INTERNATIONAL TRADE, DISTRIBUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Empirical Studies of Trade Policies

Paul Brenton



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The World Bank, USA



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Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview

More than 25 years ago Robert Baldwin decried the "long-standing lack of interest by economists in trade policy matters". Has this changed? The assertion of this introductory chapter is that empirical analysis of international trade and trade policies is as important as ever. While the theoretical support for the benefits of open trade regimes has been strengthened over time, policymakers remain skeptical that trade liberalization is more than a zero sum game and fail to internalize that openness to trade brings significant benefits to an economy that exceed the costs of adjustment that may be incurred. The chapter then summarises the subsequent collection of papers which have sought to contribute to policy discussions around the impact of trade policies.

Sound empirical analysis is critical for informed and effective trade policy making. This is because trade policies typically have important distributional impacts; of particular concern is how they affect the poor and inequality. Trade policies fundamentally affect the incentives in an economy towards trade-related activities and the allocation of resources across sectors. They also affect long-term growth outcomes and hence the number of jobs in an economy as well as the capacity for certain groups within a country to participate in trade. But too often trade policy discussions and decisions are made by small groups within government using at best limited information on potential economic outcomes and overly influenced by politically well-connected interest groups.

It is important for policymakers and other trade policy stakeholders to have access to relevant and reliable information and analysis on the effects of different trade policies options. Empirical studies can be vital in bringing an important trade policy issue to the attention of policymakers. Certain stakeholders, especially the poor are often sorely under-represented in trade policy deliberations. This is particularly the case for women. In Africa and other regions, women are key participants in trade but their interests are rarely captured by trade officials and political leaders. Analysis that shows the constraints and harassment that women

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face in crossing borders and the costs these impose on their families can elevate discussion of this issue and lead to implementation of simple measures that can facilitate the activities for poor traders.¹

The availability of data will typically frame the type of analysis that can be undertaken. Detailed and comprehensive data can be used to provide careful estimates of changes in welfare for the country as a whole and for key stakeholders. Nevertheless, policymakers can be confronted with important information even in the most challenging environments using rudimentary data. For example, Brulhart and Hoppe (2012) used simple survey methods to discover that if the residents of San Francisco faced the same charges pro rata in crossing the Bay Bridge to Oakland as do residents crossing the Congo River between Kinshasa and Brazzaville, a similar distance, they would pay more than \$1200 for a return trip. As a result passenger traffic at this obvious focal point for cross-border trade between the two Congo's is around five times smaller than that between East and West Berlin in 1988 — well before the dismantling of the Wall!

Empirical trade analysis can provide some support to the process of policy formulation and to ensure that choices are based on better knowledge of underlying realities. Of course, politicians and officials may not act on this information. The assertion of Rodrik (1995) that "no other area of economics displays such a gap between what policymakers practice and what economists preach as does international trade", still has much relevance. This is leading to more emphasis on applied trade analysis that looks carefully at the political environment in which trade policy decisions are made and the incentives affecting the actions of officials. It is only by understanding the politics behind trade policy decisions that we will be able to ascertain why it is often very difficult politically to introduce trade measures that it is believed would raise national welfare and also why particular policies are implemented even though theory and empirical analysis suggest they will reduce national welfare.

The trade policy agenda has become much broader in recent decades reflecting key changes in the global economy and in regional trade and in the data and tools available to trade economists that can now be reflected in empirical trade analysis. First, we are no longer living in a bi-polar trading world dominated by trade between rich countries in Europe and North America and developing countries. The emergence of the BRICS and recent growth in Africa has led to a multi-polar trading world with expanding markets in different locations generating new trade opportunities. So the focus is no longer just on enhancing old established trading relationships but allowing new trade flows to new markets to flourish. In

See for example, Brenton et al. (2012).

many countries in Africa, while important, the challenge is no longer how to add value to commodities and minerals being shipped to rich countries but also how to exploit new opportunities for trade in manufactures, in services as well as agriculture with neighbours and emerging countries in Asia and South America.

Second, the nature of global production and trade has changed throughout the latter part of the last century and has continued into this century. Production processes have been split up and different parts of production relocated around the world. This great unbundling (Baldwin, 2006) necessitates a reappraisal of the role of trade and investment policies and the need to look at competitiveness in a different way. No longer do countries just import and export finished products, for which all of the production stages were undertaken within a strict physical area. Countries now import to produce to be competitive in the domestic market and import to export to integrate into global value chains. At the same time this has exposed workers at all stages of the value-chain, sometimes in sectors or activities that were previously thought to be non-tradable, to competition from the global market. This, in turn, may entail important impacts on particular groups of workers, such as the low-skilled.

