

The Surprisingly Swift Decline of U.S. Manufacturing Employment*

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This Draft: December 2012

Abstract

This paper finds a link between the sharp drop in U.S. manufacturing employment after 2001 and the elimination of trade policy uncertainty resulting from the U.S. granting of permanent normal trade relations to China in late 2000. We find that industries where the threat of tariff hikes declines the most experience greater employment loss due to suppressed job creation, exaggerated job destruction and a substitution away from low-skill workers. We show that these policy-related employment losses coincide with a relative acceleration of U.S. imports from China, the number of U.S. firms importing from China, the number of Chinese firms exporting to the U.S., and the number of U.S.-China importer-exporter pairs.

*Schott thanks the National Science Foundation (SES-0241474 and SES-0550190) for research support. We thank Teresa Fort, Kyle Handley and seminar participants at Duke, the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, Hitotsubashi, and UCSD for helpful comments. Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Census Bureau, the Board of Governors or its research staff. All results have been reviewed to ensure that no confidential information is disclosed.

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1 Introduction

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. manufacturing employment fell from 19.6 million in 1979 to 13.7 million in 2007. Surprisingly, more than half of this decline occurs in the years following the relatively mild 2001 recession. In fact, the 1.5 million manufacturing jobs lost in the first year of that downturn far exceeds the 900 thousand jobs lost during the first year of the Great Recession.

This paper uses production and trade data from the U.S. Census Bureau to examine the relationship between the sharp drop in U.S. manufacturing employment after 2001 and the U.S. granting of *permanent* normal trade relations (*PNTR*) to China in October 2000, just a few months before the March 2001 business-cycle peak. While trade liberalization is a prime suspect in the overall decline of U.S. manufacturing employment in recent decades, *PNTR* is notable for having had little effect on the tariffs actually applied to Chinese imports. Rather, the principal impact of *PNTR* was to eliminate uncertainty. Prior to receipt of *PNTR*, exports from China were subject to potentially large increases in U.S. import tariffs due to politically contentious annual renewals of its *temporary* NTR status. The shift in U.S. policy in October 2000 and the related entry of China into the WTO in December 2001 eliminated the possibility of these jumps.

We measure the uncertainty associated with China's temporary NTR status before 2001 as the "NTR gap," defined as the difference between NTR applied tariff rates and the non-NTR rates to which they would have risen without annual approval. We find that while NTR gaps are more-or-less stable in the years leading up to China's change in status, they exhibit substantial variation across industries, with a mean and standard deviation of 33 and 15 percentage points across tariff lines, respectively.

Our identification strategy exploits this cross-sectional variation by using a difference-in-differences specification to test whether employment loss in industries with high NTR gaps (first difference) is larger after the 2001 peak than after previous peaks (second difference). One attractive feature of this approach is its ability to isolate the role of the change in policy. While industries with high and low gaps are not identical, comparing outcomes within industries across peaks isolates the differential impact of China's change in status. At the same time, comparison of employment changes across similar intervals of the business cycle allows us to control for the manufacturing sector's cyclicity. Given the potential importance of input-output linkages, we consider three dimensions of exposure to reduction of uncertainty: the direct effect of the eliminating the NTR gap in one's own major output industry as well as two indirect effects corresponding to the removal of uncertainty in one's upstream "supplier" and downstream "customer" industries.

Beginning with an analysis of employment growth at the industry level, we find negative and statistically significant relationships between reductions in import-tariff uncertainty and relative industry employment growth up to six years after the 2001 peak. Our estimates imply that for an industry with average NTR gaps, the shift in U.S. policy reduces employment growth from 2001 to 2002 by an additional -8.7 percentage points compared with the same interval after the 1981 and 1990 peaks. Six years after the 2001 peak, the implied cumulative difference grows to -29.6 percentage points. We find all three NTR gaps to be influential in these declines.

A major benefit of using establishment-level data to examine employment growth at the industry level is the ability to evaluate changes along gross margins of adjustment that are “intensive” and “extensive” to establishments. We find that *PNTR* is associated with both exaggerated job destruction and suppressed job creation. These relationships help explain the well-documented “joblessness” of the 2001 recovery in the manufacturing sector. Faberman (2012), for example, demonstrates that this joblessness is the result of a shift down in job creation beginning in the late 1990s coupled with a sharp increase in job destruction starting in 2001. Here, we find that *PNTR* coincides with both of these trends.

Analysis of employment growth at the plant level both supports our industry findings and provides evidence that continuing U.S. manufacturing plants respond to greater competition from China by substituting human and physical capital for low-skilled workers. In particular, our results show that while the relationship between employment growth and the own-industry NTR gap is negative and statistically significant for production workers, it is positive and statistically significant for non-production workers. To the extent that the latter embody higher levels of skill, this substitution is consistent with both trade-induced technical change and trade-induced product-mix upgrading. We also find that while manufacturing as a whole experiences a large gain in labor productivity in the years after 2001, growth in labor productivity among plants in high-gap industries falls relative to plants in low-gap industries.

Finally, we use firm-level U.S. trade data to examine the relationship between *PNTR* and U.S. imports. As these data are unavailable until the mid-1990s, we amend our difference-in-differences specification to evaluate product-level outcomes across trading partners in the years before and after 2001 rather than across business cycles. We find that products with higher NTR gaps exhibit larger increases in import value from China compared to all other U.S. trading partners. They also experience relatively large growth in the number of U.S. firms importing from China, the number of Chinese firms exporting to the U.S. and the number of U.S.-China importer-exporter pairs. These relationships demonstrate that U.S. imports surge in precisely the set of goods where domestic employment loss is concentrated, and with the exact trading partner that is the subject of the shift in U.S. trade policy.

Our results are consistent with models of investment under uncertainty, which demonstrate that firms are more likely to undertake irreversible investments as the ambiguity surrounding their expected profit decreases. In China, *PNTR* can provide producers with greater incentives to invest in entering or expanding into the U.S. market, raising the level of competition in the United States and putting further price pressure on U.S. producers. In the United States, greater assurance of continued low import tariffs can raise U.S. firms’ expected profit from investments related to finding or establishing Chinese suppliers of inputs and final goods, encouraging local producers of these goods to shrink or exit and discouraging new domestic producers from entering. *PNTR* may also affect U.S. manufacturing employment by inducing U.S. producers to invest in skill-intensive production technologies and mixes of products that are more consistent with U.S. comparative advantage.

The paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 outlines our contribution to existing research,

Section 3 describes our data, Sections 4 through 6 present our results, Section 7 relates our results to existing models, and Section 8 concludes. An appendix includes additional empirical results.

2 Related Literature

This paper contributes to a large body of research spanning international trade, labor and macroeconomics. First, our examination of firms' reactions to trade policy uncertainty contributes to the broad literature analyzing investment under uncertainty (e.g. Dixit and Pyndick 1994) as well as its application to international trade. Our effort is most closely related to the work of Handley (2012) and Handley and Limao (2012), who show that if uncertainty regarding either the timing or the magnitude of tariff changes in a destination market falls, exporting to that market rises as relatively low-productivity firms lose their incentive to wait and see how tariffs will change before absorbing the sunk costs associated with entry. Here, we demonstrate the strong and wide-ranging effects on both the exporting and importing country of perhaps the most significant change in import-tariff uncertainty since the turn of the century – the granting of *PNTR* to China.

Second, we show that a substantial portion of the loss of U.S. manufacturing employment since 1979 is related to a discrete and easily identifiable change in policy occurring in October 2000 – the U.S. conferral of *PNTR* on China.¹ While others, including most recently Autor et al. (2012), have highlighted a negative relationship between U.S. employment and Chinese imports, our research points to a specific cause for the acceleration of Chinese imports starting in 2001, and relates it to a wide range of outcomes across both U.S. and Chinese producers.² In particular, we show that the largest relative declines in employment in the years after 2001 are concentrated in industries characterized by high NTR gaps, and that these industries experience the largest surges in Chinese import value as well as the number of U.S. importers and Chinese exporters.

Third, our analysis of employment changes along gross margins of adjustment provides evidence of a link between international trade and the joblessness of the 2001 recovery in manufacturing. Several papers, including Baily and Lawrence (2004) and Mankiw and Swagel (2006) argue that international trade plays a small role in this phenomenon. Our examination of the effect of *PNTR* on both job creation and job destruction, as well

¹A number of studies in the international trade literature have found a negative relationship between import competition and manufacturing employment. Early work in this area, by Freeman and Katz (1991) and Revenga (1992), documents a negative relationship between growth in U.S. manufacturing employment and either imports or changes in import prices at the industry level. Subsequent research focuses on the impact of imports from low-wage countries across industries (e.g., Sachs and Shatz 1994) and establishments within industries (Bernard, Jensen and Schott 2006). More recent papers investigate the effect of China on manufacturing employment in a range of countries, including Denmark (Mion and Zhu 2012), the EU (Bloom, Draca and Van Reenen 2012), Mexico (Utar and Torres Ruiz 2012) and the United States (Autor, Dorn and Hansen 2012).

²In focusing on the impact of a particular policy, this paper is closest to Bloom, Draca and Van Reenen (2012) and Utar and Torres Ruiz (2012), who show that employment losses across EU and Mexican apparel and textile manufacturers coincide with the removal of import quotas on Chinese exports of these goods.

as its impact on upstream and downstream industries indicates that trade is directly and indirectly associated with the large and long-lasting decline in U.S. manufacturing employment after 2001. Moreover, our finding that *PNTR* has a more profound effect on production workers than non-production workers relates to recent research by Jaimovich and Siu (2012), which shows that the increasing joblessness of both manufacturing and non-manufacturing recoveries in recent decades is driven by the disproportionate loss of jobs that perform routine tasks during recessions. Here, we show that *PNTR* magnifies these losses in the years following the 2001 peak.

Finally, our consideration of own-, upstream- and downstream-industry NTR gaps contributes to a growing literature related to supply-chain co-location. Baldwin and Venables (2012), for example, consider different forms of supply chains that emerge in response to the forces that encourage (e.g., transport costs) or discourage (e.g., factors costs) co-location. A key implication of the model they develop is that offshoring may jump discretely if a change in trade costs triggers a relatively large portion of a supply chain to move abroad. Relatedly, Ellison, Glaeser and Kerr (2010) show that proximity to input suppliers and final customers is the most important factor in the agglomeration patterns of U.S. manufacturing industries. In this paper, we use the own NTR gap to identify employment loss associated with potential increased competition from China in one's own industry. The upstream and downstream NTR gaps, by contrast, help identify employment changes due to greater potential Chinese competition in the industries of establishments' major suppliers and customers.

3 Data

3.1 Measuring Establishments' Employment

Our principal dataset for tracking manufacturing employment is the the U.S. Census Bureau's Longitudinal Business Database (LBD), assembled and updated annually by Jarmin and Miranda (2002). The LBD tracks the employment and major industry of virtually every establishment with employment in the non-farm private U.S. economy annually as of March 12, from 1976 to 2009.³ In these data, "establishments" correspond to facilities in a given geographic location, such as a manufacturing plant or retail outlet, and their major industry is defined as the four-digit SIC or six-digit NAICS category representing their largest share of shipments. Information from Census' Company Organization Survey is used to map establishments to "firms," and longitudinal identifiers in the LBD allow establishments and firms to be followed over time. With these identifiers, we can determine the births and deaths of establishments and firms and thereby decompose changes in industry employment along intensive and extensive margins of adjustment.

³Excluded industries include Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, U.S. Postal Service, Certificated Passenger Air Carriers, Elementary and Secondary School, Colleges and Universities, Labor Organizations, Political Organizations, Religious Organizations and Public Administration. Businesses without employment are also excluded.

For some of our results, we augment the data in the LBD with detailed establishment-level characteristics from Census’s quinquennial Census of Manufactures (CM), conducted in years ending in “2” and “7”. For every manufacturing establishment, the CM tracks the value of shipments, value added, capital (book value), production hours and a breakdown of employment between production and non-production workers.⁴ Nominal data are deflated using industry-level price indexes in the NBER-CES Manufacturing Industry Database from Becker and Gray (2009).⁵

The long time horizon considered in this paper encompasses the use of two different industry classification schemes: the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC), used until 1997, and the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) used thereafter. The switch between these schemes, as well as changes within each scheme, complicate creation of an accurate and consistent set of “manufacturing” establishments, across which outcomes can be compared over time.⁶ In addition, the set of activities that are classified as manufacturing changes between schemes. Some industries within printing and publishing, for example, are characterized as manufacturing under the SIC, but not the NAICS, while others, e.g., retail bakeries, are considered manufacturing under the NAICS, but not the SIC.

We develop a new SIC-NAICS concordance to ensure that our results are not driven by such changes, and use it to construct a conservative set of “constant” manufacturing industries and establishments that span intervals of interest. Starting with the standard SIC to SIC, SIC to NAICS and NAICS to NAICS concordances used by the U.S. Census Bureau, graciously provided by Randy Becker and Wayne Gray, we use the algorithm developed in Pierce and Schott (2012) to create “families” of four-digit SIC and six-digit NAICS codes that group related SIC and NAICS categories together over time.⁷ Unless noted otherwise, our use of the word “industry” below refers to these families. While the majority of these families contain either manufacturing or non-manufacturing categories exclusively, a subset contains a mixture of the two.

