

**A Ph.D. Synopsis**  
**On**  
**ASEAN- India Free Trade Agreement: Trade Indicators and Analysis of Trade  
Creation and Trade Diversion**

**Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Final Report of SRC  
For Ph.D. Program**

*Submitted*

*by*

**Richa Khurana**

*Research Scholar*

Enrollment No.: 13919008

*Under the Supervision*

*Of*

**Prof. D. K Nauriyal**

*Professor*



**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee  
Roorkee (Uttarakhand) India**

**18 December 2019**

## 1. Introduction

From the past three decades, India has witnessed major drifts in its trade policy stance, shifting from a protectionist and a highly regulated economy to a more liberal one. The import substituting regime provided undesirable protection to the domestic industry with effective sealing out of foreign competition. Consequently, the share of Indian economy in world trade dropped from 2.53 per cent in 1947 to a mere 0.4 per cent in 1980 (GOI, TPR 1998)<sup>1</sup>. A switch in the policy towards liberalization was initiated in the mid-1980s, which gave a required spurt to its exports. This, however, could not be sustained and Indian economy faced severe balance of payment crisis in 1991, with export growth figures quickly plummeting to mere 4 per cent from around 17 per cent registered in preceding years. The economic shock provided a much-needed impetus towards a series of major structural and macroeconomic reforms aimed primarily at easing of restrictions on exports and imports in a phased manner. With this, the stalled liberalization efforts gathered momentum, shaping into a more comprehensive and systematic opening up of the economy in 1991 and after. The reforms aimed at creating conducive environment for achieving rapid increase in exports with the ultimate goal of making trade an engine for achieving higher economic growth (GOI Annual Report, 2000). This economic impulse got reflected in India's newly envisioned 'Look East' policy which was implemented in 1991. The end of Cold War, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, fueled India's quest for re-establishing its strained relations with the Eastern neighbors (Chatterjee, 2007). The Indian foreign trade policy rapidly sorted to improve interaction with the increasingly globalizing and dynamic Asia. Essential philosophy behind this policy was to increase India's engagement with its South East and East Asian neighbors by forging closer and deeper economic integration (Chatterjee, 2007; Singh, 2010; Haokip, 2014). Interestingly, these domestic advances were a part of broader developments that were shaping the international scheme of things, further directing India's trade policy framework in tandem with the world order.

With a shift in the American strategy abandoning support for multilateralism, successful integration of Europe and its expansion, change in the economic policy of developing countries, including India, away from import substitution and continued stalemate of talks at multilateral level were some of the key forces encouraging regions of the world, other than Asia, to opt for

---

<sup>1</sup> Share of India's merchandise exports and imports in world merchandise exports and imports, in 2017, was 1.68 per cent and 2.48 per cent, respectively compared to 12.77 per cent and 10.22 per cent, respectively for China (Trade Profile, WTO, 2018).

regionalism as the new measure to foster liberalization process (Frankel et al., 1997; Jayasinghe and Sarker, 2008; Findlay and Urata, 2009; Petri and Plummer, 2016). More recently, the development of complex global value chain (GVC)<sup>2</sup> systems, made possible by technology, improved logistics, better information system, stimulated demand for further lower barriers to trade and shaped the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) landscape we face today (Petri et al., 2015). The compounding numbers of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) notified to WTO provide formal evidence in support of their growing significance. Over a span of 40 years, from 1948-1994, GATT received notifications for 124 RTAs in all (Findlay and Urata, 2009), while since the commencement of WTO in 1995 there have been over 400 additional notifications (including goods and services) of RTAs till date with 459 RTAs in force<sup>3</sup>, of which 253 were FTAs. Their rising importance can be re-emphasized by the fact that since June 2016, all WTO members have notified participation in at least one RTA in force and continue to involve in new RTA negotiations. Besides increasing in numbers, they have evolved to be deeper and more complex in nature. The inclusion of new policy areas such as services trade, foreign investment, intellectual property, technical barriers to trade, dispute settlement and regulatory regimes, reflect more ambitious approach of these agreements and increasing globalization of the world economy (Dee and Gali, 2005). Although a latecomer, economically important Asia has emerged at the forefront of the global FTA activity. Asia's progressive regionalization alongside rapid liberalization, outward oriented development strategies, infrastructure investment and upgrading human capital has transformed the region from underdeveloped backwaters into a global factory (Kawai and Wignaraja, 2011).

The emerging world economic structure and India's own march towards liberalization played a key role in shaping India's policy stance in favor of regionalism (GOI, 2017)<sup>4</sup>. Initially, India adopted a very cautious and guarded approach to regionalism<sup>5</sup> and engaged in only few

---

<sup>2</sup> GVCs refer to the international fragmentation of production i.e. where different stages of production and assembly are located in multiple countries, with each step-in process adding value to the final product (WTO, OECD). Accessed from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/global-value-chains>

<sup>3</sup> WTO statistics on RTAs are based on notification requirements rather than on physical number of RTAs. Thus, for an RTA that includes both goods and services, WTO counts two notifications (one for goods and the other services), even though it is physically one RTA.

<sup>4</sup> <http://mea.gov.in/aseanindia/20-years.htm>. Accessed as on 20th January 2018

<sup>5</sup> Its stand on regional groupings was that they must fully conform with and support the rules of the multilateral system (WTO, TPR 1998).

bilateral/regional arrangements mainly through Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) (GOI, Economic Survey 2005-06, 06-07). India's initial regional trade engagements were the Bangkok Agreement (1975), the Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP, 1988), and the SAARC PTA (SAPTA, 1993). India also received preferential treatment under Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) schemes<sup>6</sup>. However, keeping pace with the developments all around, the earlier dormant India rigorously started pursuing its trade integration efforts as a means to foster liberalization, within the framework of multilateral rules, besides its ongoing autonomous trade reforms (GOI, TPR 2011)<sup>7</sup>.

Real fillip to India's RTA initiatives began in 2000s as India negotiated bilateral and regional trade agreements with several countries and groups. As on August 2018, the negotiations in various kinds of agreements<sup>8</sup> are underway with 20 countries and groups together while agreements with 18 countries have already been concluded (MOC)<sup>9</sup>. Its major initiatives with groups include SAFTA, APTA, GSTP, BIMSTEC, AFTA, EU, MERCOSUR<sup>10</sup> along with bilateral ties with many countries. However, of the concluded RTAs, ASEAN is the strongest contender. Ten dynamic markets of Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam, form the Association of Southeast Asian nations (ASEAN). The region merits attention for a plenty of economic and strategic reasons: (i) ASEAN is the largest and the first regional trading block with which India had signed an FTA (Singh, 2010, Joseph and George, 2014) providing India with the opportunity to access wider markets (ii) The centrality of ASEAN in the Asian region has attracted the attention of our policy makers to shift their focus towards this vibrant region (iii) Stalled growth prospects with South Asian neighbors and rising threat from China provided impetus to pursue further engagements with the South-East

---

<sup>6</sup>Schemes of Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, the European Union, Hungary, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Republic of Belarus, Republic of Poland, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Switzerland, and the United States.

<sup>7</sup> Another push towards regionalism, on the one hand was the uncertainty of arriving at any consensus on multilateral liberalization, and on the other was the recognition that RTAs would continue to feature prominently in world trade for a long time.

<sup>8</sup> These include besides FTAs, Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreements (CECA), Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs), Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) and regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

<sup>9</sup> <http://commerce.gov.in/InnerContent.aspx?Type=InternationalTrademenu&Id=32>. Accessed from Ministry of Commerce and Industry (MOC) as on August 2018.

Asian nations (iv) India's relationship with ASEAN is the foundation of the dynamic "Act East" policy, which was officially enunciated in 2014 and is a key pillar of India's foreign policy.

ASEAN India relations stepped up from sectoral dialogue partnership in 1992 to a full dialogue partnership in December 1995, elevating further to Summit level partnership in 2002 and naturally progressing into Strategic partnership in 2012. In 2003, at the second ASEAN India Summit, the ASEAN-India Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation was signed which laid sound basis for the both the parties to enter into a free trade agreement (FTA)<sup>11</sup>. With this in effect, the consistent efforts toward forming an FTA with the region, however, only materialized in 2009, after six years of rigorous negotiations, and got implemented on January 1, 2010. It would be interesting to note that India and ASEAN jointly create a market of approximately 1.85 billion people with GDP of US \$ 4.5 trillion in 2017. ASEAN is India's fourth largest trading partner. India's trade with ASEAN has increased to US\$ 70 billion in 2016-17 from US\$ 65 billion in 2015-16. India's export to ASEAN has increased to US\$ 30 billion in 2016-17 from US\$ 25 billion in 2015-16 (GOI MEA, 2018)<sup>12</sup>. Coupled with these figures, the fact that it is India's first FTA with regional block, ASEAN-India relations assume importance.

