

Regulating the Internet: The Strategy and Political Economy
of Internet Intellectual Property Protection

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ABSTRACT

This paper shows how jurisdictional disputes between congressional committees drives the regulation of the Internet. Committees fight over who will retain jurisdiction over Internet issues, and thus obtain a stream of current and future political rents from Internet interest groups. We show in this paper, that ideology and constituency make-up have relatively little bearing on strategies congressmen pursue in their Internet legislative activities. Rather, committee jurisdictional issues explain much of the behavior. We build a formal game theoretic model illustrating how legislators act, and test implications from the model on Internet bills before the 106th Congress, and an in-depth analysis of Internet intellectual property protection. We also illustrate how in high technology industries, where exogenous shocks are common, it is difficult to get legislation passed.

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DISCLAIMER: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has directly and indirectly lobbied against the proposed Coble bill. This has not, in any way, affected the theory or empirical work in this paper

Regulating the Internet: The Strategy and Political Economy of Internet Intellectual Property Protection

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I. INTRODUCTION

Congressional committees, as gatekeepers, can have enormous power over the shape of legislation. They have advantages in distributing rents to their constituents (Weingast, Shepsle), advantages in cost-effectively obtaining and disseminating information to the House membership (Krehbiel, Gilligan and Krehbiel), and advantages in procedures to create voting rules and policy (Weingast, Shepsle, others). But what happens when two committees claim jurisdiction over the same issue? On one hand, this could mitigate problems that might arise in having only one committee lord over the issue; on the other hand, it could magnify the problems with committee agenda-setting powers. A recent literature has explored the jurisdictional “turf wars” which occur between committees, as committees claim authority over an issue. (King 1997). However, this literature has focused on bill introduction and bill sponsorship, rather than the results from legislation. Bill sponsorship is usually followed by action on the given bill, and may thus be a strategic response to expected policy outcomes. This paper brings together the two stages of legislation, bill sponsorship and legislative outcomes, to explore when and why competing bills might reach competing committees, and what will be the likely outcome of that competition. The focus of the empirical work here is on high technology industries and the Internet, where jurisdiction is murky, and the potential future streams of political rents is potentially large.

This paper builds a theoretical model to illustrate the behavior of interest groups and legislators in choosing whether to introduce bills. It shows how competing bills in competing committees can frequently result in gridlock, and thus support the status quo. Indeed, this effect

is magnified if each group believes that in the next congress, they will be advantaged relative to their opponents. Thus, in areas where there is lots of jurisdictional “turf wars” (King), there is less likely to be action—and this “gridlock” will be magnified by the technological uncertainty which exists. The model yields three main results. First, the higher the probability of a competing bill being introduced into a competing committee, the less likely the incumbent committee will be to choose its optimal policy. Second, legislators will split along committee lines in bill sponsorship when there are multiple bills, in order to exploit the jurisdictional battles. Finally, if either or both committees believe that preferences, technology, and other shocks will change in its favor between this congress and the next congress, then the both bills will be killed, and the status quo will prevail. We test this theory using a variety of different pieces of evidence on Internet bills introduced into the 106th Congress. In addition, we explore Internet database protection in depth to explore the behavior of interest groups.

In the next section, we describe the Internet database protection legislative battle that occurred in the 106th Congress. In Section III, we provide the outline of a simple theoretical model that explicates the behavior when two competing bills are introduced. This section generates three testable implications. Section IV tests each of the three hypotheses bringing to bear a host of evidence. We conclude in Section V.

II. INTERNET DATABASE PROTECTION¹

In January 1999, Howard Coble (R-NC) introduced (for a second time), his bill to strengthen Internet intellectual property protection. A group of companies and interest groups, led by eBay, the Realtors Association, and Reed Elsevier, had been pressing Congress to act. The rise of the Internet made it particularly easy for pirates to extract and replicate their on-line,

electronic, and Internet databases, and they felt current copyright protection was patently insufficient in balancing the incentives to accumulate and invest in these databases, with the need to protect to free flow of information. Indeed, these companies had become subject to “attack” from “pirates.”

For example, Bidder’s Edge a rival to eBay, had its business model built upon auction aggregation. The company would build algorithms to search across over 100 online auction sites, and then download the information on these auction sites to its own site. It would copy and download about 80,000 pages off of eBay onto the Bidder’s Edge site. eBay estimated that Bidder’s Edge alone accounted for between 1% and 1.5% of the queries received by eBay and imposed a heavy load eBay’s computers. eBay could no longer control the experience of the consumer once the information was transmitted, and could not control the quality of potentially old and stale information.

Reed Elsevier encountered a similar problem with its Lexis unit by an Internet company, Jurisline.com. Lexis provided the full text decisions of court cases, regulations, and decisions. Jurisline.com acquired Lexis on CD, and copied the CDs to a web server. It then permitted free access to its website with the legal and regulatory information.

These companies sought protection under a 1991 U.S Supreme Court decision known popularly as the “Feist” decision (Feist Publications, Inc. v. Rural Telephone Service Company, 499 US 340). The key question before the Supreme Court was the scope of copyright protection. What in databases could be protected? The Feist Court ruled, “. . .all facts-scientific, historical, biographical and news of the day . . . are part of the public domain available to every person.” They continued:

¹ Much of this section relies on interviews and Baron (2000).

“This inevitably means that the copyright in a factual compilation is thin. Notwithstanding a valid copyright, a subsequent compiler remains free to use the facts contained in another's publication to aid in preparing a competing work, so long as the competing work does not feature the same selection and arrangement....It may seem unfair that much of the fruit of the compiler's labor may be used by others without compensation. As Justice Brennan [**1290] has correctly observed, however, this is not "some unforeseen byproduct of a statutory scheme." Harper & Row, 471 U.S., at 589 (dissenting opinion). It is, rather, "the essence of copyright," *ibid.*, and a constitutional requirement....Copyright treats facts and factual compilations in a wholly consistent manner. Facts, whether alone or as part of a compilation, are not original and therefore may not be copyrighted. A factual compilation is eligible for copyright if it features an original selection or arrangement of facts, but the copyright is limited to [*351] the particular selection or arrangement. In no event may copyright extend to the facts themselves. *...the facts contained in existing works may be freely copied because copyright protects only the elements that owe their origin to the compiler -- the selection, coordination, and arrangement of facts.*” [emphasis added]

Given that Bidder’s Edge and jurisline.com were using publicly available facts about auctions and court cases, it stood to reason, they argued, that the facts in the online databases were not protected, and thus could be copied, provided their selection, coordination, and arrangement was not copied.

Against this backdrop, these database companies sought a re-write of the copyright law, and turned to the chair of the House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Courts and Intellectual Property, Howard Coble. Ebay, the realtors, and the publishers believed that could prevail upon Mr. Coble, in keeping with a long-held Republican belief that property rights should be preserved, to introduce a bill to strengthen the copyright protection afforded to these electronic and online databases. In January 1999, Representative Coble introduced a bill into the House of Representatives to increase intellectual property protection for electronic databases. Interest groups soon lined up behind the Coble Bill, as did 75 co-sponsors.

The Collections of Information Antipiracy Act (H.R. 353) introduced by Coble, did not copyright acts per se, but it did seek to protect databases and thus overturn Feist. It made illegal for any person to:

“(a) ...make available to others, or extract to make available to others, all or a substantial part of a collection of information gathered, organized, or maintained by another person through the investment of substantial monetary or other resources, so as to cause material harm to the primary market or a related market of that other person, or a successor in interest of that other person, for a product or service that incorporates that collection of information and is offered or intended to be offered in commerce by that other person, or a successor in interest of that person....

