

Protectionism Unchained: Determinants and Consequences of Discretionary Trade Policy in Argentina

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Background

- Numerous accounts of discretionary trade policies that favor or punish particular **firms** or **sectors**
 - ▶ Differential enforcement of regulation, subsidies, local content restrictions, import licenses, tariff exemptions ([Ederington and Ruta 16](#))
 - ▶ Part of an increasing globalization backlash ([Colantone et al. 21](#))
- Difficult to estimate determinants and consequences of these policies:
 - ▶ Governments typically do not publicize them (e.g., illegal under WTO)
 - ▶ Even then, hard to measure size of non-tariff barriers
- Aggregate effects of trade policy depend on terms of trade, yet still little evidence of **price** effects, particularly
 - ▶ Due to (arguably more common) non-tariff barriers
 - ▶ From less-developed countries whose firms may have less market power

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This Project

Study an episode of discretionary trade policy in Argentina 2012-2015:

- 1 Unusual policy experiment: every transaction required explicit approval
 - ▶ Data on universe of trade transactions requested, denied, and approved
- 2 Identify both *sector* and *firm level* determinants of these discretionary trade policies
 - ▶ Macro imbalances further alter the level and dispersion of protection
- 3 Did these quantitative restrictions improve terms of trade?
 - ▶ Restricting trade increases import prices: Argentine firms paid more for less!
 - ▶ (Except when Argentinian importers have high bargaining power)
- 4 Rationalize results through model of import-export bargaining and use it for quantitative assesment:
 - ▶ Weak domestic bargaining power: $\beta \approx 0.1$ identified from the price and quantity responses to policy.
 - ▶ Impact of trade restrictions depend on bargaining power: price effects become negative for large enough β .

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Related Literature

- Price effects of trade policy
 - ▶ Tariffs: Feenstra 89, Hummels and Skiba 04, Romalis 07, De Locker et al. 15, Irwin 19
 - ▶ Quotas: Khandelwal et al. 13
 - ▶ 2018-2020 Trade War: Amiti et al. 19, Fajgelbaum et al. 20, Flaaen et al. 20, Cavallo et al. 21,...
- Trade with imperfect competition
 - ▶ Oligopoly: Brander and Spencer 84, Eaton and Grossman 86 (Brander 95 literature review)
 - ▶ Bargaining: Ornelas and Turner 08, Antras and Staiger 12, Bernard and Dhingra 19, Grossman and Helpman 20, Alvarez et al. 22
 - ▶ Developing vs developed countries: Antras 20, WDR 20
- Trade shocks and policies in Argentina
 - ▶ Gopinath and Neiman 14, Conconi and Schepel 17, Bernini and Lembergman 20
- Determinants of Protection
 - ▶ Large literature, summarized by Rodrik 95, Gawande and Krishna 03

Trade policy in Argentina: 2012-2015

- Stagnating economy, external imbalances, currency controls [more](#)
 - ▶ Trade restrictions in place since around 2009
- In February of 2012, new regulations to importing (DJAI system):
 - ▶ *Applied to all products*
 - ▶ Firms had to request authorization in advance
 - ▶ Government could block the request, totally or partially
 - ▶ Decisions made on a discretionary basis
 - ▶ Guidelines for appeals introduced informally to trade associations
- Stated goals of the policy:
 - ▶ Trade balance, import substitution, domestic prices, investment [more](#)
- System ended when opposition party unexpectedly won presidency in November 2015.

Data

Universe of transactions: **Consistency**

- Quantities and values **requested** and **approved** (2013-2017)
- Quantities and values **imported** and exported (2011-2017)
- Importing firm identifiers
- Product: 11-digit HS \times origin country \times measurement unit
- Matched to Orbis and D&B for global ultimate owner

Product-level:

- Datamyne and Comtrade for values and quantities (11-digit HS)
- OEDE for labor, wage bill, number of firms (4-digit ISIC)

Policy periods

- 1 2011 (“Pre”-restrictions)
- 2 2012-2015 (“During”)
- 3 2016-2017 (“Post”)

Requests and Approvals

Transaction-Level Descriptive Statistics

	During DJAI (2012-15)	Post DJAI (2016-17)
Requests per year	3,413,878	2,623,489
Mean value	\$33,937	\$26,277
Requests fully approved	69.5%	98.1%
Requests partially approved	1.3%	0.2%
Requests fully rejected	29.2%	1.7%
Total value approved	63.5%	89.5%