Post the establishment of an FTA, it is important to take stock of its trade and welfare effects. The economic assessment that follows the implementation of an FTA is a major part of its monitoring process (Cheong, 2010). No definite consensus on the effect of FTA has made its impact assessment, majorly, an empirical issue. There are various aspects to analyzing the trade effects of an FTA, for instance, its utilization rate, coverage rate and so on, however, the Vinerian concepts of Trade Creation (TC) and Trade Diversion (TD) remain at the heart of any such analysis. The extent of TC or TD that a free trade block leads to, is indicative of the static welfare effects of actual patterns of regionalization (Haveman and Hummels 1998). It is important to measure these effects for effective policy making primarily because TD poses a risk and renders the agreement economically inefficient (Robertson and Estevadeordal 2009). Following suite, this study also focuses on the estimation of these core aspects while evaluating the ASEAN-India Trade in Goods Agreement.

---

<sup>11</sup> <http://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/2015/November/asean-india/Overview%20ASEAN-India%20Dialogue%20Relations%20-%20November%202015.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> <http://mea.gov.in/aseanindia/20-years.htm>. Assessed from Ministry of Commerce and Industry as on August, 2018.



## 2. Statement of Problem

The signing of AIFTA raised sharp apprehensions regarding adverse effects that the agreement is expected to have on domestic producers and the trading community, among the academia and policy makers. Profound concerns were raised highlighting the serious worries on the impact on Indian economy with cheaper imports flooding the Indian markets and making producers, especially farmers, vulnerable as around 89 per cent of trade between two dynamic regions was to be liberalized (Pal and Dasgupta 2008, 2009; Raju 2010; Harilal, 2010; Nagoor and Kumar, 2010; Francis, 2011; Kallumal and Ratna, 2013; Joseph and George, 2014). The FTA proposed to gradually eliminate/ reduce tariffs on around 4000 tariff lines over a staggered period covering agriculture, marine and manufactured products, with a negative list excluded from any kind of reduction. By 2017, tariffs on all the products under Normal Track 1 and 2 have been removed. The low tariffs in most of the ASEAN nations compared to India's, raised skepticism of the benefits that would accrue to India with the implementation of the FTA.

Trade trends on the other hand, reveal a scenario contrasting to the raised concerns. The ASEAN-India trade has been observed to grow at a much slower rate in the post-FTA period in comparison to the pre-FTA statistics. Total trade grew at a rate of around 23 per cent, on an average, for the period 2000-09, in contrast to a growth rate of mere 9 per cent experienced in the post-FTA era (2010-17). Given these diverging views, the present study attempts at empirically analyzing the effect on trade flows in the light of prior evidence provided by various studies. Further, the asymmetric impacts on various industries motivates the analysis to be carried out separately for selected industries. It would be pertinent to mention here that studies dealing with assessment of AIFTA have largely provided *ex-ante* evidences with the focus of most being on specific agricultural sectors. The studies providing *ex-post* evidence have been very few with no definite consensus on the impact that the agreement has had on Indian industries. Evidently, there appears to be a dearth of studies addressing the Trade Creation and Trade Diversion issues and hence the gains and losses accrued to various economic sectors of the country.

In the light of inconclusive evidence, it becomes imperative to analyze the economic and welfare impacts that this agreement would have on the Indian trade flows. The present study attempts to fill the void and provides empirical evidence following the latest advancements in the methods in analyzing trade policy empirically using the gravity model of international trade. Our assessments

can have far reaching implications in defining the future policy discourse as it is extremely important to identify sectors which are positively impacted and are capable of balancing out the negatively impacted ones. Policies need to be formulated to promote sectors capable of huge gains and minimize losses from adversely impacted sectors. The study, thus, intends to enhance our understanding of the ongoing FTA activity and in the process provide lessons for India's future endeavors.

### **3. Objectives of the Study**

The central question that the study tries to address is have the changes in trade flows been biased towards the trade within India and members of ASEAN and whether this has taken place at the cost of non-members. In pursuit of answering the above-mentioned concern, the study lays out the specific objectives to be studied in the context of the AIFTA. The objectives laid out are as follow:

- 1) To analyze the composition, direction, pattern and flow of trade between India and ASEAN before and after signing of FTA;
- 2) To identify competitive and complementary product categories at HS 2- digit and HS 4- digit/ to explore areas of trade complementarities and competition between trade structures of India and ASEAN;
- 3) To assess the trade creation and the trade diversion effects at aggregate and disaggregated levels (HS 2-Digit and HS 4-Digit), using gravity model.

### **4. Summary of findings**

The thesis is structured in seven chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces the topic in context of relevant policy framework, describes the tariff reduction commitments offered by India to imports from ASEAN members, provides statement of problem and highlights the need to carry out the study, defines objectives relevant to the central theme, briefs on data sources and methodology along with listing of the major limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 presents an extensive review of literature which specifically deals with evaluating the trade creation and trade diversion effects of various RTAs involving different regions of the world and further goes on to survey works relevant to ASEAN- India FTA, identifying gaps in the current

available literature. To place recent enquiry in a broader canvas, the study discusses the historical origins of regionalism and in process brings out the various debates that have occupied center stage among policymakers on the effects of RTA proliferation.

Chapter 3 lays out the methodology adopted to attain the afore mentioned objectives. A simple assessment of existing state of trade flows using statistical tools like averages is carried out further elaborating upon the indices specific to regional trade. It also spells the method adopted to identify sectors/ industries of relevance at 2-digit and 4-digit. Finally, the chapter elaborates upon the gravity model utilized in the study to isolate the trade creating and trade diverting effects emanating from the FTA. It also presents a brief history of theoretical and methodological developments of the gravity model for application in international trade and specifies various models put to test at the aggregate level.

Chapter 4 aims to identify extent of intra-regional trade between India and ASEAN, structure and composition by examining the pattern of India's merchandise trade with ASEAN for the period 2000-2017 and with reference to pre and post AIFTA implementation trends.

Chapter 5 monitors the progress on regional cooperation using various indices specific to regional trade. The indices analysed at the aggregate level are (i) Trade Intensity Index (ii) Trade Complementarity Index, while sectoral level indices include (i) Index of Revealed Comparative Advantage (ii) Export Specialization and (iii) Regional Orientation Index. The indices have been discussed from India's perspective with a focus on exports for the major commodities selected previously. Trade intensities and complementarities at aggregate level portray a favorable picture of ASEAN India trade and exhibit scope for trade expansion. Sectoral indices estimated with respect to the selected ASEAN economies show that not all sectors/ industries with specialization advantages to India reveal an orientation towards the respective countries or vice versa. This helped identify sectors/ industries with future trade expansion with each ASEAN member. The industries displaying both advantages and orientation or only export specialization towards ASEAN, not already in the top exported commodities towards the same, were identified as those holding potential for trade enlargement.



Chapter 6 establishes the effectiveness of AIFTA at aggregate and disaggregated levels. Major findings reveal that India's trade flows are largely explained by the traditional gravity variables, with the incomes of trading partners positively and significantly influencing India's trade and increase in distance between the two reducing trade significantly. This was validated by positive impact of adjacent borders on India's trade, at aggregate level. However, mixed results were reported at deeper levels of aggregation. Of the variables proxying for cultural similarities, common colonial ties positively impacted India's trade while the effect of common official language was negative. The opposite was true for most of the sectors at 2-digit and 4-digit. Regarding policy variables, the study found that ASEAN- India FTA had no significant trade creating or trade diverting impact on Indian trade with south- east Asian countries. In sharp contrast, the implementation of FTA for seems to have increased trade covering a larger portion of India's trade with ASEAN as both the levels. An important implication emanating from this finding is the significant role of factors, other than the formation of a free trade pact influencing India's trade with the ten- nation bloc. The insignificant role of policy variables can be interpreted in two ways: (i) the limited role tariffs play in influencing India's trade with ASEAN implying that factors other than tariffs drive the exports (imports) from India, for instance GDP, NTMs etc. (ii) the purpose of forming the agreement seems to be more strategic than economic. However, as noted by some studies, India's low tariff liberalization rate could be a reason for insignificant impact of tariff reductions for members in general, and India in particular. At 2-digit, the sectors with insignificant impact are also substantial. However, sectors for which FTA negatively impacted trade flow was low compared to the other two categories. The industries experiencing pure trade creation effects occupied a share of 25 per cent in India's exports to ASEAN and 8.8 per cent in its imports from ASEAN. We can conclude that FTA has had a greater impact of export flows than on imports.

