

# Markups as Shadow Tariffs: How Market Power Skews Trade Reciprocity

Siying Ding

UIBE

Ahmad Lashkaripour

Indiana University

Volodymyr Lugovskyy

Indiana University

UC Davis (October 2025)

## Background and Motivation

Inevitable questions given the rise of *market power & trade integration*:

- Are the welfare losses from market power localized?
- Are the losses transmitted intentionally through trade connections?
- Are countries disproportionately exposed to the losses depending on their trade profile?

## Background and Motivation

Inevitable questions given the rise of *market power & trade integration*:

- Are the welfare losses from market power localized?
- Are the losses transmitted intentionally through trade connections?
- Are countries disproportionately exposed to the losses depending on their trade profile?

This paper:

- New formula for the welfare cost of monopolistic markups under trade
- Combine formula and data to answer the above questions
- *Key insight:* if countries are sufficiently open, markups function as shadow tariffs

## Roadmap

**Step 1:** We derive a semi-parametric formula for the *deadweight loss* of markups ( $\mu$ ) in open economies:

$$DWL = MLD \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) + \frac{1}{\epsilon} \cdot \Delta_\mu \left( \frac{\text{trade}}{\text{GDP}} \right) + \ln \left( \frac{\text{avg. expenditure-side markup}}{\text{avg. output-side markup}} \right)$$

# Roadmap

**Step 1:** We derive a semi-parametric formula for the *deadweight loss* of markups ( $\mu$ ) in open economies:

$$DWL = \underbrace{\text{MLD} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\text{markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\epsilon} \cdot \Delta_\mu \left( \frac{\text{trade}}{\text{GDP}} \right)}_{\Delta \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \left( \frac{\text{avg. expenditure-side markup}}{\text{avg. output-side markup}} \right)}_{\text{international profit-shifting}}$$

# Roadmap

**Step 1:** We derive a semi-parametric formula for the *deadweight loss* of markups ( $\mu$ ) in open economies:

$$DWL = \underbrace{\text{MLD} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\text{markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\epsilon} \cdot \Delta_\mu \left( \frac{\text{trade}}{\text{GDP}} \right)}_{\Delta \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \left( \frac{\text{avg. expenditure-side markup}}{\text{avg. output-side markup}} \right)}_{\text{international profit-shifting}}$$

What's new? *international profit-shifting* effects

- markups generate *excess* profit (rent) payments between countries
- the burden of markups falls disproportionately on nations that specialize in low-markup goods and pay more excess profits to the RoW than they receive.

# Roadmap

**Step 1:** We derive a semi-parametric formula for the *deadweight loss* of markups ( $\mu$ ) in open economies:

$$DWL = \underbrace{\text{MLD} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\text{markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\epsilon} \cdot \Delta_\mu \left( \frac{\text{trade}}{\text{GDP}} \right)}_{\Delta \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \left( \frac{\text{avg. expenditure-side markup}}{\text{avg. output-side markup}} \right)}_{\text{international profit-shifting}}$$

# Roadmap

**Step 1:** We derive a semi-parametric formula for the *deadweight loss* of markups ( $\mu$ ) in open economies:

$$DWL = \underbrace{\text{MLD} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\text{markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\epsilon} \cdot \Delta_\mu \left( \frac{\text{trade}}{\text{GDP}} \right)}_{\Delta \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \left( \frac{\text{avg. expenditure-side markup}}{\text{avg. output-side markup}} \right)}_{\text{international profit-shifting}}$$

**Step 2:** we estimate firm-level markups globally using *demand* and *cost-based* techniques + compile new data on global profit ownership

**Step 3:** we plug the estimated markups and data into our formulas to measure DWL among 65 major economies.

## Preview of Findings

We estimate systematic *profit-shifting* from low-income to high-income countries:

- 44% increase in DWL of markups by for *low-income* countries.
- 15% reduction in the DWL of markups by for *high-income* countries.

## Preview of Findings

We estimate systematic *profit-shifting* from low-income to high-income countries:

- 44% increase in DWL of markups by for *low-income* countries.
- 15% reduction in the DWL of markups by for *high-income* countries.

### Policy Implication:

- International transfers through profit-shifting mimic an 8% shadow tariff charged by high-income countries on low-income trading partners
- these findings challenge the common view that high-income countries have made disproportionately greater tariff concessions under existing agreements (Chow et al., 2018)

# Related Literature

## (a) Theory of Trade Effects in Distorted Economies

1. **pro-competitive effects:** Melitz and Ottaviano (2008), Holmes et al. (2014), De Blas and Russ (2015), Edmond et al. (2015), Feenstra and Weinstein (2017), Arkolakis et al. (2019)
2. **inter-firm reallocation:** Epifani and Gancia (2011), Bai, Jin, and Lu (2019), Berthou et al. (2020), Dix-Carneiro et al. (2021), and Farrokhi et al. (2024)
3. **Unifying frameworks:** Atkin and Donaldson (2021), Baqaee and Farhi (2019), Edmond et al. (2023)

(b) **Estimating market power in international settings:** De Loecker et al. (2016); De Loecker and Eeckhout (2018); Díez et al. (2021); Coşar, Grieco, Li, and Tintelnot (2018); Keller and Yeaple (2020), Morlacco (2019), Alviarez, Fioretti, Kikkawa, and Morlacco (2023)

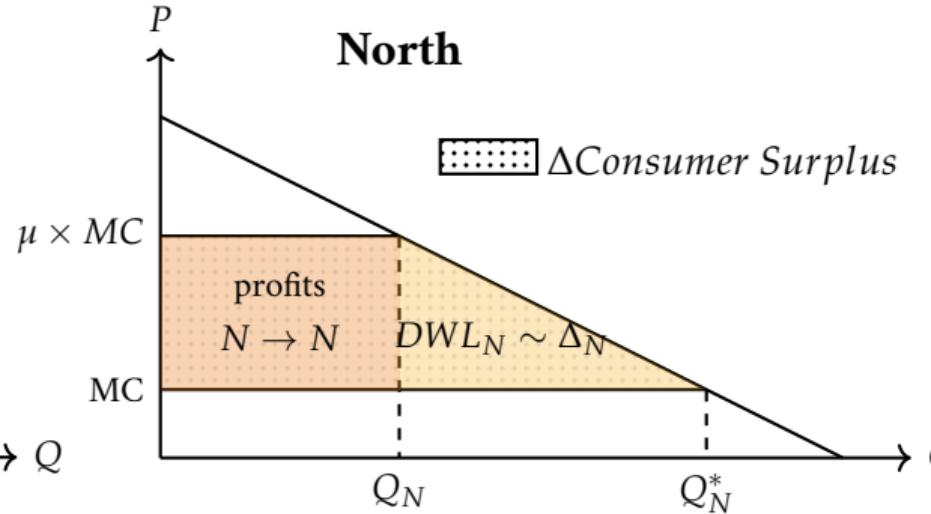
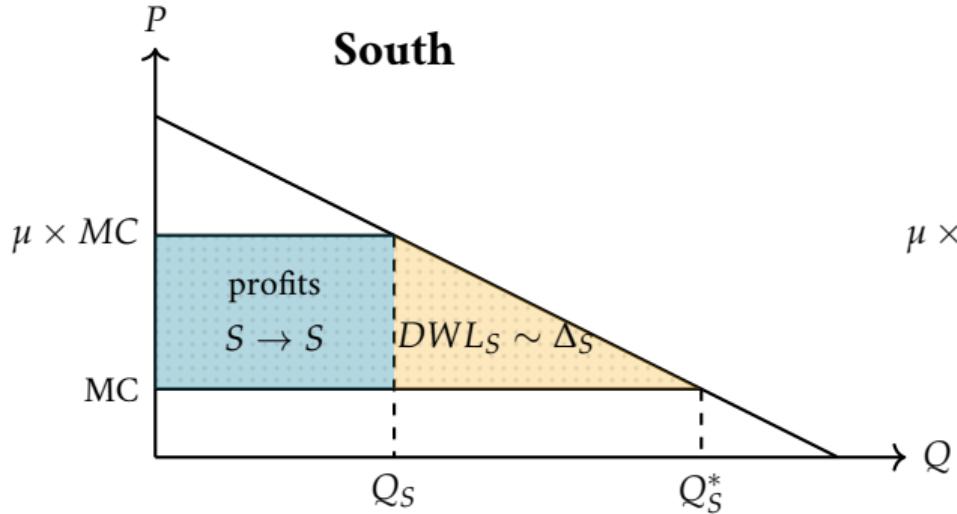
(c) **Strategic trade policy & reciprocity:** Brander and Spencer (1985); Eaton and Grossman (1986); Mrázová (2011); Ossa (2012); Bagwell and Staiger (2012); Head and Spencer (2017); Lashkaripour (2021); Firooz and Heins (2023); Lashkaripour and Lugovskyy (2023); Bown et al. (2023).

## An Illustration of Markup Incidence in Open Economies

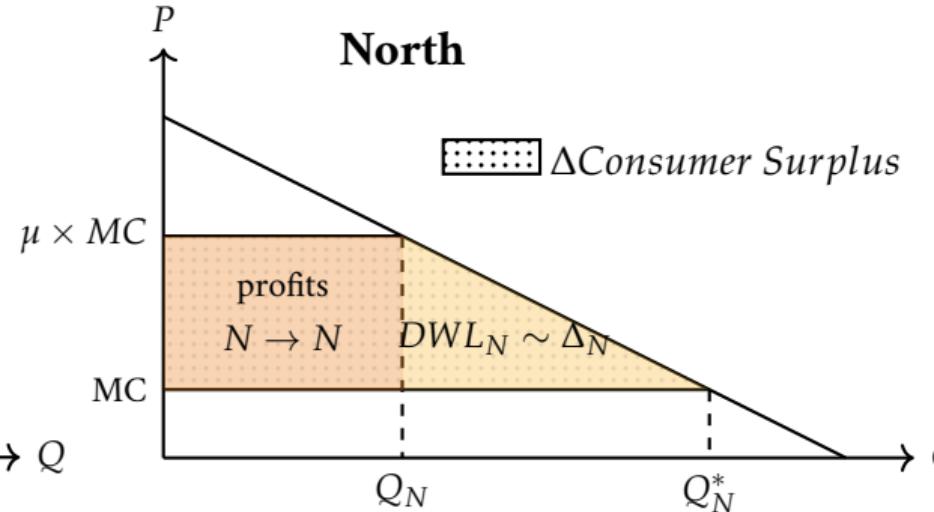
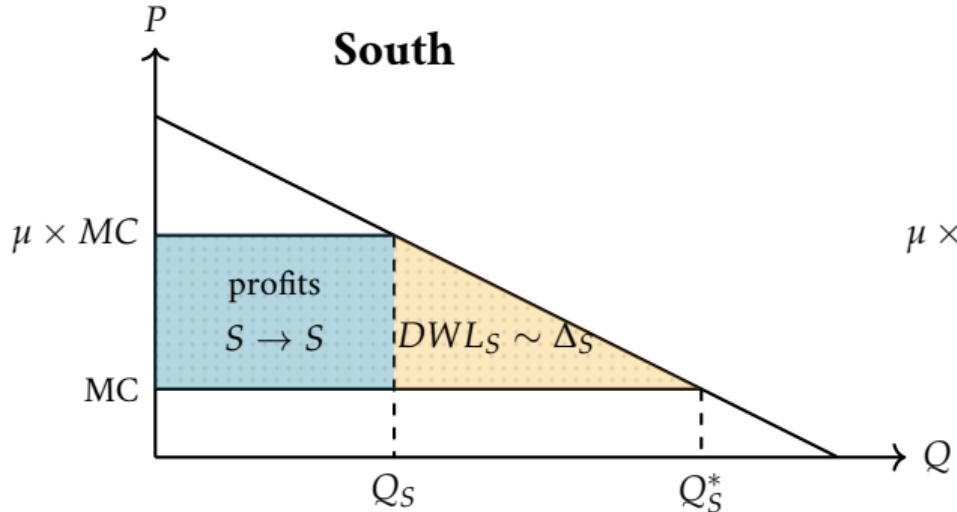
## An Illustration of Markup Incidence in Open Economies

super stylized (just for illustration!)

