Dynamic Lobbying:
Evidence from Foreign Lobbying in the US Congress[*]

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Abstract

How do interest groups decide which member of Congress to target when decisions are made collectively? Do lobbying strategies change as legislation advances? Answering these questions is challenging due to a lack of systematic observations of lobbying contacts. I answer these questions using a novel dataset constructed from reports submitted by lobbyists on behalf of South Korea regarding its free trade agreement with the US for ten years. I show that a diverse set of politicians are contacted but the timing, intensity, and strategy of lobbying contacts vary by politicians' institutional positions as well their predisposed preferences for free trade.

Keywords: Foreign Lobbying, Persuasion, US Congress, Free Trade Agreement

1 Introduction

Understanding how interest groups influence the political process is important to evaluating the quality of democratic representation. Lobbying is a key tool for organized interests to shape political processes (Baumgartner et al. 2009). Among various strategies that interest groups employ in lobbying, examining the identity of targeted politicians is a key concern in theoretical and empirical studies of interest groups (Austen-Smith and J. Wright 1994; Austen-Smith and J. R. Wright 1996; Baumgartner and Leech 1996; Kollman 1997; Hojnacki and Kimball 1998, 1999; Hall and Deadorff 2006; Ellis and Groll 2020). This question is particularly salient given that Congress is a collective decision-making institution (Groseclose and Snyder 1996; Bennedsen and Feldmann 2002). When decisions are made based on the consensus of multiple policymakers, how do interest groups design their lobbying strategies to achieve their goals?

Recent theoretical work has illustrated how persuasion occurs in a collective decision-making setting (Caillaud and Tirole 2007; Schnakenberg 2017; Awad 2020; Dellis 2021) but there is a dearth of empirical studies that document how interest groups design lobbying strategies to persuade a group comprising multiple decision makers. When there are multiple policymakers to persuade, targeting strategies can vary depending on legislative stages; therefore, it is important to understand the dynamic nature of lobbying. Although existing studies have enriched our understanding of access allocation in the lobbying process by utilizing prior work experience among revolving doors lobbyists (Vidal, Draca, and Fons-Rosen 2012), campaign contributions (Bertrand, Bombardini, and Trebbi 2014) or partisan ties (Eggers 2010; Furnas, Heaney, and LaPira 2019), the extent of the intensity, depth, and sequence of lobbying activities remains difficult to study due to limited information about lobbying contacts (Figueiredo and Richter 2014; Bombardini and Trebbi 2020).

The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (LDA), which regulates interest groups based in the US, only requires lobbyists to disclose the names of Houses of Congress or federal agencies and does not require disclosure of the contacted persons' identities. Due to this limitation, scholars

have relied on interviews with legislators and lobbyists to learn the identities of targeted policy-makers. Furthermore, existing empirical studies are static in nature and focus on a potentially shorter window of time than the whole period during which a policy is introduced to the policy community, discussed, and finally enacted (or not) into law.

In this paper, I advance the literature by studying a unique dataset on lobbying contacts constructed from lobbying reports mandated by the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) to provide better answers to how interest groups design lobbying strategies to persuade a collective decision-making body: the United States Congress. What distinguishes the FARA from the LDA is the scope of its disclosure requirements. The FARA requires that lobbyists representing foreign entities, usually US lobbying firms, submit semi-annual reports detailing all lobbying contacts - including information on who, when, why, and how those contacts were made - along with information on payments made by foreign entities to lobbying firms (Atieh 2010). This rich set of information allows me to measure the timing and intensity of lobbying to each policymaker over time.

In particular, I focus on the activities that the government of South Korea undertook to lobby the United States government regarding its free trade agreement (FTA), which was ratified by Congress in 2011. I selected this case based on three reasons. First, unlike the majority of foreign government lobbying that does not target a specific piece of legislation or a specific issue, the South Korean government's lobbying activities regarding its free trade agreement with the US are clearly specified in lobbying reports and can be linked directly to the legislative progress for ratification in Congress. Second, measuring legislators' preferences on free trade based on their previous voting behaviors and their district's public opinion on free trade agreements allows me to explore whether interest groups lobby members who are—in terms of preference alignment—friends, foes, or undecided. Third, trade policy is one of the most studied areas for scholars interested in estimating the effect of interest groups on policy outcomes (e.g., Grossman and Helpman 1994; Bombardini and Trebbi 2012; Kim 2017) and the Korea-US free trade agreement was the largest free trade agreement that the US negotiated since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This

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allows me to study the role of foreign governments in shaping important trade policies in the US.

I followed lobbying activities by the government of South Korea on FTAs from the 108th Congress (2003-2004) to the 112th Congress (2011-2012). Hence, I am able to follow a policy issue and relevant lobbying activities for almost a decade - from the beginning to the end of a policy enactment process. I collected detailed information for over 4,000 individual contacts that lobbyists made with members of Congress and their staff. Based on this dataset, I first conducted a dynamic analysis focusing on whom the lobbyists contacted, and - if they lobbied a policymaker - when and how they contacted her. To do this, I divide the period of study into three stages for each of the trade agreements: the "*initial negotiation stage*," when the content of the trade agreement is determined; the "*renegotiation stage*," when the initial content of the agreement is revised; and the "*voting stage*," when votes determine the fate of the agreement. The first two stages can be considered the "agenda-setting period." This allows me to examine how lobbying strategies change across three stages.

My analysis on lobbying activities over time yields four findings. First, the foreign client hires multiple lobbying firms simultaneously because each lobbying firm has a local monopoly on access to politicians. Second, a large proportion of total lobbying activities on the trade agreement occurs during the agenda-setting period, even though Congress is not formally involved in trade negotiations at that time. This suggests that interest groups believe members of Congress can influence bureaucratic decisions via informal contacts to agencies even though Congress does not have formal authority (Ritchie and You 2019). Third, more useful legislators from the lobbying client's perspective - such as trade committee members, party leaders, and caucus members - are more likely to be contacted earlier and more often. Fourth, weak and staunch opponents of trade agreements are contacted extensively, and the intensity of lobbying towards these opponents tends to increase especially in the renegotiation stage when consensus building is critical.

To fully understand why and how weak and strong opponents are targeted, I focus on how interest groups assign their intermediaries—lobbyists—to target politicians who have different predispositions on free trade. I extract information on each lobbyist who made a contact and determine

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their ideology based on their CF Score (Bonica 2016). I find that politicians who are less likely to support free trade agreements *ex ante* were contacted by more aligned lobbyists: the difference in CF scores between the politician and lobbyist is smaller for politicians whose prior voting records show a more protectionist stance. Members who received higher amount of campaign donations from groups that opposed the free trade agreements and members who ran in more competitive districts were also contacted by lobbyists whose ideologies were closer to those politicians. Then, I examine how members' predispositions on free trade are associated with contact patterns by different lobbyists at different stages. I find that members who weakly or strongly opposed free trade are contacted by lobbyists who are more closely aligned with them, especially during the agenda-setting stage. This suggests that by contacting members through aligned lobbyists, especially at the stage when persuasion is critical, interest groups can credibly deliver information to and extract it from members who had negative prior beliefs on the agenda to advance the issue in the legislature (Bertrand, Bombardini, and Trebbi 2014; Hirsch et al. 2022). These findings highlight the role of intermediaries in persuasion, and potential informational gains that lobbyists could bring by linking two audiences (policymakers and interest groups) (Ainsworth and Sened 1993).

Although FARA reports are the only available data sources that allow systematic observation of actual lobbying contacts made to politicians across time and issues at the lobbyist-level, employing foreign lobbying contact data to understand lobbying resource allocation by interest groups has some limitations. Foreign governments have actively lobbied groups of US policymakers but lobbying strategies to persuade members of Congress on behalf of foreign clients could differ from lobbying strategies on behalf of domestic clients, especially when the issues that concern foreign and domestic groups are starkly different. Therefore, it requires a caution in generalizing the insights from the analysis based on foreign lobbying contacts for understanding the lobbying process in other circumstances.

Despite its narrow scope, insights from the current analysis may have implications for other contexts. First, this article uses the lobbying contacts made by lobbyists on behalf of foreign clients who lobbied on issues of trade—the most frequent focus of foreign lobbying. In most

cases, foreign lobbying on trade aims to promote more free trade between foreign countries and the US. Trade is also one of the issues that receives the most lobbying by domestic interests (Kim 2017). This implies that the analysis presented in this article can shed light on lobbying strategies by foreign interest groups pushing for more free trade and how they would design strategies to persuade multiple members of Congress. More research on other foreign interest groups' effort on different types of free trade agreements is required to compare differences and similarities across foreign lobbying strategies pushing for free trade.

2   Lobbying Strategies for Persuasion in Legislature

One of the key questions in the lobbying literature is how to identify the types of legislators who interest groups target. Examining the identities of policy-makers who are lobbied allows us to study how interest groups allocate their scarce resources to influence the political process. The extant literature on targeting reveals some strategic patterns in the lobbying process (Figueiredo and Richter 2014). First, powerful legislators, such as committee chairs or members in leadership positions, are more likely to be targeted (Evans 1996; Hojnacki and Kimball 2001). Second, lobbyists tend to target sponsors or co-sponsors of bills who have greater knowledge about the legislation (Hojnacki and Kimball 1998). Third, legislators who are allies of interest groups tend to be heavily targeted (Kollman 1997; Caldeira and Wright 1998; Hojnacki and Kimball 1999; Hall and Deadorff 2006); and swing legislators are sometimes contacted (Kelleher and Yackee 2009). Fourth, some argue that lobbyists target opposing legislators, and this provides an incentive for other groups to lobby their allies to counteract the lobbying efforts by competing groups (Austen-Smith and J. Wright 1994; Austen-Smith and J. R. Wright 1996).

Scholars arrive at different conclusions about targeting strategies in part because they examine different points in time in the legislative process. However, the legislative process can generate different lobbying intensities and dynamics and it is possible that the same interest group could change its tactics depending on the stage of the legislative process. Focusing on only a specific

point in time within the entire legislative process potentially yields an incomplete understanding of resource allocation by interest groups. Following lobbying activities for the entire duration of the legislative process - from bill introduction to the enactment of law - is important for a full understanding of the targeting strategies employed by interest groups.

Another important consideration that has been overlooked in the empirical literature of lobbying is the fact that Congress is a collective decision-making body. Lobbying strategies to persuade a group of policymakers to form a winning coalition can be fundamentally different from a strategy to convince a single policymaker (Groseclose and Snyder 1996). This is particularly salient when interest groups lobby to pass a bill in Congress that requires majority support and/or the absence of vehement opponents who could use institutional tools, such as filibustering, to block the legislation's advancement.

Recent theoretical work provides insights to understand persuasion in a group setting (Kamenica and Gentzkow 2011). Caillaud and Tirole (2007) show that distributing information selectively to key group members is crucial to generating persuasion cascades and targeting "mellow opponents" of a proposal can be an equilibrium strategy to achieve persuasion. Schnakenberg (2017) presents a model on how providing information to allied politicians can help them persuade other members in multimember legislatures, especially when access to politicians is costly. In a similar vein, Awad (2020) studies how the provision of verifiable information to carefully selected intermediate legislators can help interest groups credibly persuade a majority. The model shows how using allied politicians as intermediaries can persuade other members even if access to politicians is free, and how the ideological composition of the legislature determines the value of intermediaries in the lobbying process. Ellis and Groll (2020) show that lobbyists can strategically choose a set of politicians wo whom they provide information and legislative subsidies depending on politicians' prior beliefs, the issue's salience, and resource constraints.

