



China's integration in East Asia: the role of intra-industry trade*

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China's intra-industry trade (IIT) with East Asia was minimal during the early years of opening up from 1978 to 1993 but increased relative to inter-industry trade in the post-1993 years. Bilateral intra-industry trade (BIIT) with Japan and Korea was sustained in capital-intensive heavy industries such as metals and yarns; its BIIT with East Asian countries also increased tremendously starting 1993 in industries characterized by production networks. BIIT with the more developed partners has increasingly become more important through higher volume and higher shares of trade in a growing number of industries. While this is also true for its trade with ASEAN 4, IIT is less both in absolute and relative terms. The overall trend shows that China's integration to East Asia has not only increased but also deepened. China's IIT should be analysed in the context of its historical legacy from the planned period and the continued dominance of the central government in key strategic industries.

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1. Introduction

In 2008, China celebrated 30 years of economic reform. It started with an open door policy in 1978 that moved the country from a comparative advantage defying (CAD) [Lin and Wang 2008] development strategy to become the world's biggest exporter in 2010, thereby amassing the world's largest international reserves: US\$ 2.4 trillion. At the heart of this phenomenal, though not unprecedented, growth was an all-encompassing reform in its foreign trade regime within a broader structural macroeconomic reform. As trade with East Asian economies expanded, China integrated into the global economy through existing East Asian production networks. Hence, China's growth trade has to be analysed and woven into its integration with East Asia.

The objectives of the paper are to (a) describe China's integration in East Asia and (b) analyse China's pattern of intra-industry trade (IIT) and its role in regional integration. Section 2 narrates the story of China's participation in East Asia's regional economy; section 3 provides a review of literature on intra-industry trade theory; section 4 discusses the analytical framework and methodology. Sections 5 and 6 present and analyse the results of China's IIT with East Asia. Section 7 concludes the paper.

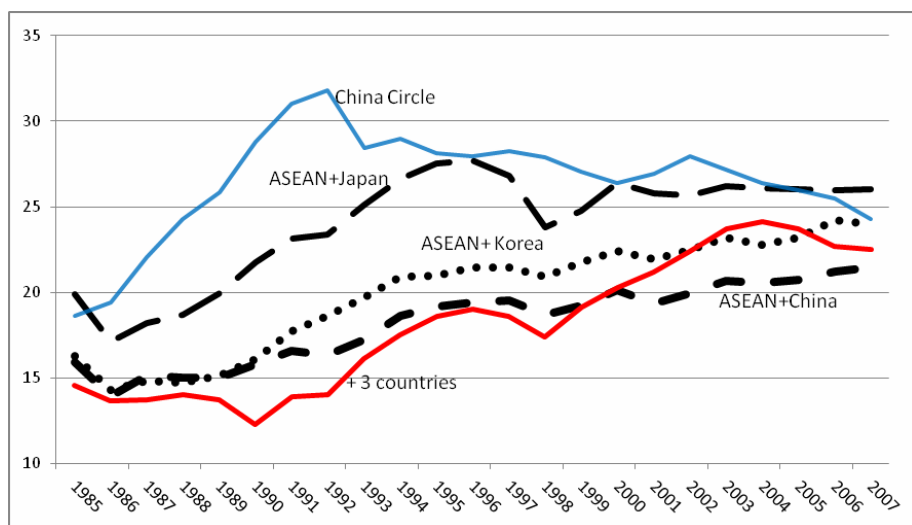
2. China's integration in the East Asian economy

East Asia refers to members of ASEAN (Cambodia, Brunei, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam), the ASEAN + 3 countries (the People's Republic of China [PRC], Japan, and Korea), and the China Circle (the PRC; Taiwan, China; and Hong Kong SAR, China).

Intraregional trade share, a common indicator of integration, measures the percentage of trade within a region as a share of the region's trade with the world. As intraregional trade shares increase, the region is or becomes more integrated. The type of trade measured here is actually not just preferential trade but multilateral trade as well; hence, the integration measured is not the type of integration laid out by Viner.

Trade integration in East Asia is more *de facto* than *de jure*. Prior to the formation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) in 1992 and the surge of FTAs in the late '90s, intraregional trade shares have already been increasing. Among the China Circle countries, intraregional trade rose from 19 percent in 1985 to a peak of 32 percent in 1992; the declining range—25 percent to 29 percent from 1993 to 2007—occurred simultaneously with increasingly

higher shares among the ASEAN + 3 countries. Among the three ASEAN + 1 trade groups, the intraregional trade shares of ASEAN + China have been the lowest relative to ASEAN + Korea and ASEAN + Japan. This shows China is more integrated with Taiwan and Hong Kong relative to ASEAN (Figure 1). This is easily explained by the cultural and linguistic affinity as well as geographical proximity of Hong Kong and Taiwan to the PRC.



Source: Appendix Table 1.

Figure 1. Intraregional trade shares in East Asia (%)

China opened its doors¹ in 1978 by using initially export processing (EP) contracts that allowed processed trade—that is, duty-free importation of inputs to process goods purely for exports—between Hong Kong and autonomous provincial governments and became the basis for the establishment of four special economic zones (SEZs) in Guangdong and Fujian, two southern coastal provinces. Processed trade was substantial in labor-intensive light manufactured goods such as garments, toys, shoes, bags, accessories, etc.

¹The Chinese language-written characters distinguish “opening up” from trade reform or liberalization and consider both different; however, most non-Chinese economists analysing Chinese external trade do not make this distinction and use opening up and trade reform interchangeably.

The Plaza Accord of 1985 set in motion the appreciation of East Asian currencies and, together with higher labor costs, engendered a search for alternative production bases. Japan started relocating to the newly industrializing economies (NIEs) and then to developing Southeast Asian (SEA) countries, whereas the NIEs relocated to China and SEA countries. In 1986, China made two major policy decisions that were instrumental in its integration with the regional and global trading economies. First, the Coastal Development Strategy (CDS), which allowed firms in the coastal provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Guangdong, and Fujian to engage in EP contracts, was launched. Hong Kong and Taiwan, the two first movers, brought in raw materials, technology, and capital to jump-start the rebuilding of China's trade infrastructure, nonexistent at that time. Together with China's cheap labor, these foreign invested enterprises (FIEs) produced low-priced goods exported to the United States and the European Union. This was how China began integrating into the regional and global economies, through the existing trade-investment linkages of Hong Kong and Taiwan. By the late '80s, the relocation of production bases in light manufacturing industries from the NIEs to China and SEA has been completed.

By the early '90s, the relocation of information technology (IT) products began as well; unlike the previous wave, the relocation of IT production bases was spread over several but successive waves. It started with the most labor-intensive and least technology-intensive products to more technology-intensive and capital-intensive goods. Global competition has resulted in increasingly smaller slices of the chain, from low-tech labor-intensive production, to high-tech skill-intensive design, and to high-tech capital-intensive production. Hence, in this environment, there is a constant drive to relocate and restructure production networks. The most salient and successful relocation and restructuring of the PC manufacturing and assembly was the acquisition and takeover by Lenovo, originally "Legend" (*Lianxiang*), of IBM's PC division in 2004 [Lenovo website]. By then, the technology for PC assembly and manufacturing has matured, and comparative advantage was increasingly determined by labor cost and not technology.

Second, the Chinese yuan was depreciated from CN¥ 1.5 per US dollar to CN¥ 3.5 per US dollar in 1986, then to a rate of CN¥ 8.3 per US dollar in 1996; while the exchange rate was unified with full convertibility in the current account by 1994, it continued to be fixed at CN¥ 8.3 per US dollar till June 2004 with a closed capital account. In hindsight, the depreciation of the yuan could not have been more well-timed. China's comparative advantage in labor-intensive products was combined with a cheap currency; more

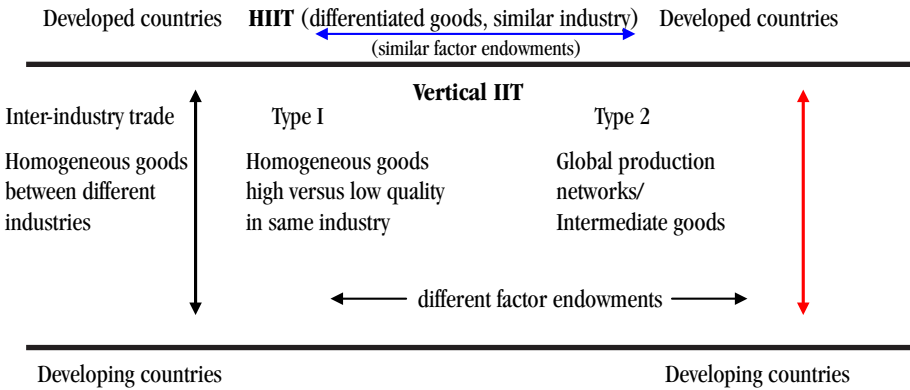
substantially, the yuan's role as a stabilizing currency became increasingly obvious in an environment of competitive devaluation during the 1997 Asian financial crisis and contributed to an early recovery in the region. This contributed to the realization by her neighbors that China has increasingly become an important part of the Asian economy—setting the stage for China's silent debut as a key player in the regional economy.