To create a “constant” manufacturing sample for a given time interval, we drop two sets of establishments from the universe of manufacturing establishments available for

⁴Information in the CM is reported directly by establishments, whereas data in the LBD are drawn primarily from administrative IRS data. As a result, we use data from CM when those data are available for *both* the beginning and end years of any sample we examine.

⁵These data are available at <http://www.nber.org/data/nbprod2005.html>. As they end in 2005, we assume that prices rise in 2006 and 2007 at the same rate as observed for 2005.

⁶The SIC and NAICS classifications are revised every five years as part of the CM. Some of these revisions are more extensive than others, e.g., the 1987 revision of the SIC.

⁷For example, if an SIC code splits into several NAICS codes between 1997 and 2002, the SIC code and its NAICS “children” would be grouped into the same family. If one of those NAICS codes later concords with an updated NAICS code, whose family history includes a broader set of SIC, those subsequent NAICS and SIC codes also join the original family. Given this process, it is easy to see that some families can grow to be quite large. For this reason, we have created several concordances that limit the inclusion of children that do not account for some threshold level of the parent’s activity. (Industry-to-industry concordances generally specify both the identity of a parent’s children as well as the share of activity – usually output or employment – which they inherit.) These limits create a tradeoff. Higher thresholds generate a larger number of families with more closely related underlying SIC and NAICS codes. Lower thresholds lead to a smaller number of families, most of which are likely to include both manufacturing and non-manufacturing codes.

that interval. First, we drop all establishments from families containing a mix of constant-manufacturing and non-constant-manufacturing SIC or NAICS industries. This drop occurs over all intervals, as the composition of a family is time invariant. Second, we drop all establishments whose major industry switches between manufacturing and non-manufacturing over the interval of interest. This drop does depend on the interval, as the same establishment might remain in manufacturing for some intervals but not others.

Figure 1 displays annual employment in our “constant” manufacturing sample against the manufacturing employment series available publicly from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.⁸ As expected, given the procedure outlined above, the “constant” manufacturing sample accounts for less employment than the BLS series. Despite this level difference, however, the two series track each others’ movements over time quite closely.

Figure 2 compares the cumulative percent change in employment for constant manufacturing versus non-manufacturing as a share of their respective 1981, 1990 and 2001 levels. As indicated in the left panel of the figure, the decrease in manufacturing employment after 2001 stands out in several respects. First, it exhibits no recovery; while employment declines after 1981 and 1990 begin to reverse in two and four years, respectively, employment falls more or less steadily from 2001 to 2007. Second, except for the second year of the 1981 recession, the drop in manufacturing employment after 2001 dwarfs the previous declines by a wide margin. Third, losses within manufacturing are substantially more severe and long-lasting than those outside manufacturing.⁹

3.2 Calculating the NTR Gap

The United States has two principal tariff classifications. “NTR” or “column 1” tariffs are the rates applied to countries with which the United States has normal trade relations, including members of the WTO. “Non-NTR” or “column 2” tariffs, originally set in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, are applied to countries with which the United States does not have normal trade relations, e.g., North Korea. Both types of tariffs are set at the product level, where “products” are defined at the eight-digit Harmonized System (HS) level.

As discussed in greater detail in Pregelj (2005), the U.S. Trade Act of 1974 gives the President the power to temporarily grant NTR status to non-market economies otherwise classified as non-NTR, subject to certain conditions. While this act does not require Congressional approval, it can be overturned by a congressional vote of disapproval. China first received NTR status on an annually renewable basis in 1980. Following the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, the approval process for these annual renewals became politically controversial, with the result that their success became less certain

⁸Series CEU3000000001, available at www.bls.gov. As the BLS series is NAICS-based, manufacturing employment prior to 1997 excludes SIC industries that do not map into NAICS manufacturing industries. As noted above, our sample is SIC-NAICS-based, meaning that we also drop NAICS industries not classified as manufacturing under the SIC. For further detail on construction of the BLS series, see Morisi (2003).

⁹Dey, Houseman and Polivka (2012) note that manufacturers’ use of temporary employment services as a substitute for permanent employees increased from 1989 to 2004, but that this substitution does not account for the steep employment decline observed after 2000.

during the 1990s (see, for example, Wang 1993). As a result, imports from China were subject to potentially large increases in tariff rates if the President or Congress acted to prevent the annual renewal of NTR. The risk of these substantial tariff increases was eliminated on October 10, 2000 when Congress granted China *PNTR* in another controversial vote that cleared the way for China’s accession to the WTO in December 2001.¹⁰ As discussed in Pregelj (2005) and numerous popular press articles written at the time, Congress’s willingness to confer *PNTR* status on China was uncertain prior to the vote.¹¹

Feenstra, Romalis and Schott (2002), henceforth FRS, report *ad valorem* equivalent U.S. NTR and non-NTR tariff rates for 1989 to 2001.¹² We measure the potential tariff increase faced by U.S. importers of a Chinese good prior to *PNTR* as the gap between these rates, where a higher gap indicates a greater potential increase. Figure 3 plots the distribution of the NTR gap across tariff lines at four-year intervals from 1989 to 2001. As indicated in the figure, these distributions are relatively stable across time, with the major change being a shift toward higher NTR gaps as Uruguay-Round reductions in U.S. NTR rates are implemented in the mid 1990s. This shift does not affect the ranking of tariff lines over time substantially: correlation coefficients for the 1989 versus 1993, 1993 versus 1997 and 1997 versus 2001 NTR gaps, for example, are 0.97, 0.77 and 0.94, respectively. This stability, the fact that non-NTR tariff rates were initially set decades before, and uncertainty surrounding China’s eventual receipt of *PNTR*, argue in favor of their plausible exogeneity with respect to lobbying or other activity associated with *PNTR* and China’s subsequent accession to the WTO.

For each NAICS industry n we compute the average NTR gap across the eight-digit HS tariff lines with which it is associated using concordances provided by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA).¹³ We then compute an upstream and downstream NTR gap for each NAICS industry n using information provided in the “use” table of the BEA’s 1997 input-output matrix, which reports the value of all industries g that are used to produce industry n .¹⁴ The upstream NTR gap for industry n is the weighted average NTR gap across the industries g that supply n , using the “use” values (v) as weights,

$$NTR\ Gap_n^{Up} = \sum_g w_{gn}^{Up} NTR\ Gap_g, \quad (1)$$

¹⁰While the United States also signed a bilateral trade agreement with Vietnam in December 2001, trade with Vietnam in the early 2000s was small.

¹¹“Support Shrinks for China’s Trade Status” by David Sanger in the June 4, 1999 edition of *The New York Times*, for example, discusses the high-level of controversy associated with the mere annual renewal of NTR status the year before *PNTR* was implemented. See also “China and the WTO: Dire Straits” in the May 23, 2000 edition of *The Economist*.

¹²U.S. import tariffs can include both *ad valorem* and specific (i.e., per unit) components. The tariff rates tracked by FRS are the *ad valorem* equivalent of all tariffs applied to a tariff line.

¹³We map tariff lines to BEA input-output categories using the 1997 concordance “HSCconcord.txt” available at <http://www.bea.gov/industry/zip/NDN0317.zip>. We then map input-output categories to NAICS categories using the 1997 concordance “NAICS-IO.xls” available at <http://www.bea.gov/industry/zip/ndn0306.zip>.

¹⁴This matrix is contained in the file “NAICSUseDetail.txt” available at <http://www.bea.gov/industry/zip/ndn0306.zip>.

where,

$$w_{gn}^{Up} = \frac{v_{gn}^{Up}}{\sum_g v_{gn}^{Up}}. \quad (2)$$

To compute the downstream NTR gap, we follow the same procedure after reversing the g and n indexes in the “use” table.¹⁵ As the “use” table includes many services for which the NTR gap is assumed to be zero, the weighted averages taken in equation 1 are lower than the average own-industry NTR gap.

We use eight-digit HS NTR and non-NTR rates from 1999, the year before the policy change, to create the own-, upstream- and downstream-industry NTR gaps used throughout the paper. This choice has little substantive impact, as we obtain findings very similar to those reported below using NTR gaps from any of the years available to us, 1989 to 2001.

Table 1 reports the average own-, upstream- and downstream-industry NTR gaps by three-digit NAICS categories. We find that own-industry NTR gaps tend to be higher for labor-intensive industries such as apparel, textiles and furniture, and lower for capital-intensive industries such as food and petroleum. As noted in the introduction, one benefit of our difference-in-differences specification is its ability help control for such variation: even though high-gap industries are not identical to low-gap industries, our approach controls for any *time-invariant* differences between industries. At the same time, comparison of industries across similar stages of the business cycle allows us to account for the cyclicity of U.S. manufacturing employment.

Table 1 also highlights variation in the extent to which industries are exposed to risk reduction via their upstream suppliers and downstream customers. Industries in Computers and Electrical Equipment, for example, tend to face both high upstream and high downstream exposure. Machinery and Transportation Equipment industries, on the other hand, exhibit high upstream gaps but relatively low downstream gaps, while the reverse is true for industries in Chemicals and Primary Metals. Across all six-digit NAICS industries, we find that the correlations between own and upstream, own and downstream, and upstream and downstream NTR gaps are 0.79, 0.18 and 0.22, respectively.

While we find substantial variation in NTR gaps across industries, we find little change in the revealed tariffs imposed on Chinese goods before and after the change in U.S. policy in late 2000.¹⁶ We compute the revealed tariff on Chinese imports as the average ratio between duties collected and dutiable value across all manufacturing products imported from China using the trade data in FRS, and extended by Schott

¹⁵The “use” values in the input-output matrix are assigned according to BEA input-output categories. As a result, we split the “use” value evenly among all NAICS industries to which a BEA input-output category maps.

¹⁶The U.S. did eliminate tariffs on imports of information technology products from all countries with which it had normal trade relations between 1997 and 2000 as part of the Information Technology Agreement (ITA). In addition, China approved the ITA in 2003, allowing for duty-free imports of information technology goods into China. To determine whether our results are driven by tariff reductions associated with the ITA we perform a robustness check in which we eliminate all industries within NAICS 334, “computer and electronic product manufacturing,” from our analysis. The main results of the paper are unaffected by the exclusion of these industries.

(2008). As demonstrated in Table A.1 of the electronic appendix, there is no statistically significant change in the revealed tariffs applied to Chinese imports during the period of interest. This result suggests that the surge in U.S. imports from China documented below is not due to a reduction in applied import tariff rates.¹⁷

3.3 U.S. Business Cycle Peaks

Given the proximity of *PNTR* to the March 2001 business cycle peak, we compare industry and plant outcomes in the years after 2001 to outcomes following prior peaks. The NBER Business Cycle Dating Committee identifies four business cycle peaks during the period for which the LBD is available: January 1980; July 1981; July 1990; and March 2001.¹⁸ Given the proximity of the 1980 and 1981 recessions, as well as the greater severity of the latter, we ignore the 1980 peak and focus on outcomes following the 1981, 1990 and 2001 peaks.

As illustrated in Figure 4, the 1981 recession stands out in terms of declining economic activity, measured either in terms of aggregate GDP or the Industrial Production Index (IPI). Peak to trough, the IPI falls 8.6 percent during the 1981 recession versus less than half that amount during the 1990 and 2001 recessions. Loss of manufacturing employment, by contrast, is far more severe following the 2001 recession than the 1981 and 1990 recessions.

While this loss is dramatic, it is important to note that it is not accompanied by a decline in value added. Indeed, as illustrated in Figure 5, real value added in U.S. manufacturing as measured by the BEA continues to increase after 2001, though at a slower rate (2.8 percent) compared with the average from 1948 to 2000 (3.7 percent). This growth, combined with the sharp decline in employment, implies a substantial increase in labor productivity, which we examine in greater detail below.

4 *PNTR* and Industry Employment

In this section we show that employment losses are larger in industries where the threat of tariff hikes declined the most.

4.1 Industry Employment Growth d Years After Each Peak

We investigate the relationship between *PNTR* and industry-level cumulative employment growth using an OLS difference-in-differences specification that identifies differen-

¹⁷As part of its entry into the WTO in late 2001, China benefited from a relaxation of quotas on apparel and textile products associated with a phasing out of the global Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (Brambilla, Khandelwal and Schott (2009)). The implicit change in tariffs associated with removal of these quantitative restrictions is not captured by this regression. The entire set of apparel and textile industries (irrespective of whether quotas on their products were relaxed) accounted for approximately 7 percent of U.S. manufacturing employment in 2000. Dropping the apparel and textiles industries from our analysis yields results similar to those reported below for all industries.

