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Identifying Thailand's high-potential export opportunities in ASEAN+3 countries¹

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Abstract

Purpose – This paper aims to identify Thailand's realistic export opportunities in the ASEAN+3 countries (i.e. ASEAN, Greater China, Japan and South Korea), which together constitute an economically-dynamic region and a strategic export destination for Thailand. Furthermore, the paper seeks to determine the extent to which Thailand already has a share in ASEAN+3 countries and where new opportunities lie. This, in turn, forms an important basis for the formulation of appropriate export promotion strategies for Thailand.

Design/methodology/approach – At the core of the methodology outlined in the paper is a Decision Support Model (DSM) which uses an extensive data filtering system to systematically screen and eliminate less promising product-country combinations to ultimately reveal high-potential realistic export opportunities (REOs). In filters 1 to 3, product-country combinations are screened on the basis of: country risk; macro-economic country performance; market potential in terms of import growth and import market size; and market access conditions, including market concentration and the existence of trade barriers. In filter 4, the narrowed-down REOs are categorised according to Thailand's relative market share in, and the characteristics of, the identified target markets.

Findings – The study reveals that the ASEAN+3 countries account for about 40% of the total potential export value of Thailand's REOs in the world, with China leading the way (12.45%), followed by Japan (8.56%) and South Korea (6.23%). However, Thailand has a relatively small or intermediately small market share in the majority of these REOs, which points to the need for more offensive and exploratory export promotion strategies.

Research implications – The results of the study suggest that the ASEAN+3 countries - given that they are an abundant source of REOs for Thailand and are in Thailand's "backyard" - should receive more focused attention and resources in government export promotion efforts. Supporting factors include the recent launch of the ASEAN Economic Community and the proposed establishment of an East Asia Free Trade Area, which lend weight to the idea of Thailand adopting a strong regional focus in its export activities.

Practical implications – The insights derived from the study are valuable to export promotion officials, industry representatives and practising exporters alike as they constitute an easy-to-digest snapshot of high-potential realistic export opportunities for Thailand in the ASEAN+3 region. This makes for more efficient planning and prioritising of export development activities, and a more streamlined approach to resource allocation.

Originality/value – Export promotion often leads to diminishing returns, and it therefore requires sustainable strategies and interventions. The value in this paper lies in its description of an innovative market selection tool, the Decision Support Model (DSM), which is able to process and filter high

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volumes of information and arrive at a shortlist of high-potential, realistic export opportunities for Thailand in the ASEAN+3 countries – a region that holds particular promise for Thailand's export expansion and diversification efforts. In this way, the paper represents a concise case study of the DSM in practice, which should be of particular interest to export promotion agencies, industry associations, and both new and more established exporting countries.

Keywords - Export promotion, Thailand, ASEAN+3, Realistic export opportunities, Decision support model, DSM, Comparative advantage, international market research

Paper type – Research paper

1. Introduction

The The ASEAN+3 region, which consists of the ten ASEAN countries (Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam), Japan, China and South Korea, is rightly considered to be the most dynamic economic region in the world. (For a comparison between ASEAN and other systems of regional economic integration in the world, see Chen, Cuyvers and De Lombaerde, 2015.) ASEAN+3 cooperation commenced in December 1997 and was formally institutionalised in 1999 when the ASEAN leaders issued a Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation at their Third ASEAN+3 Summit in Manila. In November 2004, the ASEAN+3 leaders agreed on the establishment of an "East Asian Community" as a long-term objective and affirmed the role of ASEAN+3 as the main vehicle for such an entity. International trade and investment links between ASEAN countries, such as Thailand and China, have increased significantly since China joined the WTO in December 2001, and will be further strengthened under the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, which came into being in January 2010. At the time of writing this paper, all tariff duties applying to products originating in the ASEAN-China Free Trade Area and exported from Thailand to China were zero (ie Singapore Go Global, 2016).

The ASEAN countries also have signed a free trade agreement with Japan and South Korea. The ASEAN-Japan Free Trade Agreement provides tariff duty elimination for many products originating in the Japan-ASEAN region. However, Japan's tariff schedule of this FTA also contains products where the base tariff duty applies (e.g. 50 % in case of HS 020610 – Edible offal of bovine animals, fresh or chilled, cheek meat and head meat !), or where the base duty is eliminated in a number of yearly instalments. Moreover, a number of products are excluded from any tariff commitment, such as some agricultural and fishery products and preparations (e.g. HS 021020 - Meat of bovine animals) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2016), In turn, based on the ASEAN-Korean FTA, South Korea has completely eliminated on 1 January 2010 tariff duties on products in the "Normal Track" of the FTA, and by 1 January 2016 brought to 0-5% these of the products in the sensitive list of the "Sensitive Track" of the FTA (ASEAN, 2006).