Graph

Requests and Approvals

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Variance Decomposition of Approval Rates

- Firm identities (rather than sectors) account for substantial fraction variation in approval rates AR (i.e. value approved/value requested):
 - ▶ Variance decomposition from regressing

$$AR_{sfi} = \mu_f + \mu_i + \varepsilon_{sfi}$$

- ▶ where f is firm, i is HS11-unit-origin product, s is import request
- Results:

	During DJAI	Post DJAI
Total sum of squares	1,968,648	47,986
Fraction explained by		
Firm IDs (μ_f)	24.56%	10.57%
Product IDs (μ_i)	2.20%	8.46%

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Approval Rates and Firm and Sectoral Characteristics

- Compute AR_{fi} : average approval rate across requests within firm-product **During DJAI**:
 - ▶ where f is firm, i is HS11-unit-origin product
- Project on firm and sectoral characteristics measured **Pre DJAI**:

$$AR_{fi} = X_f\beta + Z_h\gamma + \varepsilon_{fi}$$

- ▶ X_f firm characteristics
- ▶ Z_h sectoral characteristics for HS4 h

Approval Rates and Firm and Sectoral Characteristics

$$AR_{fi} = X_f\beta + Z_h\gamma + \varepsilon_{fi}$$

		AR_{fi}
Firm-level	$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Capital importer}\}$	0.067*** (0.001)
	$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Exporter}\}$	0.072*** (0.001)
	$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Domestically owned}\}$	-0.045*** (0.001)
	log(Revenue)	-0.007*** (0.000)
	log(Employees)	0.035*** (0.000)
Sector-level (of imported good)	Fraction of capital importers	0.021*** (0.003)
	Fraction of exporters	0.180*** (0.003)
	Fraction domestically owned	0.012*** (0.002)
	log(Total revenue)	0.022*** (0.001)
	log(Total employment)	-0.018*** (0.001)
Constant		0.225*** (0.012)

N=809,985, $R^2=0.176$
F-stat=13,955.2

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Approvals and Pre-DJAI Firm and Sectoral Characteristics

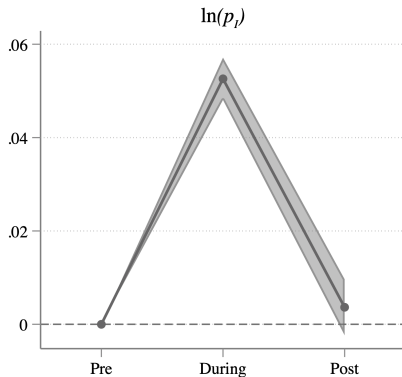
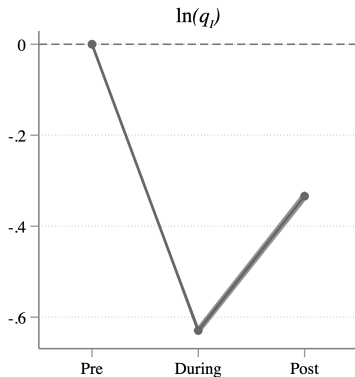
$$AR_{fi}^{H1-13} = X_f\beta + Z_h\gamma + \varepsilon_{fi}$$

		AR_{fi}	AR_{fi}^{H1-13}
Firm-level	$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Capital importer}\}$	0.067*** (0.001)	0.091*** (0.002)
	$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Exporter}\}$	0.072*** (0.001)	0.057*** (0.002)
	$\mathbb{1}\{\text{Domestically owned}\}$	-0.045*** (0.001)	-0.050*** (0.001)
	log(Revenue)	-0.007*** (0.000)	-0.007*** (0.001)
	log(Employees)	0.035*** (0.000)	0.034*** (0.001)
Sector-level (of imported good)	Fraction of capital importers	0.021*** (0.003)	0.043*** (0.005)
	Fraction of exporters	0.180*** (0.003)	0.188*** (0.006)
	Fraction domestically owned	0.012*** (0.002)	0.011*** (0.003)
	log(Total revenue)	0.022*** (0.001)	0.024*** (0.001)
	log(Total employment)	-0.018*** (0.001)	-0.021*** (0.002)
Constant		0.225*** (0.012)	0.217*** (0.020)
		N=809,985, $R^2=0.176$	N=281,386, $R^2=0.176$
		F-stat=13,955.2	F-stat=4,283.4

