Recent U.S. Trade Patterns (2000-9)


World Trade 1929 versus 2009


## Why Do Countries Trade?

$\square$ Theories of why trade occurs can be grouped into three categories:
$\square$ Market size and distance between markets determine how much countries buy and sell. These transactions benefit both buyers and sellers.
$\square$ Differences in labor, physical capital, natural resources and technology create productive advantages for countries.
$\square$ Economies of scale (larger is more efficient) create productive advantages for countries.
k. oominguez, Whener 2010

## Why Do Countries Trade?

$\square$ The Ricardian model says differences in productivity of labor between countries cause productive differences, leading to gains from trade.

- Differences in productivity are usually explained by differences in technology.
$\square$ The Heckscher-Ohlin model says differences in labor, labor skills, physical capital and land between countries cause productive differences, leading to gains from trade.

Comparative Advantage and Opportunity Cost
$\square$ David Ricardo, The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, (first published in 1817)
$\square$ The Ricardian model uses the concepts of opportunity cost and comparative advantage.
$\square$ The opportunity cost of producing something measures the cost of not being able to produce something else.

## Comparative Advantage

and Opportunity Cost (cont.)
$\square$ A country has a comparative advantage in producing a good if the opportunity cost of producing that good is lower in the country than it is in other countries.
$\square$ A country with a comparative advantage in producing a good uses its resources most efficiently when it produces that good compared to producing other goods.

## A One Factor Ricardian Model (cont.)

1. Labor is the only resource important for production.
2. Labor productivity varies across countries, usually due to differences in technology, but labor productivity in each country is constant across time.
3. The supply of labor in each country is constant.
4. Only two goods are important for production and consumption: wine and cheese. (And these goods are homogeneous.)
5. Competition allows laborers to be paid a "competitive" wage, a function of their productivity and the price of the good that they can sell, and allows laborers to work externalities in production and barriers to trade.)
6. Only two countries are modeled: domestic and foreign.

Comparative Advantage and Opportunity Cost (cont.)
$\square$ A country faces opportunity costs when it employs resources to produce goods and services.
$\square$ For example, a limited number of workers could be employed to produce either bicycles or computers.

- The opportunity cost of producing computers is the amount of bicycles not produced.
- The opportunity cost of producing bicycles is the amount of computers not produced.
- A country faces a trade off: how many computers or bicycles should it produce with the limited resources that it has? k. Dominguez, winter 2010


## A One Factor Ricardian Model

$\square$ The simple example with bicycles and computers explains the intuition behind the Ricardian model.
$\square$ We formalize these ideas by constructing a slightly more complex one factor Ricardian model using the following simplifying assumptions:

Some Policy Questions to Keep in Mind During This Discussion

- Is free trade beneficial if your country is not strong enough to stand up to foreign competition?
- Is foreign competition that is based on low wages unfair to the home country?
$\square$ If after trade home workers receive lower wages than workers in other nations, then is trade exploitative (making the country worse off)?


## A One Factor Ricardian Model (cont.)

$\square$ Because labor productivity is constant, define a unit labor requirement as the constant number of hours of labor required to produce one unit of output.

- $a_{L w}$ is the unit labor requirement for wine in the domestic country. For example, if $a_{L w}=2$, then it takes 2 hours of labor to produce one liter of wine in the domestic country.
- $a_{L C}$ is the unit labor requirement for cheese in the domestic country. For example, if $a_{L C}=1$, then it takes 1 hour of labor to produce one kg of cheese in the domestic country.
- A high unit labor requirement means low labor productivity.


## Production Possibilities

$\square$ The production possibility frontier (PPF) of an economy shows the maximum amount of a goods that can be produced for a fixed amount of resources.
$\square$ If $Q_{C}$ represents the quantity of cheese produced and $Q_{w}$ represents the quantity of wine produced, then the production possibility frontier of the domestic economy has the equation:

${ }^{15}$

A One Factor Ricardian Model (cont.)
$\square$ Because the supply of labor is constant, denote the total number of labor hours worked in the domestic country as a constant number $L$.

