

Entrepreneurship in the sphere of power: A multilevel analysis of institutional political interactions in the United States

Maryam Seyfikar Qomi¹, Ehsan Chitsaz^{1*}, Liang Dapeng²

- 1. Department of Entrepreneurship Development, Faculty of Entrepreneurship, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran.
- Department of Economy & Management, Harbin Institute of Technology, Harbin, China.

Article Info Abstract Despite extensive research on the relationship between Original Article political entrepreneurship and power, the impact of the political context on corporate activities has not been fully Main Object: Interdisciplinary explored. Large corporations play a crucial role in managing Scope: United States political and economic opportunities through coercive power (lobbying and financial contributions), persuasive power Received: 13 March 2025 (policy formulation), and authoritative power (market Revised: ---position consolidation). This study employs analysis of Accepted: 17 March 2025 variance (ANOVA) on data from publicly traded U.S. Published online: 26 March companies from 2001 to 2019 to examine the impact of 2025 different levels of power (industry, corporation, executives) on corporate actions (lobbying expenditures and campaign **Keywords:** contributions) and government actions (government corporate influence, contracts). The samples were categorized based on the control lobbying, of key branches of government by Democrats or Republicans. political entrepreneurship, The results revealed that the corporate level explained the most variance, followed by the industry level and then the executive level. However, the influence of power significantly varied with political changes throughout the study period. The findings of this study have important implications for future research on the role of power in shaping corporate opportunities and theorizing political entrepreneurship. They contribute to a better understanding of how persuasive and authoritative powers operate in corporate influence under changing political contexts.

Cite this article: Seyfikar Qomi M, Chitsaz E, Dapeng L. (2025). "Entrepreneurship in the sphere of power: A multilevel analysis of institutional political interactions in the United States".

Countries Studies. 3(3): 115-124. doi: https://doi.org/10.22059/jcountst.2025.392075.1264.



Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License Website: https://jcountst.ut.ac.ir/ | Email: jcountst@ut.ac.ir |

EISSN: 2980-9193

Publisher: University of Tehran

Corresponding author:

<u>chitsaz@ut.ac.ir</u>,

<u>https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9656-418X</u>

Extended Abstract Introduction

Political entrepreneurship involves the strategic use of corporate power to shape public policies, influence regulatory frameworks, and guide institutional developments toward favorable market conditions. While numerous studies have examined corporate-political interactions, there remains insufficient exploration of how divergent political contexts—especially shifts in partisan control—affect the strategic actions of corporations. Existing research often centers on three forms of corporate power: coercive (such as direct lobbying and financial contributions), persuasive (including agenda-setting and public opinion shaping), and authoritative (grounded in market dominance and established legitimacy). These studies, however, have tended to analyze each form of power individually or have not comprehensively investigated how power operates across multiple levels (industry, firm, and executive).

Moreover, prior scholarship has seldom accounted for the dynamic nature of political leadership changes, in which conservative or liberal administrations enact differing policy agendas that can dramatically alter the regulatory and competitive landscapes. For instance, a firm operating under a conservative administration might employ aggressive lobbying to capitalize on deregulation, while the same firm under a liberal administration might invest more in corporate social responsibility to gain legitimacy. This variability underscores the need for a more integrated framework that examines how corporations simultaneously manage power at multiple levels in response to fluid political conditions. By addressing this gap, the present study offers new insights into the adaptive, multi-level strategies corporations deploy when facing evolving partisan environments in the United States.

Aims

The central aim of this research is to investigate how varying political contexts, specifically changes in Democrat and Republican control of the executive and legislative branches, shape the interplay between coercive, persuasive, and authoritative power within organizations. The study focuses on three organizational levels—industry, corporate, and executive—to assess their relative influence on corporate political entrepreneurship.

First, it explores whether industries subject to stringent regulations are more inclined to adopt coercive and persuasive approaches to mitigate external pressures. Second, at the corporate level, it examines how firm-specific resources, strategic orientations, and market positions drive lobbying expenditures, campaign contributions, and interactions with government agencies. Third, at the executive level, it considers how personal networks, reputations, and ideological alignments enhance or constrain a firm's political influence. By synthesizing these dimensions, the research seeks to clarify the mechanisms through which political leadership changes precipitate

shifts in corporate strategic behavior, thereby deepening theoretical understanding and generating practical guidelines for navigating complex political landscapes.