Prices and Quantities

Pre-During-Post DJAI Effects μ_t (within Firm-Product)

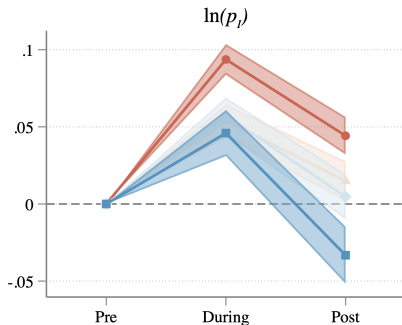
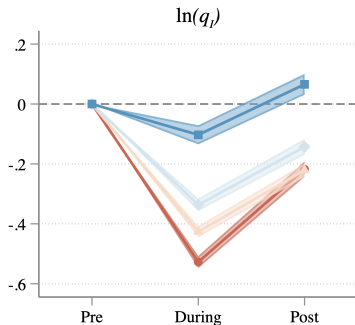
$$\ln y_{fit} = \mu_t + \mu_{fi} + \varepsilon_{fit}$$



Prices and Quantities by Approval Rate

More Stringent Policy Associated with Lower Quantities and Higher Prices

$$\ln y_{fit} = \mu_t^{Q1AR} + \mu_t^{Q2AR} + \mu_t^{Q3AR} + \mu_t^{Q4AR} + \mu_{fi} + \varepsilon_{fit}$$



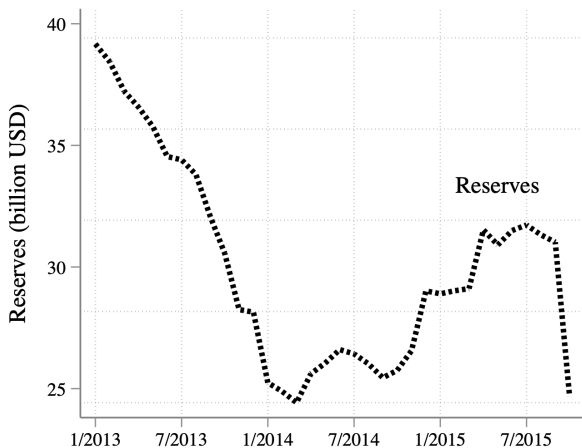
● 1st quart. AR ● 2nd quart. AR ● 3rd quart. AR ● 4th quart. AR

Assessing the Causal Impacts of the DJAI

- Concerns:
 - ▶ Three period analysis—types of firms and products targeted may be on different trajectories during DJAI period (spurious trends)
 - ▶ Policy adjusted based on import values due to unobserved shocks (reverse causation)
- Approach:
 - ▶ Exploit higher frequency variation within the DJAI period ($t =$ 6-month period)
 - ▶ Instrument changes in approval rates (ΔAR)

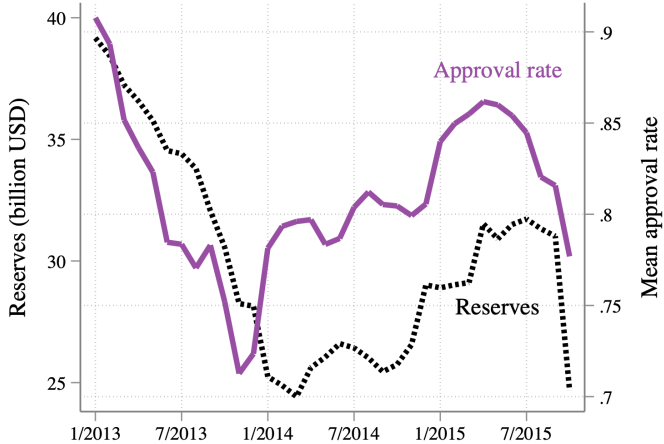
Instrumenting for Trade Policy through Macro Imbalances

Approval Rates Fell When Foreign Currency Reserves Were Low



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“Zeroth” Stage

$$\Delta AR_{fit} = \gamma \Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}_t) \times \widehat{AR}_{fi}^{H1-13} + \mu_t + \mu_{fi} + \varepsilon_{fit}$$

	ΔAR
$\Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}) \times \widehat{AR}^{H1-13}$	0.105*** (0.012)
Half-year FE	Yes
Firm-product FE	Yes
Observations	461,119
F-stat	71.5

“Zeroth” Stage

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Half-year FE	Yes
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Firm-products with initially higher predicted ARs experience larger drops in approvals when reserves fall.