¹⁸These data are available at www.nber.org/cycles.html. We note that these peaks do not necessarily correspond to the manufacturing employment peaks of these business cycles. We ignore the 2007 recession as the the LBD is available only until 2009, and the last CM available is 2007.

tial growth in high NTR gap industries (first difference) d years after 2001 compared to analogous periods after the 1981 and 1990 peaks (second difference). We estimate the following equation using data from the LBD and CM:

$$\Delta Emp_i^{t:t+d}/Emp_i^t = \alpha_{do}1\{t = 2001\} \times \sum_o NTR Gap_{io} + \gamma_d \mathbf{X}_{it} + \delta_{id} + \delta_{td} + \varepsilon_{itd}. \quad (3)$$

The dependent variable is the cumulative percent change in industry i 's employment relative to its peak year t level. To examine how the effect of $PNTR$ evolves over time, we estimate this equation separately for intervals from $d = 1$ to $d = 6$ years after each peak. The first set of variables on the right-hand-side of the equation are the three difference-in-difference (DID) terms: interactions of an indicator variable for the 2001 peak and the own, upstream and downstream NTR gaps for industry i , which vary by industry but not by peak year t or time interval d . These three NTR gaps are indexed by o . \mathbf{X}_{it} is a vector of industry characteristics in peak year t . For regressions using the LBD, \mathbf{X}_{it} contains only the log level of peak-year t employment, $\ln(Emp_i^t)$. Regressions based on the CM also include controls for capital and skill intensity and are estimated across decades that span each peak. δ_{id} and δ_{td} are industry and peak-year fixed effects, which control for time-invariant differences between industries and common macro-level shocks. These fixed effects are indexed by d , i.e., they are specific to a particular interval after each peak.

Before reporting our regression results, we show that publicly available U.S. manufacturing data offer broad support for our difference-in-differences approach. Figure 8 uses the NBER-CES Manufacturing Industry Productivity Database to display employment trends separately for six-digit NAICS industries with NTR gaps above and below the median across industries.¹⁹ As indicated in the figure, employment in high- and low-gap industries evolves similarly from 1977 to 2001, consistent with the parallel trends assumption inherent in difference-in-differences analysis. Once $PNTR$ is implemented, however, employment in high-gap industries falls more than in low-gap industries. Furthermore, as a falsification test, we estimate the relationship between the NTR gap and employment changes following previous peaks and find no statistically significant relationship.

The first six columns of Table 2 report the results of estimating equation 3 using the LBD. We find that almost all estimates of α_{do} are negative and statistically significant at the 10 percent level (noted with bold-faced type), indicating that employment declines are higher in industries with higher NTR gaps. Moreover, the absolute magnitudes of the coefficients generally rise with d , demonstrating that the association between employment growth and $PNTR$ is persistent. We assess the economic significance of the coefficients in the last block of rows of the table by multiplying the estimate for each DID term by the average NTR gaps for manufacturing as a whole reported in the final row of Table 1. The implied effects are substantial: the cumulative employment growth of an industry with the average NTR gaps is -8.7 percentage points ($-0.052*0.34-0.450*0.11-0.189*.11$) lower one year after the 2001 peak compared to previous downturns. This implied effect

¹⁹This dataset is available at www.nber.org/data/.

rises in absolute magnitude to -29.6 percentage points $(-0.334*0.34-1.362*0.11-0.334*.11)$ six years after the peak.

The final four rows of of Table 2 reveal that all three NTR gaps contribute significantly to the implied impact of *PNTR*, indicating that an industry’s employment may fall substantially even if it is only indirectly exposed to trade liberalization via its upstream suppliers or downstream customers.²⁰ Of the -29.6 percentage-point differential reduction in cumulative industry employment just discussed, half (-14.7 percentage points) is accounted for by the upstream NTR gap, 38 percent (-11.2 percentage points) by the own-industry NTR gap and 12 percent (-3.7 percentage points) by the downstream NTR gap.

The negative and statistically significant coefficient with respect to the upstream NTR gap is particularly interesting as, in theory, the elimination of import-tariff uncertainty on upstream industries can have two countervailing effects on own-industry employment. As noted in Section 7, if reduction in upstream uncertainty results in greater availability of lower-cost inputs, own-industry costs and therefore prices might decline, boosting demand and the need for workers.²¹ On the other hand, if eliminating upstream uncertainty pushes upstream production offshore, customers of that production may find it optimal to move to the same offshore location in order minimize transportation or other costs that depend on geographic proximity. The strong association between employment growth and the upstream NTR gap exhibited in our results suggests that the second channel dominates.

The final column of Table 2 reports results based on the CM, which are estimated across the 1977-87, 1987-97 and 1997-07 “CM decades”.²² Use of the CM allows us to include capital and skill intensity as two additional industry-level control variables, and the longer time interval captures employment changes that might precede official NBER peaks. We measure capital intensity as the log of the ratio of real book value of capital to total employment, $\ln(K/Emp_i^t)$, and skill intensity as the log of the ratio of non-production workers to total employment, $\ln(NP/Emp_i^t)$.

As indicated in the table, all three DID estimates remain negative and statistically significant at conventional levels. Economic significance is also similar, with the implied impact of the shift in U.S. policy being -31.8 percentage points for growth between 1997 and 2007 versus previous decades, compared with the -29.6 percentage point decline implied for the longest of the LBD intervals, 2001 to 2007. The similarity of implied employment loss for the two windows (i.e., 1997-2007 versus 2001-2007) reveals that losses in high-gap industries occur primarily after *PNTR*.

²⁰To the extent that an establishment contains several sections of a supply chain, the upstream and downstream NTR gaps may identify exposure to risk reduction that is more direct than indirect.

²¹A number of papers, beginning with Amiti and Konings (2007), show tariff reductions on the inputs of a firm’s major output industry make a substantial contribution to productivity growth following trade liberalization.

²²In this case, $d = 10$ and the first indicator variable for each DID term is $1\{t = 1997\}$.

4.2 Industry Employment Growth by Margins of Adjustment

We use the longitudinal identifiers in the LBD to decompose industry job loss into six mutually exclusive and comprehensive gross margins of adjustment that are “extensive” and “intensive” to establishments. We examine one intensive and two extensive margins. The intensive margin traces “plant expansion” (PE) and “plant contraction” (PC) in employment within continuing plants at continuing firms.²³ The first extensive margin tracks changes in employment due to “plant birth” (PB) and “plant death” (PD) within continuing firms. For this margin, a plant is coded as being born within an incumbent firm if it appears in the data for the first time during the noted interval and is associated with an already present firm identifier. Similarly, a plant is classified as dying within a continuing firm if it is part of the firm at the beginning of the interval but is no longer present afterward. The second extensive margin accounts for employment growth due to “firm birth” (FB) and firm death” (FD). A firm is classified as being born during in an interval if none of its plants are present in the LBD before that interval. Likewise, a firm is classified as dying if all of its plants no longer appear in the data after the interval.

Figure 6 reports a decomposition of cumulative manufacturing employment growth in the years after 1981, 1990 and 2001 according to the three gross job creation (PE, PB and FB) and three gross job destruction (PC, PD and FD) margins.²⁴ As indicated in the figure, the contribution of gross job creation (JC) in the years after 2001 is small relative to the years after previous peaks, especially four to six years out. As a result, the gross job destruction (JD) that occurs immediately after 2001 is not offset by subsequent job creation, as in the two previous business cycles. Figure 7 performs a similar decomposition with respect to the net intensive and net extensive margins of adjustment, referred to as PEC, PBD and FBD, respectively. Here, the behavior of the intensive and firm birth-death extensive margins stand out. In particular, initial declines in the net intensive margin disappear four or five years after the 1981 and 1990 peaks. That is not the case after the 2001 peak, where the declines are both more substantial and more persistent.

We assess the impact of China’s receipt of *PNTR* status on gross margins of employment adjustment by estimating equation 3 separately for each margin m and interval d . The dependent variable in each of these regressions is the cumulative change in employment in industry i and margin m from t to d as a percent of initial *industry* (not industry-margin) employment,

$$\frac{\Delta Emp_{im}^{t:t+d}}{Emp_i^t} = \frac{\left(Emp_{im}^{t+d} - Emp_{im}^t \right)}{Emp_i^t}. \quad (4)$$

²³Surviving plants whose ownership is transferred between surviving firms are included in the intensive margin. Excluding these plants from the intensive margin has no material impact on our results. We note that while this margin is intensive with respect to the establishment, it may be extensive with respect to production units with a plant, such as production lines. Unfortunately, the change from SIC to NAICS discussed in Section 3 prevents us from investigating product-mix changes across business cycles within continuing plants.

²⁴Growth by gross and net margin of adjustment is presented in tabular form in Table A.3 of the electronic appendix.

As a result, changes across margins sum to the dependent variable in equation 3, i.e., $\sum_m \Delta Emp_{im}^{t:t+d} / Emp_i^t = \Delta Emp_i^{t:t+d} / Emp_i^t$.

DID estimates for all time intervals and margins are summarized in Table A.4 of the electronic appendix. Table 3 reports complete results for $d = 6$. Given the normalization in equation 4, the sum of the DID coefficients for the six gross margins, in the first six columns of Table 3, sum to the DID coefficient for overall employment, estimated in the previous section and repeated in the final column of Table 3 for comparison. As above, estimates are in bold if they are statistically significant at the 10 percent level, and the final block of rows summarizes economic significance.

Coefficient estimates for the DID terms in Table 3 are negative for all of the gross margins and, while their statistical significance varies, the p-values reported in the eleventh row of the table indicate their joint significance for all margins. In terms of economic significance, we find a strong link between *PNTR* and both gross job creation and gross job destruction. As indicated in the final rows of the table, -13.0 percentage points (-.063-.020-.047) of the predicted -29.6 percentage point differential decline in cumulative employment associated with *PNTR* from 2001 to 2007 is due to suppression of the job creation margins of plant expansion (PE), plant birth (PB) within continuing firms and firm birth (FB), versus -16.6 percentage points (-.053-.067-.045) for elevated the job destruction margins of plant contraction (PC), plant death (PD) within continuing firms and firm death (FD).

We summarize the economic significance of the DID terms for all time intervals in Table 4 by decomposing the overall implied impact of the shift in U.S. policy over each interval by NTR gap (panel A), gross job creation versus destruction (panel B) and both of these dimensions simultaneously (panels C and D). As illustrated in panel B, anemic job creation accounts for an increasingly large share of the overall implied cumulative effect of *PNTR*, rising from 22 percent (-1.9/-8.7) between 2001 and 2002 to 44 percent (-13.0/-29.6) between 2001 and 2007.

This relationship between gross margins and *PNTR* suggests a strong role for trade policy in the well-documented “joblessness” of the 2001 manufacturing recovery. Faberman’s (2012) analysis of post-war U.S. manufacturing employment, for example, highlights a precipitous and persistent decline in job creation rates beginning in the late 1990s. That decline, coupled with elevated job destruction in the years after 2001, are the reasons that manufacturing employment does not recover after the 2001 recession. Here, we show that *PNTR* contributed to this “fundamental shift” in manufacturing trends by showing that anemic job creation and exaggerated job destruction coincide with reductions in import-tariff uncertainty.

Our results also provide intuition for why previous studies have failed to find a connection between import competition and manufacturing job loss during the 2000s. Mankiw and Swagel (2006), for example, argue against a role for trade because few of the firms that report mass layoffs during this period attribute them to offshoring.²⁵ But this approach

²⁵The Mass Layoff Statistics database from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (<http://www.bls.gov/mls/>) identifies firms who lay off more than 50 workers for more than 30 days. If the layoff is associated with the movement of production to either another location within the company or to another company under a formal contract, respondents are also asked to identify whether

misses two potentially important links between employment and trade policy. First, it focuses on job destruction, whereas here we demonstrate that a large portion of the job loss associated with *PNTR* is due to a lack of job creation – particularly plant expansion and firm birth. Second, it concentrates on “direct” offshoring, i.e., within-firm movement of jobs abroad. But trade liberalization may induce several forms of “indirect” offshoring (beyond suppressing job creation). Table 2 reports a strong relationship between job loss and a reduction in import-tariff uncertainty in firms’ downstream industries, potentially driven by the disappearance of one’s domestic customers. In addition, the strong contribution of firm death in Table A.4 suggests that firms competing head-to-head with China may simply exit rather than move production offshore.

Panels C and D of Table 4 reveal that the contributions of the three NTR gaps to gross job creation and destruction vary. We find that the own-industry NTR gap contributes relatively more to the implied impact of *PNTR* via suppressed job creation than exaggerated job destruction. For $d = 6$, for example, it accounts for 45 percent (-0.059/-0.130) of the implied decline associated with gross job creation, but just 32 percent (-0.053/-0.166) of the implied decline associated with gross job destruction. The up- and downstream NTR gaps, by contrast, are relatively more influential with respect to gross job destruction.