Chapter 7 presents summary, conclusions and relevant policy recommendations emerging from the study.

## **5. Policy Implications**

As more trade is led by trade creation rather than trade diversion, and the overall trade scenario that emerges from the rising trade intensities and complementarities, point towards a need to enhance trade relationship with south- east Asian neighbours. This should be done with appropriate

sector specific investment promotion rather than simply providing incentives. Further, there is the need to encourage business community to take the FTA route by organizing awareness programs as initiated by Department of Commerce and Industry, GOI in 2015-16, and capitalize on the benefits, thus extended, to the most. Border was found to be a deterrent to India's trade in most of the commodities analysed. This raises the concern over connectivity issues, besides strategic ones. Further, there appears to be the need to speed up the processes tackling connectivity constraints, with building up of facilitating infrastructure for better flow of trade and commerce across region. Appropriate relevance needs to be accorded to the North- east region by placing it as the centre linking two dynamic regions and not as the periphery of India. The study identifies products with competitive edge with respect to each country analysed. Appropriate steps need to be taken to ensure wider access for these in respective markets.

Increase in shipments, especially of capital goods and industrial supplies, has been a positive impact as they indirectly contribute to enhancing productive capacity. It is of immense importance for India to be an important link in these networks. India is a labour abundant country and it should be able to capitalize upon its resources for better integration and must capitalise on the opportunity provided by AIFTA. In this context, it is important to constructively cooperate efforts with ASEAN rather than looking at it as a potential threat. Import increase, especially of intermediates should be seen with a positive approach as these are indicative of India's increased integration in the regional production networks. It is of immense importance for India to be an important link in these networks. India is a labour abundant country and it should be able to capitalize upon its resources for better integration and must avail the opportunity provided by AIFTA. In this context, it is important to constructively cooperate efforts with ASEAN rather than looking at it as a potential threat. Since, with the commencement of FTA some sectors are bound to lose while others gain, it is the responsibility of the government to re-distribute the gains to those who are at a loss. India's future endeavours must be channelled towards achieving the goal of increased and sustained trade growth, ASEAN emerges as an important partner with huge potential yet to be tapped.

## **6. Directions for future research**

It is suggested that secondary study be supplemented with primary information generated through personal interviews with the heads of the firms involved in exporting activities with the south- east

Asian region. This will help in gaining an insight into the actual utilization of benefits provided through the free trade pact and additionally highlight the challenges the firms face in taking the FTA route for accessing these markets. Future studies may also focus on utilizing the actual tariff values, in the gravity framework, rather than proxy. This may help understand the impact tariffs reductions on trade flows, more precisely. Inclusion of sectoral GDPs, different measures of distance, variables defining NTMs, analysis at 6-digit could also be taken up in future studies. This study is purely static, however dynamic analysis would provide useful insights on impact of trade flows on India. The study can further be extended beyond analysing the impact of FTA on trade flows, to include the estimation of trade costs, effect on welfare, developmental needs and so on, as the focus in future investigations. The role of regional production networks and global value chains in enhancing the trade through FTAs is another area of future research with profound implications for the Indian economy.

## References

- Annual report. (2000). Ministry of Commerce. Department of Commerce. GOI
- Chatterjee, S. (2007). Conceptions of space in India's Look East policy: order, cooperation or community? *South Asian Survey*, 14(1), 65-81.
- Cheong, D. (2010). Methods for ex post economic evaluation of free trade agreements (No. 59). ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration
- Findlay C. & Urata, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Free Trade Agreements in the Asia Pacific* (Vol. 11). World Scientific.
- Cimino-Isaacs, C., & Schott, J. J. (Eds.). (2016). *Trans-Pacific Partnership: An Assessment* (Vol. 104). Peterson Institute for International Economics. Ch 1: economic effects of TPP: New Estimates (peter A. Petri and Michael G. Plummer).
- Dee, P., & Gali, J. (2005, August). The trade and investment effects of preferential trading arrangements. In *International Trade in East Asia, NBER-East Asia Seminar on Economics, Volume 14* (pp. 133-176). University of Chicago Press.
- Economic Survey 2005-06. 2006. Government of India. Ministry of Finance. Department of Economic Affairs. Economic Division.
- Economic Survey 2006-07. 2007. Government of India. Ministry of Finance. Department of Economic Affairs. Economic Division.

Francis, S. (2011). A Sectoral Impact Analysis of the ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(2), 46-55.

Francis, S., & Kallummal, M. (2013). India's Comprehensive Trade Agreements: Implications for Development Trajectory. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48 (31), 109-122.

Frankel, J.A., Stein, E. & Wei, S.J., (1997). Regional trading blocs in the world economic system. Peterson Institute.

Haokip, T. (2011). India's Look East policy: Its evolution and approach. *South Asian Survey*, 18(2), 239-257.

Harilal, K. N. (2010). ASEAN-India free trade area: Noises of dissent from deep South. *Occasional paper*, 1.

Haveman, J., & Hummels, D. (1998). Trade creation and trade diversion: New empirical results. *Journal of Transnational Management Development*, 3(2), 47-72.

<http://mea.gov.in/aseanindia/20-years.htm>. Accessed as on 20th January 2018

Jayasinghe, S., & Sarker, R. (2008). Effects of regional trade agreements on trade in agrifood products: Evidence from gravity modeling using disaggregated data. *Review of agricultural economics*, 30(1), 61-81.

Joseph, J., & George, T. (2014). Tariffs and protection in the ASEAN-India agreement: Rubber and rubber products. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49 (1), 22-25.

Kawai, M. & Wignaraja, G. (2011). Asian FTAs: Trends, prospects and challenges. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 22(1), 1-22.

Nagoor, B. H., & Kumar, C. N. (2010). Assessing the Impact of the ASEAN-India FTA on the Tea Industry. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45 (44/45), 112-116.

Pal, P., & M. Dasgupta. (2008). Does a Free trade agreement with ASEAN make sense? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43 (46), 8-12.

Pal, P., & M. Dasgupta. 2009. The ASEAN-India free trade agreement: An assessment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44 (38), 11-15.

Raju, S. (2010). ASEAN-India FTA: Emerging Issues for Trade in Agriculture. *Indian Institute of Foreign Trade*.

Robertson, R. & Estevadeordal, A., 2009. Gravity, bilateral agreements, and trade diversion in the Americas. *Cuadernos de economía*, 46(133), 3-31.

Singh, S.P. (2010). CUTS ASEAN: A Potential Export Destination for Products from Northeast India. CITEE, Jaipur. 16-18.

Trade Policy Review. (1998). Report by Government of India. World Trade Organization.

Trade Policy Review. (2011). Report by Government of India. World Trade Organization.





## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

---

### *Journal Articles*

- Khurana, Richa, and D. K. Nauriyal. "Dynamics of Services Exports in India." *Millennial Asia* 8, no. 2 (2017): 178-193.
- Khurana, Richa, and D. K. Nauriyal. "ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement: Evaluating Trade Creation and Trade Diversion Effects." *Journal of East-West Business* (2017): 1-25.

### *Book Chapter*

- Khurana, Richa, & Nauriyal, D.K., 'India- ASEAN Free Trade Agreement in Services: Moving Towards a Sustainable Trade Relationship' published in book 'Advances in Management for Business Excellence', edited by Kumar, Rajender et.al, pp. 273-284, Manakin Press, 2015. (ISBN: 978-93-84370-32-9).

### *Conferences*

- Paper titled "India- Thailand Bilateral Trade: Current Trends and Prospective Areas of Engagement" was presented at 13<sup>th</sup> ICSSR- NRCT joint seminar in Thailand from 16-18 February 2019.
- Khurana, Richa, & Nauriyal, D.K. (2015). India – ASEAN Free Trade Agreement: Emerging Trends and Patterns. Published in the Conference Proceedings of the International Conference on Creating Opportunities in Emerging Markets: A Global Approach, pp. 321-329. (ISBN: 978-81-928678-1-6)

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Abedini, J. and Péridy, N. (2008). The Greater Arab Free Trade Area ( GAFTA ): an Estimation of Its Effects. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 23(4), 848–872.