Insights from the theoretical work indicate that identifying the *sequence* and the *set of politicians* who are targeted is crucial to understanding interest groups' lobbying strategies when groups attempt to persuade politicians in a collective decision-making environment. The types of lobbying

contact data used in the existing literature to advance our understanding of lobbying in legislatures are significantly limited. As noted above, lobbyists submitting reports under the LDA are not required to disclose the identities of targeted legislators. Recently, Kim and Kunisky (2021) made a significant contribution by connecting the politicians who sponsor congressional bills with the interest groups that lobby on those bills. However, given the report submission frequency (quarter) and the lack of information about the exact names of contacted members, reports under the LDA do not offer enough information to measure the intensity of targeting efforts in a more granular manner. Due to a lack of systematic lobbying contact information, most of the existing literature on targeting also relies on survey data from lobbyists to measure lobbying contacts. While the survey method has its own advantages, there are several shortcomings of such an approach for studying lobbying, such as non-random response rates from lobbyists and small numbers of observations (Figueiredo and Richter 2014).[1] In addition, relying on survey data makes it challenging to measure the intensity of targeting. More specifically, while surveys of lobbyists reveal the identities of targeted legislators, it is difficult to identify the intensity of groups' targeting efforts at various stages in the legislative process.

To fully understand the dynamics of lobbying contacts with multiple legislators, employing a dataset that includes comprehensive lobbying contacts overtime is crucial to advance the literature. I address this challenge by using lobbying filings mandated by the Foreign Agent Registration Act of 1938 (FARA).

3   Lobbying Contacts from the Foreign Agents Registration Act

In 1938, the 75th Congress passed the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) in response to Nazi organizations' efforts to influence American political debate. The FARA provides a legal channel for foreign governments and businesses to lobby the US government and to influence US public opinion. A series of attempts by foreign entities to influence US politics and policy-making

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1. Miller (Forthcoming) makes a significant advancement in overcoming inferential challenges in the existing literature by conducting a conjoint experiment with federal lobbyists who were registered under the LDA.

processes caused legislators to make the FARA requirement more comprehensive (Powell 1996; Brown 1997; Gawande, Krishna, and Robbins 2006). The FARA requires that foreign entities hire agents based in the US if they wish to engage in lobbying activities, and those hired agents are mandated to submit semi-annual lobbying disclosure forms detailing all lobbying contacts along with information on payments made by foreign entities to foreign firms.[2]

Since May 2007, the DOJ has maintained a website (`www.fara.gov`) that posts image files of FARA disclosure reports. The earliest image files are from 1942, and 46,107 semi-annual lobbying reports were submitted by the end of 2017. The FARA also requires the attorney general to submit a semi-annual summary report to Congress regarding foreign lobbying activities. This summary report includes names of foreign clients, registrants who represented foreign clients, lobbying fees the foreign clients paid to the registrants, and brief summaries describing the nature of the lobbying services.[3] Information from the summary reports submitted to Congress indicates that there were more than 5,000 unique foreign clients from 201 foreign countries between 1942 and 2017.

Individual semi-annual lobbying reports provide more detailed information about specific lobbying activities. In this paper, I focus on lobbying contacts made by commercial lobbyists who represented South Korea.[4] Unlike lobbying reports submitted under the LDA, foreign lobbying reports include detailed information about who is contacted. Therefore, utilizing foreign lobbying reports submitted by lobbyists representing South Korea allows me to overcome limitations in the extant literature outlined above. Also, the majority of foreign government lobbying does not target

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2. There are concerns about non-compliance - such as missing reports or false statements on reports - under the FARA (Benner 2019). Non-compliance is punished more stringently by the FARA than by the LDA. While a violation of the LDA is considered a civil offense, violations of the FARA are criminal and penalties for noncompliance are up to five years imprisonment and a $5,000-$10,000 fine (Atieh 2010). Despite this legal statue, a lack of rigorous enforcement by the Department of Justice (DOJ) and loopholes in the FARA have drawn criticism, especially after special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election. In June 2019, Senator Chuck Grassley introduced legislation ("Foreign Agents Disclosure and Registration Enhancement Act of 2019") amending the FARA to improve overall compliance and enforcement. There have been 45 FARA criminal enforcement cases over the statue's 83-year history.

3. https://www.justice.gov/nsd-fara/fara-reports-congress (accessed May 10, 2020)

4. There are reports made by in-house agents on behalf of the three countries. Their lobbying activities mainly comprised monitoring the process rather than contacting members of Congress or the executive branch. Ninety-nine percent of the contacts made to members of Congress and bureaucrats in federal agencies were made by lobbying firms. Since my focus is identifying types of legislators contacted and estimating the effect of lobbying on members' voting, I concentrate on lobbying reports submitted by commercial lobbying firms.

specific legislation and sometimes lobbyists focus on multiple issues. Therefore, it is difficult to connect their lobbying activities to a specific issue and the legislative product. However, lobbying activities by the government of South Korea regarding free trade agreements with the US can be identified easily and can be linked directly to roll-call voting on the ratification of each treaty in the Congress.

Among the FARA reports submitted by the lobbying firms that represented South Korea, I focus on the reports that specifically mentioned "free trade agreement" in their issue description. There are 72 such reports during 2003 - 2012, and South Korea paid $11 million to US lobbying firms for their services. I extracted contact information from these lobbying reports, which document contacts via meetings, phone calls, emails, and through social events. Figure 1 shows the part of the lobbying report submitted by Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP on behalf of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in June 2008.[5] It shows the name of a lobbyist (Rob Leonard), an employee of the lobbying firm. It also shows the name, title, and office of the contacted person as well as the type of communication, lobbying issues discussed, and the specific dates of the contacts.

Figure 1: Contact Information in a FARA Report: Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP (June, 2008)

Name of Registered Individual: Rob Leonard

Gina Mahony, Trade Policy Advisor, House Majority Leader Hoyer	Meeting	Korea FTA	3/27/2008
Arshi Siddiqui, Trade Policy Advisor, Speaker Pelosi	Meeting	Korea FTA	3/27/2008
Arshi Siddiqui, Trade Policy Advisor, Speaker Pelosi	Email	Korea FTA	3/28/2008
Janice Mays, Chief of Staff, Ways and Means	Email	Korea FTA	3/28/2008
Russ Sullivan, Chief of Staff, Senate Finance Committee	Phone Call	Korea FTA	3/31/2008
Chairman Charles Rangel	Meeting	Korea FTA	4/1/2008
Demetrios Marantis, Trade Counsel, Senate Finance Committee	Phone Call	Korea FTA	4/2/2008

5. https://efile.fara.gov/docs/3492-Supplemental-Statement-20080730-8.pdf (accessed May 10, 2021). In Figure A1 in Appendix A, I present selected pages of a sample FARA report.

Extracting large-scale contact data across lobbying firms over time was challenging since all these reports are uploaded as image files and each lobbying firm uses its own style to describe specific contacts in the FARA reports. Even using the most advanced optical character recognition (OCR) software resulted in only partial success in extracting the contact information since many supplemental documents were in unstructured forms. Therefore, extensive manual work and multiple checks to confirm the accuracy of the extracted information was conducted.

To capture meaningful communication between lobbyists and policy-makers, I only used contacts made via meetings or phone calls. Over the time period, 4,164 contacts targeted members of Congress and their personal staff, or committee staff. 473 contacts were made to those employed in federal entities, such as the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR) or members of the State Department.

4   Background of Free Trade Agreements

A free trade agreement (FTA) is one way to reduce trade barriers among two or more countries and establish a more stable and open trading and investment environment. The US entered its first FTA with Israel in 1985; as of February 2019, the United States had implemented 14 FTAs with 20 countries.[6] After enactment of the Trade Promotion Authority (known as "fast track") under the Bipartisan Trade Promotion Act of 2002 that granted the president and executive branch departments authority to negotiate international agreements with other countries, the George W. Bush administration initiated discussions of potential free trade agreements with South Korea in 2003.

A free trade agreement between South Korea and the United States was signed in June 2007 by the Bush administration; but due to various domestic political challenges and concerns, its ratification was delayed. First, by the time President George W. Bush signed the treaties, Democrats held majorities in both chambers of Congress and ratification was not considered likely before the 2008 presidential election. Therefore, the South Korean FTA was not even introduced for ratifica-

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6. https://ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements (accessed May 10, 2021).

tion votes until 2011. Second, during the 2008 presidential campaign, then-Senator Barack Obama expressed reservations about the treaty; and many of his concerns were shared by other legislators. Many Democrats were concerned that the terms of the Korea-US treaty were unfavorable to labor unions, especially in automobile industries, and there was significant domestic opposition to the deal in the US and in South Korea.

These challenges were eventually faced during the Obama administration, which started renegotiations with the South Korean government and reached an agreement on December 3, 2010. This new accord received support from US automobile companies and the United Auto Workers, both of which had opposed the previous agreement. These actions paved the way for ratification. The bill was introduced into Congress on October 3, 2011, and the treaty was ratified ten days later without amendment.[7] In the Senate, 87 voted to support and 15 voted to oppose the treaty: 14 out of the 15 opposing votes were from Democrats. In the House, 278 voted yea and 151 voted nay: while 219 Republicans voted to support the treaty, only 59 Democrats supported it.

5   Dynamic Patterns of Lobbying Contacts

In this section, I analyze how lobbying firms that represented South Korea allocated their resources over time and over different targets. The FTA negotiations took almost eight years from initial negotiation to ratification in the US Congress. I divide the whole process into three periods: (1) the initial agreement period when the free trade agreement between the United States and South Korea was signed, (2) the renegotiation period when the Obama administration adjusted the terms with South Korea and finalized the agreement, and (3) the voting period from the finalization of the agreement to the date when the bills passed in the US Congress. Dividing lobbying contacts into three periods is possible because the date of each lobbying contact is included in the lobbying report.[8]

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7. Under the fast-track authority, the president and executive branch have complete authority to negotiate international treaties and Congress can only accept or reject the agreement. No amendments or filibusters are allowed.

8. The initial negotiation stage is defined as beginning on the date of the earliest lobbying report that mentions "free trade agreement" as its lobbying issue. Given this definition, the initial negotiation stage began on November 29,

Among the 839 members of Congress who served during the 108th - 112th Congresses, 451 were contacted at least once via phone or in face-to-face meetings by lobbyists who represented South Korea. I seek to identify the types of legislators who were targeted during each stage of the legislative process. Specifically, I am interested in whether a member's position regarding the free trade agreement - meaning that she was either supportive, undecided, or opposed - is associated with lobbyists' targeting during different stages of policymaking. To analyze lobbyists' strategies in targeting legislators, I developed the following measure of how favorable or unfavorable legislators' predispositions were regarding their opinions on trade agreements prior to being lobbied.

I collected voting records for 74 trade-related bills from the 108th through 112th Congresses.[9] Drawn from voting records on these 74 measures, I constructed ideal points that capture each legislator's ideological preferences on free trade.[10] There could be concern that vote choices for those 74 bills may have been affected by lobbying activities on behalf of South Korea. Therefore, it is inappropriate to use vote choices for those bills to construct the members' ideal points on free trade. But none of the 74 bills are specific to South Korea, and none of the lobbying reports submitted by South Korean government mentioned any of these bills.[11]

Figure A2 (a) in the Appendix shows the distribution of trade ideal points by party affiliation and whether a member is contacted at least once by a lobbying firm representing South Korea that lobbied on the FTA with the US. Overall, Republicans show more pro-free trade stances based on

2002; the treaty was signed in June 2007. The renegotiation stage is defined as ending when the treaty and relevant agreement were finalized: December 3, 2010, for South Korea. The voting stage is defined as beginning immediately after the renegotiation stage ends, and ending on the date of the votes in both the House and Senate, which was October 12, 2011.

