

## Online Appendix for Influencing Connected Legislators

### Abstract

In this appendix we present omitted proofs and tables for “Influencing Connected Legislators.”

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# 1 Proof of Lemma 1

Let  $\varphi$  be the  $n$  dimensional column vector of voting probabilities with  $i$ th element equal to  $\varphi_i$ . Define  $\eta : R^n \rightarrow R^n$  as  $\eta(\varphi, \mathbf{s}) = \varphi - \mathbf{F}(\varphi, \mathbf{s})$ , where  $\mathbf{s} = (\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B)$  and  $\mathbf{F}(\varphi, \mathbf{s})$  is a column vector with  $i$ th element equal to  $1/2 + \Psi \left( \omega(s_A^i) - \omega(s_B^i) + v^i q^i(\varphi) + \phi \sum_j g_{i,j} (2\varphi_j - 1) \right)$ , as defined in (5) in Section 3.1. The equilibrium probabilities  $\varphi(\mathbf{s})$  are defined as the solution of  $\eta(\varphi^*, \mathbf{s}) = 0$ . The fact that the solution of this system exists follows from Brouwer's fixed-point theorem as argued in Section 3. Since, by Assumption 1,  $\Psi(\bar{v} + \phi + \omega(2W)) < 1/2$ , the solution is interior in  $(0, 1)$ . To show uniqueness of an equilibrium of the voting stage with policy motivated legislators for  $\Psi$  sufficiently small, let  $\|x\|$  be the norm  $\|x\| = \sum_i |x_i|$  for any  $x \in R^n$ . We have:

$$\begin{aligned} \|\mathbf{F}(\varphi, \mathbf{s}) - \mathbf{F}(\varphi', \mathbf{s})\| &\leq \Psi \left( \bar{v} \cdot \sum_l \left| \int_{\varphi_l'}^{\varphi_l} \sum_i q_l^i(\mathbf{x}) dx + 2\phi \sum_j \left( \sum_i g_{i,j} \right) |\varphi_j - \varphi_j'| \right| \right) \\ &\leq \Psi \left( n\bar{v} \cdot \sum_l (|\varphi_l - \varphi_l'|) + 2\phi \sum_j |\varphi_j - \varphi_j'| \right) \leq \Psi(n\bar{v} + 2\phi) \|\varphi - \varphi'\| \end{aligned}$$

where we use the fact that  $|q_j^i(\mathbf{x})| < 1$  for any  $\mathbf{x}$ , and  $\sum_i g_{i,j} \leq 1$  for any  $j$ . For any  $\eta < 1$ , we therefore have  $\|\mathbf{F}(\varphi, \mathbf{s}) - \mathbf{F}(\varphi', \mathbf{s})\| \leq \eta \cdot \|\varphi - \varphi'\|$  for  $\Psi$  sufficiently small. We can therefore conclude that there is a  $\Psi_1$  such that  $\mathbf{F}(\varphi, \mathbf{s})$  is a contraction in  $[0, 1]$  with a unique fixed-point in  $(0, 1)$  for  $\Psi \leq \Psi_1$ .

We now turn to the derivatives of the voting probabilities. The implicit function theorem implies that the solution  $\varphi_i$  is differentiable in  $s_A^j$  at  $\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B$  if  $(D\eta)_\varphi$  is invertible in a neighborhood of  $(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B, \varphi(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B))$ , where  $\varphi(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B)$  solves  $\eta(\varphi, \mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B) = 0$  (the expression  $(D\eta)_\varphi$  represents the Jacobian of  $\eta$  with respect to  $\varphi$ ). It is easy to verify that  $(D\eta)_\varphi = [I - \phi\Psi 2\tilde{G}]$ , where  $\tilde{G}$  is a  $n \times n$  matrix with  $i, j$  element equal to  $\tilde{g}_{i,l} = g_{i,l} (g_{i,l} + v^i q_l^i(\varphi))$ . Let  $r^*$  be the largest eigenvalue of  $\tilde{G}$  achieved for some  $\varphi$  (this is well defined and bounded since  $r(\tilde{G})$  is continuous in  $\varphi$  in and the space of feasible  $\varphi$  is compact). Theorem III\* of Debreu and Herstein [1953] implies that  $[I - \phi\Psi 2\tilde{G}]^{-1}$  exists and is nonnegative for  $\Psi \leq (2\phi r^*)^{-1} = \Psi_2$ . The Jacobian of  $\varphi$  is then

