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# Policy-advising competition and endogenous lobbies

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## Abstract

We investigate competition between experts with different motives. A policy-maker has to implement a policy and can either acquire information herself or hire a biased but well-informed expert. We show that the expert charges a fee if interests between the agents are roughly aligned, and pays contributions in order to get the decision delegated—and thus acts as a lobbyist instead of as an advisor—if the conflict of interest is substantial and the policy is important to her. We then introduce an unbiased career-concerned expert and show that lobbying may occur *because of* competition. Finally, the effect of competition on societal welfare may be negative if policy is (not) important to society but the unbiased expert provides bad (good) advice.

**JEL classification:** C72, D72, D82, D83.

**Keywords:** Policy advice, private information, delegation, lobbying, competition.

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# 1 Introduction

Policy-makers traditionally rely on sectoral experts for external advice. Having deep knowledge of issues underlying specific policies, sectoral experts can inform the legislative process. However, they typically also have a strong interest in those policies, and are thus known as lobbyists or special interest groups (Grossman and Helpman, 2002).<sup>1</sup> A lobbyist’s influence on a policy may reach from help with drafting laws to effective delegation of decision-making power.<sup>2</sup> A logical consequence of such relationship is biased policies.

A second source of external advice—which gained momentum in recent years—are professional consultants. Their selling point consists of the analytic expertise to obtain and process information.<sup>3</sup> These services, however, may come at a hefty cost for clients. Current public debate in developed countries such as the U.K. has focused on the government’s “lazy habit” of hiring external consultants, “infantilizing” the civil service.<sup>4</sup> In France, this controversy was amplified by press reports unveiling close relationships between big consultancy firms and policy-making bodies.<sup>5</sup>

The trade-off between access to deep, policy-relevant knowledge and allowing influence to biased political actors has been extensively discussed in the literature in Economics and Political Science (e.g., Grossman and Helpman, 2002; De Figueiredo and Richter, 2014; Bombardini and Trebbi, 2020). As the debate described above suggests, this trade-off has gained complexity in recent years, with sectoral experts competing against consultants with career concerns.

In this paper, we analyze this competition and build an informational theory of endogenous lobbies. We show that the sectoral expert (she) pays (lobbying)

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<sup>1</sup>In the period 2010-2020, for instance, the total registered expenditure on lobbying in the U.S. Congress has averaged \$3.5 trillion per year, see <https://www.opensecrets.org/federal-lobbying/summary?inflate=Y>, accessed January 24, 2022.

<sup>2</sup>Baumgartner et al. (2009) document the importance of professional lobbyists in helping legislators draft legislative language. In addition, recent anecdotal evidence documents cases of policy-makers hiring former lobbyists or prominent think-tank figures as government officials; see, for instance, <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/05/20/john-bolton-former-lobbyist-national-security-council-597917> and <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2021/11/27/joe-bidens-tech-policy-is-becoming-clearer>, both accessed January 28, 2022.

<sup>3</sup>The Finance literature has documented a positive relationship between consultancy firms’ profitability and their reputation (Chemmanur and Fulghieri, 1994; Golubov et al., 2012; Song et al., 2013).

<sup>4</sup>See <https://www.politico.eu/article/uk-government-external-consultancies-big-four-theodore-agnew/>, accessed January 24, 2022.

<sup>5</sup>See, for instance, <https://www.politico.eu/article/how-consultants-like-mckinsey-accenture-deloitte-took-over-france-bureaucracy-emmanuel-macron-coronavirus-vaccines/>, accessed January 24, 2022.

contributions if the conflict of interest with the policy-maker (he) is substantial but the expert is willing to compensate him for delegating the decision to her. Furthermore, competition with professional consultants may benefit the policy-maker because it reduces the cost of advice or increases the contributions paid by lobbyists, and may even turn a potential advisor into a lobbyist.

In our model, a policy-maker has to implement a policy whose payoff depends on the state of the world. Despite he has means to obtain information on the state directly (relying on internal staff/bureaucrats), he could also hire a sectoral or inside expert who has better information but does not share the same policy preferences. Differently from other papers, policy preferences are only one dimension of the conflict of interest between the agents. A second dimension relates to the importance each agent assigns to the policy relative to transfers. The inside expert can either work as a pure advisor and transmit information via cheap-talk communication, or get authority over the policy delegated to her. Before any information is revealed, the inside expert posts a menu of transfers. She may ask the policy-maker for a fee for her service or offer him a (lobbying) contribution.<sup>6</sup> The policy-maker then decides whether to hire the inside expert under communication or delegation, or to acquire information herself.

We first show that the inside expert never offers the policy-maker a contribution in order to be hired as a pure advisor. Since hiring the inside expert would save the costs of acquiring information in-house (relying on internal staff), the policy-maker will require compensation only if it leads to a worse, less informed, policy. But in this case the expert has no incentives to pay a contribution. Second, whether the inside expert offers the policy-maker a contribution in order to be hired under delegation depends on the conflict of interest between them. If interests are (roughly) aligned, such that the policy-maker benefits (net of transfers) from delegation due to the expert being better informed, then the inside expert can charge a fee for her services. If, however, the conflict of interest is substantial, then the expert must compensate the policy-maker for the loss of control, and thus act as a lobbyist instead of as an advisor, but whether she is willing to do so depends on how much she benefits from it. In equilibrium, the inside expert sets the transfers such that the policy-maker's hiring decision maximizes the aggregate payoff. In particular, delegation maximizes the aggregate payoff if the inside expert cares sufficiently about the policy relative to the policy-maker. In line with

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<sup>6</sup>We follow [Harstad and Svensson \(2011\)](#) and refer to transfers to the policy-maker as lobbying contributions, as in our model they aim at influencing policy; bribery is closely related but associated with attempts to bend or get around existing policies.

evidence in Baumgartner and Jones (2010), lobbying thus occurs in policy areas which are peripheral from the policy-maker’s point of view and do not receive too much public attention (i.e., transfers are important relative to policy) yet are important to the interest group (see also De Figueiredo and Richter, 2014). Notably, the policy-maker benefits from in-house expertise even in case he delegates the decision, because it strengthens his bargaining position vis-à-vis the inside expert.

We then introduce an external (policy) consultant who has direct access to costly information. Caring about her reputation, the consultant’s payoff is increasing in the quality of her advice. We view reputation as a proxy for expected profits that can emerge either from future contracts with the same policy-maker, or from using the expertise gained in the policy-design process to advise private clients (e.g., implement regulatory changes within the firm). Active participation in the policy-design process could therefore be a source of comparative advantage for a consultancy firm and, thus, incentives to be hired will be substantial. The policy-maker now can either hire one of the policy experts or acquire information himself. We restrict attention to the case where the external consultant is competitive with respect to in-house acquisition.<sup>7</sup>

Competition with the external consultant increases transfers from the inside expert to the policy-maker for hiring her as compared to the baseline model. In particular, it may force an inside expert who would be hired as advisor in the baseline model to pay contributions in order to top the external consultant’s offer and keep authority. Furthermore, even in case the inside expert is not competitive in the baseline model, competition with the external consultant may lead her to offer a contribution to the policy-maker in order to get the decision delegated. This requires that the external consultant provides worse advice as compared to in-house acquisition. Hence, lobbying may occur *because of* competition with external consultants.

If, however, the external consultant is willing to top the offer of the inside expert, then the policy-maker will hire the former. In particular, she will offer contributions, and thus lobby the policy-maker in expectation of large future profits, if necessary.<sup>8</sup>

Lastly, we perform a welfare analysis. We ask whether the availability of

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<sup>7</sup>Otherwise the best alternative to hiring the inside expert would be in-house acquisition, such that hiring decision and transfers were identical to the baseline model.

<sup>8</sup>Recent news reports uncovered that one of the ‘big-four’ consultancy firms offered ‘free services’ to a French presidential candidate, to later become one of the main public contractors under the politician’s mandate. See <https://www.mediapart.fr/en/journal/france/020422/question-influence-how-consultants-mckinsey-gave-free-services-macron>, accessed December 1, 2022.

an external consultant is beneficial to society. From a purely policy standpoint, competition weakens the trade-off between informational gains from delegation (which now also depend on the quality of the consultant’s advice) and loss of control (which depends on the sectoral expert’s bias). We instead pose that societal welfare will also be affected by monetary transfers to the hired expert, and by the cost of in-house information acquisition due to their direct fiscal impact. Note that we explicitly exclude lobbying contributions from the welfare function. As it turns out, competition may increase societal welfare either because it lowers the price for advice from the inside expert or because it leads to a better hiring decision for society. In turn, welfare losses occur when competition leads to a worse hiring decision for society. If policy is important to society, this will arise when the external consultant provides poor advice—either directly through a bad policy or indirectly because his presence induces lobbying. If, however, policy is not important to society, then worse decisions for society will arise when the consultant provides good advice, because the policy-maker then is willing to pay ‘too much’ for her information from society’s point of view.

Thus, coming back to the controversy on external consultants, our results suggest that whether the presence of external consultants is good or bad depends on the concrete policy issue and the quality of their advice: While the presence of able consultants on major policy issues is good, it may be bad on narrow issues that mainly concern the policy-maker’s own voters.

**Related literature.** This paper belongs to a large literature on strategic communication of soft information initiated by [Crawford and Sobel \(1982\)](#), which was extended to interaction between many informed experts by [Krishna and Morgan \(2001\)](#) and to the possibility of delegation of (real) authority by [Aghion and Tirole \(1997\)](#) and [Dessein \(2002\)](#). [Di Pei \(2015\)](#) studies a sender’s incentives to acquire costly information previous to communication with a receiver. He shows that if the set of available information structures is rich enough, then the sender will always fully reveal her information in equilibrium; a result that shares intuitions with [Fischer and Stocken \(2001\)](#) and [Ivanov \(2010\)](#). Similarly, in [Argenziano et al. \(2016\)](#) the sender decides how many binary experiments he observes. They show that communication may outperform delegation for sufficiently small conflicts of interest. [Deimen and Szalay \(2019\)](#) arrive at a similar conclusion when the sender has to decide on the amount of information he observes about each of two states. In their paper, the conflict of interest emerges from a disagreement on which state the decision should be calibrated to. Our paper builds on these intuitions, intro-

ducing competition by means of transfers among agents with access to information, and allowing the decision-maker to acquire information himself.