3. Review of literature

The pattern of world trade has been analysed traditionally using the theory of comparative advantage where trade is an exchange of goods between industries—that is, inter-industry—and generally occurs between developing and developed countries. Goods traded are homogenous under perfect competition. However, this type of trade cannot explain trade between developed countries with similar factor endowments. Krugman [1980], Dixit and Stiglitz [1977], and Lancaster [1980] emphasized the role of economies of scale under monopolistic competition; trade is an exchange of goods within an industry—horizontal intra-industry trade (HIIT)—and occurs because of the love of variety.

In subsequent developments, Falvey [1981], Falvey and Kierzkowski [1987], and Flam and Helpman [1987] showed that IIT can take place between countries with different income distribution (demand side) and different factor endowments (supply side), explaining why trade takes place in vertically differentiated finished products. Capital-abundant countries export or specialize in relatively high-quality products using capital-intensive technology, which are therefore more expensive. In contrast, relatively low-income/labor-abundant countries specialize in low-quality products, which are therefore cheaper. In stark contrast with HIIT, there are no economies of scale, but trade takes place under perfect competition, constant returns to scale, and fixed factor intensity. This is vertical IIT (VIIT) type I, and can be understood as an extension of the Heckscher-Ohlin (H-O) theory.

VIIT, type II, characterizing East Asian production networks and regional trade, is more appropriate in analysing the trade and investment linkages in East Asian economies. It is based on differences in factor endowments but more specifically on wages and technologies. Developing countries with abundant labor using low-technology production, export the cheaper products in the global production chain while developed countries with abundant capital and technology produce the more capital-intensive and/or technology-intensive products of the chain.



Source: Author's diagram based on section 2 of this paper; Krugman in Krugman and Obstfeld [2002]; Ando [2006].

Figure 2. Inter- and intra-industry trade

Measurement of IIT is largely attributed to Grubel and Lloyd [1975] who distinguished HIIT (the exchange of competing or substitute products) from VIIT (the exchange of products at different stages in the processing of a final product). Abd-el-Rahman [1991] provided the methodology to distinguish IIT into HIIT and VIIT by using differences in unit prices between imported and exported goods. This type of distinction is commonly used when analysing IIT of Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) developed countries with China (e.g., Hellvin [1996]; Hu and Ma [1999]; and Zhang, Witteloostuijn, and Zhou [2005]). Fontagne and Freudenberg [1997] extended the work of Abd-el-Rahman [1991] by using a range of unit price differentials between imports and exports in a particular category of goods to break down total trade into one-way trade, which captures inter-industry trade, VIIT, and HIIT. Ando [2006] applied this method to measure IIT in machineries industries in East Asia.

4. Framework and methodology

The intra-industry trade index is estimated using the Grubel and Lloyd [1975] formula shown in equations (1) and (2).

$$IIT_{i,k_j} = \frac{(X_{i,k_j} + M_{i,k_j}) - |X_{i,k_j} - M_{i,k_j}|}{(X_{i,k_j} + M_{i,k_j})} \tag{1}$$

$$= 1 - \frac{|X_{i,k_j} - M_{i,k_j}|}{(X_{i,k_j} + M_{i,k_j})} \tag{2}$$

$$\frac{|X_i k_j - M_i k_j|}{(X_i k_j + M_i k_j)} = 1 - \text{IIT}_i k_j \quad (3)$$

where $i = 1, 2, 3, \dots, n$, is the i th industry; X and M are exports and imports, respectively; k is the exporting country; and j is the country destination of exports.

Equation (1) is a tautology and therefore is true by definition. Equation (2) shows that IIT is estimated as residual of total trade after accounting for $|X - M|$, which is inter-industry trade. When $X_i = M_i$, IIT becomes 1—that is, all trade in the i th industry is intra-industry trade. If $X_i = 0$ or $M_i = 0$, IIT equals 0 and all trade in the i th is inter-industry trade. When $X_i > M_i$ or $X_i < M_i$, the values of IIT are bound between 0 and 1; as IIT increases, trade in the i th industry becomes increasingly intra- rather inter-industry trade. The limitations of the index are: (a) if IIT is estimated at a higher level of aggregation, trade is summed over a wider group of industries, in effect grouping less similar products into an industry; (b) as a result of (a), within an increasingly broader group, it becomes increasingly more likely that a country will export and/or import the “same” variety of products, putting the values of X and M closer to each other, introducing an upward bias although what is more appropriately captured are goods/industries that are more heterogeneous; therefore, intra-industry trade is higher for a group of goods that are less similar!

There will be no adjustments to correct trade imbalances at the product level whether or not IIT index was estimated bilaterally or between bigger trade groups because if adjustments were made, then the rationale for measuring the IIT would be lost: a balanced trade implies that trade is purely intra-industry and assumes away the possibility of inter-industry trade.

5. China's intra-industry trade in East Asia

Trade data used are Standard International Trade Classification (SITC) revision 2 compiled by the UN Comtrade. The revision 2 series was used despite the availability of more recent data in the revision 3 series because the former has earlier and longer comparable trade data—that is, 1987-2006. Two, the value of the data in the 1980s is more important in understanding China's early years of integration into the regional and global economies. Given the arguments and constraints in section 4, China's bilateral IIT (BIIT) with 14 East Asian countries was computed at the three-digit level yielding

results for 200-260² industries. Estimates are grouped into different trends, the more interesting and important are those where IIT was sustained in all three periods, followed by the burst of new industries with high and increasing IIT during the second and third subperiods.

When does trade become intra- rather than inter-industry trade? Trade is of the intra-industry type if the average IIT index of an industry in any of the three subperiods is at least 50 percent. Any industry with an average IIT below 50 percent in all subperiods is not reported; and all industries with an SITC code starting with 0—that is, agriculture—are excluded even if their IIT is 50 percent. Only results for Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and ASEAN 4 (i.e., Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand) are reported and analysed. Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam are excluded because trade in the first two subperiods was thin to begin with and industries with IIT were extremely few.

There are some common features in China's BIIT with Japan and Korea. In group A where BIIT is sustained over the three subperiods, the industries are generally capital-intensive³ heavy industries such as chemicals, metallic and nonmetallic manufactures, textile yarn, and man-made fibers, with some industries in the food and light manufacturing (Tables 1 and 2). In group B where BIIT was sustained from 1993 to 2006, there is a progression toward (a) manufactured goods/finished goods; (b) goods in the transport sector and telecommunications equipment, office machines, and automated data processing equipment; and (c) residual petroleum products, base metals (such as iron and steel, tin, lead, and zinc), and chemical products. It is interesting to note that BIIT in industries in groups D and F decreased in the second and third subperiods, respectively. In group C, where BIIT started from 2001 to 2006, the products are in ships, boats, and floating structures, and parts for steam boilers and auxiliary plant. Worth noting is that while Korea had less industries with BIIT with China during the first period, 33 versus 7, there was tremendous increase, more than sevenfold, in the number of industries with IIT 50 percent and above in the second period (Table 4, groups B, C, E) while Japan had a 50 percent increase only (Table 2, groups B, C, E).

² The universal set is 261 industries using the SITC Revision 2 codes, but the total number of industries characterized by IIT varies and would depend first on whether or not there was trade for a particular year, an observation that changes from year to year.

³ The observation of capital-intensity does not benefit from using K/L ratios.