## Production Possibilities (cont.)



## Production Possibilities (cont.)

$$
a_{L C} Q_{C}+a_{L W} Q_{W}=L
$$

- $Q_{C}=L / a_{L C}$ when $Q_{W}=0$
$Q_{w}=L / a_{L w}$ when $Q_{C}=0$
$Q_{w}=L / a_{L W}-\left(a_{L C} / a_{L w}\right) Q_{C}$ : the equation for the PPF, with a slope equal to - $\left(a_{L C} / a_{L W}\right)$
- When the economy uses all of its resources, the opportunity cost of cheese production is the quantity of wine that is given up (reduced) as $Q_{C}$ increases: ( $a_{L C} / a_{L W}$ )
When the economy uses all of its resources, the opportunity cost is equal to the absolute value of the slope of the PPF, and it is constant when the PPF is a straight line.


## Production Possibilities (cont.)

$\square$ To produce an additional kg of cheese requires $a_{L C}$ hours of work.

- Each hour devoted to cheese production could have been used to produce a certain amount of wine instead, equal to
1 hour/( $a_{L w}$ hours/liter of wine)
$=\left(1 / a_{L w}\right)$ liter of wine
- For example, if 1 hour is moved to cheese production, that additional hour of labor could have produced 1 hour/(2 hours/liter of wine) $=1 / 2$ liter of wine.
$\square$ The trade-off is the increased amount of cheese relative to the decreased amount of wine: $a_{L C} / a_{L w}$.


## Production Possibilities (cont.)

$\square$ In general, the amount of the domestic economy's production is defined by $a_{L C} Q_{C}+a_{L W} Q_{W} \leq L$
$\square$ This describes what an economy can produce, but to determine what the economy does produce, we must determine the prices of goods.

## Production, Prices and Wages

Let $P_{C}$ be the price of cheese and $P_{W}$ be the price of wine.
$\square$ Because of competition,

- hourly wages of cheese makers are equal to the market value of the cheese produced in an hour: $P_{c} / a_{\llcorner C}$
- hourly wages of wine makers are equal to the market value of the wine produced in an hour: $P_{w} / a_{L w}$
$\square$ Because workers like high wages, they will work in the industry that pays a higher hourly wage.


## Production, Prices and Wages (cont.)

- If $P_{C} / a_{L C}>P_{w} / a_{L W}$ workers will make only cheese.
- If $P_{C} / P_{W}>a_{L C} / a_{L W}$ workers will only make cheese.
- The economy will specialize in cheese production if the price of cheese relative to the price of wine exceeds the opportunity cost of producing cheese.
- If $P_{C} / a_{L C}<P_{W} / a_{L W}$ workers will make only wine.
- If $P_{C} / P_{w}<a_{L C} / a_{L W}$ workers will only make wine.
- If $P_{W} / P_{C}>a_{L W} / a_{L C}$ workers will only make wine.
- The economy will specialize in wine production if the price of wine relative to the price of cheese exceeds the opportunity cost of producing wine.
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## Trade in the Ricardian Model

$\square$ Suppose that the domestic country has a comparative advantage in cheese production: its opportunity cost of producing cheese is lower than it is in the foreign country.

$$
a_{L C} / a_{L W}<a_{L C}^{*} / a_{L W}^{*}
$$

When the domestic country increases cheese production, it reduces wine production less than the foreign country does because the domestic unit labor requirement of cheese production is low compared to that of wine production

- where "*" notates foreign country variables


## Trade in the Ricardian Model (cont.)

- Suppose the domestic country is more efficient in wine and cheese production.
$\square$ It has an absolute advantage in all production: its unit labor requirements for wine and cheese production are lower than those in the foreign country:
- $a_{L C}<a^{*}{ }_{L C}$ and $a_{L W}<a_{L W}^{*}$
$\square$ A country can be more efficient in producing both goods, but it will have a comparative advantage in only one good-the good that uses resources most efficiently compared to alternative production.