The presence of transfers relates our paper to the literature on the role of lobbies in policy-making. A part of it poses that campaign contributions can be contingent on policy platforms, and thus means to get influence on decisions ([Austen-Smith, 1987](#); [Baron, 1994](#); [Grossman and Helpman, 1996](#); [Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2000](#)). [Besley and Coate \(2001\)](#) and [Felli and Merlo \(2006\)](#) study electoral competition when interest groups decide whether to lobby the elected official. Here, the policy outcome is always a compromise between the ideological identity of the elected candidate and that of lobbies. We do not consider electoral competition but study sectoral experts who provide information and endogenously turn into lobbyists.

[Callander et al. \(2022\)](#) show that political protection substitutes technological investment as a source of market power, such that more competition translates into leverage to extract rents, which may lead to efficiency losses. In a similar vein, we show that introducing competition increases transfers from interest groups to the policy-maker in order to get the decision delegated. In our model, this may mean higher lobbying contributions, but may also mean lower prices paid for advice if interests are (roughly) aligned, leading to higher societal welfare.

Competition for delegation of decision-making power relates our work to [Ambros et al. \(2021\)](#). After observing a private signal about the state, each of two biased experts in their model proposes a decision and commits to implement it if hired. The hired expert further receives a bonus. They find that competition benefits the principal even if the second expert is more biased, because the principal can use information from both experts' private signals. Our paper differs from theirs in that experts compete à la Bertrand, including the possibility to pay contributions, and cannot commit to implement a certain policy if granted authority over the decision.

Few papers have combined the use of transfers with informative persuasion, as we do. One of the early treatments is [Austen-Smith \(1998\)](#), who studies lobbyists' incentives to 'buy' a legislator's attention in order to convey policy-relevant information. Because communication is strategic, like-minded lobbyists will be granted access more often and their information will be more influential. In a related paper, [Bennedsen and Feldmann \(2006\)](#) analyse competition among lobbies with opposite (state-independent) policy preferences, who can use either direct (non-negative) transfers or costly information to persuade the policy-maker to implement their preferred decision. They find that transfers are more effective means

to influence decision-making. In addition, having acquired (but not revealed) information leads to negative informational externalities for the lobbyist, increasing costs to influence the policy. [Krishna and Morgan \(2008\)](#) study a canonical cheap-talk environment in which the receiver can commit to transfers that are conditional on the sender's message. They show that, although feasible, contracts inducing full revelation are never optimal.

To our knowledge, we are the first to investigate competition between experts who may either charge a fee for their services or offer contributions, while the policy-maker can commit to delegate real authority. Both transfers and expertise are thus effective means to obtain access to and influence over the policy-making process, and whether experts act as advisors or as lobbyists is endogenous.<sup>9</sup>

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows. In section 2 we set up the baseline model featuring a policy-maker with direct access to information and a perfectly-informed sectoral expert. Section 3 analyses the equilibrium of the baseline model. In section 4 we introduce the external consultant, derive the equilibrium, and compare it to the baseline model in terms of societal welfare. Section 5 concludes.

## 2 Model and notation

We consider an economy populated by a continuum of citizens, an industry and a policy-maker. The unknown *state (of the world)*  $\theta \in \Theta = [0, 1]$  is distributed according to a commonly known distribution  $F$  on  $\Theta$  with continuous and strictly positive density  $f$ . The *policy-maker*  $P$  (he) has to implement a *policy*  $y \in Y = \mathbb{R}$ , e.g., some quality or environmental regulation, and can hire an *industry expert*  $I$  (she) to provide advice.  $P$  can hire  $I$  either as a pure advisor and keep authority over  $y$  (henceforth *communication*) or commit to delegate authority over  $y$  to  $I$  (henceforth *delegation*).

In the first stage,  $I$  posts a menu of transfers, prices and lobbying contributions,  $(\mathbf{p}_I, \ell_I) = ((p_{I,C}, p_{I,D}), (\ell_{I,C}, \ell_{I,D})) \in \mathbb{R}_+^4$  for the job under communication and under delegation, respectively. In the second stage,  $P$  decides whether to hire  $I$  and, if he does so, whether to keep or delegate authority over  $y$ . After  $I$  has observed the state  $\theta$ , she sends a *cheap-talk message*  $m \in M = \mathbb{R}$  to  $P$  (who did not observe the state) if hired under communication and chooses the policy  $y$  herself if hired under delegation. If  $I$  is not hired,  $P$  may *acquire information* about  $\theta$ ; the

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<sup>9</sup>Despite that the political access motive is dominant in lobbyists' activities ([Blanes i Vidal et al., 2012](#)), there is evidence that their expertise on specific issues is also valuable for policy-makers ([Bertrand et al., 2014](#)).

acquisition may, for instance, be done by internal staff of a governmental agency that  $P$  controls.<sup>10</sup>

Acquiring information about  $\theta$  involves deciding on an information structure  $S \in \mathcal{S}$ , where  $\mathcal{S}$  is a non-empty set of finite partitions of  $\Theta$ .<sup>11</sup> Let  $\sigma^2(S)$  denote the expected residual variance associated with information structure  $S$ , and let  $S(\theta)$  denote the partition element containing  $\theta$ . The cost of information structure  $S$  is  $c_P(S)$ . We follow [Di Pei \(2015\)](#) and consider a (partial) ordering of information structures:

**Condition 1** (Strictly coarser). *The information structure  $S'$  is ‘strictly coarser’ than  $S$  if:*

1.  $S(\theta) \subseteq S'(\theta)$  for all  $\theta \in \Theta$ .
2. There exists  $\theta \in \Theta$  such that  $S(\theta) \neq S'(\theta)$ .

Note that a strictly coarser information structure is associated with a larger expected residual variance. We next introduce some key assumptions.

**Assumption 1** (Richness). *If  $S \in \mathcal{S}$  and  $S'$  is strictly coarser than  $S$ , then  $S' \in \mathcal{S}$ .*

**Assumption 2** (Monotonicity). *If  $S'$  is strictly coarser than  $S$ , then  $c_P(S') < c_P(S)$ .*

We normalize the cost of the uninformative information structure to zero,  $c_P(\{\Theta\}) = 0$ . In the third stage,  $P$  chooses the policy  $y$  if she did not hire  $I$  under delegation. The payoff function of a citizen  $j$  is

$$u_j(p, y, \theta, S) = -\gamma_W(\theta + \xi_j - y)^2 - 1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}}p - 1_{\{I \text{ not hired}\}}c_P(S),$$

with  $1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}} = 1$  if  $I$  is hired and  $1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}} = 0$  otherwise. The first term represents the deviation of the implemented quality  $y$  from  $j$ ’s bliss point  $\theta + \xi_j$ , where  $\xi_j$  is taken from a distribution  $G$  that is symmetric around 0.<sup>12</sup> This formulation

<sup>10</sup>Note that we abstract from the possibility that  $P$  may also acquire information when he has hired  $I$ . Allowing for it would result in a communication game with two-sided information ([Moreno de Barreda, 2013](#)). This may make hiring  $I$  under communication relatively more attractive for  $P$  (when the decrease in residual variance dominates the extra acquisition costs) but would not change our results qualitatively.

<sup>11</sup>A finite partition of  $\Theta$  is a set  $S = \{S_1, S_2, \dots, S_n\}$  such that  $n \in \mathbb{N}$ ,  $S_k \subset \Theta$  for all  $k$ ,  $\cup_{k=1}^n S_k = \Theta$  and  $S_k \cap S_l = \emptyset$  for  $k \neq l$ . Our results are robust to information structures that consist of finitely many binary experiments as in [Argenziano et al. \(2016\)](#) and [Foerster \(2021\)](#).

<sup>12</sup>Cf. [Acemoglu et al. \(2013\)](#).

reflects that higher quality on the one hand increases  $j$ 's utility, e.g., because it is associated with a better user experience or lower negative externalities, but on the other hand comes with higher costs. The second part represents governmental expenses, either from hiring  $I$  at price  $p$  or  $P$ 's acquisition choice  $S$ . The parameter  $\gamma_W > 0$  measures the importance of the quality choice  $y$  relative to money. Social welfare then is given by

$$W(p, y, \theta, S) = -\gamma_W(\theta - y)^2 - 1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}}p - 1_{\{I \text{ not hired}\}}c_P(S) - Var(\xi).$$

$P$  shares the preferences of the representative citizen except that he may put a lower or higher weight  $\gamma_P > 0$  on the quality choice relative to money and further benefits from (*lobbying*) *contributions*  $\ell$ :

$$u_P(p, \ell, y, \theta, S) = -\gamma_P(\theta - y)^2 - 1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}}(p - \alpha\ell) - 1_{\{I \text{ not hired}\}}c_P(S),$$

where  $\alpha \in (0, 1)$  captures the risk of getting caught receiving money from interest groups and, thus, represents institutional strength. Finally,  $I$ 's payoff function is

$$u_I(p, \ell, y, \theta, \beta_I) = -\gamma_I(\theta + \beta_I - y)^2 + 1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}}(p - \ell),$$

with  $\gamma_I > 0$  and *bias*  $\beta_I < 0$ , which is a constant that captures that  $I$  prefers a lower quality than the representative citizen conditional on the state  $\theta$ , e.g., because she does not take into account negative externalities on citizens. Note that  $\alpha \in (0, 1)$  implies that contributions are inefficient in the sense that the cost to  $I$  is larger than the benefit to  $P$ , e.g., because contributions may be viewed negatively by the public.<sup>13</sup>

To summarize, the timing of events is as follows:

1. Nature draws the state  $\theta$ .
2.  $I$  posts a menu of prices and contributions  $(\mathbf{p}_I, \ell_I)$ .
3.  $P$  decides whether to hire  $I$  and, if he does so, whether to delegate authority.
- 4a.  $I$  sends a cheap-talk message  $m \in M$  to  $P$  if hired under communication.
- 4b.  $I$  chooses the policy  $y$  if hired under delegation.
- 4c.  $P$  may acquire information about  $\theta$  if he did not hire  $I$ .

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<sup>13</sup>We consider these specific utility functions to ease the exposition, but our results hold qualitatively on a much broader class of preferences, see Section 5 for details.