9. Table A1 in the Appendix provides the list of legislation.

10. Following the existing literature (Martin and Quinn 2002; Jeong 2018), trade ideal points are estimated using a Bayesian item response theory (IRT) model using the mcmc package in R. Figure A2 in Appendix B presents the distribution of these free trade ideal points (a), and the relationship between DW-NOMINATE scores and the free trade ideal points (b). I also provide a validation of this measure using existing measure of trade preference from Feigenbaum and Hall (2015) which use votes on trade issues in the House at the district level. Figure A3 in the Appendix shows the relationship between the trade ideal points and Feigenbaum and Hall (2015)'s trade scores. Despite the fact that Feigenbaum and Hall (2015)'s measure is at the district-decade level (2003-2010) not at the individual member-level, the correlation is high (0.74).

11. Still, it is possible that vote choices for those 74 bills were affected by other lobbying activities or campaign contributions. Therefore, it is difficult to know how much vote choices on previous legislation reflect the true preference of a legislator. However, given that my interest is to identify legislators' predispositions on free trade, the source of the predispositions based on past votes matters less.

their voting records than Democrats. Among Democrats, those who are predisposed to support free trade are contacted more often, but there is no clear difference among Republicans. In the following sections, I highlight four key patterns observed in the lobbying contacts.

5.1 Division of Labor Among Lobbying Firms

During the lobbying process, the South Korean government hired multiple lobbying firms. Why do foreign clients need to hire multiple firms in the lobbying process? Figure 2 presents access granted to three lobbying firms - Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP; Parven Pomper Strategies; and Fierce, Isakowitz & Blalock - that South Korea hired to advance its free trade agreement with the US in 2010. Despite the fact that the three firms lobbied on behalf of the same country on the same issue during a similar time period, the set of contacted politicians differed, with a small overlap. Politicians granted access to only a limited set of lobbying firms (Hirsch et al. 2022) and there was a local monopoly of access to specific politicians. Commercial lobbying firms with access to different politicians allow lobbying clients to expand the set of lobbying targets, if necessary. This division of labor among lobbying firms illustrates why lobbying clients sometimes hired multiple lobbying firms to lobby on the same issue (Mahoney and Baumgartner 2015).

5.2 Intensive Legislative Lobbying During Negotiation Periods

Figure 3 presents the ways lobbying contacts changed through three different time periods. Each point represents a contact record by a lobbyist representing South Korea; the party affiliation of the contacted member is also shown. The X-axis indicates the contacted date and the Y-axis indicates the free trade ideal point. A noticeable pattern from Figure 3 is that lobbyists frequently targeted members of Congress during the negotiation processes even though free trade negotiations were handled by federal agencies such as the USTR and the Department of State. Given that fast-track authority under the Trade Promotion Act grants all authority to negotiate international trade agreements to the president, and Congress can only approve or reject the agreement (no amendment or filibuster is allowed) (Koh 1992), this intensive lobbying during the agenda-setting stage seems

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Figure 2: Lobbying Contacts By Firms Hired by South Korea (2010)
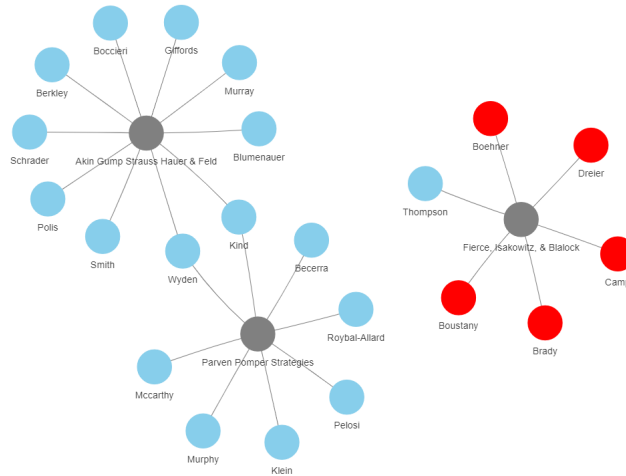
Notes: Contacted politicians by three lobbying firms representing South Korea in 2010
(member contact only). Blue dots indicate Democrats and red dots indicate Republicans.
Gray dots indicate lobbying firms.

puzzling.

However, these lobbying patterns are consistent with theories arguing that interest groups press
legislators to influence policy decisions made in executive branch departments (Fiorina 1977; Epstein and O'Halloran 1995; Hall and Miler 2008; Ban and You 2019; Ritchie and You 2019).
Likewise, because trade agreements are very specific about the terms of treaties such as tariff
schedules, legislators do not have much influence on the *ex post* implementation of trade agreements once they have been ratified.[12] Hence, interest groups have strong incentives to contact
legislators before the voting stage to design agreements that are favorable to their concerns (You
2017).

I validate this argument by examining every congressional contact to the USTR for the same
period using records obtained through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request. Among

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12. For example, the final text of the Korea-US FTA agreement is several thousand pages long and provides
a very detailed tariff schedule at the HTS (Harmonized Tariff Schedule) 8-digit level (`https://ustr.gov/
trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/korus-fta/final-text`) (accessed May 25, 2021).

Figure 3: Lobbying Contacts Over Time (South Korea)
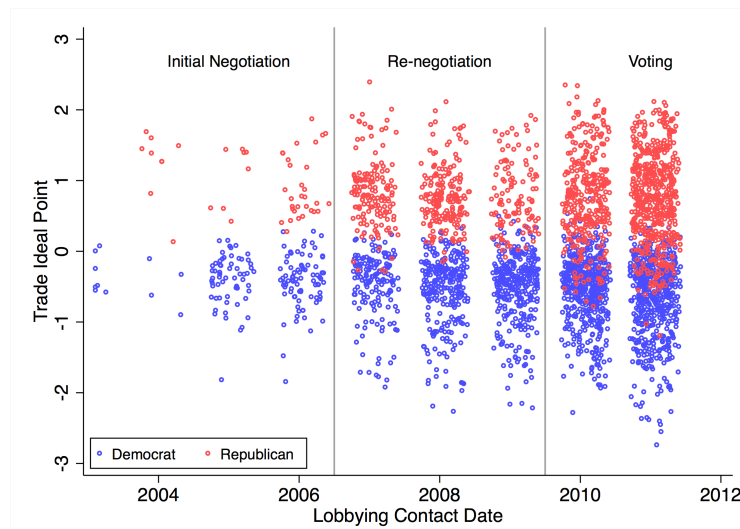
5,615 contacts made to the USTR by congressional members and staff during 2003 - 2011, 24% (1,370 contacts) were related to free trade agreements. This illustrates that the formal delegation of policymaking power to the bureaucracy does not imply that congressional influence is mainly limited to *ex post* oversights. When members of Congress actively contact bureaucrats through back-channels (Ritchie 2018), interest groups still have a strong incentive to lobby Congress even if Congress has no formal negotiation authority.

5.3   Valuable Members are Contacted Earlier and More Often

Figure 4 presents the results of the relationship between the date of the first contact and the total number of contacts made by South Korea at the politician level. Members who were contacted earlier were contacted more often overall. Interestingly, the first two members who were contacted were Charles Rangel (D-NY15) and Max Baucus (D-MT). Representative Rangel was the ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee and later served as chair of the same committee. Senator Baucus was the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Both committees have jurisdiction over international trade. This suggests that members who are more valuable from a

lobbying client's perspective are not only contacted more often but also contacted earlier.

Figure 4: Relationship between First Contact Date and Total Contacts on FTA (South Korea)
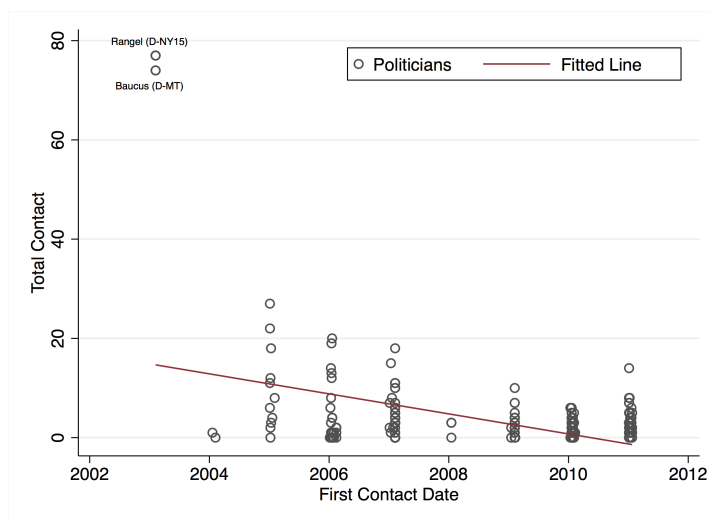
Notes: For each member, I calculate the first date of lobbying contacts (x-axis) and the total number of lobbying contacts over the entire period (y-axis).

To systematically investigate the association among legislators' characteristics, the total number of contacts, and the timing of the first contact, I conduct the following OLS analysis.

$$Y_{it} = \beta_1 \textbf{Member}_{it} + \beta_2 \textbf{District}_{it} + \beta_3 \textbf{Domestic Lobbying}_{it} + \alpha_t + \varepsilon_{it}. \tag{1}$$

, where i and t indicate member and Congress. Y_{it} denotes the outcome measure and I use two measures for lobbying contacts: (1) whether there is any contact (*Any*) and (2) the (log) total number of contacts made to a member's office (*(ln) Total*). *Member*$_{it}$ includes variables for legislators' characteristics including those that may be valuable for lobbying clients: legislator i's ex ante position on free trade based on previous trade-related votes; whether the legislator held a leadership position (*Leadership*); whether she belonged to the House Ways and Means or Senate Finance Committee (*Trade Committee*); and whether she was a member of a congressional caucus regarding the respective country or region (*Caucus Membership*).[13]

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13. Caucus membership (Congressional Korea Caucus or/and Asia Pacific American Caucus) data are constructed from the Committee on House Administration's webpage on Congressional Member and Staff Organizations (`https://cha.house.gov/member-services/congressional-member-and-staff-organizations`) (accessed April

District$_{it}$ measures district-level demographic and economic variables, including % white population; % population with high school or less than high school education; unemployment rate; per capita income; total volume of exports and imports with South Korea; changes in manufacturing employment 1990-2007; and exposure to Chinese imports (Autor, Dorn, and Hanson 2013).

Domestic Lobbying$_{it}$ measures the domestic lobbying pressure on FTAs. Domestic groups, like the United Automobile Workers (UAW), initially opposed the FTAs whereas multinational corporations, like CitiBank, strongly supported the deals. Lobbying firms representing foreign clients may take pressures from domestic interest groups into consideration when they design lobbying strategies. An ideal measure for domestic groups' lobbying would be detailed contact information from each domestic group to each legislator, as contained in the foreign lobbying data. Unfortunately, domestic lobbying reports submitted under the LDA only provide the names of federal entities that each domestic group contacted, such as the House of Representatives or the USTR. Individual legislator-level lobbying contact data during the lobbying process by domestic groups do not exist. Given that limitation, I measured domestic groups' pressure on free trade agreements in the following way.

