# The Great Trade Collapse of 2008 and its Subsequent Recovery

Meredith A. Crowley
Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago\*
prepared for the
Annual Meeting of the International Trade Association of Greater Chicago
January 19, 2011

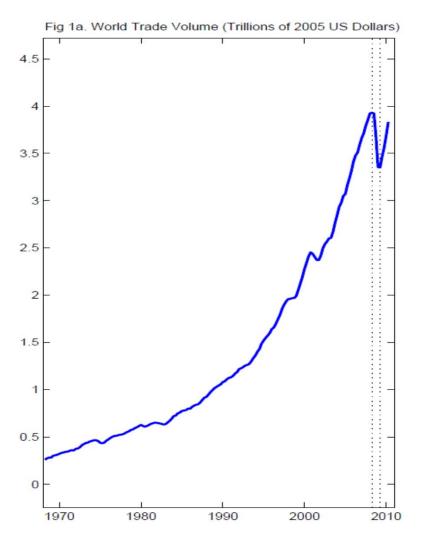
\*This presentation is based on a forthcoming article with Xi Luo prepared for *Economic Perspectives*. The opinions expressed in this presentation are my own and not necessarily those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago or the Federal Reserve System.

#### Questions

- 1. What is the Great Trade Collapse of 2008? How has the trade recovery progressed so far?
- 2. What were the causes of the Great Trade Collapse?
- 3. What conclusions have economists drawn so far about the quantitative importance of different factors behind the collapse and recovery?

