

# A Deepening/Widening Tradeoff? Evidence from the GATT/WTO

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## Questions

Is there a deepening/widening tradeoff within international organizations?

Do IOs become less effective as they acquire more members?

As more countries joined the GATT and WTO, did these institutions become *less* trade effective?

## Argument

The GATT and WTO both became less trade effective with more members due to their consensus practice.

1. The consensus practice in bargaining limited their *de jure* depth, allowing members to shift from prohibited tariffs to other non-prohibited forms of trade protection.
2. The consensus practice hindered enforcement as any member could block a panel report under the GATT and appointments to the Appellate Body under the WTO.

## Model

We estimate gravity models of bilateral trade interacting GATT and WTO joint membership with their width.

$$Imports_{ijt} = B_1 * Joint\ Membership_{ijt} + B_2 * (Joint\ Membership_{ijt} * Width_{ijt}) + B_3 * Width_{ijt} + Controls_{ijt} + e_{ijt}$$

Hypothesis:  $B_1 > 0$  and  $B_2 < 0$

## Results

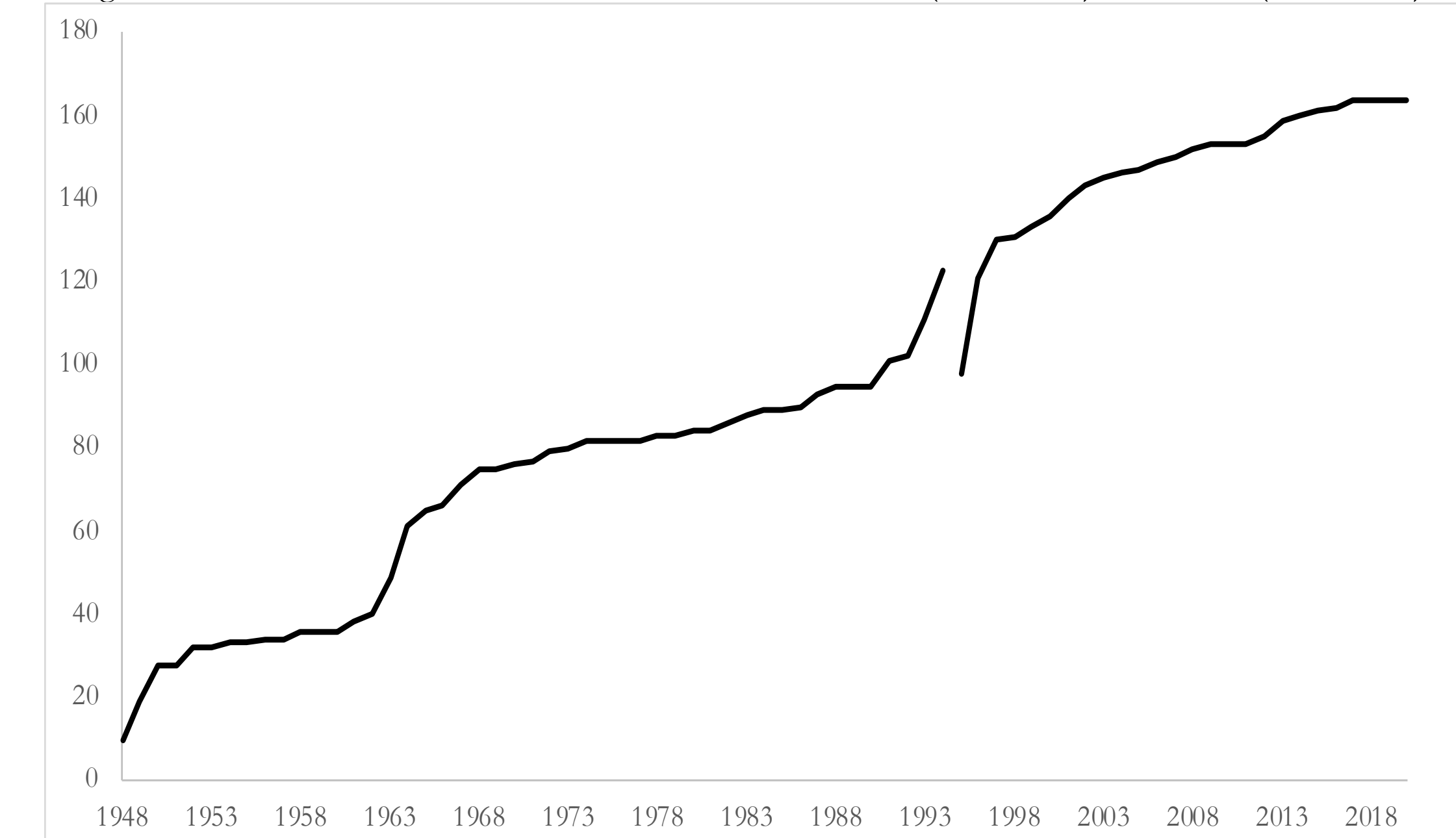
Model:	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7
<i>GATTWTO</i>	0.08 (0.02)						
<i>GATT</i>		0.07 (0.03)	0.09 (0.03)		0.33 (0.19)	0.48 (0.19)	
<i>GATT*GATT</i> <i>Members</i> (logged)					-0.06 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.05)	
<i>WTO</i>		0.14 (0.05)		0.19 (0.04)	7.50 (2.34)		7.27 (2.10)
<i>WTO*WTO</i> <i>Members</i> (logged)					-1.49 (0.48)		-1.44 (0.43)
<i>PTA</i>	0.41 (0.02)	0.41 (0.02)	0.28 (0.03)	0.22 (0.02)	0.41 (0.02)	0.28 (0.03)	0.23 (0.02)
Constant	16.65 (0.01)	16.64 (0.01)	16.48 (0.01)	16.88 (0.03)	16.66 (0.02)	16.49 (0.01)	16.93 (0.03)
Directed Dyad Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Importer/Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Exporter/Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R <sup>2</sup>	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.92	0.87	0.87	0.92
N	681,086	681,086	399,946	279,380	681,086	399,946	279,380