$$D_j[\varphi] = \Psi \cdot \omega'(s_A^l) [I - \phi\Psi 2\tilde{G}]^{-1} \mathbf{1}_j,$$

where  $\mathbf{1}_j$  is a  $n$ -dimensional vector equal to zero except at the  $i$ th dimension in which it is equal to one. Since  $[I - \phi\Psi 2\tilde{G}]^{-1}$  is nonnegative with at least one strictly positive element for  $\Psi \leq \Psi_2$ , it follows that  $\sum_i \partial\varphi_i / \partial s_A^j = D_j[\varphi]^T \cdot \mathbf{1} > 0$  for  $n$  large enough.

To verify concavity with respect to  $\mathbf{s}_A$ , let  $D^2\varphi_i$  be the Hessian of  $\varphi_i$ . Consider first its diagonal entries  $\partial^2\varphi_i / \partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j$  for any  $j$ . We can write:

$$\frac{\partial^2\varphi_i}{\partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j} = \Psi \left[ \begin{array}{c} \frac{\partial^2\omega_j(s_A^i)}{\partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j} + 2\phi \sum_l g_{i,l} \frac{\partial^2\varphi_l}{\partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j} \\ + v^i \sum_l \left( \sum_k q_{lk}^i(\varphi) \left( \frac{\partial\varphi_l}{\partial s_A^j} \right) \left( \frac{\partial\varphi_k}{\partial s_A^j} \right) + q_l^i(\varphi) \frac{\partial^2\varphi_l}{\partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j} \right) \end{array} \right]. \quad (1)$$

We can write:

$$\left[ I - \phi \Psi 2\tilde{G} \right] (D^2 \varphi)_{jj} = \Psi \omega''(s_A^l) \left( \mathbf{1}_j + \Psi^2 \frac{(\omega'(s_A^l))^2}{\omega''(s_A^l)} V(\mathbf{z}^j)^T D^2 q^i(\varphi)(\mathbf{z}^j) \right), \quad (2)$$

where  $(D^2 \varphi)_{jj} = (\frac{\partial^2 \varphi_1}{\partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j}, \dots, \frac{\partial^2 \varphi_n}{\partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j})^T$ , the  $n \times n$  matrix  $D^2 q^i(\varphi)$  is the Hessian of  $q^i(\varphi)$ , and  $\mathbf{z}^j = \left[ I - \phi \Psi 2\tilde{G} \right]^{-1} \mathbf{1}_j$ . The Hessian  $(D^2 \varphi)_{jj}$  exists if  $\left[ I - \phi \Psi 2\tilde{G} \right]$  is invertible: a property that, as shown above, is verified if  $\Psi \leq \Psi^*$ . Since  $(\omega'(s_A^l))^2 / \omega''(s_A^l)$  is bounded for any feasible  $s_A^l$ , and  $\mathbf{z}^j$  is a positive column vector with  $l$  element  $z_i^j \leq \bar{z}$  for some finite  $\bar{z}$ , the  $i$ th term of the second term in the parenthesis in the right hand side of (2) is bounded above by  $\Psi^2 \frac{\omega''(s_A^l)}{\omega'(s_A^l)} \bar{v} \bar{z}^2 \sum_v \sum_k q_{v,k}^i(\varphi)$ . It follows that:

$$(D^2 \varphi)_{jj} = \left[ I - \phi \Psi 2\tilde{G} \right]^{-1} \Psi \omega'(s_A^l) (\mathbf{1}_j + o(\Psi^2)), \quad (3)$$