5.  $P$  chooses the policy  $y$  if she did not hire  $I$  under delegation.
6. Payoffs realize.

The solution concept we employ is perfect Bayesian equilibrium.

### 3 Equilibrium analysis

We proceed backwards and first consider the policy-advising stage. Second, we consider  $I$ 's pricing decision and  $P$ 's hiring decision.

#### 3.1 Policy-advising stage

Suppose first that  $P$  has hired  $I$ , who is perfectly informed about  $\theta$ . If  $P$  retains authority,  $I$  communicates with him via cheap talk. We know from [Crawford and Sobel \(1982\)](#) that equilibria are characterized by a partition of the state space  $\Theta$  such that  $I$  communicates the partition element that contains the state  $\theta$ . We restrict attention to the Pareto efficient equilibrium, which corresponds to the partition with the largest number of elements. If  $P$  has delegated authority to  $I$ , the latter implements her bliss point, which yields the following lemma:

**Lemma 1.** *Suppose that  $P$  has hired  $I$ .*

(i) *Under communication, the Pareto efficient equilibrium is characterized by the finite consecutive<sup>14</sup> partition  $Q = \{Q_1, Q_2, \dots, Q_L\}$  of  $\Theta$  with the largest number of elements  $L = L(\beta_I)$  such that for all  $l = 1, 2, \dots, L$  (–1 in (c)),*

- (a)  *$I$  sends message  $m_l$  if  $\theta \in Q_l$ ,*
- (b)  *$P$  chooses policy  $y_l = \arg\max_y E[u_P(p, \ell, y, \theta, S) | \theta \in Q_l]$ , and*
- (c)

$$E(u_I(p, \ell, y_l, \theta, \beta_I) \mid \theta = \inf Q_{l+1}) - E(u_I(p, \ell, y_{l+1}, \theta, \beta_I) \mid \theta = \inf Q_{l+1}) = 0.$$

*The residual variance (of  $P$ )  $\sigma_{I,C}^2 = \sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I)$  is weakly increasing in  $|\beta_I|$ , with  $\lim_{\beta_I \rightarrow 0} \sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) = 0$  and  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) = \text{Var}(\theta)$  for  $|\beta_I| \geq \frac{E(\theta)}{2}$ .*

(ii) *Under delegation,  $I$  implements her bliss point  $y(\theta, \beta_I) = \theta + \beta_I$ , which yields residual variance  $\sigma_{I,D}^2 = 0$ .*

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<sup>14</sup>A consecutive partition  $Q = \{Q_1, Q_2, \dots, Q_L\}$  is such that  $\sup Q_l < \inf Q_{l+1}$  for all  $l = 1, 2, \dots, L-1$ .

Second, suppose that  $P$  has not hired  $I$ . Then  $P$  will acquire information himself. Let  $y(S(\theta))$  denote  $P$ 's optimal policy upon observing the signal realization  $S(\theta)$ .

**Lemma 2.** *Suppose that  $P$  has not hired  $I$ .  $P$ 's optimal acquisition decision solves*

$$S_P = S_P(\gamma_P) = \operatorname{argmax}_{S \in \mathcal{S}} -\gamma_P E[(y(S(\theta)) - \theta)^2] - c_P(S).$$

The residual variance (of  $P$ )  $\sigma_P^2 = \sigma^2(S_P(\gamma_P))$  is weakly decreasing in  $\gamma_P$ , with  $\lim_{\gamma_P \rightarrow 0} \sigma^2(S_P(\gamma_P)) = \operatorname{Var}(\theta)$ .

### 3.2 Allocation of authority and price competition

Having determined behavior in the policy-advising stage in Section 3.1, we now turn to the allocation of authority. Given a menu of posted transfers  $(\mathbf{p}_I, \ell_I)$ ,  $P$  will decide whether to hire  $I$  and allocate authority according to:

$$\max_{a \in \{P, (I, C), (I, D)\}} -1_{\{a \neq P\}}(p_a - \alpha \ell_a) - \gamma_P (\sigma_a^2 + 1_{\{a=(I, D)\}} \beta_I^2) - 1_{\{a=P\}} c_P(S_P).$$

Finally, we turn to the price-setting stage and characterize equilibria. Fix in-house acquisition by  $P$  as the status quo. Then the *net payoff gain* (i.e., excluding transfers)  $V_i^a$  of  $i = P, I$  from hiring decision  $a \in \{(I, C), (I, D)\}$  is given by Lemma 1 and 2:

**Remark 1.**  $V_i^{I, C} = \gamma_i(\sigma_P^2 - \sigma_{I, C}^2) + 1_{\{i=P\}} c_P(S_P)$  and  $V_i^{I, D} = \gamma_i(\sigma_P^2 + \beta_I^2) + 1_{\{i=P\}}(c_P(S_P) - 2\gamma_P \beta_I^2)$  for  $i = P, I$ . In particular,  $V_I^{I, D} > 0$  and  $V_P^{I, C} < 0$  implies  $V_I^{I, C} < 0$ .

We first determine the equilibrium transfers posted by  $I$ .

**Lemma 3.** *In any equilibrium in which  $P$  hires  $I$  under centralization the latter posts transfers  $p_{I, C}^* = V_P^{I, C} > 0 = \ell_{I, C}^*$ , and under delegation she posts*

- (i)  $\ell_{I, D}^* = -\alpha^{-1} V_P^{I, D} > 0 = p_{I, D}^*$  if  $V_P^{I, D} \in [-\alpha V_I^{I, D}, 0)$ , and
- (ii)  $p_{I, D}^* = V_P^{I, D} \geq 0 = \ell_{I, D}^*$  if  $V_P^{I, D} \geq 0$ .

First, Lemma 3 shows that, when hired,  $I$  completely extracts  $P$ 's net payoff gain, if any, from hiring her.<sup>15</sup> Second, under delegation  $I$  may also pay a contribution to  $P$  to compensate him for a net payoff loss.  $I$  benefits from taking a

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<sup>15</sup>Note that  $I$  can completely extract  $P$ 's net payoff gain because she sets the menu of prices and contributions. We discuss alternatives to this approach in Section 5.

decision that is both in line with her preferences and based on perfect information, and thus obtains a net payoff gain  $V_I^{I,D} > 0$  (Remark 1). If that leads to a net payoff loss for  $P$ , then  $I$  is willing to compensate him if her gain is larger than his loss,  $\alpha V_I^{I,D} > -V_P^{I,D}$ . Under communication, such a loss occurs if the equilibrium features poor information transmission due to conflicting interests relative to what  $P$  can acquire himself, i.e.,  $V_P^{I,C} = \gamma_P(\sigma_P^2 - \sigma_{I,C}^2) + c_P(S_P) < 0$ . But in this case also  $V_I^{I,C} < 0$  (Remark 1) because  $I$  does not benefit from saving acquisition costs, such that  $I$  prefers that  $P$  acquires information in-house and, therefore, is not willing to pay a contribution to get hired. Third, note that because contributions are inefficient,  $I$  only offers them in case  $P$  suffers a net payoff loss from hiring her. Fourth, since transfers affect the aggregate payoff only insofar as they lead to inefficiencies, Lemma 3 yields the following *aggregate payoff gains*  $\bar{V}^a$  of the involved parties from hiring decision  $a \in \{(I, C), (I, D)\}$  (compared to in-house acquisition):

**Remark 2.**  $\bar{V}^{I,C} = V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C}$  and  $\bar{V}^{I,D} = \min\{\alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D}, V_P^{I,D}\} + V_I^{I,D}$ .

To ease the exposition, we henceforth ignore knife-edge cases in which  $P$  is indifferent between different hiring decisions. Since  $I$  can completely extract  $P$ 's net payoff gain when hired (Lemma 3), her equilibrium payoff from being hired equals the respective aggregate payoff gain. Thus,  $I$  will set transfers such that  $P$ 's equilibrium hiring decision maximizes the aggregate payoff.

**Proposition 1.** *Any equilibrium is such that*

(i)  $P$  hires  $I$  under communication at price  $p_{I,C}^* = V_P^{I,C}$  if

$$\bar{V}^{I,C} \geq \max\{0, \bar{V}^{I,D}\},$$

(ii)  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at  $p_{I,D}^* = V_P^{I,D}$  if

$$V_P^{I,D} \geq 0 \text{ and } \bar{V}^{I,D} > \bar{V}^{I,C},$$

(iii)  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^* = -\alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D}$  if

$$V_P^{I,D} < 0 \text{ and } \bar{V}^{I,D} > \max\{0, \bar{V}^{I,C}\}$$

(iv)  $P$  does not hire  $I$  and acquires information in-house otherwise.

All equilibria are payoff-equivalent.

Proposition 1 shows that, if communication maximizes the aggregate payoff, then  $I$  charges a positive price. This may occur if interests are sufficiently aligned and the policy is not important enough to warrant attempts to get the decision delegated. If, instead, delegation maximizes the aggregate payoff, then  $I$  charges a positive price if hiring her yields a net payoff gain for  $P$  ( $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$ ) and compensates him for the net payoff loss otherwise. The latter will occur if the conflict of interest between the agents is sufficiently strong relative to the quality and costs of in-house acquisition, and at the same time the policy is sufficiently important to  $I$  in order to be willing to compensate  $P$ . In case delegation or in-house acquisition yields a higher aggregate payoff than communication, Proposition 1 simplifies as follows:

**Corollary 1.** *Suppose that  $\max\{0, \bar{V}^{I,D}\} > \bar{V}^{I,C}$ .*

- (i) *If  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$ , then any equilibrium is such that  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at price  $p_{I,D}^* = V_P^{I,D}$ .*
- (ii) *If  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$ , then any equilibrium is such that  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^* = -\alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D}$  if  $\bar{V}^{I,D} \geq 0$ . Otherwise, he does not hire  $I$  and acquires information in-house.*

*All equilibria are payoff-equivalent.*

Note first that the assumption in Corollary 1 holds if  $I$  cares sufficiently about the decision, i.e.,

$$\gamma_I > \underline{\gamma}_I \equiv \frac{V_P^{I,C} - \min\{\alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D}, V_P^{I,D}\}}{\sigma_{I,C}^2 + \beta_I^2}.$$

Moreover,  $\bar{V}^{I,D} \geq 0$  is equivalent to

$$\gamma_I > \underline{\gamma}'_I \equiv \frac{-\min\{\alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D}, V_P^{I,D}\}}{\sigma_P^2 + \beta_I^2},$$

such that, by Corollary 1,  $I$  can compensate  $P$  for delegating the decision to her if she deems the policy sufficiently important relative to  $P$ .