The ASEAN countries themselves have made great strides in terms of regional economic integration - as evidenced, inter alia, in the formation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) in 1992 and the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) at the end of 2015, which together have created a market of some 622 million people. The commitments under AFTA have cleared the way for less-developed member countries, such as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to forge international trade and investment relationships with the more developed ASEAN countries, including Thailand. On 22 November 2015, the leaders of the ten ASEAN member countries signed a declaration establishing a formal economic, political, security and socio-cultural community. The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is collectively the third largest economy in Asia and the seventh largest in the world. Economic growth in

⁷ The Korean-ASEAN FTA also contains a list of "highly sensitive" products, which can account for maximum 200 HS 6-digits tariff lines and maximum 3 % of the 2004 value of Korea's total imports.

the AEC countries is projected at 3.3% in 2015, slightly lower than the previous year's growth rate of 3.4%, but forecast to accelerate to 4.9% in 2016 (ASEAN, 2015: xvii). In 2014, after nearly 20 years of continuous liberalisation of trade in goods within ASEAN, 99.2% of the tariff lines were duty-free in the ASEAN-6 (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand) and 72.6% were duty-free in the "CLMV" (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam), with the latter share expected to increase to 90.8% in 2015 (ASEAN, 2015: xviii). Moreover, the many non-tariff barriers are continuously being reduced or harmonised, and intra-ASEAN trade in a number of services has been liberalised. Clearly, all these factors point to greater export opportunities within the ASEAN and the ASEAN+3.8

In this paper, we endeavour to make a quantitative assessment of Thailand's export opportunities in the ASEAN+3 region, which represents Thailand's "backyard". Therefore, Thailand's export opportunities in the other ASEAN countries (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore and Vietnam), as well as in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan⁹, Japan and South Korea, will be identified and investigated. This will be achieved through the application of the Decision Support Model (DSM), an innovative market selection tool.

In Section 2, we discuss the more recent literature on the impact of the ASEAN Economic Community on Thailand. In that section also a literature contextualisation for the DSM is provided.

Section 3 outlines the DSM methodology used to identify Thailand's realistic export opportunities (REOs), after which we show how this methodology was applied using macro-economic and international trade data up to 2013. In contrast to the previous "runs" of the DSM, we use averaged and weighted international trade data, allowing us to focus on the more sustainable REOs.

In Section 4 we discuss the results based on the number of REOs identified. In a deviation from previous analyses of Thailand's export opportunities (Cuyvers, 1996; Cuyvers, 2004), Section 5 briefly describes the methodology of the DSM used to quantify Thailand's REOs based on potential export values. In Section 6, we investigate the REOs at product level and then bring the paper to a close with a number of concluding comments.

2. Literature overview

2.1 The economic impact of the ASEAN Economic Community on Thailand

There is an abundant literature on regional economic integration of the countries of South-East Asia, in which also a quantitative assessment is made of its impact on international trade of the individual countries involved, among which Thailand. It will lead us much too far to review this literature, which has been cumulated over three decades. Let it suffice to review some of the more recent studies.

⁸ For the most recent assessment of the progress made in economic integration in ASEAN, see ASEAN (2015).

⁹ Taiwan is not a member of ASEAN+3. Moreover, due to the absence of international trade data for Taiwan in the Comtrade database, this country will be analysed in terms of macro-economic performance, but then not given further consideration.

In order to estimate the economic impact of the creation of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), Lee and Plummer (2011) used a modified version of the LINKAGE model. They established a baseline scenario for 2004-2020, after which they simulated the impact on the ASEAN countries of the following scenarios:

- 1) Scenario 1: The ASEAN members remove bilateral trade barriers by 2015.
- 2) Scenario 2: A 2.5% reduction in frictional trade costs among the ASEAN members over the period 2010-2015 under Scenario 1.
- 3) Scenario 3: Scenario 2, but in contrast with Scenario 1 and 2, with the sector-specific productivity factors related to the degree of openness endogenously determined.
- 4) Scenario 4: Scenario 3, plus a 10% reduction in the trade and transport margins among the ASEAN countries relative to the baseline over the period 2010-2015.

For the purpose of the present study we are evidently only interested in the estimation results for the impact of their AEC scenarios on Thailand.