where  $o(\Psi^2)$  converges to zero as  $\Psi \rightarrow 0$  at the speed of  $\Psi^2$ . By the fact that  $\left[ I - \phi \Psi 2\tilde{G} \right]^{-1}$  is positive and  $\omega''(s_A^l) < 0$ , it follows that  $\sum_i \partial^2 \varphi_i / \partial s_A^j \partial s_A^j = (D^2 \varphi)_{jj} \cdot 1 < 0$  for a sufficiently small  $\Psi$ . We conclude that the diagonal of the Hessian of  $\sum_i \varphi_i$  has all strictly negative values. Following the same steps as above it we can also show that for any  $\varepsilon$  there is a  $\Psi_3$  such that the absolute values of the off diagonal elements of the Hessian of  $\sum_i \varphi_i$  are lower than  $\varepsilon$  for  $\Psi \leq \Psi_3$ . This implies that there is a  $\Psi^*$  such that  $\sum_i \varphi_i$  is increasing and strictly concave in respectively  $s_A^j$  and  $\mathbf{s}_A$  for  $\Psi \leq \Psi^*$ . ■

## 2 Proof of Lemma 3.1

The fact that all agents of the same type have the same Bonacich centrality is immediate from the definition. We can write:

$$b_i(\phi^*, G^T) = 1 + \phi^* \sum_{l=1}^n g_{l,i} \cdot b_l(\phi^*, G^T) = 1 + \phi^* \sum_{\tau=1}^m n_\tau h_{\tau,\iota(i)} \cdot \bar{b}_\tau$$

where  $\bar{b}_\tau$  be the Bonacich centrality of an agent of type  $\tau$ . Since, again,  $b_i(\phi^*, G) = \bar{b}_{\iota(i)}$ , we have:  $\bar{b}_{\iota(i)} = 1 + \phi^* \sum_{\tau=1}^m \tilde{h}_{\tau,\iota(i)} \cdot \bar{b}_\tau$  where  $\tilde{h}_{i,j} = n_\tau h_{\tau,\iota(i)} = \alpha_j h_{i,j} / (\sum_l \alpha_l h_{i,l})$ , since  $\sum_l \alpha_l h_{i,l} = \sum_l g_{i,l} / n = 1/n$ . We therefore have that  $\bar{\mathbf{b}} = \left[ I + \phi^* \tilde{H}^T \right]^{-1} \cdot \mathbf{1}$ , implying that  $b_i(\phi^*, G)$  is defined by (30) as stated. ■

## 3 Proof of Lemma 3.2

We first note that by Assumption 1  $\varphi_j \leq \bar{\varphi}$ ,  $\varphi_j \geq \underline{\varphi}$  for some  $\bar{\varphi}$  and  $\underline{\varphi}$  in  $(0, 1)$ , any legislator  $j$  and any  $\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B$ . Given this, we proceed in two steps.

**Step 1.** We prove here that  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} q^{n,j} = 0$  for all  $j = 1, \dots, n$ . Consider the pivot probability of a player  $j$  of type  $i$ . There are two cases to consider.

**Case 1.1.** Suppose first that  $\alpha_i^n \rightarrow \alpha_i > 0$ . Let  $M_{-i}^n$  be the profile of votes of all types different from  $i$ . Let  $P_i^n$  be the probability that there is a profile of votes  $M_{-i}^n$  such that  $j$  can be pivotal for some profile  $m_i^{-j,n}$  of players of type  $i$  different than  $j$ . Let  $p_j^n(M_{-i}^n)$  be the probability of  $m_i^{-j,n}$  such that  $j$  is pivotal given  $M_{-i}^n$  and let  $\bar{p}_j^n = \max_{M_{-i}^n} p_j(M_{-i}^n)$ . Associated to  $\bar{p}_j^n$  there is a number  $\widehat{l}_j^n$  of legislators of type  $i$  that must vote for  $A$  in order for  $j$  to be pivotal. Let  $\eta_j^n = \widehat{l}_j^n / (n_i - 1)$  the share of types  $i$  other than  $j$  that are needed to make  $j$  pivotal. If  $\eta_j^n \rightarrow 1$  or  $\eta_j^n \rightarrow 0$  then  $\bar{p}_j^n$  converges to zero, so  $j$ 's pivot probability converges to zero. Assume  $\eta_j^n \rightarrow \eta_j \in (0, 1)$ . Given this,  $j$ 's pivot probability can be bounded above as follows. To keep the formulas simple, let  $z_i(n) = \alpha_i n - 1$