Second, the assumption in Corollary 1 also holds if  $F$  is sufficiently dispersed such that communication is not particularly effective. Formally, suppose that  $F$  is such that  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) < \sigma^2$  implies  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) > \beta_I^2$ . Then  $\beta_I^2 < \sigma_P^2 + \frac{c_P(S_P)}{\gamma_P}$  implies  $\bar{V}^{I,D} > \bar{V}^{I,C}$  and  $\beta_I^2 \geq \sigma_P^2 + \frac{c_P(S_P)}{\gamma_P}$  implies  $\bar{V}^{I,C} < 0$ .

**Remark 3.**  $\max \{0, \bar{V}^{I,D}\} > \bar{V}^{I,C}$  holds if  $F$  is such that  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) < \sigma^2$  implies  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) > \beta_I^2$ .

The following example illustrates the equilibria in Corollary 1 depending on how important  $I$  deems the policy relative to  $P$  and their conflict of interest for the uniform distribution, which satisfies the condition in Remark 3.

**Example 1.** Suppose that  $F = \mathcal{U}(0,1)$ ,  $\gamma_P = \frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\alpha = \frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\mathcal{S} \supseteq \{S \mid S = \{[0, \frac{1}{k}), [\frac{1}{k}, \frac{2}{k}), \dots, [\frac{k-1}{k}, 1]\}, k \in \mathbb{N}\}$ , and  $c_P(S) = (\frac{1}{12} - \sigma^2(S))^2$ . Figure 1 illustrates the optimal hiring decision depending on  $\gamma_I$  and  $|\beta_I|$ .  $I$  gets the decision delegated at a positive price if the conflict of interest is small. Otherwise,  $I$  contributes  $P$  to get the decision delegated if she cares sufficiently about the policy.

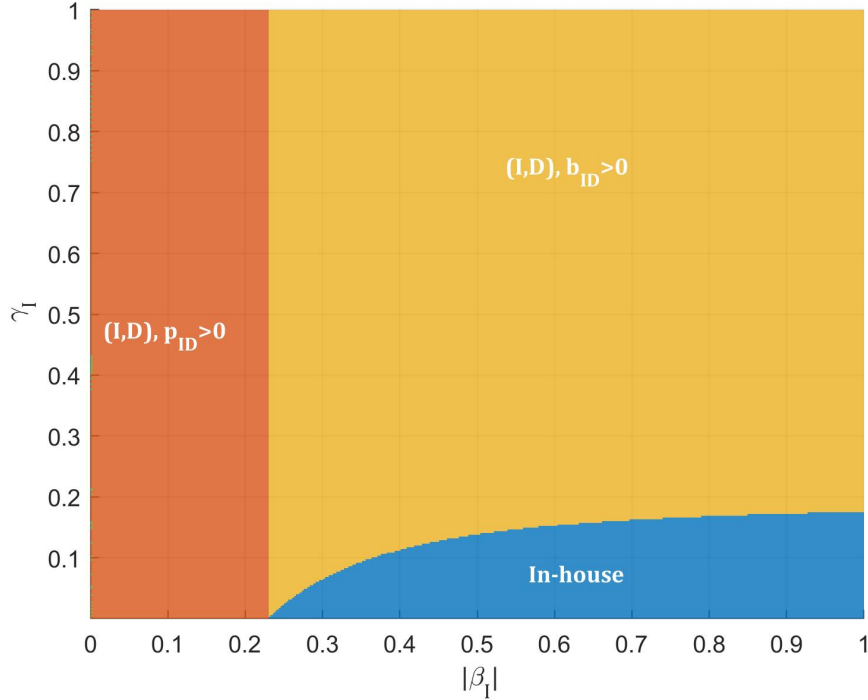


Figure 1: Optimal hiring decision depending on  $\gamma_I$  and  $|\beta_I|$  in Example 1.

Finally, observe that Lemma 1 and 2 and Corollary 1 imply that  $P$ 's equilibrium utility both under in-house acquisition and under delegation is  $-\gamma_P \sigma_P^2 - c_P(S_P)$ , which yields the following result:

**Corollary 2.** Suppose that  $\max \{0, \bar{V}^{I,D}\} > \bar{V}^{I,C}$ . Then  $P$ 's equilibrium payoff is strictly increasing in her in-house expertise as measured by the decision precision  $\sigma_P^{-2}$ .

Thus, in-house expertise is valuable even in case  $P$  delegates the decision, because it reduces  $I$ 's informational advantage, strengthening  $P$ 's bargaining position vis-à-vis  $I$ .

## 4 External policy consultant

So far we have assumed that  $P$  acquires information himself (through internal staff) if he decides not to hire  $I$ . We now introduce the possibility to hire an *external policy consultant*  $E$  (she) who is motivated by reputational concerns. In particular,  $E$ 's reputation will depend on the quality of her advice such that, conditional on being hired, her preferences are aligned with those of  $P$ . We can hence assume without loss of generality that  $P$  delegates the decision to  $E$ .

In the first stage,  $E$  and  $I$  simultaneously post their menus of transfers  $(p_E, \ell_E) \in \mathbb{R}_+^2$  and  $(\mathbf{p}_I, \ell_I) = ((p_{I,C}, p_{I,D}), (\ell_{I,C}, \ell_{I,D})) \in \mathbb{R}_+^4$ , respectively. In the second stage,  $P$  decides whether to hire one of the experts,  $I$  or  $E$ , or to acquire information himself. If  $P$  hires  $I$  or does not hire any expert, the game proceeds as in the baseline model (see Section 2). If  $P$  hires  $E$ , the latter does not observe the state but may acquire information about it. Acquiring an information structure  $S \in \mathcal{S}$  has costs  $c_E(S)$ , which satisfy Monotonicity (Assumption 2) and  $c_E(\{\Theta\}) > 0$  to reflect  $E$ 's opportunity costs.

$E$ 's payoff function is

$$u_E(p, \ell, y, \theta, S) = 1_{\{E \text{ hired}\}} \cdot (p - \ell + \gamma_E (r - (\theta - y)^2) - c_E(S)),$$

with  $\gamma_E > 0$  and  $r > \text{Var}(\theta)$ , and depends on the charged price  $p$  or paid contribution  $\ell$ , the policy  $y$ , the state  $\theta$ , and  $E$ 's acquisition choice  $S$ . We interpret  $r - (\theta - y)^2$  as  $E$ 's reputational gain from decision  $y$  in state  $\theta$  as a proxy for expected future profits. Note first that the reputational gain is positive since  $r > \text{Var}(\theta)$ . Second, it is increasing in the decision precision, such that our approach can be viewed as a reduced-form version of the typical treatment with uncertainty regarding the expert's ability (e.g., [Holmström, 1999](#); [Morris, 2001](#); [Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2006](#); [Ottaviani and Sørensen, 2006](#); [Foerster and van der Weele, 2021](#)).<sup>16</sup> Welfare is now given by

$$W(p, y, \theta, S) = -\gamma_W(\theta - y)^2 - 1_{\{I \text{ or } E \text{ hired}\}}p - 1_{\{\text{none hired}\}}c_P(S) - \text{Var}(\xi),$$

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<sup>16</sup>Our results do not depend on the specific form of the reputation motives, see Section 5 for details.

and accordingly the payoff function of  $P$  is

$$u_P(p, \ell, y, \theta, S) = -\gamma_P(\theta - y)^2 - 1_{\{I \text{ or } E \text{ hired}\}}(p - \alpha\ell) - 1_{\{\text{none hired}\}}c_P(S).$$

$I$ 's payoff function remains  $u_I(p, \ell, y, \theta, \beta_I) = -\gamma_I(\theta + \beta_I - y)^2 + 1_{\{I \text{ hired}\}}(p - \ell)$ .

## 4.1 Equilibrium analysis

As in the baseline model, we first consider the policy-advising stage. If  $P$  either has hired  $I$  or did not hire any expert, the behavior is as described in Section 3.1. If  $P$  has hired  $E$  and thus delegated authority to her, the latter will acquire information. The result obtains immediately when substituting  $E$  for  $P$  in Lemma 2:

**Lemma 4.** *Suppose that  $P$  has delegated authority to  $E$ .  $E$ 's optimal acquisition decision solves*

$$S_E = S_E(\gamma_E) = \operatorname{argmax}_{S \in \mathcal{S}} -\gamma_E E[(y(S(\theta)) - \theta)^2] - c_E(S).$$

The residual variance  $\sigma_E^2 = \sigma^2(S_E(\gamma_E))$  is weakly decreasing in  $\gamma_E$ , with  $\lim_{\gamma_E \rightarrow 0} \sigma^2(S_E(\gamma_E)) = \operatorname{Var}(\theta)$ .

Next we turn to the allocation of authority. Given menus of posted transfers  $(p_E, \ell_E)$  and  $(\mathbf{p}_I, \ell_I)$ ,  $P$  will decide whether to hire  $E$  or  $I$ , and allocate authority according to:

$$\max_{a \in \{P, E, (I, C), (I, D)\}} -1_{\{a \neq P\}}(p_a - \alpha\ell_a) - \gamma_P(\sigma_a^2 + 1_{\{a=(I, D)\}}\beta_I^2) - 1_{\{a=P\}}c_P(S_P).$$

Finally, we turn to the price setting stage. We focus on the case when delegation or in-house acquisition yields a higher aggregate payoff than communication:

**Assumption 3.**

$$\max \left\{ 0, \bar{V}^{I, D} \right\} > \max \left\{ \alpha^{-1} V_P^{I, C}, V_P^{I, C} \right\} + V_I^{I, C}.$$

Some remarks seem in order. First, Assumption 3 is slightly stronger than that considered in Corollary 1, as now  $I$  may be willing to pay a contribution also in case of communication. Second, Assumption 3 holds if  $I$  cares sufficiently about

the decision relative to  $P$ , i.e.,

$$\gamma_I > \frac{\max \left\{ \alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,C}, V_P^{I,C} \right\} - \min \left\{ \alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D}, V_P^{I,D} \right\}}{\sigma_{I,C}^2 + \beta_I^2}. \quad (1)$$

Note that the right-hand side of (1) does not depend on  $\gamma_I$ . Third, it implies that  $I$  is never hired under communication:

**Lemma 5.**  *$P$  does not hire  $I$  under communication in equilibrium.*

Next, note that the net payoff gain  $V_i^E$  of  $i = P, I, E$  from hiring  $E$  is given by Lemma 2 and 4:

**Remark 4.**  $V_i^E = \gamma_i(\sigma_P^2 - \sigma_E^2) + 1_{\{i=P\}}c_P(S_P)$  for  $i = P, I$  and  $V_E^E = \gamma_E(r - \sigma_E^2) - c_E(S_E)$ .