First, I identified domestic groups who lobbied on the FTA with Korea during 2001-2012 by using lobbying reports submitted under the LDA. Since the specific legislation regarding the FTA was introduced in 2011, it would be misleading to identify the groups solely based on bill numbers that groups indicated in their lobbying reports. Given that negotiations were started as early as 2004, it is possible that groups mentioned "free trade agreements with Korea" in their lobbying reports but did not mention a specific bill's name before the legislation was introduced. Therefore, I searched lobbying reports that specifically mentioned the bill numbers regarding FTAs as well as search words, such as "Korea-US free trade deal," to find reports that did not mention the bill number but addressed the issues.[14] In total, 325 groups submitted 1,973 lobbying reports that

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10, 2020). The caucus membership data are available for the House of Representatives. For a full set of the variables included in the analysis, see Table A3 in the Appendix.

14. There are 7 bills related to the FTA with South Korea. Table A2 in the Appendix provides a list of those specific bills.

addressed the FTA with South Korea during the period.[15]

Second, after identifying domestic groups that lobbied on the FTA, I searched each group's preference on the FTA using various sources, such as testimony documented in the congressional hearing report on the pending FTA with South Korea; public statements; and letters to members of Congress by groups.[16] Among the 325 groups that submitted lobbying reports, 295 groups supported the FTA and 30 groups opposed the FTAs. Third, I merged the list of FTA lobbying groups with the Federal Election Commission's campaign contribution data for the 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010 election cycles. I used contributor's employer, contributor's name, and contributor's occupation to identify contributor's group affiliation.[17] Then I calculated the total contributions from pro-FTA groups and anti-FTA groups at legislator $\times$ congress level.

The results of estimating equation (1) are presented in Table 1, where Panel A presents the results for the House and Panel B presents the results for the Senate.[18] By comparing the results across three stages, several patterns emerge. First, legislators who held leadership positions were not heavily contacted at the initial negotiation stage but were contacted more frequently by lobbyists from the re-negotiation throughout voting stages. Second, members who served on the relevant committees on international trade were contacted heavily, and this pattern is more salient during the agenda setting stage. Although the president and executive agencies, such as the USTR, had the authority to negotiate the treaties, legislators who served on committees with oversight author-

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15. One limitation of this method is that LDA filings before 2008 have some missing text descriptions and therefore this strategy may leave out other groups that lobbied on the FTA. However, two factors assure that the problem from this data limitation would not be severe. First, the public attention to the issue started to rise around 2006 and 2007, when the initial agreements were made by the executives. Therefore, the current method that is employed in the paper would not significantly miss the relevant interest groups due to the missing text information in the LDA reports before 2008. In addition, I include (ln) export to and (ln) import from South Korea at the district level which also captures the constituent-level demand that supports the free trade deal as well as the contributions from unions which would capture general domestic demand to oppose the FTA.

16. For example, the hearing transcript before the Committee on Ways and Means regarding the pending FTA with South Korea shows the preference of individuals on behalf of organizations who testified at the hearing (Lee and Osgood 2019). Public letters (e.g., https://www.citizen.org/wp-content/uploads/usbic-statement-korea.pdf (accessed May 10, 2021)) were also used to identify the preferences of domestic groups concerning the FTA.

17. For contributions from Political Action Committees (PACs), contributor's group affiliation is easily identified. It is difficult to identify the group affiliation for contributions from individual donors who do not supply their specific occupational information. But most of those cases comprise donations from retired individuals, doctors, or attorneys. Given that groups that lobbied on the FTA were either large corporations or labor unions, it is unlikely that observations with no information about affiliation affect the contribution calculation for this study.

18. For the full regression results, see Tables A4 and A5 in Appendix C.

ity over relevant federal agencies on international trade can influence the contents of agreements via communication with agency bureaucrats. Such oversight activities may explain why relevant committee members were heavily targeted during the agenda-setting stage. This pattern is more salient in the House than the Senate; the more salient effects of institutional positions on targeting patterns in the House could be explained by the fact that legislative powers in the House are more unequal depending on a member's leadership position and committee assignments than in the Senate (Volden and Wiseman 2014). Third, members in the House who were associated with the congressional caucus on South Korea were heavily targeted at the early stage in the course of the legislative process.

Given the relative infrequency of contacts during the initial negotiation and re-negotiation stages based on the average outcome values, the effect of valuable positions from foreign clients' perspectives on lobbying contacts is more salient during the agenda-setting stages than the voting stage. The contact patterns suggest that when interest groups need to build a winning coalition, groups prioritize targeting members with institutional power who can convince other members (Caillaud and Tirole 2007) and their "allies" such as caucus members who are willing to invest time and energy to learn about the issue and move the agenda forward (Hall and Wayman 1990; Hall and Deadorff 2006). As the process evolves, the number and type of politicians contacted increases. Although politicians' institutional positions are the important determinants of lobbying contacts, politicians' district characteristics do not appear as significant factors that influence the frequency of lobbying contacts, as Tables A4 and A5 in the Appendix show. This is consistent with Miller (Forthcoming) who finds that members' institutional positions are substantially more important than the other factors such as members' electoral vulnerability in the eyes of lobbyists when they make targeting decisions.

5.4   Members Opposing Free Trade are Contacted Frequently

In this section, I present a pattern of how a member's position on free trade is associated with the contact patterns. To do so, I placed the legislators into quartiles based on their free trade ideal

Table 1: Member Characteristics and Lobbying Contacts

	Initial Negotiation		Re-negotiation		Voting	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Outcome = Contact	Any	(ln) Total	Any	(ln) Total	Any	(ln) Total
Panel A. House						
Trade Committee	0.0872**	0.102**	0.210***	0.566***	0.257***	0.609***
	(0.0342)	(0.0399)	(0.0724)	(0.147)	(0.0784)	(0.160)
Leadership	0.160	0.169	0.508***	1.789***	0.313***	1.705***
	(0.121)	(0.138)	(0.0657)	(0.322)	(0.113)	(0.531)
Caucus Membership	0.279**	0.593**	0.359***	0.971***	-0.0340	0.243
	(0.132)	(0.271)	(0.0716)	(0.237)	(0.114)	(0.243)
Mean Outcome	0.025	0.027	0.43	0.71	0.57	0.70
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓		
N	869	869	880	880	438	438
adj. R^2	0.120	0.206	0.170	0.265	0.114	0.199
Panel B. Senate						
Trade Committee	0.158**	0.174**	0.0694	0.284	0.208**	0.210
	(0.0666)	(0.0846)	(0.0872)	(0.191)	(0.0889)	(0.144)
Leadership	0.0833	0.0379	0.576***	1.623***	0.128	0.996**
	(0.0902)	(0.0719)	(0.117)	(0.233)	(0.161)	(0.443)
Mean Outcome Value	0.045	0.044	0.49	0.82	0.69	0.87
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓		
N	200	200	205	205	101	101
adj. R^2	0.065	0.076	0.148	0.184	0.168	0.259

Notes: Unit of observation is member $\times$ congress. Standard errors clustered at the member level are reported in parentheses. $^*p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$. Initial negotiation period covers the 108th and 109th Congresses; Re-negotiation period covers the 110th and 111th Congresses; Voting stage covers the 112th Congress. *Trade Committee* indicates membership in the Ways and Means Committee in the House or the Finance Committee in the Senate. *Caucus Membership* indicates whether the member was affiliated with a congressional Korea or/and Asia Pacific American Caucus. The *Caucus Membership* variable is only available for the House of Representatives. Congress fixed effect is not included in the voting stage because it only covers the 112th Congress.

point estimates. Legislators were classified as (1) *strong protectionist* if the ideal point is below the first quartile, (2) *weak protectionist* if the ideal point is between the first quartile and the median, (3) *weak free trader* if the ideal point is between the median and the third quartile, and (4) *strong free trader* if the ideal point is above the third quartile.[19] Panel (a) in Figure 5 shows the share of politicians in each type in each period. Due to elections and turnover, the proportion in each type varies in each period but in any period, there are sufficient numbers of politicians in each type. Panel (b) in Figure 5 presents the share of politicians contacted by lobbyists on behalf of South Korea in each period and each bar is divided into the four types depending on politicians' predisposed positions on free trade.[20] All types of politicians were contacted, as some theoretical work on informational lobbying in the legislature predicts (Dellis 2021), but it is noticeable that a significant number of contacts targeted weak opponents of free trade, especially during the initial negotiation and re-negotiation stages.

Figure 5: Composition of All vs. Contacted Politicians: Period by Position

(a) All Politicians

(b) Contacted Politicians
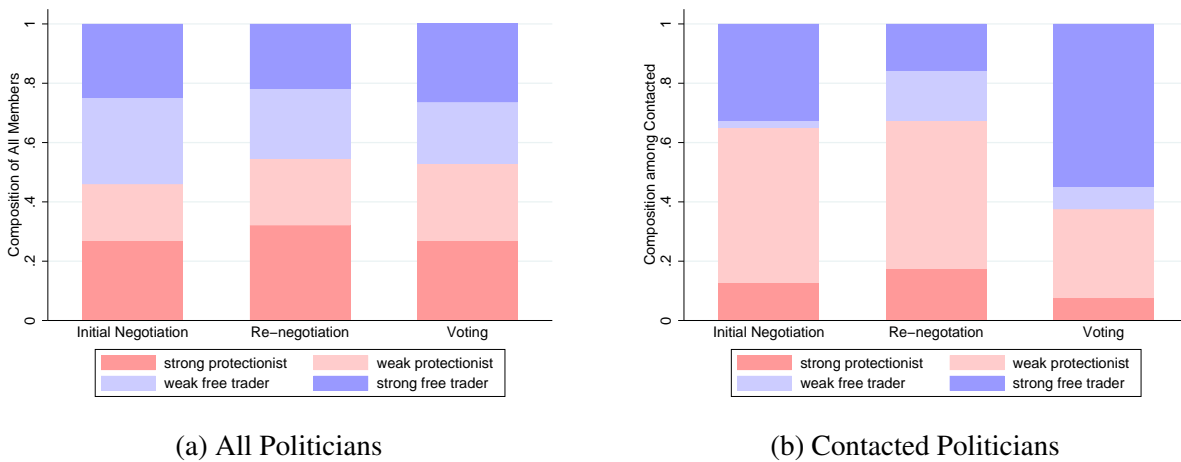
Notes: Panel (b) presents the composition of all politicians who served in each period. Panel (b) presents the composition of politicians who were contacted by lobbyists who represented South Korea based on their trade ideal points by three stages of policymaking.

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19. The cutoff is determined based on a whole sample period. The cutoffs of the trade ideal points used to categorize politicians are following: -0.53, -0.04, and 0.69. Each group supported the South Korea free trade bill in the following percentages: strong protectionist (30.5%), weak protectionist (41.9%), weak free trader (53.3%), and strong free trader (65.5%).

20. Table A6 presents the composition of members by type in each period and by lobbying contacts. This table allows comparison of which type is over- or under-contacted compared to their overall composition in Congress in a given period.

Conventional wisdom holds that interest groups lobby allied legislators (Kollman 1997; Hojnacki and Kimball 1998). However, a significant number of contacts targeted weak and strong opponents. First, why are weak opponents targeted?[21] This may be related to persuasion in group decision making. If an interest group wants to build a winning coalition among members of Congress, it needs to design a targeting strategy in the context of group persuasion since the approval of a proposal requires majority support. Caillaud and Tirole (2007) show that targeting an "information pivot" who has enough credibility within the group to sway other people's opinions is an equilibrium strategy, and information pivots are often "mellow opponents." When lobbied, a member who moderately opposes the proposal has an incentive to investigate the matter, unlike allies or hard-core opponents, and has a positive probability of endorsing the proposal. The fact that the mellow opponent investigated and decided to support the proposal can persuade other members who otherwise would oppose the proposal. Ellis and Groll (2020) also show that a lobbyist targets opposing but moderate policymakers to hopefully "gain their support" for the proposed policy or "to induce them to gather further information" that may affect the updating of their prior position on the policy.