$$\begin{aligned}
\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} q^{n,i} &\leq P_i^n \cdot \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} b(\eta_j^n z_i(n); z_i(n), \varphi^i) \\
&\leq \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \binom{z_i(n)}{\eta_j^n z_i(n)} \left( (\varphi^i)^{\eta_j^n z_i(n)} \cdot (1 - \varphi^i)^{(1 - \eta_j^n) z_i(n)} \right) \\
&\leq \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\left( \sqrt{2\pi z_i(n)} \cdot (z_i(n))^{z_i(n)} e^{-z_i(n)} \right) \cdot \left( (\varphi^i)^{\eta_j^n z_i(n)} \cdot (1 - \varphi^i)^{(1 - \eta_j^n) z_i(n)} \right)}{\left( \sqrt{2\pi \eta_j^n z_i(n)} \cdot (\eta_j^n z_i(n))^{\eta_j^n z_i(n)} e^{-\eta_j^n z_i(n)} \right) \cdot \left( \sqrt{2\pi (1 - \eta_j^n) z_i(n)} \cdot ((1 - \eta_j^n) z_i(n))^{(1 - \eta_j^n) z_i(n)} e^{-(1 - \eta_j^n) z_i(n)} \right)} \\
&= \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{\left( \sqrt{2\pi \eta_j^n} \cdot \sqrt{(1 - \eta_j^n)} \right)} \cdot \left( \frac{\left( (\varphi^i)^{\eta_j^n} \cdot (1 - \varphi^i)^{1 - \eta_j^n} \right)^{z_i(n)}}{(\eta_j^n)^{\eta_j^n} (1 - \eta_j^n)^{1 - \eta_j^n}} \right) \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{z_i(n)}} \\
&\leq \frac{1}{\left( \sqrt{2\pi \eta_j} \cdot \sqrt{(1 - \eta_j)} \right)} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{\sqrt{z_i(n)}} = 0,
\end{aligned}$$

where the third inequality follows from the Stirling formula and the last follows from the fact that  $\eta_j^n \in \arg \max_{\varphi} \left( (\varphi)^{\eta_j^n} (1 - \varphi)^{1 - \eta_j^n} \right)$ .

**Case 1.2.** Consider now that case in which  $\alpha_i^n \rightarrow 0$ . Let  $M_{-jk}^n$  the profile of votes of: 1) all types  $i$  but different than agent  $j$ ; and 2) of all other types  $t \neq i, k$ , where  $k$  is a type such that  $\alpha_k^n \rightarrow \alpha_k > 0$ . Let  $P_{-jk}^n$  be the probability that there is a profile of votes  $M_{-jk}^n$  such that  $j$  can be pivotal for some profile  $m_k^n$  of players in  $k$ . Let  $p_j^n(M_{-jk}^n)$  be the probability of  $m_k^n$  such that  $j$  is pivotal given  $M_{-jk}^n$  and let  $\bar{p}_j^n = \max_{M_{-jk}^n} p_j(M_{-jk}^n)$ . As above the pivot probability  $q^{n,i}$  can be bounded above by  $P_{-jk}^n \cdot \bar{p}_{jk}^n$ . Proceeding as in the previous case, we can prove that this upper bound converges to zero as  $n \rightarrow \infty$ , implying the result.