AGRICOOOP. (2017). Commodity Profile for Cotton- March, 2017 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://agricoop.nic.in/sites/default/files/cott\\_2201.pdf](http://agricoop.nic.in/sites/default/files/cott_2201.pdf)

Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority. (2012). APEDA Annual Report 2011-12 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual\\_Reports/Annual\\_Report\\_English\\_2011-12.pdf](http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual_Reports/Annual_Report_English_2011-12.pdf)

Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority. (2013). APEDA Annual Report 2012-13 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual\\_Reports/Annual\\_Report\\_12-13\\_English.pdf](http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual_Reports/Annual_Report_12-13_English.pdf)

Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority. (2014). APEDA Annual Report 2013-14 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual\\_Reports/Annual\\_Report\\_12-13\\_English.pdf](http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual_Reports/Annual_Report_12-13_English.pdf)

Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority. (2015). APEDA Annual Report 2014-15 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual\\_Reports/Apeda\\_Annual\\_Accounts\\_English\\_2014-15.pdf](http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual_Reports/Apeda_Annual_Accounts_English_2014-15.pdf)

Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority. (2016). APEDA Annual Report 2015-16 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual\\_Reports/Apeda\\_Annual\\_Report\\_English\\_2015-16.pdf](http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual_Reports/Apeda_Annual_Report_English_2015-16.pdf)

Agricultural and Processed Food Products Export Development Authority. (2017). APEDA Annual Report 2016-17 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual\\_Reports/Apeda\\_Annual\\_Accounts\\_English\\_2016-17.pdf](http://apeda.gov.in/apedawebsite/Annual_Reports/Apeda_Annual_Accounts_English_2016-17.pdf)

Ahmed, S. (2010). India-ASEAN free trade agreement: a sectoral analysis. DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.1698849.

Aitken, Norman. D. (1973). The effect of the EEC and EFTA on European trade: A temporal cross-section analysis. *The American Economic Review*, 63(5), 881-892.

- Alexander B. Darku. (2009). The Gravity Model and the Test for the Regional Integration Effect: The Case of Tanzania. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 43(1), 25–44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jda.0.0040>
- Aliyu, S. U. R., & Bawa, S. (2015). Gravity model by panel data approach: Empirical evidence from Nigeria. *International Journal of Trade and Global Markets*, 8(1), 42–57. <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJTGM.2015.067972>
- Akhter, N., & Ghani, E. (2010). Regional integration in South Asia: an analysis of trade flows using the gravity model. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 49 (2), 105-118.
- Anderson, J. E. (1979). A theoretical foundation for the gravity equation. *The American Economic Review*, 69(1), 106-116.
- Anderson, J. E. (2010). The Gravity Model. *NBER Working Paper*, (w16576).
- Anderson, J. E., & Van Wincoop, E. (2003). Gravity with gravitas: a solution to the border puzzle. *American economic review*, 93(1), 170-192
- Anderson, J. E., & Yotov, Y. V. (2010). Specialization: Pro- and Anti-globalizing, 1990-2002. In *NBER Working Paper 16301* (Vol. 53). <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Anderson, J. E., & Yotov, Y. V. (2016). Terms of trade and global efficiency effects of free trade agreements, 1990-2002. *Journal of International Economics*, 99, 279–298. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jinteco.2015.10.006>
- Anderson, J. E., Larch, M. & Yotov, Y. V. (2015). Growth and Trade with Frictions: A Structural Estimation Framework. Cambridge, MA, National Bureau of Economic Research, NBER Working Paper No. 21377.
- Annual report. 2000. Ministry of Commerce. Department of Commerce. GOI
- Asher, M. G., & Sen, R. (2005). India-East Asia integration: a win-win for Asia. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40 (36), 3932-3940.
- Ando, M., Estevadeordal, A., & Martincus, C. V. (2009). Complements or Substitutes? Preferential and Multilateral Trade Liberalization at the Sectoral Level. In *ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration (Asian Development Bank)* (Vol. 39).

Annual report. 2000. Ministry of Commerce. Department of Commerce. GOI

Armstrong, S. (2015). The economic impact of the Australia–US free trade agreement. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69(5), 513–537. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2015.1048777>

Asher, M. G., & Sen, R. (2005). India-East Asia integration: a win-win for Asia. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40 (36), 3932-3940.

Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM). (2016). India ASEAN Trade and Investment Relations: Opportunities and Challenges.

Baier, S. L., & Bergstrand, J. H. (2007). Do free trade agreements actually increase members' international trade?. *Journal of international Economics*, 71(1), 72-95.

Balassa, B. (1967). Trade creation and trade diversion in the European Common Market. *The Economic Journal*, 77(305), 1-21.

Baldwin, R. E. (1995). The eastern enlargement of the European Union. *European Economic Review*, 39 (3-4), 474-481.

Baldwin, R., & Taglioni, D. (2006). *Gravity for dummies and dummies for gravity equations* (No. w12516). National bureau of economic research.

Baldwin, R., & Taglioni, D. (2007). Trade effects of the euro: A comparison of estimators. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 22 (4), 780-818.

Barbalet, F., Greenville, J., Crook, W., Gretton, P., & Breunig, R. (2015). Exploring the Links between Bilateral and Regional Trade Agreements and Merchandise Trade. *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies*, 2(3), 467–484. <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.101>

Batra, A. (2013). *Regional Economic Integration in South Asia: Trapped in Conflict?* London: Routledge.

Batra, A. (2016). Revealed Comparative Advantage and Gravity Model Analysis of Trade Patterns and Regional Economic Integration: Empirical Evidence in the Indian Context. The Indian Econometric Society.

Batra, A., & Khan, Z. (2005). *Revealed comparative advantage: An analysis for India and China* (No. 168). Working paper. ICRIER. New Delhi.

- Benedictis, L. De, & Salvatici, L. (2007). *The Trade Impact of European Union Preferential Policies: An Analysis through Gravity Models*. New York: Springer.
- Bergstrand, J. H. (1985). The gravity equation in international trade: some microeconomic foundations and empirical evidence. *The review of economics and statistics*, 67 (3), 474-481.
- Bergstrand, J. H. (1989). The generalized gravity equation, monopolistic competition, and the factor-proportions theory in international trade. *The review of economics and statistics*, 71 (1), 143-153.
- Bergstrand, J. H. (1990). The Heckscher-Ohlin-Samuelson model, the Linder hypothesis and the determinants of bilateral intra-industry trade. *The Economic Journal*, 100 (403), 1216-1229.
- Bhagwati, J. N. (1991). *Free traders and free immigrationists: strangers or friends?*. Columbia University
- Bhagwati, J. N., & Krueger, A. O. (1995). *The dangerous drift to preferential trade agreements*. Aei Pr.
- Bhagwati, J., Greenaway, D., & Panagariya, A. (1998). Trading preferentially: Theory and policy. *The Economic Journal*, 108(449), 1128-1148.
- Bhattacharyay, S. K., & Bhattacharyay, B. N. (2007). *Gains and Losses of India-China Trade Cooperation-A Gravity Model Impact Analysis* (No. 1970).
- Bhattacharyya, R., & Banerjee, T. (2006). Does the Gravity Model Explain India's Direction of Trade? A Panel Data Approach. In *IIM Ahmedabad Working Papers* (No. W.P. No.2006-09-01). Ahmedabad.
- Bhattacharyya, R., & Mandal, A. (2010). Estimating the Impact of the Indo-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement on India's Balance of Trade. *Journal of Global Analysis*, 1(1), 9-25.
- Bhattacharyya, R., & Mandal, A. (2014). Estimating the impact of the India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement on Indian industries. *South Asia Economic Journal*, 15(1), 93-114.
- Bhattacharyya, R., & Mandal, A. (2016). India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement: An ex post evaluation. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 38(2), 340-352.



