Endogenous Politics and the Design of Trade Institutions

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The Questions



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



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 - ► Exogenous vs. endogenous politics



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 - ► Exogenous vs. endogenous politics
- 2. Can trade agreements be used to manipulate domestic lobbying incentives?
 - ► Government objective function



Political Economy of Trade Institutions



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Overview

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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
 - ▶ 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



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



Policy and Politics



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Non-tradable specific factors motivate political activity



Timeline



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Each period:



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1. Trade Agreement Formed



Economic and Political Structure

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



Applied Tariff Decision



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Applied Tariff Decision

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



Applied Tariff Decision

Model ○○○ ●○○

Baldwin-style government objective function:

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

▶ Standard except weight on import-competing industry profits $\gamma(s, e)$:



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



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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



Role and Design of TAs



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- ▶ Retaliation: Bown 2002/2004, Beshkar 2010



Role of Trade Agreements: TOT Externality



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Bagwell and Staiger (2002)

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 - Now take into account impact on foreign welfare
 - ► Internalize TOT externality ⇒ free trade



Role of Trade Agreements: TOT Externality





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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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 - ▶ Here distortion is wasted resources in lobby formation



Objective Function

Restraining Political Pressure through TAs



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▶ Isomorphic to 'Protection for Sale' objective function



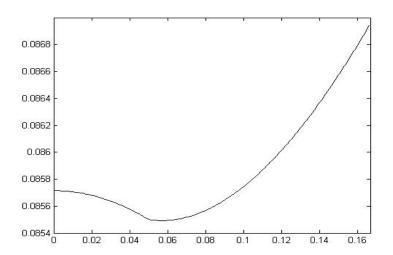
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- ▶ If weights must sum to 1, welfare no longer monotonic in γ



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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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When γ is only exogenous (Bagwell & Staiger 2005):

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- ▶ Incentive compatibility becomes an issue



Incentive compatibility



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

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Incentive compatibility

- \triangleright γ is private information
- ► We want truthful revelation, but truth-telling must be in the best interest of each gov't



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- ► We want truthful revelation, but truth-telling must be in the best interest of each gov't
- 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



Escape Clause with Endogenous Politics



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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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- ► But endogenous part ⇒ lobbying incentives make it hard to implement escape clause



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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.



When the world is more complicated... (con't)

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May explain why escape clause has fallen out of use



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- 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



Future Work

▶ Application of framework to other design questions



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- ▶ Interactions between $\gamma(s)$ and $\gamma(e)$



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- ▶ Choice between protective measures over time



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- ▶ High tariffs, no lobbying, no trade disruptions