Figure 1: The Great Collapse in World Trade 2008q2 – 2009q2

World Trade in Good & Services (X + M)/2



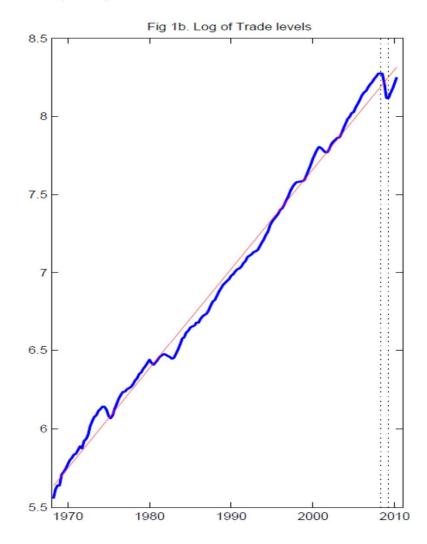


Figure 2: The Great Collapse in US Trade 2008q2 – 2009q2

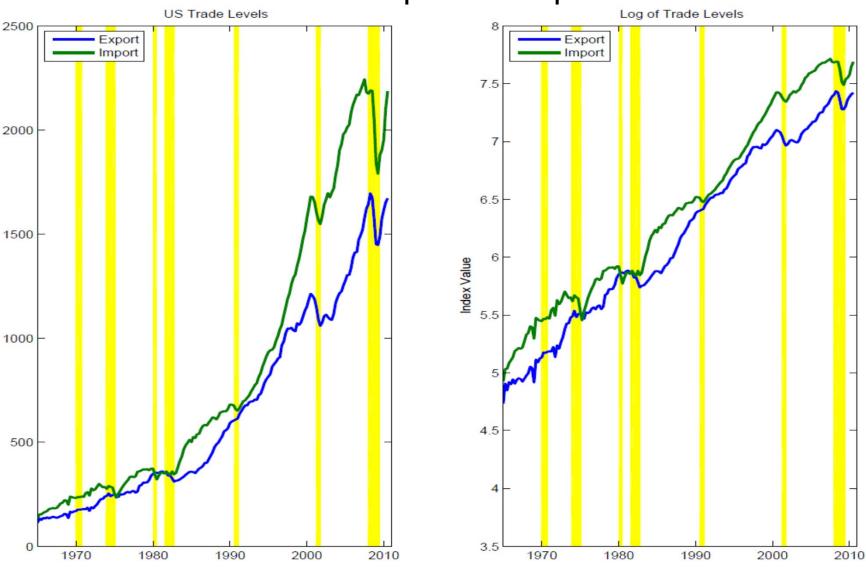


Figure 3: Contractions and Recoveries of US and World Trade

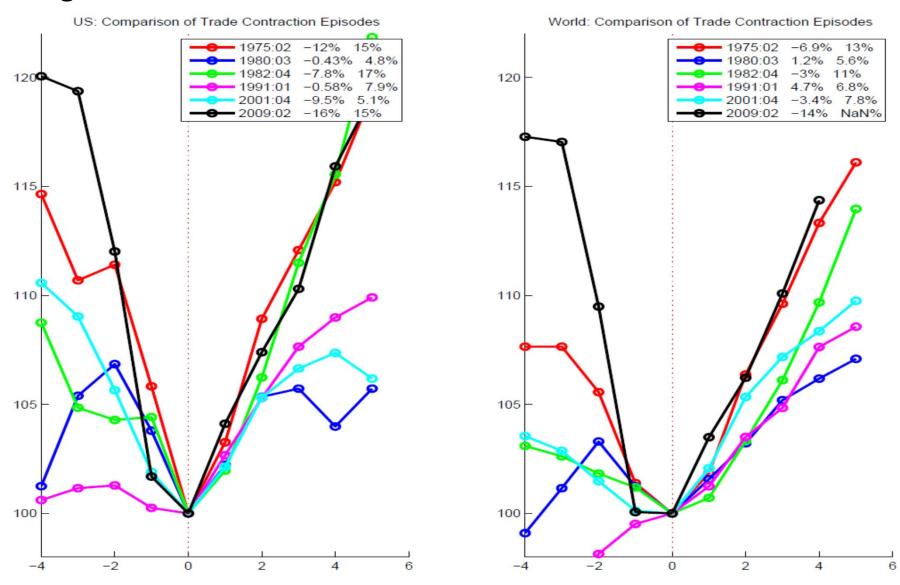
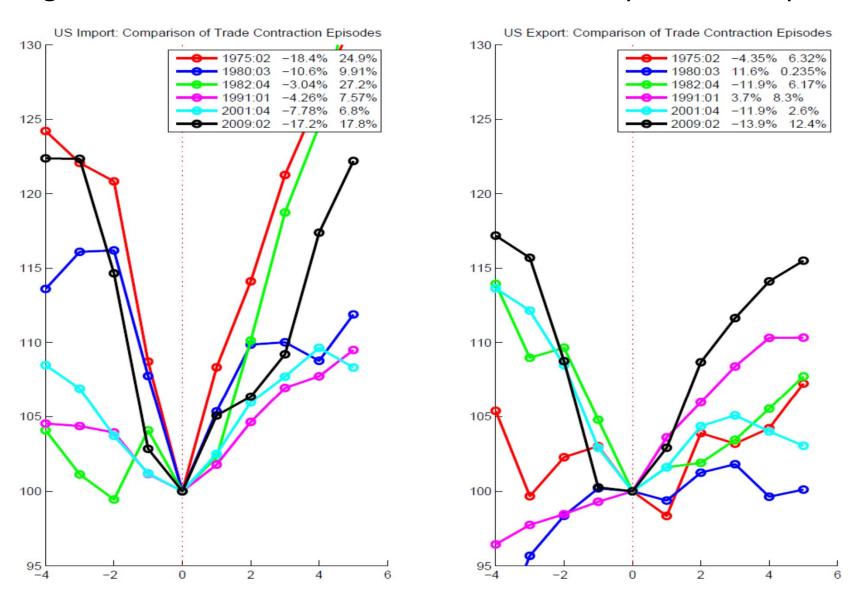
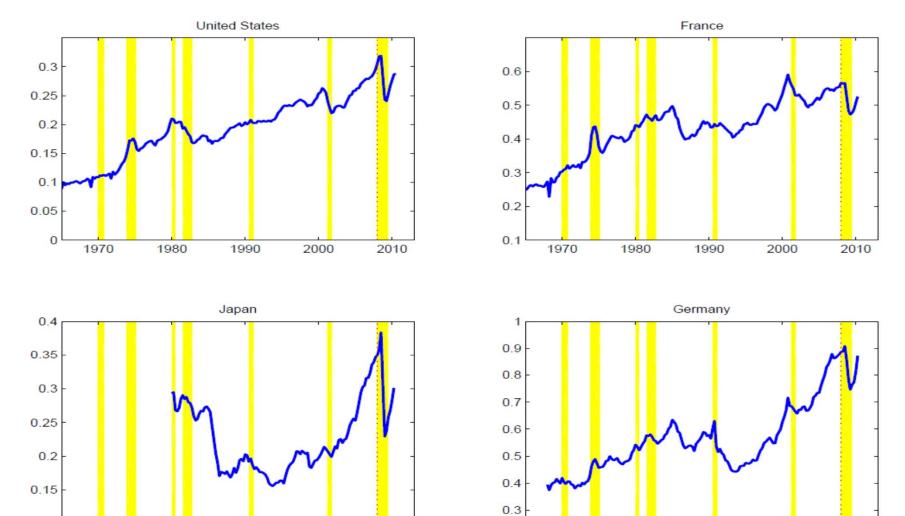