(b) ...to extract all or a substantial part of a collection of information gathered, organized, or maintained by another person”

Any person who violated the Act could bring a civil court case and ask for actual damages, the profits attributable to the violation, potential treble actual damages, and a fine and/or imprisonment. The Act was well received by database producers. Well-known companies such as Monster.com, NASDAQ, and the New York Stock Exchange all supported and lobbied for the bill. (A more complete list of supporters is provided in Table 1). As head of the Intellectual Property Subcommittee that had traditionally overseen legislation regarding copyright, Coble was well-positioned to shepherd his bill through the 106th House of Representatives to a final, and expected winning vote in the Republican-majority floor.

The Coble bill, however, resulted in the organization of a competing interest group coalition of old-economy and new economy firms and associations that opposed the bill, spearheaded by Yahoo!, NetCoalition (a consortium of ten large Internet companies, including AOL, Amazon), Bloomberg, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the American Research Libraries Association.² These database users were concerned about how an increase in copyright protection might affect their business and constituents. A large number of universities, including MIT, Harvard, and Stanford, and their associated research libraries articulated concerns over the ability to conduct future research. If database companies were able to compile and the copyright

² eBay was a member of the NetCoalition but in late 2000, left the Coalition.

the facts from their databases, scientific research of all types would be greatly hindered and might even be slowed to a snail's pace.

In addition, many Internet companies were concerned that the Coble bill would create "database monopolies", and thus destroy their business models. Bloomberg was extremely concerned that they would not be able to complete stock price analysis if the Coble bill passed, because the price information would become the domain of the exchanges. NetCoalition argued that the Coble bill was too wide ranging, and should be narrowly crafted to meet the needs of a specific problem. Yahoo! was somewhat uniquely positioned to speak on the issue. It maintained its own auction site in competition with eBay and was being scraped and spidered by auction aggregators just as eBay. Unlike eBay, though, it was an aggregator of information as well. Yahoo! vociferously opposed the Coble bill because it felt the constriction of the flow of information would ultimately destroy many of the advantages of the Internet, and create a host of unintended consequences. These groups supported the status quo, or Feist decision, as the governing rule over database protection. However, during the Spring of 1999, they saw their support erode. As a number of people on this side of the issue noted, "We came off as quite negative. It is easier to be for something, rather than against everything."

In May 1999, as the Coble Bill was working its way through the Judiciary Committee, this coalition persuaded Tom Bliley (R-LA) to introduce a competing bill into Congress that was slightly more restrictive than Feist, and had the effect of codifying into proposed legislation the Feist decision with some small additional protections. This bill, the Consumer and Investor Access to Information Act of 1999, H.R. 1858, was referred to the Commerce Committee, Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Trade, and Consumer Protection, which Bliley chaired. The Bliley bill made it:

“... unlawful for any person or entity, by any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or communications, to sell or distribute to the public a database that--

(1) is a duplicate of another database that was collected and organized by another person or entity; and

(2) is sold or distributed in commerce in competition with that other database”

Enforcement of the Act rested with the Federal Trade Commission, and violators of the Act were punished under the rules respecting unfair or deceptive acts or practices under section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, a much more lenient punishment than the Coble Act prescribed. Although supporters of the Bliley bill preferred Feist and status quo to any action by Congress, they threw their support behind the Bliley bill to overcome their perceived lack of solution to the database issue. These interest groups felt that Rep. Bliley, as head of the Subcommittee on Telecommunication, Trade, and Consumer Protection, was a relatively powerful House member who could insure that the status quo, or an approximate thereof, was retained. There were now two competing bills in Congress in two separate committees.

III. THEORY

Does it matter if one committee receives both bills, or if there are two competing bills? Bill blocking and claiming jurisdiction over issues is an important aspect to the committee structure in congressional politics (King 1997). Members of committees who are able to claim jurisdiction over issues are able to obtain political rents from interest groups regarding future potential legislation over the issue. Interest groups, highly aware of this congressional incentive, encourage bill introduction to exploit this congressional behavior.³ In this section of the paper,

³ It is not costless to introduce bills, and this constrains the number of bills introduced in Congress. We assume in this model that the cost is zero, because the benefits for the committees under investigation exceeded the costs. However, in future iterations of the theory, this will be modeled explicitly.

we focus on the congressional decision-making process of where in the ideological space to place a bill, and how to proceed should a bill be introduced.

With most issues, such as copyright protection, there are usually one or more incumbent committees that can claim jurisdiction over an issue. We model the process by which competing bills are introduced in congress in Figure 1. In the first stage, the incumbent committee, J , proposes a bill, C , which is referred to its committee, J . In the second stage, a second committee, T , proposes a bill on its ideal point B . With probability p , the parliamentarian refers the bill to Committee T ; with probability $1-p$, the bill is referred to Committee J . If both bills are in Committee J , then Committee J can choose whichever single bill it wishes to bring to the floor. The bill that reaches the floor is put to a single up-down vote to the House membership. The median member of Congress, M , determines the outcome, and will vote for any policy that makes him better off than the status quo, F . This outcome occurs with probability $1-p$.

However, with probability p , the second bill is referred to Committee T . Thus, Committee T becomes the agenda setter for this bill. Resolution between the two bills must occur. There are three ways in which two bills in two separate committees can come to the floor: a floor fight with two bills on the floor; a compromise with one bill on the floor; or a death of both bills in their committee or Rules Committee, so that neither bill comes to the floor. Note that compromise requires the consent of both parties; a floor fight requires only one party to instigate the fight; killing of both bills requires only one party (such as killing it in the Rules Committee). Figure 2 outlines the extended form of the game.

We make the three assumptions about the last stage. First, a floor fight is very costly. Leaders of the party who control Congress do not want dissension within its ranks, and public fights erupting between members. A very public place for a fight within the party is on the floor

of the House⁴. Thus, the costs to a floor fight, which we note as f , are quite high and will rarely, if ever be allowed. Second, once policy is selected, future Congresses will not overturn. With respect to future Congresses, Congress does not want to legislate on the same issue repeatedly in successive congresses. They have other issues that are high on the agenda, and because of this, they wish to legislate on an issue, and leave that issue aside for a number of years before they return to it. This second assumption, then means that once a policy is passed (though a floor fight or through a compromise), it will not be raised again the near future. Thus, future payoffs are determined at the present time by a parameter w_J, w_T . Finally, for simplicity, we assume that C makes a take-it or leave-it offer in a compromise. This allows us to bias the results for a change in policy.

Although there are a large number of preference orderings we can assume, from the detail of the Internet intellectual property (IP) case, we focus on the preference ordering in Figure 3. Here we have the Feist decision, which we label the status quo, as F . The preferences of the second committee, the Commerce Committee is marked as $B=T$. We place the Coble bill, with stronger IP in position C which may or may not be equal to J . Finally, to make the case interesting, incentivize strategic behavior, and mirror the real outcome, we place the median voter, M , such that $B < M < C$. Figure 3 illustrates this preference ordering.

Appendix 1 has the formal model that explains the outcomes, and solves for all preference orderings. Here we sketch out the most interesting and applicable results, as they relate to Internet IP protection.

Let us first consider the last stage problem. We need to find a Nash equilibrium in this last stage over strategy and policy. By assumption, we have characterized the cost of floor fight to be extremely high. This said, we can assume that neither side, nor the House leadership, will

⁴ This is evidenced by the recent campaign finance reform votes, and lack thereof.

allow a floor fight on two competing bills from the same party. This effectively means that f is very large. Thus, we can immediately assume that the floor fight outcome is dominated by either of the other two strategies.

