# Temporary Trade Barriers: When Will They End?

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# The Questions

- 1. How long do deviations from trade agreement tariffs last?
- 2. What are the determinants of renewals?

Overview

### Institutional Detail

- ► Temporary trade barriers have potential to be renewed
  - ► For anti-dumping (AD) duties, initial five year term, renewal for five years
  - ► For safeguards, four then four; much rarer than AD
- ► In U.S., for AD:
  - ▶ DOC initiates, determines whether dumping would continue
  - ► ITC determines whether injury would recur / continue
- ► Authorized by WTO
  - ► Agreements / litigation provide a LOT of latitude

 Overview
 Model
 Uncertainty
 Results
 Conclusion

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Preview

### Preview of Results

The probability that AD duties gets renewed

- ▶ is invariant to the trading partner's tariff
- ▶ decreases in the MFN tariff
- ▶ increases in lobbying effort
- increases in the profitability of the import-competing sector
- ▶ strength of the lobby and AD duties: complicated

## Timeline

Taking trade agreement tariff and anti-dumping duties as given,

- 1. Import-competing firms lobby DOC/ITC to renew AD duties
- 2. Uncertainty is resolved
- 3. DOC/ITC decide whether to renew duties
- 4. Private actors make production, consumption decisions

# Economy

Two countries: home and foreign (\*)

- ► Symmetric and separable in X and Y (traded) and numeraire
  - ▶ Home net importer of X, net exporter of Y

Home levies  $\tau$  on X, Foreign levies  $\tau^*$  on Y

▶  $P_X = P_X^W + \tau$  and  $\pi_X(P_X)$  increasing in  $\tau$ 

Non-tradable specific factors motivates political activity

### Political Structure

### In Home country (foreign is passive):

Model

- ► Lobby
  - ► Represents import-competing sector, X
- ▶ Dept. of Commerce / Int'l Trade Commission (G)
  - ► Can renew AD duties
  - ► Susceptible to influence of lobbying, perhaps both directly and indirectly
  - ► Modeled in reduced form

The Players

## "Government"

Renewal decision determined by complex process including DOC, ITC, pressure via other political bodies. Reduced form:

$$W_{\mathsf{G}} = CS_{\mathsf{X}}(\tau) + \gamma(e, \theta)\pi_{\mathsf{X}}(\tau) + CS_{\mathsf{Y}}(\tau^*) + \pi_{\mathsf{Y}}(\tau^*) + TR(\tau)$$

 $ightharpoonup CS_i(\cdot)$ : consumer surplus

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- $\blacktriangleright$   $\pi_X(\tau)$ : profits of import-competing industry
- $\blacktriangleright \pi_Y(\tau^*)$ : profits of exporting industry
- $ightharpoonup TR(\tau)$ : tariff revenue

The Players

### "Government"

$$W_{\mathsf{G}} = \mathit{CS}_{\mathsf{X}}(\tau) + \gamma(e, \theta)\pi_{\mathsf{X}}(\tau) + \mathit{CS}_{\mathsf{Y}}(\tau^*) + \pi_{\mathsf{Y}}(\tau^*) + \mathit{TR}(\tau)$$

- $\triangleright \gamma(e,\theta)$ : weight on import-competing industry profits
  - ▶ e: lobbying effort

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 $\triangleright$   $\theta$ : uncertain element in G's preferences

### Assumptions

- 1.  $\gamma(e,\theta)$  is increasing and concave in e for all  $\theta \in \Theta$ .
- 2.  $\gamma(e, \theta)$  is increasing in  $\theta$ .

The Players

# Lobby

Lobby chooses effort to maximize:

$$\{1 - \Pr\left[ \operatorname{AD} \, \operatorname{Renewal} 
ight] \} \,\, \pi(\tau^a) + \Pr\left[ \operatorname{AD} \, \operatorname{Renewal} 
ight] \pi(\tau^{ad}) - e$$

- $\triangleright$   $\tau^{a}$ : home import tariff under trade agreement
- $ightharpoonup au^{ad}$ : home import tariff equivalent under anti-dumping duties

## What's this uncertainty about?

- ► Strength of evidence
- ► Probability foreign will retaliate or initiate dispute (indirect)
- ► G's valuation of harm to industry, e.g. how politically important is industry?

### Assumption 2

1. The pdf of the induced distribution on  $\gamma(e, \theta)$  is weakly increasing in e.

### Government

G renews AD duties if its utility is higher under AD duties than trade agreement tariff

- $\blacktriangleright$  Preferences are ex-ante uncertain through  $\theta$
- ▶ When does G renew AD duties?

 $r(e, \tau^a, \tau^{ad})$ : probability G prefers  $\tau^{ad}$  to  $\tau^a$  for a given effort level e

#### Lemma

The probability that G renews AD duties is increasing and concave in lobbying effort e (i.e.  $\frac{\partial \mathbf{r}}{\partial e} \ge 0$ ,  $\frac{\partial^2 \mathbf{r}}{\partial e^2} \le 0$ ).

## Home's Trade Agreement Tariff

### Result 1

The total probability that G renews AD duties is decreasing in the home trade agreement tariff  $\tau^{\alpha}$ .

There's both a direct effect and an indirect effect through lobby's incentives, and both are negative:

$$\frac{\partial r}{\partial e}\frac{\partial e}{\partial \tau^{\alpha}}+\frac{\partial r}{\partial \tau^{\alpha}}$$

# Foreign's Trade Agreement Tariff

Assuming trading partner does not retaliate

▶ No difference in foreign tariff under AD duties and  $\tau^{\alpha}$ . So no effect on G's incentives (either direct or indirect)

#### Result 2

The total probability that G renews AD duties is unaffected by foreign's trade agreement tariff  $\tau^{*a}$ .

# Protection through AD Duties

When  $\tau^{ad}$  increases, direct effect is negative: social welfare decreases, so G less likely to renew

Indirect effect is ambiguous: higher  $\tau^{ad}$  can increase or decrease incentive to exert lobbying effort

The total probability that G renews AD duties only increases if indirect effect is positive / large enough to outweigh direct effect.

▶ Work in progress: endogenize  $\tau^{ad}$ 

Assume  $\gamma(\cdot, \cdot)$  increases weakly for all  $(e, \theta)$  pairs

- ▶ G gives more weight to firms' benefit
- ► Lobbying incentives are muted

#### Result 4

The total probability that G renews AD duties increases when the weighting function shifts up exogenously if the direct effect dominates. Both lobby and G care on the margin about the difference between profits under  $\tau^{ad}$  and  $\tau^{a}$ 

► Shifts in the profit function matter to the extent they change this difference

#### Result 5

The total probability that G renews AD duties increases (decreases) when there is an increase (decrease) in the gap between profits under  $\tau^{ad}$  and profits under  $\tau^a$ .

### Future Work

- ► Empirical work
- ► Comparative static on uncertainty measure
- ► Extend model to include initial decision to grant protection.
  - ► Explain variation in a lobby's incentives between original application of AD and renewal
  - ► Lobby's choice between investing in productive vs. rent-seeking behavior while protected