Second, why are staunch opponents of free trade targeted? There are two potential explanations. First, the largest obstacle to making progress on FTAs in the US was opposition from unions. To counter lobbying from domestic groups that contacted strong protectionists to prevent advancement of the agenda, foreign governments may need to contact those members (Austen-Smith and J. Wright 1994). But theoretical work suggests that lobbyists do not target politicians with extremely negative priors since there is little chance that informational lobbying would change their position to support the policy (Ellis and Groll 2020). If the goal of informational lobbying is to change the *ex ante* position of members, targeting members who have a record of strongly opposing free trade is puzzling.

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21. This could simply be an artifact that trade committee members are concentrated in 'weak protectionist' or 'strong protectionist' groups. However, this is not the case. On average, members who serve on the trade-relevant committees are more free traders than members who do not serve on the trade-related committees. Also, trade committee members show diversity in terms of their trade preferences. For example, in the House, members who served on the Ways and Means Committee (trade committee) show the following distribution in terms of their trade preferences: strong protectionist (18%), weak protectionist (30%), weak free trader (24%), strong free trader (28%).

Successful lobbying, however, does not always require convincing every member to support the proposal, especially when obtaining majority support is sufficient to pass the bill. In that circumstance, one key task for a lobbyist is preventing a veto player from employing an institutional tool, such as a filibuster, to advance her agenda. Given the collective nature of decision-making in Congress, another possibility is that lobbyists on behalf of interest groups collect information from members about *why* they oppose the deals (i.e., what provision of the agreement is a particular concern for them) or seek to learn *whether* they would employ institutional tools to block the agenda's advancement. Lobbyists can deliver this information to legislators in leadership or to committee chairs who can pass it on to the USTR or the president; or lobbyists can directly transmit this information to the negotiators in the executive branch, so they consider the information when they revise the agreement.

This pattern suggests that lobbyists facilitate information aggregation among members. Given members' time constraints and the diverse issue portfolios on which they work (Cotton 2016; Curry 2015), lobbyists who specialize in an issue could help communications among members and make group persuasion feasible. In addition, even if there is little uncertainty about the passage of a bill, members still might have incentives to allow contacts by lobbyists to learn more about the legislation's economic consequences on their districts.[22] As Ainsworth and Sened (1993) argue, lobbyists facing two audiences - policymakers and a client - provide information to both audiences, facilitate coordination among actors, and consequently could increase efficiency in the policymaking process.

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22. An alternative explanation behind the frequent contacts made to members who strongly opposed free trade is that lobbying firms might exploit their clients through increased numbers of contacts and, therefore, charging higher amounts on their bills. In that regard, this behavior could be the result of an agency problem. Although I cannot rule out this possibility, the contract structure in the lobbying industry might make this scenario less likely. In general, contracts in the lobbying industry differ from contracting practices in law firms and consulting firms. Lobbying firms do not charge their clients based on the number of hours they work. A lobbying firm and a client often have $1 \sim 2$ year contracts with fixed monthly fees. In the FARA reports, most fees charged from a lobbying firm to a client are documented as monthly retainers (fixed amounts).

6 The Role of Intermediaries: Lobbyist-Level Analysis

In the previous section, I provided an explanation for the observed patterns of lobbying strategy from a lobbying client's perspective. A follow-on question is how an interest group that wants the FTA to pass could obtain access to members who weakly or strongly oppose the free trade agreement. This is particularly puzzling given that access to politicians with a larger preference difference from an interest group could be more costly (Austen-Smith 1995; Schnakenberg 2017). To better understand how interest groups build a winning coalition in a collective decision-making environment where policymakers have heterogeneous preferences, I examine how lobbying contacts are made at the lobbyist level. This is particularly useful when a lobbying client hired multiple lobbying firms so the aggregate-level analysis by the month or by the Congress may mask interesting dynamics regarding how interest groups design their targeting strategies through intermediaries (i.e., lobbyists) depending on the characteristics of politicians.

In particular, I examine whether a lobbying strategy to contact members who are predisposed to oppose the FTA differs from a strategy to contact members who support the agreement. Existing theoretical work on lobbying and persuasion emphasizes the role of an allied politician as an intermediary to convince less sympathetic legislators (Schnakenberg 2017; Awad 2020). But lobbyists who work in commercial lobbying firms also serve as intermediaries in the lobbying process by screening special interests'policy proposals through investigating their merits or through repeated interactions with politicians, which lends them credibility (Groll and Ellis 2014, 2017; Ellis and Groll 2019). It could be more challenging to gain access and provide information in a credible way to members who hold *ex ante* negative priors on the proposal. Existing work argues that connections to politicians, formed by campaign contributions, work history, and/or ideology, could solve this problem because connected lobbyists could bring "credibility or political savvy, in the transmission of information" (Bertrand, Bombardini, and Trebbi 2014) or provide more screening in presenting the interest group's case to the connected politicians (Hirsch et al. 2022).

To examine whether a lobbying team strategically assigns lobbyists depending on politicians'

predispositions on free trade, I examine whether members who are likely to oppose the FTA *ex ante* are contacted by more ideologically aligned lobbyists. Among 4,164 contacts made to members of Congress and their staffers on behalf of South Korea, 3,956 contacts contain the name of a lobbyist who made a contact. I also focus on members in the House of Representatives since some key variables, such as caucus membership, are only available for House members. For each congressional contact, I identified the name of a lobbyist and find each lobbyist's ideology based on the campaign finance records (CF score) developed by Bonica (Bonica 2016).[23] I investigate whether a member's position on free trade is correlated with contacts by aligned lobbyists and whether this pattern varies by each period.

Conditional on being contacted, I calculate two measures: (1) the CF Score difference between a member and a lobbyist for the member's first contact and (2) the maximum value for the CF Score differences for all the contacts between a member and lobbyists. A larger difference means that a member is contacted by a lobbyist whose ideology is farther from the member's ideology.[24] Figure 6 presents the relationship between a member's predisposition for free trade and the CF Score difference between a member and the maximum CF Score difference among lobbyists who made at least one contact to a given member. Members who had a record of supporting free trade were more likely to be contacted by a lobbyist whose ideology is farther from their ideology. Conversely, members who had a record of opposing free trade were contacted by more aligned lobbyists.

Table 2 shows that the relationship presented in Figure 6 is confirmed in the regression analysis.[25] It shows that politicians who faced more constraints in supporting free trade were contacted by more aligned lobbyists. The difference in CF Scores between the politician and lobbyist is

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23. Lobbyists are active participants in campaign contributions. Reflecting this trend, I was able to find the CF score for 3,002 out of 3,049 contacts made to members of the House of Representatives and their staff. I use the CF scores of lobbyists as a measure of their ideology or their existing connections, which could be distinctive from their ideological alignment. Although lobbyists could make donations as an investment to gain access, existing literature shows that lobbyists, like other individual donors, also follow partisan lines when donating (Drutman 2010; Koger and Victor 2009; Leech 2013) and their donations are "a reflection of preexisting ties and access to a given politician" (Bertrand, Bombardini, and Trebbi 2014). This lends support for using contributions as long-standing relationships between politicians and lobbyists, rather than as investment-motivations of lobbyists.

24. Figure A4 in the Appendix shows the distribution of these measures at the politician level.

25. For the full result, see Table A7 in the Appendix.

Figure 6: Predisposition for Free Trade and CF Score Difference
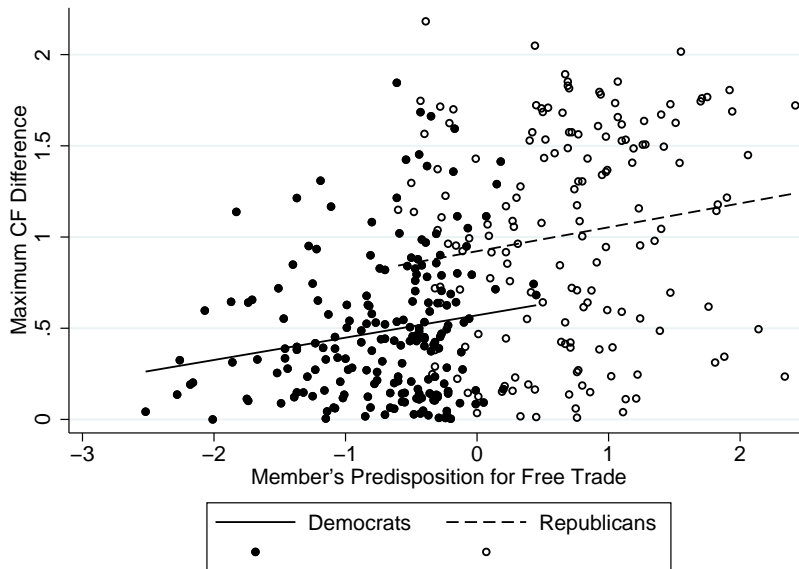
Notes: Each dot indicates a politician and maximum CF Difference is calcu-
lated at the politician level.

smaller for politicians whose prior voting records show a more protectionist stance. House members who represent electorally competitive districts are more likely to be contacted by ideologically aligned lobbyists. Also, legislators who received more contributions from groups that oppose free trade, such as unions, were contacted by lobbyists whose ideology was more aligned with the politicians.

I also examined whether contacts by aligned lobbyists vary by the stage of the policymaking. From the politicians' perspectives, especially for those who are not predisposed to support free trade because of their own ideologies or constraints from donors and voters, contacts by aligned lobbyists could be more valuable in the early stage of policymaking when there are more uncertainties about the costs and benefits of the bill and their voting decisions.

For each period, I calculated the first contact CF Score difference and the maximum CF Score difference among all the contacts. Then, I created interaction terms between trade ideal points and periods to see whether the CF Score difference between a member and a lobbyist changed

Table 2: Member Characteristics and CF Score Difference: House

	First Contact CF Score Difference			Maximum CF Score Difference		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Trade Ideal Point	0.196***	0.198***	0.0957***	0.224***	0.229***	0.132***
	(0.0278)	(0.0281)	(0.0333)	(0.0273)	(0.0284)	(0.0373)
Competitive District[a]		-0.148***	-0.133**		-0.141**	-0.115**
		(0.0546)	(0.0583)		(0.0576)	(0.0582)
(ln) Contributions from Pro-FTA Groups			0.0408***			0.0435***
			(0.00724)			(0.00703)
(ln) Contributions from Anti-FTA Groups			-0.0299***			-0.0270***
			(0.00700)			(0.00714)
Period Fixed Effect	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Member-level Controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
District Controls			✓			✓
N	694	694	659	705	705	670
adj. R^2	0.148	0.178	0.252	0.173	0.195	0.264
Mean Outcome Var.	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.81	0.81	0.81

Notes: Standard errors clustered at member level are presented in parentheses. $^*p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$. **a**. Competitive district equals 1 if a district's average democratic vote share in the 2000s was between 0.4 and 0.6.

depending on the phase of the negotiation.[26] Table 3 presents the results.[27] The relationship between a member's predisposition for free trade and contacts by aligned lobbyists appears most salient during the agenda-setting period, especially during the re-negotiation stage. The result implies that there is a larger difference in the ideology between a member and a lobbyist who made a contact if a member was more predisposed to support free trade at the agenda-setting stage. In other words, members who weakly or strongly opposed free trade were contacted by lobbyists who were more closely aligned with them in terms of ideology especially before the bill was introduced to the floor for voting.