In order for compromise to occur, both parties have to agree. If either party defects, then both bills will be killed.⁵ T will only accept a compromise that makes him no worse off than the status quo, F . This is because in the model with no future payoff, F will be the policy if both bills are killed. Thus, a policy that is the same distance from B as F , but on the opposite side, we will call F' . Given this, C will offer F' , and given T 's indifference, it will accept. The compromise policy is F' in a game with no future. T is no worse off; and C is strictly better off.⁶ Figure 4 shows the equilibrium.

Now let us consider the possibility that there is a payoff to a future round. If compromise is reached at F' , then there is no possibility for future gains. Policy is locked in for the foreseeable future. If there is no compromise, each side may gain or lose in the future round. This is particularly important in technologies and policies that are evolving, such as the Internet. Preferences might change, constituent awareness might increase, and, in high technologies, exogenous technological shocks may occur. In fast moving technologies like the Internet, this is a particularly important issue.

Let us parameterize the future expected gains (which may be positive or negative) to each party as w_J and w_T , where $w_{J,T}$ can be positive or negative. We add these two terms to the payoffs of killing the bill for J and T respectively. How does this change the calculus? There are four cases. If w_J is positive and w_T is negative, the equilibrium compromise is closer to C than F' . That is, the equilibrium compromise lies on the interval $(F', C]$. This means that as the

⁵ It is clear that T , who initially offers B , as closer to the status quo, is in the more powerful position.

future looks better for C than for T , C will be willing to compromise less. If w_J is negative and w_T is positive, the equilibrium compromise is closer to T than F' . That is, the equilibrium compromise is on the interval $[B, F')$. These results are true if the magnitudes between w_J and w_T are in the right direction relative to one another. (Indeed, if the true preferences of T is F , you could drive the policy back to F .)

Let us consider two other possibilities. If both parties have expectations that they will both lose in the future, $w_J, w_T < 0$, then the relative loss will determine the policy outcome. The equilibrium policy could be anywhere on $[B, C]$. Future losses tends to increase the bargaining zone, and will push the policy more toward the compromise of the offeror, in this set-up C .⁷

Let us consider the final possibility: namely that both view future gains to waiting: $w_J, w_T > 0$. In this case, the bargaining zone disappears. That is, each party feels it will gain from waiting and therefore has no incentive to compromise. In these kind of cases, we get no compromise and both bills are killed. Figure 5 illustrates this outcome. Committee T gains has positive expected future utility from waiting, pushing its zone of acceptance closer to B ; Committee J has positive expected future utility from waiting, pushing its zone of acceptance closer to J . These two actions together leave no room for compromise. The default is therefore that both bills are killed and the status quo prevails. This outcome occurs with probability p , if $w_J, w_T > 0$. Thus, the results of the second stage depend critically on the future expected value of the two parties, w_J and w_T .

⁶ Any policy which is to the right of F' will make T better off and C worse off; any policy to the left of F' makes T worse off and C better off.

⁷ If B made a take it or leave it offer, the policy could be pushed to B , relative to F' . If there is a Nash-Rubinstein bargaining solution, there would be an interval $[F' - w_C, F' + w_B]$ which would determine the bargaining range over which a policy outcome could occur.

We can now move to the first stage of the game. Committee J is faced with the problem of what its policy should be, given that with probability p , the outcome will be F . With probability $1-p$, there will be no challenge to the policy. If J gets to make policy, then, it will choose $J = C$ in those cases when it chooses policy unchallenged, and C will be selected, assuming C is closer to M than F .

The overall strategy played by C in the first stage is as follows:
 If $w_J, w_T > 0$, play C with probability 1.
 If $w_J, w_T < 0$, play C with probability $1-p$; play $F' + w_T t$ with probability p .
 If $w_J > 0$; $w_T < 0$, and w_J is not too big, play C with probability $1-p$; play $F' + w_T$ with probability p .
 If $w_J > 0$; $w_T < 0$, and w_J very big, play C with probability 1.
 If $w_J < 0$; $w_T > 0$, and w_T is not too big, play C with probability $1-p$; play $F' - w_T$ with probability p .
 If $w_J < 0$; $w_T > 0$, and w_T very big, play C with probability 1.

From this theoretical exposition, we can make three predictions.

- **PROBABILITY:** First, the incumbent committee, J , will assess its probability of a competing bill in choosing a position; the higher the probability of a competing bill, the less likely it will be to choose its optimal policy. That is as p increases, J will choose $C=J$ with less frequency. Note, moreover, the large range over which $J = C$ for low p .
- **JURISDICTION:** Second, members will split along committee lines in bill sponsorship when there are multiple bills, in order to exploit the jurisdictional battles. That is, there is a high probability that 2a) bills will be introduced by individuals in competing committees, even though they are all referred to the same committee (these are instances of $1-p$ occurring); and 2b) once a bill has reached a second committee, many members of that committee will cosponsor the bill to reinforce the jurisdictional issues.
- **FUTURE PAYOFFS:** Third, in a one-stage game, conditional on two competing bills in two committees, compromise will be the equilibrium. That is, if $w_J, w_T = 0$, then compromise can be reached between committees, should there be multiple bills in different committees.

However, if either or both committees believe that preferences, technology, and other shocks will change in its favor between this congress and the next congress, then the both bills will be killed.

IV. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

We can examine each of the four hypothesis posed in the theory section by examining Internet legislation and focussing on the copyright battle that occurred between the two committees.

A. EXAMINING HYPOTHESIS 1: PROBABILITY

In order to examine the first hypothesis, we must examine the probability that the Judiciary Committee would be challenged by another committee over copyright protection. If the probability was high, then we should have seen a compromise bill introduced, somewhat close to the preferences of the competing committee. If the probability was low, then we should see a bill close to the preferences of the Judiciary Committee. We examine the probability, p , that another committee would be referred a bill.

First we must establish that the Judiciary Committee was the incumbent committee, and that it was likely to receive the Coble bill. There were three main factors in the Judiciary Committee's favor that. First, Representative Coble had a long-expressed interest in the bill. Indeed, this was not the first time a nearly-identical version of this same bill had gone through the House. That bill was also referred to the Judiciary Committee in the previous congress. In the 106th Congress, Howard Coble had attached this bill as an amendment to the Digital Millennium Copyright Act. The actual vote on the amendment was by a voice vote and the

House version of the bill was attached as an amendment to the DMCA. (Senator Orin Hatch eventually demanded that this provision be retracted from the Senate version, and the Act passed without the Coble Amendment.) Hence, an almost identical bill had already gone through the Judiciary Committee. Second, Coble's staff, with the help of similarly-minded interest groups, had written the Coble bill. King (1997) notes that bills are written with language so as to attempt to route the bill to certain committees. Coble in essence wrote a bill that had a high probability of being referred to his committee, and eventually his subcommittee. Thus, the bill had an added probability of receiving that referral.

Finally, the Judiciary Committee had set a long-established precedent of handling bills covering Copyright. Table 2 examines all legislative hearings covering proposed copyright bills in the 80th through 103rd congresses (1946-1994). During this nearly 50-year period, the Judiciary Committee received 86% (127) of referrals. Hence Coble was relatively confident of receiving the Coble amendment. We can assume that $p=.86$ was the lowest probability that the Coble bill would have been referred to the Judiciary committee. That probability was enhanced by the previous bill history, and by the fact that Coble, and interest groups allied with him, had written the bill. It is not surprising then that Coble chose to write a bill which was far from the median voter, but in all likelihood had the support of the median voter. It was closer to the median voter than Feist, but it was a vast change in policy because it was on the opposite side of the median voter preferences. (Indeed, the voice vote in the previous Congress is an indicator of the capturing of the median voter.) Thus, we assume that Judiciary was the incumbent committee, and this committee introduced policy C, which was to the right of the median voter.