Table 1. China's intra-industry trade index with Japan (%)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
A. Consistently above 50%			
515. Organo-inorganic and heterocyclic compounds	57	63	65
516. Other organic chemicals	76	84	69
541. Medicinal and pharmaceutical products	63	68	83
651. Textile yarn	84	90	88
663. Mineral manufactures, nes	63	67	51
665. Glassware	59	90	73
684. Aluminium	73	72	83
694. Nails, screws, nuts, bolts, rivets, etc., of iron, steel or copper	67	71	63
695. Tools for use in the hand or in machines	59	83	59
699. Manufactures of base metal, nes	71	84	96
895. Office and stationary supplies, nes	59	69	91
B. Above 50% after 1992			
269. Old clothing and other old textile articles; rags	18	53	69
277. Natural abrasives, nes	15	52	58
287. Ores and concentrates of base metals, nes	8	74	69
335. Residual petroleum products, nes and related materials	17	62	65
531. Synthetic dye, natural indigo, lakes	43	85	97
532. Dyeing and tanning extracts, and synthetic tanning materials	26	77	51
551. Essential oils, perfume and flavour materials	38	52	76
613. Furskins, tanned or dressed; pieces of furskin, tanned or dressed	32	58	56
628. Articles of rubber, nes	33	71	65
642. Paper and paperboard, precut, and articles of paper or paperboard	38	84	79
667. Pearl, precious and semi-precious stones, unworked or worked	10	63	81
683. Nickel	30	60	81
687. Tin	4	54	90
693. Wire products (excluding insulated electrical wire); fencing grills	33	77	84
716. Rotating electric plant and parts thereof, nes	49	88	91
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	9	73	94
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	49	85	81
773. Equipment for distribution of electricity	9	74	75
872. Medical instruments and appliances, nes	17	73	73
881. Photographic apparatus and equipment, nes	17	88	62
884. Optical goods nes	30	75	62
885. Watches and clocks	14	85	79
893. Articles, nes of plastic materials	45	90	80
897. Gold, silver ware, jewelry and articles of precious materials, nes	22	61	71
898. Musical instruments, parts and accessories thereof	15	80	65

Table 1. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
C. Above 50% after 2000			
273. Stone, sand and gravel	1	13	54
514. Nitrogen-function compounds	31	49	51
522. Inorganic chemical elements, oxides and halogen salts	26	35	63
523. Other inorganic chemicals; compounds of precious metals	43	42	56
553. Perfumery, cosmetics, toilet preparations, etc.	16	42	61
585. Other artificial resins and plastic materials	44	39	63
591. Pesticides, disinfectants	3	25	85
625. Rubber tires, tire cases, inner and flaps, for wheels of all kinds	1	46	76
685. Lead	15	14	61
686. Zinc	35	44	64
711. Steam boilers and auxiliary plant; and parts thereof, nes	3	33	57
721. Agricultural machinery (excluding tractors) and parts thereof, nes	7	18	78
741. Heating and cooling equipment and parts thereof, nes	1	26	91
745. Other non-electric machinery, tools and mechanical apparatus, nes	3	27	51
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	6	46	75
784. Motor vehicle parts and accessories, nes	41	48	51
793. Ships, boats and floating structures	11	49	68
873. Meters and counters, nes	5	32	62
899. Other miscellaneous manufactured articles, nes	46	44	65
931. Special transactions, commodity not classified according to class	27	13	65
D. Below 50% after 2000			
122. Tobacco, manufactured	69	55	36
411. Animal oils and fats	67	62	11
431. Animal and vegetable oils and fats, processed, and waxes	51	69	46
598. Miscellaneous chemical products, nes	76	65	42
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	80	67	48
662. Clay and refractory construction materials	50	74	31
E. Alternating			
244. Cork, natural, raw and waste	2	52	43
691. Structures and parts, nes, of iron, steel or aluminium	32	67	17
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	4	75	28
761. Television receivers	40	55	7
772. Electrical apparatus for making and breaking electrical circuits	25	52	45
775. Household type equipment, nes	13	53	20
812. Sanitary, plumbing, heating, lighting fixtures and fittings, nes	13	64	50
847. Clothing accessories, of textile fabrics, nes	11	84	35
871. Optical instruments and apparatus	12	83	39

Table 1. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
F. Below 50% after 1992			
288. Non-ferrous base metal waste and scrap, nes	51	28	5
512. Alcohols, phenols etc., and their derivatives	73	50	38
513. Carboxylic acids, and their derivatives	65	41	32
562. Fertilizers, manufactured	61	21	2
592. Starches, insulin and wheat gluten; albuminoidal substances; glues	60	36	47
612. Manufactures of leather or of composition leather, nes; etc.	54	25	18
634. Veneers, plywood, "improved" wood and other wood, worked, nes	54	28	17
653. Fabrics, woven, of man-made fibers (not narrow or special fabrics)	68	16	14
654. Textile fabrics, woven, other than cotton or man-made fibers	56	40	45
655. Knitted or crocheted fabrics (including tubular, etc., fabrics)	76	19	12
656. Tulle, lace, embroidery, ribbons, trimmings and other small wares	58	43	38
681. Silver, platinum and other metals of the platinum group	53	35	21
696. Cutlery	83	35	18
697. Household equipment of base metal, nes	60	42	5
786. Trailers, and other vehicles, not motorized, nes	57	15	7
894. Baby carriages, toys, games and sporting goods	59	28	15
Source: Author's computation based on UN Comtrade data.			

Table 2. China's intra-industry trade index with Korea (%)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
A. Consistently above 50%			
598. Miscellaneous chemical products, nes	52	61	51
651. Textile yarn	58	84	90
653. Fabrics, woven, of man-made fibers (not narrow or special fabrics)	55	59	52
678. Tube, pipes and fittings, of iron or steel	53	72	86
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	51	93	83
B. Above 50% after 1992			
514. Nitrogen-function compounds	25	77	63
516. Other organic chemicals	33	84	90
531. Synthetic dye, natural indigo, lakes	19	64	74
553. Perfumery, cosmetics, toilet preparations, etc.	14	70	86
584. Regenerated cellulose; derivatives of cellulose; vulcanized fiber	37	70	70
592. Starches, insulin and wheat gluten; albuminoidal substances; glues	31	62	72
612. Manufactures of leather or of composition leather, nes; etc.	44	86	91
613. Furskins, tanned or dressed; pieces of furskin, tanned or dressed	40	70	54
628. Articles of rubber, nes	41	55	56

Table 2. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	32	91	83
654. Textile fabrics, woven, other than cotton or man-made fibers	26	75	68
663. Mineral manufactures, nes	27	78	89
664. Glass	50	64	76
665. Glassware	9	74	87
684. Aluminium	36	68	75
695. Tools for use in the hand or in machines	29	72	65
716. Rotating electric plant and parts thereof, nes	12	74	81
749. Non-electric parts and accessories of machinery, nes	41	51	64
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	12	77	74
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	22	71	57
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	24	71	65
775. Household type equipment, nes	7	72	54
778. Electrical machinery and apparatus, nes	46	80	71
812. Sanitary, plumbing, heating, lighting fixtures and fittings, nes	20	85	57
872. Medical instruments and appliances, nes	38	73	68
873. Meters and counters, nes	16	55	70
881. Photographic apparatus and equipment, nes	37	75	86
885. Watches and clocks	29	89	87
895. Office and stationary supplies, nes	31	85	91
897. Gold, silver ware, jewelry and articles of precious materials, nes	6	67	70
899. Other miscellaneous manufactured articles, nes	32	72	86
C. Above 50% after 2000			
111. Non-alcoholic beverages, nes	20	20	69
112. Alcoholic beverages	0	24	72
122. Tobacco, manufactured	1	1	57
251. Pulp and waste paper	13	47	55
267. Other man-made fibers suitable for spinning, and waste	7	27	67
277. Natural abrasives, nes	8	43	73
522. Inorganic chemical elements, oxides and halogen salts	21	36	72
541. Medicinal and pharmaceutical products	15	44	60
642. Paper and paperboard, precut, and articles of paper or paperboard	13	14	57
659. Floor coverings, etc.	20	44	69
672. Ingots and other primary forms, of iron or steel	27	45	62
673. Iron and steel bars, rods, shapes and sections	12	36	61
683. Nickel	0	30	53
686. Zinc	26	15	54
691. Structures and parts, nes, of iron, steel or aluminium	8	36	78
692. Metal containers for storage and transport	13	48	64