Figure 4: Contractions and Recoveries of US Imports and Exports



#### Figure 5: Trade to GDP Ratios

Trade to GDP Ratio (X + M)/Y



0.1

Figure 6: The Decline in Trade vs. GDP 2008Q2 to 2009Q2

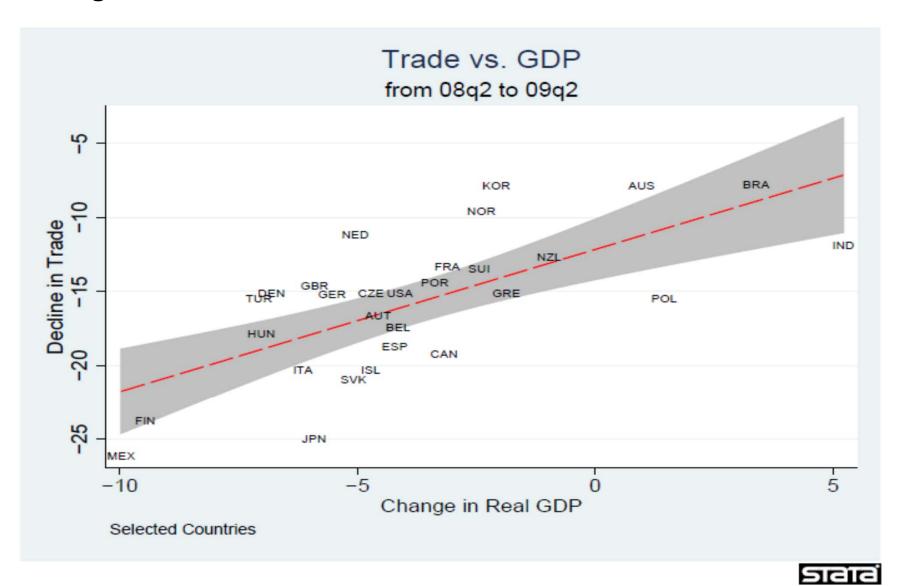
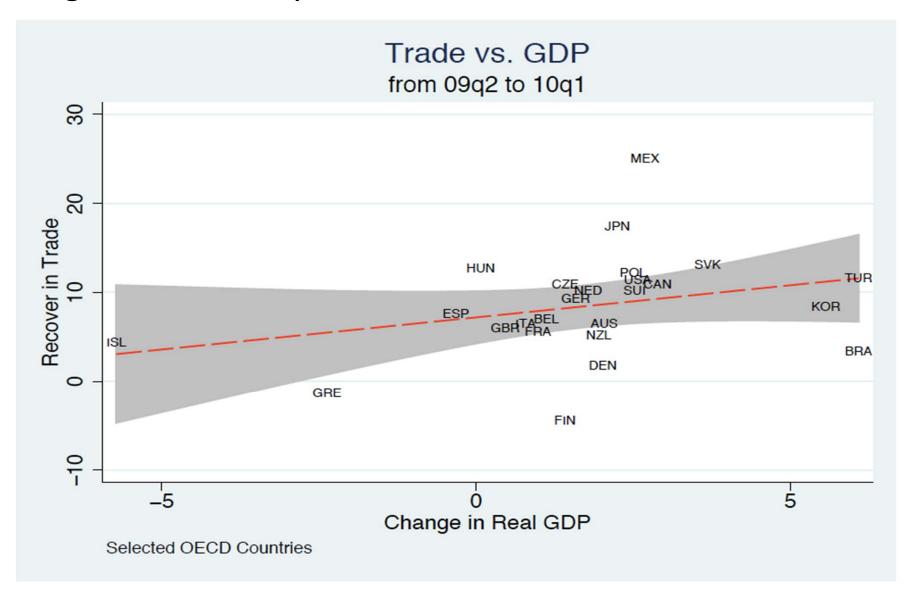


