

# Anatomy of protectionism



**HSE**  
UNIVERSITY

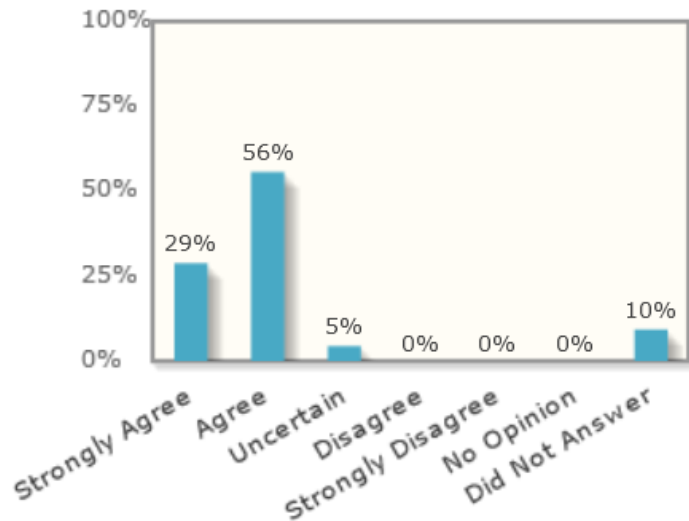
**Igor Makarov**

Head of the School of World Economy,  
Head of the Laboratory for Climate Change Economics  
HSE-University, Moscow

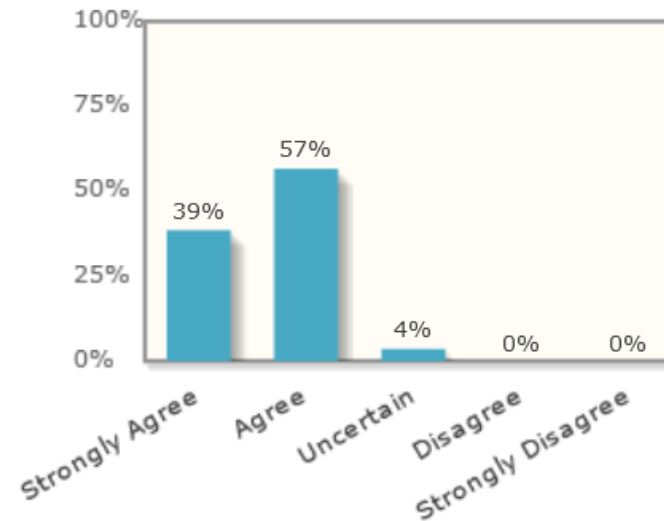
# Consensus on free trade among economists

- IGM Booth Panel 2012: 41 economists from Acemoglu to Zingales (<https://www.igmchicago.org/surveys/free-trade/>)
- Question: Freer trade improves productive efficiency and offers consumers better choices, and in the long run these gains are much larger than any effects on employment

