# Commerce, Coalitions, and Global Value Chains

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## My Paper: Bring back coalitions in this era of global production!

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- Lobbying through US Global Value Chain Coalition



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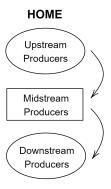
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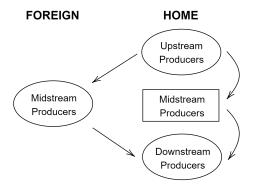
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  - ► Offers a GVC-centered approach to preferences and political behaviors

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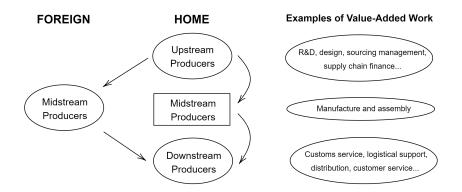
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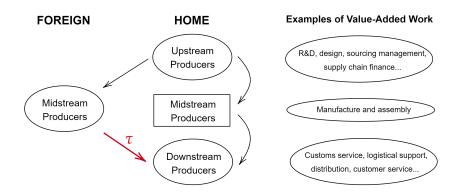
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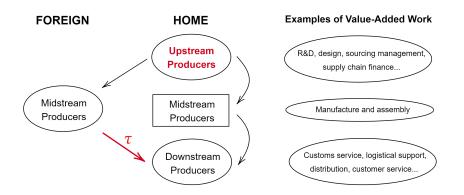
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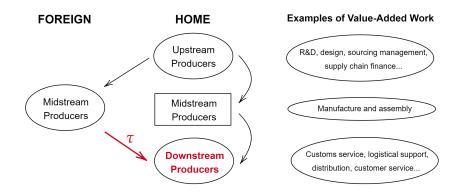


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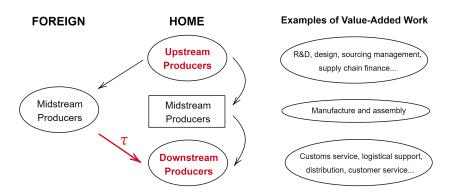
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**Lemma:** Downstream dependence → Demand for liberalization

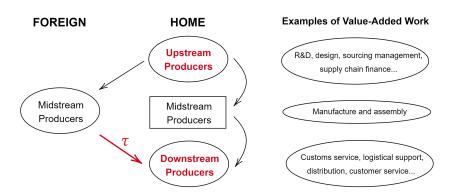
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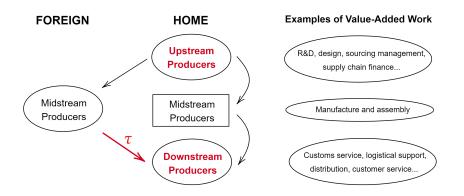
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#### **Proposition:**

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- 2. Product differentiation → "Horizontal Convergence"

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Implications: Interdependent trade preferences among GVC Partners

GVC Partners and Coordinated Lobbying:

 $\blacksquare \ \ \mathsf{Specialization} \leadsto \mathsf{Critical} \ \mathsf{interdependence} \ (\mathsf{Carnegie} \ \mathsf{2014}, \ \mathsf{Milner} \ \mathsf{1987})$ 

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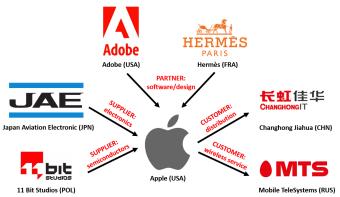
"How to capture a firm's embeddedness in global production presents a challenge for scholarship" (Kim and Rosendorff 2021).

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    Strategic Complementarity → Local Aggregate Network Effect Model

$$\mathbf{y}_{it} = \rho \mathbf{W'}_{it-1} \mathbf{y}_{t-1} + \mathbf{X'}_{it-1} \boldsymbol{\beta} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

 $y_{it}$ : firm i's lobbying in year t;  $\mathbf{W}_{it}$ : GVC network;  $\mathbf{X}_{it}$ : # of GVC Partners, product differentiation, productivity, employment, capital expenditure, property of plant, cost of goods sold, value (Kim 2017)

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► H2: Density of GVC Partners → Lobbying by trade associations

$$y_{jt} \sim Bernoulli(\pi_{jt}); \quad \pi_{jt} = \operatorname{logit}^{-1}(\beta I_{jt-1} + \mathbf{Z'}_{jt-1}\theta + \eta_j + \gamma_t)$$

 $y_{jt}$ : industry j's collective lobbying in year t;  $\pi_{jt}$ : industry j's probability of collective lobbying in year t;  $I_{jt}$ : "GVC interdependence";  $\mathbf{Z}_{jt}$ : product differentiation, concentration, capital-labor ratio, average firm size (Bombardini and Trebbi 2012)

# Empirical Finding I: GVC Partners Lobby Together.

Table: GVC Network Effect on Firms' Lobbying Activities

	Dependent variable:				
	Lobby		Lobbying Expenditure		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4))	
GVC Partner Lobby	0.011*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.006)	0.184*** (0.050)	0.252*** (0.078)	
Productivity × Differentiation		✓		✓	
Firm Characteristics	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	
Firm Fixed Effect	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	
Year Fixed Effect	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	
Observations	59,533	29,978	59,533	29,978	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.668	0.685	0.724	0.741	

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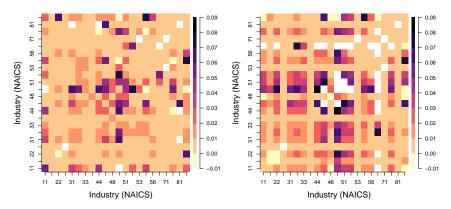
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With one more GVC Partner lobbying, the number of lobbying firms increases by 100+ and total lobbying expenditure rises by \$155+ million.

Empirical Finding II: GVC Partners Hire the Same Lobbyist and Lobby on the Same Bill.

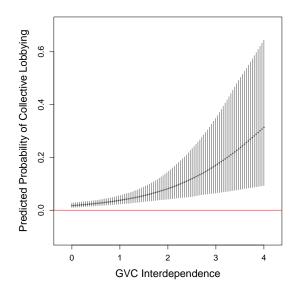


(a) Hiring of the Same Lobbyist

(b) Lobbying on the Same Bill

The effects of GVC Partners are mostly positive (orange or darker) and particularly large for retail (44-45), logistics (48-49), and finance (52).

# Empirical Finding III: GVC Partners Collectively Lobby.



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#### **Bring Back Coalitions to Trade Politics**

If you have any questions:

hzhang3@mit.edu

More information about this and other research on GVCs, Firm and State, Political Networks, US and China:

http://www.haocharliezhang.com/