

# Protection for Sale: An Empirical Investigation

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# INTRO

## Research Questions:

- Is the Grossman-Helpman "Protection for Sale" model consistent with real-world data?
- What are the key structural parameters of the G-H model

## Data:

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# CONSUMERS

The representative individual's preference:

$$U = c_0 + \sum_{i=1}^n u_i(c_i) \quad (1)$$

The first order conditions of the utility max problem imply the inverse demand function:

$$p_i = u_i'(c_i) \quad (2)$$

Let  $d_i = [u_i'(c_i)]^{-1}$ , then  $c_i = d_i(p_i)$ .

Plug back into the utility, derive the indirect utility function:

$$V = y_i - \sum_{i=1}^n p_i d_i(p_i) + \sum_{i=1}^n u_i(c_i) \quad (3)$$

$$V = y_i + \sum_{i=1}^n s_i(p_i) \text{ , where } S_i(p_i) = u_i(d_i(p_i)) - p_i d_i(p_i)$$

# PRODUCTION

- There are  $n + 1$  inputs: labor and one sector specific input for each sector.
- Each of the other goods is produced from labor and the sector specific input.
- $y_i(p_i)$  is the supply function of good  $i$ .
- $\pi_i(p_i)$ : The returns to specific factor  $i$ .
- By Hotelling's lemma:  $\pi'_i(p_i) = y_i(p_i)$ .

# AGGREGATE CONSUMER WELFARE

Aggregate the indirect utility, we obtain the aggregate consumer welfare:

$$W = 1 + \underbrace{\sum_{i=1}^n \pi_i + \sum_{i=1}^n t_i^s \overbrace{M_i}^{M_i = d_i - y_i}}_{\text{Sum of aggregate income}} + \underbrace{\sum_{i=1}^n s_i}_{\text{Sum of utility}} \quad (4)$$

- $M_i = d_i - y_i$  is the net import.

# POLITICAL STRUCTURE

In some sectors  $L \subset \{1, 2, \dots, n\}$  the owners of specific factors are able to form a lobby.

Let  $\alpha_i$  denote the fraction of people that are able to form a lobby, they contribute  $C_i$  to the government.

Lobby  $i$ 's aggregate welfare:

$$W_i = \pi_i + \alpha_i \left( 1 + \sum_{j=1}^n t_j^s M_j + \sum_{j=1}^n s_j \right). \quad (5)$$

Then  $W_i - C_i$  is the objective function of lobby  $i$ .

# GOVERNMENT

Objective function:

$$U^G = \beta W + (1 - \beta) \sum_{i \in L}^n C_i \quad (6)$$

where  $\beta \in [0, 1]$  captures the weight of welfare in the government's objective.

# JOINT SURPLUS

The combination of consumer welfare and lobby's welfare:

$$\Omega = \beta W + (1 - \beta) \sum_{j \in L}^n W_j. \quad (7)$$

The equilibrium trade policy has the tariffs  $t_i^s$  for each sector and maximize  $\Omega$ .



# EQUILIBRIUM TRADE POLICY

$$\begin{aligned}\Omega &= \beta W + (1 - \beta) \sum_{j \in L}^n W_j. \\ &= \beta \left( 1 + \sum_{i=1}^n \pi_i + \sum_{i=1}^n \tau_i^s M_i + \sum_{i=1}^n s_i \right) + (1 - \beta) \left[ \sum_{i=1}^n I_i \pi_i + \alpha_i \left( 1 + \sum_{j=1}^n \tau_j^s M_j + \sum_{j=1}^n s_j \right) \right] \\ &= \beta + (1 - \beta) \alpha_L + \sum_{i=1}^n [\beta + (1 - \beta) I_i] \pi_i + \sum_{i=1}^n [\beta + (1 - \beta) \alpha_L] (t_i^s M_i + s_i)\end{aligned}\tag{8}$$

- $\alpha_L \equiv \sum_{i \in L} \alpha_i$  represents the share of population that owns some specific factor
- $I_i$  is a dummy that takes value one if  $i \in L$ .