## Closed Economy (Textbook Case)

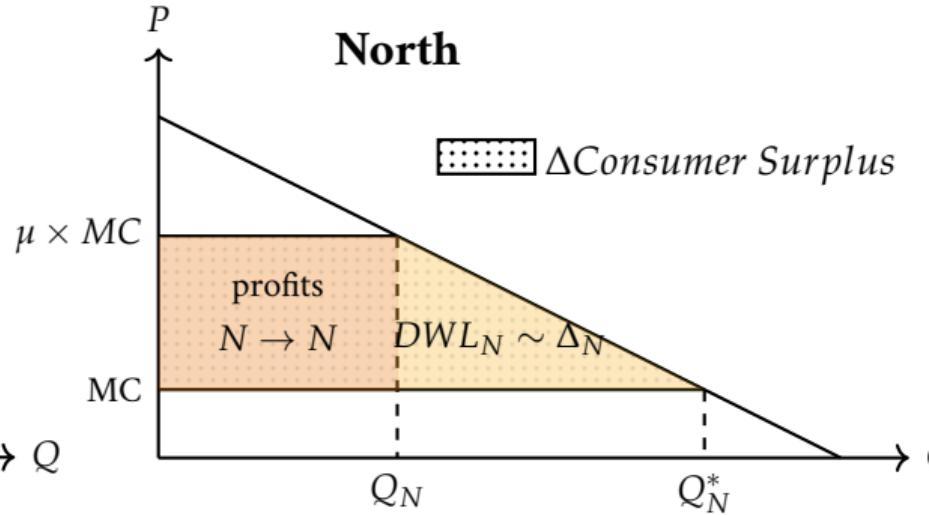
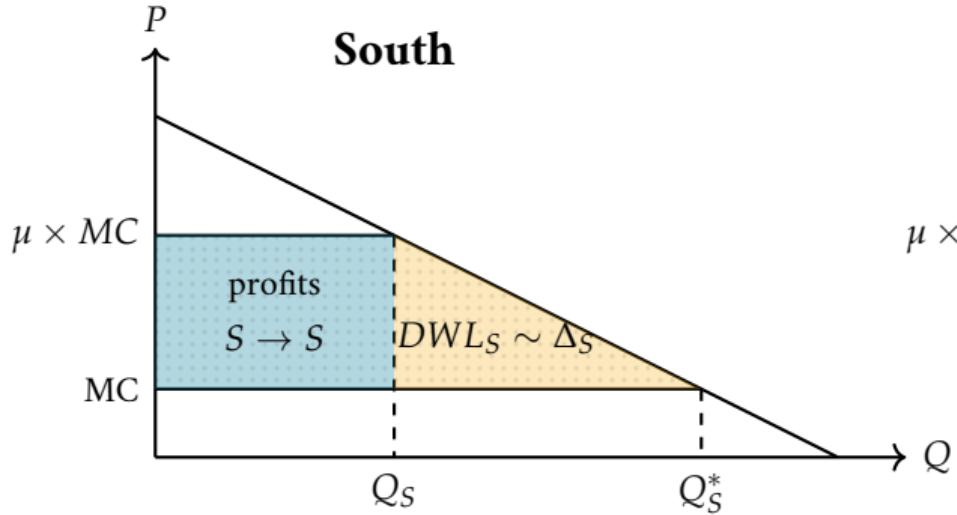


## Closed Economy (Textbook Case)



$$\mathcal{D}_i^{(closed)} = \Delta CS_i - \underbrace{\frac{\mu}{\mu-1} P Q_i}_{\text{profits}} \equiv \Delta_i$$

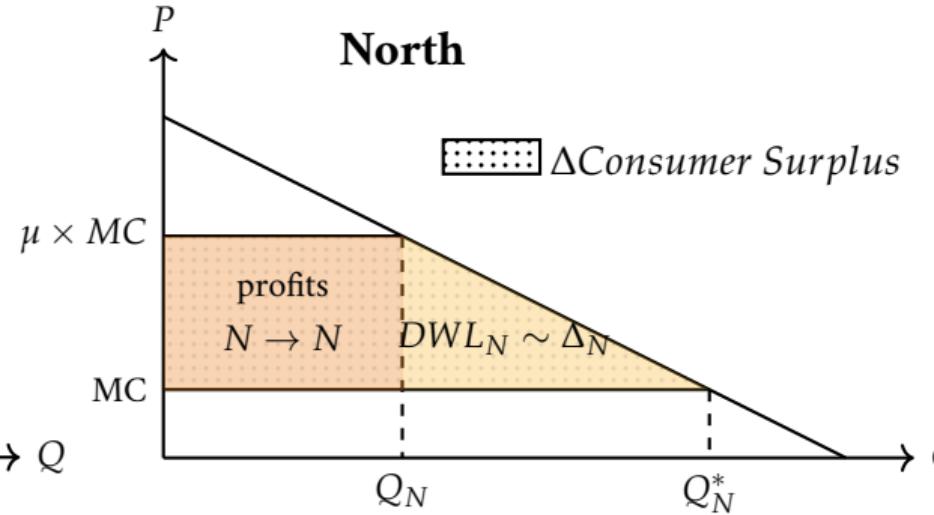
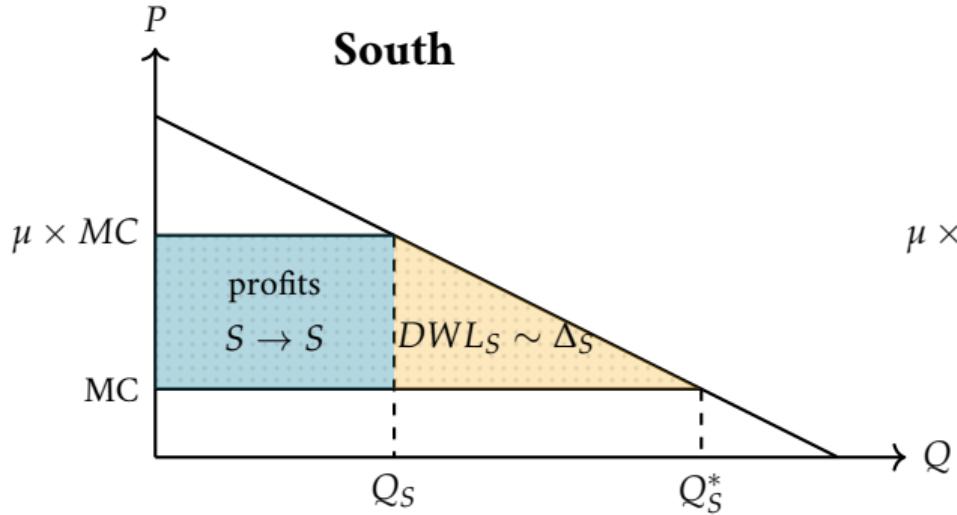
## Closed Economy (Textbook Case)



$$\mathcal{D}_i^{(closed)} = \Delta CS_i - \underbrace{\frac{\mu}{\mu-1} P Q_i}_{\text{profits}} \equiv \Delta_i$$

loss to consumer surplus

## Closed Economy (Textbook Case)

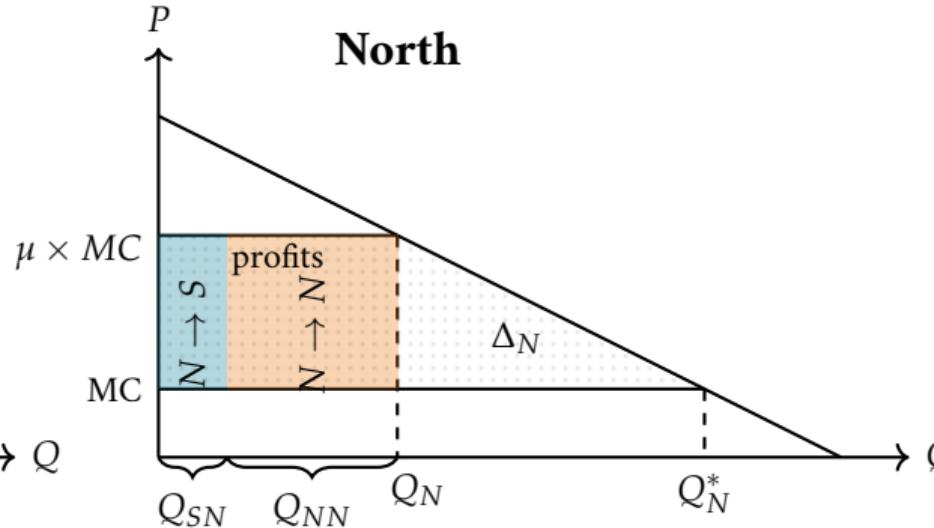
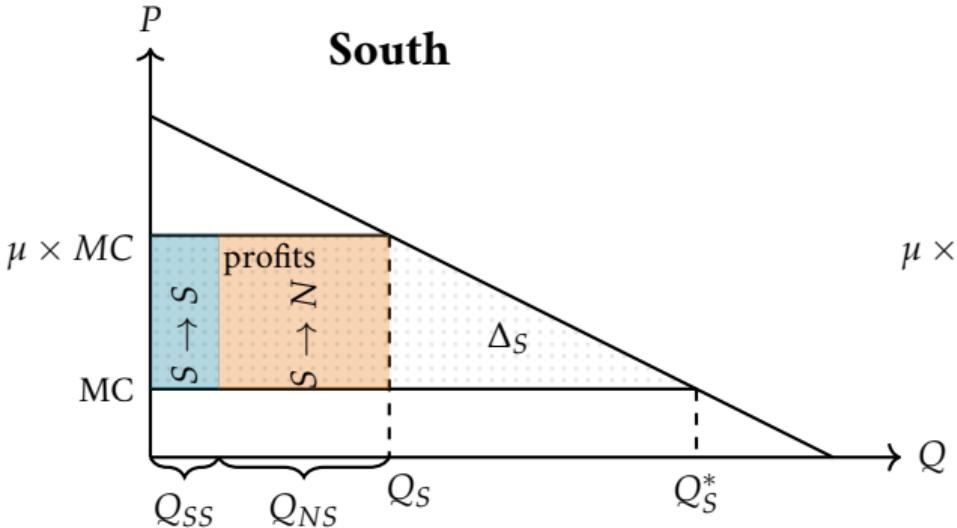


$$\mathcal{D}_i^{(closed)} = \Delta CS_i - \underbrace{\frac{\mu}{\mu-1} P Q_i}_{\text{profits}} \equiv \Delta_i$$

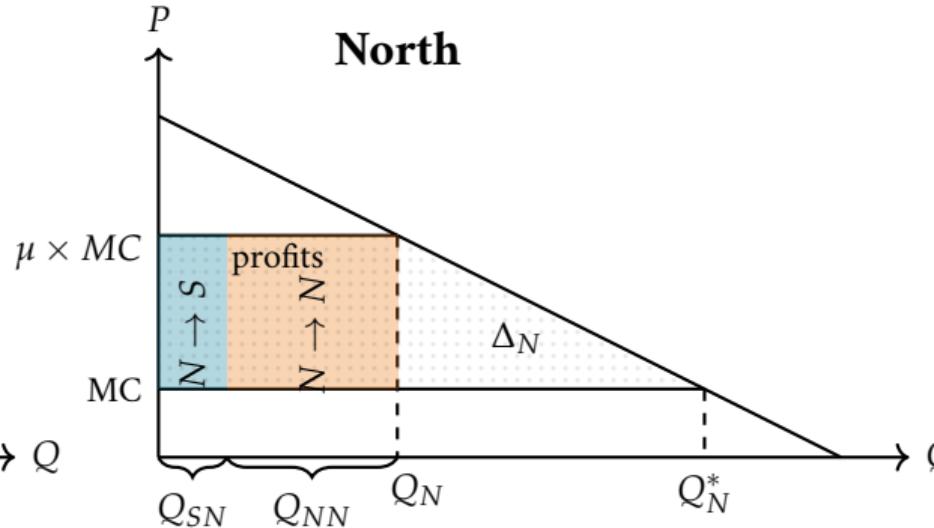
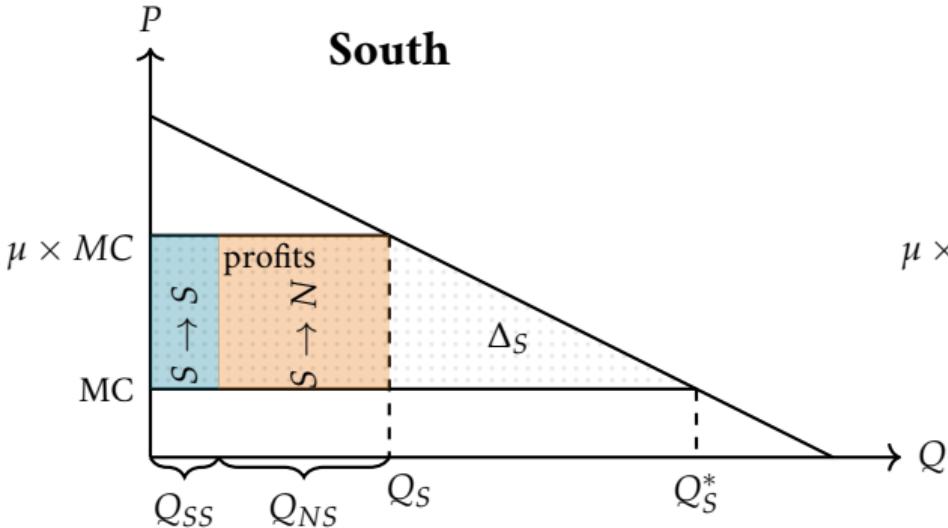
Harbinger triangle