If this is to be an equilibrium, however, we must consider the probability, p , that nature would select another committee for a second bill. As noted in Table 2, 14% of legislative

hearings on copyright bills were sent to another committee. Thus, there was an unconditional probability of 14% that another committee might get a second bill. The Science, Space and Technology Committee (under various names) received the second most number of copyright bill referrals at 5% (8) during 1946-1994, and posed perhaps the greatest threat for a competing bill. However, Representative Sessenbrenner, Chairman of the Science, Space, and Technology Committee, who was the most likely contender for a copyright bill, was in line to ascend to the chair of the Judiciary Committee, and did not want to upset the possibility of this coming to fruition in the next congress. He was thus reticent to introduce a bill competing with the Judiciary Committee's bill.

With the Science Committee unlikely to introduce a bill, the base probability that Coble faced was about $p=9\%$ that another committee would successfully introduce a competing bill. Certainly anyone who did introduce a bill would write it in such a way that it would have a higher than random probability of reaching their committee. Nevertheless, the probability was likely still in the low double digits. Thus, in this analysis, the behavior of the Judiciary Committee seems reasonable.

We can, however, further analyze the issue in examining the dynamics of the issue. Was the probability that another committee might be referred a bill increasing with time? Table 2 shows that other than the Science Committee, no other committee had systematically increased their legislative referrals in Copyright issues over the past 10 congresses. Thus, had any member of Congress introduced a bill covering copyright law, it would likely have been referred to the Judiciary Committee. In this sense, the behavior of the Judiciary Committee was consistent with the first prediction of the theory.

B. EXAMINING HYPOTHESIS 2: JURISDICTION

The second hypothesis examines how jurisdiction drives the bill introduction and sponsorship process. We examine many pieces of evidence on this hypothesis: the incentive to introduce bills; the general bill introduction behavior of Internet sponsors; and the specific drivers of bill sponsorship on this particular issue. We bring to bear case study analysis, descriptive statistics, and statistical methods here.

First we examine why any committee have an incentive to introduce a bill? As King (1997), de Figueiredo (1999), McNollgast (19yy), and others note, the incentive to introduce a bill is not only to affect policy outcomes on the current policy, but to claim jurisdiction over an issue. Representatives who can claim jurisdiction over an issue can claim the political rents in future periods from interest groups who have interest in that issue. Thus, it is not surprising that if this is somewhat large, and discount rates are not too big, there is an incentive to introduce bills and engage in what King has termed “turf wars.” (As noted in an earlier footnote, this is not a completely costless act. Moreover, if the referral is to unintended committee, it may reinforce the jurisdictional power of that committee over the issue.)

Members of the Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives had its own particular incentive to introduce at the time. Not only had it dabbled in the past on copyright issues, but the Commerce was aggressively attempting to expand its jurisdiction over issues covering the Internet.⁸ There was a second turf war occurring over which committee had jurisdiction over the Internet. Table 3 illustrates all the main bills that were introduced in the 104th-106th Congress covering the Internet. Commerce obtained primarily referrals on over 63% of these bills (21 of 33). As part of this pattern, Commerce was attempting to expand its

jurisdiction on this dimension, so it could obtain the political rents related to the “digital economy.”

Thus, outsiders, and the Commerce Committee in particular, had an incentive to introduce a competing bill, though the probability was somewhat low that it would actually receive a referral. Hence, *ex ante*, Coble strategy seemed sensible, as did the Bliley strategy of introducing a competing bill. There was a low probability that the Commerce Committee would actually get the referral, but if it did, there would be a positive return to the Commerce Committee.

We can now examine the second piece of evidence that supports this jurisdictional hypothesis. Were sponsors, in jurisdictionally murky areas, primarily from the Commerce Committee? We review Table 3 once again. Table 3 has all of the major Internet bills that were introduced into the 106th House session.

There are a number of things to note about this table. First, note that 70% of bills which were introduced by members who belonged to committees to which that bill was referred. This result is consistent with King (1997). Second, Table 3 illustrates the jurisdictional tussle that occurred between committees. Sixteen bills were introduced by Commerce Committee members, and twenty-three were referred to that committee. Eight were introduced by Judiciary Committee members, and twelve were referred to that committee.⁹ While the struggle to regulate the Internet occurred between Judiciary and Commerce, it is interesting to note that the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee attempted to enter the fray, but was largely unsuccessful. Though members from this committee introduced five bills, their committee was

⁸ By the time the 107th Congress convened, the Commerce Committee had changed the name of the Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Trade, and Consumer Protection to the Subcommittee on Telecommunications and the Internet.

referred only one bill. The turf war was lost by Transportation and Infrastructure. Moreover, on specific issues, you can see winners and losers. For example, H.R. 313, on consumer privacy, was clearly going to affect the banking industry in a serious way, regarding financial transactions and disclosure. Rep. Vento, a member of the banking committee introduced the bill, but his committee received no oversight or reporting authority; instead it was referred to the Commerce Committee. These results are consistent with the jurisdictional hypothesis.

Finally, we would like to know if these descriptive statistics and examination of data hold up under a more stringent test of a multivariate statistical analysis. Although we see these patterns in the data that are seemingly consistent with the second hypothesis, a more stringent test would be useful. In particular, we care about whether these results are due merely to ideological and constituent interests rather than committee turf wars. To analyze this possibility, we conducted an econometric analysis of the bill sponsorship. We want to know if committee affiliation affects bill co-sponsorship. If committee jurisdiction issues are reflected in the bill sponsorship behavior of Congresspersons, one should see coefficients on variables that reflect this pattern.

We consider two dependent variables in this econometric analysis. The first dependent variable (used in Models 1-3) is equal to one if a congressperson in the 106th Congress cosponsored the Coble Bill, and is equal to zero otherwise. The second dependent variable (used in Model 4) is equal to one if a congressperson in the 106th Congress cosponsored the Bliley Bill, and is equal to zero otherwise.

We consider three types of independent variables. All the variable definitions are summarized in Table 4. The first set of variables measures the ideology and preferences of the

⁹ From this perspective, perhaps the probability that Commerce would be referred a bill is much higher than previously suggested. While Judiciary saw 84% of copyright bills, they saw only 35% of Internet bills.

congressperson and her constituents. We examine two measures. First we look at the ADA score of the congressperson as a measure of that person's ideology. We also include variables from the constituency of that person's district. We use the Census data to determine the median income in the district, the number of individuals with college degrees, the median housing value in the district (as a measure of wealth), and the number of individuals who are employed in the education industry.

The second set of variables examines interest group activity. We accumulated from interviews and written records a list of key interest groups who lobbied the legislators. Trade groups and companies that are located in DC, but have national membership, are coded as being in D.C. We then map these groups into the congressional districts to examine the role of interest groups in determining the outcome of sponsorship on the two bills.

The final set of variables relates to committee assignments of congresspersons who sponsored the bill. These are the key variables of interest in the jurisdictional hypothesis. As noted earlier, only three committees had plausible jurisdiction over the issue: the Science Committee, the Judiciary Committee, and the Commerce Committee. If the key issue is jurisdiction between committees, then we should see a bifurcation of sponsorship of the two bills by committee, controlling for ideology and constituent preferences. If, on the other hand, it is ideology that drives individuals to cosponsor bills, then the committee variables should have insignificant coefficients and the ideology variables should have statistically significant coefficients. The Coble bill was sponsored by 17% of the members of Congress, while Bliley found only 4% of the congress supporting his bill.

We present the results of a probit analysis in Table 5. The coefficients report the change in the probability of the dependent variable for an infinitesimal change in each independent,

continuous variable and, by default, the discrete change in the probability for dummy variables. The two-sided t-statistics are presented below the coefficient estimates, with the 95%, and 99% significance level noted for each coefficient. Models 1-3 use the Coble dependent variable, which is equal to one if the congressperson supported the bill and zero otherwise. Model 1 presents results for only congressperson and constituency preferences. Model 2 adds the interest groups. Model 3 adds the committee jurisdiction variables.