If  $V_E^E \geq 0$ , then  $\ell_E = V_E^E$  is the highest incentive-compatible contribution for  $E$ , as it exactly sets off her net payoff gain from being hired. Otherwise, if  $V_E^E < 0$ ,  $p_E = -V_E^E$  is the lowest incentive-compatible price for  $E$  otherwise. Thus,  $P$ 's gross payoff gain (i.e., including transfers) from hiring  $E$  compared to acquiring information himself is at most

$$\tilde{V}_P^E \equiv V_P^E + \min\{\alpha V_E^E, V_E^E\}.$$

Clearly,  $E$  will not be hired if  $\tilde{V}_P^E < 0$ , such that Corollary 1 obtains in this case:

**Remark 5.** *Corollary 1 obtains if  $\tilde{V}_P^E < 0$ .*

We thus now focus on the case when  $P$ 's gross payoff gain from hiring  $E$  may be positive.  $I$  will then anticipate that  $P$ 's best alternative to hiring her is hiring  $E$ , such that  $\ell_{I,D} = V_I^{I,D} - V_I^E > 0$  is the highest incentive-compatible contribution for  $I$ . Therefore, if  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ , then  $P$ 's gross payoff gain from hiring  $I$  under delegation compared to acquiring information himself is at most

$$\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \equiv V_P^{I,D} + \alpha(V_I^{I,D} - V_I^E).$$

We show that  $P$ 's hiring decision now depends on who can provide a larger gross payoff gain.

**Proposition 2.** *Suppose that  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ . Any equilibrium is such that*

(i)  *$P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at price  $p_{I,D}^* = V_P^{I,D} - \tilde{V}_P^E$  if*

$$V_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E, \quad (2)$$

(ii)  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^{**} = \alpha^{-1}(\tilde{V}_P^E - V_P^{I,D})$  if

$$\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E > V_P^{I,D}, \quad (3)$$

(iii)  $P$  hires  $E$  at price  $p_E^* = V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}$  if

$$\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E \text{ and } V_P^E \geq \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, \quad (4)$$

(iv)  $P$  hires  $E$  at contribution  $\ell_E^{**} = \alpha^{-1}(\max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\} - V_P^E)$  otherwise.

All equilibria are payoff-equivalent.

Note first that  $P$  does not acquire information herself in equilibrium since  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ . Second, condition (2) implies  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} > \tilde{V}_P^E$  since  $V_I^{I,D} > V_I^E$ . Thus,  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation if the latter can provide a larger gross payoff gain than  $E$ . If moreover even the net payoff gain from hiring  $I$  exceeds the largest gross payoff gain that  $E$  can provide (Equation (2)), then  $I$  will charge a positive price. Otherwise,  $I$  is willing to pay a contribution in order to be hired (Equation (3)). Note that the contribution (and the price in the previous case) is chosen such that  $P$ 's gross payoff gain from hiring  $I$  matches the largest possible gain from hiring  $E$ .

$P$  hires  $E$  if instead the latter can provide a larger gross payoff gain than  $I$ . Similarly to  $I$ ,  $E$  will charge a positive price if even  $P$ 's net payoff gain from hiring her is positive and exceeds the largest gross payoff gain that  $I$  can provide (Equation (4)), and otherwise  $E$  will pay a contribution in order to be hired. Finally, note that  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$  means that  $I$  does not care much about the policy relative to  $E$ 's competence, and thus it is more likely that  $P$  hires  $E$  on issues  $I$  deems not important.

## 4.2 The effect of competition on prices and the hiring decision

Finally, we ask how competition between  $E$  and  $I$  affects prices and  $P$ 's hiring decision. First, by Remark 5, introducing  $E$  does not change  $I$ 's transfer  $\ell_{I,D} - p_{I,D}$  to  $P$  for hiring her if  $E$  is not competitive,  $\tilde{V}_P^E < 0$ . If  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ , however, then introducing  $E$  increases  $P$ 's outside option, and thus also  $I$ 's transfer, by  $\tilde{V}_P^E$ . This can also be seen by comparing Corollary 1 and Proposition 2.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Recall that the assumption in Corollary 1 is implied by Assumption 3.

**Corollary 3.** *As compared to the baseline model,  $I$ 's transfer to  $P$  for hiring her is larger in the model with  $E$  if and only if  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ .*

Second, suppose that  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$  such that in the baseline model she acts as an advisor, i.e., charges a positive price (Corollary 1 (i)). A careful inspection of (2) and (3), then, reveals that competition may not only drive down her price but force her to turn into a lobbyist in order to keep authority if  $P$ 's net payoff gain from hiring  $I$  is below the largest gross payoff gain that  $E$  can provide,  $V_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$ . Moreover, if also the gross payoff gain that  $I$  can provide is below that  $E$  can provide, then competition drives  $I$  out of business.

**Corollary 4.** *Suppose that  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$ , such that in the baseline model  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at price  $p_{I,D}^* = V_P^{I,D}$ . In the model with  $E$ ,*

- (i)  *$P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at price  $p_{I,D}^{**} = V_P^{I,D} - \max\{0, \tilde{V}_P^E\} \leq p_{I,D}^*$  if  $V_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ ,*
- (ii)  *$P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^{**} = \alpha^{-1}(\max\{0, \tilde{V}_P^E\} - V_P^{I,D})$  if  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E > V_P^{I,D}$ , and*
- (iii)  *$P$  hires  $E$  if  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$ .*

Thus, lobbying may occur because of competition with  $E$ . Note that acquiring information herself is excluded in Corollary 4 even if  $\tilde{V}_P^E < 0$  since  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$  implies  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} > 0$ , i.e.,  $P$  will hire  $I$  under delegation in this case.

Finally, suppose that  $\bar{V}^{I,D} < 0$  such that in the baseline model  $P$  acquires information in-house. Note first that then also  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$ . A careful inspection of (3), then, reveals that competition may force  $I$  to offer  $P$  a contribution in order to avoid the latter delegating the decision to an  $E$  who takes worse decisions than  $P$  would have.

**Corollary 5.** *Suppose that  $\bar{V}^{I,D} < 0$ , such that in the baseline model  $P$  acquires information in-house. In the model with  $E$ ,*

- (i)  *$P$  acquires information in-house if  $\tilde{V}_P^E < 0$ ,*
- (ii)  *$P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^{**} = \alpha^{-1}(\tilde{V}_P^E - V_P^{I,D})$  if  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ , and*
- (iii)  *$P$  hires  $E$  otherwise.*

Thus,  $I$  may be hired because of competition with  $E$ . This occurs when  $I$  can provide a larger gross payoff gain than  $E$ , which requires that  $\sigma_E^2 > \sigma_P^2$ .<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>To see this, note that in this case  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} > 0 \Leftrightarrow \bar{V}^{I,D} > \gamma_I(\sigma_P^2 - \sigma_E^2)$ .

### 4.3 Societal welfare

Finally, we investigate whether the availability of a competitive external consultant,  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ , is beneficial to society. Recall that societal welfare is given by:

$$W(p, y, \theta, S) = -\gamma_W(\theta - y)^2 - 1_{\{I \text{ or } E \text{ hired}\}}p - 1_{\{\text{none hired}\}}c_P(S) - \text{Var}(\xi),$$

where  $\gamma_W > 0$  measures the importance of the policy to society relative to money. In case  $P$  is an incumbent politician, we can interpret  $\gamma_W$  as the average parameter among voters.

Note that  $P$  shares the preferences of the representative citizen, except that he may put a lower or higher weight on the policy relative to money and furthermore benefits from contributions. Thus, the net payoff gain for society from hiring  $I$  under delegation and hiring  $E$  relative to in-house acquisition is  $V_W^{I,D} = \gamma_W(\sigma_P^2 - \beta_I^2) + c_P(S_P)$  and  $V_W^E = \gamma_W(\sigma_P^2 - \sigma_E^2) + c_P(S_P)$ , respectively.

We now show that introducing a competitive external consultant may increase societal welfare either because competition lowers the price for advice from  $I$  or because it leads to a better hiring decision for society.

**Proposition 3.** *Suppose that  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$  and*

- (i)  $\bar{V}^{I,D} \geq 0$ , *such that in the baseline model  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation. Then societal welfare is higher in the model with  $E$  if and only if either  $V_P^{I,D} > 0$  and  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ , or*

$$V_W^E - V_W^{I,D} > \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\} - \max\{V_P^{I,D}, 0\} \text{ and } \tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E.$$

- (ii)  $\bar{V}^{I,D} < 0$ , *such that in the baseline model  $P$  acquires information in-house. Then societal welfare is higher in the model with  $E$  if and only if either  $V_W^{I,D} > 0$  and  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ , or*

$$V_W^E > \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\} \text{ and } \tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E.$$

First, if  $P$  hires  $I$  in the baseline model ( $\bar{V}^{I,D} \geq 0$ ) and with competition he still hires  $I$  ( $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ ), then the policy remains the same but  $P$  will pay a strictly lower price (and may even receive contributions, cf. Corollary 4) due to  $P$ 's improved bargaining position. Society thus benefits from the lower price of advice. Note that our analysis omits *fiscal costs of lobbying*, a topic that received some attention recently (see Bertrand et al., 2020). With such costs, competition may

lead to lower societal welfare when  $I$ , then, needs to offer substantial contributions to get access to the policy.