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- ▶ Three period analysis—types of firms and products targeted may be on different trajectories during DJAI period (spurious trends)
- ▶ Policy adjusted based on import values due to unobserved shocks (reverse causation)

- Approach:

- ▶ Exploit variation within the DJAI period ($t = 6\text{-month period}$)
- ▶ Instrument changes in approval rates (ΔAR) with macro imbalances \times initial characteristics:

$$\Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}_t) \times \widehat{AR}_{fi}^{H1-13}$$

- ▶ **Identifying assumption:** initially favored sectors and firms are not subsequently on diff trends coinciding with macro shocks
 - ★ Reassuring: bias of opposite sign from 3 period analysis (where initially unfavored saw biggest quantity reduction)

IV Estimates of the Price and Quantity Effects

Prices rise with (plausibly exogenous) quantity restrictions

$$\text{1st Stage: } \Delta \ln(q_I)_{fit} = \gamma_1 \Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}_t) \times \widehat{AR}_{fi}^{H1-13} + \mu_t + \mu_{fi} + u_{fit}$$

$$\text{2nd Stage: } \Delta \ln(p_I)_{fit} = \gamma_2 \widehat{\Delta \ln(q_I)}_{fit} + \mu_t + \mu_{fi} + \varepsilon_{fit}$$

	1 st stage $\Delta \ln(q_I)$	OLS $\Delta \ln(p_I)$	Red.form $\Delta \ln(p_I)$	2 nd stage $\Delta \ln(p_I)$
$\Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}) \times \widehat{AR}^{H1-13}$	0.156*** (0.035)		-0.167*** (0.028)	
$\Delta \ln(q_I)$		-0.245*** (0.003)		-1.067*** (0.253)
Half-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Firm-product FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	629,818	629,818	629,818	629,818
F-stat	19.4			

Heterogeneous Effects and Buyer Power

- Focus on a measure of buyer market power
- Import share of firm f among Argentine importers of product $hs11$ from country c :

$$m_{h11,f,c}^F = \frac{(f\text{'s imports from } c)_{h11}}{(\text{Total imports from } c)_{h11}}$$

- ▶ Measured in 2011 (before DJAI)
- ▶ $m^F = 1$ means the firm is the sole importer of that product in Argentina
- ▶ $m^F \rightarrow 0$ when there are many firms importing that product in Argentina

Heterogeneous Effects and Buyer Power: Results

Buyer Power Mitigates Price Increases, and Can *Revert* Them

$$\Delta \ln(p_{i,t})_{fit} = \gamma_1 \Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}_t) \times \widehat{AR}_{fi}^{H1-13} + \gamma_2 \Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}_t) \times \widehat{AR}_{fi}^{H1-13} \times m^F + \mu_t + \mu_i + u_{fit}$$

Reduced form	
	$\Delta \ln(p_i)$
$\Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}) \times \widehat{AR}^{H1-13}$	-0.165*** (0.022)
$\Delta \ln(\text{Reserves}) \times \widehat{AR}^{H1-13} \times m^F$	0.187*** (0.040)
Half-year FE	Yes
Product FE	Yes
Observations	445,371
Price elasticity, 50% pctl	-0.162
Price elasticity, 90% pctl	0.022

Trade Framework

- We have shown: lower approval rates \rightarrow lower import quantities and higher import prices.
- Next: model of importing with bargaining.
- Goals:
 - ① Show that evidence can be rationalized through low domestic bargaining power
 - ② Estimate bargaining power to match IV estimates
 - ③ Measure aggregate effects and importance of bargaining power