Figure 7: Recovery in Trade and GDP 2009Q2 to 2010Q1



#### What we learned from the data

- The trade collapse was severe and steep.
- Trade fell more than GDP
- The trade collapse was highly synchronized across countries

## What caused the sharp decline in world trade? Some hypotheses...

#### 1. Demand-side explanations

- Reduced income led to reduced demand for all goods
- Disintegration of vertical supply chains?
- Compositional differences between imports and income?

#### 2. Supply-side explanations

- Increases in costs associated with exporting.
- Difficulties in obtaining trade financing during the financial crisis?
- An increase in trade protection?

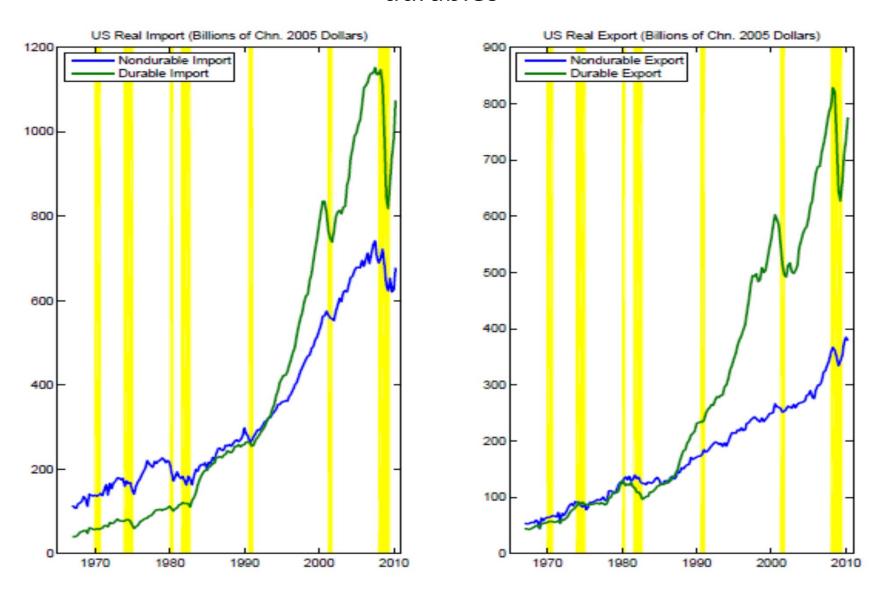
#### Is it surprising that trade collapsed?