The first thing to note in this paper is that bill co-sponsorship of the Coble bill is not predicted by ADA scores in any model. Indeed, whether there is a liberal or conservative congressperson has little impact on the strength of intellectual property protection they favor. Second, the income, wealth, or educational attainment of the members of the congressperson's district has no statistically significant impact on whether a bill is sponsored. The only constituency factor that matters is the number of people in the district working in education jobs. Each 10,000-person increase in the district who work in the education sector, there is a 8.3% lower likelihood that this congressperson would support the Coble bill. This is akin to the placement of a major university in the congressperson's district.

We see in Models 2 and 3, that the headquarters location of the interest group has little impact on the sponsorship behavior. Note, however, that interest groups opposing the Coble bill were overwhelming universities. Thus, though the universities who lobby had no direct impact in their own district over sponsorship, they did have a general effect on hindering sponsorship on the bill in other districts with large educational employment. This result may be partially due to the way the interest groups were coded. Associations which were based in Washington, or that have multi-district membership, were coded at their headquarters location, because most them had representation in nearly every district.

Finally, in Model 3 we include the committee variables. Note that Judiciary Committee members were much more likely to co-sponsor the Coble bill than were other members of Congress, controlling for ideology and constituency. Moreover, Commerce committee members were much less likely to support those the same bill than the average member of Congress. Indeed, Judiciary Committee members were 33.5% more likely to support the Coble bill, and Commerce Committee members 10% less likely to support the Coble bill than other members of Congress. Science Committee members were neither more nor less likely to cosponsor the Coble bill. This result is consistent with the jurisdictional hypothesis, that committee jurisdiction was driving sponsorship rather than ideology, per se.

In Model 4, we consider sponsors of the Bliley Bill. Here, the dependent variable is equal to one if the member sponsored the Bliley Bill, and zero otherwise. Note, that all coefficients are statistically insignificant except for the Commerce Committee variable. Commerce Committee members were 23.4% more likely to sponsor the Bliley bill than other members of congress, controlling for congressperson ideology, constituency, and interest group behavior. The coefficient on Judiciary Committee is negative as expected, but does not reach statistical significance. Rep. Rick Boucher, who sits on both the Commerce and Judiciary Committees, was the only Judiciary Committee member to co-sponsor the Bliley bill. The small number of sponsors (18) likely drives the lack of statistical significance on this coefficient.

One issue related to jurisdiction may not be just who co-sponsors the bill, but also the timing of co-sponsorship (Kessler and Krehbiel 1997). If the jurisdictional hypothesis is true, then one should expect to see committee members of the focal committee sponsoring early, and others sponsoring the bill late. We touched upon this issue in our examination of the Internet bills; here we examine it in further detail using the Coble bill. To pursue this question, we

provide Table 6, which includes the descriptive statistics of early sponsors of the Coble Bill (those who sponsored before the Bliley bill was introduced) and late sponsors of the Coble Bill (those who sponsored after the Bliley bill was introduced). The average ADA score, and constituency characteristics are the mostly the same in the early and late sample, with some constituency characteristics have higher standard deviations in the late sample (than in the earlier one). What is striking, however, is the committee membership of early sponsors vs. late sponsors. Early sponsors were overwhelming Judiciary Committee members, while late sponsors were not.

To examine the conditional means on this variable, we present Model 5 in Table 5, where the dependent variable is equal to one if the Coble sponsor was an early sponsor and zero if he was a late sponsor. Consistent with the descriptive statistics in Table 6, the only coefficient which is statistically significant is the coefficient on the Judiciary Committee. Judiciary Committee members were almost 40% more likely to be early sponsors than late sponsors. This again, conforms to the hypothesis on committee jurisdiction.

The results presented in this section take a number of different approaches but yield the same result—supporting the second jurisdictional hypothesis. The split of the committees was part of committee jurisdictional dispute, rather than an ideological or constituent dispute.

C. EXAMINING HYPOTHESIS 3: FUTURE PAYOFFS

Having committed to their positions of the Coble Bill, and the Commerce Committee being selected for referral of the Bliley Bill, the representatives faced three options: kill both bills, compromise on a single bill, or engage in a floor fight where the “best bill” would win. Figure 3 outlines the positions of the bills after the Bliley bill was referred to the Commerce

Committee. *F* is the status quo (or Feist decision), and was the least restrictive of the intellectual property covenants. Many of the supporters of the Bliley Bill actually preferred the Feist decision, but they were finding it difficult to gain congressional support for doing nothing. “It is easier to say you are for something than against everything,” was the refrain in many interviews. Thus, they accepted the Bliley bill, *B*, though more restrictive than Feist, as an alternative to Coble. Representative Coble had already staked out a strong IP position with respect to databases.

We can now consider the three possible outcomes. The first is a floor fight. With competing bills, it is entirely possible that the two bills could come to the floor. In fact, the two sides considered such a proposition. One Coble supporter noted, “We were ready to have a floor fight over this issue. However, the leadership of the House was not willing to have a floor fight over this issue. There would be too much blood. They were going to kill both bills if we couldn’t get a compromise.” The costs of a floor fight, exposing the divisions in the Republican party, was too high a price to pay. It would decrease everyone’s utility by *f*, in the eyes of the House leadership, and thus if no compromise could be brokered, the status quo would persist.

With the floor fight alternative eliminated (or dominated by other strategies), each party had to examine their payoff structures. If there was no compromise, both bills would be killed. The sides attempted compromise. A series of meetings were held with Bliley and Coble staffers, and the interest groups involved. For a number of months, both sides attempted to craft a compromise agreement, but none could be found. Thus, both bills were killed.

Why was neither party willing to compromise? The reason lies in the comparative payoffs between compromise and killing the bill. The interest groups supporting Bliley preferred the status quo to the Bliley bill. They offered the Bliley bill as an alternative, in order to block

the Coble bill from becoming law. Hence, in the short-term they had no incentive to have any bill pass. Moreover, in the long term, they felt that their coalition would expand, and they would continue to win future fights. In addition, with the change in Judiciary Committee chairmanships from Hyde to Sessenbrenner (Coble retained subcommittee chairmanship), advocates of the Low IP position hoped that Sessenbrenner would pressure Coble to offer a much more moderate position. Sessenbrenner had been sympathetic to the university community (because he had headed the Science subcommittee) in the past. Bliley had already succeeded in claiming some jurisdiction over copyright issue. By having the Bliley bill referred to the Commerce Committee, Bliley could now lay claim to future issues regarding the Internet and copyright. Hence, the current and future payoffs to compromise seemed lower than those of having the bills jointly killed for the Bliley coalition.

For the Coble coalition, the calculus was also an intertemporal one. Though they were willing to compromise somewhat, the Coble forces were unwilling to move sufficiently close to Bliley. The Coble amendment had passed in the previous Congress. Although it was facing a challenge in the current Congress, the interest groups supporting Coble felt that in the next Congress, Tauzin (who was to take over for Bliley as subcommittee chair) would be a bit more sympathetic to their interests. In addition, the chair of the Commerce Committee was changing as well. Moreover, they felt they had a good chance that the House leadership would come to their position. Finally, they felt as the Internet evolved and stabilized, more members of Congress would see the logic of their approach. That is, the median voter would shift in their favor. So the Coble forces were willing to let the status quo prevail this year, and next year attempt again to get their bill passed. Compromise today had a lower payoff than having both bills killed.