Methodology

This study adopts a quantitative research design, centering on Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) to address the nested structure of corporate data across industries and over time. Data were drawn from multiple public sources, notably OpenSecrets.org and USASpending.gov, to capture lobbying expenditures, campaign contributions, and federal contract allocations for publicly traded U.S. companies from 2001 to 2019. The sampling process excluded financial institutions, government-owned entities, and firms with incomplete data, ensuring the final dataset was both comprehensive and consistent.

A critical step in data preparation involved matching corporate identifiers across databases. Company names, SIC codes, and standardized firm-level identifiers (such as gvkey) were used to ensure that lobbying and contract transactions were accurately attributed to the correct entities. This matching process prevented duplication and missing records, ultimately yielding a stable panel of firms.

Political context was determined by mapping each observation year to partisan control of the executive (presidential) and legislative (congressional) branches, differentiating periods of unified versus divided government. The HLM approach then disentangled the proportion of variance explained at each level (industry, firm, and executive), enabling a more precise evaluation of which factors are most influential in shaping corporate political actions under different administrations.

Findings

The results highlight that firm-level characteristics account for the largest share of the variance—approximately 56%—in corporate political entrepreneurship. These characteristics include the size of a firm's financial resources, strategic orientation, and market position, underscoring the centrality of firm-specific attributes. Industry-level factors explain about 13% of the variance, with more heavily regulated sectors (e.g., pharmaceuticals and defense) exhibiting heightened political engagement in the form of lobbying and campaign contributions. This pattern underscores the importance of coercive power in regulatory-intense industries, where firms proactively influence policy to mitigate constraints and bolster competitive advantage.

Executive-level determinants—contributing around 9%—reflect the role of leadership networks, reputations, and ideological leanings. Chief executives who share political affinities with prevailing administrations appear more adept at securing government contracts or swaying policy outcomes. Notably, the study finds that Republican administrations are

associated with increased corporate lobbying activities and campaign contributions, implying that firms systematically tailor their engagement strategies to exploit deregulation-oriented policies and potentially reduced governmental oversight. Meanwhile, Democratic control tends to prompt firms to prioritize messaging that aligns with social or environmental agendas. Overall, the results underscore the fluidity of corporate political strategies in response to alternating conservative and liberal political leadership.

Conclusion

In synthesizing these findings, this research underscores the multifaceted nature of political entrepreneurship, highlighting how corporations orchestrate coercive, persuasive, and authoritative power across industry, firm, and executive levels. The demonstrated interplay between internal resources and external political shifts expands current theoretical perspectives, revealing that firm-specific factors remain paramount, yet industry-wide regulations and individual executive attributes also shape outcomes in meaningful ways. Furthermore, the study illustrates how corporate strategies can pivot notably under Republican versus Democratic administrations, lending empirical support to institutional theory's contention that organizations adapt to—and potentially seek to influence—shifting political environments.

Beyond theoretical contributions, practical implications arise for corporate leaders and policymakers. Managers must monitor evolving political power structures and refine resource allocation to lobbying, public messaging, or market-building initiatives accordingly. Policymakers, for their part, may consider the cyclical nature of political influence and develop more transparent frameworks to ensure balanced representation of public interests. Future research should further refine these insights by examining longitudinal patterns within specific high-stakes industries, as well as extending the scope to other political systems with multiparty governance. In doing so, scholars and practitioners will obtain a fuller picture of how corporate political entrepreneurship unfolds amid varying institutional and political contexts.

Conflict of interest

The authors declared no conflicts of interest.

Authors' contributions

All authors contributed to the original idea, study design.

Ethical considerations

The authors have completely considered ethical issues, including informed consent, plagiarism, data fabrication, misconduct, and/or falsification, double publication and/or redundancy, submission, etc. This article was not authored by artificial intelligence.