Cumulative decline in US real GDP 2008Q2 to 2009Q2: 4.1%

Cumulative decline in US real imports 2008Q2 to 2009Q2: 18.3%

| Authors                                  | Sample period | Import elasticity<br>w.r.t. income | Predicted decline in imports | Predicted decline/Actual decline in imports |
|--|---------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Houthakker and<br>Magee (1969)           | 1951-66       | 1.51                               | 6.2%                         | 0.34  |
| Hooper, Johnson<br>and Marquez<br>(2000) | 1961-94       | 1.79                               | 7.3                          | 0.40  |
| Chinn (2004)                             | 1975-2003     | 2.29                               | 9.4                          | 0.51  |
| Cardarelli and<br>Rebucci (2007)         | 1972-2006     | 2.03                               | 8.3                          | 0.45  |
| Crane, Crowley<br>and Quayyum<br>(2007)  | 1960-2006     | 1.93                               | 7.9                          | 0.43  |

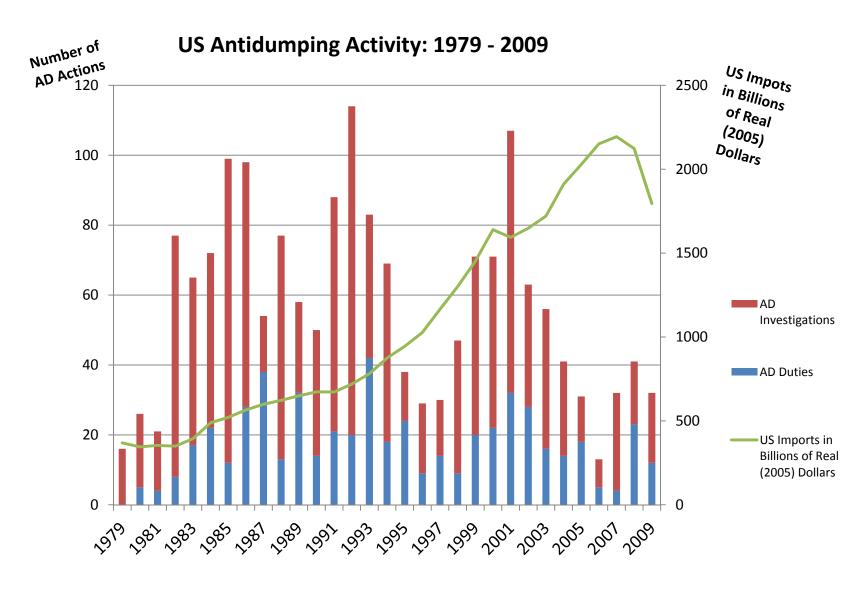
Figure 10: US imports and exports of durables and nondurables



### How significant was trade finance as a cause of the collapse? Different types of "trade finance"

- Payment methods for international trade
  - 80-85% of world trade takes place on an "open account" payment is made after goods are received
  - 15-20% of world trade financed through "letters of credit" or "documentary collections" the buyer's bank makes payment after document verification
- Insurance for international trade
  - 9% of world trade was insured with export credit insurance insurance that pays out in the event of non-payment by the foreign buyer - in 2008
- Working capital loans
  - Long lags between shipment of goods and payment receipt (30-90 days longer than domestic transactions) mean that working capital loans are important to exporters.
- Trade credit
  - In some sectors, the seller to extends credit directly to the buyer.