Trade Framework: Setup

- Freely traded outside good and multiple products ω (HS4)
 - ▶ Log utility over outside good and products ω
 - ▶ CES (σ) aggregation of differentiated varieties
 - ▶ Free entry of domestic firms
- Technologies and timing:
 - ▶ Firms pay fixed cost to enter, then matches with foreign supplier
 - ▶ Production uses domestic labor and a foreign input (Cobb-Douglas)
 - ▶ A matched pair makes import request q which is fully approved with probability $\alpha_\omega(q)$
 - ▶ If approved, firms bargain over the surplus and determine import price
 - ★ Domestic power = β

Import Quantity, Price, and Equilibrium

- Problem of matched pair:

$$q_{\omega}^* = \arg \max \alpha_{\omega}(q) \underbrace{(R_{\omega}(q) - \psi_{\omega}(q))}_{\Pi_{\omega}(q)}$$

- ▶ FOC shows how policy introduces a distortion:

$$\varepsilon_{\Pi_{\omega}}(q_{\omega}^*) + \varepsilon_{\alpha_{\omega}}(q_{\omega}^*) = 0,$$

- ▶ Elasticity (not level) of $\alpha_{\omega}(q)$ is what matters

- Nash Bargaining conditional on approval:

$$p_{I_{\omega}}^* = (1 - \beta) \frac{R_{\omega}(q_{\omega}^*)}{q_{\omega}^*} + \beta \frac{\psi_{\omega}(q_{\omega}^*)}{q_{\omega}^*}$$

- ▶ Low $\beta \rightarrow$ price moves along average revenue curve
- ▶ High $\beta \rightarrow$ price moves along average cost curve

- Equilibrium: $(q_{\omega}^*, p_{I_{\omega}}^*, P_{\omega}, M_{\omega})$ such that import requests and prices are optimal and there is free entry:

$$\mathbb{E}[\alpha(q_{\omega}^*) \beta \Pi_{\omega}(q_{\omega}^*)] = F_{\omega}.$$

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$$\mathbb{E}[\alpha(q_{\omega}^*) \beta \Pi_{\omega}(q_{\omega}^*)] = F_{\omega}.$$

Bargaining Power and Policy Impact

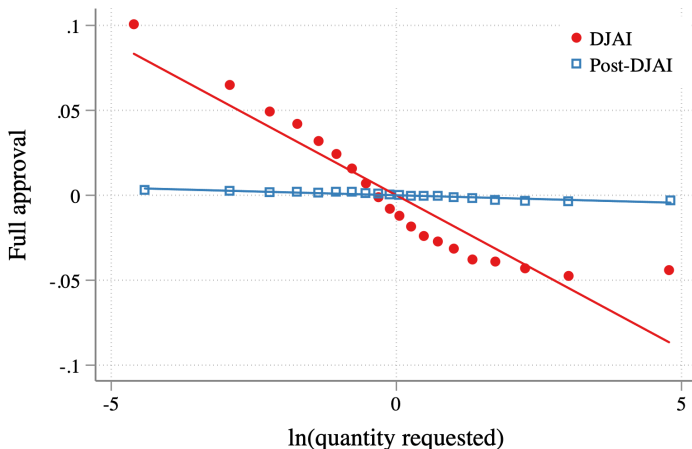
- Assume:
 - ▶ Probability of full approval: $\alpha_{\omega}(q) = \phi_{0\omega} q^{-\phi_{1\omega}}$
 - ▶ Foreign cost: $\psi_{\omega}(q) = Z_{\omega} q^{1+\frac{1}{\eta}}$
- Result: An increase in the request size penalty $\phi_{1\omega}$ leads to:
 - 1 Lower quantity requested, $\frac{\partial q_{\omega}^*}{\partial \phi_{1\omega}} < 0$.
 - 2 Higher import price if foreign supplier has enough bargaining power:

$$\frac{\partial p_{I\omega}^*}{\partial \phi_{1\omega}} > 0 \iff \beta \leq \bar{\beta}(\eta, \sigma, \phi_{1\omega})$$

Taking Model to Data

- ① Estimate the policy parameters $\phi_{0\omega t}, \phi_{1\omega t}$ at product-period level
- ② Run similar IV regressions as in previous analysis using $\phi_{1\omega t}$ instead of AR
- ③ Estimate (β, η) to match those IV responses
- ④ Perform counterfactuals to measure aggregate impacts of policy

Approval Likelihood Falls with Request Size

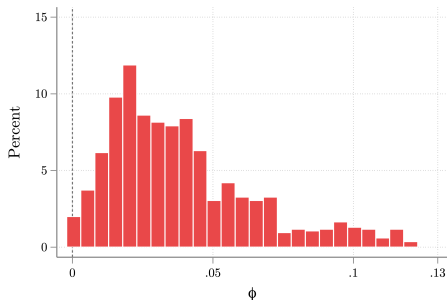


Notes: Binned scatter plot and a linear fit of an indicator of full approval on the log of the quantity requested, after residualizing both variables on product indicators.