As mentioned, domestic interest groups, such as the United Automobile Workers (UAW), initially opposed the Korea-US FTA. However, the renegotiation stage was a critical time in which to gain their support. In December of 2010, the UAW announced its support for the renegotiated

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26. In the regression, the contact pattern in the initial negotiation stage was set as a reference period.
27. Table A8 in the Appendix presents the full results.

Table 3: Position on Free Trade and CF Score Difference by Periods: House

	First Contact CF Score Difference			Maximum CF Score Difference		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Trade Ideal Point	0.108***	0.120***	0.0464	0.147***	0.163***	0.0893**
	(0.0371)	(0.0375)	(0.0422)	(0.0369)	(0.0369)	(0.0444)
Trade Ideal Point × Renegotiation	0.171***	0.163***	0.136***	0.163***	0.164***	0.138***
	(0.0393)	(0.0378)	(0.0385)	(0.0338)	(0.0338)	(0.0333)
Trade Ideal Point × Voting	0.0727*	0.0516	0.0363	0.0569	0.0209	0.0117
	(0.0421)	(0.0444)	(0.0481)	(0.0359)	(0.0367)	(0.0387)
Member-level Controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
District Controls			✓			✓
N	694	694	659	705	705	670
adj. R^2	0.138	0.170	0.224	0.172	0.198	0.245
Mean Outcome Variable	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.81	0.81	0.81

Notes: The initial negotiation stage is set as a reference period. Standard errors clustered at member level are presented in parentheses. $^* p < 0.10$, $^{**} p < 0.05$, $^{***} p < 0.01$.

Korea-US trade agreement, which was an abrupt turn from its position of opposing the agreement. In its statement released after the Congress voted, UAW President Bob King noted that "President Barack Obama and US Representative Sander Levin, a Royal Oak Democrat, should be commended for their effective efforts to substantially revise the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement" and mentioned that the new agreement will give American automakers greater access to the Korean market.[28] Representative Sander Levin represented Michigan's 12th district at that time and took over chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee on March 2010 from Charles Rangel (D-NY15) who was accused of multiple ethics violations. Levin represented the interests of the automobile industry and his previous voting record on free trade identified him as a "weak opponent" of free trade (trade ideal point = -0.36). The record of lobbying contacts made to Congressman Levin shows that he was initially contacted by Robert Leonard who worked on the Ways and Means Committee's staff; followed by Vic Fazio, a former colleague of Levin's in Congress who became a lobbyist. Both lobbyists held very similar ideologies as Congressman Levin: the

28. https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/blog/2011/october/uaw-backs-korea-trade-agreement (accessed May 20, 2021).

differences in their CF scores are only 0.06 (Leonard) and 0.12 (Fazio), respectively, which is much smaller than the mean difference of CF Scores (0.52) for all the politician-lobbyist pairs.

In general, members who are categorized as strong protectionists or weak protectionists received a higher amount of campaign contributions from domestic groups that opposed the FTA, such as labor unions. Contacts by aligned lobbyists can make skeptical members review proposals and request revisions that are acceptable to them, their constituents, and/or important donor groups. By making contacts to these members via aligned lobbyists, especially before the final text of the agreement is presented for voting in Congress, foreign clients could transfer more information about the merits of the agreements in a more credible manner.

7   Conclusion

Most decisions in government are made by multiple members. Therefore, the success of an interest group's lobbying strategy hinges on how well they persuade a group of policymakers. This is particularly true when all members have equal power to decide the final outcome, as in Congress where each member holds the same amount of voting power. Therefore, interest groups should design their lobbying strategies to build winning coalitions among multiple members. Despite this institutional feature, research on how interest groups decide which members to target has been limited to group-member dyads without fully appreciating that Congress is a collective decision-making body. In addition, interest groups change their strategies throughout the legislative process but scholars researching the dynamic aspects of lobbying strategies have faced considerable constraints, mainly due to a lack of detailed lobbying contact information.

In this paper, I address that challenge by constructing a novel dataset on the activities of lobbyists hired by the government of South Korea to lobby the United States government regarding its free trade agreement. The data allow me to follow lobbying activities for ten years - from the beginning to the end of a policy enactment process. Using the rich set of information from the data, I measure the intensity of lobbying towards each legislator over time on the same issue at the

daily level.

I find that targeting strategies by lobbyists vary depending on the stage of the legislative process. Legislators who have leadership positions, those who serve on committees with jurisdiction over international trade, and those who are members of the congressional caucuses related to foreign countries are frequently contacted throughout the policymaking process, but the marginal effects of these institutional positions are greater during the agenda-setting stage. Extracting information about the lobbyists who made contacts to politicians, I also show that politicians who may face more constraints in supporting free trade agreements were contacted by lobbyists who were more aligned with them in terms of ideology. Lobbying contacts by more aligned lobbyists as an intermediary between a client and a politician could reduce access cost and transfer information in a more credible manner. Also, this strategy could incorporate the opinions and preference of legislators who initially opposed the policy agenda.

This article makes several contributions to the literature of interest group politics. First, by constructing a novel dataset on detailed lobbying contacts from the beginning to the end of a policy enactment process, I can follow lobbying activities for different time periods in the policymaking process. My analysis reveals that the sets of politicians targeted and the intensity of targeting between the agenda-setting and voting stages are different, and often, lobbyists contacted strong and weak opponents of the legislation, especially during the agenda-setting stage. By highlighting the role of lobbying firms and lobbyists in persuading multiple policymakers, I argue that a new framework of lobbying that incorporates persuasion among members and the role of lobbyists as information intermediaries among members should be considered, given that passing a bill is a collective process (Caillaud and Tirole 2007; Schnakenberg 2017).

Second, this article sheds light on the role of foreign governments in constructing US trade policy. Previous research has documented that lobbying spending by foreign entities is associated with lower trade barriers with, and increased visits by US tourists to, those foreign countries (Gawande, Krishna, and Robbins 2006; Gawande, Maloney, and Montes-Rojas 2009). By analyzing detailed lobbying contacts made to members of Congress, in addition to the total spending by foreign gov-

ernments, this article improves our understanding of the interaction between US policymakers and foreign governments while enacting US trade policy throughout the lobbying process. In future research, it will be fruitful to examine how foreign governments and firms design their lobbying strategies in other issue areas, such as security matters, where voting on a particular legislation is rare but attracting the attention of members of Congress who are willing to bring up the issue is more important.

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Appendix: Supporting Information for

Dynamic Lobbying: Evidence from Foreign Lobbying in the US Congress

A Figures

Figure A1 shows a sample FARA report.

Figure A2 (a) presents the distribution of trade ideal points by party and whether a member is contacted by lobbyists on behalf of South Korea during the period. Figure A2 (b) presents the correlation between DW-NOMINATE scores and trade ideal points.

Figure A3 presents the relationship between the trade ideal points (x-axis) and Feigenbaum and Hall (2015)'s trade votes.

Figure A4 presents the distribution of CF Score differences between politicians and lobbyists.

Figure A1: An Example of FARA Report

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement
Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act
of 1938, as amended

OMB NO.1124-0002

For Six Month Period Ending   June 30, 2008
(Insert date)

Reporting Period

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant
    Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP

Lobbying Firm

(b) Registration No.
    3492

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant
    1333 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
    Washington, DC 20036

(a) FARA First Page

(PAGE 4)

III - ACTIVITIES

*A Brief Description of
Lobbying Activities*

11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal
     named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement?   Yes ☒   No ☐

     If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:
     Embassy of Panama: Communications with US Government regarding Panama Free Trade Agreement
     Embassy of Korea: Communications with US Government regarding Korea Free Trade Agreement
     Embassy of the United Arab Emirates: Communications with US Government concerning a broad range of issues affecting US-
     UAE relations specifically related to foreign policy, national security and international economic policy matters.

(b) FARA Section III – Activities Page

Notes: This is a sample FARA report submitted by Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, LLP in June, 2008.
Panel (a) shows the first page and panel (b) shows the fourth page.

Figure A2: Trade Ideal Points
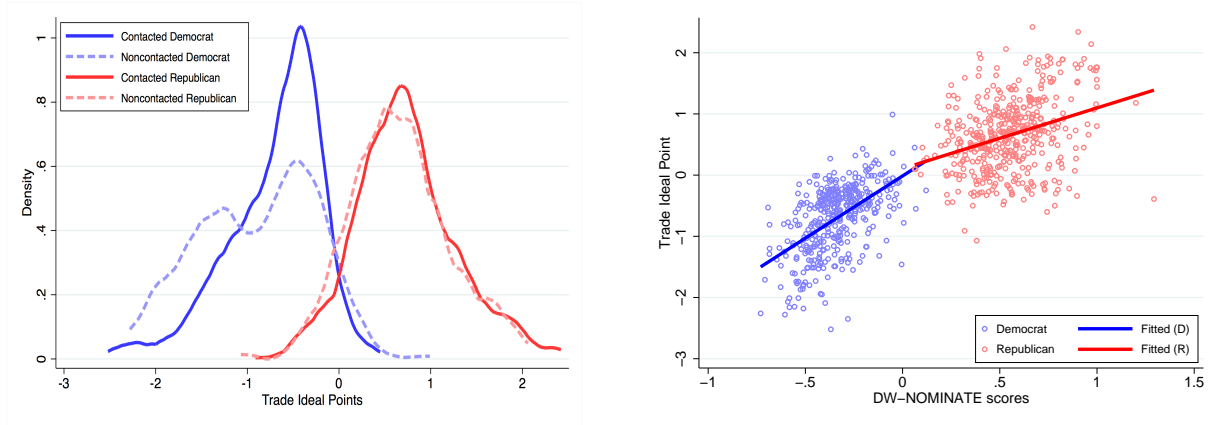
(a) By Contact and Party

(b) Correlation with DW-NOMINATE by Party

Notes: Panel (a) shows the distributions of trade ideal points by the contact and party. Panel (b) shows the correlation between the trade ideal points and the DW-NOMINATE score by party.