Second, if  $P$  does not hire  $I$  in the baseline model ( $\bar{V}^{I,D} < 0$ ), then competition may lead  $I$  to offer  $P$  a contribution and get hired ( $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ ). This requires that  $E$ 's advice is of lower quality than in-house acquisition, as otherwise  $I$  would not be willing to offer  $P$  a contribution that prevents him from hiring  $E$ . Since society does not benefit from contributions and obtains a worse policy (since  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$  and thus  $V_W^{I,D} < 0$ ), welfare losses are likely to occur in this case, except if society cares sufficiently little about the policy such that costs savings from not acquiring information in-house outweigh the worse policy ( $V_W^{I,D} > 0$  despite  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$ ).

Finally, if competition induces  $P$  to hire  $E$  ( $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$ ), then not surprisingly for society to benefit doing so must provide a sufficiently high net payoff gain relative to the baseline. This will occur when society cares sufficiently about the policy relative to  $P$  and  $E$  provides relatively good advice. Thus, welfare losses may occur in two cases: First, if society cares little about the policy, then  $P$  is willing to pay 'too much' for good advice from society's point of view (e.g.,  $V_W^E < V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\} > 0$  if  $\bar{V}^{I,D} < 0$ ). Second, if  $P$  cares little about the policy relative to society, then she may hire  $E$  despite poor advice because the latter pays a contribution ( $V_W^E < 0$  and  $V_P^E < \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}$ ).

Thus, on the one hand, welfare losses from competition occur when the policy is important to society but  $E$  provides poor advice—either directly through  $E$ 's bad policy or indirectly because her presence induces lobbying. On the other hand, losses also occur when society does not care much about policy but  $E$  provides good advice.

## 5 Discussion and conclusion

Empirical research in Economics and Political Science shows both expertise and contributions are effective means to obtain access to influential policy-makers; yet, theoretical papers have mostly studied them separately. In the few exceptions that combine both, transfers are monopolized by one of the involved party and, thus, these studies refer to either advisors or lobbyists.

In this paper, we have presented an informational theory of endogenous lobbies in which an informed industry insider can either charge a fee for her services as an advisor or offer contributions in exchange for policy influence. We showed that lobbying arises under two conditions: First, the conflict of interest related to the policy is large enough such that hiring the expert yields a worse decision from

the policy-maker’s point of view than acquiring information in-house despite the expert’s better information. Second, the expert cares enough about the policy in order to be willing to compensate the policy-maker for the loss (in terms of policy) from hiring her. When policy preferences are (roughly) aligned, however, the policy-maker is willing to pay for advice and the expert becomes a ‘loyal advisor’—e.g., elected officials appointing like-minded industry representatives in agencies that control policies relevant for the same industry they belong to.

We then introduced competition from an external consultant, reflecting recent debate about their influence in politics. Such competition benefits the policy-maker because it reduces the cost of advice or increases the contributions paid by lobbyists; indeed, it may turn a potential advisor into a lobbyist. Finally, we showed competition may have negative welfare consequences when either policy is important to society but external consultants provide poor advice, or society does not care much about policy but external consultants provide good advice.

Our results show that political contributions arise when the interested party must compensate the policy-maker for hiring her and, furthermore, is willing to do so. Consistently with empirical evidence, our results thus suggest that lobbying occurs in policy areas which are peripheral to the policy-maker and do not receive much public attention, yet are important to the interest group. Competition with external consultants on such issues then increases societal welfare if they provide high quality advice.

Our results also offer an alternative mechanism to explain why there is so little money in politics ([Ansolabehere et al., 2003](#)): it is not needed when an interest group monopolizes information about an issue the policy-maker cares about. Furthermore, both state capacity and competition are substitutes in alleviating the interest group’s informational advantage. Thus, lobbying may occur *because of* either high state capacity or competition.

We next discuss some of our modelling assumptions. First, we have considered specific utility functions which feature quadratic losses associated with a deviation of the implemented policy from an agent’s bliss point, but our results hold qualitatively on a much broader class of preferences. Take the baseline model and recall that our main results are stated in terms of the net payoff gains from hiring  $I$ . Note further that the only properties of these gains that we have used are that delegation always yields a net payoff gain to  $I$ ,  $V_I^{I,D} > 0$ , and that the net payoff gain is negative for  $I$  if it is negative for  $P$ ,  $V_P^{I,C} < 0$  implies  $V_I^{I,C} < 0$  (Remark 1). Given that  $I$  is better informed than  $P$  and does not benefit from  $P$ ’s saving of acquisition costs when hiring her, these properties will hold under virtually

any reasonable preferences, in particular those that are common in the literature. Thus, our results essentially only require that contributions are inefficient in the sense that the cost to  $I$  is larger than the benefit to  $P$ .

Similarly, in the extended model, our results do not depend on the specific reduced-form reputation motives of the external consultant. What matters for our analysis is the potential gross payoff gain from hiring  $E$ , i.e.,  $P$ 's (expected) net payoff gain from hiring  $E$  plus the transfers he receives in exchange, regardless of how it is derived. In general, the potential gross payoff gain may be positive for two reasons: Either the consultant (in expectation) provides good advice or she provides bad advice but expects to benefit from being hired and hence is willing to offer the policy-maker a contribution. The latter may occur, for instance, because being hired now enables a relationship that will be fruitful in the future, or because she may subsequently use the expertise gained in the policy-design process to advise private clients.

Third, we assume that the policy experts first commit to menus of prices and contributions, and  $P$  then decides whether to hire one of them. This allows the hired expert to extract  $P$ 's net payoff gain, if any, relative to his best alternative. We believe that this approach is rather natural at least with competition between experts. Nevertheless, let us briefly discuss an alternative approach. Consider the baseline model and suppose that, instead,  $P$  commits to a menu of prices and contributions, and  $I$  then decides whether to accept.  $P$  then has more bargaining power, allowing her to completely extract  $I$ 's net payoff gain from being hired. Thus, lobbying then will be more common but equilibrium hiring decisions will remain unchanged.

Finally, we discuss possible extensions of our model. First, on the policy side, there may be multiple political actors who have specific “gatekeeping” positions over the policy. The effect of such competition will naturally depend on whether each principal has some degree of veto power (as in a legislature) or controls a given aspect of the policy process (policy design versus implementation). As a concrete example, consider an independent governmental agency which can release a public report (noisy signal) prior to the price-posting stage. Such release of information would reduce the expert's informational advantage, strengthening the principal's bargaining position (cf. Corollary 2). Now, it is straightforward to see that, if transfers from experts to the agency were allowed, part of the rents the former extracts from being hired may be transferred to the latter to prevent it from disclosing information. In particular, it may result in a different hiring decision in case the agency cares little about the policy relative to money and at the same

time its information would induce the policy-maker not to hire the expert. In other words, civil servants who are willing to use their position to extract rents from interested parties can harm the policy-maker and society if ‘technical’ state capacity is high—in the form of access to high-quality information (cf. [Harstad and Svensson, 2011](#)).

Second, we could allow the policy-maker to invest in state capacity prior to the price-setting stage. Such investment then would decrease the cost of in-house information acquisition. The extent to which the policy-maker would make use of this possibility will depend on which types of experts are available and how strong the competition between them is. In particular, given that higher state capacity strengthens the policy-maker’s bargaining position (Corollary 2), he may invest in it even if he anticipates hiring one of the experts.

Third, our model captures a fundamentally dynamic, long-term relationship between policy-makers and industry insiders/consultants in a single-period model. We believe there are many additional insights associated with the dynamics of the relationship, given the different time horizons of the players involved. Exploring these and related questions is of considerable importance and will be subject of future research.

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## A Appendix: Proofs

**Proof of Lemma 1.** Consider communication. The first part is a direct application of Theorem 1 in Crawford and Sobel (1982). Second, it follows from Lemma 6 and Theorems 3 and 4 in Crawford and Sobel (1982) that  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I)$  is weakly increasing in  $|\beta_I|$ . In particular, the main result in Spector (2000) yields

$\lim_{\beta_I \rightarrow 0} \sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) = 0$ . Corollary 1 in Crawford and Sobel (1982) shows that there exists a sufficiently large  $\bar{\beta} > 0$  such that for all  $|\beta_I| \geq \bar{\beta}$  equilibrium communication is characterized by  $L = 1$ , which implies that  $\sigma_{I,C}^2(\beta_I) = \text{Var}(\theta)$ . It is easily shown that  $\bar{\beta} = \frac{E(\theta)}{2}$  for quadratic preferences. The result on delegation is obvious.  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 2.** We only need to show the last part. Let  $S_P$  denote  $P$ 's acquisition decision as a function of  $\gamma_P$  and note that  $\sigma_P^2(\gamma_P) = E[(y(S_P(\theta)) - \theta)^2]$ . Consider  $\gamma_P < \gamma'_P$ , then optimality requires

$$\begin{aligned}\gamma_P (\sigma_P^2(\gamma'_P) - \sigma_P^2(\gamma_P)) &\geq c_P(S_P) - c_P(S_P(\gamma'_P)), \\ \gamma'_P (\sigma_P^2(\gamma_P) - \sigma_P^2(\gamma'_P)) &\geq c_P(S_P(\gamma'_P)) - c_P(S_P),\end{aligned}$$

which together imply  $\sigma_P^2(\gamma'_P) \leq \sigma_P^2(\gamma_P)$ . Finally, suppose to the contrary that  $\lim_{\gamma_P \rightarrow 0} \sigma^2(S_P) = \bar{\sigma}_P^2 < \text{Var}(\theta)$ . Then there exists  $\bar{\gamma}_P > 0$  such that  $S_P = S_P(\bar{\gamma}_P)$  and  $\sigma^2(S_P) = \bar{\sigma}_P^2$  for all  $\gamma_P < \bar{\gamma}_P$ . Furthermore, as  $S_P(\bar{\gamma}_P)$  is preferred to and strictly coarser than  $\{\Theta\}$ , we have that

$$\gamma_P (\text{Var}(\theta) - \bar{\sigma}_P^2) \geq c_P(S_P(\bar{\gamma}_P)) - c_P(\{\Theta\}) = c_P(S_P(\bar{\gamma}_P)) > c_P(\{\Theta\}) = 0$$

for all  $\gamma_P < \bar{\gamma}_P$ , a contradiction.  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 3.** We first show that in any equilibrium in which  $P$  hires  $I$ , either  $p_a^* = 0$  or  $\ell_a^* = 0$  for  $a = \{(I, C), (I, D)\}$ . Suppose, on the contrary, that  $P$  hires  $I$  and that  $p_a^* > 0$  and  $\ell_a^* > 0$ , which yields payoffs

$$-p_a^* + \alpha \ell_a^* - \gamma_P(\sigma_a^2 + 1_{\{a=(I,D)\}}\beta_I^2) \text{ and } p_a^* - \ell_a^* - \gamma_P(\sigma_a^2 + 1_{\{a=(I,C)\}}\beta_I^2)$$

for  $P$  and  $I$ , respectively. Consider the alternative transfers

$$(\tilde{p}_a, \tilde{\ell}_a) = \begin{cases} (p_a^* - \alpha \ell_a^*, 0) & \text{if } p_a^* - \alpha \ell_a^* \geq 0 \\ (0, \ell_a^* - \frac{p_a^*}{\alpha}) & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

It is easy to check that  $P$  is indifferent between  $(p_a^*, \ell_a^*)$  and  $(\tilde{p}_a, \tilde{\ell}_a)$  but that  $I$  strictly prefers  $(\tilde{p}_a, \tilde{\ell}_a)$  to  $(p_a^*, \ell_a^*)$ , a contradiction.