loss to consumer surplus

# The Open Economy Case

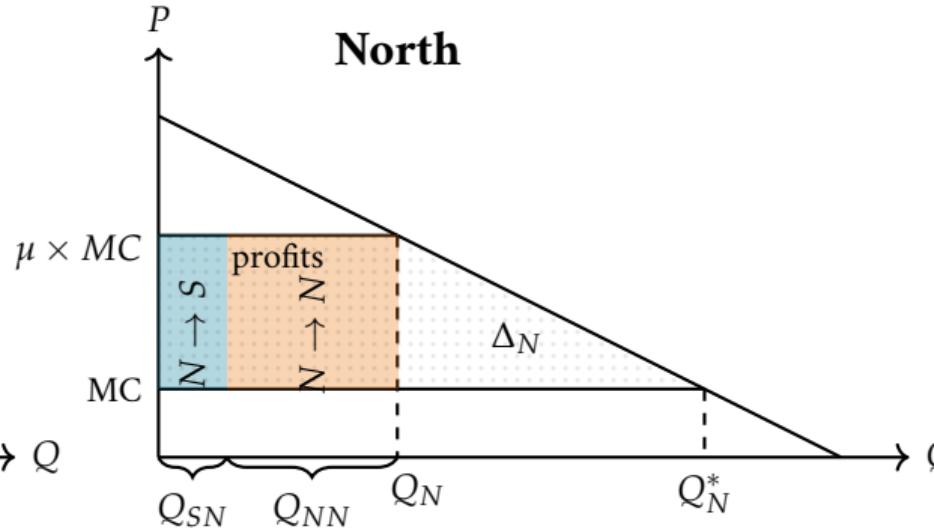
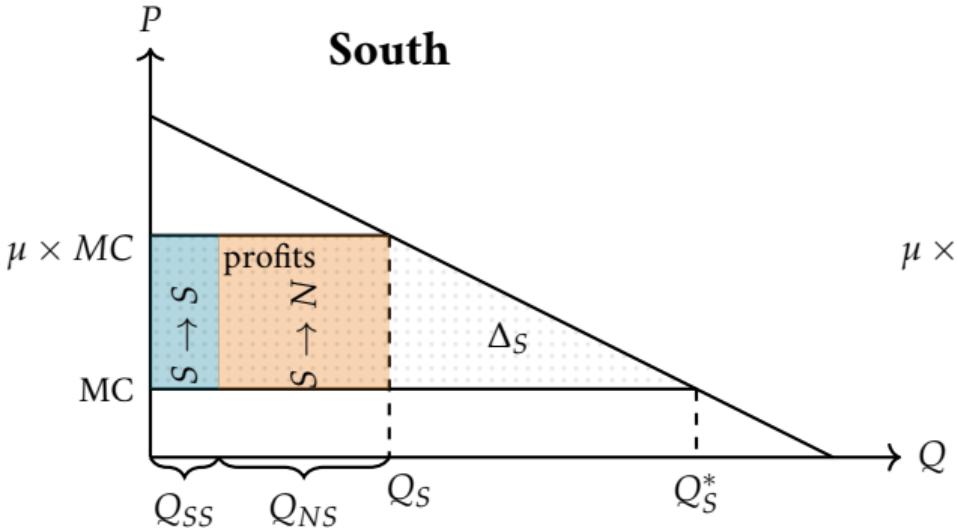


## The Open Economy Case



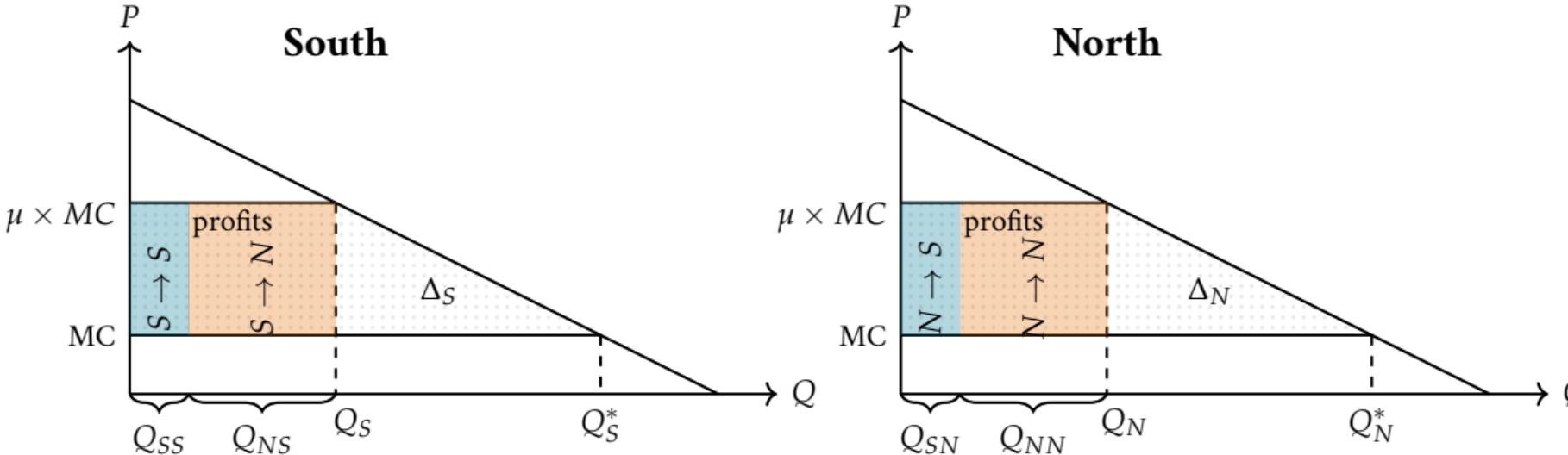
$$\mathcal{D}_S = \Delta_S + \underbrace{\frac{\mu - 1}{\mu} P (Q_{NS} - Q_{SN})}_{\text{profit-shifting}} > \Delta_S$$

## The Open Economy Case



$$\mathcal{D}_N = \Delta_N - \underbrace{\frac{\mu - 1}{\mu} P (Q_{NS} - Q_{SN})}_{\text{profit-shifting}} < \Delta_N$$

# The Open Economy Case



- Takeaway: if North's exports have a higher markup content  $\rightarrow$  trade reduces the DWL of markups in the North while increasing it in the South

suggestive evidence on North-South asymmetry in aggregate markups

## Theoretical Framework

# Economic Environment

- Multiple countries ( $i, n = 1, \dots, N$ )
- Multiple industries ( $k = 1, \dots, K$ )
- **Firms and Production**
  - fixed measure of firms in country  $i$ –industry  $k$
  - each produces a differentiated variety under monopolistic competition
  - one factor of production, labor, immobile across countries
  - $L_i \equiv$  labor endowment,  $w_i \equiv$  wage in country  $i$
- **Consumers**
  - choose from a continuum of firm varieties  $\omega \in \cup_k \Omega_k$
  - semi-parametric variable elasticity demand

## Consumers: Demand and Preferences

- All consumers have same preferences:
  - *across industries*: separable + unitary elasticity of substitution
  - *within industries*: homothetic with aggregator demands system (semi-parametric)
- The share of expenditure on firm  $\omega \in \Omega_k$  within industry  $k$ :

$$\lambda_k(p_\omega) = \frac{\frac{p_\omega}{P_k} D_k\left(\frac{p_\omega}{P_k}\right)}{\int_{\Omega_k} \frac{p_\omega}{P_k} D_k\left(\frac{p_\omega}{P_k}\right) d\omega}$$

- $D_k(\cdot)$  is decreasing with  $D_k(x) = 0$  for all  $x \geq a$
- $P_k \equiv \mathcal{P}_k(\mathbf{p}_k)$  is a prices aggregator

## Firms and Production

- Productivity drawn *i.i.d.* from a Pareto distribution with shape parameter  $\theta$
- Marginal cost under productivity  $\varphi$ :

$$c = \frac{1}{\varphi} \tau_{ni,k} w_n$$

## Firms and Production

- Productivity drawn *i.i.d.* from a Pareto distribution with shape parameter  $\theta$
- Marginal cost under productivity  $\varphi$ :

$$c = \frac{1}{\varphi} \tau_{ni,k} w_n$$

↑  
trade cost

## Firms and Production

- Productivity drawn *i.i.d.* from a Pareto distribution with shape parameter  $\theta$
- Marginal cost under productivity  $\varphi$ :

$$c = \frac{1}{\varphi} \tau_{ni,k} w_n$$

The equation shows the marginal cost  $c$  as the product of  $\frac{1}{\varphi}$  and  $\tau_{ni,k} w_n$ . A vertical arrow points from the term  $\frac{1}{\varphi}$  to the word "trade cost". Another vertical arrow points from the term  $w_n$  to the word "wage".

## Firms and Production

- Productivity drawn *i.i.d.* from a Pareto distribution with shape parameter  $\theta$
- Marginal cost under productivity  $\varphi$ :

$$c = \frac{1}{\varphi} \tau_{ni,k} w_n$$

- Profits and pricing decisions given cost  $c$  and aggregate shifter  $P_k$

$$\pi(c; P_k) = \begin{cases} \max_p (p - c) D_k \left( \frac{p}{P_k} \right) Y_k & c < P_k \\ 0 & c \geq P_k \end{cases}$$

- **Note:** There are no fixed costs, but Melitz-style selection through the choke price

## Firms and Production

- Profit-maximizing prices feature a variable markup over marginal cost:  $p = \mu \times c$
- The markup of each firm is fully determined by  $\nu \equiv P_k/c$

$$p_k(\nu) = \underbrace{m_k(\nu)}_{\mu} \times \underbrace{P_k/\nu}_{c}$$

where  $m_k(\cdot)$  is an increasing function that solves

$$m_k(\nu) = \frac{\varepsilon_k\left(\frac{m_k(\nu)}{\nu}\right)}{\varepsilon_k\left(\frac{m_k(\nu)}{\nu}\right) - 1} \quad \text{with} \quad \varepsilon_k(x) \equiv |D'_k(x)|$$

## Key Equilibrium Outcomes

- There's a 1:1 correspondence b/w a firm's markup ( $\mu$ ) with its price and market share

$$p_k(\mu) = \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} P_k$$

$$\lambda_k(\mu) = \frac{\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1}}{\int_1^\infty \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1} d\mu}$$

## Key Equilibrium Outcomes

- There's a 1:1 correspondence b/w a firm's markup ( $\mu$ ) with its price and market share

$$p_k(\mu) = \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} P_k$$

$$\lambda_k(\mu) = \frac{\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1}}{\int_1^\infty \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1} d\mu}$$

- Aggregate expenditure and output shares:

- expenditure share on goods with markup  $\mu$ :  $e_i(\mu) = \sum_k \lambda_k(\mu) e_{i,k}$

- output share of goods with markup  $\mu$ :  $y_i(\mu) = \sum_k \lambda_k(\mu) y_{i,k}$

## Key Equilibrium Outcomes

- There's a 1:1 correspondence b/w a firm's markup ( $\mu$ ) with its price and market share

$$p_k(\mu) = \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} P_k$$

$$\lambda_k(\mu) = \frac{\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1}}{\int_1^\infty \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1} d\mu}$$

- Aggregate expenditure and output shares:

- expenditure share on goods with markup  $\mu$ :  $e_i(\mu) = \sum_k \lambda_k(\mu) e_{i,k}$

industry-level share

- output share of goods with markup  $\mu$ :  $y_i(\mu) = \sum_k \lambda_k(\mu) y_{i,k}$

## Key Equilibrium Outcomes

- There's a 1:1 correspondence b/w a firm's markup ( $\mu$ ) with its price and market share

$$p_k(\mu) = \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} P_k$$

$$\lambda_k(\mu) = \frac{\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1}}{\int_1^\infty \frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)} D_k\left(\frac{\mu}{m_k^{-1}(\mu)}\right) \left(m_k^{-1}(\mu)\right)^{-\theta-1} d\mu}$$

- Aggregate expenditure and output shares:

- expenditure share on goods with markup  $\mu$ :  $e_i(\mu) = \sum_k \lambda_k(\mu) e_{i,k}$