# EQUILIBRIUM TRADE POLICY

Partial derivative w.r.t.  $\tau_i^s$ :

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{\partial \Omega}{\partial t_i^s} &= \frac{\partial \Omega}{\partial p_i} = (\beta + (1 - \beta)\alpha_L) \cdot M_i + (\beta + 1 - \beta) \alpha_l \tau_i^s \frac{\partial M_i}{\partial p_i} + (\beta + (1 - \beta)\alpha_l) \frac{\partial s_i(p_i)}{\partial p_i} \\ &\quad + (\beta + (1 - \beta)I_i) \cdot \frac{\partial \pi_i}{\partial p_i} = 0 \\ &= (\beta + (1 - \beta)\alpha_L) [M_i + \tau_i M_i'(p_i) - d_i(p_i)] + (\beta + (1 - \beta)I_i) \cdot X_i = 0 \end{aligned} \quad (9)$$

We can solve for  $\tau_i^s$ :

$$t_i^s = \frac{I_i - \alpha_L}{\frac{\beta}{1-\beta} + \alpha_L} \cdot \frac{X_i}{-M_i'} \quad (10)$$

In terms of import elasticity  $e_i = \frac{\partial p_i M_i}{\partial M_i p_i}$  and import-penetration ratio  $z_i = \frac{M_i}{X_i}$ :

$$\frac{t_i}{1 + t_i} = \frac{I_i - \alpha_L}{\frac{\beta}{1-\beta} + \alpha_L} \cdot \frac{z_i}{e_i} \quad (11)$$

# ECONOMETRIC MODEL

From (11),

$$\begin{aligned}\frac{t_i}{1+t_i}e_i &= \frac{I_i - \alpha_L}{\frac{\beta}{1-\beta} + \alpha_L} \frac{X_i}{M_i} + \epsilon_i \\ &= \gamma \frac{X_i}{M_i} + \delta I_i \frac{X_i}{M_i} + \epsilon_i\end{aligned}\tag{12}$$

The theory predicts  $\gamma = \frac{-\alpha_L}{\beta/(1-\beta)+\alpha_L} < 0$ ,  $\delta = \frac{1}{\beta/(1-\beta)+\alpha_L} > 0$ , and  $\gamma + \delta > 0$ .

With the estimates, we can recover the government's objective  $\beta$  and the fraction of population represented by a lobby  $\alpha_L$ .

## ECONOMETRIC MODEL IN USE

$$y_i^* = \frac{t_i^* e_i}{1 + t_i^*} = \gamma \frac{X_i}{M_i} + \delta I_i \frac{X_i}{M_i} + \epsilon_i \quad (13)$$

$$t_i = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{\mu} t_i^* & \text{if } 0 < t_i^* < \mu \\ 0 & \text{if } t_i^* \leq 0 \\ 1 & \text{if } t_i^* \geq \mu \end{cases} \quad (14)$$

$$\frac{X_i}{M_i} = \zeta_1' \mathbf{Z}_{1i} + u_{1i} \quad (15)$$

$$I_i^* = \zeta_2' \mathbf{Z}_{2i} + u_{2i} \quad (16)$$

$$I_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } I_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } I_i^* \leq 0 \end{cases} . \quad (17)$$

# RESULTS

Table: Results From the Basic Specification (G-H Model)

Variable	$\mu = 1$	$\mu = 2$	$\mu = 3$
$X_i/M_i$	-0.0093 (0.0040)	-0.0133 (0.0059)	-0.0155 (0.0070)
$(X_i/M_i) * I_i$	0.0106 (0.0053)	0.0155 (0.0077)	0.0186 (0.0093)
Implied $\beta$	0.986 (0.005)	0.984 (0.007)	0.981 (0.009)
Implied $\alpha_L$	0.883 (0.223)	0.858 (0.217)	0.840 (0.214)

# VARIABLES SHOULD NOT INFLUENCE PREDICTION

TABLE 2—ALTERNATIVE SPECIFICATIONS ( $\mu = 1$ )

Variable	Specification 1 Log-likelihood: -134.9	Specification 2 Log-likelihood: -132.06	Specification 3 Log-likelihood: -132.04	Specification 4 Log-likelihood: -130.61
$X_i/M_i$	—	-0.0093 (0.0040)	-0.0096 (0.0043)	-0.0109 (0.0045)
$(X_i/M_i) * I_i$	—	0.0106 (0.0053)	0.0105 (0.0053)	0.0123 (0.0055)
Constant	-0.0640 (0.1104)	—	-0.0287 (0.1375)	-0.2619 (0.2559)
Unemployment	—	—	—	1.5722 (1.5884)
Employment size	—	—	—	1.1836 (0.8235)

Note: Dependent variable:  $(t_i^* e_i / 1 + t_i^*)$ .

# DIFFERENT THRESHOLD OF CONTRIBUTION

**Table:** Results from Using Alternative Thresholds to Define the Political-Organization Dummy

Variable	Thresholds		
	\$50,000,000 Percent of organized sectors: 74	0.1 percent of total contributions Percent of organized sectors: 84	0.1 percent of value added Percent of organized sectors: 85
$X_i/M_i$	-0.0090 (0.0039)	-0.1475 (0.0664)	-0.0045 (0.0025)
$(X_i/M_i) * I_i$	0.0099 (0.0054)	0.1286 (0.0697)	0.0075 (0.0074)