While gross-margin estimations using the CM are similar to those from the LBD in terms of statistical and economic significance, lackluster job creation accounts for a larger share of the implied impact of *PNTR* from 1997 to 2007 (54 percent) versus 2001 to 2007 (44 percent). Examination of implied impact of *PNTR* by gross margin, displayed in Figure 9, indicates that this difference is driven by relatively large contributions from the two job creation extensive margins: plant birth within continuing firms (PB) and firm birth (FB).

4.3 *PNTR* and the Jobless 2001 Recovery in Manufacturing

In the previous section, the implied impact of *PNTR* is computed for the average industry. In this section, we provide an alternate estimate of *PNTR*’s impact that takes into account the variation in NTR gaps across industries. First, we multiply the estimated DID coefficients for each gross margin and time interval (from Table A.4) by the corresponding NTR gaps for each industry to compute the margin-industry-interval differential cumulative growth rate associated with the shift in U.S. policy. We then add the employment implied by these growth rates back to the actual employment for each margin, industry and interval. Summing over industries yields counterfactual employment by margin for the manufacturing sector as a whole.

Figure 10 displays the results. The solid black line in the figure traces out the deviation of actual employment from the 2001 peak from 2001 to 2007. The two dashed lines reveal the implied effect of adding back employment due to exaggerated job destruction and anemic job creation. As indicated in the figure, our estimates imply that, absent the shift in U.S. policy, U.S. manufacturing employment would have risen nearly 10 percent between 2001 and 2007, versus an actual decline of more than 15 percent. While

the new location is inside the United States.

PNTR cannot explain the overall joblessness of the 2001 recovery across manufacturing and non-manufacturing, its implied impact in manufacturing is substantial. Indeed, the data displayed in Figure 10 indicate that manufacturing employment would have been higher by over 4 million employees in 2007 without the effect of *PNTR*.

5 *PNTR* and Plant-Level Outcomes

In this section we examine the effect of *PNTR* on manufacturing establishments using data from the CM. These data allow us to examine a broad range of outcomes and to use a rich set of establishment characteristics as controls. We begin by estimating a plant-level variant of equation 3:

$$\Delta \ln(\text{Emp}_{ei}^{t:t+10}) = \alpha_{do} 1\{t = 1997\} \times \sum_o \text{NTR Gap}_{io} + \gamma \mathbf{X}_{et} + \delta_t + \delta_e + \varepsilon_{eit}, \quad (5)$$

The dependent variable is the log difference in establishment e 's employment across CM decades, i.e., $t \in \{1977, 1987, 1997\}$. The three DID terms capture the own, upstream or downstream NTR gaps of the establishment's major industry i . \mathbf{X}_{et} is a matrix of plant characteristics in year t that includes employment, capital and skill intensity, plant age and plant total factor productivity (TFP).²⁶ We include plant fixed effects, δ_e , to control for unobserved plant characteristics that are time invariant and, as above, include peak-year t fixed effects to control for effects specific to each recession. Our use of a log difference as the dependent variable restricts our examination to the intensive margin.

Table 5 reports results for total employment growth as well as growth in non-production employment, production employment and production hours. As above, the final block of rows in the table computes economic significance, in this case by multiplying the DID estimates by the respective averages for manufacturing as a whole (from the final row of Table 1), exponentiating, and subtracting 1.

Three trends stand out. First, we find that the implied impact of *PNTR* on 1997 to 2007 employment growth is almost four times stronger for production workers (-17.0 percentage points) than non-production workers (-4.6 percentage points). Second, results for production hours are very similar to those for production workers, suggesting no substantial change in hours worked per employee. Finally, the relationship between the own-industry NTR gap and the differential growth of non-production workers is positive and statistically significant. This implies that non-production worker growth for a continuing plant with the average own-industry NTR gap is 8.3 percentage points higher from 1997 to 2007 than in the previous two decades.

²⁶We measure TFP with an index number approach in which output is measured as the logarithm of deflated revenue and inputs—cost of materials, production employment, non-production employment and book value of capital—are weighted by the average cost share for each input, at the industry level. While we deflate revenue with industry-level price deflators from Becker and Gray (2009) to obtain our measure of output, we note that this approach does not control for within-industry price differences and the level of observed “productivity” can be affected by changes in plant-level prices. For a detailed discussion of the properties of this TFP measure, as well as the limitations of revenue-based forms of productivity, see Foster, Haltiwanger and Syverson (2008).

To the extent that non-production workers embody higher levels of human capital than production workers, this outcome suggests a relative increase in continuing plants' skill intensity that is consistent with evidence of trade-induced skill-biased technical change and product-mix upgrading found elsewhere in the literature. Bloom, Draca and Van Reenen (2012), for example, demonstrate innovation and greater use of computers by European firms in response to heightened competition from China, while results in Bernard, Jensen and Schott (2006), Khandelwal (2010) and Schott (2008) suggest that high-wage countries alter their product mix to escape competition from low-wage countries like China. Moreover, to the extent that production workers are more likely to engage in routine tasks, our results are in accord with Jaimovich and Siu's (2012) demonstration that jobs focusing on such tasks are more likely to disappear during economic downturns. Here, we show that in manufacturing, this disappearance can be associated with a major change in U.S. trade policy.

Table 6 examines the effect of *PNTR* on plant attributes other than employment. We analyze changes in continuing plants' real capital stock, real value added and real shipments, as well as the ratios of each of these outcomes to total employment. The first column of the table repeats results for overall employment from Table 5. The second and third columns reveal that the *PNTR*-implied decline in continuing plants' real capital stock is less severe than the decline in their employment, yielding a relative increase in implied capital intensity over 1997 to 2007. This link between *PNTR* and increased capital intensity dovetails the just-discussed apparent rise in skill intensity.

The final four columns of Table 6 examine the relationship between the shift in U.S. trade policy and the relative growth of continuing plants' labor productivity. Coefficient estimates imply that *PNTR* is associated with declines in real shipments and real value added that are about two times stronger than the decline in employment, i.e., -30.6 and -32.1 percentage points versus the -13.2 percentage points reported in the first column of Table 6. As a result, continuing plants possessing the average NTR gaps are predicted to experience labor productivity growth that is -18.1 and -19.6 percentage points lower between 1997 and 2007 than was experienced by these plants in the prior two decades. Given the trend in aggregate labor productivity growth implicit in Figure 5, these results imply that more of the growth in labor productivity experienced in the years after 2001 is due to continuing plants with relatively low exposure to reductions in import-tariff uncertainty as well as reallocation towards higher labor-productivity entrants along the extensive margin. Price declines associated with indirect importing constitute one potential channel for these gains.

6 *PNTR* and Trade Flows

In this section we use transaction-level U.S. import data from the Census Bureau's Longitudinal Firm Trade Transactional Database (LFTTD) to assess the reaction of U.S. importers and Chinese exporters to *PNTR*. This analysis serves two purposes. First, it provides estimates of the effect of *PNTR*, and the associated reduction in tariff uncertainty, on U.S. imports from China relative to other U.S. trading partners. Second, it offers additional evidence of a relationship between *PNTR* and employment losses in

U.S. manufacturing.

The LFTTD tracks all U.S. international trade transactions from 1992 to 2008 and links them to the *firm* identifiers used in the LBD and CM, as described in Bernard, Jensen and Schott (2009). For each import transaction we observe the identity of the U.S. importer, the ten-digit Harmonized System (HS) product traded, the U.S. dollar value and quantity shipped, the shipment date, the origin country and the foreign supplier of the imported product.

As the firm-level U.S. import data are unavailable prior to the 1990s, we amend our difference-in-differences specification to compare product outcomes across trading partners rather than business cycles,

$$\Delta Z_{ch}^{1997:2007} = \alpha\{c = China\} * NTR\ Gap_h + \gamma \ln(Z_h) + \delta_c + \delta_h + \varepsilon_{ch}. \quad (6)$$

We analyze the 1997 to 2007 interval to mimic the CM decades examined above. $\Delta Z_{ch}^{1997:2007}$ represents the change in one of several dimensions of U.S. imports of ten-digit HS product h imported from country c including import value, the number of U.S. importers, the number of foreign firms that export to the United States, and the number of importer-exporter pairs. As product-country trade data exhibit an abundance of zeros, we use the normalized growth rate introduced by Davis, Haltiwanger and Schuh (1996) for the dependent variable,

$$\Delta Z_{ch}^{1997:2007} = \frac{(Z_{ch}^{2007} - Z_{ch}^{1997})}{\frac{1}{2}(Z_{ch}^{2007} + Z_{ch}^{1997})}, \quad (7)$$

which is bounded by 2 and -2 and equals those values for observations that start or end at zero, respectively. The first term on the right-hand side is an interaction of an indicator variable picking out China and the NTR gap for the product. The DID coefficient α captures the differential change of high NTR gap products (first difference) imported from China versus all other U.S. trading partners (second difference). The variable $\ln(Z_h)$ is the denominator of the right-hand side term in equation 7. δ_c and δ_h represent country and product fixed effects that control for unobserved country- and product-specific variation.

Results are reported in Table 7. We find a positive and statistically significant relationship between the interaction of the NTR gap with a China indicator and all four dimensions of U.S. importing. Our estimates imply that a product with the average NTR gap (0.32) exhibits growth in import value from China between 1997 and 2007 that is 19.6 “normalized” percentage points higher than the growth in import value across all other U.S. trading partners over this period. The differential growth for the numbers of U.S. importers, Chinese exporters and importer-exporter pairs is 32.2, 39.5 and 34.7 “normalized” percentage points, respectively.

These relative increases indicate that U.S. imports surge in precisely the set of goods where domestic employment loss is concentrated, and with the exact trading partner that is the subject of the shift in U.S. trade policy.

7 Discussion

7.1 Relation to Theory

Our results are consistent with existing models of exporting and importing. Handley and Limao (2012), for example, consider the effect of import-tariff uncertainty in a standard, Melitz- (2003) style model of exporting, where firms that are heterogeneous in unit costs consider the irreversible investment needed to enter an export market. As is well known in the deterministic versions of these models, firms enter the export market if their unit cost is below a cutoff that equates the fixed cost of exporting with the profit earned in the export market. Handley and Limao (2012) show that if uncertainty regarding either the timing or the magnitude of tariff changes in the destination market falls, the cost cutoff for exporting rises, as relatively low-cost firms lose their incentive to wait and see how tariffs change before entering. In an extension, Handley (2012) demonstrates that entry also rises with reductions in the maximum level to which tariffs might increase, even if the actual applied tariffs remain the same. Here, China's receipt of *PNTR* can be interpreted as just such a decline. In Section 6 we show that it is associated with an increase in the number of Chinese firms that export to the United States as well as the value of goods they export.

Though deterministic, models of importing similar in spirit to Melitz's (2003) model of exporting provide insight into the potential impact of *PNTR* on U.S. manufacturing employment. Groizard, Ranjan and Rodriguez-Lopez (2012), for example, build a framework in which heterogeneous domestic manufacturers choose the fraction of inputs to source from a low-wage country based on their productivity draw and fixed and variable costs of importing. A decline in import tariffs raises the demand for foreign inputs and thereby reduces domestic employment in the manufacturing sector for two reasons. First, firms that are not productive enough to import shrink relative to firms that engage in greater offshoring, as it further lowers their costs. Second, among firms that do offshore, employment falls as foreign inputs are substituted for those previously produced in-house.²⁷ In theory, these firms may experience a net increase in employment if price declines associated with offshoring induce a substantial enough increase in demand for their output. In Section 4.1, however, we find that greater exposure to *PNTR* via upstream industries is associated with employment loss.

Reduction in import-tariff uncertainty may also affect manufacturing employment by encouraging firms to invest in the development of labor-saving technologies or product mixes that compete less directly with imports from labor-intensive China. Acemoglu (2002) and Bloom et al. (2012), for example, develop models in which trade liberalization can affect the skill bias of technical change. In Section 5, we show that *PNTR* coincides with increases in continuing plants' capital and skill intensity.

²⁷Empirically, Groizard, Ranjan and Rodriguez-Lopez (2012) show that reductions in U.S. trade costs between 1992 and 2004 influenced both gross job creation and gross job destruction among manufacturing establishments in California.

7.2 An Alternate Explanation

An alternate explanation for the manufacturing employment declines documented in Sections 5 and 6 is that they are driven by a change over time in the rate at which low-skill manufacturing workers are replaced by human or physical capital that is not related to *PNTR*. In that case, our estimates of the effect of the policy are overstated. Several aspects of our results, however, render such an explanation unlikely.²⁸ First, any explanation for non-trade-induced technical change must account for why it is concentrated in industries with high NTR gaps, and, further, for why estimates of employment loss persist even when controlling for industry attributes which might be linked to trends in technical change, particularly industry capital and skill intensity. Second, a rationale for non-trade-induced technical change must explain why the employment losses are concentrated after conferral of *PNTR* in 2000. Finally, it must be consistent with the fact that *PNTR* coincides with an increase in U.S. imports from China relative to all other U.S. import partners. If non-trade-induced technical change were leading the U.S. to abandon certain product markets, imports of these goods would presumably increase from a range of U.S. trading partners.