We now prove that  $p_{I,C}^* > 0 = \ell_{I,C}^*$  in all equilibria in which  $P$  hires  $I$  under centralization. Suppose to the contrary that  $\ell_{I,C} \geq 0 = p_{I,C}$  and note that this

will only occur if there is no  $p_{I,C} > 0$  that induces  $P$  to hire  $I$  under centralization, i.e., for any  $0 < p_{I,C} < c_P(S_P)$  the  $P$  prefers to acquire information herself:

$$-p_{I,C} + V_P^{I,C} < 0 \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad c_P(S_P) - p_{I,C} < \gamma_P(\sigma_{I,C}^2 - \sigma_P^2),$$

which implies  $\sigma_{I,C}^2 - \sigma_P^2 > 0$ . Moreover, centralization at transfer  $\ell_{I,C}$  must be cost-effective for  $I$  relative to letting  $P$  acquire information herself:

$$-\ell_{I,C} - \gamma_I(\sigma_{I,C}^2 + \beta_I^2) \geq -\gamma_I(\sigma_P^2 + \beta_I^2) \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad \gamma_I(\sigma_P^2 - \sigma_{I,C}^2) \geq \ell_{I,C},$$

which implies  $\ell_{I,C} < 0$ , a contradiction. In particular, in equilibrium the price will be such that  $P$  is indifferent between hiring and not hiring  $I$ , i.e.,  $p_{I,C} = V_P^{I,C}$ .

We finally derive the conditions under which  $I$  posts  $p_{I,D} = 0$  and  $\ell_{I,D} > 0$  to induce  $P$  to hire him under delegation. Similar to the case of centralization, there should be no  $p_{I,D} \geq 0$  (and thus  $\ell_{I,D} = 0$ ) that induces  $P$  to hire her:

$$-p_{I,D} + V_P^{I,D} < 0 \quad \forall p_{I,D} \geq 0 \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad V_P^{I,D} < 0, \quad (5)$$

while  $\ell_{I,D} > 0$  would do so:

$$\alpha \ell_{I,D} + V_P^{I,D} \geq 0 \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad \ell_{I,D} \geq -\alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D}. \quad (6)$$

Moreover,  $\ell_{I,D}$  must be cost-effective for  $I$ :

$$-\ell_{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \geq 0 \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad V_I^{I,D} \geq \ell_{I,D}. \quad (7)$$

Now, we obtain from Equation (5) that  $p_{I,D} = V_P^{I,D} \geq 0 = \ell_{I,D}$  if  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$ . Otherwise, there is no positive price that would induce  $P$  to hire him under delegation. For  $I$  to be willing to offer a contribution in such cases, it must satisfy (6) and (7), which together imply that  $V_P^{I,D} \in [-\alpha V_I^{I,D}, 0)$ . In this case,  $\ell_{I,D} = -\alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D}$ .

Finally, if  $V_P^{I,D} < -\alpha V_I^{I,D}$  it means that  $I$  is better off when  $P$  acquires information in-house and, thus, will post  $p_{I,D} \geq 0 = \ell_{I,D}$  such that  $P$  does not hire him.  $\square$

**Proof of Proposition 1.** We first consider expert  $I$  and communication. Incentive compatibility requires that  $I$  is at least as well off when hired than when

not hired. By Lemma 3, we can restrict the analysis to  $p_{I,C} > 0$ .

$$p_{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow p_{I,C} \geq -V_I^{I,C}.$$

Similarly,  $P$  needs to be at least as well off when hiring  $I$  than when not hiring  $I$ :

$$-p_{I,C} + V_P^{I,C} \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow V_P^{I,C} \geq p_{I,C}. \quad (8)$$

Hence, a necessary condition for  $P$  to hire  $I$  under communication is:

$$\bar{V}^{I,C} = V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \geq 0. \quad (9)$$

Next we consider delegation. By Lemma 3 there cannot be an equilibrium with  $p_{I,D} > 0$  and  $\ell_{I,D} > 0$ . Incentive compatibility for  $I$  requires:

$$p_{I,D} - \ell_{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow p_{I,D} - \ell_{I,D} \geq -V_I^{I,D}.$$

And similarly for  $P$ :

$$-p_{I,D} + \alpha \ell_{I,D} + V_P^{I,D} \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow V_P^{I,D} \geq p_{I,D} - \alpha \ell_{I,D}. \quad (10)$$

Now, by Lemma 3 whether  $I$  asks for a fee or offers a contribution depends on the value of  $V_P^{I,D}$ . When  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$ , a necessary condition for  $P$  to hire  $I$  under delegation is:

$$V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \geq 0,$$

which always holds as  $V_I^{I,D} > 0$  by Remark 1. When  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$ , the necessary condition becomes:

$$\alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \geq 0. \quad (11)$$

Recall from Lemma 3 that equilibrium prices satisfy  $\hat{p}_{I,C} = V_P^{I,C}$  if  $I$  is hired under communication and  $\hat{p}_{I,D} - \alpha \hat{\ell}_{I,D} = V_P^{I,D}$  if  $I$  is hired under delegation. The expert prefers communication to delegation if

$$p_{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \geq p_{I,D} - \ell_{I,D} + V_I^{I,D}. \quad (12)$$

Similarly,  $P$  prefers communication to delegation if

$$-p_{I,C} + V_P^{I,C} \geq -p_{I,D} + \ell_{I,D} + V_P^{I,D}. \quad (13)$$

We proceed by case distinction:

1.  $V_P^{I,D} \geq 0$ . In this case  $\hat{p}_{I,D} = V_P^{I,D}$  and  $\hat{\ell}_{I,D} = 0$ , such that we can rewrite (12) as

$$V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \geq V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \Leftrightarrow \bar{V}^{I,C} \geq \bar{V}^{I,D}. \quad (14)$$

Let  $(X^*)$  denote inequality  $(X)$  with the inequality sign reversed, e.g., (14\*) reads  $\bar{V}^{I,C} \leq \bar{V}^{I,D}$ . We obtain, first, that  $P$  hires  $I$  under communication if (9) and (14) hold, which is equivalent to:

$$\bar{V}^{I,C} \geq \bar{V}^{I,D},$$

with transfers  $p_{I,C}^* = \hat{p}_{I,C}$  consistent with Lemma 3 and  $(p_{I,D}^*, \ell_{I,D}^*)$  such that (13) holds. Second, he hires  $I$  under delegation if either [(9) and (14\*)] or [(9\*)] holds, which is equivalent to

$$V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \geq V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \Leftrightarrow \bar{V}^{I,D} \geq \bar{V}^{I,C},$$

with prices  $(p_{I,D}^*, \ell_{I,D}^*) = (\hat{p}_{I,D}, \hat{\ell}_{I,D})$  consistent with Lemma 3 and  $p_{I,C}^*$  such that (13\*) holds.

2.  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$ . In this case  $\hat{p}_{I,D} = 0$  and  $\hat{\ell}_{I,D} = -\alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D}$ , such that we can rewrite (12) as

$$V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \geq \alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \Leftrightarrow \bar{V}^{I,C} \geq \bar{V}^{I,D}. \quad (15)$$

We obtain, first, that  $P$  hires  $I$  under communication if either [(9), (11) and (15)] or [(9) and (11\*)] hold, which is equivalent to

$$V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \geq \max \left\{ 0, \alpha^{-1}V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \right\} \Leftrightarrow \bar{V}^{I,C} \geq \max \left\{ 0, \bar{V}^{I,D} \right\},$$

with transfers  $p_{I,C}^* = \hat{p}_{I,C}$  consistent with Lemma 3 and  $(p_{I,D}^*, \ell_{I,D}^*)$  such that (13) holds. Second, he hires  $I$  under delegation if either [(9), (11) and (15\*)]

or [(9\*) and (11)], which is equivalent to:

$$\alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \geq \max \left\{ 0, V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C} \right\} \Leftrightarrow \bar{V}^{I,D} \geq \max \left\{ 0, \bar{V}^{I,C} \right\},$$

with prices  $(p_{I,D}^*, \ell_{I,D}^*) = (\hat{p}_{I,D}, \hat{\ell}_{I,D})$  consistent with Lemma 3 and  $p_{I,C}^*$  such that (13\*) holds. Third, she does not hire  $I$  if (9\*) and (11\*) hold, which is equivalent to

$$\max \left\{ \bar{V}^{I,C}, \bar{V}^{I,D} \right\} = \max \left\{ V_P^{I,C} + V_I^{I,C}, \alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} \right\} \leq 0,$$

with transfers  $(p_{I,C}^*, \ell_{I,C}^*)$  and  $(p_{I,D}^*, \ell_{I,D}^*)$  such that (8\*) and (10\*) hold, respectively. Finally, note that there are multiple equilibria for each choice of  $P$  but that all equilibrium price menus yield the same payoffs. Furthermore, whenever  $I$  is indifferent between two equilibria that differ in  $P$ 's choice, then so is  $P$ .  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 5.** Suppose to the contrary that  $P$  hires  $I$  under communication at  $(p_{I,C}, \ell_{I,C})$ . By Assumption 3, we can choose  $0 < \varepsilon < V_I^{I,D} - V_I^{I,C} - \left[ \max \left\{ \alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,C}, V_P^{I,C} \right\} - \min \left\{ \alpha^{-1} V_P^{I,D}, V_P^{I,D} \right\} \right]$ . Let further  $(p_{I,D}, \ell_{I,D})$  satisfy