Figure A3: Comparing the Trade Ideal Points with Feigenbaum and Hall (2015)'s Trade Scores
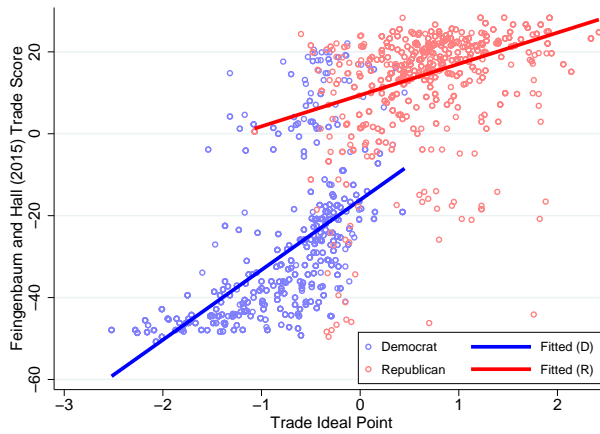
Figure A4: Distribution of CF Score Differences between Politicians and Lobbyists

(a) First Contact CF Score Difference
(b) Maximum CF Score Difference
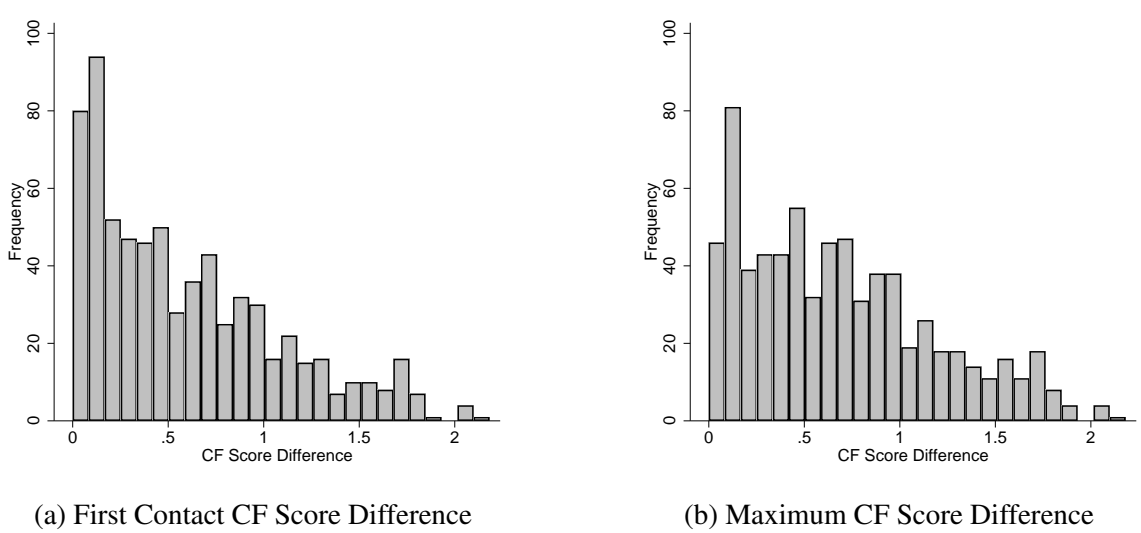
Notes: Panel (a) shows the distribution of CF Score difference between a politician and a lobbyist for the politician's first lobbying contact. Panel (b) shows the distribution of the maximum CF Score difference between a politician and lobbyists for all contacts made to the politician. Smaller CF Score differences means that the ideology of a politician and a lobbyist is more aligned.

B Tables

Table A1 presents the list of trade bills utilized in constructing the trade ideal points.

Table A2 presents the list of bills related to the South Korean FTA introduced in the US Congress.

Table A3 presents the summary statistics of the variables included in the regression analysis.

Table A4 presents the full regression results for lobbying contacts in the House of Representatives.

Table A5 presents the full regression results for lobbying contacts in the Senate.

Table A6 presents the composition in Congress by type and the composition of types by lobbying contacts.

Table A7 presents the full regression results for the CF Score differences by member-level characteristics.

Table A8 presents the full regression results for the CF Score differences by member-level characteristics and periods.

Table A1: List of Trade-related Bills, 2003-2012

Congress	Year	Description	Congress	Year	Description
108	2003	Burma Import Sanctions	109	2006	Miscellaneous Tariff Cuts
108	2003	Singapore FTA	109	2006	Approve Dubai Ports World Deal
108	2003	Chile FTA	109	2006	Reject Raising Airline Investment Cap
108	2003	Cuba Travel Ban	109	2006	Internet Gambling Payments
108	2003	Country of Origin Labeling	109	2006	Vietnam PNTR
108	2003	Computer Export Controls	109	2006	AGO, ATPA Extension
108	2003	Oppose EU GMO Ban	110	2007	Eliminate Worker Visas
108	2004	Restrict Federal Outsourcing	110	2007	Ban Mexican Trucks
108	2004	Australia FTA	110	2007	Peru FTA
108	2004	Morocco FTA	110	2007	Farm Bill
108	2004	Miscellaneous Tariff Cuts	110	2007	Defund Visa Waiver Program
108	2004	Increase Foreign Doctors	110	2007	Andean Trade Preference Act
108	2004	Cut Market Access Program	110	2007	Expand Fam Exports to Cuba
109	2005	China Currency Sanctions	110	2007	Reduce Sugar Protection
109	2005	Cuba Travel Ban	110	2008	Suspend TPA
109	2005	DR-CAFTA	110	2008	Reduce Cotton Subsidies
109	2005	Protect US Trade Laws	111	2009	Ending Offshoring Act
109	2005	Withdrawn US from WTO	111	2010	Currency Reform for Fair Trade
109	2005	Restrict Contract w/ Offshoring Firms	111	2010	US Manufacturing Act
109	2005	Defund Approval of CNOOC	112	2011	Currency Exchange Rate Reform
109	2005	Bahrain FTA	112	2012	Export-Import Bank Reauthorization
109	2005	Maintain "Byrd Law"	112	2012	Eliminated Sugar Program
109	2006	Study of Foreign Debt	112	2012	Russia and Moldova PNTR
109	2006	100% Container Scanning	112	2012	Farm Bill
109	2006	Orman FTA	112	2012	Applying Countervailing Duly Law

Table A2: List of Korea-US FTA-related Bills

Congress	Bill Number	Title
111th	H.Res.987	Recognizing the importance of trade to the United States economy and the importance of passing free trade agreements with Colombia, South Korea, and Panama
112th	H.Res.86	Recognizing the importance of trade to the United States economy and the importance of passing free trade agreements with Colombia, South Korea, and Panama
112th	H.R.2832	To Extend the Generalized System of Preferences, and for other purposes
112th	H.R.3080	United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act
112th	S.1642	United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act
112th	H.Res.418	Providing for consideration of the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 2832) to extend the Generalized System of Preferences, and for other purposes
112th	H.Res.425	Providing for consideration of the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 2832) to extend the Generalized System of Preferences, and for other purposes; providing for consideration of

Table A3: Summary Statistics of the Variables

Variable	N	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Panel A. House					
Trade Committee	2,194	0.09	0.28	0.00	1.00
Leadership	2,194	0.01	0.11	0.00	1.00
Caucus Membership	2,194	0.04	0.19	0.00	1.00
Seniority	2,194	5.83	4.32	1.00	29.00
Foreign Committee	2,194	0.04	0.19	0.00	1.00
Democrat	2,194	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Tight Race	2,194	0.16	0.37	0.00	1.00
Freshman	2,194	0.16	0.36	0.00	1.00
Legislative Effectiveness Score	2,194	1.00	1.53	0.00	18.69
(ln) Export to Korea (2011)	2,194	12.30	0.53	9.22	13.57
(ln) Import from Korea (2011)	2,194	12.52	0.60	9.58	14.33
White Ratio	2,194	0.74	0.18	0.16	0.97
High School or Less	2,194	0.44	0.10	0.17	0.73
Unemployment Ratio	2,194	0.09	0.02	0.03	0.23
(ln) Median Income	2,194	10.90	0.25	10.14	11.62
(ln) Contributions from Pro-FTA Groups	2,194	8.64	4.36	0.00	13.42
(ln) Contributions from Anti-FTA Groups	2,191	5.77	5.20	0.00	14.28
(ln) Contributions from Unions	2,189	9.71	3.54	0.00	14.57
Panel B. Senate					
Trade Committee	506	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00
Leadership	506	0.03	0.16	0.00	1.00
Seniority	506	6.91	5.37	1.00	26.00
Foreign Committee	506	0.07	0.26	0.00	1.00
Democrat	506	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00
Tight Race	506	0.35	0.48	0.00	1.00
Freshman	506	0.13	0.33	0.00	1.00
Legislative Effectiveness Score	506	1.01	1.02	0.01	5.97
((ln) Export to Korea (2011)	506	14.18	0.93	11.79	16.38
(ln) Import from Korea (2011)	506	14.32	1.05	11.56	16.76
White Ratio	506	0.78	0.13	0.25	0.95
High School or Less	506	0.43	0.05	0.33	0.58
Unemployment Ratio	506	0.08	0.02	0.03	0.12
(ln) Median Income	506	10.88	0.16	10.58	11.21
(ln) Contributions from Pro-FTA Groups	506	8.47	4.96	0.00	15.87
(ln) Contributions from Anti-FTA Groups	506	4.92	4.99	0.00	16.72
(ln) Contributions from Unions	506	3.76	5.44	0.00	14.52

Notes: Unit of observation is member $\times$ congress.

Table A4: Member Characteristics and Lobbying Contacts: House

	Initial Negotiation		Re-negotiation		Voting	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Outcome = Contact	Any	(ln) Total	Any	(ln) Total	Any	(ln) Total
Trade Committee	0.0872**	0.102**	0.210***	0.566***	0.257***	0.609***
	(0.0342)	(0.0399)	(0.0724)	(0.147)	(0.0784)	(0.160)
Leadership	0.160	0.169	0.508***	1.789***	0.313***	1.705***
	(0.121)	(0.138)	(0.0657)	(0.322)	(0.113)	(0.531)
Caucus	0.279**	0.593**	0.359***	0.971***	-0.0340	0.243
	(0.132)	(0.271)	(0.0716)	(0.237)	(0.114)	(0.243)
Seniority	0.00492*	0.00535*	-0.00178	0.00241	-0.00292	-0.00208
	(0.00254)	(0.00312)	(0.00563)	(0.0104)	(0.00558)	(0.00805)
Foreign Committee	0.0571	0.0386	0.210*	0.331	0.147	0.133
	(0.0416)	(0.0341)	(0.112)	(0.203)	(0.112)	(0.144)
Democrat	-0.0148	-0.0110	0.00971	0.00824	0.234***	0.348***
	(0.0149)	(0.0153)	(0.0573)	(0.102)	(0.0837)	(0.119)
Tight Race	0.0139	0.0119	-0.0617	-0.122	-0.0129	0.0210
	(0.0166)	(0.0153)	(0.0484)	(0.0819)	(0.0632)	(0.0963)
Freshman	-0.00290	-0.00525	0.0822	0.106	0.0491	0.102
	(0.0138)	(0.0184)	(0.0536)	(0.0895)	(0.0771)	(0.107)
LES	-0.00471	-0.00158	-0.000497	0.00683	0.00129	0.0235
	(0.00363)	(0.00447)	(0.0129)	(0.0302)	(0.0152)	(0.0353)
(ln) Export	-0.00675	-0.0215	-0.0742	-0.176	-0.0584	-0.168
	(0.0223)	(0.0281)	(0.0667)	(0.125)	(0.0763)	(0.103)
(ln) Import	-0.0203	-0.0204	0.0359	0.0221	0.0375	0.108
	(0.0138)	(0.0170)	(0.0618)	(0.113)	(0.0748)	(0.101)
White Ratio	-0.0131	-0.0101	-0.273*	-0.311	-0.161	-0.150
	(0.0369)	(0.0440)	(0.159)	(0.300)	(0.195)	(0.285)
High School or Less	-0.0952	-0.0863	-0.0211	0.0336	-0.226	0.358
	(0.0925)	(0.107)	(0.302)	(0.557)	(0.381)	(0.513)
Unemployment	0.385	0.392	0.246	0.373	0.278	0.307
	(0.354)	(0.371)	(1.297)	(2.446)	(1.437)	(2.178)
(ln) Median Income	0.00552	0.00222	0.139	0.333	0.174	0.254
	(0.0357)	(0.0448)	(0.129)	(0.242)	(0.164)	(0.225)
(ln) Contributions from Pro-FTA	0.000515	0.0000861	0.0147***	0.0177*	0.0347**	0.0555***
	(0.00181)	(0.00183)	(0.00566)	(0.00994)	(0.0145)	(0.0180)
(ln) Contribution from Anti-FTA	0.000673	0.00119	-0.00707	-0.00146	0.00543	0.00331
	(0.00161)	(0.00157)	(0.00628)	(0.0109)	(0.00905)	(0.0128)
(ln) Contributions from Union	-0.00229	-0.00358	0.00999	0.0239**	0.00161	0.00794
	(0.00284)	(0.00342)	(0.00672)	(0.0109)	(0.00880)	(0.0106)
	(0.00491)	(0.00565)	(0.00685)	(0.0107)	(0.00874)	(0.0143)
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓		
N	869	869	880	880	438	438
adj. R^2	0.120	0.206	0.170	0.265	0.114	0.199
Mean Outcome	0.025	0.027	0.43	0.71	0.57	0.70

Notes: Unit of observation is member $\times$ congress. Standard errors clustered at the member level are reported in the parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$. Initial negotiation period covers the 108th and 109th Congresses; Re-negotiation period covers the 110th and 111th Congresses; Voting stage covers the 112th Congress. *Trade Committee* indicates membership in the Ways and Means Committee. *Caucus* indicates whether the member was affiliated with Congressional Korea or/and Asia Pacific American Caucus. Tight Race = 1 if the vote share in the most recent election was less than 0.55. LES is the Legislative Effectiveness Score (Volden and Wiseman 2014). Congress fixed effect is not included in the voting stage because it only covers the 112th Congress.

