Endogenous Politics and the Design of Trade Institutions

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Preview



1. When is endogenizing political pressure important for answering optimal design questions?



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 - ► Government objective function



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- carefully distinguish between dynamics induced by exogenous and endogenous politics for
 - ► base case with tariff caps
 - ► tariff caps with escape clause
- examine escape clause design when both exogenous and endogenous forces are present



Results

► Show that TAs may be used to manipulate domestic political actors (no long-run distortions)



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 - ► Points to real-world design of WTO Agreement on Safeguards
 - ▶ May explain why escape clause has fallen out of use



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 - ► Internalize TOT externality ⇒ free trade



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Grossman and Helpman (1995)

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- ► Trade agreement: only internalizes TOT externality





Role of Trade Agreements: Domestic Commitment

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 - ► Trade agreements provide commitment device
- ► Mitra (2002)
 - ▶ Here distortion is wasted resources in lobby formation



Economy



Economy

Two countries: home and foreign (*)

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 - $P = Q_X(P_X) = \frac{P_X}{2}; Q_Y(P_Y) = P_Y$
 - ▶ Home net importer of X, net exporter of Y



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Non-tradable specific factors motivate political activity



Timeline



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Each period:

1. Trade Agreement Formed



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- 3. Tariffs are Applied
 - Given political pressure, governments choose applied tariff levels







Model ○○○ •○○

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



Model ○○○ ●○○

Baldwin-style government objective function:

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- \triangleright Assume γ , γ^* is private info of each government



Domestic Political Pressure



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 - ▶ Call lobby's optimal effort choice e^L

$$e^{L} = \max_{e} \pi(\tau(\gamma(e))) - e$$



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Once agreement is set, cooperation enforced by repeated-game punishments conditioned on history, history + DSB signal



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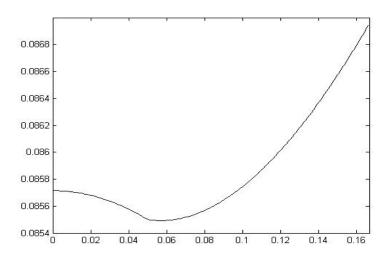
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- \blacktriangleright If weights must sum to 1, welfare no longer monotonic in γ



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- γ endogenous: Governments will not set applied tariffs strictly below the bound level. They may use the weak tariff binding either to encourage and/or restrain endogenous political pressure.



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▶ Repeated Game Intuition



Escape Clause with Exogenous Politics





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Escape clause is meant to allow higher applied tariff when realized γ is high

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- Gov't can exploit TOT externality by reporting high γ even when γ is low
 - ► Only way to prevent this is with some cost of using escape clause



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If γ is only endogenous, escape clause causes problems, provides no benefits



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Now suppose political pressure is a result of both endogenous and exogenous forces (i.e. $\gamma(s, e)$):



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Ineffectiveness of Political Criterion for Escape Clause

Assume $\gamma(s, e) = \gamma(s) + \gamma(e)$. If an escape clause conditions on $\gamma(s,e)$ and $\gamma(s^L) < \gamma(s^H) < \gamma(e^L)$, the lower "normal" tariff binding will never be applied.



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 - ► Need signal of shock that is not influenced by endogenous pressure



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 - ▶ Need signal of shock that is not influenced by endogenous pressure
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 - ► This seems to be what the WTO actually does



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May explain why escape clause has fallen out of use



Taking into account endogenous political forces alongside exogenous ones...



Conclusion

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► helps explain the structure and enforcement of the WTO Safeguards measure



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- ► helps explain the structure and enforcement of the WTO Safeguards measure
- can help us think about optimal design of trading institutions
- ► demonstrates that TAs can be used to discourage lobbing activity in general
- ▶ provides additional general explanation for tariff caps



▶ Application of framework to other design questions



Future Work

- ▶ Application of framework to other design questions
- ▶ Interactions between $\gamma(s)$ and $\gamma(e)$



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- ▶ Application of framework to other design questions
- ▶ Interactions between $\gamma(s)$ and $\gamma(e)$
- ▶ Choice between protective measures over time



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- ▶ High tariffs, no lobbying, no trade disruptions