**Step 2.** Consider now  $\sum_j |q_j^{n,i}|$ . For any two distinct legislators  $i$  and  $j$ , let  $N^{-ij}$  and  $\varphi^{-ij}$  be, respectively, the set of all legislators except  $i$  and  $j$  and the associated vector of probabilities of choosing  $P$ . Let moreover  $S(N^{-i}, s)$  be the set of all  $s$ -combinations of  $N^{-ij}$ . We have that for

any  $j \neq i$ ,  $q^{n,i} = \varphi_j E_n + (1 - \varphi_j) F_j$  where:

$$\begin{aligned} E_n &= \sum_{A \in \mathcal{S}(N^{-ij}, qn-2)} \prod_{k \in A} \varphi_k^{-ij} \cdot \prod_{l \in A^c} (1 - \varphi_l^{-ij}) \\ F_n &= \sum_{A \in \mathcal{S}(N^{-ij}, qn-1)} \prod_{k \in A} (\varphi_k^{-ij}) \cdot \prod_{l \in A^c} (1 - \varphi_l^{-ij}) \end{aligned}$$

We can therefore write:  $q_j^{n,i} = (E_n - F_n)$ . From Step 1 we know that  $q^{n,i} \rightarrow 0$  as  $n \rightarrow \infty$  for all  $i$ . It follows from (5) in Section 3.1, that  $\varphi_i \rightarrow 1/2$  for all legislators. This implies that, for all

$i$ ,  $|E_n - F_n|$  can be bounded above by:  $K_n = \Theta \binom{n}{qn} ((1 + \delta)/2)^n$  where  $\Theta > 1$ , and  $\delta > 0$

is a parameter that can be chosen arbitrarily close to 0 for  $n$  sufficiently large. It follows that  $\sum_j |q_j^{n,i}|$  is bounded above by  $nK_n$ . Using again the Stirling formula we have:

$$\begin{aligned} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} nK_n &= \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \left[ \frac{n\Theta\sqrt{2\pi n}n^n e^n}{\sqrt{2\pi qn} (qn)^{qn} e^{qn} \cdot \sqrt{2\pi(1-q)n} [(1-q)n]^{(1-q)n} e^{(1-q)n}} \right] ((1 + \delta)/2)^n \\ &= \frac{\Theta}{\sqrt{2\pi q(1-q)}} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \left( n^{1/2} \left( \frac{2 \cdot q^q (1-q)^{1-q}}{1 + \delta} \right)^{-n} \right) = \frac{\Theta}{\sqrt{2\pi q(1-q)}} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} (n^{1/2} (1 - \epsilon)^n) \end{aligned}$$

for some  $\epsilon > 0$ , where the last equality follows from the fact since,  $\delta$  is arbitrarily small,  $2 \cdot q^q (1-q)^{1-q} / (1 + \delta) > 1$  for any  $q \in (1/2, 1)$ . Since  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} (n^{1/2} (1 - \epsilon)^n) = 0$ , we have that  $\sum_j |q_j^{n,i}|$  converge to zero. ■

## 4 Derivation of Equation 19 in Section 4.1

The necessary and sufficient condition (17) in Section 4.1 for interest group  $l = A, B$  is

$$\sum_j (\partial \varphi_j(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B) / \partial s_l^i \cdot \theta_j) = \lambda,$$

where  $\lambda$  is the Lagrangian multiplier associated to the constraint. In matrix form as  $D\varphi^T \cdot \boldsymbol{\theta} = \lambda$  and using (9) in Section 3.2, we have:

$$D\varphi^T \cdot \boldsymbol{\theta} = \Psi \cdot D\omega^T \cdot (I - \phi^* \cdot G^T)^{-1} \boldsymbol{\theta} = \lambda. \quad (4)$$

Let  $\mathbf{b}^\theta(\phi^*, \mathbf{G}) = (I - \phi^* \cdot G^T)^{-1} \cdot \boldsymbol{\theta}$  be the weighted Bonacich centrality measure, with  $\mathbf{b}^\theta(\phi^*, \mathbf{G}) = (b_1^\theta(\phi^*, G), \dots, b_n^\theta(\phi^*, G))$ . The first order condition (4) can then be written as:  $b_j^\theta(\phi^*, G) \omega(s_A^j) = \lambda_*$ , where  $\lambda_* = \lambda / \Psi$ . ■