## Trade in the Ricardian Model (cont.)

$\square$ Even if a country is the most (or least) efficient producer of all goods, it still can benefit from trade.
$\square$ To see how all countries can benefit from trade, we calculate relative prices when trade exists.

- Without trade, relative price of a good equals the opportunity cost of producing that good.
$\square$ To calculate relative prices with trade, we first calculate relative quantities of world production:

$$
\left(Q_{c}+Q^{*}{ }_{c}\right) /\left(Q_{w}+Q^{*}{ }_{w}\right)
$$

## Relative Supply and Relative Demand

Relative Supply and Relative Demand (cont.)
Next we consider relative supply of cheese: the quantity of cheese supplied by all countries relative to the quantity of wine supplied by all countries at each relative price of cheese, $P_{c} / P_{w}$.


## Relative Supply and Relative Demand (cont.)

There is no supply of cheese if the relative price of cheese falls below $a_{L C} / a_{L W}$.

- Why? because the domestic country will specialize in wine production whenever $P_{C} / P_{w}<a_{L C} / a_{L w}$
- And we assumed that $a_{L C} / a_{L w}<a^{*}{ }_{L C} / a^{*}{ }_{L W}$ so foreign workers won't find it desirable to produce cheese either.
When $P_{C} / P_{w}=a_{L C} / a_{L W}$, domestic workers will be indifferent between producing wine or cheese, but foreign workers will still produce only wine.


## Relative Supply and Relative Demand (cont.)

$\square$ When $a^{*}{ }_{L C} / a^{*}{ }_{L W}>P_{c} / P_{W}>a_{L C} / a_{L W}$, domestic workers specialize in cheese production because they can earn higher wages, but foreign workers will still produce only wine.

When $a^{*}{ }_{L C} / a^{*}{ }_{L W}=P_{C} / P_{w}$, foreign workers will be indifferent between producing wine or cheese, but domestic workers will still produce only cheese.
$\square$ There is no supply of wine if the relative price of cheese rises above $a^{*}{ }_{L C} / a^{*}{ }_{L W}$

Relative Supply and Relative Demand (cont.)

## Relative Supply

and Relative Demand (cont.)


## Gains From Trade (cont.)

- Foreign workers earn a higher income from wine production because the relative price of cheese decreases with trade (making cheese cheaper) and the relative price of wine increases with trade.


## Gains From Trade (cont.)

- Think of trade as an indirect method of production or a new technology that converts cheese into wine or vice versa.
Without the technology, a country has to allocate resources to produce all of the goods that it wants to consume.
With the technology, a country can specialize its production and trade ("convert") the products for the goods that it wants to consume.


## Gains From Trade (cont.)



## A Numerical Example

| Unit labor requirements for domestic and <br> foreign countries |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Cheese | Wine |
| Domestic | $a_{L C}=1$ hour/kg | $a_{L W}=2$ hours $/ L$ |
| Foreign | $a_{L C}^{*}=6$ hours $/ \mathrm{kg}$ | $a_{L W}^{*}=3$ hours $/ \mathrm{L}$ |

$\square a_{L C} / a_{L W}=1 / 2<a^{*}{ }_{L C} / a^{*}{ }_{L W}=2$

## A Numerical Example (cont.)

- With trade, the equilibrium relative price of cheese must be between $a_{L C} / a_{L W}=1 / 2$ and $a^{*}{ }_{L C} / a^{*}{ }_{L W}=2$
$\square$ Suppose that $P_{C} / P_{w}=1$ in equilibrium.
- In words, one kg of cheese trades for one liter of wine.


## A Numerical Example (cont.)

- If the domestic country does not trade, it can use one hour of labor to produce $1 / a_{L W}=\underline{1 / 2}$ liter of wine.
- If the domestic country does trade, it can use one hour of labor to produce $1 / a_{L C}=1 \mathrm{~kg}$ of cheese, sell this amount to the foreign country at current prices to obtain $\underline{1}$ liter of wine.
- If the foreign country does not trade, it can use one hour of labor to produce $1 / a^{*}{ }_{L C}=1 / 6 \mathrm{~kg}$ of cheese.
- If the foreign country does trade, it can use one hour of labor to produce $1 / a^{*}{ }_{L W}=1 / 3$ liter of wine, sell this amount to the domestic country at current prices to obtain $\mathbf{1 / 3} \mathbf{~ k g}$ of cheese.
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## Relative Wages

Relative wages are the wages of the domestic country relative to the wages in the foreign country.