Data availability

The dataset generated and analyzed during the current study is available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

References

- Abdurakhmonov M, Hasija D, Ridge JW, Hill AD. (2023). "Maintaining or altering the status quo in the non-market arena: Theory and evidence from government contract disputes". *Organization Science*. 34: 1004-1026. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2022.1606.
- Abdurakhmonov M, Ridge JW, Hill AD. (2022). "Strategic risk and lobbying: Investigating lobbying breadth as risk management". *Journal of Management*. 48: 1103-1130. https://doi.org/10.1177/01492063211011762.
- How government contract dependence affects firm investments and market performance". *Academy of Management Journal*. 64: 327-350.
- Audretsch DB. Fiedler A. (2023). "Power and entrepreneurship". *Small Business Economics*. 60(4): 1573-1592. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11187-022-00660-3.
- Barnard C. (1938). *The functiones of the executives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barney J. (1991). "Firm resources and sustained competitive advantage". *Journal of Management*. 17: 99-120. https://doi.org/10.1177/014920639101700108.
- Baron DP. (1995). "Integrated strategy: Market and nonmarket components". *California Management Review.* 37: 47-65. https://doi.org/10.2307/41165788.
 - Bertelsmann Stiftung. (2022). "Bertelsmann transformation index". https://bti-project.org/.
- Blais A, Blake D, Dion S. (1993). "Do parties make a difference? Parties and the size of government in liberal democracies". *American Journal of Political Science*. 37: 40-62. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111523.
- Blumentritt TP. (2003). "Foreign subsidiaries' government affairs activities: The influence of managers and resources". *Business & Society*. 42: 202-233. https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650303042002003.
- Bonardi JP. (2011). "Corporate political resources and the resource-based view of the firm". *Strategic Organization*. 9: 247-255. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476127011417926.
- Bono R, Blanca MJ, Arnau J, Gómez-Benito J. (2017). "Non-normal distributions commonly used in health, education, and social sciences: A systematic review". *Frontiers in Psychology*. 8: 1602. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01602.
- Bowman EH, Helfat CE. (2001). "Does corporate strategy matter?". *Strategic Management Journal*. 22: 1-23. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1002/1097-0266(200101)22:1<1::AID-SMJ143>3.0.CO;2-T.">https://doi.org/10.1002/1097-0266(200101)22:1<1::AID-SMJ143>3.0.CO;2-T.
- Brush TH, Bromiley P, Hendrickx M. (1999). "The relative influence of industry and corporation on business segment performance: An alternative estimate". *Strategic Management Journal*. 20: 519-547. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199906)20:6<519::AID-SMJ32>3.0.CO;2-8">https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199906)20:6<519::AID-SMJ32>3.0.CO;2-8.
- Burris ER. (2005). The Politics of Speaking out: Responses to Voice in Organizations. ProQuest: Cornell University.
- Caldeira GA, Hojnacki M, Wright JR. (2000). "The lobbying activities of organized interests in federal judicial nominations". *Journal of Politics*. 62: 51-69. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-3816.00003.
- Campbell JL. (2007). "Why would corporations behave in socially responsible ways? An institutional theory of corporate social responsibility". *Academy of Management Review*. 32(3): 946-967. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2007.25275684.
- -----. (2002). "Ideas, politics, and public policy". Annual Review of Sociology.