Thus, compromise was not reached in the 106th Congress, and instead, both bills were killed in the Rules Committee by the House Leadership. Both $w_J, w_T > 0$, which generated the equilibrium that neither party was going to accept a compromise. Rather, they were going to wait for the next congress to convene to reach agreement. Neither bill reached the floor for a vote in the 106th Congress. The underlying utility functions of each player and the intertemporal nature of bill blocking and bill introduction played an important role in killing both bills. Thus, consistent with the final hypothesis, if $w_J, w_T > 0$, both bills die.

V. CONCLUSION

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McNollgast

Shepsle

Shepsle and Weingast. Open and Closed Rules

Weingast

Figure 1: Movements of the Game

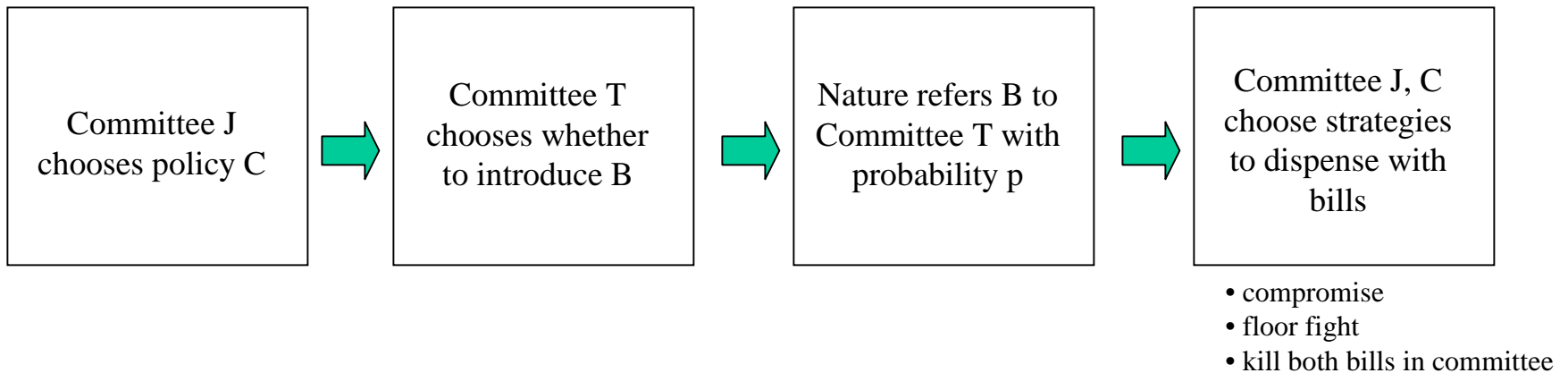


Figure 2: Policy and Payoffs for Extended Form Game (Collapsed)

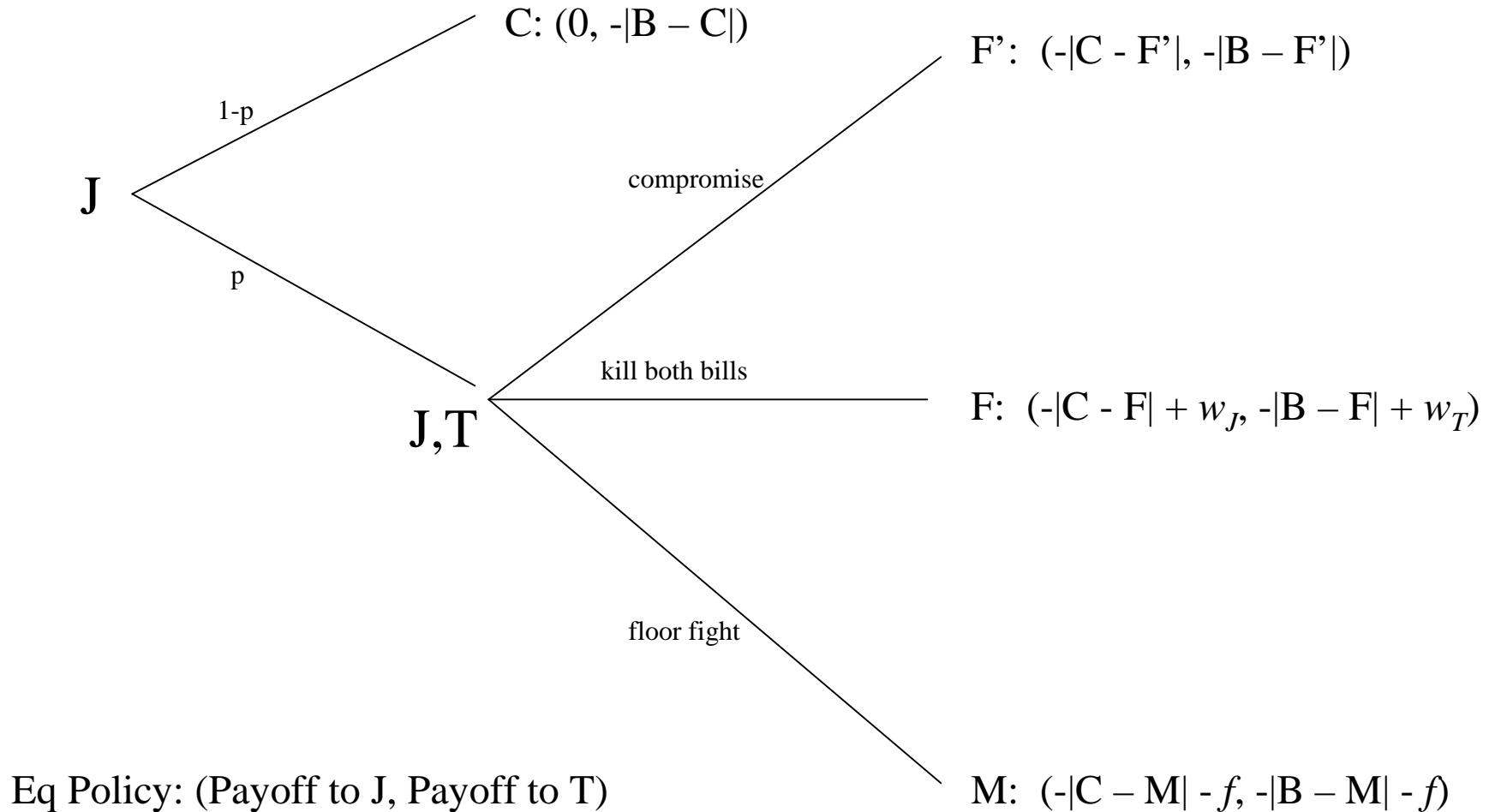


Figure 3: Preference Ordering

IP Protection (IPP)

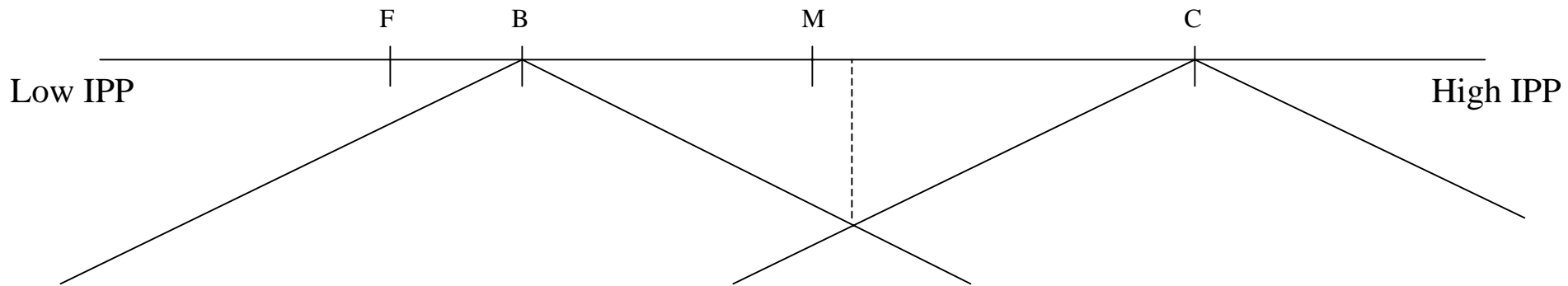


Figure 4: Equilibrium for Compromise with $w_J, w_T = 0$

IP Protection (IPP)