## 5 Proof of the result stated in Section 5.3

Let us define  $\beta_l^n(s_A, s_B)$  as the probability that threshold  $l$  is passed for  $l = 1, \dots, J$ ,  $\beta_l^n(s_A, s_B) = \Pr(\sum_i x_i^n(A) > z_l | \mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B)$ . With preferences that depend on reaching the threshold  $z_j$ , interest group  $A$ 's expect utility can be written as:  $W_n^{\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{u}}(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B) = u_0 + \sum_{l=0}^J (u_l - u_{l-1}) \beta_l^n(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B)$ . The equilibrium contributions are characterized by the first order necessary condition of:

$$\max_{(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B) \in S} W_n^{\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{u}}(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B). \quad (5)$$

The necessary condition of the corresponding Lagrangian with respect to  $s_A^j$  where  $j$  is an agent of type  $i$ :

$$\frac{\partial W_n^{\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{u}}(\mathbf{s}_A, \mathbf{s}_B)}{\partial s_A^j} = \sum_k \left( \sum_l (u_l - u_{l-1}) \frac{\partial \beta_l^n}{\partial \varphi_k} \right) \cdot \frac{\partial \varphi_k^n}{\partial s_A^j} = \lambda^n \quad (6)$$

where  $\partial \beta_l^n / \partial \varphi_k$  and  $\partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^j$  are the derivatives of  $\beta_l^n(s_A, s_B)$  and  $\varphi_k^n(s_A, s_B)$  with respect to, respectively,  $\varphi_k^n$  and  $s_A^j$  evaluated at  $\tilde{\mathbf{s}}$  and  $\lambda^n$  is chosen to satisfy the budget constraint. It is easy to verify that  $\partial \beta_l^n / \partial \varphi_k$  is equal to the probability that legislator  $k$  is ‘‘pivotal’’ in having threshold  $l$  passed, that is  $\partial \beta_l^n / \partial \varphi_k = \beta_l^{-k, n}$  where  $\beta_l^{-k, n} = \Pr(\sum_{i \neq k} x_i^n(A) = z_l | \mathbf{s}_*, \mathbf{s}_*)$ . We can rewrite (6) as:

$$\frac{\sum_{k=1}^n (R_k^n / R_1^n) \cdot \partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^j}{\sum_{k=1}^n (R_k^n / R_1^n) \cdot \partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^l} = 1,$$

where  $R_k^n = \sum_l [(u_l - u_{l-1}) \cdot \partial \beta_l^n / \partial \varphi_k]$ . Note that, by Lemma 3.2,  $q_n^i \rightarrow 0$  as  $n \rightarrow \infty$ , so by (5) in section 3.1 we must have that the probability that  $i$  votes for  $A$  is  $\varphi_{i, n} \rightarrow 1/2$  as  $n \rightarrow \infty$ . This implies that  $\beta_l^{-k} / \beta_1^{-k} \rightarrow 1$  and so  $R_j^n / R_1^n \rightarrow 1$  for any  $j = 1, \dots, m$ . It follows that

$$\begin{aligned} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\sum_{k=1}^n (R_k^n / R_1^n) \cdot \partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^j}{\sum_{k=1}^n (R_k^n / R_1^n) \cdot \partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^l} &= \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\sum_{k=1}^n \partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^j}{\sum_{k=1}^n \partial \varphi_k^n / \partial s_A^l} = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{b_j^M(\phi^*, V, G^T) \omega'(s_A^j)}{b_l^M(\phi^*, V, G^T) \omega'(s_A^l)} \\ &= \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{b_j(\phi^*, G^T) \omega'(s_A^j)}{b_l(\phi^*, G^T) \omega'(s_A^l)} = 1 \quad \forall j, l \end{aligned}$$