8 Conclusion

This paper finds a relationship between the sharp decline in U.S. manufacturing employment that occurs after 2001 and U.S. conferral of permanent normal trade relations on China in October 2000. This change in policy is notable for eliminating uncertainty about potential increases in tariffs rather than changing the actual level of tariffs. We measure this uncertainty as the gap between actual tariff rates and the level to which they might have risen had their continuation before 2001 been rejected by the President or Congress.

We find that employment losses are larger in industries with higher gaps, and that these employment declines are associated with relative increases in U.S. imports from China, the number of U.S. firms importing from China, the number of Chinese firms exporting to the United States, and the number of U.S.-China importer-exporter pairs. At the same time, we find that plants in industries with higher gaps exhibit greater increases in skill and capital intensity.

Our investigation provides a number of findings that would benefit from additional analysis. First, we demonstrate a relationship between employment loss in one industry and the elimination of uncertainty in both upstream and downstream industries, potentially due to simultaneous offshoring of several stages of a supply chain. Second, we show that elimination of uncertainty is associated with suppressed job creation as well as exaggerated job destruction. The relative importance of the former indicates that analyses of the effect of international trade on domestic employment that focus solely on job destruction may be inadequate.

²⁸We note that our results focus on the manufacturing sector and do not rule out the role of technological change on employment trends in general.

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NAICS Industry	Own	Up	Down
311 Food	0.14	0.06	0.04
312 Beverage and Tobacco	0.24	0.11	0.07
313 Textile Mills	0.51	0.18	0.43
314 Textile Product Mills	0.53	0.18	0.08
315 Apparel	0.57	0.21	0.06
316 Leather	0.31	0.12	0.09
321 Wood Product	0.24	0.06	0.09
322 Paper	0.34	0.11	0.14
323 Printing	0.18	0.08	0.04
324 Petroleum and Coal	0.22	0.04	0.04
325 Chemical	0.30	0.10	0.17
326 Plastics and Rubber	0.37	0.14	0.15
327 Nonmetallic Mineral	0.29	0.05	0.10
331 Primary Metal	0.22	0.08	0.28
332 Fabricated Metal	0.38	0.08	0.14
333 Machinery	0.33	0.11	0.06
334 Computer and Electronics	0.40	0.13	0.14
335 Electrical Equipment	0.35	0.12	0.08
336 Transportation Equipment	0.26	0.14	0.05
337 Furniture	0.43	0.10	0.04
339 Miscellaneous	0.45	0.09	0.04
All	0.34	0.11	0.11

Notes: Table reports the average own-, upstream- and downstream-NTR gaps across six-digit NAICS categories by three-digit NAICS category. The correlations between own and upstream, own and downstream, and upstream and downstream across six-digit NAICS categories are 0.79, 0.18 and 0.22.

Table 1: Average NTR Gap Across NAICS Manufacturing Industries

	LBD Intervals						CM
	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+1}$	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+2}$	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+3}$	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+4}$	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+5}$	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+6}$	$\Delta Emp_{i,t:t+10}$
$1\{t=2001\} \times NTR\ Gap_i^{Own}$	-0.052 0.038	0.004 0.065	-0.158 0.072	-0.253 0.070	-0.269 0.085	-0.334 0.094	-0.367 0.167
$1\{t=2001\} \times NTR\ Gap_i^{Up}$	-0.450 0.168	-0.832 0.267	-1.027 0.275	-1.084 0.305	-1.108 0.315	-1.362 0.341	-1.371 0.485
$1\{t=2001\} \times NTR\ Gap_i^{Down}$	-0.189 0.053	-0.131 0.083	-0.224 0.085	-0.281 0.100	-0.319 0.110	-0.334 0.118	-0.419 0.156
$\ln(Emp_{it})$	-0.007 0.013	-0.112 0.049	-0.110 0.020	-0.180 0.037	-0.227 0.037	-0.225 0.039	-0.452 0.083
$\ln(K/L_{it})$							-0.167 0.071
$\ln(S/L_{it})$							-0.197 0.169
Observations	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089
R2	0.493	0.577	0.585	0.641	0.661	0.639	0.633
Fixed Effects	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t
Clustering	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
P-value of Joint Significance	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Implied Impact of PNTR							
Own	-0.017	0.001	-0.053	-0.085	-0.090	-0.112	-0.123
Upstream	-0.049	-0.090	-0.111	-0.117	-0.120	-0.147	-0.148
Downstream	-0.021	-0.015	-0.025	-0.031	-0.035	-0.037	-0.047
Total	-0.087	-0.103	-0.189	-0.233	-0.245	-0.296	-0.318

Notes: Each column displays the results of an OLS regression of the percent change in industry (i) employment across intervals noted in top row. There are three observations for each industry corresponding to growth up to six years after the 1981, 1990 and 2001 peaks (t). First seven columns use data from the LBD. Final column uses data from the CM and is estimated over CM decades (see text). Own-, upstream- and downstream-industry NTR Gap is the difference between non-NTR and NTR tariff in these sets of industries, respectively (see text). Standard errors adjusted for clustering at the industry level are displayed below each coefficient. Coefficients in bold are statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Estimates for the constant and fixed effects are suppressed. Eleventh row reports p-value of an F-test of the joint significance of the first three covariates. Final block of rows reports the differential employment growth implied by the shift in U.S. policy (see text).

Table 2: Industry Employment Growth and China's Change in NTR Status

	$\Delta \text{Emp}_i^{t:t+6}$ (LBD)						
	Gross Job Creation			Gross Job Destruction			ALL
	PE	PB	FB	PC	PD	FD	
$1\{t=2001\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Own}}$	-0.055 0.038	-0.028 0.026	-0.093 0.043	-0.087 0.039	-0.037 0.044	-0.034 0.029	-0.334 0.094
$1\{t=2001\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Up}}$	-0.368 0.113	-0.054 0.095	-0.117 0.131	-0.208 0.127	-0.348 0.188	-0.268 0.144	-1.362 0.341
$1\{t=2001\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Down}}$	-0.042 0.042	-0.046 0.027	-0.031 0.048	-0.017 0.045	-0.152 0.063	-0.046 0.038	-0.334 0.118
$\ln(\text{Emp}_{it})$	-0.044 0.017	-0.015 0.010	-0.111 0.027	-0.026 0.009	-0.029 0.006	0.000 0.008	-0.225 0.039
Observations	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089	1,089
R2	0.618	0.489	0.631	0.429	0.504	0.785	0.639
Fixed Effects	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t	i,t
Clustering	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
P-value of Joint Significance	0.00	0.10	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Implied Impact of PNTR							
Own	-0.018	-0.009	-0.031	-0.029	-0.012	-0.011	-0.112
Upstream	-0.040	-0.006	-0.013	-0.022	-0.038	-0.029	-0.147
Downstream	-0.005	-0.005	-0.003	-0.002	-0.017	-0.005	-0.037
Total	-0.063	-0.020	-0.047	-0.053	-0.067	-0.045	-0.296

Notes: Each column displays the results of an OLS regression of the cumulative percent change in industry (i) employment along the noted margin six years after the 1981, 1990 and 2001 peaks (t). First six columns report results for the gross margins of adjustment; the final column reports results for the overall change in employment. Standard errors adjusted for clustering at the industry level are displayed below each coefficient. Coefficients in bold are statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Estimates for the constant and fixed effects are suppressed. Eleventh row reports p-value of an F-test of the joint significance of the first three covariates. Final block of rows reports the differential employment growth implied by the shift in U.S. policy (see text).

Table 3: Industry Employment Growth by Gross Margin and China's Change in NTR Status Six Years After Each Peak

	Levels						Percent								
	LBD			CM			LBD			CM					
	d=1	d=2	d=3	d=4	d=5	d=6	d=10	d=1	d=2	d=3	d=4	d=5	d=6	d=10	
Panel A															
NTR Gap _{Own}	-0.017	0.001	-0.053	-0.085	-0.090	-0.112	-0.123	20	-1	28	36	37	38	39	
NTR Gap _{Up}	-0.049	-0.090	-0.111	-0.117	-0.120	-0.147	-0.148	56	87	59	50	49	50	47	
NTR Gap _{Down}	-0.021	-0.015	-0.025	-0.031	-0.035	-0.037	-0.047	24	14	13	13	14	13	15	
Total	-0.087	-0.103	-0.189	-0.233	-0.245	-0.296	-0.318	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Panel B															
Gross Job Creation	-0.019	-0.021	-0.075	-0.100	-0.101	-0.130	-0.172	22	20	40	43	41	44	54	
Gross Job Destruction	-0.068	-0.082	-0.114	-0.133	-0.144	-0.166	-0.145	78	80	60	57	59	56	46	
	-0.087	-0.103	-0.189	-0.233	-0.245	-0.296	-0.317	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Panel C: Job Creation															
NTR Gap _{Own}	-0.016	0.004	-0.034	-0.048	-0.049	-0.059	-0.077	87	-21	45	47	49	45	45	
NTR Gap _{Up}	0.001	-0.026	-0.036	-0.045	-0.039	-0.058	-0.079	-6	128	48	45	38	45	46	
NTR Gap _{Down}	-0.003	0.001	-0.005	-0.008	-0.013	-0.013	-0.016	18	-6	7	8	13	10	9	
	-0.019	-0.021	-0.075	-0.100	-0.101	-0.130	-0.172	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Panel D: Job Destruction															
NTR Gap _{Own}	-0.001	-0.003	-0.019	-0.038	-0.041	-0.053	-0.045	1	4	17	28	28	32	31	
NTR Gap _{Up}	-0.050	-0.064	-0.075	-0.072	-0.081	-0.089	-0.069	73	77	66	54	56	54	48	
NTR Gap _{Down}	-0.018	-0.016	-0.020	-0.024	-0.022	-0.024	-0.031	26	19	17	18	15	14	21	
	-0.068	-0.082	-0.114	-0.133	-0.144	-0.166	-0.145	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Table decomposes the implied economic impact of PNTR on cumulative growth d years after the 2001 peak according to the three NTR gaps (from Table 2) or job creation versus destruction (from Tables 3 and 4 in the main and Table A.4 in the electronic appendix). Levels reported in panels C and D sum to the levels reported in panels A and B.

Table 4: Decomposing the Overall Implied Impact of PNTR

	Δ Employment	Δ Non-Production Workers	Δ Production Workers	Δ Production Hours
$1\{t=1997\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Own}}$	-0.136 0.043	0.238 0.052	-0.343 0.051	-0.371 0.055
$1\{t=1997\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Up}}$	-0.579 0.149	-0.808 0.176	-0.402 0.176	-0.180 0.186
$1\{t=1997\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Down}}$	-0.248 0.057	-0.418 0.066	-0.175 0.067	-0.327 0.072
$\ln(\text{Emp}_{et})$	-0.882 0.007	-0.897 0.008	-0.856 0.008	-0.838 0.008
$\ln(K/L_{et})$	0.034 0.004	0.040 0.005	0.011 0.005	-0.018 0.005
$\ln(S/L_{et})$	0.010 0.007	-1.312 0.009	0.524 0.009	0.447 0.010
$\ln(\text{Age}_{et})$	-0.015 0.011	0.007 0.012	-0.024 0.013	0.010 0.014
$\ln(\text{TFP}_{et})$	0.025 0.003	0.026 0.003	0.034 0.003	0.020 0.003
Observations	283,720	283,720	283,720	283,720
R2	0.837	0.835	0.815	0.785
Fixed Effects	e,t	e,t	e,t	e,t
Clustering	e	e	e	e
Implied Impact of PNTR				
Own	-0.045	0.083	-0.109	-0.117
Upstream	-0.061	-0.084	-0.042	-0.019
Downstream	-0.027	-0.045	-0.019	-0.036
Total	-0.132	-0.046	-0.170	-0.172

Notes: Table reports establishment-level OLS regressions of the log difference in noted employment outcome across three CM decades (see text). Sample is restricted to the intensive margin. All regressions include peak year (t) and establishment (e) fixed effects. Standard errors adjusted for clustering at the plant level are displayed below each coefficient. Coefficients in bold are statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Estimates for the constant and fixed effects are suppressed. Final block of rows reports the differential employment growth implied by the shift in U.S. policy, i.e., the dot product of the first three covariates and the respective averages of the three NTR gaps (0.32, 0.11 and 0.11, respectively).