Responses



Responses weighted by each expert's confidence



# 1. Protectionism of lobbyists

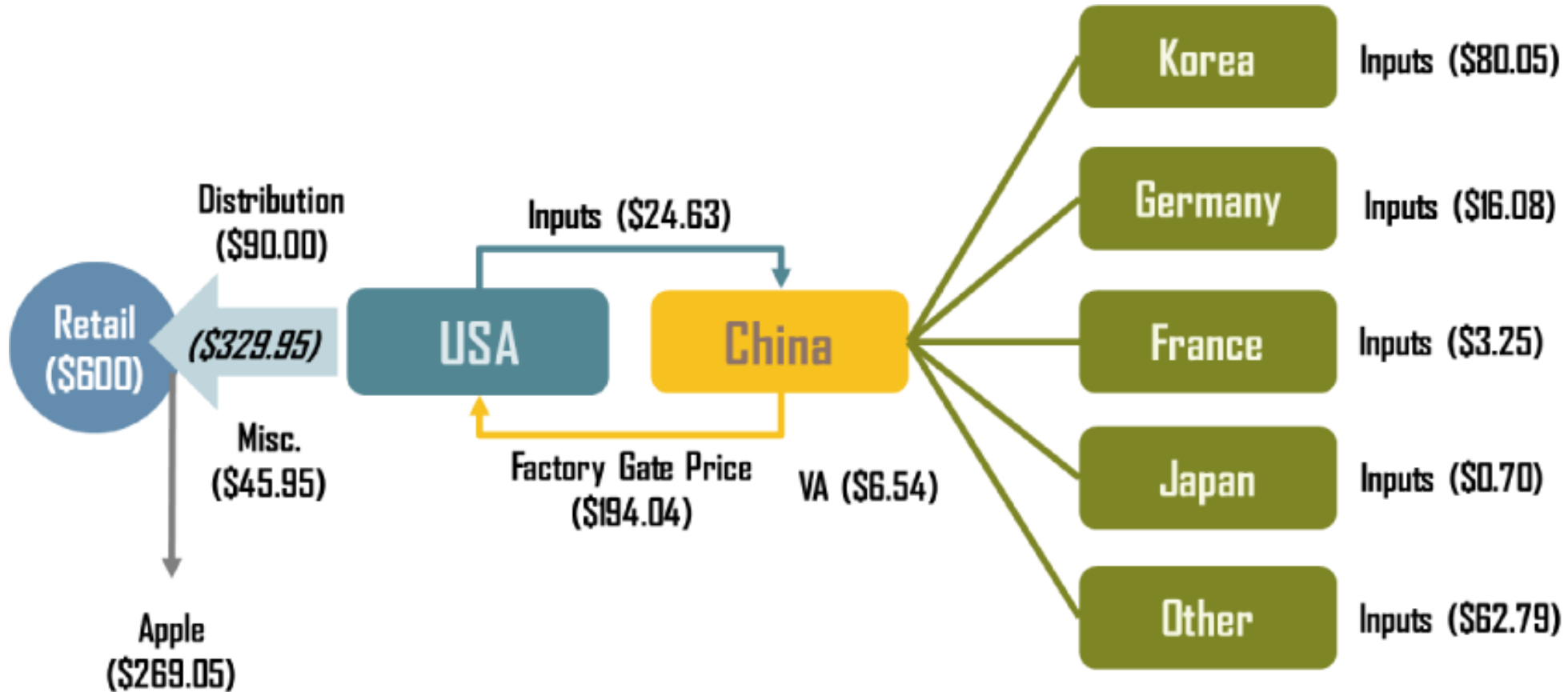
- It is consumers who win from trade. Consumers have neither opportunities nor incentives for consolidation and lobbying their interests
- It is domestic producers who win from trade. They are not numerous, consolidate easily and have strong incentives and opportunities for lobbying

## 2. Protectionism of industrializers

- Protectionism is needed for infant industries in order to ensure their use of scale effect. It is especially important for high-tech industries
- In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, infant industries protection was a conventional industrial policy for most of developing countries
- Argument of historical school of economics: all the leading countries achieved success due to protectionism and started to liberalize their trade only after ensured their relative advantages in high-tech industries
- This argument doesn't work in the world of global value chains

