Protection for Sale without Aggregation Bias

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Motivation

- ▶ PFS workhorse of political economy of trade policy
- ► Trade protection result of a lobbying game
- Explains well variation in protection across sectors
- Key structural parameter has the right sign
- But not the right magnitude...

Weight on welfare

- \blacktriangleright Key parameter in PFS: β
 - ▶ Relative weight of welfare to lobbies contributions in government's objective function
- First estimates for the US:
 - ► Goldberg & Maggi 1999: $\beta = 0.98$
 - ► Gawande & Bandyopadhyay 2000: $\beta \approx 1$
- ▶ Back of the envelope calculation in Gawande & Bandyopadhyay 2000:
 - β = 0.0018 looking at lobbying for 1983 Sugar quota
 - ightharpoonup eta = 0.0026 for the dairy subsidy of 1984

Extensions

- Political competition (intermediates): Gawande, Krishna & Olarreaga 2012: $\beta = 0.95$
- ▶ Unemployment and labor unions Matschke & Sherlund 2006: $\beta \approx 1$
- ▶ Rent leaking and NTM Facchini et al. 2006: $\beta = 0.98$
- ► Tariff revenue Gawande, Krishna & Olarreaga 2015: $\beta = 0.94$
- Firm heterogeneity Bombardini 2008: $\beta \approx 1$
- Free riding Gawande & Maggi 2013: $\beta = 0.97$

Aggregation bias

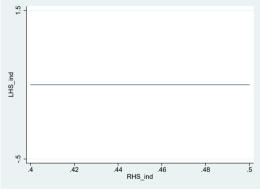
- ► Empirical studies: 30 to 250 industries.
- ▶ There are thousands of tariff lines and important variance
- ► HS 64 (footwear) average tariff of 13%, varies from 0% in footwear with wood platform (HS 640330) to 38% in waterproof footwear (HS 640110)
- → Can aggregation bias explain this difference?

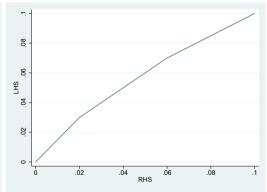
A simple example

$$\frac{t_i}{1+t_i} = \frac{1-\beta}{\beta} \frac{z_i}{e_i}$$

	Industry 1		Industry 2	
	$t_i/(1+t_i)$	z_i/e_i	$t_i/(1+t_i)$	z_i/e_i
Tariff line 1	0	0	0.03	0.03
Tariff line 2	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.05
Industry average	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04

Visualizing aggregation bias





- ► At industry level $\widehat{\beta} = 1$
- ► At tariff line level $\widehat{\beta} \approx 0.5$

Estimation at the tariff line level

$$\frac{t_i}{1+t_i} = \underbrace{\frac{1-\beta}{\beta}}_{\delta} I_i \frac{z_i}{e_i}$$

$$\frac{t_i}{1+t_i} \frac{e_i}{z_i} = \delta I_i + \mu_i$$

And

$$\widehat{\beta} = \frac{1}{1+\widehat{\delta}}$$

Problems to solve for estimation at the (HS6) tariff line level

- ► MFN tariffs from WTO's IDB: t_i
- ▶ Import demand elasticities from Nicita et al. (2018): e_i
- ▶ Import data from UN's COMTRADE: $z_i = y_i / m_i$
- Unobserved organized lobby I_i
- ▶ Unobserved output: $z_i = y_i/m_i$

Estimating output at the tariff line level

- Prodcom dataset by Eurostat
 - Covers manufactured goods, mining, and quarrying
 - ▶ 34 countries: EEA + Turkey from 1995-2020
 - Production is reported at the 8-digit level (CN8)
 - ▶ 79% of the lines from Prodcom can be converted to HS6
 - ► The 2376 usable converted lines correspond to 61% of world trade → concordance
- Agriculture, livestock, fishing, and forestry production data from FAO
- Use a Lasso estimator to predict production at HS6 level
 - ▶ Using WDI, net exports from ComTrade, and Barro & Lee (2013) data
 - Panel of 26 years across countries at HS6 level

Least Absolute Shrinkage and Selection Operator

▶ Penalized regression : constraint added to a linear model

$$\widehat{\beta}_i = argmin \sum_{i=1}^{N} (y_i - \beta_0 - \sum_{j=1}^{N} \beta_j x_{ij})^2 s.t. \sum_{j=1}^{N} |\beta_j| \le \lambda$$

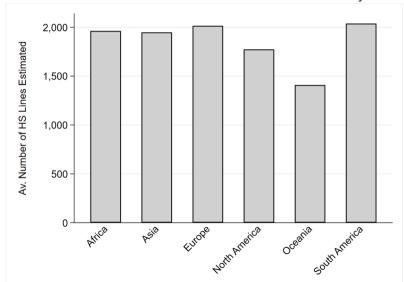
- where $\sum_{i} |\beta_{i}|$ is the L1-norm (sum of absolute values) of β_{i} s
- $\triangleright \lambda$ is the key hyper parameter
 - the value of λ controls the shrinkage (number of β_i set to 0)
 - $ightharpoonup \lambda$ too low : model fails to capture important components
 - $ightharpoonup \lambda$ too high : the model loses generality (overfitting)
- ightharpoonup Estimate λ using cross-validation

Estimating λ

- \blacktriangleright We use cross-validation (CV) to identify the "best" value of λ
 - ► The sample is divided in *n* folds
 - For each value of λ the model is estimated on n-1 folds and validated on the n^{th}
 - ► This is repeated until all folds have been left-out once
 - ► The prediction error on all left-out folds is averaged
 - ightharpoonup The λ selected is the one minimizing the averaged prediction error