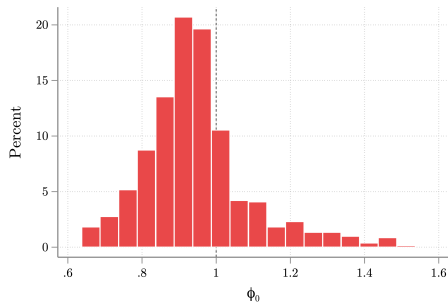
Estimating Policy Parameters

$$\mathbb{1}\{q_{A,fit} = q_{R,fit}\} = \phi_{0,h} - \phi_{1,h} \ln q_{R,fit} + \mu_f + \gamma_t + e_{fit}$$

(a) Size penalty ($\phi_{1,h}$)



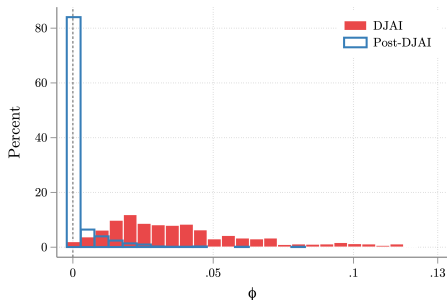
(b) Approval level ($\phi_{0,h}$)



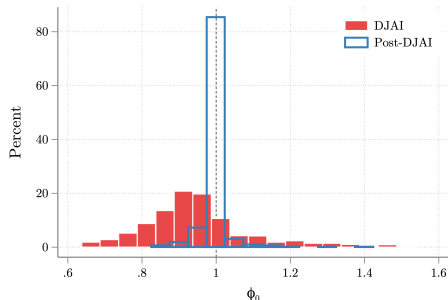
Estimating Policy Parameters

$$\mathbb{1}\{q_{A,fit} = q_{R,fit}\} = \phi_{0,h} - \phi_{1,h} \ln q_{R,fit} + \mu_f + \gamma_t + e_{fit}$$

(a) Size penalty ($\phi_{1,h}$)



(b) Approval level ($\phi_{0,h}$)



Responses of Prices and Quantities to ϕ_1

Variation within the policy period

	0 th stage		1 st stage		OLS	Red.form	2 nd stage
	$\Delta\phi_1$	$\Delta\ln(q_I)$	$\Delta\ln(q_I)$	$\Delta\ln(p_I)$	$\Delta\ln(p_I)$	$\Delta\ln(p_I)$	$\Delta\ln(p_I)$
$\Delta\ln(\text{Reserves}) \times \widehat{AR}^{\text{HI-13}}$	-0.015*** (0.002)		0.204*** (0.041)			-0.181*** (0.022)	
Predicted $\Delta\phi_1$		-9.336** (3.525)					
$\Delta\ln(q_I)$				-0.236*** (0.009)			-0.883*** (0.180)
Half-year FE	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Firm-product FE	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	772,206	772,206	832,848	832,848	832,848	832,848	832,848
F-stat	41.4	7.0	24.6				

Notes: The sample is from the 1st half of 2014 to the 2nd half of 2015. The standard errors are one-way clustered by HS4-period and shown in parentheses. Asterisks indicate 10% (*), 5% (**), and 1% (***) significance.