The welfare effects, measured by the percent deviations for Thailand in equivalent variations from the baseline in 2015 are for the respective scenarios 2.26% (Scenario 1), 4.39% (Scenario 2), 4.87% (Scenario 3) and 9.38% (Scenario 4) (Lee and Plummer, 2011, Table 3). These are the highest proportionate welfare effects among the ASEAN countries. In addition, based on the simulations by Lee and Plummer (2011), Thailand seems also to benefit most, of all ASEAN countries of intra- and extra-regional trade flow adjustments resulting from the AEC under scenario 4, with percent deviations from the baseline of its trade flows for the year 2015 to the importing ASEAN countries amounting to 29.5% (Singapore), 159.0% (Indonesia), 38.9% (Malaysia), 61.2% (Philippines), 138.8% (other ASEAN) and 71.5% (ASEAN-10) (Lee and Plummer, 2011, Table 4). Under Scenario 4, Thailand's sectoral output adjustments are most important in transportation equipment (17.8% deviation from the baseline), processed food (13% from the baseline) and other agriculture (10% from the baseline), followed by petroleum products (7.5% from the baseline), rice (6.3% from the baseline) and chemical products (5.6% from the baseline) (Lee and Plummer, 2011, Table 5).

Further along these lines, Plummer, Petri and Zhai (2012, 2014) have simulated a global CGE model allowing heterogeneous firm trade to identify the impact of a number of scenarios of further regional economic integration. Their calculations show that by 2015, the AFTA scenario will only increase economic welfare in Thailand as compared with the baseline GDP with 0.6 %, as compared to 3.9 % and 4.9 % in case of the reduction of non-tariff measures in goods in ASEAN (AFTA+) and the AEC scenario (Plummer *et al.*, 2012, Table 6). This is to a large extent the effect of an increase in international trade, which is estimated for Thailand to be an increase from the baseline in exports of 8.8 %, 27.8 % and 33.6 % according to the AFTA, the AFTA+ and the AEC scenarios respectively, and to corresponding increases in Thailand's imports with 9.8 %, 31.5 % and 34.7 % (Plummer *et al.*, 2012, Table 7). Later simulations by Plummer *et al.* (2014) show welfare gains in Thailand by 2025 as a percentage of the baseline GDP of 1.7 % (AFTA scenario), 7.6 % (AFTA+ scenario) and 9.7 % (AEC scenario) (Plummer *et al.*, 2014, Table 5). Similarly, by 2025 Thailand's exports would increase from

the baseline with 6.7 %, 19.0 % and 23.0 %, according to their AFTA, AFTA+ and AEC scenario. The respective increase of Thailand's imports is estimated to be 6.9 %, 19.1 % and 23.1% (Plummer *et al.*, 2014, Table 6). These results imply that with further ASEAN regional integration, Thailand's international trade balance will deteriorate. If the country wants to avoid this, further efforts among others will have to be made of increasing competitiveness vis-à-vis the other ASEAN members and of improving its export promotion in the other ASEAN markets.

In a report for the National Economic and Social Development Board of Thailand, Jitsuchon, Pupphavesa et al. (2013) estimated the impact of the creation of the ASEAN Economic Community, under three scenarios of tariff reductions: (a) no progress, (b) half progress, (c) full progress. It is revealing that based on their calculations, the average 2012-2015 GDP growth rate under scenario b and c is estimated to be highest in Cambodia (5.1 and 5.5 % respectively), followed by that in Thailand (3.5 and 3.7 % respectively) (Jitsuchon, Pupphavesa et al., 2013, Figure 4.1.1). Their research team also listed per ASEAN country the products among the top 200 exported and/or imported items having potential trade creation effect in AEC integrating into a single market and production base. For Thailand, the highest number of such export products (at HS 6 digits level) is found in the import market of Malaysia (57 products), followed by Vietnam (46 products), Singapore (45 products) and Indonesia (43 products) (Jitsuchon, Pupphavesa et al., 2013, Table 4.2.1). As the creation of the AEC also increases intra-regional competition and can lead to intra-regional relocation of investment, their analysis also indicates the export products of the ASEAN-6 that complement import demand by Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (CLMV), as well as the products that CLMV could out compete ASEAN-6 and hence attract relocation of investment from ASEAN-6 to CLMV (Jitsuchon, Pupphavesa et al., 2013, Table 4.2.12 and 4.2.13). Going into all these results would evidently lead us much too far from the subject of the present paper.