Table 5: Plant Employment Growth Across CM Decades

	Δ Employment	Δ Capital	Δ Capital / Employment	Δ Shipments	Δ Shipments / Employment	Δ Value Added	Δ VA / Employment
$1\{t=1997\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Own}}$	-0.136 0.043	-0.300 0.063	-0.163 0.056	-0.287 0.059	-0.150 0.052	-0.244 0.073	-0.108 0.067
$1\{t=1997\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Up}}$	-0.579 0.149	0.205 0.214	0.784 0.192	-1.093 0.213	-0.514 0.189	-1.101 0.254	-0.522 0.231
$1\{t=1997\} \times \text{NTR Gap}_i^{\text{Down}}$	-0.248 0.057	-0.192 0.084	0.056 0.075	-0.979 0.080	-0.731 0.069	-1.258 0.096	-1.009 0.087
$\ln(\text{Emp}_{et})$	-0.882 0.007	-0.896 0.010	-0.014 0.008	-0.709 0.009	0.173 0.008	-0.703 0.011	0.179 0.010
$\ln(K/L_{et})$	0.034 0.004	-1.332 0.008	-1.365 0.008	-0.184 0.006	-0.217 0.006	-0.179 0.007	-0.213 0.007
$\ln(S/L_{et})$	0.010 0.007	0.030 0.010	0.021 0.009	0.030 0.010	0.020 0.009	0.023 0.012	0.013 0.011
$\ln(\text{Age}_{et})$	-0.015 0.011	0.038 0.016	0.053 0.014	-0.054 0.015	-0.040 0.014	-0.037 0.018	-0.022 0.016
$\ln(\text{TFP}_{et})$	0.025 0.003	0.024 0.004	-0.001 0.003	-0.051 0.004	-0.076 0.004	-0.089 0.005	-0.113 0.005
Observations	283,720	283,720	283,720	283,720	283,720	283,720	283,720
R2	0.837	0.842	0.848	0.756	0.66	0.701	0.596
Fixed Effects	e,t	e,t	e,t	e,t	e,t	e,t	e,t
Clustering	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
Implied Impact of PNTR							
Own	-0.045	-0.096	-0.053	-0.092	-0.049	-0.078	-0.036
Upstream	-0.061	0.022	0.088	-0.111	-0.054	-0.112	-0.055
Downstream	-0.027	-0.021	0.006	-0.103	-0.078	-0.130	-0.106
Total	-0.132	-0.094	0.041	-0.306	-0.181	-0.321	-0.196

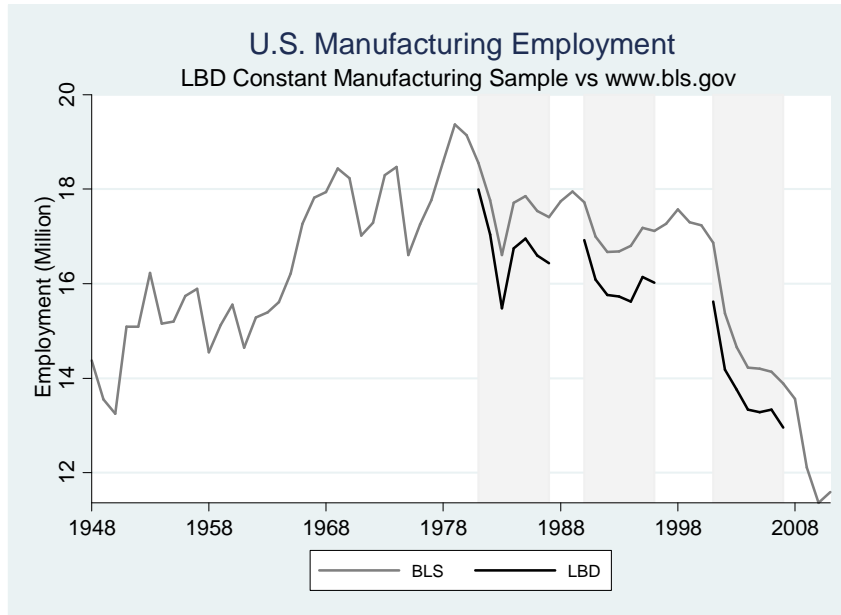
Notes: Table reports establishment-level OLS regressions of the log difference in noted outcome across three CM decades (see text). Sample is restricted to the intensive margin. All variables are in real 2005 dollars (see text). All regressions include peak year (t) and establishment (e) fixed effects. Standard errors adjusted for clustering at the plant level are displayed below each coefficient. Coefficients in bold are statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Estimates for the constant and fixed effects are suppressed. Final block of rows reports the differential employment growth implied by the shift in U.S. policy (see text).

Table 6: Other Plant Outcomes Across CM Decades

	Δ Value	Δ US Importers	Δ Chinese Exporters	Δ Importer-Exporter Pairs
NTR Gap _h * 1{c=China}	0.179 0.052	0.279 0.046	0.333 0.045	0.298 0.046
ln(Value _{ch})	-0.009 0.002			
ln(US Importers _{ch})		-0.068 0.003		
ln(Chinese Exporters _{ch})			-0.095 0.003	
ln(Pairs _{ch})				-0.066 0.003
Observations	277,070	277,070	277,070	277,070
R2	0.33	0.36	0.36	0.37
Fixed Effects	h,c	h,c	h,c	h,c
Clustering	h	h	h	h
Implied Impact of PNTR	0.196	0.322	0.395	0.347

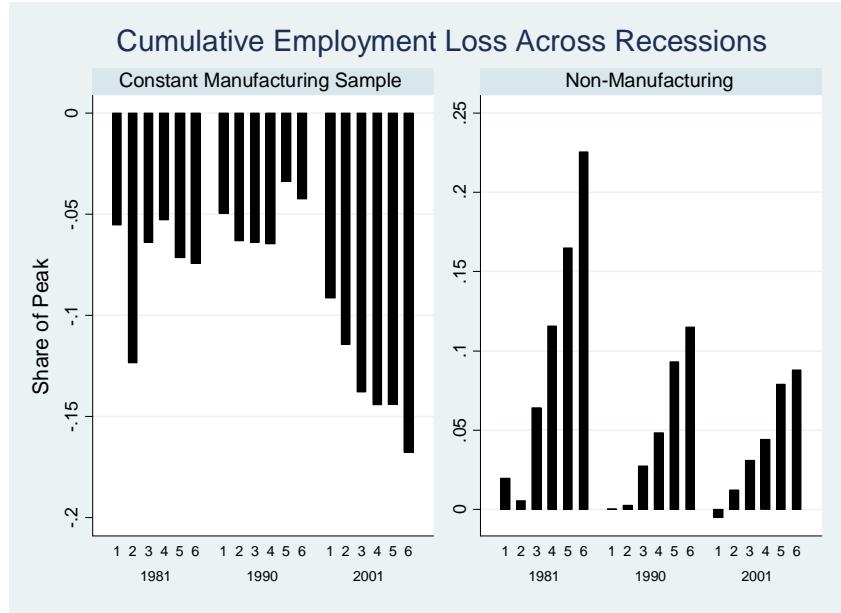
Notes: Table reports the results of ten-digit HS by country OLS regressions of the 1997 to 2007 normalized change (see text) on the noted difference-in-differences term. Remaining right-hand-side variables are the average level of the dependent variable observed in the begin and end year. Regressions include ten-digit HS product (h) and country (c) fixed effects. Sample is restricted to product-country import transactions associated with firms in our constant manufacturing sample. Coefficients in bold are statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Estimates for the constant and fixed effects are suppressed. Final row reports the differential employment growth implied by the shift in U.S. policy (see text).

Table 7: U.S. Import Growth, 1997 to 2007



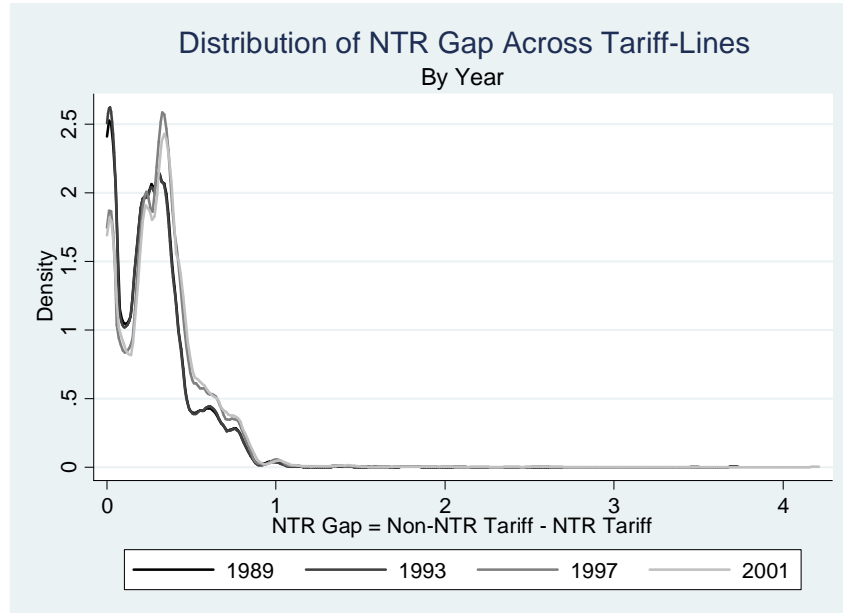
Notes: Figure compares annual manufacturing employment as of March according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (series CEU3000000001) and the authors' constant manufacturing sample, constructed from the Census Bureau's Longitudinal Business Database (see text). Shaded areas correspond to periods 1981 to 1987, 1990 to 1996 and 2001 to 2007.

Figure 1: Post-War U.S. Manufacturing Employment



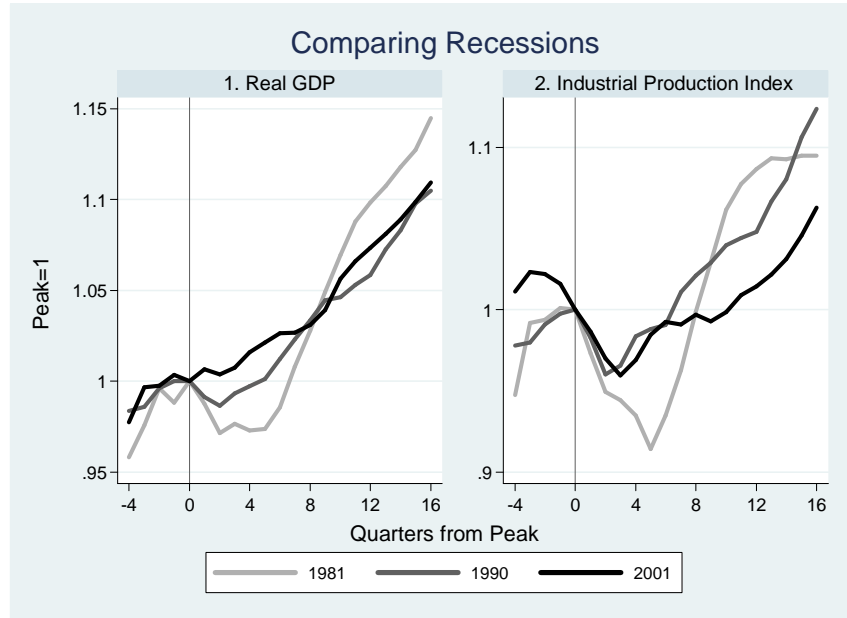
Notes: Left panel displays the cumulative change in U.S. manufacturing employment as a percent of peak manufacturing employment for noted number of years after each peak according to the LBD constant manufacturing sample (see text). Right panel displays the same information for all other employment in the LBD.

Figure 2: Cumulative Employment Loss, by Recession



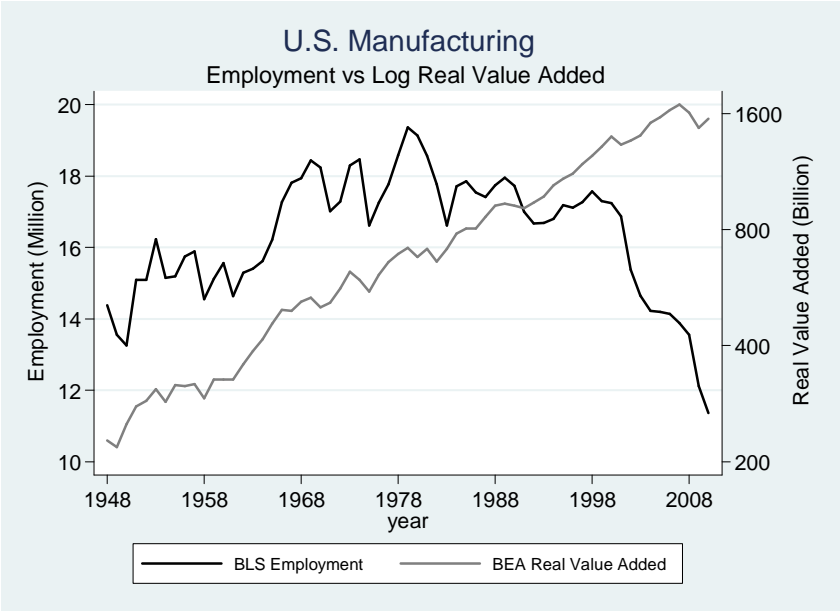
Notes: Figure displays the distribution of eight-digit HS NTR gaps for the noted years. The NTR gap for a given eight-digit HS category is the non-NTR tariff for that category less the NTR tariff for that category (see text).