Table A5: Member Characteristics and Lobbying Contacts: Senate

	Initial Negotiation		Re-negotiation		Voting	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Outcome = Contact	Any	(ln) Total	Any	(ln) Total	Any	(ln) Total
Trade Committee	0.158**	0.174**	0.0694	0.284	0.208**	0.210
	(0.0666)	(0.0846)	(0.0872)	(0.191)	(0.0889)	(0.144)
Leadership	0.0833	0.0379	0.576***	1.623***	0.128	0.996**
	(0.0902)	(0.0719)	(0.117)	(0.233)	(0.161)	(0.443)
Seniority	0.00485	0.00731	0.0129	0.0359*	0.0240***	0.0627***
	(0.00407)	(0.00530)	(0.00833)	(0.0185)	(0.00744)	(0.0174)
Foreign Committee	-0.0320	-0.0363	0.245	0.439	-0.0391	0.232
	(0.0276)	(0.0343)	(0.165)	(0.290)	(0.298)	(0.401)
Democrat	-0.00321	0.00771	-0.152	-0.177	0.0703	-0.102
	(0.0601)	(0.0762)	(0.1000)	(0.197)	(0.113)	(0.187)
Tight Race	0.0102	0.00681	-0.126	-0.172	0.267***	0.489***
	(0.0229)	(0.0217)	(0.0914)	(0.164)	(0.0968)	(0.162)
Freshman	0.0225	0.0285	-0.161	-0.259	0.364**	0.662**
	(0.0311)	(0.0347)	(0.112)	(0.191)	(0.171)	(0.313)
(ln) Export	0.0213	0.0723	0.289*	0.623**	0.101	0.171
	(0.0661)	(0.0829)	(0.150)	(0.280)	(0.191)	(0.258)
(ln) Import	-0.0112	-0.0504	-0.141	-0.342	0.00951	-0.00129
	(0.0589)	(0.0723)	(0.142)	(0.262)	(0.175)	(0.240)
White Ratio	-0.0888	-0.0116	-1.230***	-1.768***	-1.091***	-1.420**
	(0.129)	(0.120)	(0.310)	(0.600)	(0.393)	(0.658)
High School or Less	-0.173	-0.203	-0.900	-1.861	-1.302	-3.180
	(0.461)	(0.580)	(1.142)	(2.451)	(1.202)	(2.007)
Unemployment	-1.679	-1.314	-0.865	-1.055	-3.570	-4.586
	(1.380)	(1.619)	(3.791)	(7.309)	(3.605)	(5.061)
(ln) Median Income	0.0210	0.0155	0.117	0.146	-0.549	-1.248
	(0.156)	(0.177)	(0.462)	(0.942)	(0.441)	(0.783)
(ln) Contributions from Pro-FTA	-0.00128	0.00382	0.00675	0.0227	0.0625**	0.0795*
	(0.00458)	(0.00606)	(0.0102)	(0.0186)	(0.0270)	(0.0426)
(ln) Contributions from Anti-FTA	-0.00147	-0.00357	0.00900	0.0181	-0.0210*	0.00947
	(0.00569)	(0.00788)	(0.0115)	(0.0216)	(0.0119)	(0.0212)
(ln) Contributions from Union	-0.000193	0.00150	0.00390	-0.00734	-0.0211*	-0.0349*
	(0.00156)	(0.00209)	(0.00693)	(0.0124)	(0.0109)	(0.0192)
Congress FE	✓	✓	✓	✓		
N	200	200	205	205	101	101
adj. R^2	0.065	0.076	0.148	0.184	0.168	0.259
Mean Outcome Value	0.045	0.044	0.49	0.82	0.69	0.87

Notes: Unit of observation is member × congress. Standard errors clustered at the member level are reported in the parentheses. $^*p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$. Initial negotiation period covers the 108th and 109th Congresses; Re-negotiation period covers the 110th and 111th Congresses; Voting stage covers the 112th Congress. *Trade Committee* indicates membership in the Finance Committee. Tight Race = 1 if the vote share in the most recent election was less than 0.55. LES is the Legislative Effectiveness Score (Volden and Wiseman 2017). Congress fixed effect is not included in the voting stage because it only covers the 112th Congress.

Table A6: Comparison of the Composition of Congress and Lobbying Contacts (by South Korea)

	Initial Negotiation		Re-negotiation		Voting	
Type	Congress (%)	Lobbying (%)	Congress	Lobbying	Congress	Lobbying
Strong Protectionist	26.9	12.7	32.1	17.5	26.1	7.7
Weak Protectionist	19.1	52.2	22.4	49.8	26.1	29.8
Weak Free Trader	29.2	2.4	25.6	16.8	20.5	7.5
Strong Free Trader	24.7	32.5	21.8	15.7	26.3	54.8

Notes: Congress(%) column shows the composition of members in Congress in each period. Lobbying (%) column shows the composition of each group in a given period out of the total contacts made in that period.

Table A7: Member Characteristics and CF Score Difference: House

	First Contact CF Score Difference			Maximum CF Score Difference		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Trade Ideal Point	0.194**	0.197**	0.0951**	0.222**	0.227**	0.133**
Trade Ideal Point	0.196***	0.198***	0.0957***	0.224***	0.229***	0.132***
	(0.0278)	(0.0281)	(0.0333)	(0.0273)	(0.0284)	(0.0373)
Competitive District[a]		-0.148***	-0.133**		-0.141**	-0.115**
		(0.0546)	(0.0583)		(0.0576)	(0.0582)
(ln) Contributions from pro-FTA Groups			0.0408***			0.0435***
			(0.00724)			(0.00703)
(ln) Contributions from Anti-FTA Groups			-0.0299***			-0.0270***
			(0.00700)			(0.00714)
Caucus Membership		-0.0313	-0.0780		0.0870	0.0464
		(0.0673)	(0.0678)		(0.0732)	(0.0720)
Committee Chair		0.198*	0.217**		0.155	0.152
		(0.106)	(0.104)		(0.0996)	(0.101)
Leadership		-0.158*	-0.174*		-0.0794	-0.0926
		(0.0910)	(0.0902)		(0.100)	(0.105)
Seniority		-0.0172***	-0.0156***		-0.0130***	-0.01000**
		(0.00496)	(0.00501)		(0.00495)	(0.00486)
Foreign Committee		-0.0234	0.0235		-0.0221	0.0135
		(0.0956)	(0.0966)		(0.0949)	(0.0899)
Freshman		-0.0219	-0.0291		0.0200	0.0199
		(0.0628)	(0.0640)		(0.0631)	(0.0638)
LES		-0.0208	-0.0273*		0.0115	0.00778
		(0.0146)	(0.0156)		(0.0163)	(0.0168)
China Shock[b]			0.0162			-0.0154
			(0.0662)			(0.0613)
Non-White Ratio			0.127			0.157
			(0.171)			(0.184)
Population with College Degree			0.909			0.530
			(0.573)			(0.590)
Unemployment Rate			-0.583			-1.792
			(1.550)			(1.686)
(ln) Median Income			-0.176			-0.168
			(0.209)			(0.216)
Gini			-1.608			-1.234
Period Fixed Effect	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	694	694	659	705	705	670
adj. R^2	0.148	0.178	0.252	0.173	0.195	0.264
Mean Outcome Var.	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.81	0.81	0.81

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the member level are reported in the parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$. **a**. Competitive district equals 1 if a district's average democratic vote share in the 2000s was between 0.4 and 0.6. **b**. Change in Chinese Import per Worker, 1990-2007 (Autor, Dorn, and Hanson 2013).

Table A8: Position on Free Trade and CF Score Difference by Periods: House

	First Contact CF Score Difference			Maximum CF Score Difference		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Trade Ideal Point	0.108***	0.120***	0.0464	0.147***	0.163***	0.0893**
	(0.0371)	(0.0375)	(0.0422)	(0.0369)	(0.0369)	(0.0444)
Trade Ideal Point x Re-negotiation	0.171***	0.163***	0.136***	0.163***	0.164***	0.138***
	(0.0393)	(0.0378)	(0.0385)	(0.0338)	(0.0338)	(0.0333)
Trade Ideal Point x Voting	0.0727*	0.0516	0.0363	0.0569	0.0209	0.0117
	(0.0421)	(0.0444)	(0.0481)	(0.0359)	(0.0367)	(0.0387)
Competitive District [a]		-0.144***	-0.136**		-0.134**	-0.117**
		(0.0535)	(0.0577)		(0.0568)	(0.0585)
(ln) Contributions from pro-FTA Groups			0.0306***			0.0343***
			(0.00714)			(0.00697)
(ln) Contributions from anti-FTA Groups			-0.0278***			-0.0258***
			(0.00700)			(0.00719)
Caucus Membership		-0.0399	-0.0856		0.0792	0.0405
		(0.0664)	(0.0667)		(0.0726)	(0.0722)
Committee Chair		0.222**	0.239**		0.183*	0.180*
		(0.109)	(0.109)		(0.0995)	(0.101)
Leadership		-0.146	-0.154*		-0.0679	-0.0746
		(0.0905)	(0.0909)		(0.0996)	(0.105)
Seniority		-0.0194***	-0.0184***		-0.0154***	-0.0129***
		(0.00504)	(0.00521)		(0.00489)	(0.00488)
Foreign Committee		-0.0322	0.0168		-0.0247	0.0148
		(0.0944)	(0.0974)		(0.0904)	(0.0851)
Freshman		-0.0296	-0.0431		0.0121	0.00401
		(0.0629)	(0.0656)		(0.0627)	(0.0651)
LES		-0.0114	-0.0153		0.0194	0.0180
		(0.0157)	(0.0169)		(0.0153)	(0.0162)
China Shock [b]			0.0262			-0.00978
			(0.0653)			(0.0608)
Non-white Ratio			0.171			0.193
			(0.169)			(0.183)
Population with College Degree			0.893			0.524
			(0.577)			(0.593)
Unemployment Rate			-0.696			-1.895
			(1.565)			(1.702)
(ln) Median Income			-0.172			-0.166
			(0.210)			(0.217)
Gini			-1.729*			-1.370
			(1.041)			(1.103)
N	694	694	659	705	705	670
adj. R^2	0.138	0.170	0.224	0.172	0.198	0.245
Mean Outcome Var.	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.81	0.81	0.81

Notes: Standard errors clustered at member level are presented in parentheses. $^*p < 0.10$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{***}p < 0.01$.
a. Competitive district equals 1 if a district's average democratic vote share in the 2000s was between 0.4 and 0.6. **b**. Change in Chinese Import per Worker, 1990-2007 (Autor, Dorn, and Hanson 2013).