With more detail, further extension of the regional economic integration towards other major Asia-Pacific trading partners and its impact on Thailand, was calculated by Pupphavesa *et al.* (2012), considering the impact of ASEAN+3 and ASEAN+6¹⁰ using GTAP simulations. For our purpose, the most important scenario investigated is their scenario 1, with all import duties removed between the ASEAN+1 countries (ASEAN + China, Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and India, respectively), and their scenario 2, with all import duties removed by all ASEAN+3 countries (Scenario 2a) or by Thailand alone (Scenario 2b). As is well known from the international economics literature, regional integration leads to both trade creation and trade diversion. As a result of ASEAN+3 Scenario 2a, Thailand will experience favourable trade creation effects for an estimated 28,903 million US\$, as well as a trade diversion effects in favour of Thai exports of 16,154 million US\$ (Pupphavesa *et al.*, 2012, Table 11.1.1). ASEAN+3 holds also important intra-industry trade potential of 28,351 million US\$ for Thailand (Pupphavesa *et al.*, 2012, Table 11.1.1). However, also unfavourable trade diversion is reported.

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¹⁰ ASEAN+6 is ASEAN+3, plus Australia, New Zealand and India.

Based on Scenario 2a, Thailand's GDP will increase with 3.87%, the value of Thailand's exports will drop however with -3.86 % and the trade balance become more negative with -13,559 million US\$ (Pupphavesa *et al.*, 2012, Table 10.6 and 10.36). Under Scenario 2a, the value of Thailand's trade balance will particularly improve due to export increases (in declining order) of chemical-plastic-rubber products, metals n.e.s., food products n.e.s., sugar, plant-based fibres, vegetables-fruit-nuts, meat products n.e.s., oil, paddy rice, etc., but drop in machinery and equipment n.e.s., electronic equipment, motor vehicles and parts, textiles, wearing apparel, wood products, and ferrous metals (Table 10.20). These results are somewhat attenuated under Scenario 2b (Table 10.22). Unfortunately, Pupphavesa *et al.* (2012) has not estimated the changes in intra-regional trade flows.

It will be clear from the recent estimations, which we briefly reviewed above, that the impact on Thailand of regional economic integration in ASEAN and ASEAN+3 is considerable. Therefore, a detailed investigation of the realistic export opportunities of Thailand at product and importing country level within ASEAN, as well as in China, Japan and Korea is a logical step from the point of view of updating Thailand's export promotion policy and to take advantage of a more focused approach in their government export promotion efforts. Supporting factors include the recent launch of the ASEAN Economic Community and the proposed establishment of an East Asia Free Trade Area, which lend weight to the idea of Thailand adopting a more streamlined approach to resource allocation and a strong regional focus in its export activities.

2.2 Overview of international market selection methods

A small but growing body of literature addresses the question of how to identify opportunities for exporters. Papadopoulos and Denis (1988:38-51) provided the first summary and categorisation of the literature on international market selection. Steenkamp, Viviers and Cuyvers (2012) extended this study by adding more recent studies and distinguishing between firm- and country-level quantitative market selection methods. Firm-level studies typically focus on identifying markets with high export potential for the products of a particular firm. These analyses usually include the firm's objectives, profitability, managers' experience and knowledge, customer standards and attitudes and product adaptation requirements which is not applicable in country-level analyses. Country-level international market selection methods on the other hand, are designed to identify opportunities for all the exporters of a country and are not limited to only a few products. The Decision Support Model (DSM) that is applied in this paper can be classified as a country-level international market selection model. See Steenkamp, Viviers and Cuyvers (2012) for a detailed discussion and comparison of the specific firm-and country-level studies.

When compared to other country-level market selection methods, the DSM is unique in that it considers all possible worldwide product-country combinations as a starting point, while other methods base their analyses on the exporting country's existing export products and/or destinations (Steenkamp, Cuyvers and Viviers, 2012).

Since the publication of the book Export Promotion: a Decision Support Approach in 2012¹¹, the DSM has been applied to more exporting countries including the Netherlands (Viviers *et al.*, 2014), Zimbabwe (Mzumara, Matthee and Steenkamp, 2014; 2015), Greece (Kanellopoulos and Skintzi, 2014) and the Czech Republic (Urban and Mejstřik, 2014). It is therefore evident that this unique approach to international market selection is gaining prevalence in the literature.

In the next section the methodology of the DSM is explained.