Table 2. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
693. Wire products (excluding insulated electrical wire); fencing grills	20	46	61
694. Nails, screws, nuts, bolts, rivets, etc., of iron, steel or copper	31	38	51
699. Manufactures of base metal, nes	47	41	76
711. Steam boilers and auxiliary plant; and parts thereof, nes	2	27	62
744. Mechanical handling equipment, and parts thereof, nes	48	25	71
745. Other non-electric machinery, tools and mechanical apparatus, nes	16	37	60
751. Office machines	14	46	66
773. Equipment for distribution of electricity	4	47	73
793. Ships, boats and floating structures	3	35	64
882. Photographic and cinematographic supplies	26	44	71
893. Articles, nes of plastic materials	17	40	53
D. Below 50% after 2000			
894. Baby carriages, toys, games and sporting goods	50	72	28
E. Alternating			
244. Cork, natural, raw and waste	0	54	19
265. Vegetable textile fibers, excluding cotton, jute, and waste	0	56	43
291. Crude animal materials, nes	4	57	35
335. Residual petroleum products, nes and related materials	21	51	15
551. Essential oils, perfume and flavour materials	3	67	47
625. Rubber tires, tire cases, inner and flaps, for wheels of all kinds	24	55	35
633. Cork manufactures	0	59	22
634. Veneers, plywood, "improved" wood and other wood, worked, nes	14	53	33
662. Clay and refractory construction materials	8	63	12
682. Copper	17	51	50
687. Tin	0	64	23
696. Cutlery	22	84	34
697. Household equipment of base metal, nes	49	84	41
713. Internal combustion piston engines, and parts thereof, nes	26	67	26
721. Agricultural machinery (excluding tractors) and parts thereof, nes	21	55	41
762. Radio-broadcast receivers	33	72	10
772. Electrical apparatus for making and breaking electrical circuits	31	63	42
847. Clothing accessories, of textile fabrics, nes	21	63	44
848. Articles of apparel, clothing accessories, non-textile, headgear	35	58	43
871. Optical instruments and apparatus	20	57	13
884. Optical goods nes	13	65	40
898. Musical instruments, parts and accessories thereof	46	73	39
E. Below 50% after 1992			
874. Measuring, checking, analysis, controlling instruments, nes, parts	67	49	36

Source: Author's computation based on UN Comtrade data.

BIIT of China with Taiwan started only in the second and third subperiods with some qualifications (Table 3). The political stalemate between China and Taiwan prevented each other from trading directly; most trade was transhipped through Hong Kong. However, similar to Korea and Japan, the number of industries with IIT index of at least 50 percent, industry groups B and E, increased tremendously during the second period, followed by industry group C with IIT 50 percent and above toward the last period. The industries characterized by IIT are generally capital-intensive intermediate goods with a few in the light manufacturing industries.

Hong Kong's BIIT with China is *sui generis* as it provides a link to understanding China's BIIT with the rest of East Asia: its trade, investment, financial, and legal infrastructure was used to bridge China and the rest of the world and vice versa, especially prior to China's entry to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Moreover, Hong Kong's trade and investment openness, simulating free-trade conditions, was radically different from China's highly restrictive and labyrinthine trade regimes. The number of industries with at least 50 percent IIT during the first period in industry groups A, D, and F was substantially more relative to Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, individually (Table 4). Nevertheless, there were more industries with decreasing IIT with China during the second and third periods, and the number of industries with increasing IIT in the third period was sparse. The more interesting pattern seems to be that during the first period, China's BIIT with Hong Kong was substantial in accessories and parts for capital machineries, transport equipment, office and automatic data processing machines, but BIIT dropped either toward the second and/or third period (industry groups D and F). In contrast, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan experienced high BIIT in these sectors much later.

China's BIIT with ASEAN 4 in industry group A is similar with Japan and Korea, mostly in capital-intensive heavy industries such as synthetic rubber, glass, and aluminum. There is some similarity with Hong Kong, in parts and accessories for capital machineries and telecommunication equipment early on, but unlike Hong Kong's, the BIIT with ASEAN 4 was sustained in subsequent periods (Table 5, groups A and F) and more such industries appeared during the second period (Table 5, group B). The trend is suggestive of the substitution of Hong Kong for ASEAN 4 in regional production networks.

The existence of IIT during the first subperiod is due to China's industrial legacy from the planned economy era when the country

Table 3. China's intra-industry trade index with Taiwan (%)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
B. Above 50 after 1992			
248. Wood, simply worked, and railway sleepers of wood	38	65	79
277. Natural abrasives, nes	28	57	68
292. Crude vegetable materials, nes	46	53	59
514. Nitrogen-function compounds	20	77	71
515. Organo-inorganic and heterocyclic compounds	45	68	89
522. Inorganic chemical elements, oxides and halogen salts	39	90	92
523. Other inorganic chemicals; compounds of precious metals	45	81	89
531. Synthetic dye, natural indigo, lakes	25	76	75
541. Medicinal and pharmaceutical products	46	64	63
551. Essential oils, perfume and flavour materials	43	52	54
585. Other artificial resins and plastic materials	10	56	51
659. Floor coverings, etc.	45	66	53
672. Ingots and other primary forms, of iron or steel	7	56	62
679. Iron, steel casting, forging and stamping, in the rough state, nes	25	78	83
686. Zinc	18	56	69
692. Metal containers for storage and transport	26	56	72
695. Tools for use in the hand or in machines	19	80	70
696. Cutlery	22	63	57
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	4	57	87
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	8	76	62
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	27	92	92
775. Household type equipment, nes	12	83	83
812. Sanitary, plumbing, heating, lighting fixtures and fittings, nes	21	61	62
848. Articles of apparel, clothing accessories, non-textile, headgear	33	88	79
872. Medical instruments and appliances, nes	6	68	79
885. Watches and clocks	33	85	92
894. Baby carriages, toys, games and sporting goods	46	89	93
895. Office and stationary supplies, nes	25	63	92
897. Gold, silver ware, jewelry and articles of precious materials, nes	37	67	62
899. Other miscellaneous manufactured articles, nes	20	61	94
C. Above 50 after 2000			
244. Cork, natural, raw and waste	0	22	60
278. Other crude minerals	18	47	57
287. Ores and concentrates of base metals, nes	35	19	57
291. Crude animal materials, nes	33	26	61
625. Rubber tires, tire cases, inner and flaps, for wheels of all kinds	1	34	52

Table 3. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
633. Cork manufactures	14	41	90
642. Paper and paperboard, precut, and articles of paper or paperboard	7	46	81
662. Clay and refractory construction materials	19	22	57
663. Mineral manufactures, nes	25	41	74
667. Pearl, precious and semi-precious stones, unworked or worked	42	47	52
678. Tube, pipes and fittings, of iron or steel	35	48	69
684. Aluminium	27	16	53
691. Structures and parts, nes, of iron, steel or aluminium	19	45	70
693. Wire products (excluding insulated electrical wire); fencing grills	35	39	69
713. Internal combustion piston engines, and parts thereof, nes	11	7	67
721. Agricultural machinery (excluding tractors) and parts thereof, nes	1	17	78
723. Civil engineering, contractors' plant and equipment and parts, nes	18	33	72
749. Non-electric parts and accessories of machinery, nes	3	31	59
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	10	36	56
773. Equipment for distribution of electricity	6	39	74
785. Cycles, scooters, motorized or not; invalid carriages	4	32	78
847. Clothing accessories, of textile fabrics, nes	42	35	63
882. Photographic and cinematographic supplies	34	35	80
893. Articles, nes of plastic materials	5	40	63
896. Works of art, collectors' pieces and antiques	9	34	56
D. Below 50 after 2000			
635. Wood manufactures, nes	55	51	21
E. Alternating			
247. Other wood in the rough or roughly squared	28	66	16
271. Fertilizers, crude	7	61	47
273. Stone, sand and gravel	40	81	26
335. Residual petroleum products, nes and related materials	15	69	19
511. Hydrocarbons, nes, and derivatives	5	56	31
516. Other organic chemicals	13	52	43
553. Perfumery, cosmetics, toilet preparations, etc.	48	61	30
612. Manufactures of leather or of composition leather, nes; etc.	2	56	37
634. Veneers, plywood, "improved" wood and other wood, worked, nes	19	70	44
658. Made-up articles, wholly or chiefly of textile materials, nes	44	74	19
661. Lime, cement, and fabricated construction materials	5	58	31
665. Glassware	50	54	32
676. Rails and railway track construction materials, of iron or steel	9	51	12
687. Tin	24	54	28

Table 3. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
697. Household equipment of base metal, nes	25	76	38
751. Office machines	25	50	38
761. Television receivers	60	48	55
784. Motor vehicle parts and accessories, nes	38	71	46
821. Furniture and parts thereof	53	45	54
F. Below 50 after 1992			
334. Petroleum products, refined	51	37	12

Source: Author's computation based on UN Comtrade data.