- output share of goods with markup  $\mu$ :  $y_i(\mu) = \sum_k \lambda_k(\mu) y_{i,k}$

industry-level share

- Aggregate bilateral trade shares:

$$\lambda_{ni,k} = \frac{\chi_{i,k} (\tau_{ni,k} w_n)^{-\theta}}{\sum_\ell \chi_{\ell,k} (\tau_{\ell,i,k} w_\ell)^{-\theta}}$$

(origin  $n$ -destination  $i$ -industry  $k$ )

# General Equilibrium

- Consumers maximize utility
  - Welfare:  $W_i = v_i(Y_i, \mathbf{p}_i)$  where  $\mathbf{p}_i$  is the vector of prices in market  $i$
- Firms maximize profits
  - variable and heterogeneous markups
  - Melitz-style selection
- Goods and labor markets clear:
  - profits are rebated to households in the firms's country of origin
  - national-level expenditure equals sales (wage income + profits):  $Y_i = \sum_n \lambda_{in,k} e_{n,k} Y_n$
  - labor markets clear in each country:  $w_i L_i = \left[ \int_\mu \frac{1}{\mu} y_i(\mu) d\mu \right] Y_i$

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups

## Notation: Arithmetic and Harmonic Mean

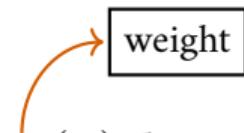
Let  $F(\cdot)$  be some generic function:

[arithmetic mean]  $\mathbb{E}_\omega [F(\mu)] = \int_\mu F(\mu) \omega(\mu) d\mu$

## Notation: Arithmetic and Harmonic Mean

Let  $F(\cdot)$  be some generic function:

[arithmetic mean]

$$\mathbb{E}_\omega [F(\mu)] = \int_\mu F(\mu) \omega(\mu) d\mu$$


## Notation: Arithmetic and Harmonic Mean

Let  $F(\cdot)$  be some generic function:

[arithmetic mean]

$$\mathbb{E}_\omega [F(\mu)] = \int_\mu F(\mu) \omega(\mu) d\mu$$


[harmonic mean]

$$\widetilde{\mathbb{E}}_\omega [F(\mu)] = \left( \int_\mu F(\mu)^{-1} \omega(\mu) d\mu \right)^{-1}$$

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Closed Economy*

**Definition:** the deadweight loss from markups in country  $i$  is defined as

$$\mathcal{D}_i \equiv \Delta_\mu \ln W_i = \ln W_i(1) - \ln W_i(\mu)$$

- $W_i(\mu)$  denotes factual welfare under markups
- $W_i(1)$  denotes counterfactual welfare under efficient marginal cost pricing.

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Closed Economy*

**Definition:** the deadweight loss from markups in country  $i$  is defined as

$$\mathcal{D}_i \equiv \Delta_\mu \ln W_i = \ln W_i(1) - \ln W_i(\mu)$$

- $W_i(\mu)$  denotes factual welfare under markups
- $W_i(1)$  denotes counterfactual welfare under efficient marginal cost pricing.

**Proposition 1:** In a *closed economy*, the DWL from markup is

$$\mathcal{D}_i^{closed} = \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)$$

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Closed Economy*

**Definition:** the deadweight loss from markups in country  $i$  is defined as

$$\mathcal{D}_i \equiv \Delta_\mu \ln W_i = \ln W_i(1) - \ln W_i(\mu)$$

- $W_i(\mu)$  denotes factual welfare under markups
- $W_i(1)$  denotes counterfactual welfare under efficient marginal cost pricing.

**Proposition 1:** In a *closed economy*, the DWL from markup is

$$\mathcal{D}_i^{closed} = \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)$$

where MLD denotes mean log deviation (*i.e.*, degree of dispersion).

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Closed Economy*

**Definition:** the deadweight loss from markups in country  $i$  is defined as

$$\mathcal{D}_i \equiv \Delta_\mu \ln W_i = \ln W_i(1) - \ln W_i(\mu)$$

- $W_i(\mu)$  denotes factual welfare under markups
- $W_i(1)$  denotes counterfactual welfare under efficient marginal cost pricing.

**Proposition 1:** In a *closed economy*, the DWL from markup is

$$\mathcal{D}_i^{closed} = \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) \equiv \ln \mathbb{E}_{e_i} \left[ \frac{1}{\mu} \right] - \mathbb{E}_{e_i} \left[ \ln \frac{1}{\mu} \right]$$

where MLD denotes mean log deviation (*i.e.*, degree of dispersion).

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Open Economy*

**Proposition 2:** The DWL from markups in open economy  $i$  is

$$\mathcal{D}_i = \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) - \frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii} + \ln \left( \tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu] / \tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu] \right)$$

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Open Economy*

**Proposition 2:** The DWL from markups in open economy  $i$  is

$$\mathcal{D}_i = \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) - \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\Delta \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \left( \tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu] / \tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu] \right)}_{\text{profit-shifting}}$$

## The Deadweight Loss of Markups: *Open Economy*

**Proposition 2:** The DWL from markups in open economy  $i$  is

$$\mathcal{D}_i = \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) - \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\Delta \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \left( \frac{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu]}{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu]} \right)}_{\text{profit-shifting}}$$

- The profit-shifting term represents international transfers via excess profit payments:

$$\ln \frac{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu]}{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu]} \sim \ln \frac{\text{avg expenditure-side markup}}{\text{avg output-side markup}}$$

- These are *zero-sum* transfers from countries specializing in low-markup activities to those specializing in high-markup activities

## Trade-Induced Change in the DWL of Markups

- The pure impact of trade on the DWL of markups is

$$\Delta_{\tau} \mathcal{D}_i \equiv \mathcal{D}_i(\tau) - \mathcal{D}_i(\infty)$$

## Trade-Induced Change in the DWL of Markups

- The pure impact of trade on the DWL of markups is

$$\Delta_{\tau} \mathcal{D}_i = \Delta \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) + \frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_{\mu} \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii} + \ln \frac{\widetilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu]}{\widetilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu]}$$

## Trade-Induced Change in the DWL of Markups

- The pure impact of trade on the DWL of markups is

$$\Delta_\tau \mathcal{D}_i = \underbrace{\Delta_\tau \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\Delta_\tau \text{ markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\Delta_\mu \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \frac{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu]}{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu]}}_{\text{profit-shifting}}$$

## Trade-Induced Change in the DWL of Markups

- The pure impact of trade on the DWL of markups is

$$\Delta_\tau \mathcal{D}_i = \underbrace{\Delta_\tau \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\Delta_\tau \text{ markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\Delta_\mu \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \frac{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu]}{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu]}}_{\text{profit-shifting}}$$

- $\Delta_\tau$  markup dispersion = 0
- $\Delta_\mu$  gains from trade  $\approx 0$

## Trade-Induced Change in the DWL of Markups

- The pure impact of trade on the DWL of markups is

$$\Delta_\tau \mathcal{D}_i = \underbrace{\Delta_\tau \text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right)}_{\Delta_\tau \text{ markup dispersion}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\Delta_\mu \text{ gains from trade}} + \underbrace{\ln \frac{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{e_i} [\mu]}{\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{y_i} [\mu]}}_{\text{profit-shifting}}$$

- $\Delta_\tau$  markup dispersion = 0
- $\Delta_\mu$  gains from trade  $\approx 0$
- profit-shifting is the man force (zero-sum)

## A Theory of Markups as Shadow Tariffs

## Duality between Tariffs & Markups

- Markups introduce a local DWL but also transfer excess surplus from foreign to home
  - akin to the textbook effect of import tariffs
- To formalize this, specify welfare as an explicit function of tariffs ( $\mathbf{t}$ ) and markups ( $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ ):

$$W_i = \mathbb{W}_i(\mathbf{t}, \boldsymbol{\mu}), \quad \text{where} \quad \begin{cases} \mathbf{t} = \{t_1, \dots, t_N\} \\ \boldsymbol{\mu} = \{\mu_1, \dots, \mu_K\} \end{cases}$$

where  $t_i$  is the uniform tariff applied by  $i$  on all trading partners

# Unpacking the Duality in Welfare Effects

- Welfare effects of markups:

$$\Delta_\mu \ln W_i = \underbrace{\ln \frac{\tilde{E}_{y_i} [\mu]}{\tilde{E}_{e_i} [\mu]}}_{\text{international transfer}} + \underbrace{\text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) - \frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\text{local efficiency loss}}$$

- Welfare effects of tariffs:

$$\Delta_t \ln W_i = \underbrace{-\ln \left[ 1 - \frac{(1 - \lambda'_{ii})t_i}{1 + t_i} \right]}_{\text{international transfer}} - \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_t \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\text{local efficiency loss}}$$

# Unpacking the Duality in Welfare Effects

- Welfare effects of markups:

$$\Delta_\mu \ln W_i = \underbrace{\ln \frac{\tilde{E}_{y_i}[\mu]}{\tilde{E}_{e_i}[\mu]}}_{\text{international transfer}} + \underbrace{\text{MLD}_{e_i} \left( \frac{1}{\mu} \right) - \frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_\mu \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\text{local efficiency loss}}$$

- Welfare effects of tariffs:

$$\Delta_t \ln W_i = \underbrace{-\ln \left[ 1 - \frac{(1 - \lambda'_{ii})t_i}{1 + t_i} \right]}_{\text{international transfer}} - \underbrace{\frac{1}{\theta} \Delta_t \ln \tilde{\lambda}_{ii}}_{\text{local efficiency loss}}$$

- Tariffs/markup yield unilateral welfare gains if  $\text{international transfer} > \text{local efficiency loss}$ 
  - ... but these gains are inefficient and come at the expense of partners.

## Equivalence Result: Duality between Tariffs & Markups

**Proposition 3:** If countries are sufficiently open and the trade elasticity  $\theta$  is sufficiently small, there exists a uniform tariff schedule,  $\tilde{\mathbf{t}}$ , that replicates the welfare effects of the markups schedule,  $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ :

$$W_i(\mathbf{t} + \tilde{\mathbf{t}}, \mathbf{1}) = W_i(\underbrace{\mathbf{t}, \boldsymbol{\mu}}_{\text{status quo}}); \quad (\forall i)$$

## Equivalence Result: Duality between Tariffs & Markups

**Proposition 3:** If countries are sufficiently open and the trade elasticity  $\theta$  is sufficiently small, there exists a uniform tariff schedule,  $\tilde{\mathbf{t}}$ , that replicates the welfare effects of the markups schedule,  $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ :

$$W_i(\underbrace{\mathbf{t} + \tilde{\mathbf{t}}}_{\text{effective tariff}}, \mathbf{1}) = W_i(\mathbf{t}, \boldsymbol{\mu}); \quad (\forall i)$$

## Equivalence Result: Duality between Tariffs & Markups

**Proposition 3:** If countries are sufficiently open and the trade elasticity  $\theta$  is sufficiently small, there exists a uniform tariff schedule,  $\tilde{\mathbf{t}}$ , that replicates the welfare effects of the markups schedule,  $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ :

$$W_i(\underbrace{\mathbf{t} + \tilde{\mathbf{t}}}_{\text{effective tariff}}, \mathbf{1}) = W_i(\mathbf{t}, \boldsymbol{\mu}); \quad (\forall i)$$

### - Key takeaway:

- markups function as decentralized *shadow tariffs*
- sufficiently open countries may find it in their self-interest *not* to regulate markups

## Extensions and Sufficient Statistics for Measurement

- We re-derive our formula under three extensions:
  1. global profit ownership
  2. input-output linkages
  3. fixed overhead costs

## Extensions and Sufficient Statistics for Measurement

- We re-derive our formula under three extensions:
  1. global profit ownership
  2. input-output linkages
  3. fixed overhead costs
- The sufficient statistics for measuring the DWL of markups across all cases:
  1. sales-weighted average markup per industry:  $\tilde{\mathbb{E}}_{\rho_k} [\mu]$
  2. aggregate expenditure/output shares by industry:  $e_{i,k}, y_{i,k}$
  3. aggregate input-output shares:  $\alpha_{i,kg}$
  4. global profit ownership shares:  $\pi_{ni}$

## Data and Estimation

## Summary of Data Sources

- **Aggregate shares:** OECD Inter-Country Input-Output Tables, covering **64 major countries** and **36 industries** during 2005-2015.
- We compile new data on global profit ownership using ORBIS
- **Firm-level markups:** We estimate markups using two techniques
  - **cost-based:** we apply *De Loecker-Warzynski's* estimation technique to WORLDSCOPE data, covering 71,546 firms in 134 countries
  - **demand-based:** we estimate a linear approximation of BLP using high-frequency transaction-level import data from Colombia, covering 226,288 firms from 251 countries

## Demand-Based Markup Estimation

- Our goal is to estimate a MIXED MULTINOMIAL LOGIT (MMNL) demand model, which approximates our semi-parametric demand function as closely as possible.
- The standard approach to MMNL demand estimation is BLP:
  - the market share of variety  $\omega$  is specified as

$$\lambda_{kt}(\omega) = \mathbb{E}_\epsilon \left[ \frac{\exp((\bar{\beta}_{kt} + \epsilon) \cdot \mathbf{X}_{kt}(\omega) + \xi_{kt}(\omega))}{1 + \sum_{\tilde{\omega}} \exp((\bar{\beta}_{kt} + \epsilon) \cdot \mathbf{X}_{kt}(\tilde{\omega}) + \xi_{kt}(\tilde{\omega}))} \right],$$

where  $\mathbf{X}$  denotes *observed* product characteristics,  $\bar{\beta}$  is the mean coefficient,  $\epsilon$  is a random coefficient, and  $\xi$  encompasses *unobserved* product characteristics

- BLP recover  $\xi$  by inverting the market share equation and enforcing the moment condition  $\mathbb{E}[\Delta\xi | \mathbf{z}] = 0$ , for a choice of price instruments,  $\mathbf{z}$ .