- Burange, L. G., & Chaddha, S. J. (2008). India's revealed comparative advantage in merchandise trade. *Artha Vijnana*, 50(4), 332-363.
- Burger, M., van Oort, F., & Linders, G. J. (2009). On the specification of the gravity model of trade: Zeros, excess zeros and zero-inflated estimation. *Spatial Economic Analysis*, 4(2), 167-190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17421770902834327>
- Busse, M., Groning, S., & Groening, S. (2012). Assessing the Impact of Trade Liberalization: The Case of Jordan. *The Journal of Economic Integration*, 27(3), 466-486. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023997307981>
- Caliendo, L. & Parro, F. (2015). Estimates of the Trade and Welfare Effects of NAFTA. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 82(1), 1-44.
- Caporale, G. M., Rault, C., Sova, R., & Sova, A. (2009). On the bilateral trade effects of free trade agreements between the EU-15 and the CEEC-4 countries. *Review of World Economics*, 145(2), 189-206. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10290-009-0011-8>
- CARE Ratings. (2017). Edible Oils Industry [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://www.careratings.com/upload/NewsFiles/SplAnalysis/Edible%20Oils%20Report.pdf>
- Carrere, C. (2006). Revisiting the effects of regional trade agreements on trade flows with proper specification of the gravity model. *European Economic Review*, 50(2), 223-247.
- Carrillo-Tudela, C., & Li, C. A. (2004). Trade Blocks and the Gravity Model: Evidence from Latin American Countries. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 19(4), 667-689.
- Cernat, L. (2001). Assessing regional trade arrangements: Are South-South RTAs more trade diverting. *Global Economy Quarterly*, 2(3), 235-59.
- Chand, R. (2004). Preferential Trading Agreements and Regional Trade: Implications for Asia. Institute of Economic Growth. Working paper.
- Chanda, R., & Gopalan, S. (2009). Understanding India's regional initiatives with East and Southeast Asia. *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 23(1), 66-78.
- Chandran, B. S. (2010). Trade Compatibility Between India and ASEAN Countries. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1932266>

- Chandran, S. (2018). Trade Impact of the India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (FTA): An Augmented Gravity Model Analysis. *Research Journal of Economics and Business Studies*. 1-11. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3108804>
- Chaney, T. (2018). The gravity equation in international trade: An explanation. *Journal of Political Economy*, 126(1), 150–177. <https://doi.org/10.1086/694292>
- Chatterjee, S., 2007. Conceptions of space in India's Look East policy: order, cooperation or community? *South Asian Survey*, 14(1), 65-81.
- Cheong, D., 2010. Methods for ex post economic evaluation of free trade agreements (No. 59). ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration.
- Chor, D. (2010). Unpacking Sources of Comparative Advantage: A Quantitative Approach. *Journal of International Economics*. 82, 152-167.
- Clausing, K. A. (2001). Trade creation and trade diversion in the Canada–United States free trade agreement. *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'économique*, 34(3), 677-696.
- Cimino-Isaacs, C., & Schott, J. J. (Eds.). (2016). Trans-Pacific Partnership: An Assessment (Vol. 104). Peterson Institute for International Economics. Ch 1: economic effects of TPP: New Estimates (Peter A. Petri and Michael G. Plummer).
- Cook, B.A.D. (2013). National Security and the Eastern Promise of Myanmar in transition. *Foreign Policy Research Center Journal*, 3, 129-132.
- Costinot, A., Donaldson, D., and Komunjer, I. (2012) What Goods Do Countries Trade? A Quantitative Exploration of Ricardo's Ideas. *Review of Economic Studies*, 79(2), 581-608.
- Coulibaly, S. (2004). *On the Assessment of Trade Creation and Trade Diversion Effects of Developing RTAs. Unpublished Working Paper*, 15.
- CUTS- A Potential for Export Destination for Products from Northeast India (2010) Discussion paper: Retrieved from- [http://www.cuts-citee.org/pdf/Discussion\\_Paper10-ASEAN](http://www.cuts-citee.org/pdf/Discussion_Paper10-ASEAN)
- Dai, M., Yotov, Y. V., & Zylkin, T. (2014). On the trade-diversion effects of free trade agreements. *Economics Letters*, 122(2), 321-325.
- Das, R. U., & Dubey, J. D. (2014). Mechanics of Intra-Industry Trade and FTA Implications for India in RCEP. Discussion Paper 190. RIS. New Delhi.

Dayal, P., Das, A., Banga, R., Iyengar, K., & Ahmed, S. (2008). Quantification of benefits from economic cooperation in South Asia. *ADB and UNCTAD*.

Deardorff, A. V. (1984). Testing trade theories and predicting trade flows. *Handbook of international economics*, 1, 467-517.

Deardorff, A. (1998). Determinants of bilateral trade: does gravity work in a neoclassical world?. In *The regionalization of the world economy* (pp. 7-32). University of Chicago Press. Volume Author/Editor: Jeffrey A. Frankel, editor {CORRECT IT}

Dee, P., & Gali, J. (2005). The Trade and Investment Effects of. *International Trade in East Asia, NBER-East Asia Seminar on Economics*, 14 (August), 133–175.

Deme, M., & Ndrianasy, E. R. (2017). Trade-creation and trade-diversion effects of regional trade arrangements: low-income countries. *Applied Economics*. 49(22), 2188-2202 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2016.1234700>

Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion. (2016). Mining Sector Achievements Report [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://pibphoto.nic.in/documents/rlink/2016/dec/p2016121601.pdf>

Eaton, J., & Kortum, S. (2002). Technology, Geography, and Trade. *Econometrica*, 70 (5), 1741–1779. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0262.00352>

Eaton, J., Kortum, S., Neiman, B., & Romalis, J. (2016). Trade and the global recession. *American Economic Review*, 106 (11), 3401-38.

Economic Survey 1992-93. 1993. Government of India. Ministry of Finance. Department of Economic Affairs. Economic Division.

Economic Survey 2006-07. 2007. Government of India. Ministry of Finance. Department of Economic Affairs. Economic Division.

Egger, P. (2004). Estimating Regional Trading Bloc Effects with Panel Data. *Review of World Economics*, 140(1), 151–166. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02659714>

Eicher, T. S., Henn, C., & Papageorgiou, C. (2012). Trade creation and diversion revisited: accounting for model uncertainty and natural trading partner effects. *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, 27(2), 296-321.

Ekanayake, E. M., Mukherjee, A., & Veeramacheni, B. (2010). Trade Blocks and the Gravity Model: A Study of Economic Integration among Asian Developing Countries. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 25(4), 627–643. <https://doi.org/10.11130/jei.2010.25.4.627>

Elliott, R. J. R., & Ikemoto, K. (2004). AFTA and the Asian crisis: Help or hindrance to ASEAN intra-regional trade? *Asian Economic Journal*, 18(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8381.2004.00179.x>

Endoh, M. (1999). Trade creation and trade diversion in the EEC, the LAFTA and the CMEA: 1960-1994. *Applied Economics*, 31(2), 207–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/000368499324435>

EXIM Bank. (2012). Indian Chemical Industry: Exploring Global Demand [PDF File]. Retrieved from: <https://www.eximbankindia.in/Assets/Dynamic/PDF/Publication-Resources/ResearchPapers/Hindi/16file.pdf>

EXIM Bank. (2015). Indian Steel Industry: Export Prospects [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.eximbankindia.in/Assets/Dynamic/PDF/Publication-Resources/ResearchPapers/Hindi/2file.pdf>

EXIM Bank. (2016). Indian Pharmaceutical Industry: Challenges And Prospects [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.eximbankindia.in/Assets/Dynamic/PDF/Publication-Resources/ResearchPapers/55file.pdf>

EXIM Bank. (2017). The Indian Automotive Industry: An International Trade Perspective [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.eximbankindia.in/Assets/Dynamic/PDF/Publication-Resources/ResearchPapers/81file.pdf>

EXIM Bank. (2018). Strengthening ASEAN-India Partnership: Trends and Future Prospects [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.eximbankindia.in/Assets/Dynamic/PDF/Publication-Resources/ResearchPapers/88file.pdf>

Fally, T. (2015). Structural gravity and fixed effects. *Journal of International Economics*, 97(1), 76-85.

FICCI Survey. (2013). Business Beyond Barriers. *ASEAN Desk International Affairs Division FICCI, New Delhi*

- Findlay, C., & Urata, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Free Trade Agreements in the Asia Pacific* (Vol. 11). World Scientific.
- Flôres Jr, R. G. (1997). The gains from MERCOSUR: a general equilibrium, imperfect competition evaluation. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 19 (1), 1-18.
- Francis, S. (2011). A Sectoral Impact Analysis of the ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(2), 46-55.
- Francis, S., & Kallummal, M. (2013). India's Comprehensive Trade Agreements: Implications for Development Trajectory. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48 (31), 109-122.
- Frankel, J. A., & Rose, A. K. (2000). *Estimating the Effect of Currency Unions on Trade and Output* (No. 7857). Massachusetts.
- Frankel, J. A., Stein, E., & Wei, S. J. (1995). Regional Trading Arrangements: Natural or Supernatural? *American Economic Review*, 86(2), 52–56. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w5431>
- Freinkman, L., Polyakov, E., & Revenco, C. (2004). Trade performance and regional integration of the CIS countries. In *World Bank Working Paper*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2401724>
- Freund, C., & Ornelas, E. (2010). Regional trade agreements. *Annul. Rev. Econ.*, 2(1), 139-166.
- Fukao, K., Okubo, T., & Stern, R. M. (2003). An econometric analysis of trade diversion under NAFTA. *North American Journal of Economics and Finance*, 14(1), 3–24. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9408\(02\)00118-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9408(02)00118-3)
- García, E. C., Navarro P. M., & Gómez H. E. (2013). The gravity model analysis: An application on MERCOSUR trade flows. *Journal of Economic Policy Reform*, 16(4), 336–348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17487870.2013.846857>
- Gauto, V. F. (2012, January). An Econometric Analysis of trade creation and trade diversion in Mercosur: The Case of Paraguay. In *International Association of Agricultural Economists Triennial Conference*, 1-26.