Table 4. China's intra-industry trade index with Hong Kong (%)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
A. Consistently above 50%			
269. Old clothing and other old textile articles; rags	59	92	57
531. Synthetic dye, natural indigo, lakes	53	80	57
533. Pigments, paints, varnishes and related materials	80	72	56
584. Regenerated cellulose; derivatives of cellulose; vulcanized fiber	80	87	75
592. Starches, insulin and wheat gluten; albuminoidal substances; glues	51	77	55
598. Miscellaneous chemical products, nes	76	84	65
641. Paper and paperboard	72	75	82
653. Fabrics, woven, of man-made fibers (not narrow or special fabrics)	83	74	57
656. Tulle, lace, embroidery, ribbons, trimmings and other small wares	69	68	53
874. Measuring, checking, analysis, controlling instruments, nes, parts	62	79	61
B. Above 50% after 1992			
211. Hides and skins, excluding furs, raw	16	80	54
523. Other inorganic chemicals; compounds of precious metals	32	58	52
583. Polymerization and copolymerization products	32	73	63
633. Cork manufactures	38	53	57
694. Nails, screws, nuts, bolts, rivets, etc., of iron, steel or copper	43	68	57
718. Other power generating machinery and parts thereof, nes	43	71	62
724. Textile and leather machinery, and parts thereof, nes	21	60	54
726. Printing, bookbinding machinery, and parts thereof, nes	32	64	52
737. Metalworking machinery (other than machine-tools), and parts, nes	24	54	69
776. Thermionic, microcircuits, transistors, valves, etc.	47	85	63
C. Above 50% after 2000			
541. Medicinal and pharmaceutical products	32	38	88
551. Essential oils, perfume and flavour materials	22	38	85
931. Special transactions, commodity not classified according to class	3	21	66

Table 4. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
D. Below 50% after 2000			
233. Synthetic rubber, latex, etc.; waste, scrap of unhardened rubber	54	62	24
511. Hydrocarbons, nes, and derivatives	77	59	14
532. Dyeing and tanning extracts, and synthetic tanning materials	56	63	34
554. Soap, cleansing and polishing preparations	68	61	33
628. Articles of rubber, nes	62	60	39
655. Knitted or crocheted fabrics (including tubular, etc., fabrics)	65	55	25
682. Copper	68	57	28
684. Aluminium	66	52	18
713. Internal combustion piston engines, and parts thereof, nes	64	64	15
716. Rotating electric plant and parts thereof, nes	88	55	31
742. Pumps for liquids; liquid elevators; and parts thereof, nes	75	80	36
744. Mechanical handling equipment, and parts thereof, nes	75	72	31
749. Non-electric parts and accessories of machinery, nes	53	75	46
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	67	64	10
772. Electrical apparatus for making and breaking electrical circuits	88	57	32
773. Equipment for distribution of electricity	86	61	37
778. Electrical machinery and apparatus, nes	80	55	24
872. Medical instruments and appliances, nes	78	63	24
881. Photographic apparatus and equipment, nes	76	62	30
885. Watches and clocks	83	51	31
892. Printed matter	51	83	47
E. Alternating			
267. Other man-made fibers suitable for spinning, and waste	51	42	55
334. Petroleum products, refined	52	45	86
621. Materials of rubber	79	48	62
683. Nickel	57	49	56
728. Other machinery, equipment, for specialized industries; parts nes	60	48	83
368. Musical instruments, parts and accessories thereof	81	46	76
282. Waste and scrap metal of iron or steel	36	54	1
411. Animal oils and fats	20	55	13
582. Condensation, polycondensation and polyaddition products	36	53	23
611. Leather	50	62	19
657. Special textile fabrics and related products	31	71	43
674. Universals, plates, and sheets, of iron or steel	44	53	20
681. Silver, platinum and other metals of the platinum group	40	69	9
692. Metal containers for storage and transport	38	67	24

Table 4. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
736. Metalworking machine-tools, parts and accessories thereof, nes	47	72	48
741. Heating and cooling equipment and parts thereof, nes	32	64	20
743. Pumps, compressors; centrifuges; filtering apparatus; etc., parts	46	76	43
745. Other non-electric machinery, tools and mechanical apparatus, nes	26	62	27
774. Electro-medical and radiological equipment	44	67	46
873. Meters and counters, nes	48	55	31
883. Cinematograph film, exposed and developed	28	51	5
E. Below 50% after 1992			
122. Tobacco, manufactured	70	18	11
341. Gas, natural and manufactured	51	23	4
423. Fixed vegetable oils, soft, crude refined or purified	69	14	2
513. Carboxylic acids, and their derivatives	70	48	17
514. Nitrogen-function compounds	53	34	22
516. Other organic chemicals	50	30	30
562. Fertilizers, manufactured	67	29	6
585. Other artificial resins and plastic materials	50	9	26
613. Furskins, tanned or dressed; pieces of furskin, tanned or dressed	71	24	5
634. Veneers, plywood, "improved" wood and other wood, worked, nes	72	35	8
642. Paper and paperboard, precut, and articles of paper or paperboard	87	49	15
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	64	48	40
661. Lime, cement, and fabricated construction materials	54	26	1
663. Mineral manufactures, nes	62	32	5
664. Glass	71	44	31
665. Glassware	58	35	26
667. Pearl, precious and semi-precious stones, unworked or worked	73	27	14
691. Structures and parts, nes, of iron, steel or aluminium	69	19	3
695. Tools for use in the hand or in machines	50	29	19
699. Manufactures of base metal, nes	77	45	23
721. Agricultural machinery (excluding tractors) and parts thereof, nes	73	48	18
751. Office machines	64	11	6
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	76	32	4
761. Television receivers	52	6	2
762. Radio-broadcast receivers	61	3	0
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	76	48	18
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	78	47	23
784. Motor vehicle parts and accessories, nes	91	31	5
791. Railway vehicles and associated equipment	62	38	23

Table 4. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
793. Ships, boats and floating structures	51	17	5
812. Sanitary, plumbing, heating, lighting fixtures and fittings, nes	54	22	7
871. Optical instruments and apparatus	69	43	27
882. Photographic and cinematographic supplies	83	47	14
893. Articles, nes of plastic materials	77	37	21
894. Baby carriages, toys, games and sporting goods	67	11	2
Source: Author's computation based on UN Comtrade data.			

Table 5. China's intra-industry trade index with ASEAN 4 (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand) (%)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
A. Consistently above 50%			
233. Synthetic rubber, latex, etc.; waste, scrap of unhardened rubber	64	57	53
291. Crude animal materials, nes	69	66	52
533. Pigments, paints, varnishes and related materials	62	86	84
554. Soap, cleansing and polishing preparations	70	66	53
628. Articles of rubber, nes	63	80	85
642. Paper and paperboard, precut, and articles of paper or paperboard	65	61	61
664. Glass	74	71	73
684. Aluminium	61	74	59
728. Other machinery, equipment, for specialized industries; parts nes	50	70	63
741. Heating and cooling equipment and parts thereof, nes	72	79	55
743. Pumps, compressors; centrifuges; filtering apparatus; etc., parts	55	73	78
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	67	71	78
773. Equipment for distribution of electricity	65	66	93
B. Above 50% after 1992			
292. Crude vegetable materials, nes	49	78	65
334. Petroleum products, refined	25	58	77
532. Dyeing and tanning extracts, and synthetic tanning materials	20	63	78
598. Miscellaneous chemical products, nes	23	70	91
633. Cork manufactures	11	55	65
651. Textile yarn	41	54	73
674. Universals, plates, and sheets, of iron or steel	50	61	56
716. Rotating electric plant and parts thereof, nes	3	65	86
749. Non-electric parts and accessories of machinery, nes	28	63	77
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	38	56	86

Table 5. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
772. Electrical apparatus for making and breaking electrical circuits	29	69	64
778. Electrical machinery and apparatus, nes	44	74	94
872. Medical instruments and appliances, nes	24	54	61
874. Measuring, checking, analysis, controlling instruments, nes, parts	15	57	80
881. Photographic apparatus and equipment, nes	31	52	71
892. Printed matter	41	69	57
C. Above 50% after 2000			
211. Hides and skins, excluding furs, raw	2	12	52
223. Seeds and oleaginous fruit, whole or broken, for other fixed oils	21	50	55
273. Stone, sand and gravel	17	46	58
322. Coal, lignite and peat	4	17	64
423. Fixed vegetable oils, soft, crude refined or purified	5	34	53
515. Organo-inorganic and heterocyclic compounds	14	5	63
516. Other organic chemicals	27	40	77
613. Furskins, tanned or dressed; pieces of furskin, tanned or dressed	6	30	61
686. Zinc	18	40	76
736. Metalworking machine-tools, parts and accessories thereof, nes	3	40	89
751. Office machines	14	21	51
763. Gramophones, dictating machines and other sound recorders	29	21	52
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	30	40	93
784. Motor vehicle parts and accessories, nes	36	25	52
848. Articles of apparel, clothing accessories, non-textile, headgear	1	40	58
871. Optical instruments and apparatus	1	36	71
884. Optical goods nes	19	45	79
885. Watches and clocks	4	23	86
897. Gold, silver ware, jewelry and articles of precious materials, nes	9	46	54
898. Musical instruments, parts and accessories thereof	33	43	79
931. Special transactions, commodity not classified according to class	12	8	63
D. Below 50% after 2000			
512. Alcohols, phenols etc., and their derivatives	52	51	17
692. Metal containers for storage and transport	58	62	47
727. Food-processing machines (non-domestic) and parts thereof, nes	76	65	42
E. Alternating			
514. Nitrogen-function compounds	68	45	78
592. Starches, insulin and wheat gluten; albuminoid substances; glues	57	25	57
611. Leather	68	34	55
111. Non-alcoholic beverages, nes	29	54	39