Output Results

▶ We estimate 2'157 HS lines for 266 countries and 26 years with some variation



Internal test

	(1)		
	Prodcom		
Predicted val.	0.996***		
	(0.0135)		
$\beta=1$ (p-value)	0.771		
Correlation	0.726		
N	1'014'186		
Robust standard errors in parentheses			

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

External tests: comparing with UNIDO data

	(1)	(2)
		IndStat (€ conv.)
Prodcom data (€)	0.818*** (0.150)	
Predicted val. (€)		0.417*** (0.0532)
Correlation	0.663	0.467
N	22319	91422

Robust standard errors in parentheses

^{*} *p* < 0.1, ** *p* < 0.05, *** *p* < 0.01

External tests: Ukrainian data

	(1) Log Ukrainian data (UAH)	(2) Log Ukrainian data (UAH)
Log Predicted val. (€)	0.561*** (0.0339)	0.631*** (0.0557)
Correlation	0.439	0.509
FE	Year	-
N	1371	477

2nd column: 2013 only

^{*} *p* < 0.1, ** *p* < 0.05, *** *p* < 0.01

Unobserved Ii

- Assumption that all 6-digit sectors are organized is problematic
- ▶ Thresholds on PAC contributions also problematic: trade or other reasons?
- ▶ Belloc (2007), McCalman (2004) use industry meetings with trade authorities: impossible at HS 6-digit and for all countries.
- ▶ Data driven approach as in Cadot et al. (2013)
 - Combining model prediction and grid-search
 - Model suggests organized sectors have higher protection
 - ▶ Use this to predict *I_i* for conditional high tariff sectors
 - Grid search determines how high tariffs need to be for sectors to be organized

Aggregation bias in the PFS

▶ Values of β :

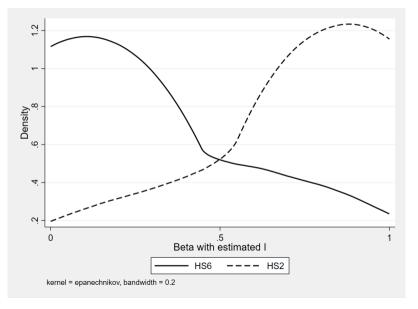
	HS 2	HS 4	HS 6
Mean	0.7619	0.3663	0.2490
Std. dev	0.2928	0.3513	0.3073
Median	0.9043	0.2460	0.0897
Nbr obs.	563	563	563

Aggregation bias in the PFS

 \triangleright Values of β , all sectors organized :

	HS 2	HS 4	HS 6
Mean	0.9357	0.7322	0.5208
Std. dev	0.1666	0.3186	0.3938
Median	0.9890	0.8898	0.6021
Nbr obs.	563	563	563

With estimated I_i : HS6 vs HS2



 β with I_i using Prodcom (HS) and US data (NAICS)

	2 digits HS	4 digits HS	6 digits HS
Prodcom EU data	0.68	0.037	0.00073
Estimated EU data	0.71	0.032	0.00016

	_	3 digits NAICS	•	•
NAICS US data	0.95	0.42	0.22	0.14

Conclusion

- ▶ Show how aggregation bias can influence estimates in a PFS model
- ► Estimate a panel of manufacturing production at the HS 6 level for 200+ countries and 26 years
- ► Find significantly lower estimates for the share of welfare relative to lobbying in the government's objective function at the HS 6 compared to HS 2 level

Estimation at the tariff line level

back

$$\frac{t_{i}}{1+t_{i}} = \frac{I_{i} - \alpha}{\frac{\beta}{1-\beta} + \alpha} \frac{z_{i}}{e_{i}} = -\underbrace{\frac{\alpha}{\frac{\beta}{1-\beta} + \alpha}}_{\gamma} \frac{z_{i}}{e_{i}} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{\frac{\beta}{1-\beta} + \alpha}}_{\delta} I_{i} \frac{z_{i}}{e_{i}}$$

$$\frac{t_{i}}{1+t_{i}} \frac{e_{i}}{z_{i}} = \gamma + \delta I_{i} + \mu_{i}$$

And

$$\widehat{\beta} = \frac{1 - \widehat{\gamma}}{1 + \widehat{\delta} - \widehat{\gamma}}$$

$$\widehat{\alpha} = \frac{\widehat{\gamma}}{\widehat{\delta}}$$

Concordance

- ► The CN8 production data needs to be brought into HS6
 - CN8 broadly corresponds to HS6 with a further breakdown at the eight-digit level
 - Most CN8 lines can be converted 1-to-1 according to Eurostat's RAMON correspondence index
 - ► The remaining CN8 lines are assessed manually to see if a correspondence to HS6 is possible
 - ▶ All lines are converted to the 1992 HS version, H0
- ▶ 79% of the lines from Prodcom can be converted to HS6
- ▶ 2963 lines out of 3762 on average only 2376 with data due to data for lines with few participating firms being confidential
- ▶ The 2376 usable converted lines correspond to 61% of world trade



4 steps

- 1. Estimate PFS assuming none of the sectors are organized
- 2. Determine I_i as:

$$I_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } \mu_i > \rho \sigma_{\mu} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

where μ_i is the error term from step 1, σ_{μ} is st. dev of μ_i , and $-10 < \rho < 10$ is a hyper parameter to be estimated through grid-search.

- 3. For each value of ρ construct I_i and estimate PFS
- 4. Select the ρ that minimizes the MSE

