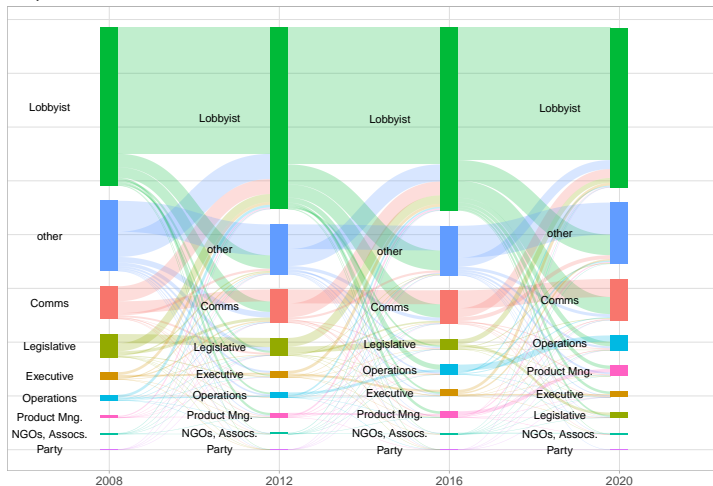
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# Descriptives: U.S. Lobbyist Career Trajectories

Lobbyist Career Path Transitions, United States



# Descriptives: German Lobbyist Career Trajectories

Lobbyist Career Path Transitions, Germany