# Trade of today's: global value chains

iPhone4 global value chain



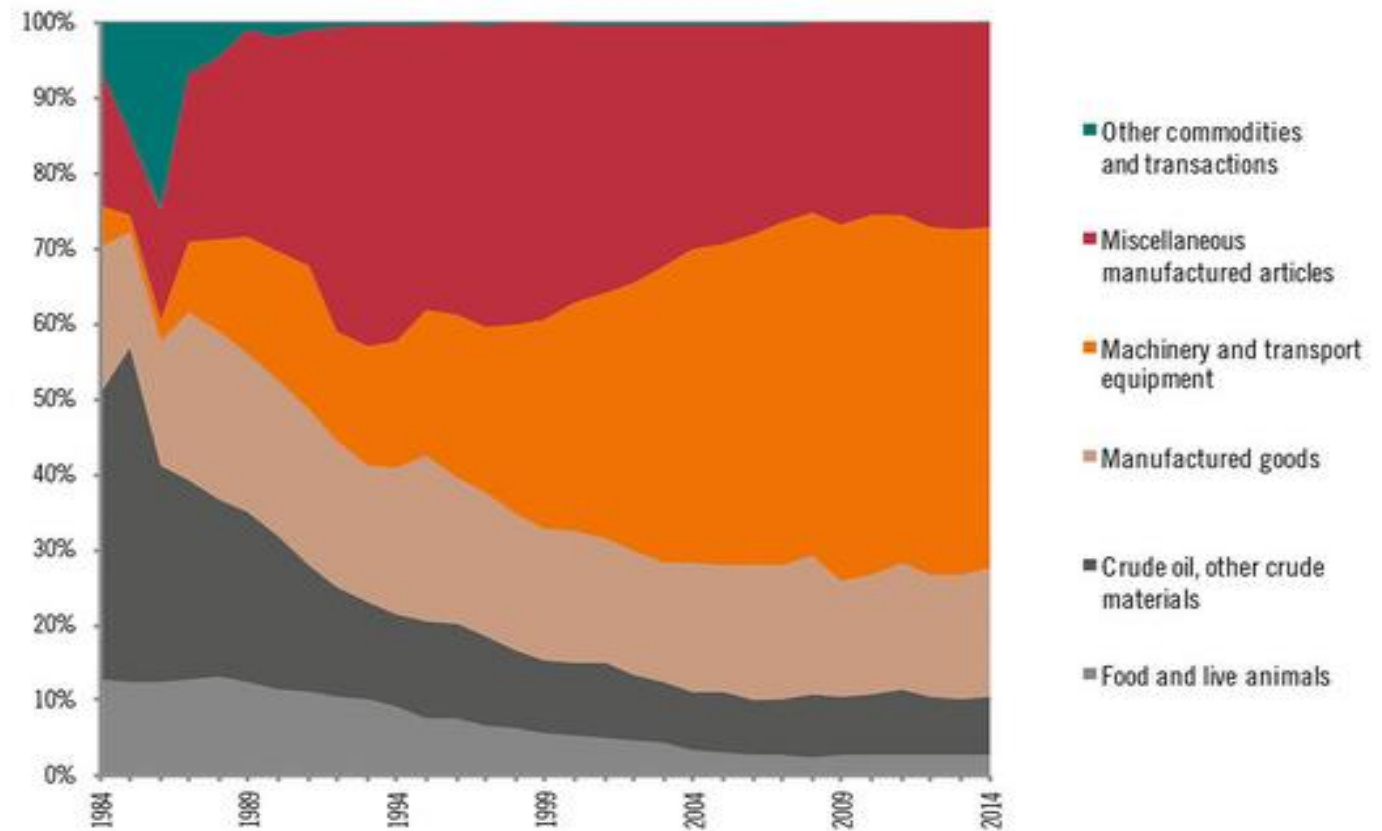
# 3. Geopolitical protectionism

- The protectionism may be useful to deter some other country



Robert Lighthizer

Structure of industrial exports of China



Source: Lin and Wang (2008) updated by Wang Yan using Comtrad data.

Source: Yan, 2016

## 4. Protectionism of populists

- Free trade is good for economic growth but may be bad for some groups of population
- There are beneficiaries of trade and there are losers. In developed countries, it is cheap labor (blue collars)
- If the objective is to win votes of these losers, it may make sense for a politician to refuse free trade

# Distributive versus efficiency effects of trade liberalization

- The whole benefit for the US economy from the shift to absolutely free trade will be about 0.1% of GDP
- Given the average tariffs in US equal to 5% there will be 45 dollars of redistribution for 1 dollar of net win (Rodrik, 2018)
- If additional redistribution (through taxation) will compensate losses of losers, everybody will win. But is redistribution in such a scale feasible?



# Distributive versus efficiency effects of trade liberalization

Table 1 Distributive and efficiency consequences of trade liberalization: illustrative calculations