Unit of analysis is the directed dyad/year.

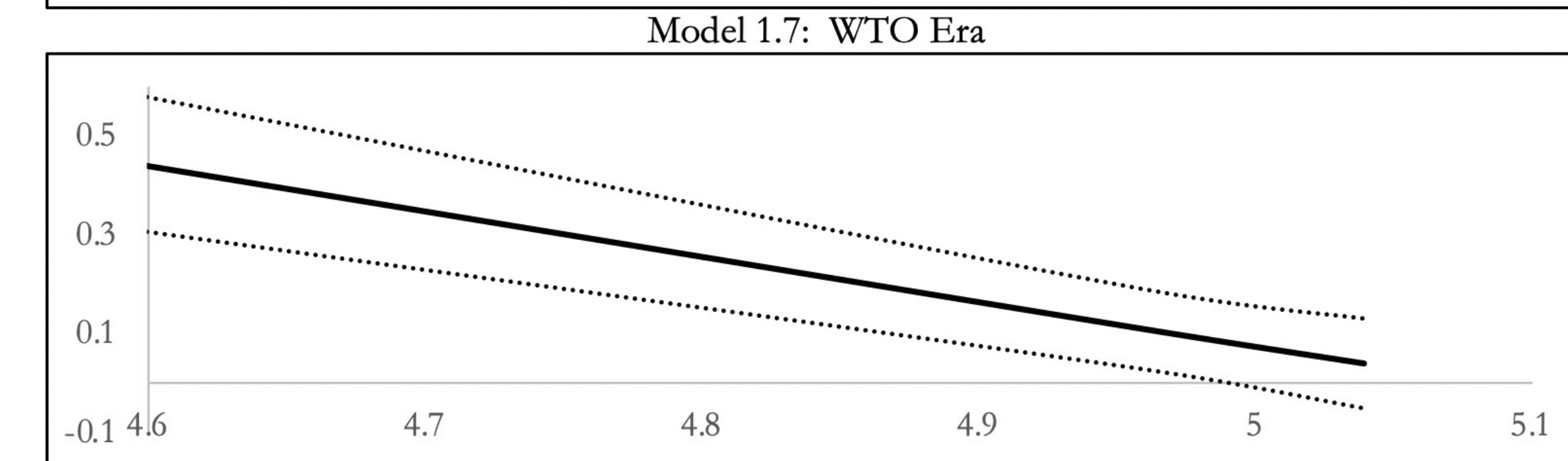
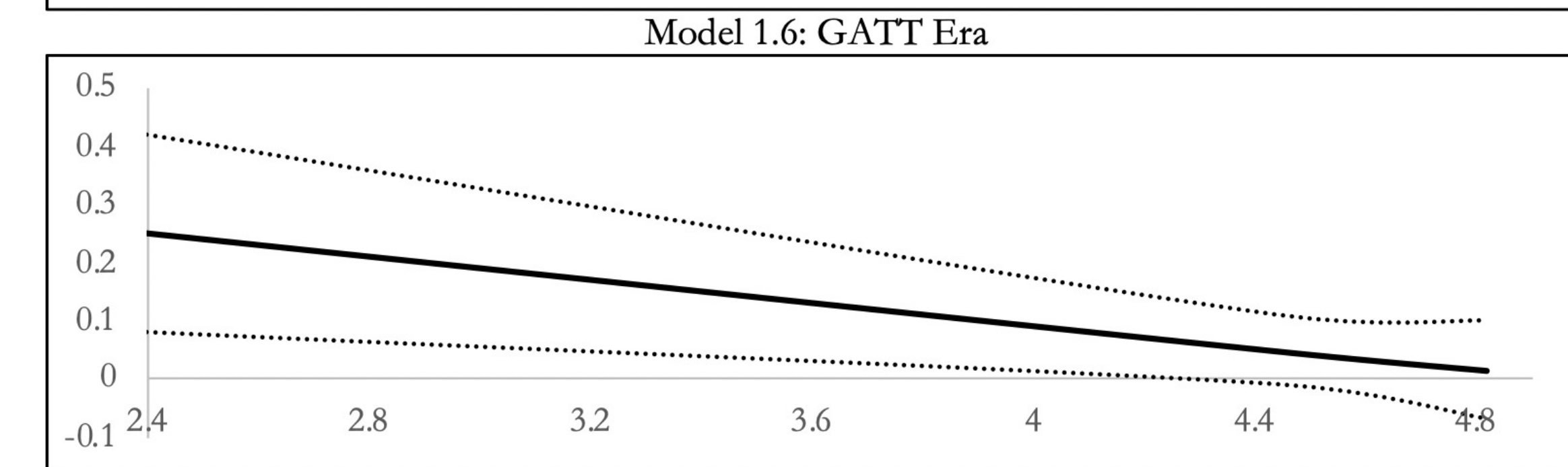
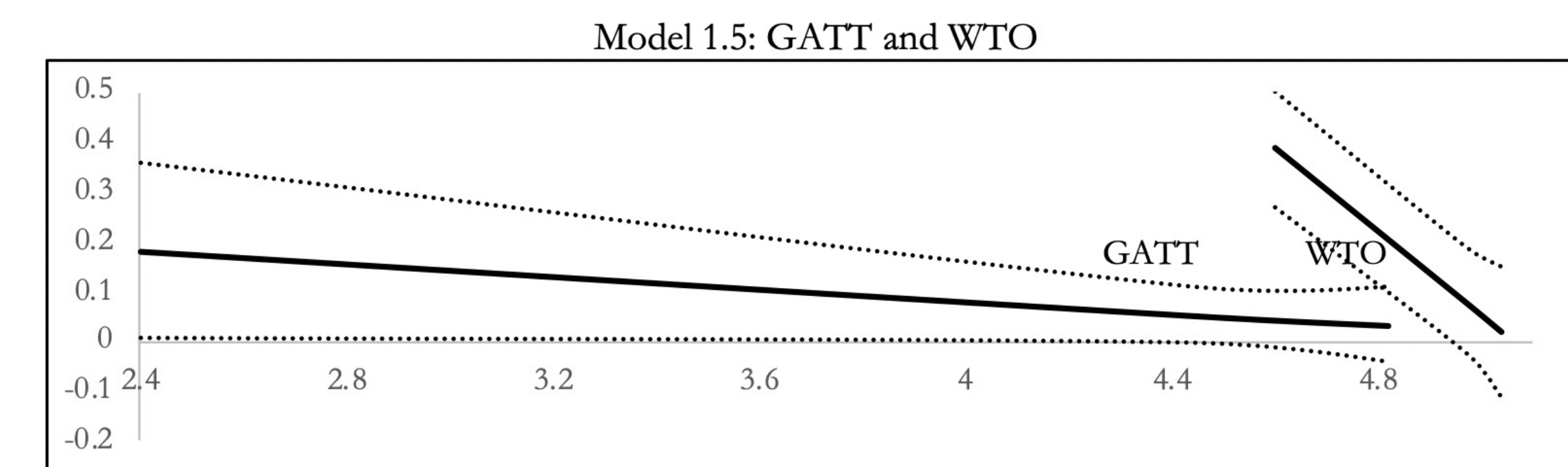
OLS coefficients with robust standard errors clustered on the directed dyad in parentheses. *GATT Members* and *WTO Members* constitutive variables drop due to collinearity with their respective interaction variables.

## GATT and WTO Width

Figure 1: Effective Number of Member-States in the GATT (1948-1994) and WTO (1995-2020).



## Marginal Effects



The x-axis provides the marginal effect, and the y-axis provides the number of *Members* (logged). The solid line indicates the point estimate with the dashed lines indicating 95 percent confidence intervals.