3. Methodology: Decision Support Model (DSM) approach

The Decision Support Model (DSM) methodology (Cuyvers et al., 1995; Cuyvers, 1996; Cuyvers, 2004; Cuyvers, Steenkamp and Viviers, 2012a; Viviers et al., 2014) consists of consecutive steps, aimed at selecting markets and products in such a way that it eventually produces a list of product-country combinations of realistic export opportunities. The methodology used in this paper is summarised in Figure 1.

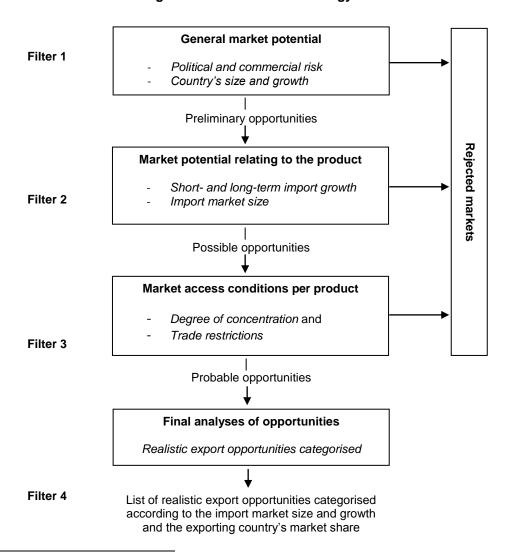


Figure 1: The basic methodology of the DSM

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¹¹ in which the DSM was applied and results compared for Belgium, South Africa and Thailand

Each filter is described in detail in sections 3.1 to 3.4.

It should be stressed that although we investigate Thailand's REOs in ASEAN+3, these are derived from the list of Thailand's REOs worldwide. Therefore, the filtering process starts with all countries and HS 6-digit products in the world for which data is available, and the selection criteria in the different filters are derived from the relevant statistical distributions over all countries or product-country combinations included in the analysis (remaining product-country combinations in the relevant filter).

For filter 1, country-level data on political and commercial risk are sourced from the *Office National du Ducroire* (ONDD, 2014); as well as macro-economic data (GDP, GDP per capita -levels and –growth) from the World Bank Development indicators are used. In filters 2, 3 and 4 bilateral trade values from the United Nation's Comtrade database (as adjusted by the French International Economics Research Centre (CEPII) in their BACI world trade database) are used. Due to a lag in capturing and auditing international trade data, the most recent available trade data at the time the analysis started were for 2013. The period 2009 to 2013 is therefore covered in this study.

3.1 Filter 1

In filter 1 of the DSM, countries are eliminated that pose too high a political and/or commercial risk to the exporting country, and do not show adequate macroeconomic size or growth. The rationale for filter 1 is that the researchers are able to eliminate uninteresting countries early in the filtering process

in order to give focused attention to a more limited set of product-country combinations in the subsequent filters. Countries that lack general potential are therefore eliminated in this filter.

As indicated above, filter 1 of the DSM assesses importing countries against two sets of criteria. We first analysed the country risk, and followed this with an assessment of the macro-economic performance of such countries.

The ONDD rates countries on a scale of 1 to 7 for political risk, where 1 indicates a low political risk and 7 indicates a high political risk. Political risk ratings for each country are provided for the short, medium and long term and the simple average of the three is used as the political risk rating. The commercial risk rating is presented as an "A", "B" or "C", where an "A" indicates low commercial risk and a "C" indicates high commercial risk. A country is considered to be too risky as a target for public export promotion efforts if its ONDD rating is 6C, 7A, 7B or 7C. A total of 176 countries out of the 209 (excluding Thailand) for which ONDD data are available were selected based on this criteria. Specifically, for the application in this study to the ASEAN+3 countries, both Laos and Myanmar had an ONDD score of 6C for the period of analysis and therefore were not given further consideration.

The second set of criteria applied include the macroeconomic size and growth of all the remaining countries selected based on country risk. GDP and GDP per capita as well as GDP growth and GDP

per capita growth values are used as indicators. There were no macroeconomic data available for three of the 176 remaining countries (namely Monaco, Curacao and Saint Maarten), and therefore 173 countries were included in this analysis.

In terms of macroeconomic size, the 20th percentile over the GDP and GDP per capita values of the 173 remaining countries is used as cut-off values (Viviers *et al.*, 2014). A country is selected based on its macro-economic size when its GDP and GDP per capita values are higher than the cut-off values for at least two of the three years 2011, 2012 and 2013 (Cuyvers *et al.*, 2012a).

For macroeconomic growth, the average GDP growth and GDP per capita growth values for the 173 countries are used as cut-off values. Countries are selected if their GDP and GDP per capita growth values are higher than the cut-off values for all three years 2011, 2012 and 2013 (Cuyvers, *et al.*, 2012a).