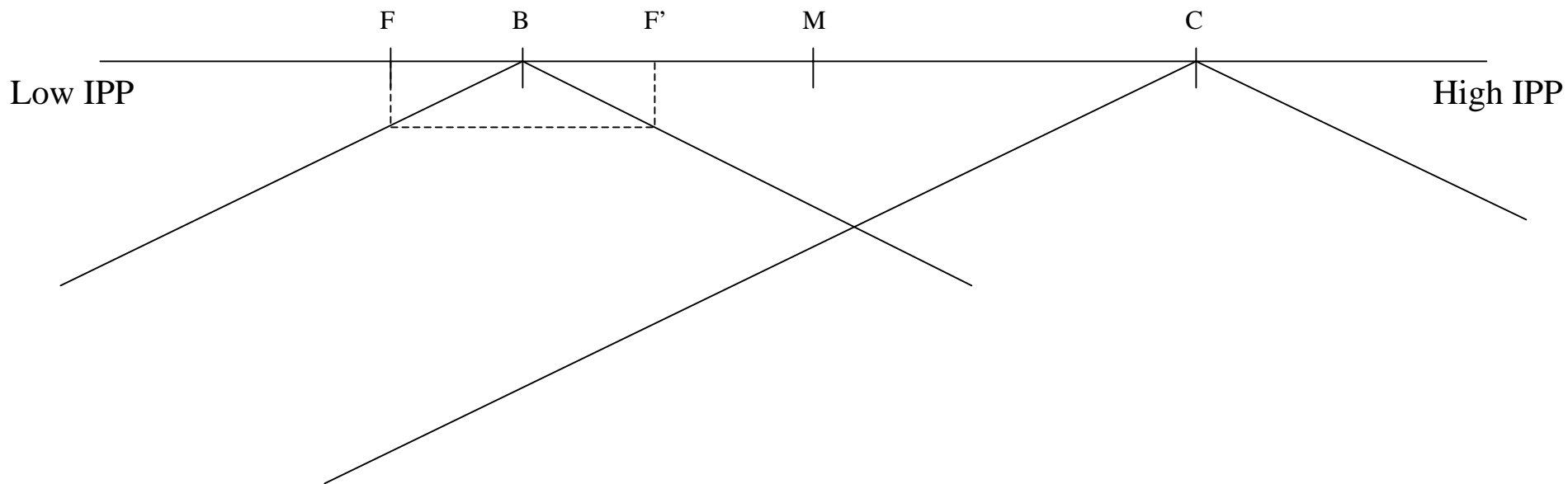


Figure 5: Equilibrium for Compromise with $w_J, w_T > 0$

IP Protection (IPP)

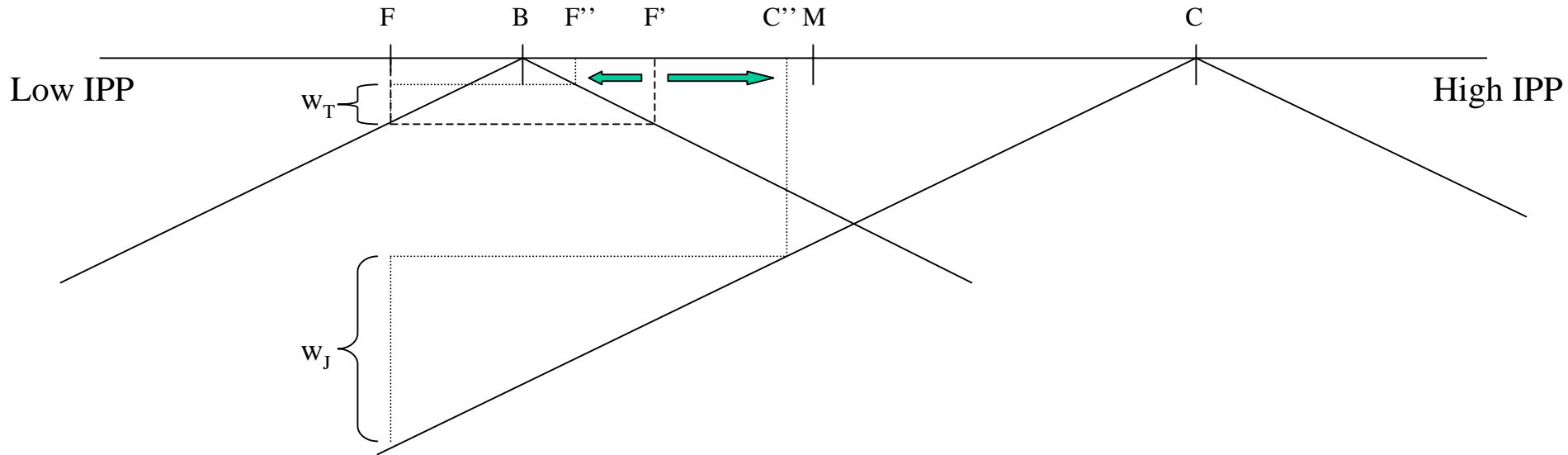


Table 1: Partial List of Supporters

Coble Bill

American Medical Association
The McGraw-Hill Companies
Miller Freeman
Monster.com
National Association of Securities Dealers
Ebay
New York Stock Exchange
Newspaper Association of America
Oceana Publications, Inc.
Phillips International, Inc.
Reed Elsevier Inc.
SilverPlatter Information, Inc.
Skinder-Strauss Associates
Software and Information Industry Association
Thomas Publishing Co.
The Thomson Corporation
Warren Communications News

Bliley Bill

Amazon.com, Inc.
Association of Research Libraries
AT&T
Bidder's Edge
CDnow, Inc.
Commercial Internet eXchange Association
Digital Media Association
Excite
Geocities
Harvard University
Inktomi
Lycos
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MCI WorldCom
NetCoalition
NetRadio Network, Inc.
Netscape Communications Corporation
Omnibot
Online Banking Association
RealNetworks, Inc.
Stanford University
StorageTek
Yahoo! Inc.

TABLE 2: HOUSE COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON COPYRIGHT BILLS

Congress	Agriculture	Energy & Commerce	Foreign Affairs	Government Operations	Interior/ Insular Affairs	Judiciary	Science/ Space/ Technology	Small Business	Ways & Means	Total Number of Bills
80	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	9
81	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	92%	0%	0%	0%	12
82	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	11
83	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	5
84	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	4
85	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	3
86	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	2
87	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	71%	29%	0%	0%	7
88	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	1
89	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	3
90	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	2
91	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0
92	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	3
93	0%	20%	0%	20%	0%	60%	0%	0%	0%	5
94	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	83%	17%	0%	0%	6
95	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	2
96	9%	0%	0%	18%	0%	45%	27%	0%	0%	11
97	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	71%	7%	0%	14%	14
98	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	91%	9%	0%	0%	11
99	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	70%	10%	0%	10%	10
100	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	92%	0%	8%	0%	13
101	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	88%	13%	0%	0%	16
102	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	87%	7%	0%	0%	15
103	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	7
Total	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	85%	8%	1%	2%	172

