International Trade in Services

International trade in services refers to a wide and growing range of economic activities. These activities include transport, tourism, financial services, use of intellectual property, telecommunications and information services, government services, and other professional services, from accounting to legal services. In 2020, services accounted for 82% of total U.S. private employment and 69% of U.S. gross domestic product (GDP). Trade in services, including as inputs to other traded products, can have a broad impact across the U.S. economy. The United States is the world’s leading services exporter and importer. The United States continues to negotiate trade agreements both bilaterally and multilaterally in the World Trade Organization (WTO) to lower behind the border barriers that limit U.S. services exports.

Role of Services in the Economy

Rapid advances in information and communications technology (ICT) and the related growth of global value chains (GVCs) are making an expanding range of services tradable across national borders. Many services require direct contact between the supplier and consumer and, therefore, service providers often face a need to establish a presence in the country of the consumer through foreign direct investment (FDI). To account for the variety in how services are traded, WTO members defined a system for classifying four modes of delivery for services, based on the location of the service supplier and the consumer, taking into account their respective nationalities:

- Mode 1: Cross-border Supply (consumer and service supplier located in their respective countries)
- Mode 2: Consumption Abroad (consumer travels)
- Mode 3: Commercial Presence in another country (FDI)
- Mode 4: Presence of Natural Persons (service supplier travels)

Measurements of trade in services are captured in two types of data: cross-border trade (sold via Modes 1, 2, and 4) and services sold by a local affiliate of a foreign company to a consumer of the local economy (Mode 3). The United States has continually realized surpluses in cross-border services trade, which have partially offset large deficits in goods trade (Figure 1). U.S. foreign affiliate trade generates greater revenue than cross-border trade and most of the revenue is from Europe (see Figure 2).

Digital Economy and Services Trade

Cross-border services are often provided online or on the telephone. These services are considered ICT-enabled or potentially ICT-enabled (PICTE) services, and include an array of services, such as insurance and financial services; customer service; and business services like research, consulting, and engineering. ICT-enabled and PICTE services accounted for 86% of U.S. cross-border services exports (and 77% of imports) in 2020, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce.

GVCs divide production processes into discrete stages located around the world and their growth has heightened the interdependence and interconnectedness of the global economy. These networks have also expanded and redefined the role that services play in international trade. Traditional data may understate the role of U.S. services because trade statistics measure goods based on the value of the final product, and not on a value-added basis. Therefore, conventional data does not attribute any portion of the traded value of manufactured and agricultural products to services inputs, such as research and development, design, transportation costs, marketing, and finance.

Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic

When the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic hit, the top U.S. cross-border services export, travel, declined sharply as countries implemented lockdowns and other restrictions. The WTO noted that global trade in services was down 9% year-over-year in Q1 2021, driven by declines in travel and transport. In contrast, ICT-enabled and PICTE services, such as online retail and telecommunications, saw gains as consumers stayed home.
Overall, U.S. services imports and exports in 2020 fell 21% year-over-year, compared to 2019.

**Barriers to Trade in Services**

As with trade in goods, foreign government barriers prevent U.S. trade in services from expanding to its full potential. Unlike trade in goods, however, these barriers are often **behind the border**, rather than in the form of tariffs. In many cases, some argue, the impediments are government regulations or rules that may appear legitimate but may intentionally or unintentionally discriminate against foreign providers (see text box).

The 2020 OECD Services Trade Restrictiveness Index shows that the U.S. business environment is relatively open and competitive for services, compared to the 45 other countries studied. Apart from a few sectors, such as air and maritime transport, foreign providers are allowed to compete equally and have access in the United States.

**WTO and General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)**

The GATS, concluded in 1994, is essentially the only multilateral framework of principles and rules for government policies and regulations affecting trade in services. The GATS contains commitments that apply to all services, including nondiscriminatory treatment of foreign service providers, transparency, and other regulatory obligations, such as impartiality and reasonableness.

Other commitments for national treatment vary by WTO member as they apply only to those service sectors and modes of delivery listed in each member’s schedule (so-called **positive list of commitments**). For these sectors, the GATS addresses market access barriers in the form of restrictions on: the number of foreign service suppliers, total value of service transactions or assets, number of transactions or value of output, type of legal entity or joint venture through which services may be supplied, and share of foreign capital in terms of ownership or total value of FDI. After finalizing the GATS, 56 members concluded negotiations on financial services, and 108 members agreed to commitments on telecommunications services. The United States is a party to both agreements.

Despite lack of progress on broader multilateral GATS negotiations, in December 2021, the United States and 66 other parties, representing 90% of world services trade, concluded negotiations on the Joint Initiative on Services Domestic Regulation to increase transparency and lower barriers related to licensing and qualification requirements and procedures, and technical standards. Members are to incorporate the new commitments into their existing GATS schedules and apply them on a most-favored-nation (MFN) status for all WTO members.

**U.S. Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)**

In addition to multilateral trade liberalization and rules-setting efforts in the WTO, the United States works with select trading partners to develop and implement rules to reduce barriers and facilitate trade in services without infringing on the sovereign rights of governments to regulate services for prudential, sound regulatory, or essential security reasons. The United States has also sought to go beyond the GATS ("WTO-plus" obligations) under more comprehensive rules and market access commitments in U.S. free trade agreements (FTAs). Unlike GATS, each U.S. FTA uses a negative list for market access and national treatment coverage and commitments so that the provisions apply to all categories of services in all modes of delivery, unless a party to the agreement has taken a specific exception.

The 2015 Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) legislation, now expired, contained specific trade negotiating objectives on services trade, digital trade in goods and services, and cross-border data flows. Trade liberalization is complex as negotiations are handled by the federal government, but states often regulate services, including licensing and certification requirements. While regulations may vary across states, all must comply with the commitments made by the federal government in international trade deals.

**U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA)**

USMCA modernized and revised the former North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which included basic obligations, such as transparency and nondiscrimination in the services trade chapter. USMCA has a new annex on express delivery and maintains NAFTA’s separate chapters for financial services, telecommunications, and temporary entry (Mode 4). For telecommunications, USMCA has the effect of binding Mexico to its 2013 constitutional reforms, such as ensuring the independence of the regulator, without imposing new obligations on Canada or the United States. USMCA also has a new chapter on digital trade, with broad provisions on cross-border data flows and restrictions on data localization requirements. The financial services chapter has a similar provision to ensure the free flow of data and also regulator access to data for prudential reasons.

**U.S.-Japan Digital Trade Agreement.**

Signed in 2019, the deal parallels the USMCA digital trade chapter, but does not cover broader trade in services issues.

**Issues for Congress**

Potential policy issues Congress could consider include:

- How should future trade agreements address rapid technological changes and new trade barriers in the services sector? Should the USMCA and U.S.-Japan Digital Trade Agreement serve as models for future sectoral negotiations on digital services?
- What should U.S. trade negotiating priorities be for further updating GATS, whether on a plurilateral or multilateral basis, and expanding other WTO members’ commitments?
- How will the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council impact U.S. domestic regulation and export of digital and ICT services?
- Given the role of state regulators, how might U.S. policymakers involve them in ongoing and future trade negotiations or regulatory cooperation efforts?
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