where the second equality follows from the analysis of  $D\varphi^T \cdot 1$  in Section 7.2 and  $(b_i(\phi^*, G^T))_{i=1}^n$  are the limit Bonacichs. We conclude that for a large  $n$ , we have  $\frac{\omega'(s_A^j)}{\omega'(s_A^l)} \simeq \frac{b_l(\phi^*, G^T)}{b_j(\phi^*, G^T)}$ , or  $b_j(\phi^*, G^T) \omega'(s_A^j) \simeq \lambda$  for all  $j = 1, \dots, n$ . Assuming log utility as in Section 4 of the paper, we have  $s_A^j \simeq b_j(\phi^*, G^T)$  for all  $j = 1, \dots, n$ . ■

## References

Debreu G. and I. N. Herstein [1953]: ‘‘Nonnegative Square Matrices,’’ *Econometrica*, 21(4): 597-607.

**TABLE A.1. Summary statistics**

		Committee network		Alumni network		
Variable definition		Mean	St. Dev	Mean	St. Dev	<i>p-value</i>
PAC Contributions (\$Mil)	PAC Contributions to a member of Congress, excluding contributions from individuals and Super PACs, source: <a href="http://opensecrets.org">http://opensecrets.org</a> .	886,284	989,801.6	891,450.8	1,021,031	0.8883
Party (1=Republican)	Dummy variable taking value of one if the member of Congress is a Republican.	0.5061	0.5000	0.4734	0.4999	0.2608
Gender (1=Female)	Dummy variable taking value of one if the member of Congress is female.	0.1738	0.3790	0.1732	0.3786	0.9635
Chair (1=Yes)	Dummy variable taking value of one if the member of Congress is a chair of at least one committee.	0.0469	0.2116	0.0497	0.2175	0.7261
Seniority	Maximum consecutive years in the same committee	7.6433	6.2492	7.7581	6.4334	0.6207
Margin of Victory	Election Margin of Victory	0.3518	0.2496	0.3622	0.2585	0.2634
Per capita Income	Mean Per Capita Income in Political District	26,815.48	8,377.558	26,772.33	8,480.09	0.8884
DW_ideology	Distance to the center in terms of ideology of each member of Congress measured using the absolute value of the first dimension of the dw-nominate score created by McCarty et al. (1997)	0.5012	0.2221	0.4993	0.2292	0.8182
Relevant Committee (1=Yes)	Dummy variable taking value of one if the member of Congress sits on one of the powerful committees (Appropriations, Energy and Commerce, Financial Services, Rules or Ways and Means).	0.5446	0.4981	0.4485	0.4975	0.7071
Joint Committee (1=Yes)	Dummy variable taking value of one if the member of Congress is in a joint committee.	0.0559	0.2298	0.0643	0.2454	0.3368
Top 10 university (1=Yes)	Top 10 universities according to the 2014 ranking of <a href="http://www.usnews.com/education">http://www.usnews.com/education</a>	0.0657	0.2479	0.1140	0.3180	0.000
N. obs		2,128	2,128	1,166	1,166	

Notes: We report the p-values of the T-tests for equality in means between the committee network and alumni network samples.