## Demand-Based Markup Estimation

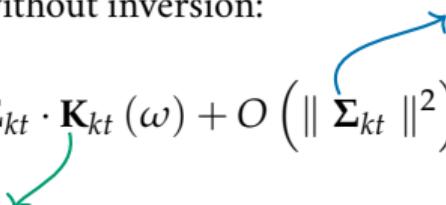
- Performing the standard BLP estimation *at scale* faces two complications:
  1. inverting the nonlinear system of market share equations is computationally taxing
  2. credible identification requires information on observed product characteristics other than price, which are unavailable at the scale we conduct our estimation.

## Demand-Based Markup Estimation

- Performing the standard BLP estimation *at scale* faces two complications:
  1. inverting the nonlinear system of market share equations is computationally taxing
  2. credible identification requires information on observed product characteristics other than price, which are unavailable at the scale we conduct our estimation.
- We overcome these challenges in two ways:
  1. use Salanie and Wolak's (2019) approximation to recover  $\xi$  without inversion:

variance matrix  
 $\epsilon \sim N(0, \Sigma_{kt})$

$$\xi_{kt}(\omega) = \ln(\lambda_{kt}(\omega) / \lambda_{kt,0}) - \bar{\beta}_{kt} \cdot \mathbf{X}_{kt}(\omega) - \tilde{\Sigma}_{kt} \cdot \mathbf{K}_{kt}(\omega) + O\left(\|\Sigma_{kt}\|^2\right)$$



artificial regressor:  $K_{kt}(\omega) \equiv X_{kt}(\omega) \left[ \frac{1}{2} X_{kt}(\omega) - \sum_{\omega'} \lambda_{kt}(\omega') X_{kt}(\omega') \right]$

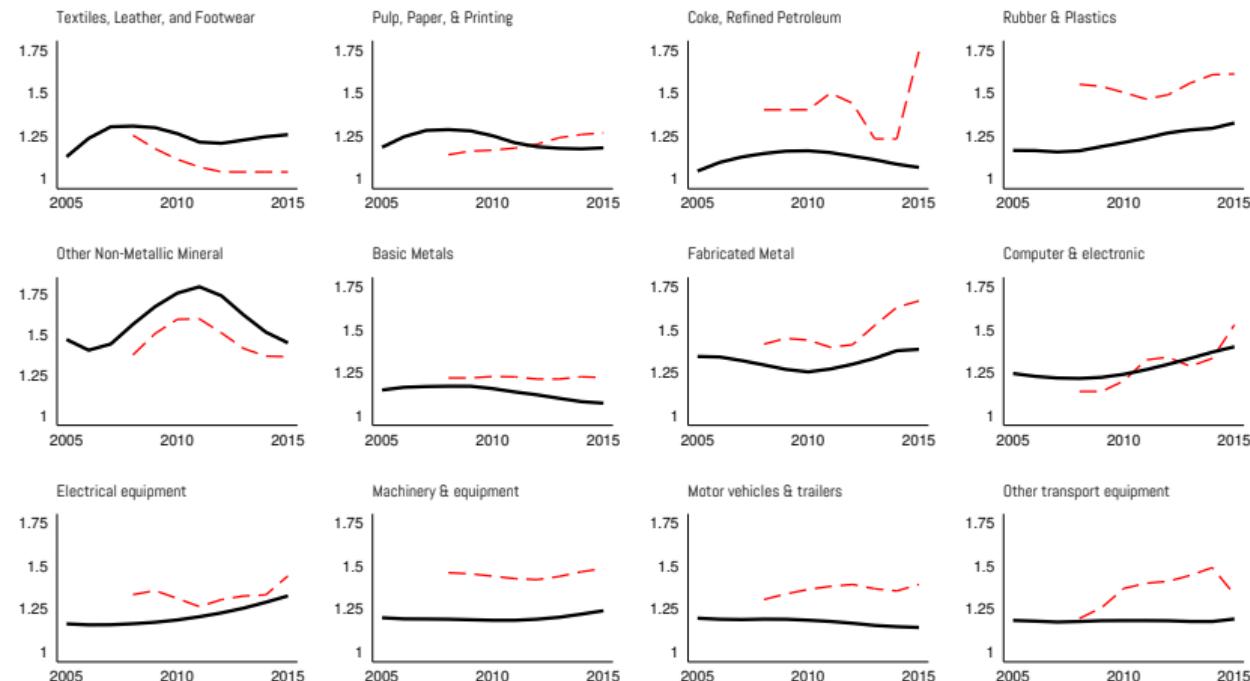
## Demand-Based Markup Estimation

- Performing the standard BLP estimation *at scale* faces two complications:
  1. inverting the nonlinear system of market share equations is computationally taxing
  2. credible identification requires information on observed product characteristics other than price, which are unavailable at the scale we conduct our estimation.
- We overcome these challenges in two ways:
  1. use Salanie and Wolak's (2019) approximation to recover  $\xi$  without inversion:

$$\xi_{kt}(\omega) = \ln(\lambda_{kt}(\omega) / \lambda_{kt,0}) - \bar{\beta}_{kt} \cdot \mathbf{X}_{kt}(\omega) - \tilde{\Sigma}_{kt} \cdot \mathbf{K}_{kt}(\omega) + O\left(\|\Sigma_{kt}\|^2\right)$$

- 2. leverage high-frequency data and the shift-share IV proposed by Lashkaripour & Lugovskyy (2023) to guide identification with limited information on observed product characteristics.

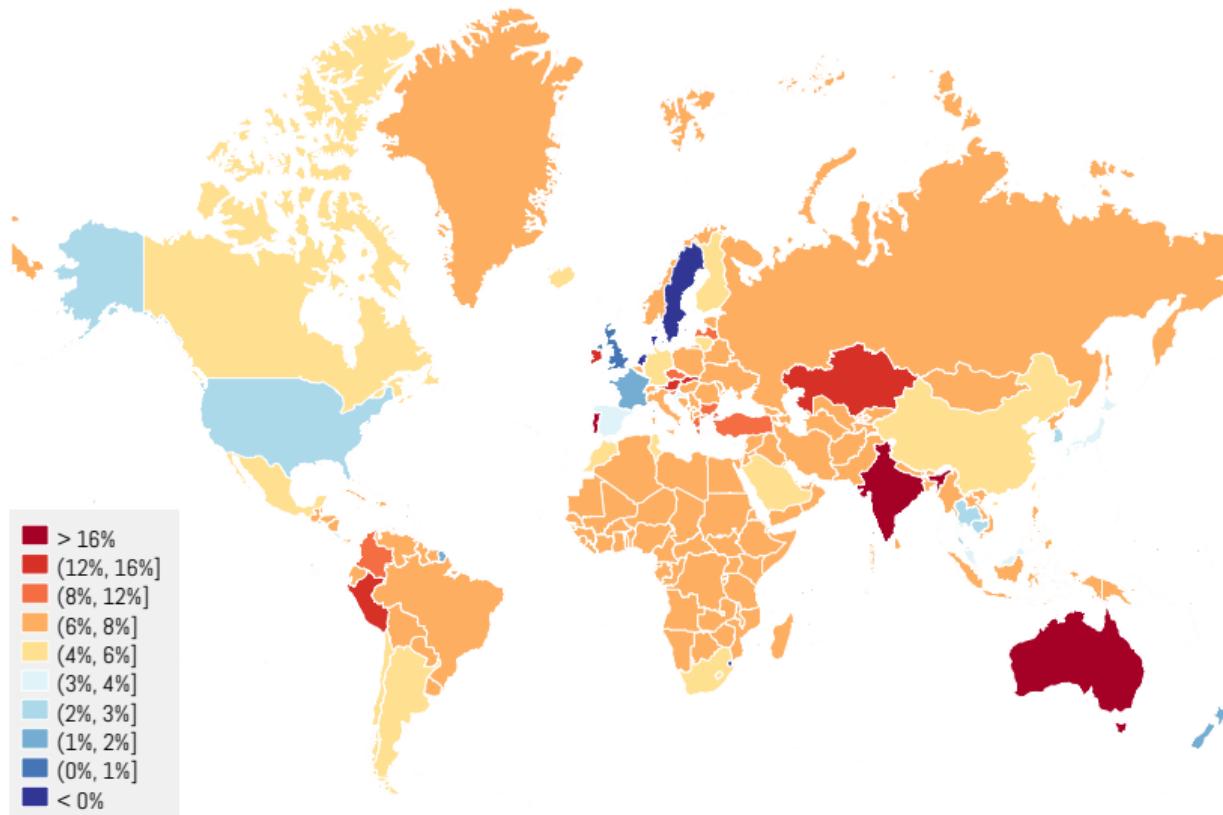
# Markup Estimation Results



— Demand-Based Markup Estimates  
— Cost-Based Markup Estimates

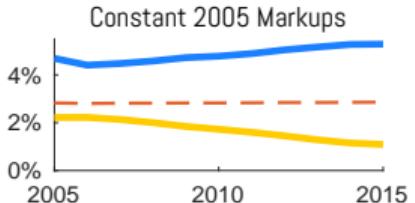
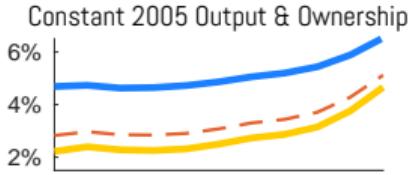
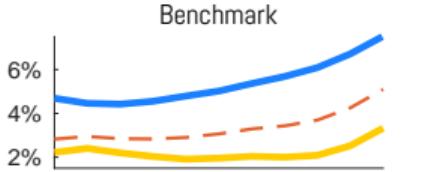
## Quantitative Results

The DWL of Markups = markup dispersion + International profit-shifting

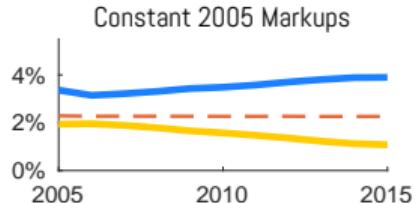
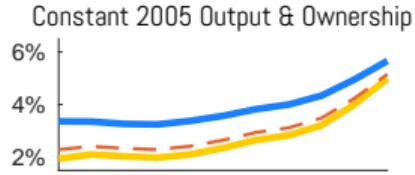
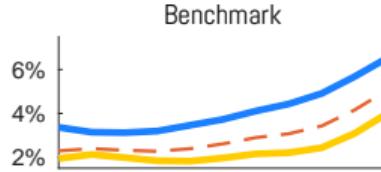