Table 5. (continued)

	1987-92	1993-2000	2001-06
265. Vegetable textile fibers, excluding cotton, jute, and waste	20	64	3
411. Animal oils and fats	26	62	48
511. Hydrocarbons, nes, and derivatives	33	57	42
635. Wood manufactures, nes	38	54	41
653. Fabrics, woven, of man-made fibers (not narrow or special fabrics)	36	69	36
656. Tulle, lace, embroidery, ribbons, trimmings and other small wares	44	54	29
657. Special textile fabrics and related products	43	74	43
665. Glassware	31	53	44
667. Pearl, precious and semi-precious stones, unworked or worked	32	69	31
677. Iron or steel wire (excluding wire rod), not insulated	6	52	39
691. Structures and parts, nes, of iron, steel or aluminium	36	52	37
725. Paper and paper manufacture machinery, and parts thereof, nes	19	71	48
726. Printing, bookbinding machinery, and parts thereof, nes	24	71	40
745. Other non-electric machinery, tools and mechanical apparatus, nes	42	66	23
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	12	70	33
761. Television receivers	29	51	10
776. Thermionic, microcircuits, transistors, valves, etc.	47	62	19
821. Furniture and parts thereof	33	68	28
893. Articles, nes of plastic materials	44	65	45
F. Below 50% after 1992			
287. Ores and concentrates of base metals, nes	52	31	3
612. Manufactures of leather or of composition leather, nes; etc.	55	21	30
625. Rubber tires, tire cases, inner and flaps, for wheels of all kinds	65	13	25
641. Paper and paperboard	59	24	30
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	53	36	31
659. Floor coverings, etc.	60	45	45
721. Agricultural machinery (excluding tractors) and parts thereof, nes	54	40	15
812. Sanitary, plumbing, heating, lighting fixtures and fittings, nes	66	35	29
Source: Author's computation based on UN Comtrade data.			

adopted a comparative advantage defying industrialization; reform of many state-owned enterprises (SOEs) prior to 1993 was one without losers and concentrated only in introducing changes in managerial and incentives systems, implicitly suggesting there was no market-driven exit of industries; moreover, the subsidy from the central government was only altered in form but not in substance—from a direct budgetary grant to bank loans. The period when SOEs were allowed to fail, imposing the hard budget constraint,

came only after the 1993 Enterprise Law was passed. More important are the industries in group A, where BIIT is sustained in all three subperiods (e.g., intermediate goods such as chemicals, textile yarn, metal and nonmetal manufactures, and light machineries).

The increase in IIT in numerous capital-intensive heavy industries during the second period, 1993-2000, is due to China's industrial restructuring in the early '90s. In its initial phase of transition prior to 1993, China went on a reverse industrial catching up in labor-intensive light manufacturing industries—in line with its natural comparative advantage. By the early '90s, the catching up was complete and China shifted back to capital-intensive and high-technology industrialization. The Company Law was passed in 1994, providing the legal framework for SOEs to convert to modern-day corporations through different forms of ownership. Moreover, in 1997 the 15th Communist Party Congress adopted a policy of “grasping the large and letting the small go”: policymakers focused on the centrally controlled firms and refinanced and reorganized them into even bigger firms. The focus then was on industries with substantial economies of scale, energy (power generation and distribution), natural resources, metallurgy, military and national defense, and telecommunications.

China's BIIT with Korea and Taiwan supports the story of relocation of production networks to China and the participation of other countries. Prior to 1993, trade in SITC 752 (automatic data processing machines) and SITC 759 (parts and accessories for machines in 751 and 752) with Korea and Taiwan was inter-industry, initially with China as the net importer. In the next two subperiods, BIIT with Taiwan and Korea increased in both industries, with China beginning to export as well. Enter ASEAN 4: BIIT for SITC 759 increased to 56 percent and 86 percent during the second and third periods (Table 6).

Without estimating a breakdown of total IIT into HIIT and VIIT, the estimated BIIT, which is actually total IIT, may be used to illustrate and support the relocation of production networks to China in the early '90s for IT and electronic products, telecommunications equipment, and the transport sector—mostly in motor vehicles.

Prior to 1993, trade in SITC 752 (automatic data processing machines, and parts and accessories for machines) with Korea and Taiwan was inter-industry initially, with China as the net importer. In the next two periods, BIIT with Taiwan and Korea increased in both industries, with China beginning to export as well. Similarly, ASEAN 4's BIIT increased to 56 percent and 86 percent.

Table 6. China's BIIT (%) with East Asian countries in industries characterized by production networks

SITC 3 digit	Japan			Korea			Hong Kong		
	1987 - 1992	1993 - 2001	2001 - 2006	1987 - 1993	1993 - 2002	2001 - 2007	1987 - 1992	1993 - 2001	2001 - 2006
751. Office machines	19	35	26	14	46	66	64	11	6
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	4	75	28	12	77	74	76	32	4
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	6	46	75	22	71	57	67	64	10
761. Television receivers	40	55	7	24	42	15	52	6	2
762. Radio-broadcast receivers	37	25	5	33	72	10	61	3	0
763. Gramophones, dictating machines and other sound recorders	5	44	49	28	22	12	21	8	2
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	9	73	94	24	71	65	76	48	18
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	49	85	81	51	93	83	78	47	23
776. Thermionic, microcircuits, transistors, valves, etc.	4	20	20	1	27	24	47	85	63
781. Passenger motor vehicles (excluding buses)	0	0	0	0	0	1	43	15	1
783. Road motor vehicles, nes	0	0	0	0	0	6	46	7	0
784. Motor vehicle parts and accessories, nes	41	48	51	32	40	26	91	31	5
SITC 3 digit	Taiwan			ASEAN 4			Philippines		
	1987 - 1992	1993 - 2001	2001 - 2006	1987 - 1993	1993 - 2002	2001 - 2007	1987 - 1992	1993 - 2001	2001 - 2006
751. Office machines	25	50	38	21	51	16	3	14	78
752. Automatic data processing machines and units thereof	4	57	87	12	70	33	15	41	19
759. Parts, nes of and accessories for machines of headings 751 or 752	8	76	62	38	56	86	0	51	45
761. Television receivers	60	48	55	29	51	10	2	0	5
762. Radio-broadcast receivers	11	6	2	31	6	34	0	0	0
763. Gramophones, dictating machines and other sound recorders	7	46	14	29	21	52	0	0	20
764. Telecommunication equipment, nes; parts and accessories, nes	10	36	56	67	71	78	51	48	84
771. Electric power machinery, and parts thereof, nes	27	92	92	40	93	11	15	21	86
776. Thermionic, microcircuits, transistors, valves, etc.	6	16	14	47	62	19	21	73	14
781. Passenger motor vehicles (excluding buses)	10	16	24	3	36	27	0	6	36
783. Road motor vehicles, nes	0	0	0	1	10	9	0	3	8
784. Motor vehicle parts and accessories, nes	38	71	46	0	3	8	43	3	13

Source: Author's computation based on UN Comtrade data; Tables 1-5.

The interplay of IIT among China's trading partners is best viewed at the 4 digit within SITC 752 (i.e., SITC 7525, peripheral units, including control and adapting units) where BIIT is above 50 percent for Korea, Taiwan, and ASEAN 4. Peripherals are the accessories that go with the machines. Accessories are generally easier to produce with low technology content. This type of IIT is usually analysed within the context of VIIT. BIIT in SITC 759 is really dominated by trade in SITC 7599 (parts and accessories for machines of headings 751 and 752) where China's BIIT is preserved with Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines.