Countries can be selected in for either macro-economic size (GDP and GDP per capita) and/or growth (GDP growth and GDP per capita growth) to continue to filter 2.

After this first round of filtering, we retained 166 countries that had met the two sets of criteria.

3.2 Filter 2

In *filter 2*, the various product categories for the remaining 166 countries are assessed in order to identify product-country combinations that show adequate import size and growth.

As mentioned earlier, there were no data available from the CEPII BACI world trade database¹², for the Faeroe Islands, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Also Luxembourg's trade values are added to Belgium's and therefore these form one country, Belgium-Luxembourg, in the dataset¹³. Therefore, in filter 2, we investigated the import size and growth for specific HS 6-digit level products in 162 countries. The necessary trade data were available for a total of 693 137 product-country combinations which were analysed in filter 2.

A given country's imports for a specific product were seen as offering interesting export potential to Thailand if they showed either sufficiently large and/or positively¹⁴ growing import demand.

The import demand in a market (product-country combination) is regarded sufficiently large if a country i's total imports (in value) of a particular product j is greater than or equal to 2% of total world imports of the product. This applies for products in which the exporting country n (Thailand in this case) specialises in exporting ("Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA)" \geq 1). For lower levels of export

¹² For purposes of consistency, a single consolidated source of international trade data was used.

¹³ The SACU countries' (South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland) data are also reported together in the BACI database. However, customs data from the SACU countries were gathered for these countries and trade values were split accordingly.

¹⁴ In this study we added an additional criteria in filter 2. To be considered a growing market in the short and / or longer term growth rates needed to be positive and above the cut-off values in this filter.

specialisation (0 < RCA < 1), this criteria become increasingly strict (and up to 3% of total world imports)¹⁵.

The short and long term growth in import demand in the different markets are assessed by comparing it to the world import growth rate per product. Short term growth is defined as the simple most recent one-year growth rate in import value (in this case between 2012 and 2013). The long term growth rate is a compounded annual average growth rate in the import value over a period of five years (in this case 2009 to 2013).

The selection criteria for both short and long term import growth are defined as follows. If the exporting country n (Thailand in this case) does not export a particular product j at all (RCA = 0), the import growth rate in a particular import market (product-country combination) must be almost two times (198.8%) the world import growth rate for the product under consideration. The import growth rate should be at least higher than the world import growth rate if the exporting country n export the product, but not with a revealed comparative advantage (0 < RCA < 1), depending on the degree of specialisation. For products in which the exporting country n specialises in exporting a product j (RCA \geq 1), the import growth rate is allowed to be below (and down to 80%) of the world import growth rate of the product in question (Cuyvers, $et\ al.$, 2012a). These selection criteria are defined by means of a scaling factor¹⁶. In this study we added an additional criteria in filter 2. To be selected as a growing market in the short and j or longer term, growth rates needed to be positive and above the cut-off values in this filter. This was done to avoid declining (negative growth) markets to be classified as "growing in the short or long term" even though this negative growth rate might be above the negative world growth rate for the product.

$$RCA_{n,j} = \left(\frac{X_{n,j}}{X_{W,j}}\right) / \left(\frac{X_{n,tot}}{X_{W,tot}}\right); \text{ and }$$

 $X_{n,j}$ being the exports for country n (Thailand) of product j, $X_{W,j}$ world exports of product j, $X_{n,tot}$ total exports of country n; $X_{W,tot}$ total world exports (all categories). An RCA closer to zero indicate that country n does not have a comparative advantage in exporting product j, while an RCA value greater than or equal to one, indicate that the exporting country n is specialised in exporting product j (Balassa, 1965).

¹⁶ The scaling factor s_{n,j} is defined as (Cuyvers, 2004:260):

$$s_{n,j} = 0.8 + \frac{1}{(RCA_{n,j} + 0.85) \exp(RCA_{n,j} - 0.01)}$$

and cut-off values for short- and long term import growth are then calculated by: $g_{i,j} \geq g_{W,j} \cdot s_{n,j}$

where g_{ij} represents the import growth rate of product category j by country I and $g_{w,j}$ the world import growth rate for product j.