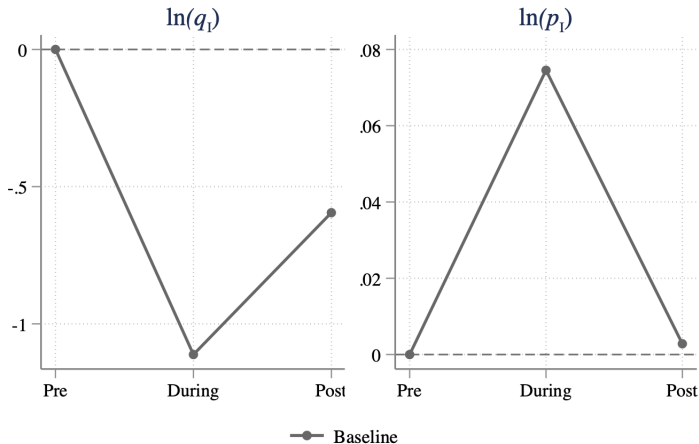
Calibration: Bargaining Power and Supply Elasticity

- Feed estimated policy shocks $\{\phi_{0,\omega t}, \phi_{1,\omega t}\}$ for each 4-digit HS product and half-year period
- Choose (β, η) to match our IV regression estimates of:
 - ▶ $\Delta \ln(p_{l\omega t})$ on $\Delta \ln(q_{\omega t})$
 - ▶ $\Delta \ln(q_{\omega t})$ on $\Delta \ln(\phi_{1\omega t})$

Parameter		Targeted Moment		
Description	Value	Description	Model	Data
Home bargaining power (β)	0.12	Reg. coeff prices on quant.	-0.88	-0.88
Foreign cost elasticity (η)	2.06	Reg. coeff quant. on ϕ_1	-9.33	-9.33

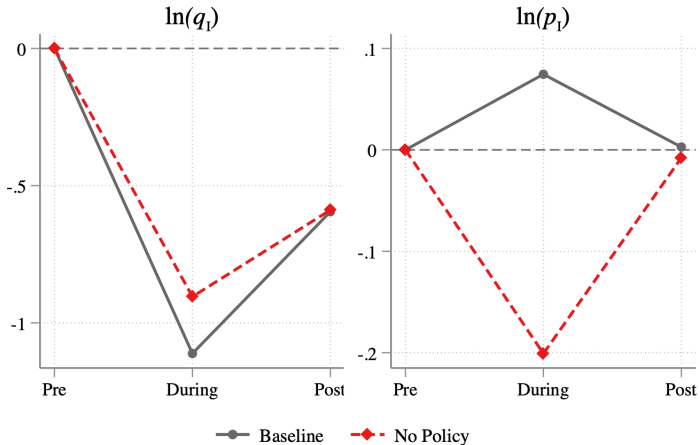
Effect of Policy on Prices and Quantities

Baseline model: using observed policy, calibrate foreign cost shifter $Z_{\omega t}$ and fixed cost of entry $F_{\omega t}$ to match observed import quantity $\bar{q}_{\omega t}$ and price $\bar{p}_{l\omega t}$



Effect of Removing the Policy

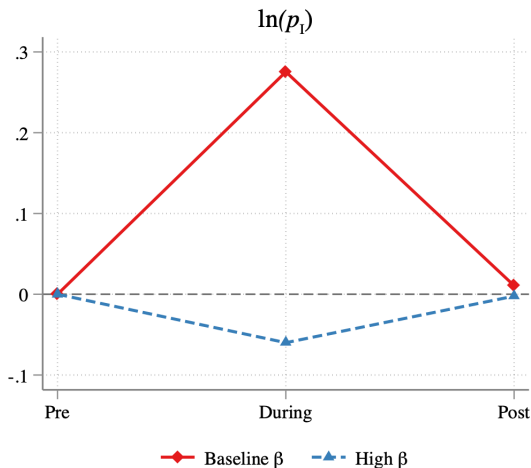
Counterfactual with $\phi_{0\omega t} = 1$ and $\phi_{1\omega t} = 0$



Without policy: quantities fall by less (7.6 pp difference) and prices fall instead of increase (26 pp difference).

The Role of β

Difference Baseline - No Policy



Higher domestic market power: prices fall with policy.

Conclusion

- Study episode of discretionary trade policy in Argentina 2012-2015
 - ▶ Observe policy at the firm level
 - ▶ Identify firm and sector level determinants of trade policy
 - ▶ Surprising result: restrictions lead to deterioration of terms of trade
- Trade model with importer-exporter bargaining:
 - ▶ Can rationalize the evidence as long as home firms have low bargaining power
 - ▶ Used to identify bargaining power from empirical estimates
 - ▶ Implies large effect of the policy on import prices and quantities
 - ★ and important role of market power