TABLE 3: MAJOR INTERNET BILLS BEFORE THE 106TH HOUSE

Internet-related subject area	Bill #	Bill Name	Date Introduced	Primary Sponsor	Primary Sponsor Committee Membership	1st Committee
Copyright	HR 1761	Copyright Damages Improvement Act	5/11/1999	Rogan	Judiciary Commerce	Judiciary
Cybersquatting	HR 3028	Trademark Cyberpiracy Prevention Act	10/6/2000	Rogan	Judiciary Commerce	Judiciary
Digital Signatures	HR 1320	Millenium Digital Commerce Act (House)	3/25/1999	Eshoo	Commerce	Commerce
Digital Signatures	HR 1572	Digital Signature Act of 1999	4/27/1999	Gordon	Science Commerce	Science
Digital Signatures	HR 1714	Electronic Signatures in Global and National Commerce Act	5/6/1999	Bliley	Commerce	Commerce
Digital Signatures	HR 439	Paperwork Elimination Act of 1999	2/2/1999	Talent	Small Business Education Govt Reform	Govt Reform Small Business
Encryption	HR 850	Security and Freedom through Encryption (SAFE) Act	2/25/1999	Goodlatte	Judiciary Agriculture	Judiciary Int Relations Armed Services Commerce Intelligence
E-Rate	HR 1746	Schools and Libraries Internet Access Act	5/11/1999	Tauzin	Commerce Resources	Commerce Ways & Means
E-Rate	HR 3011	Truth in Telephone Billing Act	10/5/1999	Bliley	Commerce	Commerce
E-Rate	HR 3022	Rest of the Truth in Telephone Billing Act	10/5/1999	Markey	Commerce Budget	Commerce
E-Rate	HR 692	E-Rate Termination Act	2/10/1999	Tancredo	Education Resources Int Relations	Commerce
E-Rate	HR 727	Telecommunications Trust Act	2/11/1999	Klink	Commerce	Commerce Ways & Means
Filtering	HR 2560	Child Protection Act	7/20/1999	Istook	Appropriations	Education
Filtering	HR 4600	Children's Internet Protection Act	6/8/2000	Pickering	Commerce	Commerce
Filtering	HR 896	Children's Internet Protection Act	3/2/1999	Franks	Budget Transportation	Commerce
Gambling	HR 3125	Internet Gambling Prohibition Act of 1999	10/21/1999	Goodlatte	Judiciary Agriculture	Judiciary
Internet Access	HR 1686	Internet Freedom Act	5/5/1999	Goodlatte	Judiciary Agriculture	Judiciary Commerce
Internet Access	HR 2420	Internet Freedom and Broadband Deployment Act of 1999	7/1/1999	Tauzin	Commerce Resources	Commerce
Internet Access	HR 2637	Consumer and Community Choice in Access Act of 1999	7/29/1999	Blumenauer	Transportation	Commerce
Junk e-mail	HR 1910	E-Mail User Protection Act	5/24/1999	Green	Commerce	Commerce Judiciary
Junk e-mail	HR 3113	Unsolicited Electronic Mail Act of 1999	10/20/1999	Heather Wilson	Commerce Intelligence	Commerce
Multiple Areas	HR 1685	Internet Growth and Development Act	5/5/1999	Boucher	Judiciary Commerce	Commerce Judiciary
On-line alcohol & gun sales	HR 2031	Twenty-first Amendment Enforcement Act	6/7/1999	Scarborough	Judiciary Armed Services Govt Reform	Judiciary
On-line alcohol & gun sales	HR 3020	Electronic Commerce Crime Prevention and Protection Act	10/5/1999	Crowley	Resources Int Relations	Judiciary
Piracy/Database Protection	HR 1858	Consumer and Investor Access to Information Act	5/19/1999	Bliley	Commerce	Commerce
Piracy/Database Protection	HR 354	Collections of Information Antipiracy Act	1/19/1999	Coble	Judiciary Transportation	Judiciary
Privacy	HR 2644	Personal Data Privacy Act of 1999	7/29/1999	Hinchey	Appropriations	Govt Reform
Privacy	HR 313	Consumer Internet Privacy Protection Act of 1999	1/6/1999	Vento	Banking Resources	Commerce
Privacy	HR 3321	Electronic Privacy Bill of Rights Act of 1999	11/10/2000	Markey	Commerce Budget	Transportation/Agriculture
Privacy	HR 3560	On-line Privacy Protection Act of 2000	1/31/2000	Frelinghuysen	Appropriations	Commerce
Privacy	HR 367	Social Security On-Line Privacy Protection Act	1/19/1999	Franks	Budget Transportation	Commerce
Privacy	HR 369	Children's Privacy Protection and Parental Empowerment Act of 1999	1/19/1999	Franks	Budget Transportation	Judiciary
Taxes	HR 3252	Internet Tax Elimination Act	11/8/2000	Kasich	Ways & Means Armed Services	Judiciary Ways & Means

TABLE 4: VARIABLE DEFINITIONS

Variable	Description
ADA	ADA Score
Median Home Value	Median Home Value in District
Educational Attainment	Population in District having completed 4-year degree
Educational Employment	Population in District employed in Educational Sector
Median Income	Median Income in District
Coble Interest Group	=1 if Coble Supporting Interest Group in District Lobbied, = 0 otherwise
Bliley Interest Group	=1 if Bliley Supporting Interest Group in District Lobbied, = 0 otherwise
Commerce Committee	=1 if Commerce Committee Member, 0 otherwise
Science Committee	=1 if Science Committee Member, 0 otherwise
Judiciary Committee	=1 if Judiciary Committee Member, 0 otherwise

TABLE 5: ECONOMETRIC RESULTS FROM BILL SPONSORSHIP

	Coble Model 1	Coble Model 2	Coble Model 3	Bliley Model 4	Early Coble Model 5
ADA	-0.0003 (-.58)	-0.0003 (-.58)	-0.0002 (-.42)	-0.00003 (-.22)	-0.0002 (-.01)
Median Home Value	2.63 E-08 (.07)	2.76 E-08 (.07)	-6.53 E-08 (-.16)	1.05 E-08 (.08)	-1.38 E-07 (-.10)
Educational Attainment	1.56 E-06 (1.08)	1.58 E-06 (1.07)	1.72 E-06 (1.19)	-1.78 E-07 (-.30)	4.50 E-06 (1.12)
Educational Employment	-8.29 E-06** (-2.11)	-8.31 E-06** (-2.10)	-7.82 E-06** (-2.01)	7.44 E-07** (.49)	-9.32 E-06** (-.91)
Median Income	2.96 E-06 (.78)	2.95 E-06 (.77)	3.53 E-06 (.93)	-1.14 E-06 (-.82)	-8.50 E-06 (-.68)
Coble Interest Group		-.006 (-.07)	-0.019 (-.23)		0.0848 (.36)
Bliley Interest Group				.0018 (.09)	
Commerce Committee			-0.102** (-1.96)	0.2344*** (5.88)	
Science Committee			-0.027 (-0.50)	0.0181 (.72)	
Judiciary Committee			0.335*** (4.55)	-0.0112 (-.49)	.3943*** (3.14)
n	435	435	435	435	76
LL	11.5	11.5	37.39	38.71	11.51

** 95% significance

*** 99% significance

TABLE 6: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR EARLY AND LATE COBLE SPONSORS

Characteristics	Early Coble Sponsors		Late Coble Sponsors	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev
ADA	50.29	41.21	49.06	40.34
Median Home Value	110894	60081	114230	72085
Educational Attainment	52118	17171	52470	21118
Educational Employment	20471	5767	21475	4647
Median Income	31986	6988	33116	8600
Coble Interest Group	0.0588	0.2425	0.0508	0.2216
Commerce Committee	0	0	0.0678	0.2536
Science Committee	0.0588	0.2425	0.1186	0.3261
Judiciary Committee	0.5294	0.5145	0.1525	0.3626