- 28: 21-38. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141111.
- Certo ST, Busenbark JR, Kalm M, LePine JA. (2020). "Divided we fall: How ratios undermine research in strategic management". *Organizational Research Methods*. 23(2): 211-237. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1177/1094428118773455.
- Chandler JA, Kim Y, Waddingham JA, Hill AD. (2023). "Going global? CEO political ideology and the choice between international alliances and international acquisitions". *Journal of International Business Studies*. 54: 1441-1470. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41267-023-00607-0.
- Chin MK, Hambrick DC, Treviño LK. (2013). "Political ideologies of CEOs: The influence of executives" values on corporate social responsibility". *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 58: 197-232. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839213486984.
- Chitsaz E, Liang D, Khoshsoroor S. (2017). "The impact of resource configuration on Iranian technology venture performance". *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*. 122: 186-195. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2016.03.009.
- Choi SJ, Jia N, Lu J. (2015). "The structure of political institutions and effectiveness of corporate political lob- bying". *Organization Science*. 26: 158-179. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2014.0936.
- Choma B, Hodson G, Jagayat A, Hoffarth MR. (2020). "Right-wing ideology as a predictor of collective action: A test across four political issue domains". *Political Psychology*. 41: 303-322. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12615.
- Coleman JJ. (1999). "Unified government, divided government, and party responsiveness". *American Political Science Review*. 93: 821-835. https://doi.org/10.2307/2586115.
- Colomer JM. (2005). "It's parties that choose electoral systems (or, Duverger's laws upside down)". *Political Studies*. 53: 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2005.00514.x.
- Cox G, Kernell S. (2019). *The Politics of Divided Government*. New York: Routledge. De Figueiredo JM, Silverman BS. (2006). "Academic earmarks and the returns to lobbying". *The Journal of Law and Economics*. 49: 597-625. https://doi.org/10.1086/508248.
- Den Hond F, Rehbein KA, de Bakker FG, Lankveld HK. (2014). "Playing on two chessboards: Reputation effects between corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate political activity (CPA)". *Journal of Management Studies*. 51: 790-813. https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12063.
- Djankov S, Ganser T, McLiesh C, Ramalho R, Shleifer A. (2010). "The effect of corporate taxes on investment and entrepreneurship". *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*. 2: 31-64. https://doi.org/10.1257/mac.2.3.31.
- DiMaggio PJ, Powell WW. (1983). "The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields". *American Sociological Review*. 48(2): 147-160. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691229270-005.
- The Economist. (2024). "The opportunities and dangers for Trump's disrupter-in-chief". November 21. https://www.economist.com/leaders/2024/11/21/the-opportunities-and-dangers-for-trumps-disrupter-in-chief.
- Epstein D, O'halloran S. (1996). "Divided government and the design of administrative procedures: A formal model and empirical test". *The Journal of Politics*. 58: 373-397. https://doi.org/10.2307/2960231.
- Espinosa M. (2021). "Labor boundaries and skills: The case of lobbyists". Management Science. 67: 1586-1607. https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.2020.3598.
- Fiorina MP, Abrams SJ. (2008). "Political polarization in the American public". Annual Review of Political Science. 11: 563-588. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053106.153836.
- Fernandes BP, Dias M. (2024). "Business lobbying: A systematic literature review". *Economics and Business Quarterly Reviews*. 7(1): 181-193. https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1992.07.01.568.
- Fitza MA. (2017). "How much do CEOs really matter? Reaffirming that the CEO