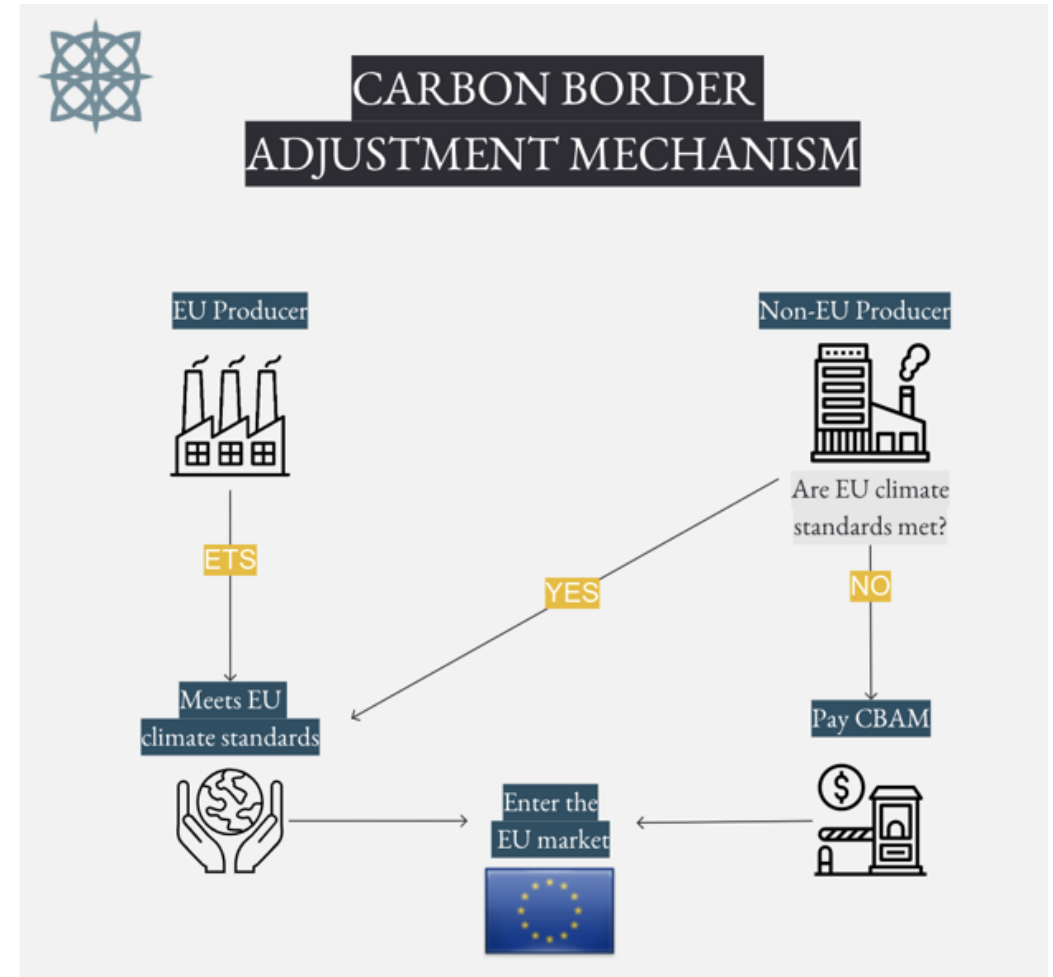
Initial tariff being removed (%)	Change in low-skill wages (A, %)	Increase in real income of economy (B, %)	Absolute value of ratio (A)/(B)
40	-19.44	4.00	4.9
30	-15.22	2.25	6.8
20	-10.61	1.00	10.6
10	-5.56	0.25	22.2
5	-2.85	0.06	45.5
3	-1.72	0.02	76.6

Notes: Column (B) is computed using the standard formula for the gains from trade (e.g., Feenstra, 2016: 220), assuming an import-GDP ratio of 25% and an import demand elasticity of  $-2$ . Column (A) is generated using a model with two factors (low- and high-skilled labor) and two goods with mobile factors, assuming the import-competing sector is low-skill-intensive. The cost shares of low- and high-skill labor in the import-competing sector are taken to be 0.80 (denoted  $\theta_1^L$ ) and 0.20 ( $\theta_1^H$ ), respectively. The factor cost shares in the exportable sector are symmetric  $-0.20$  ( $\theta_1^H$ ) and 0.80 ( $\theta_1^L$ ). To compute the change in real wages ( $\hat{\omega}_l$ ), I assume low-skilled workers spend 75 percent of their budget on the importable and 25 percent on the exportable. The corresponding derivation yields  $\hat{\omega}_l = \left\{ \left[ \theta_1^L - \theta_1^H \frac{\theta_1^H}{\theta_1^L} \right]^{-1} - 0.75 \right\} \hat{p}$ , where  $\hat{p}$  is the percent change in the relative price of the importable implied by the tariff reduction.

The “costs” of distributive consequences of trade liberalization are far from zero in the politics-led world

# (potentially) 5. Benevolent protectionism

- Carbon border adjustment mechanism in the EU
- Potential social standards border adjustment?



# What we have now