$$-p_{I,D} + \alpha \ell_{I,D} + V_P^{I,D} = -p_{I,C} + \alpha \ell_{I,C} + V_P^{I,C} + \alpha \varepsilon,$$

i.e.,  $P$  is better off when hiring  $I$  under delegation. For  $I$ , we then obtain that

$$\begin{aligned} p_{I,D} - \ell_{I,D} + V_I^{I,D} &= (1 - 1_{\{\ell_{I,D} > 0\}})(1 - \alpha^{-1}) \left( p_{I,C} - \alpha \ell_{I,C} - V_P^{I,C} - \alpha \varepsilon + V_P^{I,D} \right) + V_I^{I,D} \\ &= p_{I,C} - \alpha \ell_{I,C} - V_P^{I,C} - \alpha \varepsilon + V_P^{I,D} \\ &\quad + 1_{\{\ell_{I,D} > 0\}}(\alpha^{-1} - 1) \left( p_{I,C} - \alpha \ell_{I,C} - V_P^{I,C} - \alpha \varepsilon + V_P^{I,D} \right) + V_I^{I,D} \\ &> p_{I,C} - \alpha \ell_{I,C} - \alpha \varepsilon + 1_{\{\ell_{I,D} > 0\}}(\alpha^{-1} - 1) (p_{I,C} - \alpha \ell_{I,C} - \alpha \varepsilon) + V_I^{I,C} + \varepsilon \\ &\geq p_{I,C} - \ell_{I,C} + V_I^{I,C}, \end{aligned}$$

i.e., also  $I$  is better off, a contradiction.  $\square$

**Proof of Proposition 2.** As in the proof of Proposition 1, let  $(X^*)$  denote inequality  $(X)$  with the inequality sign reversed. First, recall that  $E$  cares about  $y$  only if she is hired. Thus,  $E$  prefers being hired if:

$$p_E - \ell_E + V_E^E \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow p_E - \ell_E \geq -V_E^E, \quad (16)$$

i.e.,  $\bar{\ell}_E = V_E^E$  (and thus  $\underline{p}_E = 0$ ) is the highest incentive-compatible contribution for  $E$  if  $V_E^E \geq 0$ , and  $\underline{p}_E = -V_E^E$  (and thus  $\bar{\ell}_E = 0$ ) is the lowest incentive-compatible price for  $E$  otherwise. Note that  $E$  posts  $(\underline{p}_E, \bar{\ell}_E)$  in any equilibrium in which he is not hired.

Second,  $P$  prefers to hire  $E$  against the alternative of acquiring information himself if

$$-p_E + \alpha \ell_E + V_P^E \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow p_E - \alpha \ell_E \leq V_P^E. \quad (17)$$

Together, (16) and (17) yield a necessary condition for  $P$  hiring  $E$  against not hiring any expert:

$$-(1 - 1_{\{\ell_E > 0\}}(1 - \alpha))V_E^E \leq V_P^E. \quad (18)$$

Third,  $P$  prefers to hire  $E$  against  $a \in (I, C), (I, D)$  if  $I$ 's pricing satisfies

$$-p_E + \alpha \ell_E + V_P^E \geq -p_a + \alpha \ell_a + V_P^a. \quad (19)$$

Furthermore, the equilibrium must be incentive compatible for  $I$ :

$$V_I^E \geq p_a - \ell_a + V_I^a \text{ for } a = (I, C), (I, D). \quad (20)$$

Since  $V_I^{I,D} > V_I^E$ , we obtain from (20) that  $\bar{\ell}_{I,D} = V_I^{I,D} - V_I^E > 0$  (and thus  $\underline{p}_{I,D} = 0$ ) is the highest incentive-compatible contribution that  $I$  is willing to pay. Furthermore,  $\underline{p}_{I,C} = \max\{0, V_I^E - V_I^{I,C}\}$  and  $\bar{\ell}_{I,C} = \max\{0, V_I^{I,C} - V_I^E\}$ .

By Lemma 5,  $P$  does not hire  $I$  under communication, such that we can restrict attention to delegation. Incentive compatibility for  $P$  and  $I$  requires that (19\*) and (20\*) hold for  $a = (I, D)$ , which yields:

$$V_P^{I,D} - V_P^E + p_E - \alpha \ell_E \geq (1 - 1_{\{\ell_{I,D} > 0\}}(1 - \alpha))(V_I^E - V_I^{I,D}). \quad (21)$$

Note that (21) with  $(p_E, \ell_E) = (\underline{p}_E, \bar{\ell}_E)$  ((21\*) with  $(p_{I,D}, \ell_{I,D}) = (0, \bar{\ell}_{I,D})$ ) is a necessary condition for  $P$  to prefer  $I$  over  $E$  ( $E$  over  $I$ ).

Now, note that, by assumption, (18) holds for  $\ell_E = \bar{\ell}_E$ , i.e.,  $P$ 's best alternative to hiring  $I$  under delegation is hiring  $E$ . Note further that (19\*) at  $(p_E, \ell_E) = (\underline{p}_E, \bar{\ell}_E)$  then yields

$$\hat{p}_{I,D} - \alpha \hat{\ell}_{I,D} \leq V_P^{I,D} - V_P^E - \min\{\alpha V_E^E, V_E^E\} = V_P^{I,D} - \tilde{V}_P^E. \quad (22)$$

Furthermore, (17) and (19) yield

$$\hat{p}_E - \alpha \hat{\ell}_E \leq V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}.$$

We proceed by case distinction with respect to the sign of (22):

- (i)  $V_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ . Note that in this case  $\hat{p}_{I,D} = V_P^{I,D} - \tilde{V}_P^E$  and  $\hat{\ell}_{I,D} = 0$ . Since  $V_I^{I,D} > V_I^E$ , we have

$$V_I^{I,D} + V_P^{I,D} \geq V_I^E + \tilde{V}_P^E,$$

i.e., (21) holds with  $(p_E, \ell_E) = (\underline{p}_E, \bar{\ell}_E)$ . Thus,  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at price  $p_{I,D}^* = \hat{p}_{I,D}$ .

- (ii)  $V_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$ . Note that in this case  $\hat{p}_{I,D} = 0$  and  $\hat{\ell}_{I,D} = \alpha^{-1}(\tilde{V}_P^E - V_P^{I,D})$ . Now, given incentive compatibility for  $I$ , (22) becomes:

$$\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E,$$

If the above condition holds, then  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^* = \hat{\ell}_{I,D}$ . Otherwise,  $P$  hires  $E$  at price  $p_E^* = V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}$  if  $V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\} \geq 0$  and at contribution  $\ell_E^* = \alpha^{-1}(\max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\} - V_P^E)$  otherwise.

Finally, analogously to Proposition 1, all equilibria are payoff-equivalent.  $\square$

**Proof of Proposition 3.** Note first that Assumption 3 implies the condition under which Corollary 1 holds. Suppose now that  $\bar{V}^{I,D} \geq 0$ , then by Corollary 1 in the baseline model  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at transfers  $(p_{I,D}^*, \ell_{I,D}^*) = (\max\{V_P^{I,D}, 0\}, -\alpha^{-1} \min\{V_P^{I,D}, 0\})$ . We proceed by case distinction:

- (i)  $V_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ . Note first that this implies  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ . By Corollary 4 and since we assume  $\tilde{V}_P^E > 0$ ,  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at price  $p_{I,D}^{**} = V_P^{I,D} - \tilde{V}_P^E < V_P^{I,D} = p_{I,D}^*$  in the model with  $E$ . Since societal welfare if  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at transfers  $(p_{I,D}, \ell_{I,D})$  is given by

$$-\gamma_W \beta_I^2 - p_{I,D},$$

it is higher in the model with  $E$ .

- (ii)  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E > V_P^{I,D}$ . Similarly to (i),  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^{**} = \alpha^{-1}(\tilde{V}_P^E - V_P^{I,D})$  in the model with  $E$ . Hence, societal welfare is higher in the model with  $E$  if and only if  $p_{I,D}^* > 0 \Leftrightarrow V_P^{I,D} > 0$ .
- (iii)  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$ . By Proposition 2,  $P$  hires  $E$  and pays price  $p_E^{**} = \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\}$  in the model with  $E$ , which yields societal welfare

$$-\gamma_W \sigma_E^2 - p_E^{**}. \quad (23)$$

Thus, societal welfare is higher in the model with  $E$  if and only if

$$\begin{aligned} & \max\{V_P^{I,D}, 0\} - \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\} > \gamma_W(\sigma_E^2 - \beta_I^2) \\ \Leftrightarrow & V_W^E - V_W^{I,D} > \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\} - \max\{V_P^{I,D}, 0\}. \end{aligned}$$

Next, suppose that  $\bar{V}^{I,D} < 0$  and note that then also  $V_P^{I,D} < 0$ . By Corollary 1,  $P$  acquires information in-house in the baseline model, which yields societal welfare

$$-\gamma_W \sigma_P^2 - c_P(S_P).$$

We proceed by case distinction:

- (i)  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} \geq \tilde{V}_P^E$ . By Corollary 5,  $P$  hires  $I$  under delegation at contribution  $\ell_{I,D}^{**} = \alpha^{-1}(\tilde{V}_P^E - V_P^{I,D})$  in the model with  $E$ . Hence, societal welfare is higher in the model with  $E$  if and only if  $V_W^{I,D} > 0$ .
- (ii)  $\tilde{V}_P^{I,D} < \tilde{V}_P^E$ . Societal welfare is given by (23). Thus, it is higher in the model with  $E$  if and only if

$$\begin{aligned} & -\gamma_W \sigma_E^2 - \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\} > -\gamma_W \sigma_P^2 - c_P(S_P) \\ \Leftrightarrow & V_W^E > \max\{V_P^E - \max\{\tilde{V}_P^{I,D}, 0\}, 0\}. \end{aligned}$$

□