- effect is mostly due to chance". *Strategic Management Journal*. 38: 802-811. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2597.
- ----- (2014). "The use of variance decomposition in the investigation of CEO effects: How large must the CEO effect be to rule out chance?". *Strategic Management Journal*. 35: 1839-1852. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2192.
- Flammer C. (2018). "Competing for government procurement contracts: The role of corporate social responsibility". *Strategic Management Journal*. 39: 1299-1324. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2767.
- Goldman E, Rocholl J, So J. (2013). "Politically connected boards of directors and the allocation of procurement contracts". *Review of Finance*. 17: 1617-1648. https://doi.org/10.1093/rof/rfs039.
- Greenwood R, Raynard M, Kodeih F, Micelotta ER, Lounsbury M. (2011). "Institutional complexity and organizational responses". *Academy of Management Annals*. 5(1): 317-371. https://doi.org/10.1080/19416520.2011.590299.
- Hadani M, Bonardi JP, Dahan NM. (2017). "Corporate political activity, public policy uncertainty, and firm outcomes: A meta-analysis". *Strategic Organization*. 15: 338-366. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476127016651001.
- Hadani M, Schuler DA. (2013). "In search of El Dorado: The elusive financial returns on corporate political investments". *Strategic Management Journal*. 34: 165-181. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2006.
- Hair JF, Black WC, Babin BJ, Anderson RE. (2019). *Multivariate Data Analysis*. 8th ed. Cengage Learning.
- Hambrick DC, Mason PA. (1984). "Upper echelons: The organization as a reflection of its top managers". *Academy of Management Review.* 9(2): 193-206. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1984.4277628.
- Hansen WL, Mitchell NJ. (2000). "Disaggregating and explaining corporate political activity: Domestic and foreign corporations in national politics". *American Political Science Review.* 94: 891-903. https://doi.org/10.2307/2586214.
- Hansen WL, Mitchell NJ, Drope JM. (2004). "Collective action, pluralism, and the legitimacy tariff: Corporate activity or inactivity in politics". *Political Research Quarterly*. 57: 421-429. https://doi.org/10.1177/106591290405700307.
- Hersch PL, McDougall GS. (2000). "Determinants of automobile Political Action Committee contributions to house incumbents: Own versus rival effects". *Public Choice*. 104: 329-343. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1005179819347.
- Hillman AJ, Hitt MA. (1999). "Corporate political strategy formulation: A model of approach, participation, and strategy decisions". *Academy of Management Review*. 24: 825-842.
- Hillman AJ, Keim GD, Schuler D. (2004). "Corporate political activity: A review and research agenda". *Journal of Management*. 30: 837-857. https://doi.org/10.2307/259357.
- https://history.house.gov/Institution/Presidents-Coinciding/Party-Government/
- Holburn GL, Vanden Bergh RG. (2014). "Integrated market and nonmarket strategies: Political campaign contributions around merger and acquisition events in the energy sector". *Strategic Management Journal*. 35: 450-460. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2096.
- Hough JR. (2006). "Business segment performance redux: A multilevel approach". *Strategic Management Journal*. 27: 45-61. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.498.
- Hox J, van de Schoot R. (2013). "Robust methods for multilevel analysis". In Scott MA, Simonoff JS, Marx BD. (Eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of Multilevel Modeling*. 387-402. London: Sage. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446247600.n22.
- Iversen T, Soskice D. (2006). "Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: Why some democracies redistribute more than others". *American Political Science Review.* 100: 165-181. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055406062083.
- Iyengar S, Lelkes Y, Levendusky M, Malhotra N, Westwood SJ. (2019). "The origins and consequences of affective polarization in the United States". *Annual Review*

- of Political Science. 22: 129-146. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051117-073034.
- Iyengar S, Sood G, Lelkes Y. (2012). "Affect, not ideology: A social identity perspective on polarization". *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 76(3): 405-431. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfs038.
- Jiang J. (1996). "REML estimation: Asymptotic behavior and related topics". *The Annals of Statistics*. 24: 255-286. https://doi.org/10.1214/aos/1033066209.
- Jost JT. (2017). "Ideological asymmetries and the essence of political psychology". *Political Psychology*. 38: 167-208. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12407.
- -----. (2006). "The end of the end of ideology". *American Psychologist*. 61: 651. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.61.7.651.
- Jost JT, Federico CM, Napier JL. (2009). "Political ideology: Its structure, functions, and elective affinities". *Annual Review of Psychology*. 60(1): 307-337. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163600.
- Katic IV, Hillman A. (2023). "Corporate political activity, reimagined: Revisiting the political marketplace". *Journal of Management*. 49: 1911-1938. https://doi.org/10.1177/01492063221137069.
- Kim H, Fording RC. (2002). "Government partisanship in Western democracies, 1945–1998". *European Journal of Political Research*. 41: 187-206. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00009.
- -----. (1998). "Voter ideology in Western democracies, 1946–1989". European Journal of Political Research. 33: 73-97. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00376.
- Klein KJ, Kozlowski SW. (2000). Multilevel Theory, Research, and Methods in Organizations: Foundations, Extensions, and New Directions. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass/Wiley.
- Lee JY, Yahiaoui D, Lee KP, Cooke FL. (2022). "Global talent management and multinational subsidiar- ies' resilience in the Covid-19 crisis: Moderating roles of regional headquarters' support and headquarters— subsidiary friction". *Human Resource Management*. 61: 355-372. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.22100.
- Li H, Meng L, Wang Q, Zhou LA. (2008). "Political connections, financing and firm performance: Evidence from Chinese private firms". *Journal of Development Economics*. 87(2): 283-299. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2007.03.001.
- Lux S, Crook TR, Woehr DJ. (2011). "Mixing business with politics: A meta-analysis of the antecedents and outcomes of corporate political activity". *Journal of Management*. 37: 223-247. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206310392233.
- Macher JT, Mayo JW. (2015). "Influencing public policymaking: Firm-, industry-, and country-level determi-nants". *Strategic Management Journal*. 36: 2021-2038. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2326.
- Mackey A. (2008). "The effect of CEOs on firm performance". *Strategic Management Journal*. 29: 1357-1367. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.708.
- McClosky H, Zaller J. (1984). The American ethos: Public attitudes toward capitalism and democracy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- McGahan AM, Porter ME. (2005). "Industry, corporate and business-segment effects and business performance: A non-parametric approach by Ruefli and Wiggins". *Strategic Management Journal*. 26: 873-880. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.480.
- -----. (1997). "How much does industry matter, really?". *Strategic Management Journal*. 18: 15-30. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199707)18:1+<15::AID-SMJ916>3.0.CO;2-1">https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199707)18:1+<15::AID-SMJ916>3.0.CO;2-1.
- McWilliams A, Van Fleet DD, Cory KD. (2002). "Raising rivals' costs through political strategy: An extension of resource-based theory". *Journal of Management Studies*. 39: 707-724. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6486.00308.
- Mellahi K, Frynas JG, Sun P, Siegel D. (2016). "A review of the nonmarket strategy literature: Toward a multi- theoretical integration". *Journal of Management*. 42: 143-173. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206315617241.
- Meyer-Doyle P, Lee S, Helfat CE. (2019). "Disentangling the microfoundations of