Figure 3: Distribution of Risk Across Tariff Lines



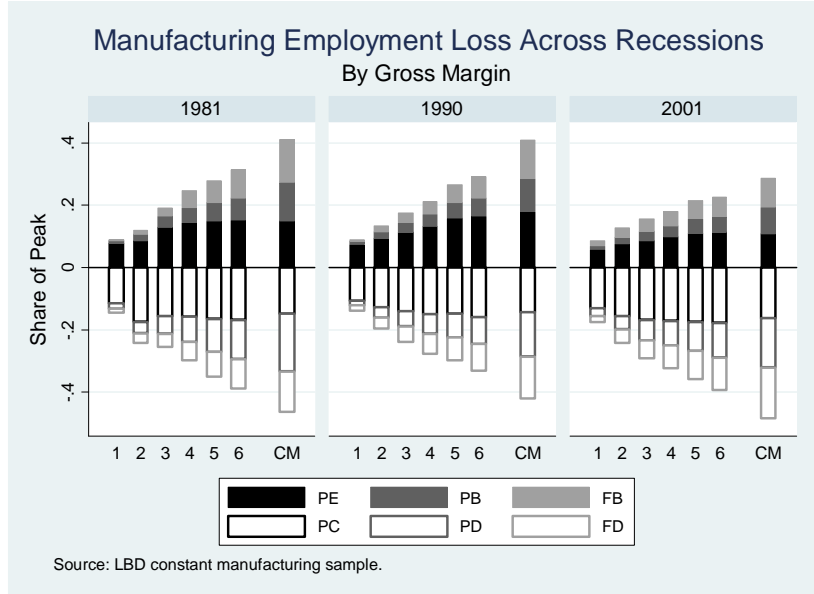
Notes: Figure compares real GDP and the Industrial Production Index from four quarters before to sixteen quarters after the noted official NBER peaks. GDP data are from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. IPI data are from the Federal Reserve.

Figure 4: Real GDP and IPI During the 1981, 1990 and 2001 Recessions



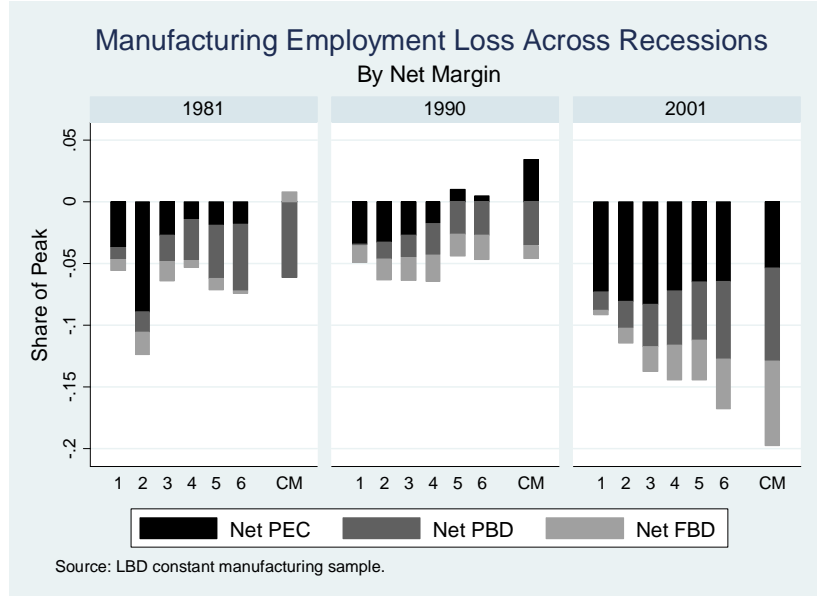
Notes: Figure compares annual manufacturing employment as of March according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (series CEU3000000001) to real value added as measured by the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Figure 5: Post-War U.S. Manufacturing Employment



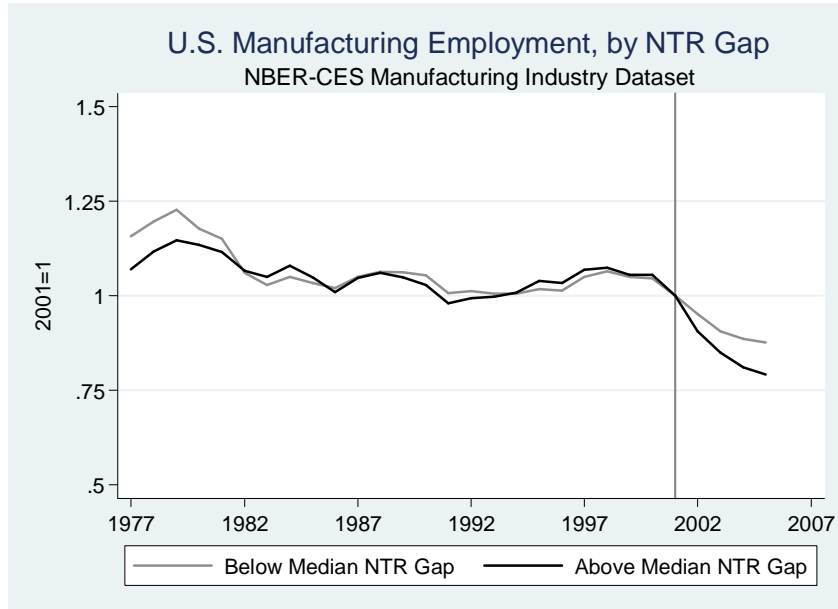
Notes: First six bars in each panel report the decomposition of overall growth of LBD manufacturing employment (from left panel of Figure 2) by gross margin of adjustment for noted number of years after each official NBER peak. Gross margins are: expansion (PE) and contraction (PC) at continuing plants at continuing firms; plant birth (PB) and death (PD) among continuing firms; and firm birth (FB) and death (FD). Final bar in each panel, labeled "CM", displays the cumulative change across the associated CM decade: 1977-87, 1987-97 and 1997-07.

Figure 6: Cumulative Manufacturing Employment, by Recession and Gross Margin



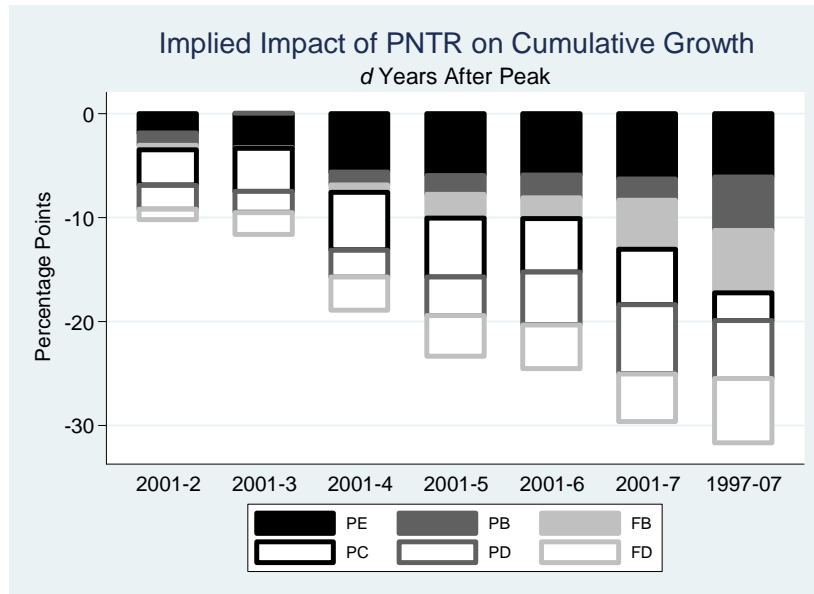
Notes: First six bars in each panel report the decomposition of overall growth of LBD manufacturing employment (from left panel of Figure 2) by net margin of adjustment for noted number of years after each official NBER peak. Net margins are: net expansion of continuing plants at continuing firms (PEC); net plant birth among continuing firms (PBD); and net firm birth (FBD). Final bar in each panel, labeled “CM”, displays the cumulative change across the associated CM decade: 1977-87, 1987-97 and 1997-07.

Figure 7: Cumulative Manufacturing Employment, by Recession and Net Margin



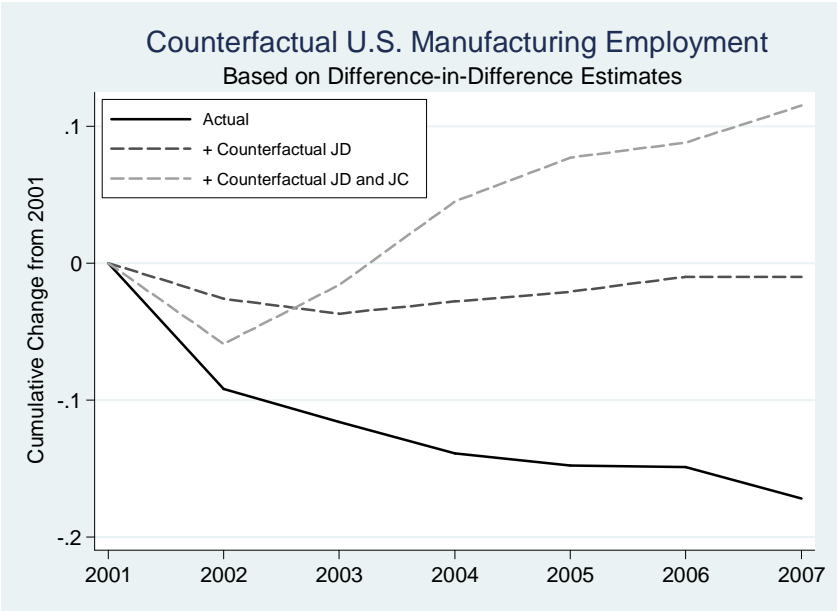
Notes: Figure displays the evolution of U.S. manufacturing employment as measured in the publicly available NBER-CES Manufacturing Industry Productivity Database. NAICS manufacturing industries are split into two groups depending on whether their own-industry NTR gap in 1999 (see text) is above or below the median across all industries.

Figure 8: U.S. Manufacturing Employment by High vs Low NTR Gap



Notes: Figure decomposes the implied overall impact of PNTR by six gross margins of adjustment, where PE and PC represent the expansion and contraction of employment at continuing plants within continuing firms, PB and PD represent the birth and death of plants at continuing firms, and FB and FD represent firm birth and death. Solid bars represent job creation margins while hollow bars represent job destruction margins. First six columns are based on estimates from the LBD while final column is based on estimates from the CM (see text). Underlying coefficient estimates are reported in appendix Table A4.

Figure 9: Implied Impact of *PNTR* by Gross Margin of Adjustment



Notes: Bottom line traces out the average cumulative loss of employment across industries between 2001 and noted year as a share of 2001 employment. Darker dashed line represents the counterfactual cumulative change in employment if the exaggerated job destruction implied by the estimates in Table A.4 are added back. Lighter dashed line represents the cumulative change in employment if both the exaggerated job destruction and suppressed job creation implied by the estimates in Table A.4 are added back.

Figure 10: Cumulative Manufacturing Employment, by Recession and Net Margin

Electronic Appendix

This appendix contains the additional empirical results referenced in the main text.

A Revealed Tariffs on Chinese Imports

We compute the revealed tariff on Chinese imports as the ratio between duties collected and dutiable value across all ten-digit HS manufacturing products imported from China using the trade data in Feenstra, Romalis and Schott (2002) and extended by Schott (2008). We regress the revealed tariffs for all countries over the years 1998 to 2002 and 1997 to 2003 on an interaction of two indicator variables: whether the observation is for China and whether the observation is for a year after 2000. As indicated in Table A.1, there is no statistically significant relationship between this difference-in-differences term and revealed tariffs over these periods.

B Chinese Import Penetration and *PNTR*

A number of papers in the international trade literature have reported a correlation between increases in U.S. import penetration (or share of import value) by low-wage countries and employment losses across U.S. establishments, industries or regions. China is by far the most influential low-wage country in this trend, and we find that the acceleration of its penetration of the U.S. market after 2001 is concentrated in industries most affected by China's change in NTR status.

China's U.S. import penetration is its import share multiplied by the standard expression for import penetration,

$$PEN_{it}^{China} = \frac{M_{it}^{China}}{M_{it}} \frac{M_{it}}{Shipments_{it} + M_{it} - X_{it}}, \quad (A.1)$$

where M_{it} , X_{it} and $Shipments_{it}$ represent total imports, exports and domestic shipments for manufacturing industry i in year t , respectively. We compute PEN_{it}^{China} using industry-level domestic shipment data from the publicly available NBER-CES Manufacturing Industry Database assembled by Becker and Gray (2009) and HS-level import and export data from Feenstra, Romalis and Schott (2002) and Schott (2008). We map the HS-level trade data to either SIC or NAICS industries using the concordances of Pierce and Schott (2012).

Figure A.1 plots PEN_{it}^{China} separately for industries that are above and below the median own-industry NTR gap. As indicated in the figure, the sharp acceleration of the overall trend in Chinese manufacturing import penetration starting in 2001 is due almost entirely to industries with above-median NTR gaps.