# The Deadweight Loss of Markups has Risen Over Time

## demand-based markups

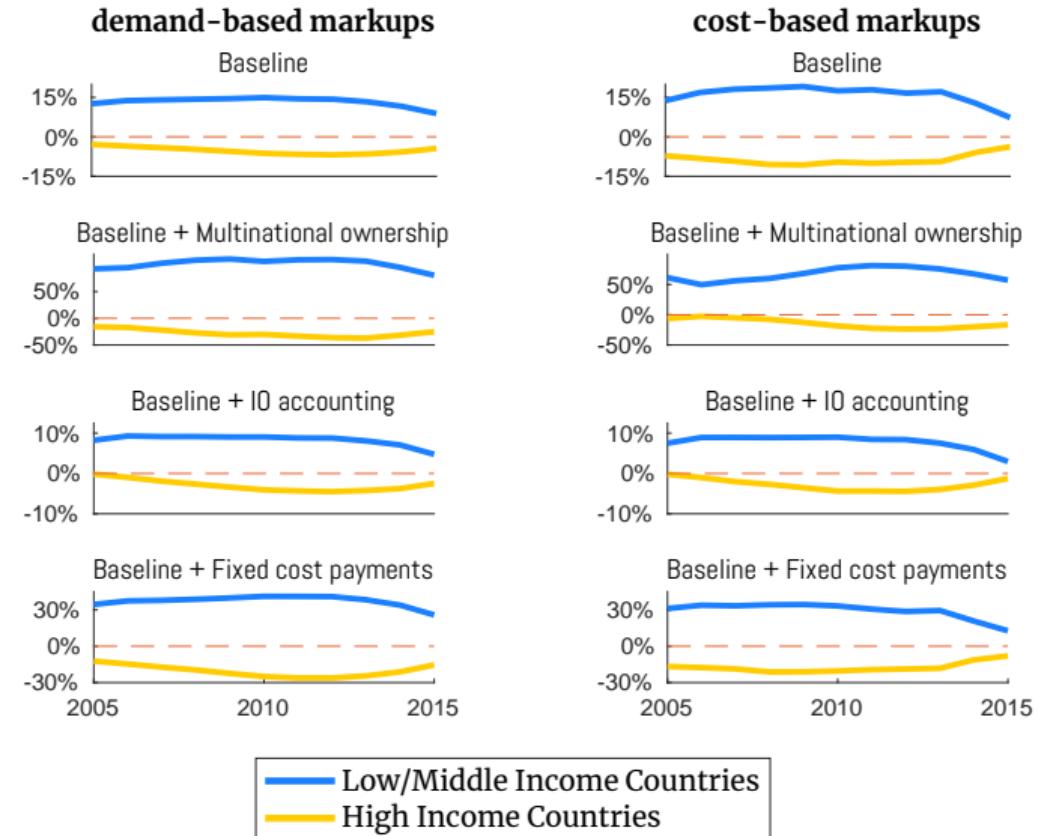


## cost-based markups



- Low/Middle Income Countries
- High Income Countries
- - - Average (all countries)

# Trade-Induced Change in the DWL of Markups ( $\Delta_{\tau}\mathcal{D}$ )



## Discussion of Findings

- (a) Trade has caused systematic profit-shifting from low- to high-income countries → the burden of markups falls disproportionately on low-income countries

## Discussion of Findings

- (a) Trade has caused systematic profit-shifting from low- to high-income countries → the burden of markups falls disproportionately on low-income countries
  - Why? due to some deep institutional reasons, high-income countries have a revealed comparative advantage in high-markup activities [details](#)

## Discussion of Findings

(a) Trade has caused systematic profit-shifting from low- to high-income countries → the burden of markups falls disproportionately on low-income countries

- Why? due to some deep institutional reasons, high-income countries have a revealed comparative advantage in high-markup activities [details](#)

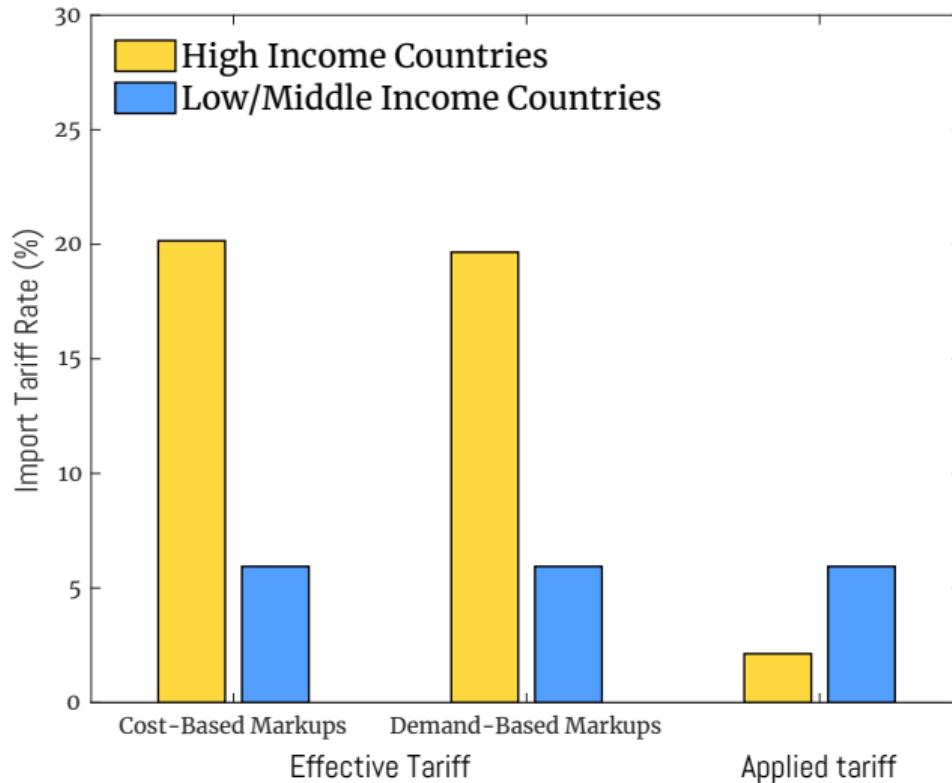
(b) Demand- and cost-based markup estimates yield similar aggregate predictions

- This is encouraging news for the methodological debate regarding markup estimation.

## Discussion of Findings

- (a) Trade has caused systematic profit-shifting from low- to high-income countries → the burden of markups falls disproportionately on low-income countries
  - Why? due to some deep institutional reasons, high-income countries have a revealed comparative advantage in high-markup activities [details](#)
- (b) Demand- and cost-based markup estimates yield similar aggregate predictions
  - This is encouraging news for the methodological debate regarding markup estimation.
- (c) Some high-income nations like the Netherlands benefit from markup distortions, due to strong and positive profit-shifting effects!

## Tariff Reciprocity after Accounting for Shadow Tariffs



## Policy Remedies for Profit-Sifting Externalities

- Firm-level markup operate as *decentralized shadow tariffs* that inflict international externalities
  - require internationally-coordinated policy remedies
- Two policies potential policy solutions:
  1. preferential tariff concessions by high-income countries under the WTO's GSP mechanism
  2. destination tax on profits under Lever 1 of the Global Minimum Tax Agreement

# Policy Remedies for Profit-Sifting Externalities

- Firm-level markup operate as *decentralized shadow tariffs* that inflict international externalities
  - require internationally-coordinated policy remedies
- Two policies potential policy solutions:
  1. preferential tariff concessions by high-income countries under the WTO's GSP mechanism
  2. destination tax on profits under Lever 1 of the Global Minimum Tax Agreement (*partially effective*)

	no global tax	$\tau^{global} = 15\%$	$\tau^{global} = 30\%$	$\tau^{global} = 45\%$
$\Delta\mathcal{D}$ (low-income)	43.9%	39.0%	33.7%	27.9%
$\Delta\mathcal{D}$ (high-income)	-14.8%	-12.3%	-9.9%	-7.7%

## Conclusions

**Main Finding:** systematic *profit-shifting* from low-income to high-income countries:

- Trade has raised the DWL of markups by **44%** for *low-income* countries.
- Trade has lowered the DWL of markups by **15%** for *high-income* countries.
- Finding is robust across different models and markup estimation techniques.

# Conclusions

**Main Finding:** systematic *profit-shifting* from low-income to high-income countries:

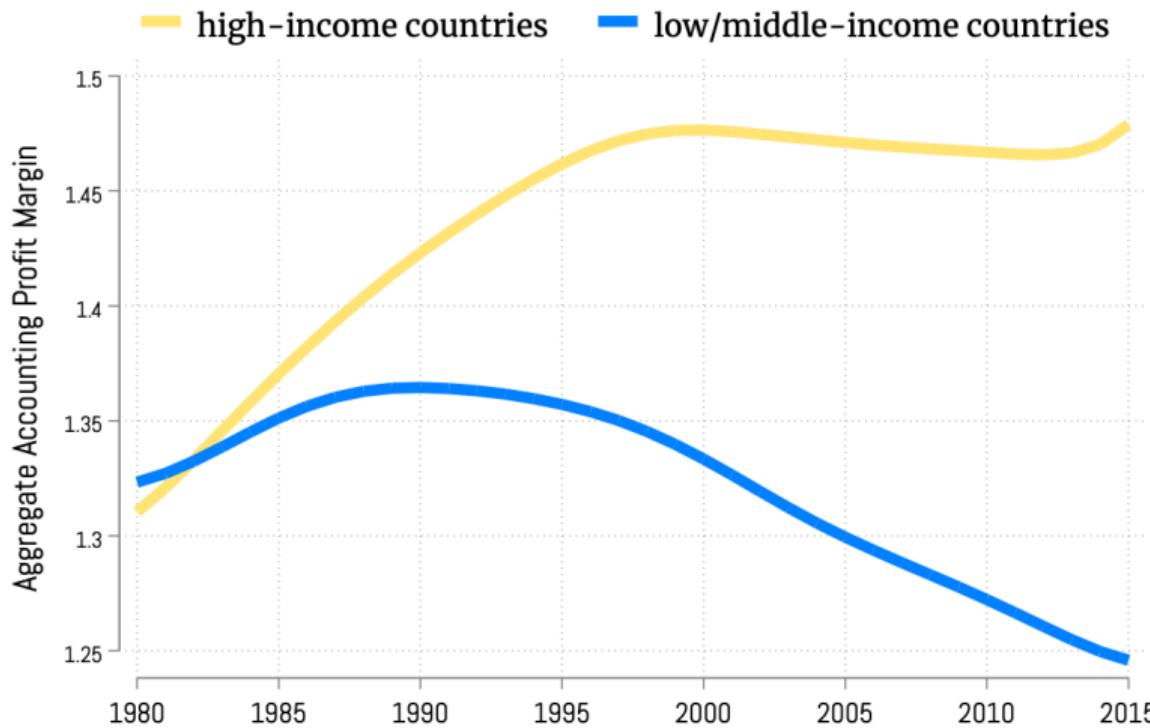
- Trade has raised the DWL of markups by **44%** for *low-income* countries.
- Trade has lowered the DWL of markups by **15%** for *high-income* countries.
- Finding is robust across different models and markup estimation techniques.

**Policy Implication:**

- firm-level markups act as *shadow tariffs* that disrupt tariff reciprocity
- preferential tariff liberalization by high-income countries has partially restored reciprocity, though not completely

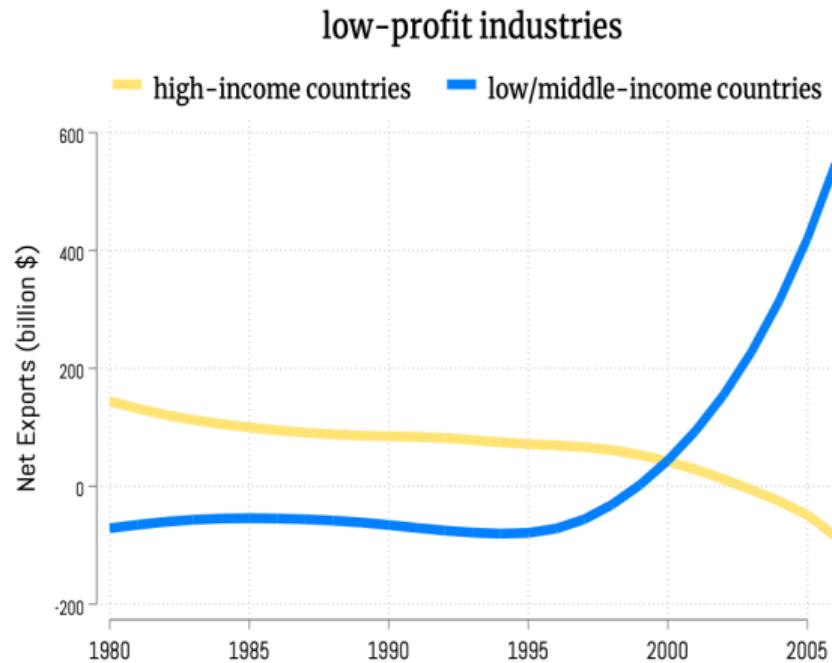
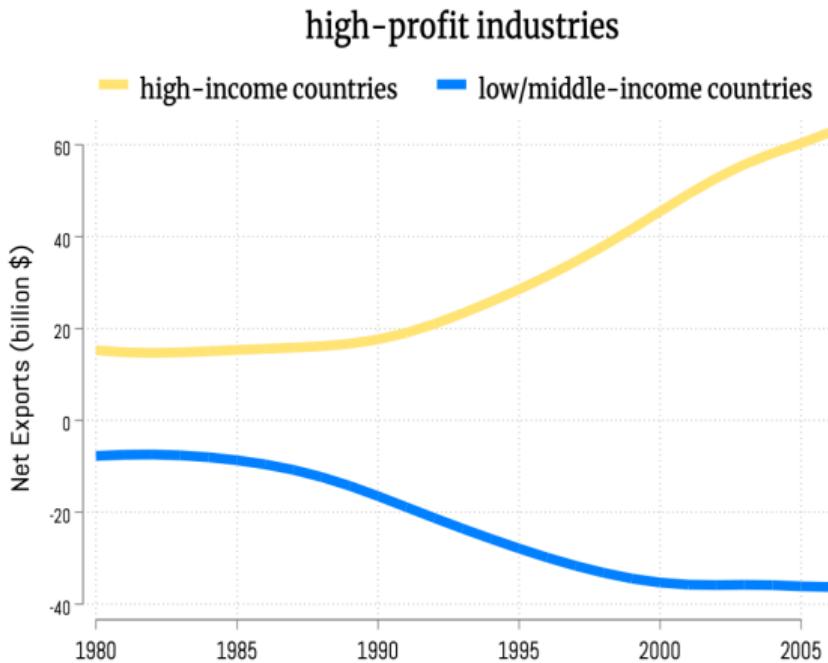
Thank you.

