#### Discussion of Politician's Asset Allocation and Economic Bill Proposals (Hyun-Soo Choi, Hugh Hoikwang Kim, Paul Youngwook Kim)

by

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## Background

#### Politicians and economic benefits

- Stop Trading on Congressional Knowledge (STOCK) Act of 2012
- "60 members of Congress have violated a law designed to stop insider trading and prevent conflicts-of-interest" (7 May 2022)
- On January 24, 2020, the Senate Committees on Health and Foreign Relations held a closed meeting with only Senators present to brief them about the <u>COVID-19 outbreak</u>. Following the meeting Senator Kelly Loeffler and her husband Jeffrey Sprecher, the chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, made <u>27</u> <u>transactions to sell stock worth between \$1,275,000 and \$3,100,000 and 2 transactions to buy stock in Citrix Systems.</u>
- Senator David Perdue made a series of 112 transactions with stocks sold for around \$825,000 and bought stocks worth \$1.8 million. Perdue started buying around \$185,000 in stock in <u>DuPont, a company that makes personal protective equipment</u>, on the same day as the Senate briefing up to March 2
- **This paper:** Do politicians legislate differently as a function of their economic incentives?

## Predictions

#### **Politicians are economically motivated**

- Will not propose (vote for?) bills that may threaten their portfolio
  - <u>Real estate</u> properties (49% of wealth)
  - More RE holdings → less likely to propose bills that would tighten the RE market
  - Exogenous (-) shocks to RE value in their portfolio → less likely to propose
- In aggregate:
  - Congress sessions with more exposure to the RE market → Fewer economic bills tightening the RE markets

# Proposing vs voting on bills?

- Selection issue: who gets to propose RE bills?
- What is the likelihood of a bill's passing?

Panel A: All Congress Members	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
i and in the congress biomsers	Log # of 1	N		Tightening
	Bills Pi			pproved
	2000 1	opood	1,000 11	<i>pp</i> rocou
Aggregated Ratio of Real Estate	-2.466***	$-2.614^{**}$	$-2.677^{*}$	-2.691*
55 5 5	(-4.06)	(-2.97)	(-2.11)	(-2.43)
GDP Growth		-0.308		-10.949*
		(-0.18)		(-1.97)
HPI Growth		-2.067		-4.164
		(-0.51)		(-0.89)
Observations	10	10	10	10
Adjusted R-squared	0.527	0.386	0.259	0.235
Panel B: Leading Party Members	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log # of	$\Gamma ightening$	Log # of	Tightening
	Bills Pr	roposed	Bills A	pproved
Aggregated Ratio of Real Estate	$-1.568^{***}$	$-1.563^{**}$	$-1.684^{**}$	$-1.603^{**}$
	(-3.91)	(-2.87)	(-2.65)	(-2.49)
GDP Growth		-1.040		-11.714
		(-0.25)		(-1.47)
HPI Growth		-0.257		-2.283
		(-0.05)		(-0.37)
	10	10	10	10
Observations	10	10	10	10
Adjusted R-squared	0.641	0.526	0.316	0.305

 Why examine individual proposal behavior rather than individual <u>voting</u> behavior?

# Selection / Election

- What are the incentives to join the Congress?
  - Vary with Real Estate market condition?
  - Vary with RE portfolio holdings?
- What about the incentives to join the committee responsible for RE markets?
  - Vary with RE portfolio holdings?
  - Proposals are almost always approved
  - This seems like a more important/relevant decision
- The causality may be reversed if these are correlated with RE market conditions
  - Identification tests rely on small samples:
    - Only 5% have holdings in border region; only 2% of their portfolios
    - Only 7% have holdings in Earthquake region; only 3%(?) of holdings

# Ruling party?

• Effect is (much) weaker for the ruling party?

Panel A: All Congress Members	5 // 6	(2) Tightening	0 // 0	(4) Tightening
	Bills Proposed		Bills Approved	
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Panel B: Leading Party Members	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log # of 7	Fightening	Log # of	Tiahtenina
	0 11 0	roposed	0 // 0	pproved
Aggregated Ratio of Real Estate	-1.568***	-1.563**	-1.684**	-1.603**
	(-3.91)	(-2.87)	(-2.65)	(-2.49)

- Is the likelihood of success/approval higher for ruling party's proposals?
  - How does this change the dynamic of proposing?

# Aggregate effect

• I am nervous about making grand statements (or inferences) using only 10 observations:

Observations	10	10	10	10	
Adjusted R-squared	0.641	0.526	0.316	0.305	

- Need a lot more information regarding the timeseries properties – e.g., graph with all variables:
  - Aggregate ratio of RE holdings
  - Tightening RE bills: # of proposal, # enacted
  - Loosening RE bills?
  - Total number of RE bills?
  - <u>RE market conditions?</u>
- In general, why use LPM(?) instead of <u>count</u> models?

## Categorization of bills

#### Main result using NLP:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Tightening	Real Estate	
Ratio of Real Estate	-0.164** (-2.32 )	-0.141** (-2.38)	-0.153*** (-2.61)	-0.167*** (-2.90)
Observations Adjusted R-squared	$1,821 \\ 0.009$	$\begin{array}{c} 1,821\\ 0.148\end{array}$	$1,821 \\ 0.179$	$1,821 \\ 0.245$

"For the subset of years from 2015 to 2020, the <u>Korean</u> <u>government officially categorizes</u> all proposed bills on their policy direction (i.e., <u>tightening vs. loosening</u>)."

^ 	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Tightenin	g Real Estat	e (Governm	ent sorted)
Ratio of Real Estate	-0.262**	-0.194*	-0.191*	-0.233**
	(-2.22)	(-1.72)	(-1.71)	(-2.06)
Observations	1,091	1,091	1,091	1,091
Adjusted R-squared	0.013	0.137	0.150	0.234

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• Why not use the **official categorization** as the main sample?

- Avoid unnecessarily introducing noise in variables
- Augment using NLP for the missing years
  - How well does the NLP predict the official categorization?

### General observations

#### **Interesting research**

- Interesting results
- First part is consistent with my prior
  - Include selection analysis, which I think is a relevant and interesting component
- Second part seems shaky
  - N=10 → eyeball tests?

#### Is this surprising?

- The lobbying industry: \$3+ Billion in the US
- Scandals in Korea: 4 of last 6 presidents
- Market effect!

#### **Policy implications?**

- STOCK Act: Light punishments, continued flouting

### Minor issues / suggestions

Rural vs. Urban: Stronger results for non-metro

- Members representing rural vs. urban areas?
- Stock ownership: Very low (3% of portfolio?)
- What about ownership of REIT / RE companies?
  Exclusion restriction
- Conflicts with NKorea affect RE markets directly?
  Aggregate regressions

- "Change" regression instead of "level" regression?
 Large number of RE holdings: ~ RE ratio?
 – Are you just running a quadratic model?

Entrenched members: Table 6

– More likely to propose tightening measure; why?