Although the Ricardian model predicts that relative prices equalize across countries after trade (this is sometimes termed "purchasing power parity"), it does not predict that relative wages will do the same.
Productivity (technological) differences determine wage differences in the Ricardian model.

- A country with absolute advantage in producing a good will enjoy a higher wage in that industry after trade.
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## Relative Wages (cont.)

$\square$ The relative wage lies between the ratio of the productivities in each industry.

- The domestic country is $6 / 1=6$ times as productive in cheese production, but only $3 / 2=1.5$ times as productive in wine production.
- The domestic country has a wage rate 3 times as high as that in the foreign country.
$\square$ These relationships imply that both countries have a cost advantage in production.
- The cost of high wages can be offset by high productivity.
- The cost of low productivity can be offset by low wages.


## Do Wages Reflect Productivity?

$\square$ In the Ricardian model, relative wages reflect relative productivities of the two countries.
$\square$ Is this an accurate assumption?
$\square$ Some argue that low wage countries pay low wages despite growing productivity, putting high wage countries at a cost disadvantage.
$\square$ But evidence shows that low wages are associated with low productivity.

Do Wages Reflect Productivity? (cont.)


## Misconceptions About <br> Comparative Advantage

Free trade is beneficial only if a country is more productive than foreign countries.

- But even an unproductive country benefits from free trade by avoiding the high costs for goods that it would otherwise have to produce domestically.
- High costs derive from inefficient use of resources.
- The benefits of free trade do not depend on absolute advantage, rather they depend on comparative advantage: specializing in industries that use resources most efficiently

However, there is evidence that average wages are falling in the rich countries (G10)

## Do Wages Reflect Productivity? (cont.)

$\square$ Other evidence shows that wages rise as productivity rises.

- In 2000, South Korea's labor productivity was $35 \%$ of the US level and its average wages were about $38 \%$ of US average wages.
- After the Korean War, South Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, and its labor productivity was very low. In 1975, average wages in South Korea were still only 5\% of US average wages.


## Misconceptions About Comparative Advantage (cont.)

Free trade with countries that pay low wages hurts high wage countries.

- While trade may reduce wages for some workers thereby affecting the distribution of income within a country, trade benefits consumers and other workers.
- Consumers benefit because they can purchase goods more cheaply (more wine in exchange for cheese)
- Producers/workers benefit by earning a higher income (by using resources more efficiently and through higher prices/wages)


## Misconceptions About <br> Comparative Advantage (cont.)

Free trade exploits less productive countries.

- While labor standards in some countries are less than exemplary compared to Western standards, they are so with or without trade.
- Are high wages and safe labor practices alternatives to trade? Deeper poverty and exploitation may result without export production.
- Consumers benefit from free trade by having access to cheaply (efficiently) produced goods.
- Producers/workers benefit from having higher profits/wages-higher compared to the alternative.


## Comparative Advantage With Many Goods

$\square$ Suppose now there are $N$ goods produced, indexed by $i=1,2, \ldots N$.
$\square$ The domestic country's unit labor requirement for good $i$ is $a_{L i}$, and that of the foreign country is $a^{*}{ }_{L i}$

## Comparative Advantage <br> With Many Goods (cont.)

$\square$ Goods will be produced wherever it is cheaper to produce them.
$\square$ Let $w$ represent the wage rate in the domestic country and $w^{*}$ represent the wage rate in the foreign country.

- If $w a_{L 1}<w^{*} a^{*}{ }_{L 1}$ then only the domestic country will produce good 1 , since total wage payments are less there.
- Or equivalently, if $a_{L 1}^{*} / a_{L 1}>w / w^{*}$
- If the relative productivity of a country in producing a good is higher than the relative wage, then the good will be produced in that country.

