

# Temporary Trade Barriers: When Will They End?

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# Preview of Results

- ▶ H
  - ▶ R
- ▶ E
  - ▶ P
  - ▶ R
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# Outline of Talk

1. B
2. E
3. R
4. F
5. Conclusion

# Timeline

## 1. Formation

- i. Executives set trade policy in international agreement

## 2. Ratification / Maintenance

- i. Firms lobby legislatures to break agreement
- ii. Uncertainty is resolved
- iii. Legislatures decide to break or abide by agreement

## 3. Trade War (if agreement is broken)

- i. Firms lobby legislatures to set high trade-war tariff
- ii. Uncertainty is resolved
- iii. Legislatures decide trade-war tariff

## 4. Private actors make production, consumption decisions

# Economy

- ▶ Two countries: home and foreign (\*)
- ▶ Separable in three goods: X and Y (traded) and numeraire
- ▶ Demand identical for both goods in both countries
- ▶ Supply:  $Q_X^*(P_X) > Q_X(P_X) \forall P_X$ ; symmetric for Y
  - ▶ 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 each country (focus on Home):

- ▶ A Unitary Executive
  - ▶ Delegated authority to make trade agreement
- ▶ A Non-unitary Legislature
  - ▶ Can withdraw delegation, break agreement, and set trade-war tariff
  - ▶ Susceptible to influence of lobbying
  - ▶ Decision determined by median legislator
- ▶ A Single Lobby
  - ▶ Represents import-competing sector, X (Y in foreign)

## Executive Branch

Trade agreement negotiated by unitary executive:

$$W_E = CS_X(\tau) + CS_Y(\tau^*) + \gamma_E \pi_X(\tau) + \pi_Y(\tau^*) + TR(\tau)$$

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



# Non-Unitary Legislature

Decisions determined by preferences of Median Legislator:

$$W_{ML} = CS_X(\tau) + CS_Y(\tau^*) + \gamma(e, \theta)\pi_X(\tau) + \pi_Y(\tau^*) + TR(\tau)$$

- ▶  $\gamma(e, \theta)$ : weight on import-competing industry profits
  - ▶  $e$ : lobbying effort
  - ▶  $\theta$ : uncertain element in determination of ML's identity

## Assumptions on $\gamma(e, \theta)$

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

# Lobby

Lobby chooses effort to maximize:

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

- ▶  $e$ : Lobbying effort
- ▶  $\tau^a$ : home import tariff under trade agreement
- ▶  $\tau^{ad}$ : home import tariff equivalent under anti-dumping duties

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## Highlight: Separation of Powers

### Legislature

- ▶ Breaks agreement if median legislator prefers  $\tau^{ad}$  to  $\tau^a$

### Lobby

- ▶ Given the  $(\tau^a, \tau^{*a})$  it faces, lobby knows what  $e_b$  is required to break the agreement
- ▶ Lobby pays this  $e_b$  if:  $\pi(\tau^{tw}) - e > \pi(\tau^a)$

### Executives

- ▶ Set  $(\tau^a, \tau^{*a})$  to make paying  $e_b$  unprofitable  
 $\Rightarrow e_b = 0$ , agreement remains in force
- ▶ High tariffs, no lobbying, no trade disruptions

# Political Uncertainty Illustration

An Example (Bagwell & Staiger 2005)

- ▶  $D(P_i) = 1 - P_i$
- ▶  $Q_X(P_X) = \frac{P_X}{2}$ ,  $Q_Y(P_Y) = P_Y$
- ▶  $P_X^W = \frac{4-3\tau}{7}$ ,  $P_X = \frac{4+4\tau}{7}$
- ▶  $\gamma(e, \theta) = 1.25 + e^{0.2} + \theta$ 
  - ▶  $\theta \sim U[-0.25, 0.25]$
- ▶  $\gamma_E = 1$

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# Legislature

Legislature breaks trade agreement if median legislator's utility is higher under trade war than trade agreement

- Median legislator's identity is uncertain through  $\theta$

Probability that Legislature breaks agreement:

$b(e, \tau^a, \tau^{*a}, \tau^{ad}, \theta)$  probability median legislator prefers  $\tau^{tw}$  to  $\tau^a$  for a given  $\theta$

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# Future Work

- ▶ C
- ▶ E
- ▶ P
- ▶ A

# Conclusion

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- ▶ E
- ▶ F