**Fact 1:** Aggregate accounting profit margins have diverged between high- and low-income countries despite their rates of fixed capital formation and R&D growth remaining synchronized.



Source: UNIDO-INDSTAT covering 196 countries and 23 ISIC rev.3. industries

**Fact 2:** The North-South divergence in aggregate profit margins coincides with high-income economies, like the US, becoming increasingly specialized in high-profit industries.



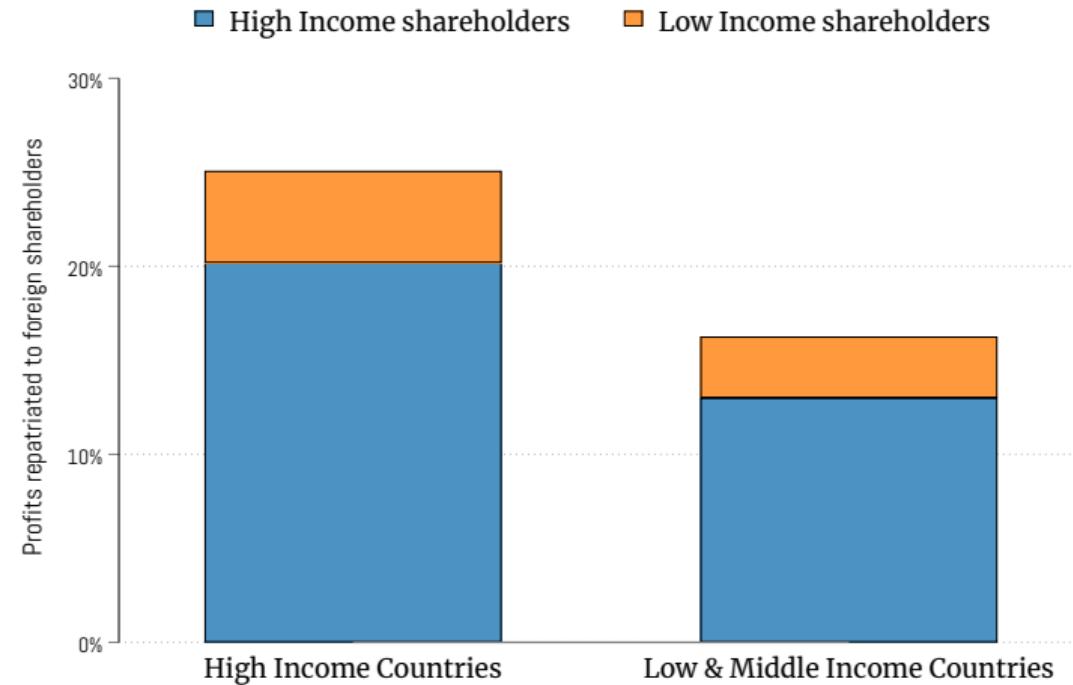
Source: UNIDO-INDSTAT covering 196 countries and 23 ISIC rev.3. industries

## Granular Example: Trade openness coincides with US specialization in high-profit Industries



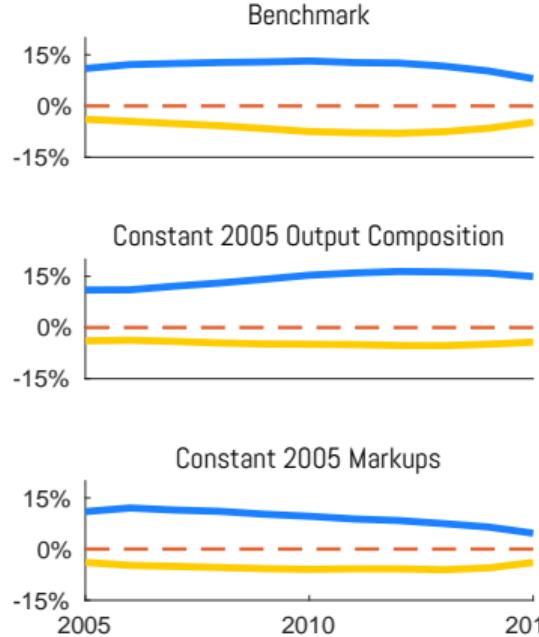
Source: COMPUSTAT data on publicly-trade North American firms

**Fact 3:** A minor fraction of profits are repatriated to foreign shareholders, but most repatriated profits payments accrue to high-income countries.

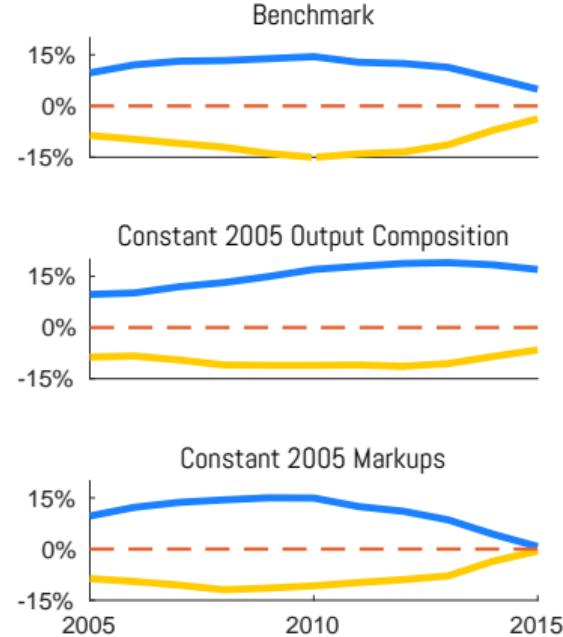


Source: ORBIS database [return](#)

## demand-based markups



## cost-based markups

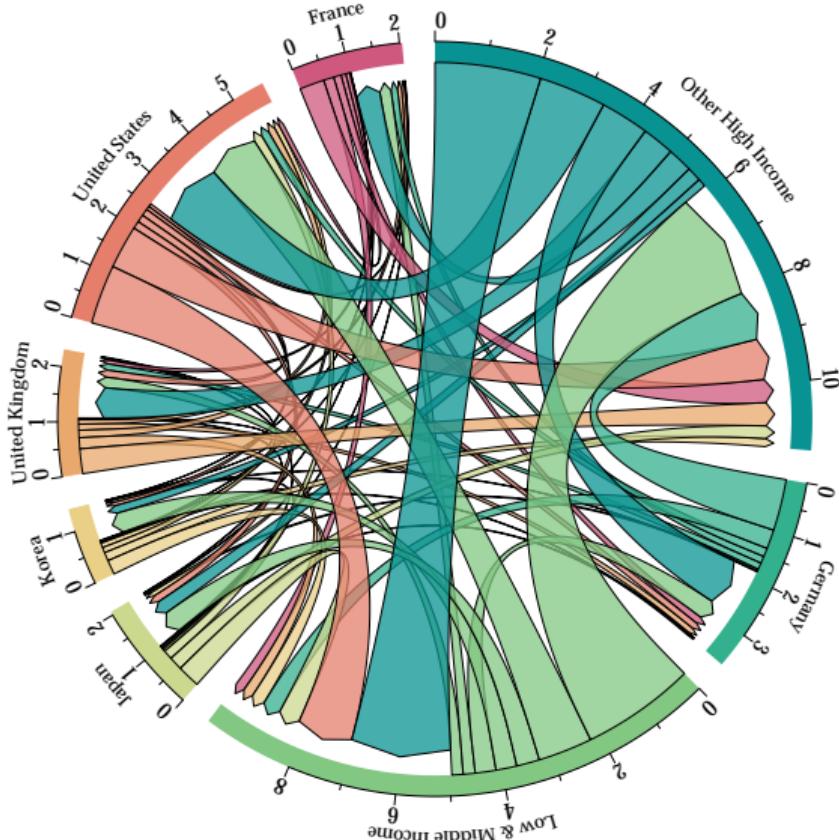


— Low/Middle Income Countries  
— High Income Countries

return

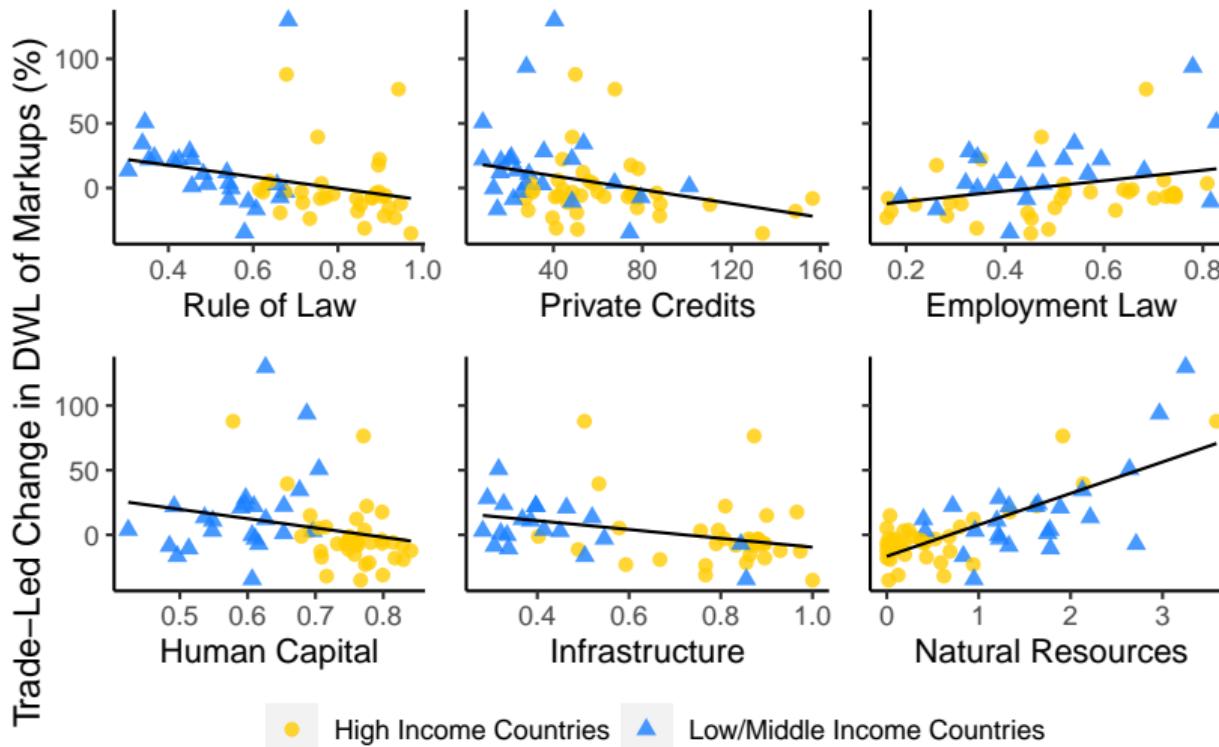
# The Anatomy of International profit-Shifting