Comparative Advantage
With Many Goods (cont.)
$\square$ If $w / w^{*}=3$, the domestic country will produce apples, bananas, and caviar, while the foreign country will produce dates and enchiladas.

- The relative productivities of the domestic country in producing apples, bananas and caviar are higher than the relative wage.


## Comparative Advantage <br> With Many Goods (cont.)

## Comparative Advantage <br> With Many Goods (cont.)

- If each country specializes in goods that use resources productively and trades the products for those that it wants to consume, then each benefits.
- If a country tries to produce all goods for itself, resources are "wasted".
$\square$ The domestic country has high productivity in apples, bananas, and caviar that give it a cost advantage, despite its high wage.
$\square$ The foreign country has low wages that give it a cost advantage, despite its low productivity in dates.
$\square$ How is the relative wage determined?
$\square$ By the relative supply and relative (derived) demand for labor services.
- The relative (derived) demand for domestic labor services falls when $w / w^{*}$ rises. As domestic labor becomes more expensive relative to foreign labor,
- goods produced in the domestic country become more expensive, and demand for these goods and the labor to produce them falls
- fewer goods will be produced in the domestic country, further reducing the demand for domestic labor.

Comparative Advantage
With Many Goods (cont.)


Comparative Advantage
With Many Goods (cont.)


## Comparative Advantage <br> With Many Goods (cont.)



## Comparative Advantage

With Many Goods (cont.)

- Suppose $w / w^{*}$ increases from 3 to 3.99:
- The domestic country would produce apples, bananas and caviar, but the demand for these goods and the labor to produce them falls as the relative wage rises.
$\square$ Suppose $w / w^{*}$ increases from 3.99 to 4.01 :
- Caviar is now too expensive to produce in the domestic country, so the caviar industry moves to the foreign country, causing a discrete (abrupt) drop in the demand for
domestic labor.
- Consider similar effects as $w / w^{*}$ rises from 0.75 to 10 .

Comparative Advantage
With Many Goods (cont.)
$\square$ Finally, suppose that relative supply of labor is independent of $w / w^{*}$ and is fixed at an amount determined by the populations in the domestic and foreign countries.

## Transportation Costs and Non-traded Goods

- The Ricardian model predicts that countries should completely specialize in production.
$\square$ But this rarely happens for primarily 3 reasons:

1. More than one factor of production reduces the tendency of specialization
2. Protectionism
3. Transportation costs reduce or prevent trade, which may cause each country to produce the same good or service

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Transportation Costs
and Non-traded Goods (cont.)
$\square$ Non-traded goods and services (e.g., haircuts and auto repairs) exist due to high transportation costs.

- Countries tend to spend a large fraction of national income on non-traded goods and services.
- This fact has implications for the gravity model and for models that consider how income transfers across countries affect trade.


## Empirical Evidence (cont.)

Figure 3-6
Productivity and Exports
A comparative study showed that U.S. exports were high relative to Brtaish
exports in induutries in which the United States had high relative labor productivity, Each dot ropresentss a dif. ferent industry.

## Empirical Evidence

$\square$ Do countries export those goods in which their productivity is relatively high?
$\square$ The ratio of US to British exports in 1951 compared to the ratio of US to British labor productivity in 26 manufacturing industries suggests yes.
$\square$ At this time the US had an absolute advantage in all 26 industries, yet the ratio of exports was low in the least productive sectors of the US.

## Summary

A country has a comparative advantage in producing a good if the opportunity cost of producing that good is lower in the country than it is in other countries.

- A country with a comparative advantage in producing a good uses its resources most efficiently when it produces that good compared to producing other goods.

2. The Ricardian model focuses only on differences in the productivity of labor across countries, and it explains gains from trade using the concept of comparative advantage.

## Summary (cont.)

Although empirical evidence supports trade based on comparative advantage, transportation costs and other factors prevent complete specialization in production.