GOI Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (2008). Implementation of the (i) Rubber Plantation Development Scheme and (ii) Scheme for Rubber Development in the North-East Region [PDF File]. Retrieved from [https://commerce.gov.in/trade/Rubber\\_Plant\\_Dev\\_Scheme.pdf](https://commerce.gov.in/trade/Rubber_Plant_Dev_Scheme.pdf)

Grinols, E.L., & Wong, K. Y. (1991). An Exact Measure of Welfare Change. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 24 (2), 429-49.

Haokip, T. (2011). India's Look East policy: Its evolution and approach. *South Asian Survey*, 18(2), 239-257.

Hapsari, I. M., & Mangunsong, C. (2006). Determinants of AFTA Members' Trade Flows and Potential for Trade Diversion By. In *Asia-Pacific Research and Training Network on Trade Working Paper Series* (No. 21).

Harilal, K. N. (2010). ASEAN-India free trade area: Noises of dissent from deep South. *Occasional paper*, 1.

Harris, M., & Mátyás, L. (1998). The econometrics of gravity models. In *Melbourne Institute Working Paper*. Retrieved from [http://melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/working\\_paper\\_series/wp1998n05.pdf](http://melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/working_paper_series/wp1998n05.pdf)

Haveman, J., & Hummels, D. (1998). Trade Creation and Trade Diversion. *Journal of Transnational Trade Creation and Trade Diversion*, 3(2), 37-41. <https://doi.org/10.1300/J130v03n02>

Head, K., & Mayer, T. (2014). Gravity equations: Workhorse, toolkit, and cookbook. In *Handbook of international economics* (Vol. 4, pp. 131-195). Elsevier./ Head, K., & Mayer, T. (2013). *Gravity equations: Workhorse, Toolkit, and Cookbook*. Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR). Discussion Paper Series, 9322.

Helpman, E., & Krugman, P. R. (1985). *Market structure and foreign trade: Increasing returns, imperfect competition, and the international economy*. MIT press: Cambridge, Massachusetts

Helpman, E., Melitz, M., & Rubinstein, Y. (2008). Estimating trade flows: Trading partners and trading volumes. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 123(2), 441-487.

Hiley, M. (1999). The dynamics of changing comparative advantage in the Asia-Pacific region.

*Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, 4(3), 446–467. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13547869908724693>

Huot, N., & Kakinaka, M. (2007). Trade Structure and Trade Flows in Cambodia: A Gravity Model. *Asean Economic Bulletin*, 24(3), 305–319. <https://doi.org/10.1355/ae24-3b>

International Trade Administration. (2017). Steel Exports Report: India [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.trade.gov/steel/countries/pdfs/2017/q1/exports-india.pdf>

International Trade Administration. (2018). Steel Exports Report: India [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.trade.gov/steel/countries/pdfs/2017/annual/exports-india.pdf>

Jayasinghe, S., & Sarker, R. (2008). Effects of regional trade agreements on trade in agrifood products: Evidence from gravity modeling using disaggregated data. *Review of agricultural economics*, 30(1), 61-81.

Jean, S., & Bureau, J. C. (2016). Do regional trade agreements really boost trade? Evidence from agricultural products. *Review of World Economics*, 152(3), 477–499. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10290-016-0253-1>

Johnson, H. G. (1998). The economic theory of customs union. *International Economic Integration: Theory and measurement*, 1: 184.

Joseph, J., & T. George T. (2014). Tariffs and protection in the ASEAN-India agreement: Rubber and rubber products. *Economic and Political Weekly* 49 (1):22–25.

Joseph, K. J. (2009). ASEAN-India pact and plantations: Realities of the myths. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(44): 14-18.

Ju, J. & Krishna, K. (2000). Welfare and Market Access Effects of Piecemeal Tariff Reform, *Journal of International Economics*, 51: 305-16.

Kahouli, B., & Maktouf, S. (2013). Regional Trade Agreements in Mediterranean Area: Econometric Analysis by Static Gravity Model. *Journal of East-West Business*, 19(4), 237–259. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10669868.2013.794380>

Kahouli, B., & Maktouf, S. (2015). Trade creation and diversion effects in the Mediterranean area: Econometric analysis by gravity model. *The Journal of International Trade and Economic*

*Development*, 24(1), 76–104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09638199.2013.873479>

Kandogan, Y. (2005). *Trade Creation and Diversion Effects of Europe's Regional Liberalization Agreements* (No. 746). Michigan.

Kawai, M. & Wignaraja, G., 2011. Asian FTAs: Trends, prospects and challenges. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 22(1), 1-22.

Khorana, S., & Narayanan, B. G. (2017). Modelling Effects of Tariff Liberalisation on India's Key Export Sectors: Analysis of the EU–India Free Trade Agreement. *Margin-The Journal of Applied Research*, 11(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0973801016676016>

Khurana, R., & Nauriyal, D. K. (2017). ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement: Evaluating Trade Creation and Trade Diversion Effects. *Journal of East-West Business*, 23(3), 283-307.

Kien, N. T. (2009). Gravity model by panel data approach: an empirical application with implications for the ASEAN free trade area. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 26(3), 266-277.

Kinfack Djoumessi, E., & Pholo Bala, A. (2018). The Analysis of Borders Effects in Intra-African Trade. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (October 2016). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3100670>

Koo, W. W., Kennedy, P. L., & Skripnitchenko, A. (2006). Regional Preferential Trade Agreements : Trade Creation and Diversion Effects. *Review of Agriculture Economics*, 28(3), 408–415.

Krueger, A. O. (1999). *Trade creation and trade diversion under NAFTA* (No. w7429). National bureau of economic research.

Kumar, S., & Ahmed, S. (2015). Gravity Model by Panel Data Approach: An Empirical Application with Implications for South Asian Countries. *Foreign Trade Review*, 50(4), 233–249. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0015732515598587>

Lambert, D., & McKoy, S. (2009). Trade creation and diversion effects of preferential trade associations on agricultural and food trade. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 60(1), 17–39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-9552.2008.00184.x>

Landes, M. & Hjort, K. (2015, July 6). Food Policy and Productivity Key to India Outlook. Retrieved from <https://www.ers.usda.gov/amber-waves/2015/july/food-policy-and-productivity-key-to-india-outlook/>

Learner, E. (1974). The commodity composition of international trade in manufactures: An empirical analysis, *Oxford Economic Papers*, 26, 350-374.

Learner, E. and R. Stern (1970) Quantitative international economics, Allyn and Bacon, Routledge: New York

Lewis, J. D., Robinson, S., & Thierfelder, K. (1999). After the negotiations: assessing the impact of free trade agreements in southern Africa. Trade and Macroeconomic Division Working Paper No, 46.

Linnemann, H. (1996). An Econometric Study of International Trade Flows. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co.

Lipsey, R. (1970). The Theory of Customs Unions: A General Equilibrium Analysis. London: Routledge.

Magee, C. S. (2008). New measures of trade creation and trade diversion. *Journal of International Economics*, 75(2), 349-362.

Manchin, M., & Pelkmans-Balaoing, A. O. (2008). Clothes without an Emperor: Analysis of the preferential tariffs in ASEAN. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 19(3), 213–223. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.asieco.2008.03.001>

Martinez-Zarzoso, I. (2003). Gravity model: An application to trade between regional blocs. *Atlantic Economic Journal*, 31(2), 174–187. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02319869>

Martínez-Zarzoso, I., Felicitas, N. L. D., & Horsewood, N. (2009). Are regional trading agreements beneficial?. Static and dynamic panel gravity models. *North American Journal of Economics and Finance*, 20(1), 46–65. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.najef.2008.10.001>

McCallum, J. (1995). National borders matter: Canada-US regional trade patterns. *The American Economic Review*, 85(3), 615-623.

Melitz, J. (2008). Language and foreign trade. *European Economic Review*, 52(4), 667-699.