return

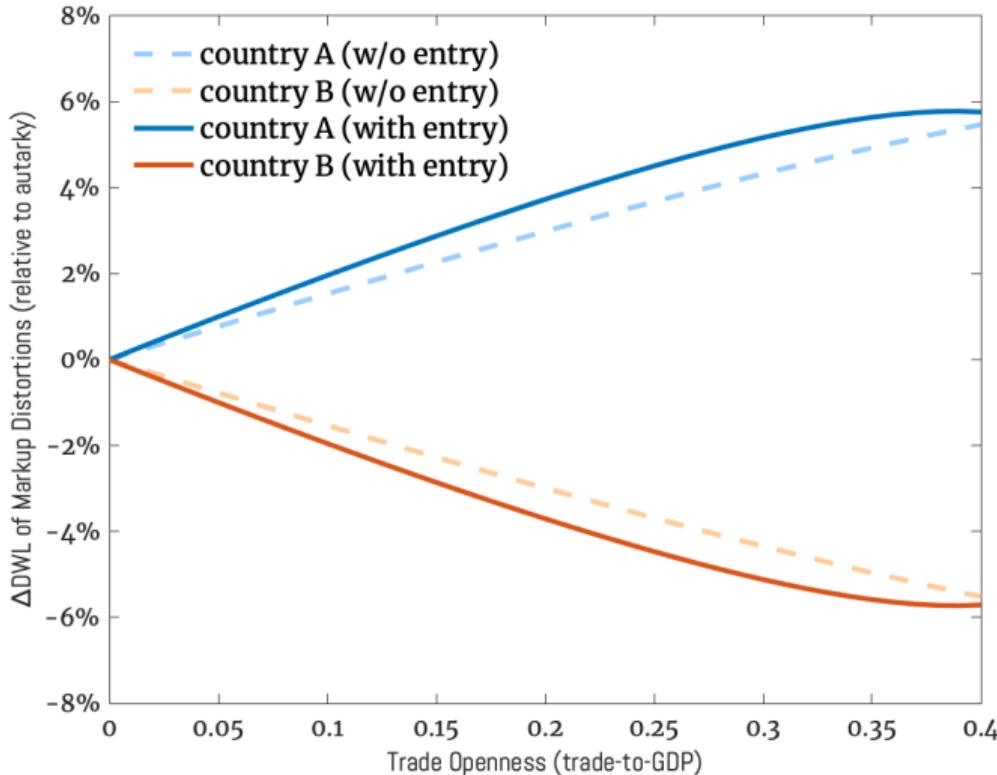


# Determinants of RCA in High-Markup Industries

return

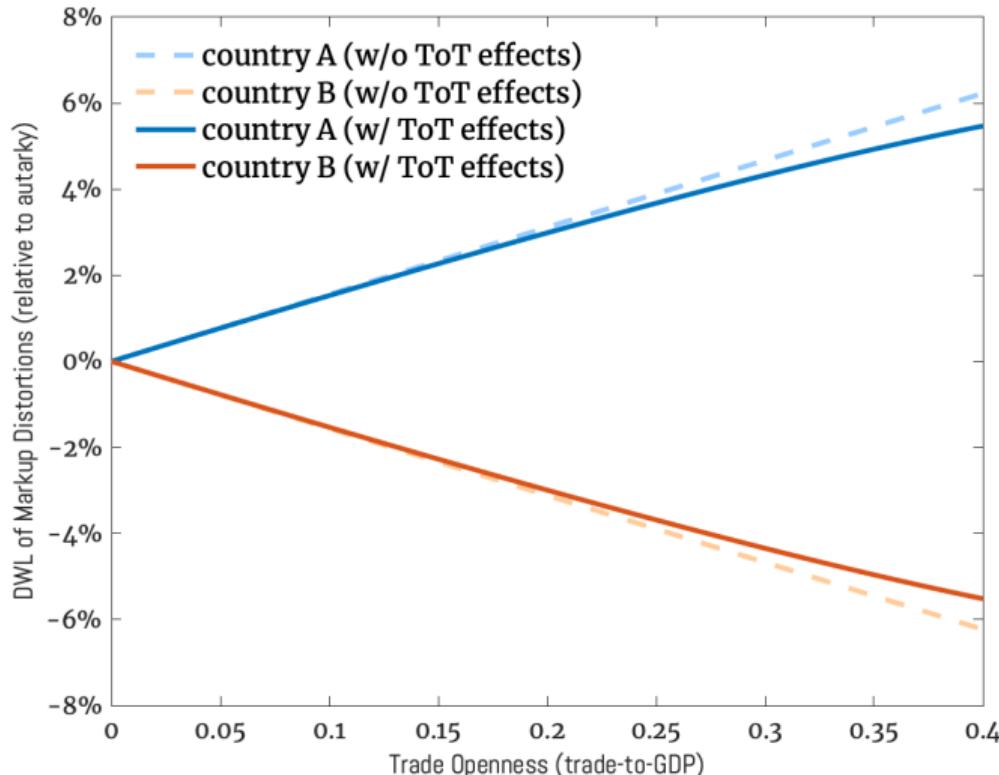


## Internationally zero-sum welfare effects under free entry



return

# Profit-shifting net of Factoral Terms of Trade Effects



return

## The Gains from Trade

The gains from trade relative to autarky

$$GT_i = 1 - \exp(\Delta\mathcal{D}_i) \times \prod_k \lambda_{ii,k}^{e_{i,k}/\theta_k},$$

- Mechanical implication: gains from trade are more unequal

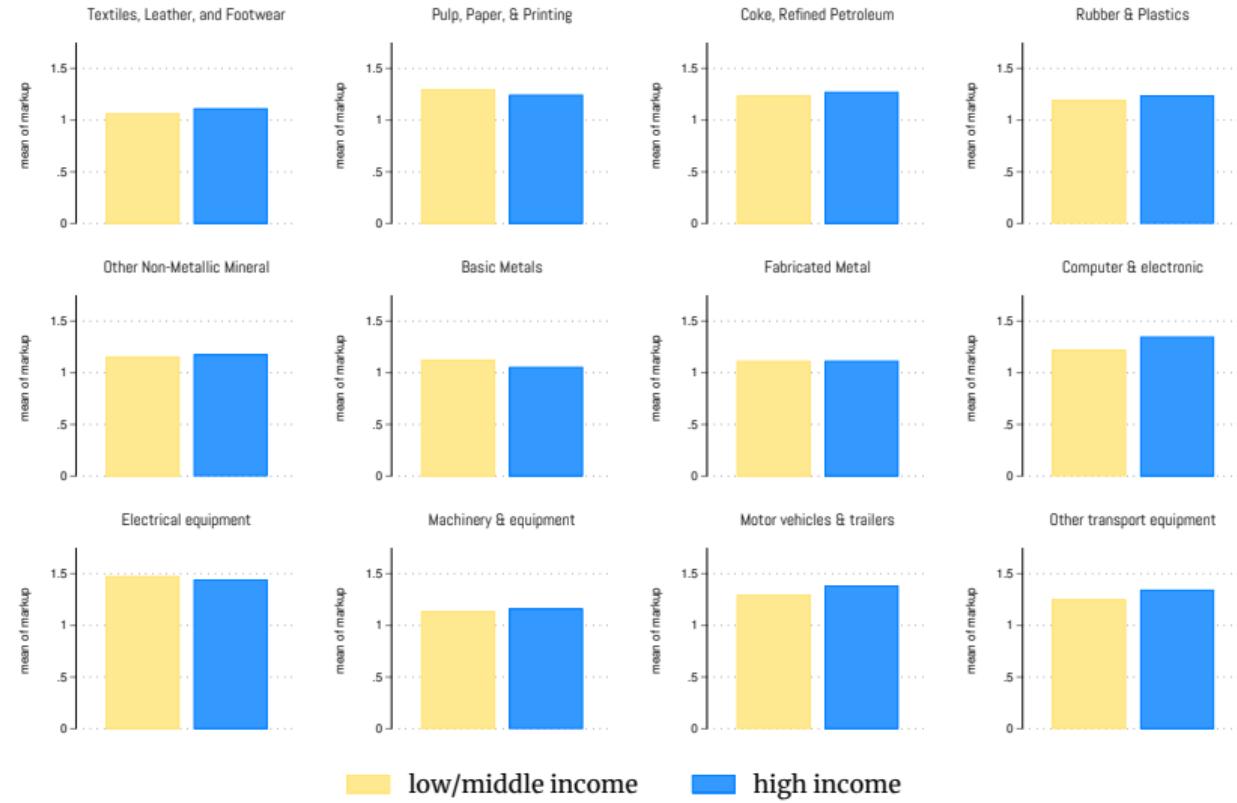
# The Gains from Trade

The gains from trade relative to autarky

$$GT_i = 1 - \exp(\Delta\mathcal{D}_i) \times \prod_k \lambda_{ii,k}^{e_{i,k}/\theta_k},$$

- Mechanical implication: gains from trade are more unequal
- However, the overall effect is more nuanced:
  - There is evidence that  $\theta$  and average markups are negatively correlated across industries
  - more imports in low- $\theta$  (high-markup) industries  $\rightarrow$  larger ACR gains
  - more imports in low- $\theta$  (high-markup) industries  $\rightarrow$  negative profit-shifting effects return

# Within-Industry Heterogeneity in Estimated Markups



[return](#)

Alviarez, V., M. Fioretti, K. Kikkawa, and M. Morlacco (2023, May). *Two-Sided Market Power in Firm-to-Firm Trade*.

Arkolakis, C., A. Costinot, D. Donaldson, and A. Rodríguez-Clare (2019). The elusive pro-competitive effects of trade. *The Review of Economic Studies* 86(1), 46–80.

Atkin, D. and D. Donaldson (2021). The role of trade in economic development. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Bagwell, K. and R. W. Staiger (2012). Profit shifting and trade agreements in imperfectly competitive markets. *International Economic Review* 53(4), 1067–1104.

Bai, Y., K. Jin, and D. Lu (2019). Misallocation under trade liberalization. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Baqaei, D. and E. Farhi (2019). Networks, barriers, and trade. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Berthou, A., J. J.-H. Chung, K. Manova, and C. S. D. Bragard (2020). CEP discussion paper No. 1668 January 2020 Trade, Productivity and (mis)allocation.

Bown, C. P., F. Parro, R. W. Staiger, and A. O. Sykes (2023). Reciprocity and the china shock.

Brander, J. A. and B. J. Spencer (1985). Export subsidies and international market share rivalry. *Journal of International Economics* 18(1-2), 83–100.

Coşar, A. K., P. L. Grieco, S. Li, and F. Tintelnot (2018). What drives home market advantage? *Journal of international economics* 110, 135–150.

- De Blas, B. and K. N. Russ (2015). Understanding markups in the open economy. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 7(2), 157–80.
- De Loecker, J. and J. Eeckhout (2018). Global market power. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- De Loecker, J., P. K. Goldberg, A. K. Khandelwal, and N. Pavcnik (2016). Prices, markups, and trade reform. *Econometrica* 84(2), 445–510.
- Díez, F. J., J. Fan, and C. Villegas-Sánchez (2021). Global declining competition? *Journal of International Economics* 132, 103492.
- Dix-Carneiro, R., P. Goldberg, C. Meghir, and G. Ulyssea (2021). Trade and informality in the presence of labor market frictions and regulations. *Economic Research Initiatives at Duke (ERID) Working Paper* (302).
- Eaton, J. and G. M. Grossman (1986). Optimal trade and industrial policy under oligopoly. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 101(2), 383–406.
- Edmond, C., V. Midrigan, and D. Y. Xu (2015). Competition, markups, and the gains from international trade. *American Economic Review* 105(10), 3183–3221.
- Edmond, C., V. Midrigan, and D. Y. Xu (2023). How costly are markups? *Journal of Political Economy* 131(7), 1619–1675.
- Epifani, P. and G. Gancia (2011). Trade, markup heterogeneity and misallocations. *Journal of International Economics* 83(1), 1–13.

- Farrokhi, F., A. Lashkaripour, and H. S. Pellegrina (2024). Trade and technology adoption in distorted economies. *Journal of International Economics* 150, 103922.
- Feenstra, R. C. and D. E. Weinstein (2017). Globalization, markups, and US welfare. *Journal of Political Economy* 125(4), 1040–1074.
- Firooz, H. and G. Heins (2023). Import and export markups, production relocation, and the gains from trade. *Production Relocation, and the Gains from Trade* (November 25, 2020).
- Head, K. and B. J. Spencer (2017). Oligopoly in international trade: Rise, fall and resurgence. *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'économique* 50(5), 1414–1444.
- Holmes, T. J., W.-T. Hsu, and S. Lee (2014). Allocative efficiency, mark-ups, and the welfare gains from trade. *Journal of International Economics* 94(2), 195–206.
- Keller, W. and S. R. Yeaple (2020). Multinationals, markets, and markups. Technical report, Working Paper.
- Lashkaripour, A. (2021). The cost of a global tariff war: A sufficient statistics approach. *Journal of International Economics* 131, 103419.
- Lashkaripour, A. and V. Lugovskyy (2023). Profits, scale economies, and the gains from trade and industrial policy. *American Economic Review* 113(10), 2759–2808.
- Melitz, M. J. and G. I. Ottaviano (2008). Market size, trade, and productivity. *The review of economic studies* 75(1), 295–316.
- Morlacco, M. (2019). Market power in input markets: Theory and evidence from french manufacturing. *Unpublished, March 20, 2019.*

- Mrázová, M. (2011). Trade agreements when profits matter. *V Manuscript, London School of Economics*.
- Ossa, R. (2012). Profits in the "new trade" approach to trade negotiations. *American Economic Review* 102(3), 466–69.