The same pattern is observed for telecommunications equipment, parts, and accessories (SITC 764), which are inputs to SITC 761, 762, and 763. BIIT with Japan and Korea registered 70-80 percent in the latter two periods while BIIT started much earlier with ASEAN 4 and the Philippines; however, trade in the finished goods SITC 761, 762, and 763 is inter-industry with all countries. China's BIIT in thermionic, microcircuits, transistors, and valves (SITC 776), input to a broad group of electronic/digital products, started in the first period with ASEAN 4 and Hong Kong; however, it was only sustained with Hong Kong until the third subperiod. The most probable explanation for these decreases in BIIT is that China has become the dominant exporter in an industry where technology has relatively matured and comparative advantage is largely driven by labor costs. The surprise is in parts for motor vehicles (SITC 784), which are components into SITC 781 and 783. The IIT with Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are borderline cases; but trade in the finished goods, SITC 781 and 783, are almost purely inter-industry trade.

6. Analysis of China's intra-industry trade

Analysing all industries with BIIT with China is out of the scope of this research paper.

This section chooses two industries where their BIIT with China has been sustained throughout the 1986-2007 period.

Take SITC 684 (aluminum): BIIT was 73 percent, 72 percent, 83 percent with Japan. China exported and/or was a net exporter of SITC 6841 (aluminum and alloys, unwrought) while it imported and/or was a net importer of SITC 6842 (aluminum and alloys, worked). For all nonferrous metals industries (SITC 681-687) where BIIT was greater than 50 percent, the pattern with other countries is similar: China is exporting and/or a net exporter of a less processed product while importing and/or a net importer

of more refined/processed products. However, at SITC 4 digit, BIIT is not uniformly less than or greater than 50 percent (Table 7).

Table 7. China's BIIT in selected industries (%)

Japan	1987-1992	1993-2000	2001-2006
681. Silver, platinum and other metals of platinum group	53	35	21
682. Copper	40	10	15
683. Nickel	30	60	81
684. Aluminium	73	72	83
685. Lead	15	14	61
686. Zinc	35	44	64
687. Tin	4	54	90
651. Textile yarn	84	90	88
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	80	67	48
Korea			
681. Silver, platinum and other metals of platinum group	0	12	20
682. Copper	17	51	50
683. Nickel	0	30	53
684. Aluminium	36	68	75
685. Lead	1	7	14
686. Zinc	26	15	54
687. Tin	0	64	23
651. Textile yarn	58	84	90
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	32	91	83
Taiwan			
681. Silver, platinum and other metals of platinum group	0	0	42
682. Copper	8	11	20
683. Nickel	5	21	26
684. Aluminium	27	16	53
685. Lead	8	25	18
686. Zinc	18	56	69
687. Tin	24	54	28
651. Textile yarn	6	8	9
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	7	7	22

Table 7. (continued)

ASEAN 4			
681. Silver, platinum and other metals of the platinum group	1	32	1
682. Copper	43	33	29
683. Nickel	8	18	39
684. Aluminium	61	74	59
685. Lead	1	1	2
686. Zinc	18	40	76
687. Tin	26	20	16
651. Textile yarn	41	54	73
652. Cotton fabrics, woven (not including narrow or special fabrics)	53	36	31
653. Fabrics, woven, of man-made fibers (not narrow or special fabrics)	36	69	36

Source: Tables 1-5.

It is often assumed that China is a developing country with scarce capital and abundant labor. One of the results of China's planned economy was the establishment of a comprehensive industrial system focused on heavy industries, a fact largely overlooked in analysing China's IIT. Within heavy industries, the unevenness was due to an overemphasis on coarse processing rather than refined processing [Lin, Cai, and Li 2003]. Moreover, China leapfrogged the normal route to industrialization by adopting comparative advantage defying strategy in many key pillar heavy industries; it was on hold between 1978 and 1992, when China went on a reverse industrial catching up consistent with its natural comparative advantage. In 1993, it resumed its industrial restructuring and reform focused on capital-intensive industries and high-technology sectors. In 2003, state ownership of these industries was transferred to the State Asset Supervision and Administration Commission (SASAC), which exercised central government's ownership rights; the most powerful is the Central SASAC which exercises direct ownership in key sectors such as energy (power generation, transmission, and distribution), petroleum industries (exploration, refining, and distribution), national defense, metallurgy, natural monopolies, public sector services, telecommunications, and some high-technology sectors.

The case on textile yarn is important for many reasons. BIIT has been high and sustained with Japan, Korea, and ASEAN 4 for 20 years; it is an input to fabrics and garments, one of China's largest exports. With ASEAN 4, BIIT started in the mid-'90s and then increased substantially toward the

last period, largely due to trade with Malaysia and Thailand. The BIIT with Hong Kong went beyond the 50 percent threshold only in 1992 and 1993, then dropped below 50 percent in the years before and after the mid-'90s, and declined toward the late '90s. Trade with Taiwan in textile yarn is inter-industry, and China was the net importer of synthetic fiber (SITC 6514). The Philippines' case was borderline, around 27 percent, 44 percent, and 30 percent in the three periods, with very low volume of trade in all 4-digit codes.

China's textile and garments industry is the largest in the world and is vertically integrated: from cotton, silk, and flax growing and cultivation and animal husbandry for wool, to spinning, weaving, and finally garments. Trade in SITC 84 (clothing and garments) with all other countries is inter-industry, with China as the net exporter. Therefore, it would not be surprising that China needs to import these intermediate goods. However, the high and sustained BIIT in yarn and fabrics cannot be explained by these impressionistic factors.

Data extracted at 4 digit for SITC 651 (textile yarn) reveal an interesting pattern of exchange. BIIT at the 4 digit does not drop as expected,⁴ but remains at 50 percent and above for several SITC 4-digit industries toward the early and mid-'90s. The pattern of exchange is even more interesting: China has been exporting initially yarns from natural cotton, silk, and wool but importing synthetic yarns from Japan, which explains the high BIIT in SITC 651. But from 1996 onward, China started to export synthetic yarn to Japan. For Korea and ASEAN 4, their BIIT is also preserved at the several SITC 4-digit products.

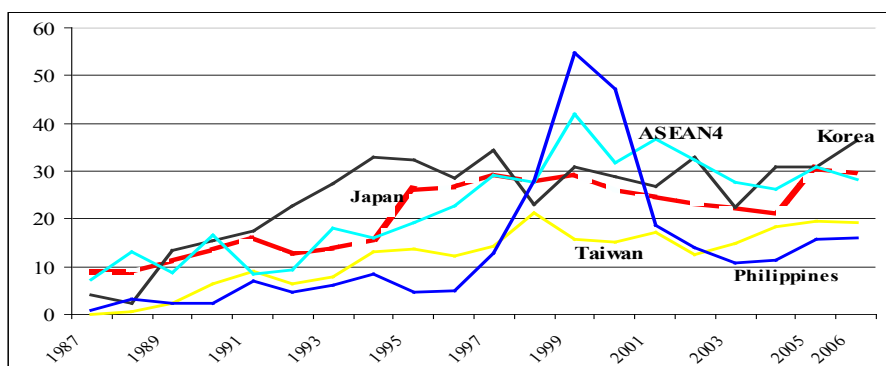
Fibers from which yarn is made have come from natural sources (such as cotton, silk, flax, and wool) and man-made fibers from plant cellulose; synthetic fibers from hydrocarbons began replacing cotton, the dominant source of yarn. Nevertheless, the yarn industry has also been driven by continuous innovation since the '60s, creating an explosion of new products starting from synthetic fibers to the innovation of microfibers, with applications beyond the textile and fabric industries. China's technological gap in the early years of opening up was particularly high. A safe assumption is that China was not able to access the new technology because its economy was closed up until the late '70s. China's high IIT in yarn can be explained by a desire to acquire technology, thereby allowing foreign investments to establish manufacturing enterprises in the industry; it would not be surprising if export of synthetic yarns was substantially

⁴This computational bias has been dealt with in section 4 of this paper.

made by FIEs. In the late '80s, China barely exported SITC 6514, 6515, and 6516 (different types of synthetic yarn) to East Asia. However, by the mid-'90s and onward, China started exporting these synthetic fibers (mostly SITC 6514) to Japan, thus BIT at SITC 6514, 6515, and 6516, and even 6513, started to increase to the point where trade becomes intra-industry. An area for further research would be to find out if the exports of synthetic yarn at some point can be increasingly attributed to domestic firms.