Third, is the increasing importance of trade in services. Services are key inputs into all other economic activities and access to a wide variety of efficiently produced services is critical to competitiveness and an additional important factor governing participation in global value chains. Just as one example, more than 83% of the selling price of fresh cut flowers exported from Ethiopia to Europe is accounted by services. Trade opening can be an effective mechanism for increasing competition in services sectors. Competition is essential in order to increase efficiency in the provision of services and improved access to lower priced and better quality services in the domestic market. Also exports of services offer new opportunities to diversify and create jobs. Tourism has been a traditional services export for many developing countries but new opportunities to export are being exploited in finance, telecommunications, and professional services as well as in IT-related services.

While the benefits of liberalizing trade in services are compelling, it can also bring risks and potential costs that may require appropriate government intervention. This arises because of the need to regulate many services sectors to overcome market failures giving rise to concerns about both efficiency and equity. For example, when imports of services through commercial presence are liberalized, it is important that foreign entry leads to more competition and improved service, not merely to a transfer of ownership from a state monopoly to a private one or from a national monopoly to a foreign one. Reforms to establish an appropriate regulatory framework may need to precede the opening up of a particular sector so as to set

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the rules of the game for new investors by establishing appropriate competition and pricing rules for foreign investors in services, defining service and access requirements when relevant, and ensuring adequate oversight and conflict resolution mechanisms. Hence, trade opening may need to be carefully coordinated with regulatory reform.

Fourth, is the changing climate for trade for developing countries, especially those in Africa. Many countries in Africa have grown strongly since 2000 and are enjoying a sustained period of economic growth. This has been driven by increasing exports of commodities and export diversification remains a key objective to drive job creation and more inclusive growth. It is being increasingly recognized that in addition to exploiting opportunities in global markets there is enormous potential to drive export diversification through regional trade integration (Brenton and Isik, 2012). Regional trade can bring staple foods from areas of surplus production across borders to growing urban markets and food deficit rural areas. With rising incomes in Africa there are emerging opportunities for cross-border trade in basic manufactures such as metal and plastic products that are costly to import from the global market. The potential for regional production chains to drive global exports of manufactures, such as those in East Asia, has yet to be exploited, and cross-border trade in services offers untapped opportunities for exports and better access for consumers and firms to services that are cheaper and provide a wider variety than those currently available.

However, Africa is not achieving its potential in regional trade as substantial barriers remain to the free movement of goods, services, people and capital across African borders with the consequence that it is often easier for Africa to trade with the rest of the world than it is with itself. Effective regional integration is of particular pertinence now. While uncertainty surrounds the global economy and stagnation is likely to continue in traditional markets in Europe and North America, enormous opportunities for cross-border trade within Africa in food products, basic manufactures and services remain unexploited. Regional integration in Africa could provide a much-needed source of export diversification away from minerals and hydrocarbons and a vital source of job creation.

But to deliver integrated regional markets that will attract investment in agroprocessing, manufacturing and new services activities, policymakers have to move beyond simply signing agreements that reduce tariffs to drive a more holistic process to deeper regional integration. An approach is needed that: reforms policies that create non-tariff barriers; puts in place appropriate regulations that allow crossborder movement of services suppliers; delivers competitive regionally integrated services markets; and builds the institutions that are necessary to allow small producers and traders to access open regional markets. The appropriate metric for successful integration is not the extent of tariff preferences but rather reductions in the level of transaction costs that limit the capacity of Africans to move, invest in, and trade goods and services across their borders.

This is a different approach to one that proceeds within the straightjacket of specific sequential steps to integration: free trade area, customs union, common market, and economic and monetary union. For example, there are enormous opportunities from trade in services in Africa that are not dependent on a common external tariff being in place. Countries can work to improve trade facilitation at the border and to remove non-tariff barriers with neighbors while free trade agreements are being designed and implemented. Countries that are not members of the same free trade agreements can work to disseminate information on market prices to producers and traders.

Finally, it has become apparent that successful export growth and diversification require not only entry into exporting but survival and subsequent growth. Evidence suggests that developing countries have much lower survival rates for new exports than do rich countries. As a result, more attention needs to be given to the factors that undermine the survival of trade flows including uncertainty (of producers over costs, of buyers over the quality of product they will receive, of both buyers and sellers when contracts are weakly enforced) and lack of information that prevents effective matches between buyers and sellers in international markets. An interesting finding from initial analysis is the importance of learning-by-doing for export survival: experience with exporting the same product to other markets or different products to the same market are found to strongly increase the chance of export survival. A better understanding of such learning effects could substantially improve the effectiveness of export promotion strategies.

Section 1: Modelling the Impacts of Trade Barriers and FDI Flows

The first section of the volume contains a set of papers that have sought to apply appropriate empirical techniques to available data to contribute to dialogue around a range of trade policy issues. The first two chapters of this section focus on a detailed case study of trade policy barriers in the UK footwear sector undertaken under the leadership of Alan Winters in the late 1980s and early 1990s. At that time footwear was typical of a manufacturing sector in high income countries under pressure from imports from developing countries in East Asia for which policymakers granted additional protection beyond tariffs in the form of quantitative restrictions. The particular non-tariff barrier analysed in these papers is voluntary export restraints (VER), a quantitative restriction imposed by a government to limit the quantity of