- Mikic, M. & J. Gilbert. (2007). Trade Statistics in Policymaking—A Handbook of Commonly Used Trade Indices and Indicators. *Studies in Trade and Investment, Trade Policy Section, Trade and Investment Division*. UNESCAP.
- Milton, S., & Siddique, M. A. B. (2014). *Trade Creation and diversion under the Thailand-Australia free trade agreement (TAFTA)*. Australia: University of Western Australia, Economics.
- Ministry of Finance. (2006). Report of the Committee on Rationalisation of Customs and Excise Duties on Edible Oils and Oilseeds [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.finmin.nic.in/sites/default/files/ReportRationalEC.pdf>
- Mölders, F., & Volz, U. (2011). Trade creation and the status of FTAs: Empirical evidence from East Asia. *Review of World Economics*, 147(3), 429-456.
- Mondal, B., Sirohi, S., & Thorat, V. (2012). Impact of ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement on Indian Dairy Trade: A Quantitative Approach.
- Mukherjee, D. (2016). India-ASEAN Trade in Intermediates and Final Products: A Study of Selected Sectors. *Global Economy Journal*, 16(4), 721-743.
- Nag, B., & Sikdar, C. (2011). Welfare implication of India-ASEAN FTA: An analysis using GTAP model. *Indian Institute of Foreign Trade Working Paper No. EC-11-06*.
- Nagoor, B. H., & Kumar, C. N. (2010). Assessing the Impact of the ASEAN-India FTA on the Tea Industry. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45 (44/45), 112-116.
- Nambiar, S. (2011). *India's engagement with ASEAN: Beyond trade in goods*, 129, 26. ISAS working paper.
- Nandasiri, K., & Hur, J. (2008). FTA influence on trade creation and diversion by regional trading blocs. *The Journal of the Korean Economy*, 9(2), 1-31.
- Ngepah, N., & Udeagha, M. C. (2018). African Regional Trade Agreements and Intra-African Trade. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 33(1), 1176–1199.
- Ohlan, R. (2012). ASEAN-India free trade agreement in goods: An assessment. *African Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(3), 66-84.

- Ohyama, M. (1972): Trade and Welfare in General Equilibrium. *Keio Economic Studies*, 9, 37-73.
- Okabe, M. (2015). Impact of free trade agreements on trade in East Asia. *ERIA Discussion Paper Series*, 1, 1-48. ERIA DP-2015-01.
- Okabe, M., & Urata, S. (2007). The Impacts of Free Trade Arrangements on Trade Flows: An Application of Gravity Model Approach. *Research Paper*.
- Okabe, M., & Urata, S. (2014). The impact of AFTA on intra-AFTA trade. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 35, 12–31. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.asieco.2014.09.004>
- Olivero, M. P. & Yotov, Y. V. (2012) Dynamic Gravity: Endogenous Country Size and Asset Accumulation. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 45(1), 64-92.
- Paas, T., Tafenau, E., & Scannell, N. (2008). Gravity equation analysis in the context of international trade: Model specification implications in the case of the European Union. *Eastern European Economics*, 46(5), 92–113. <https://doi.org/10.2753/EEE0012-8775460506>
- Pal, P., & Dasgupta, M. (2008). Does a Free trade agreement with ASEAN make Sense?. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(46), 8-12.
- Pal, P., & Dasgupta, M. (2009). The ASEAN-India free trade agreement: An assessment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(38), 11-15.
- Panagariya, A. (1999). The regionalism debate: an overview. *World Economy*, 22(4), 455-476.
- Panagariya, A. (2004). India's trade reform. *India Policy Forum* 1(1). Brookings Institution Washington, DC.
- Pant, M., & Sadhukhan, A. (2009). Does Regionalism Hinder Multilateralism: A Case Study of India. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 24 (2), 222-247.
- Park, J. H. (1995). The new regionalism and third world development. *Journal of developing societies*, 11 (1), 21-21.
- PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry. (2016). Exports of fish from India are expected to grow by 61.2% by 2030: FAO [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.phdcci.in/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Exports-of-fish-from-India-are-expected-to-grow-by-61.2-by-2030-FAO.pdf>



Plummer, M. G., Cheong, D., & Hamanaka, S. (2010). *Methodology for impact assessment of free trade agreements*. Asian Development Bank.

Pöyhönen, P. (1963). A tentative model for the volume of trade between countries. *World Economic Archives* , 90: 93-100.

Prasad, H. A. C., Sathish, R., Kumar, S. V., Singh, S. S. S., & Sharma, S. R. K. (2017). Reviving and accelerating India's exports: Policy issues and suggestions. *Government of India Ministry of Finance Department of Economic Affairs*.

Press Information Bureau. (2004). Ministry of Steel [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelcontent.aspx?relid=1033>

Rajan, R.S. and Sen, R., 2001. Trade Reforms in India Ten Years on: How has it Fared Compared to its East Asian Neighbours? Working paper

Raju, S., 2010. ASEAN-India FTA: Emerging Issues for Trade in Agriculture. Indian Institute of Foreign Trade. Working Paper

Ratna, R. S., & Kallummal, M. (2013). ASEAN–India Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and its impact on India: A case study of fisheries and selected agricultural products. *Foreign Trade Review*, 48(4), 481-497.

Renjini, V. R., Kar, A., Jha, G. K., Kumar, P., Burman, R. R., & Praveen, K. V. (2017). Agricultural Trade Potential between India and ASEAN: An Application of Gravity Model. *Agricultural Economics Research Review*, 29: 105-112.

Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. (2014). India's Foreign Trade: 2013-14 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://rbidocs.rbi.org.in/rdocs/Bulletin/PDFs/01IFRT110814F.pdf>

Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. (2015). India's Foreign Trade: 2014-15 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://rbidocs.rbi.org.in/rdocs/Bulletin/PDFs/1INDAIFOR090115.pdf>

Robertson, R. and Estevadeordal, A. (2009). Gravity, bilateral agreements, and trade diversion in the Americas. *Cuadernos de economía*, 46(133), 3-31.

Routray, B. (2011). India-Myanmar relations: Triumph of pragmatism. *Jindal Journal of International Affairs*, 1(1), 301-21.

- Rose, A. K. (2000). One money, one market: the effect of common currencies on trade. *Economic Policy*, 15(30), 8–0. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0327.00056>
- Sattayanuwat, W., & Tangvitoontham, N. (2017). Trade creation and trade diversion of ASEAN's preferential trade agreements'. *IAFOR Journal of the Social Sciences*, 3(1), 5-11.
- Schiff, M. (1997). Small is beautiful: preferential trade agreements and the impact of country size, market share, and smuggling. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 12(3), 359-387.
- Schott, J. 2004. Free trade agreements: Boon or Bane of the world trading system. In J. J. Schott Economics, Washington, DC.
- Seafood Exporters Association of India. (2007). 37<sup>th</sup> Annual Report [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://seai.in/seaidatafiles/uploads/2013/01/37th-Annual-Report1.pdf>
- Seafood Exporters Association of India. (2012). International Seafood Industry News [PDF File]. *Export Journal*, XLII(11). Retrieved from <http://seai.in/seaidatafiles/uploads/2012/12/November-20121.pdf>
- Sen, R., Asher, M. G., & Rajan, R. S. (2004). ASEAN-India economic relations: current status and future prospects. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39 (29), 3297-3308.
- Sen, R., Srivastava, S., & Webber, D. (2015). *Effects of preferential trade agreements in the presence of zero trade flows: the cases of China and India* (No.1507).
- Sharma, R. (2008). China, India and AFTA: evolving bilateral agricultural trade and new opportunities through free trade agreements. *United Nation: Trade and Markets Division of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*.
- Sheng, Y., Tang, H. C., & Xu, X. (2012). *The impact of ACFTA on People's Republic of China-ASEAN trade: Estimates based on an extended gravity model for component trade* (No. 99). ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration.
- Shepherd, B. (2012). *The gravity model of international trade: a user guide*, United Nations, ESCAP.