**TABLE A.2. Estimation results**  
**Increasing set of control variables**  
**-Committee network-**

	Dep. Var.: PAC contributions (\$mil)						
	MLE (1)	MLE (2)	MLE (3)	MLE (4)	MLE (5)	MLE (6)	MLE (7)
$\Phi$	0.3649*** (0.0671)	0.2309*** (0.0714)	0.2894*** (0.0703)	0.22143*** (0.0679)	0.2084*** (0.0697)	0.20884*** (0.0697)	0.2165*** (0.0703)
Party (1=Republican)			-0.0874** (0.0430)	0.1519*** (0.0569)	0.1399** (0.0570)	0.1443** (0.0573)	0.1473*** (0.0011)
Gender (1=Female)			-0.1341** (0.0561)	-0.0986* (0.0534)	-0.0975* (0.0534)	-0.0950* (0.0535)	-0.09472*** (0.001)
Chair (1=Yes)			0.3774*** (0.1016)	0.3966*** (0.0969)	0.3992*** (0.097)	0.4006*** (0.0967)	0.3959*** (0.0020)
Seniority			-0.0249*** (0.0035)	-0.0168*** (0.0034)	-0.0154*** (0.0034)	-0.0154*** (0.0034)	-0.0153*** (0.00001)
Margin of Victory				-0.8428*** (0.0867)	-0.8991*** (0.088)	-0.8972*** (0.0885)	-0.8959*** (0.0019)
Per capita Income				0.0075*** (0.0025)	0.0064** (0.0025)	0.0061** (0.0025)	0.0062*** (0.00004)
DW_ideology				-1.0876*** (0.124)	-1.0771*** (0.1241)	-1.0774*** (0.1241)	-1.0817*** (0.0031)
Relevant Committee (1=Yes)					0.10437** (0.0413)	0.1037** (0.0413)	0.0998*** (0.0007)
Joint Committee (1=Yes)					0.1695** (0.0861)	0.1694** (0.0861)	0.1669*** (0.0016)
Top 10 university (1=Yes)						0.0581 (0.0809)	0.0579*** (0.0011)
Unobservables ( $\psi$ )							-0.1132*** (0.0016)
Intercept	0.5628*** (0.0631)	0.5767*** (0.0711)	0.7881*** (0.0781)	1.3219*** (0.1071)	1.3032*** (0.1072)	1.3019*** (0.1072)	1.2949*** (0.0629)
Time dummies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. obs.	2,128	2,128	2,128	2,128	2,128	2,128	2,128

Notes: ML estimated coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are reported. In column (7) standard errors are bootstrapped with 1000 replications. A precise definition of control variables can be found in Table A.1. \*, \*\*, \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent levels.



**TABLE A.3. Estimation results**  
**Increasing set of control variables**  
**-Alumni network-**

	Dep. Var.: PAC contributions (\$mil)					
	MLE (1)	MLE (2)	MLE (3)	MLE (4)	MLE (5)	MLE (6)
$\phi$	0.1025*** (0.0273)	0.0819*** (0.0273)	0.0743*** (0.0271)	0.0837*** (0.0261)	0.0858*** (0.0261)	0.0837*** (0.0262)
Party (1=Republican)			-0.0629 (0.0608)	0.2243*** (0.0791)	0.2112*** (0.0792)	0.2212*** (0.0801)
Gender (1=Female)			-0.1422* (0.0793)	-0.0743 (0.076)	-0.0731 (0.076)	-0.0685 (0.0761)
Chair (1=Yes)			0.4377*** (0.1382)	0.4733*** (0.1322)	0.4736*** (0.1321)	0.4759*** (0.1321)
Seniority			-0.0289*** (0.0047)	-0.0186*** (0.0046)	-0.0170*** (0.0047)	-0.0169*** (0.0047)
Margin of Victory				-0.7281*** (0.1174)	-0.7835*** (0.1202)	-0.7793*** (0.1202)
Per capita Income				0.0080** (0.0034)	0.0073** (0.0035)	0.0067* (0.0035)
DW_ideology				-1.1363*** (0.1669)	-1.1167*** (0.1670)	-1.1171*** (0.1670)
Relevant Committee (1=Yes)					0.1143** (0.0575)	0.1135** (0.0575)
Joint Committee (1=Yes)					0.0792 (0.1128)	0.0810 (0.1128)
Top 10 university (1=Yes)						0.0790 (0.0900)
Intercept	0.80009*** (0.0383)	0.66081*** (0.0711)	0.93568*** (0.0893)	1.33895*** (0.1309)	1.29062*** (0.1331)	1.2895*** (0.1330)
Time dummies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N. obs.	1,166	1,166	1,166	1,166	1,166	1,166

Notes: ML estimated coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are reported. A precise definition of control variables can be found in Table A.1. \*, \*\*, \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent levels.