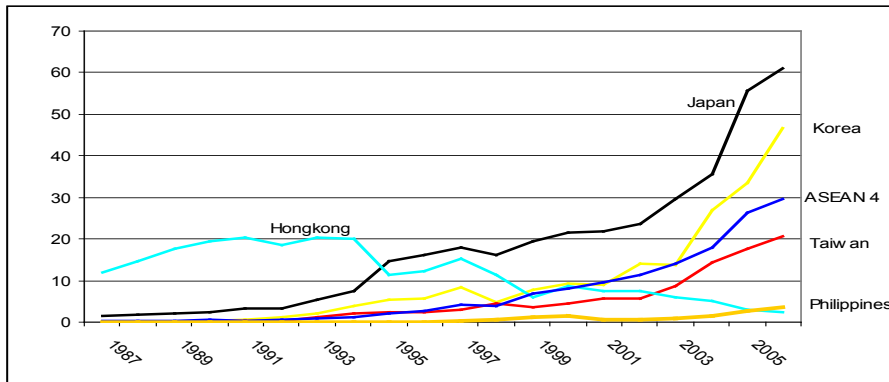
The pattern of BIT in SITC 652 (cotton fabrics, woven) with Japan and Korea repeats the pattern of the metals industry. BIT in the three periods goes like this: with Japan, it was 80 percent, 67 percent, 48 percent; with Korea, 32 percent, 91 percent, 83 percent; with ASEAN 4, 53 percent, 36 percent, 31 percent (Table 7). China was a net importer of a more processed cotton fabric (SITC 6522, bleached, dyed, or otherwise finished) but a net exporter of a less processed cotton fabric (SITC 6521, unbleached, not mercerized). However, the BIT with Korea eventually went over the 50 percent threshold for bleached cotton—that is, China was beginning to export the more processed fabric. In its trade with ASEAN 4, China was a net exporter of the more processed fabric.

To wrap up, the volume of intra-industry versus inter-industry trade of China with East Asia is estimated from 1987 to 2006. The assumptions are as follows: (a) an industry is defined at SITC 3-digit level; (b) IIT should be greater than 50 percent; if not, it is classified as inter-industry trade. This procedure is done for each industry, for every country/trade bloc every year. Needless to say, the shares and volume of IIT will change if IIT is computed at 2- or 4-digit level and/or if the threshold is higher or lower. The results are shown in Figures 2 and 3.



Source: Appendix Table 2.

Figure 2. China's BIT with East Asia (% of total trade)



Source: Appendix Table 2.

Figure 3. Volume of China's intra-industry trade in East Asia (US\$ billion)

Japan has the highest share of IIT in its total trade with China in the late '80s; toward the early '90s, Korea caught up and surpassed Japan from the mid to the late '90s with a peak share of 36 percent in 2006. For ASEAN 4, the share of IIT in its total trade is surprisingly higher initially than that of Korea and Taiwan. Even if the figure is adjusted for a number of countries, IIT for each country would be approximately 1.5 percent of its total trade. The share of the Philippines was the least till the late '90s but spiked to very high shares in 1999 and 2000 and then ratcheted downward toward the remaining years of 2000.

Except for Hong Kong, the volume of intra-industry trade shows an upward trend for all trading partners, with a much faster rate of increase in the last five years (Figure 3). This means that in the early years, China's integration with East Asia was predominantly through inter-industry trade but the trend points to the increasing role of intra-industry trade with all of its trading partners. There is a difference though: for Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, the share of IIT in total trade is increasing both in absolute (by volume of trade) and relative terms (by percent share in total trade). For ASEAN 4 and the Philippines, the share of IIT in total trade is only increasing in absolute terms but decreasing in relative terms. Overall, the role of IIT in China's integration was highest for Japan and Korea, the former due to its volume of IIT and the latter due to its share of IIT in total trade. Taiwan had a lesser role both in terms of the volume of total trade as well as the share of IIT.

7. Conclusions

The role of IIT in China's integration with East Asia was minimal initially but has increased relative to inter-industry trade over the years. BIIT trade with Japan, Korea, and Taiwan has increasingly become more important through higher volume and higher shares of trade in a growing number of industries. While this is also true for its trade with ASEAN 4, IIT is less both in absolute and relative terms. The overall trend shows China's integration with East Asia has not only increased but also deepened.

China's sustained BIIT in capital-intensive heavy industries, contrary to theoretical expectations, should be analysed in the context of its historical legacy from the planned period to the continued dominance and/or monopoly of the central government in these key "jewel" industries. Further research could concentrate on government ownership as a key factor in the existence of IIT in many capital-intensive industries.

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Appendix Table 1. Intraregional trade in East Asia

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
East Asia 15	36.9	35.6	38.1	39.8	40.7	41.5	44.7	46.0	47.0	48.7	49.8
China Circle	18.6	19.4	22.1	24.3	25.8	28.8	31.0	31.8	28.5	29.0	28.1
ASEAN	17.9	16.3	17.0	16.5	16.2	17.0	18.1	18.5	19.6	21.3	21.1
ASEAN+China	15.9	13.9	15.1	15.0	15.0	15.8	16.6	16.4	17.2	18.6	19.2
ASEAN+Japan	19.9	17.1	18.2	18.7	19.9	21.7	23.1	23.4	25.1	26.6	27.5

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
East Asia 15	49.8	49.5	46.9	48.6	50.7	50.4	52.3	53.5	53.6	53.1	52.4	51.9
China Circle	27.9	28.3	27.9	27.0	26.4	26.9	28.0	27.2	26.4	26.0	25.5	24.3
ASEAN	21.3	21.4	21.1	21.8	22.7	22.2	22.7	24.4	24.4	24.9	25.6	25.4
ASEAN+China	19.4	19.5	18.7	19.2	20.1	19.3	20.0	20.7	20.5	20.8	21.2	21.4
ASEAN+Japan	27.7	26.8	23.8	24.8	26.4	25.8	25.7	26.2	26.1	26.0	25.9	26.1

Source of basic data: UN Comtrade online data base.
China Circle: The PRC; Taiwan, China; and Hongkong, China

Appendix Table2. China's intra-industry trade in East Asia, 1987-2006

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Japan (%)	9.1	9.0	11.5	13.7	16.2	12.7	14.1	15.7	26.1	26.8
Total trade (\$ B)	16	19	19	17	20	25	39	48	57	60
Korea (%)	4.1	2.3	13.5	15.4	17.6	22.7	27.3	32.8	32.3	28.6
Total trade (\$B)	0.01	0.29	0.90	1.94	3.24	5.03	7.80	12	16	20
Taiwan (%)	0.1	0.6	2.4	6.5	8.9	6.4	7.8	13.1	13.8	12.3
Total trade	1	1	2	3	4	7	14	16	18	19
Hong Kong (%)	54.2	55.1	58.1	57.5	59.2	47.5	50.0	43.4	23.0	22.1
Total trade (\$ B)	22	27	30	34	34	39	41	46	50	55
ASEAN 4 (%)	7.4	13.1	8.7	16.6	8.5	9.3	18.0	16.1	19.2	22.7
Total trade (\$ B)	2	3	3	4	5	5	6	8	11	12
Philippines (%)	0.8	3.1	2.4	2.4	7.1	4.7	6.1	8.5	4.7	5.0
Total trade (\$ B)	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.2	1.4
Total trade With East Asia (\$B)	44	57	63	69	85	104	103	132	152	161

Appendix Table2. (continued)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Japan (%)	29.4	28.0	29.3	26.2	24.9	23.3	22.3	21.3	30.5	29.7
Total trade (\$ B)	61	58	66	83	87	101	133	167	183	205
Korea (%)	34.5	22.9	30.8	28.7	26.9	33.0	22.3	31.0	30.9	36.3
Total trade (\$B)	24	21	25	33	34	43	61	87	108	129
Taiwan (%)	14.4	21.3	15.7	15.1	17.3	12.6	15.0	18.4	19.4	19.2
Total trade	20	21	23	30	32	44	58	78	91	107
Hong Kong (%)	26.0	26.9	19.0	20.4	18.0	16.9	13.7	12.2	7.2	4.5
Total trade (\$ B)	58	42	32	43	42	44	43	41	41	52
ASEAN 4 (%)	29.2	27.7	41.8	31.8	36.6	32.3	27.7	26.3	31.0	28.2
Total trade (\$ B)	14	14	17	25	26	35	51	69	85	105
Philippines (%)	12.7	27.9	54.8	47.3	18.5	14.0	10.9	11.4	15.6	15.9
Total trade (\$ B)	1.7	2.0	2.3	3.1	3.5	5.1	9.2	13.2	17.4	23.3
Total trade With East Asia (\$B)	181	169	186	237	249	310	413	544	642	761
Source: Author's computation from Tables 1-5. Threshold for IIT is greater than 50 percent.										