#### How significant was rising trade protection to the collapse?



#### Recent Research on the Great Trade Collapse

- 1. Levchenko, Lewis and Tesar (2009)
- 2. Eaton, Kortum, Neiman and Romalis (2010)
- 3. Chor and Manova (2010)
- 4. Alessandria, Kaboski, and Midrigan (2010)

#### Levchenko, Lewis and Tesar (2009)

- 1. How important was declining aggregate demand in explaining the collapse in the US?
  - "Trade wedge" analysis of macro data
- 2. Other explanations for the trade collapse
  - Cross-sectional industry analysis of
    - Vertical linkages
    - Financial constraints
    - Differences in composition of trade v. domestic demand

#### Levchenko, Lewis and Tesar (2009) "Trade wedge" analysis

 Changes in relative prices and aggregate demand explain only 60% of the decline in imports for the US

| Country                       | Trade wedge = log deviation |  |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| US                            | -40%                        |  |
| Japan                         | -60%                        |  |
| Germany, France, Italy        | -25%                        |  |
| Korea, Turkey, Czech Republic | -20 to -30 %                |  |

#### Levchenko, Lewis and Tesar (2009) Results from cross-sectional industry analysis

- 1. Vertical linkages: goods that are used intensively as intermediates experienced larger percentage drops in imports and exports.
- 2. Trade credit: sectors which extend (high accounts payable/cost of goods sold) or which use (high accounts receivable/sales) trade credit more intensively did NOT experience differential changes in trade flows.
- 3. Composition: cross-sectionally, imports and exports contracted more in sectors in which US industrial production contracted more. Imports in durable sectors contracted 9.2 percentage points more than non-durable sectors.

#### Eaton, Kortum, Neiman, Romalis (2010) A "wedge" analysis of global trade flows

- Merge a gravity model of trade with a 3 sector model of production in order to decompose the collapse in world trade into constituent causes.
  - demand shocks
  - trade deficit shocks
  - productivity shocks
  - trade friction shocks
- Important features:
  - A general equilibrium model of 23 countries
  - 3 sectors: durable manufacturing, non-durable manufacturing and non-manufacturing.
  - A detailed input-output structure for each country

#### Eaton, Kortum, Neiman, Romalis (2010)

#### Findings:

- 1. A decrease in demand for manufactures explains 80% of the decline in the global trade/GDP ratio.
  - Decreased demand for durables explains 65% of the decline in the trade/GDP ratio.
- 2. Increases in trade frictions (difficulties with trade finance and rising trade protection) reduced trade in China and Japan but had little or no impact on other countries.

#### Chor and Manova (2010)

How did tight credit affect trade volumes?

- 1. Did countries with higher borrowing costs export less to the US during the crisis?
  - Exploit cross-country and inter-temporal variation in the interbank rate and monthly exports to the US
- 2. Did sectors that are more reliant on financing export less to the US during the crisis?
  - Exploit cross-sector dependence on financing and inter-temporal changes in the interbank rate

#### Chor and Manova (2010)

In a cross-country analysis, Chor and Manova find...

- a 1% increase in the cost of bank financing is associated with a 16% fall in that country's exports to the US
- After controlling for exporting-country industrial production, the effect of the interbank rate on exports is not significant.

In a cross-country, cross-sector analysis, Chor and Manova find...

- Sectors reliant on external finance had a slightly weaker export.
- Sectors with lots of tangible assets exported more.
- Sectors that regularly receive credit from buyers did relatively better during the crisis.

#### Alessandria, Koboski and Midrigan (2010)

- What role did inventory investment play in the Great Trade Collapse?
- When a firm's inventory to sales ratio rises during a recession, the firm will cut back on its inventory investment. If the transaction costs associated with imported inventories are higher than domesticallyproduced inventories, we could observe a dramatic decline in imports similar to that observed during the Great Trade Collapse.

#### Conclusions

- 1. The consensus among economists seems to be that the leading cause of the Great Trade Collapse was a general fall in global demand. Most of the action occurred in the durables sectors.
- 2. There is some evidence that difficultly in obtaining trade financing was a contributing factor to the Great Trade Collapse.
- 3. The quantitative analyses of the Great Trade Collapse suggest that we should observe a dramatic increase in trade a Great Trade Recovery that outpaces the growth of GDP.