- acquisition behavior and performance". Strategic Management Journal. 40: 1733-1756. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.3069.
- Misangyi VF, Elms H, Greckhamer T, Lepine JA. (2006). "A new perspective on a fundamental debate: A multilevel approach to industry, corporate, and business effects". Management 571-590. unit Strategic Journal. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.530
- Mitchell NJ, Hansen WL, Jepsen EM. (1997). "The determinants of domestic and foreign corporate political activity". The Journal of Politics. 59: 1096-1113. https://doi.org/10.2307/2998594.
- Mizruchi MS. (1989). "Similarity of political behavior among large American corporations". American Journal of Sociology. 95: 401-424. https://doi.org/10.1086/229274.
- Mohammadi Elyasi G, Chitsaz E, Gerami A. (2010). "Identifying internal organizational factors affecting the performance of startups". New Economy and Commerce. 6(21-22): 27-48. SID. https://sid.ir/paper/118653/fa [in Persian]
- Moreno M, Harwell M, Guzey SS, Phillips A, Moore JT. (2016). "Complex applications of HLM in studies of science and mathematics achievement: Crossclassified random effects models". School Science and Mathematics. 116: 338-351. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssm.12191
- Nalick M, Kuban S, Ridge JW, Zardkoohi A, Bierman L, Schijven M. (2023). "When not one of the crowd: The effects of CEO ideological divergence on lobbying strategy". Journal Management. 49: 1106-1139. of https://doi.org/10.1177/01492063211073690.

