

# Endogenous Politics and the Design of Trade Institutions

Kristy Buzard  
Syracuse University  
kbuzard@syr.edu

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  - ▶ Exogenous vs. endogenous politics
2. When do governments want to use trade agreements to manipulate domestic lobbying incentives?
  - ▶ Government objective function

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- ▶ endogenize politics into a standard model for studying TA design questions
- ▶ carefully distinguish between dynamics induced by exogenous and endogenous politics for tariff caps with escape clause
- ▶ examine escape clause design when both exogenous and endogenous forces are present

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

# Economy

Two countries: home and foreign (\*)

- ▶ Separable in two goods:  $X$  and  $Y$ 
  - ▶  $P_i$ : home price of good  $i$
  - ▶  $P_i^*$ : foreign price of good  $i$
- ▶ Demand identical for both goods in both countries
  - ▶  $D(P_i) = 1 - P_i$
- ▶ Supply:  $Q_X^*(P_X) > Q_X(P_X) \forall P_X$ ; symmetric for  $Y$ 
  - ▶  $Q_X(P_X) = \frac{P_X}{2}$ ;  $Q_Y(P_Y) = P_Y$
  - ▶ Home net importer of  $X$ , net exporter of  $Y$

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Non-tradable specific factors motivate political activity

Economic and Political Structure

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3. **Tariffs are Applied**

- i. Given political pressure, governments choose applied tariff levels



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  - ▶ Ignores foreign welfare
  - ▶ Takes into account trade agreement enforcement

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- ▶ Lobby chooses effort to maximize profits,  $\pi(\cdot)$ , net of lobbying effort,  $e$
- ▶ 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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- ▶ When subtracting lobbying effort, welfare no longer monotonic in  $\gamma$

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- ▶ Improves political efficiency
- ▶ Can improve self-enforcement

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If  $\gamma$  is only endogenous, escape clause causes problems, provides no benefits

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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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  - ▶ This seems to be what the WTO actually *does*

# An Escape Clause for a Complicated World



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- ▶ can help us think about optimal design of trading insitutions

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