¹⁵ $M_{i,j}$ =0.02 $M_{w,j}$ if RCA_{n,j}≥ 1; or $M_{i,j}$ = [(3 - RCA_{n,j}) //100] $M_{w,j}$ if RCA_{n,j}< 1; with $M_{i,j}$ being country i's total import value of product j and $M_{w,j}$ being total world imports of product j, Also with

For the size, short- and long-term growth in import demand, a "1" is allocated in the relevant column of Table 1 if the selection criteria described above are met and a "0" is allocated if not. This is used to categorise each product-country combination into one of eight categories indicated in the Table below.

Table 1: Categorisation of product-country combinations as per filter 2 criteria

Category	Short-term import market growth	Long-term import market growth	Relative import market size
0	0	0	0
1	1	0	0
2	0	1	0
3	0	0	1
4	1	1	0
5	1	0	1
6	0	1	1
7	1	1	1

Source: Cuyvers, Steenkamp and Viviers, 2012a:65

Only product-country combinations that fall into categories 3 to 7 are selected to enter filter 3 (Cuyvers, 2004:261; Cuyvers *et al.*, 2012a). Consequently, only markets that are considered to be sufficiently large (even though not showing promising growth); growing in both the short- and long-term (not necessarily large markets) or growing in the short- and/or long-term and are sufficiently large, are selected to enter filter 3.

Based on the abovementioned criteria, we selected 275 541 product-country combinations in the world market as possible realistic export opportunities for Thailand. For a more detailed account of the process, the reader is referred to Cuyvers, Steenkamp and Viviers (2012a).

3.3 Filter 3: market concentration and access

According to Cuyvers *et al.* (1995:180), being selected on the basis of size and growth does not necessarily mean that the markets in question can easily be penetrated. In *filter 3,* trade restrictions and other barriers to entry are considered in order to further screen the remaining possible export opportunities. Two categories of barriers are considered in this filter, namely the *degree of concentration* (filter 3.1) and *trade restrictions* (filter 3.2) (Cuyvers, 2004: 261).

Filter 3.1: Import market concentration

A concentrated market in this application can be defined as an import market with only a few suppliers of which, in most cases, one supplier dominates the market for a particular product. This means that these suppliers hold a large market share with a lot of market experience and knowledge and are well-known by the local market which makes it very difficult for to new entrants to penetrate such a market. Cuyvers *et al.* (1995:180) confirmed this by finding a negative correlation between export performance and market concentration and concluded that it would be largely inefficient for export promotion organisations to use limited resources on such markets.

In this study, the Herfindahl-Hirshmann-Index (HHI) (Hirshmann,1964) is used to measure the degree of market concentration in each market. The index is calculated as ¹⁷:

$$HHI_{ij} = \sum \left(\frac{X_{k,ij}}{M_{tot,ij}}\right)^{2}$$

where:

 $X_{k,ij}$: represents country is imports of product j from different exporting countries k

 $M_{tot,ij}$: country *i*'s total imports of product *j*

An HHI-value equal to one indicates that the import market is supplied by only one exporting country, while a HHI value of closer to 0 indicates lower market concentration (many supplying countries, each with a relatively small market share). It would consequently be very difficult for an export country to penetrate a market with a HHI value closer to 1 (Cuyvers *et al.*, 1995:180; Cuyvers 2004:261).

The selection criterion for this filter is defined in the light of the fact that market concentration can be amplified in a market that is not growing, as few suppliers control the market and no market growth implies limited new opportunity to grow your market share or to enter into these markets (Cuyvers *et al.*, 1995:180). As a result, the cut-off values for market concentration are dependent on the filter 2 category to which the specific import market was allocated (see Table 1). For relatively large, but not growing, markets (category 3) a concentration of up to 40% (HHI \leq 0.4) is allowed 18. Markets growing in both the short- and long term (category 4), as well as large markets that are growing in either the short- or long-term (categories 5 and 6) are allowed a concentration of no more than 50% (HHI \leq 0.5)19. Finally, large markets that are growing in both the short- and long-term (category 7) are allowed a concentration of no more than 60%20 (Viviers *et al.*, 2014).

This process leads to the selection of 159 798 product-country combinations that showed import market concentration ratios that were smaller than the respective cut-off values.

Filter 3.2: Import market access restrictions

Various factors can be listed that restrict import market access, such as transportation costs, time and expenses related to import and/or transit procedures, import duties, quantitative import restrictions, various non-tariff barriers, etc. For Thailand as an exporting country to the other countries of the ASEAN+3 region, it can be assumed that transportation costs, as often conveniently proxied by

¹⁷ Thailand is excluded in the numerator of the equation in order to still select markets where Thailand causes the concentration. Therefore, if Thailand has a large / dominant presence in a particular market, only the market shares of the other suppliers in that market will be considered in the HHI calculation resulting in a low concentration value from Thailand's perspective.

