

# 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?

# 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

## 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):

- ▶ 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

# “Government”

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

$$W_G = CS_X(\tau) + \gamma(e, \theta)\pi_X(\tau) + CS_Y(\tau^*) + \pi_Y(\tau^*) + TR(\tau)$$

- ▶  $CS_i(\cdot)$ : consumer surplus
- ▶  $\pi_X(\tau)$ : profits of import-competing industry
- ▶  $\pi_Y(\tau^*)$ : profits of exporting industry
- ▶  $TR(\tau)$ : tariff revenue



# “Government”

$$W_G = CS_X(\tau) + \gamma(e, \theta)\pi_X(\tau) + CS_Y(\tau^*) + \pi_Y(\tau^*) + TR(\tau)$$

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

# Lobby

Lobby chooses effort to maximize:

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

- ▶  $\tau^a$ : home import tariff under trade agreement
- ▶  $\tau^{ad}$ : 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

- ▶ 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.  $\frac{\partial r}{\partial e} \geq 0$ ,  $\frac{\partial^2 r}{\partial e^2} \leq 0$ ).

# Home's Trade Agreement Tariff

## Result 1

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

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

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

# Foreign's Trade Agreement Tariff

Assuming trading partner does not retaliate

- ▶ No difference in foreign tariff under AD duties and  $\tau^a$ . 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  $\tau^{ad}$

## Exogenous Shifts in $\gamma(e, \theta)$

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.



## Profitability of Import-Competing Sector

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