- Shinoj, P., & Mathur, V. C. (2008). Comparative Advantage of India in Agricultural Exports vis-à-vis Asia: A Post-reforms Analysis. *Agricultural Economics Research Review*, 21(1), pp 60-66.
- Sikdar, C. and Nag, B. (2011). Impact of India-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement: A cross-country analysis using applied general equilibrium modelling (No. 107). ARTNeT Working Paper Series.
- Silva, J. S., & Tenreyro, S. (2006). The log of gravity. *The Review of Economics and statistics*, 88(4), 641-658.
- Singh, H.V. (2017). Trade Policy reform in India Since 1991. Brookings India Working Paper 02.
- Singh, S.P. (2010). CUTS ASEAN: A Potential Export Destination for Products from Northeast India. CITEE, Jaipur. p16-18.
- Singh, S., Sharma D. (2014). Impact of European Union and ASEAN on India's trade volume using gravity model: A panel data approach. *The Indian Economic Journal*, Special issue, 323-334.
- Singh, S.P. (2010). CUTS ASEAN: A Potential Export Destination for Products from Northeast India. CITEE, Jaipur. 16-18.
- Soloaga, I., & Winters, L. A. (2001). Regionalism in the nineties: What effect on trade? *North American Journal of Economics and Finance*, 12(1), 1–29. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9408\(01\)00042-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9408(01)00042-0)
- South Carolina Forestry Commission. (2016). Forest Products Market Profile: India [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://www.state.sc.us/forest/pubs/india.pdf>
- Subramanian, A., & Wei, S. J. (2007). The WTO promotes trade, strongly but unevenly. *Journal of international Economics*, 72(1), 151-175.
- Sudsawasd, S., & Mongsawad, P. (2007). Go with the Gang, ASEAN!. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 24 (3), 339-356.
- Summers, L.H. (1991). Regionalism and the world trading system. Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.
- Sun, L., & Reed, M. R. (2010). Impacts of free trade agreements on agricultural trade creation and trade diversion. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 92(5), 1351–1363.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ajae/aaq076>

Taguchi, H., & Lee, H. L. The ASEAN-Korea free trade agreements (AFTA): Empirical evidence on trade-creation and trade-diversion effects. *Available on: jsie. jp.*

Tang, D. (2005). Effects of the regional arrangements on trade: Evidence from the NAFTA, ANZCER and ASEAN countries, 1989-2000. *Journal of International Trade and Economic Development*, 14(2), 241–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09638190500093562>

The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India. (2016). India ASEAN Trade and Investment Relations: Opportunities and Challenges [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://www.assochem.org/upload/docs/ASEAN-STUDY.pdf>

The Seafood Exporters Association of India. (2005). Report of the Managing Committee [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://seai.in/seaidatafiles/uploads/2013/01/35th-Annual-Report-.pdf>

Tinbergen, J. (1962). *Shaping the World Economy: Suggestions for an International Economic Policy*. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund.

Toyoda, T. (2011). Enhancing trade flows in ASEAN plus six. *Applied Econometrics and International Development*, 11(2).

Trung Kien, N. (2009). Gravity Model by Panel Data Approach: An Empirical Application with Implications for the ASEAN Free Trade Area. *Asean Economic Bulletin*, 26(3), 266–277. <https://doi.org/10.1355/ae26-3c>

Trade Policy Review .1998. Report by Government of India. World Trade Organization.

Trade Policy Review .2007. Report by Government of India. World Trade Organization.

Trade Policy Review .2011. Report by Government of India. World Trade Organization.

Trade Policy Review .2015. Report by Government of India. World Trade Organization.

Trade Policy Statement 1991. 1991-92. Ministry of Commerce, Department of Commerce, Annual Report.

Urata, S. (2014). Constructing and multilateralizing the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: an Asian perspective. *A World Trade Organization for the 21st Century*, 239- 268. Edited by Richard Baldwin, Masahiro Kawai, Ganeshan Wignaraja.

Urata, S., & Okabe, M. (2007). *The Impacts of Free Trade Agreements on Trade Flows: an Application of the Gravity Model Approach* (No. 07-E-052). [https://doi.org/10.1142/9789814271394\\_0006](https://doi.org/10.1142/9789814271394_0006)

Urata, S., & Okabe, M. (2010). *Trade Creation and Diversion Effects of Regional Trade Agreements on Commodity Trade* (No. 10-E-007).

Urata, S., & Okabe, M. (2014). Trade creation and diversion effects of regional trade agreements: A product-level analysis. *The World Economy*, 37(2), 267–289. <https://doi.org/10.1111/twec.12099>

US Geological Survey. (2007). 2005 Minerals Yearbook: Copper [PDF File]. Retrieved from <http://prattclif.com/mines/kamoto/Document%20in%20copperUSGSmyb05.pdf>

USDA Economic Research Service. (2016). From Where the Buffalo Roam: India's Beef Exports [PDF File]. Retrieved from [https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/37672/59707\\_1dpm-264-01.pdf](https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/37672/59707_1dpm-264-01.pdf)

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2006). India Product Brief Wood and Wood Product Market in India - 2006. [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://apps.fas.usda.gov/gainfiles/200606/146198036.pdf>

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2007). India Livestock and Products Annual 2007 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://apps.fas.usda.gov/gainfiles/200710/146292587.pdf>

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2008). India Product Brief Wood and Products - 2008 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://apps.fas.usda.gov/gainfiles/200810/146296158.pdf>

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2010). India Livestock and Products Annual 2010 [PDF File]. Retrieved from [https://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Livestock%20and%20Products%20Annual\\_New%20Delhi\\_India\\_9-22-2010.pdf](https://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Livestock%20and%20Products%20Annual_New%20Delhi_India_9-22-2010.pdf)

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service. (2012). Livestock and Poultry: World Markets and Trade [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://downloads.usda.library.cornell.edu/usda-esmis/files/73666448x/5t34sk030/6108vb70f/livestock-poultry-ma-10-18-2012.pdf>

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2013). India Livestock and Products Annual 2013 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Livestock%20and%20Products%20Annual%20New%20Delhi%20India%209-3-2013.pdf>

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service. (2014). International Agricultural Trade Report [PDF File]. Retrieved from [https://www.fas.usda.gov/sites/default/files/2015-02/india\\_iatr\\_august\\_2014.pdf](https://www.fas.usda.gov/sites/default/files/2015-02/india_iatr_august_2014.pdf)

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2014). Wood and Wood Products in India 2014 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Wood%20and%20Wood%20Products%20in%20India%202014%20New%20Delhi%20India%206-24-2014.pdf>

USDA Foreign Agricultural Service GAIN Report. (2015). India Livestock and Products Annual 2015 [PDF File]. Retrieved from <https://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Livestock%20and%20Products%20Annual%20New%20Delhi%20India%208-27-2015.pdf>

Varma, A. (2015). ASEAN-India free trade agreement: an assessment of merchandise exports and imports.

Veeramani, C., and G. K. Saini. 2010. Impact of ASEAN-India FTA on India's plantation commodities: A simulation analysis. Indira Gandhi Institute for Development Research, Mumbai. Retrieved from: <http://www.igidr.ac.in/pdf/publication/WP-2010-004.pdf>

Venables, A. J. (2003). Winners and losers from regional integration agreements. *The Economic Journal*, 113(490), 747-761.

Viner, J. (1950). The customs union issue. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*.

Waelbroeck, J. (1964). Le commerce de la Communauté Européenne avec les pays tiers. *Brugmans, H.(red.): Intégration Européenne et Réalité Economique. Bruges: De Tempel*.



Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Westerlund, J., & Wilhelmsson, F. (2011). Estimating the gravity model without gravity using panel data. *Applied Economics*, 43(6), 641–649. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036840802599784>

World Bank. (2000). *Trade Blocs*. Oxford University Press, New York.

World Trade Organization, 2011. World Trade Report 2011: The WTO and preferential trade agreements: From co-existence to coherence. World Trade Organization (WTO).

Wylie, P. J. (1995). Partial equilibrium estimates of manufacturing trade creation and diversion due to NAFTA. *The North American Journal of Economics and Finance*, 6(1), 65-84.

Yang, S., & Martinez-Zarzoso, I. (2014). A panel data analysis of trade creation and trade diversion effects: The case of ASEAN-China Free Trade Area. *China Economic Review*, 29, 138–151. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2014.04.002>

Yean, T. S., Yi, A. K. J., & Malavsia, U. K. (2014). Reassessing the Impact of the ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement. *Jurnal Ekonomi Malaysia*, 48(2), 99-110.

Yeats, A. J. (1998). Does Mercosur's trade performance raise concerns about the effects of regional trade arrangements? *The World Bank Economic Review*, 12(1), 1-28.

Yong, T.T. and Mun, S.C., 2009. The Evolution of India–ASEAN Relations. *India Review*, 8(1), pp. 20-42.

Yotov, Y. V., Piermartini, R., Monteiro, J. A., & Larch, M. (2016). An advanced guide to trade policy analysis: The structural gravity model. Geneva: World Trade Organization.

Yin, X. (2004). The Impact of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement on Regional Trade. *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 18(2), 311–339.