- www.opensecrets.org
 Osborne JW. (2010). "Improving your data transformations: Applying the Box-Cox transformation". Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation. 15(12), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.7275/qbpc-gk17.
- Pierson P, Schickler E. (2020). "Madison's constitution under stress: A developmental analysis of political polar-ization". Annual Review of Political Science. 23: 37-58. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050718-033629.
- Proxy Preview. (2024). "As You Sow". https://www.proxypreview.org
- Quigley TJ, Graffin SD. (2017). "Reaffirming the CEO effect is significant and much larger than chance: A comment on Fitza (2014)". Strategic Management Journal. 38: 793-801. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.2503.
- Raudenbush SW. (1993). "A crossed random effects model for unbalanced data with applications in cross-sectional and longitudinal research". Journal of Educational Statistics. 18: 321-349. https://doi.org/10.3102/10769986018004321.
- Raudenbush SW, Bryk AS. (2002). Hierarchical Linear Models: Applications and Data Analysis Methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rehbein K, Schuler DA. (2015). "Linking corporate community programs and political strategies: A resource- based view". Business & Society. 54: 794-821. https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650313478024.
- -----. (1999). "Testing the firm as a filter of corporate political action". Business & Society. 38: 144-166. https://doi.org/10.1177/000765039903800202
- Richardson AM, Welsh AH. (1995). "Robust restricted maximum likelihood in mixed linear models". Biometrics. 51: 1429-1439. https://doi.org/10.2307/2533273.
- Ridge JW, Ingram A, Hill AD. (2017). "Beyond lobbying expenditures: How lobbying breadth and political connectedness affect firm outcomes". Academy of Management Journal. 60: 1138-1163. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2015.0584.
- Rudy BC, Johnson AF. (2019). "The chief political officer: CEO characteristics and firm investment in corpo- rate political activity". Business & Society. 58: 612-643. https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650316675606.
- Rumelt RP. (1991). "How much does industry matter?". Strategic Management Journal. 12: 167-185. https://doi.org/10.1002/smj.4250120302
- Sablin KS, Kislitsyn DV. (2024). "Political Connections of Top Entrepreneurs:

- Approaches to Measuring and Evidence in Contemporary Russia". *Journal of Siberian Federal University.Humanities & Social Sciences*. 17(3). https://elib.sfu-kras.ru/handle/2311/152709.
- Schein EH. (1992). Organizational Culture and Leadership. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Schmidt MG. (1996). "When parties matter: A review of the possibilities and limits of partisan influence on public policy". *European Journal of Political Research*. 30: 155-183. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1996.tb00673.x.
- Schuler DA. (1996). "Corporate political strategy and foreign competition: The case of the steel industry". *Academy of Management Journal*. 39: 720-737. https://doi.org/10.5465/256661.
- Schuler DA, Rehbein K, Green CD. (2019). "Is corporate political activity a field?". Business & Society. 58: 1376-1405. https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650316680206.
- Scott WR. (2008). *Institutions and organizations: Ideas and interests*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Selznick P. (2011). *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*. New Orleans, LA: Quid Pro Books.
- Semadeni M, Chin M, Krause R. (2022). "Pumping the brakes: Examining the imPolitical Action Committeet of CEO political ideology divergence on firm responses". *Academy of Management Journal*. 65: 516-544. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2019.1131.
- Shaffer B. (1995). "Firm-level responses to government regulation: Theoretical and research approaches". *Journal of Management*. 21: 495-514.
- Short JC, Ketchen DJ Jr., Bennett N, Du Toit M. (2006). "An examination of firm, industry, and time effects on performance using random coefficients modeling". Organizational Research Methods. 9: 259-284. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428106287572.
- Tahoun A. (2014). "The role of stock ownership by US members of congress on the market for political favors". *Journal of Financial Economics*. 111: 86-110. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2013.10.008.
- Tripathi M. (2000). "Political Action Committee contributions and defense contracting". *Business and Politics*. 2: 53-73. https://doi.org/10.2202/1469-3569.1003.
- Unsal O, Hassan MK, Zirek D. (2016). "Corporate lobbying, CEO political ideology and firm performance". *Journal of Corporate Finance*. 38: 126-149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcorpfin.2016.04.001.
- USAGov. (2023). "Branches of the U.S. government". https://www.usa.gov/branches-of-government. www.usaspending.gov.
- Wang L, Fan X, Willson VL. (1996). "Effects of nonnormal data on parameter estimates and fit indices for a model with latent and manifest variables: An empirical study". *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*. 3: 228-247.
- Witko C. (2011). "Campaign contributions, access, and government contracting". Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory. 21: 761-778. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mur005.
- Zardkoohi A. (1988). "Market structure and campaign contributions: Does concentration matter? A reply". *Public Choice*. 58: 187-191. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00125723.
- Zhang L. (2005). "Do measures of college quality matter? The effect of college quality on graduates' earnings". *The Review of Higher Education*. 28: 571-596. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2005.0053.