Table A.2 uses our main difference-in-differences specification to examine whether the change in the U.S. import penetration from China six years after each peak is relatively greater after 2001. The first column of the table demonstrates that this penetration rises with the NTR gap across the 2001 recession. The second column reveals that this

relationship between ΔPEN_{it}^{CHN} and the NTR gap also appears relative to the 1981 and 1990 recessions. We find similar results across longer and short time windows, e.g., the LBD intervals analyzed in the main text.

C Employment Growth by Margin of Adjustment

The first six columns of Table A.3 report the cumulative change in U.S. manufacturing employment up to six years after each business cycle peak, by gross and net margin of adjustment. By comparison, the final column of the table reports the same breakdown of employment across three CM decades: 1977 to 1987, 1987 to 1997 and 1997 to 2007.

Table A.4 reports estimates of equation 4 for $d = 1$ to $d = 5$. As indicated in the table, the estimated magnitudes of the difference-in-difference terms generally increase in absolute value over time. This trend suggests that the relative lack of a recovery in manufacturing employment following the 2001 recession displayed in Figure 2 is driven by both exaggerated job destruction and anemic job creation.

Appendix References

1. Becker, Randy and Wayne B. Gray. 2009. "NBER-CES Manufacturing Industry Database." Available at www.nber.org/data/nbprod2005.html.
2. Feenstra, Robert C., John Romalis and Peter K. Schott. 2002. "U.S. Imports, Exports and Tariff Data, 1989-2001." NBER Working Paper 9387.
3. Pierce, Justin R. and Peter K. Schott. 2012. "Concording U.S. Harmonized System Codes Over Time," *Journal of Official Statistics* 28: 53-68.
4. Schott, Peter K. 2008. "The Relative Sophistication of Chinese Exports," *Economic Policy* 53: 5-49.

Appendix Tables and Figures

Table A.1: Change in Revealed Tariffs

	Revealed Tariff on Chinese Imports	Revealed Tariff on Chinese Imports
$1_{\{c=China\}}*1_{\{t>2000\}}$	-0.0002 0.0045	-0.0010 0.0156
Observations	787,614	1,119,627
R-squared	0.015	0.011
Years	1998-2002	1997-2003
Fixed Effects	Ten-Digit HS, Country	Ten-Digit HS, Country

Notes: Table reports OLS regression of change in product-country revealed tariffs (see text) on an indicator for years after 2000. Sample includes all ten-digit HS products imported from China during noted intervals. Regression includes HS product and country fixed effects. Robust standard errors adjusted for clustering at the product level are reported below coefficients. Results for constant and fixed effects are suppressed.

Table A.2: Change in China Import Penetration Across Recessions

	ΔPEN^{CHN}	ΔPEN^{CHN}
NTR Gap	0.167 0.031	
x 2001 Recession		0.120 0.042
1981 Recession		-0.007 0.013
1990 Recession		0.018 0.012
Constant	-0.006 0.011	0.010 0.012
Observations	324	957
R-squared	0.08	0.59
FE	No	Industry, Year

Notes: Table reports OLS regression of change in U.S. import penetration from China across three decades, 1977-87, 1987-97 and 1997-07 on noted covariates. Columns 2 and 4 contain data for 1977, 1987 and 1997. Standard errors adjusted for clustering at the industry level are reported below coefficients. Estimates that are statistically significant at the 10 percent level are in bold.

Margin of Adjustment	1981-82	1981-83	1981-84	1981-85	1981-86	1977-87
Plant Expansion (PE)	0.078	0.086	0.129	0.144	0.147	0.149
Plant Contraction (PC)	-0.115	-0.175	-0.156	-0.158	-0.166	-0.149
Net Within-Firm PEC	-0.037	-0.089	-0.027	-0.015	-0.019	0.000
Plant Birth (PB)	0.007	0.020	0.035	0.048	0.062	0.124
Plant Death (PD)	-0.017	-0.037	-0.057	-0.081	-0.105	-0.186
Net Within-Firm PBD	-0.009	-0.016	-0.021	-0.033	-0.043	-0.061
Firm Birth (FB)	0.004	0.013	0.027	0.054	0.069	0.138
Firm Death (FD)	-0.013	-0.031	-0.043	-0.060	-0.079	-0.130
Net FBD	-0.009	-0.018	-0.016	-0.006	-0.010	0.008
Total	-0.055	-0.124	-0.064	-0.053	-0.072	-0.053

	1990-91	1990-92	1990-93	1990-94	1990-95	1977-87
Plant Expansion (PE)	0.073	0.094	0.114	0.132	0.158	0.178
Plant Contraction (PC)	-0.107	-0.127	-0.141	-0.149	-0.148	-0.144
Net Within-Firm PEC	-0.034	-0.033	-0.027	-0.018	0.010	0.034
Plant Birth (PB)	0.012	0.021	0.030	0.038	0.050	0.107
Plant Death (PD)	-0.014	-0.035	-0.048	-0.063	-0.077	-0.142
Net Within-Firm PBD	-0.001	-0.014	-0.018	-0.025	-0.026	-0.035
Firm Birth (FB)	0.004	0.020	0.032	0.042	0.057	0.124
Firm Death (FD)	-0.018	-0.036	-0.050	-0.064	-0.075	-0.135
Net FBD	-0.014	-0.017	-0.018	-0.022	-0.018	-0.011
Total	-0.050	-0.063	-0.064	-0.065	-0.034	-0.012

	2001-02	2001-03	2001-04	2001-05	2001-06	1977-87
Plant Expansion (PE)	0.057	0.075	0.087	0.099	0.111	0.108
Plant Contraction (PC)	-0.130	-0.156	-0.169	-0.172	-0.176	-0.162
Net Within-Firm PEC	-0.073	-0.080	-0.083	-0.072	-0.065	-0.053
Plant Birth (PB)	0.011	0.021	0.030	0.035	0.046	0.085
Plant Death (PD)	-0.026	-0.043	-0.064	-0.079	-0.093	-0.161
Net Within-Firm PBD	-0.015	-0.022	-0.034	-0.044	-0.047	-0.076
Firm Birth (FB)	0.018	0.031	0.039	0.046	0.058	0.093
Firm Death (FD)	-0.022	-0.043	-0.060	-0.074	-0.090	-0.162
Net FBD	-0.004	-0.012	-0.021	-0.028	-0.032	-0.069
Total	-0.092	-0.115	-0.138	-0.144	-0.144	-0.198

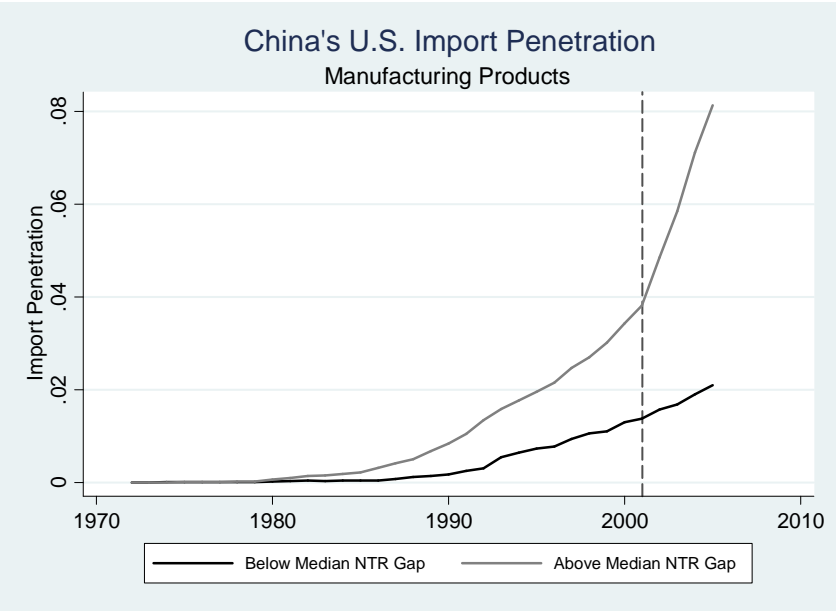
Note: Table reports decomposition of total percent change in U.S. manufacturing employment over the noted intervals according to gross and net margins of adjustment (see text). All changes are expressed as a percent of beginning year employment.

Table A.3: Cumulative Change in U.S. Manufacturing Employment by Recession and Margin of Adjustment

		Gross Job Creation Margins							Gross Job Destruction Creation Margins							
DID Term	Margin	LBD Intervals						CM	Margin	LBD Intervals						CM
		$\Delta E_{i,t:t+1}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+2}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+3}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+4}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+5}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+6}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+10}$		$\Delta E_{i,t:t+1}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+2}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+3}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+4}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+5}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+6}$	$\Delta E_{i,t:t+10}$
Own	PE	-0.025	-0.009	-0.032	-0.053	-0.064	-0.055	-0.070	PC	-0.036	-0.055	-0.074	-0.095	-0.072	-0.087	-0.050
		0.021	0.023	0.035	0.029	0.035	0.038	0.042	0.028	0.032	0.032	0.037	0.040	0.039	0.038	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.04	
Upstream		-0.089	-0.258	-0.391	-0.353	-0.305	-0.368	-0.293		-0.111	-0.145	-0.212	-0.179	-0.240	-0.208	-0.048
		0.071	0.076	0.099	0.105	0.113	0.113	0.128	0.107	0.107	0.113	0.105	0.132	0.127	0.127	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.04	
Downstream		-0.001	-0.017	-0.028	-0.034	-0.042	-0.042	-0.050		-0.093	-0.065	-0.073	-0.048	-0.016	-0.017	-0.043
		0.030	0.028	0.032	0.041	0.044	0.042	0.041	0.039	0.040	0.044	0.044	0.048	0.045	0.041	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.04	
Own	PB	-0.007	0.004	-0.020	-0.018	-0.017	-0.028	-0.034	PD	0.025	0.032	0.018	-0.004	-0.022	-0.037	0.002
		0.007	0.024	0.024	0.019	0.022	0.026	0.056	0.024	0.030	0.033	0.034	0.040	0.044	0.058	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.00	
Upstream		0.071	-0.018	-0.039	-0.107	-0.113	-0.054	-0.267		-0.237	-0.232	-0.214	-0.205	-0.247	-0.348	-0.327
		0.040	0.080	0.081	0.067	0.079	0.095	0.150	0.119	0.151	0.154	0.154	0.186	0.188	0.221	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.00	
Downstream		-0.015	0.012	-0.015	-0.004	-0.037	-0.046	-0.105		-0.053	-0.057	-0.080	-0.124	-0.138	-0.152	-0.188
		0.010	0.026	0.024	0.022	0.026	0.027	0.043	0.039	0.046	0.048	0.050	0.057	0.063	0.073	
		0.13	0.97	0.24	0.03	0.02	0.10	0.01	0.04	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.00	
Own	FB	-0.017	0.018	-0.049	-0.071	-0.066	-0.093	-0.127	FD	0.009	0.014	-0.002	-0.013	-0.028	-0.034	-0.087
		0.012	0.023	0.021	0.026	0.047	0.043	0.049	0.013	0.021	0.023	0.024	0.026	0.029	0.035	
		0.89	0.25	0.55	0.47	0.71	0.06	0.08	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	
Upstream		0.028	0.033	0.095	0.040	0.060	-0.117	-0.172		-0.111	-0.212	-0.265	-0.280	-0.262	-0.268	-0.264
		0.035	0.064	0.079	0.100	0.159	0.131	0.162	0.049	0.076	0.096	0.109	0.127	0.144	0.139	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	
Downstream		-0.015	0.017	-0.006	-0.030	-0.042	-0.031	0.011		-0.012	-0.020	-0.023	-0.041	-0.043	-0.046	-0.044
		0.012	0.028	0.024	0.032	0.042	0.048	0.053	0.015	0.023	0.029	0.032	0.035	0.038	0.045	
		0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	

Notes: Each block reports the three difference-in-difference estimates from a separate OLS regression of the cumulative percent change in industry employment along the noted margin on the own-, upstream- and downstream-industry NTR gap (see main text). First six columns of each block report results using the LBD, displaying regression results from cumulative changes from one to six years after each of the 1981, 1990 and 2001 peaks. Final column of each block reports estimates across CM decades (see text). PE and PC are plant expansion and contraction within continuing firms. PB and PD are plant birth and plant death within continuing firms. FB and FD are firm birth and death. Coefficients in bold are statistically significant at the 10 percent level. Final row of each panel reports p-value of an F-test of the joint significance of the three difference-in-difference terms. The impact on post-2001 growth implied by these coefficients is displayed in Figure 9 of the main text.

Table A.4: Industry Employment Growth and China's Change in NTR Status, by Year and Gross Margin of Adjustment



Notes: Top and bottom lines trace out U.S. import penetration by China across industries with above- and below-median NTR gaps, respectively. Chinese import penetration in an industry in a given year is defined as imports from China in that industry divided by total imports in that industry from all U.S. trading partners plus domestic production less exports.

Figure A.1: U.S. Manufacturing Import Penetration