¹⁸ For example, the HHI for a market in which one supplier holds a 60% market share and four other suppliers a 10% market share each, would be 0.4. Whereas a market with two suppliers, the one holding 60% and the other 40% would have a HHI of 0.52

¹⁹ For example, the HHI for a market with two suppliers each with a 50% market share would be 0.5. Also, a market with one supplier holding a 70% market share and three others 10% each, would have a HHI of 0.52

supplier holding a 70% market share and three others 10% each, would have a HHI of 0.52.

To rexample, the HHI for a market in which one supplier holds a 75% market share, another 15% and the last 10% market share, would be 0.595. Whereas a market with two suppliers, one holding a 75% market share and the other 25%, would have a HHI of 0.625.

distance, are approximately the same between the ASEAN-6 countries and between ASEAN-6 and China, Japan and South Korea respectively. As to the other market access restrictions, it should be stressed that in spite of the ASEAN Free Trade Area and the FTA's between ASEAN and China, Japan and South Korea, a number of import products in the respective countries are excluded from the tariff duty commitments in their partner countries, or are not yet completely liberalised. Moreover, various non-tariff measures still apply which restrict market access for Thailand in both the other ASEAN countries and in China, Japan and South Korea.

As in our previous research on the realistic export opportunities for Belgium and Thailand (Cuyvers, 1996; Cuyvers, 2004; Cuyvers *et al.*, 1995), we refrained from attempting a quantification of market access barriers, and instead used an index of "revealed absence of barriers to trade" as proxy. The hypothesis is that if the neighbours of the exporting country for which the model is applied could establish a relatively strong market position in a particular market, then it would not be too difficult for the exporting country to overcome trade barriers in this market (Cuyvers *et al.*, 1995:181; Cuyvers, 1997:7; 2004:262). The revealed absence of barriers to trade M_{i,j} is calculated as follows:

$$M_{i,j} = \frac{\frac{X_{Nsighbour1,i,j}}{X_{Nsighbour1,i}} + \frac{X_{Nsighbour2,i,j}}{X_{Nsighbour2,i}} + \frac{X_{Nsighbour3,i,j}}{X_{Nsighbour3,i}} + \cdots}{\frac{X_{World,i,j}}{X_{Wold,i}}}$$

with $X_{Neighbour,i,j}$ being each neighbouring country's exports of product j to country i; $X_{Neighbour,i}$ the total exports of each the neighbouring country to country i; $X_{World,i,j}$ the total world exports of product j to country i; and $X_{World,i}$ total world exports to country i.

The selection criterion, namely that M_{i,j} should be larger than or equal to 0.95 is defined with the assumption that a higher relative share M_{i,j} reflects a relative lack or a revealed absence of barriers to trade (Cuyvers *et al.*, 1995:181). This implies that, with a margin of error of 5%, if at least one of Thailand's fellow ASEAN-5²¹ countries has a "Revealed Comparative Advantage" in exporting to a

particular market, it is assumed that there are no "revealed barriers to trade" for the exporting country for which the model is applied in that market (Cuyvers 2004:263).

Applying this criterion led to the selection of 67 260 product-country combinations, with an apparent market accessibility that was similar to that which at least one of Thailand's neighbouring countries was experiencing for the same product group in the same importing country.

For export opportunities to be *realistic* export opportunities (REOs), we require that the respective import markets are both reasonably competitive (less concentrated) and sufficiently accessible and.

²¹ ASEAN-5 is ASEAN-6, excluding Brunei. ASEAN-5 thus consists of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore.

Mathematically, this means that we take the union of the product-country combinations selected on the basis of import market concentration and market accessibility. The union thus constructed in this case yielded 51 620 REOs.

3.4 Filter 4: The categorisation of Thailand's realistic export opportunities according to import market characteristics and import market share

In the fourth and last stage of the analysis, the realistic export opportunities that were identified in filters 1 to 3 are categorised (see Tables 4a-4b and 5a-5b)²² and no further elimination is done.

For each of the markets that entered filter 4, the relative market share of the exporting country (country n, in this case, Thailand) of product category j in importing country i is calculated as follows:

$$\mu_{n,i,j} = \left(\frac{X_{n,i,j}}{X_{six,i,j}}\right)$$

Where $X_{n,i,j}$ is country n's exports of product category j to country i; and $X_{\text{six},i,j}$ the top six countries' total exports of product category j to country i. A comparison is therefore made between the relative market share of country n in each market that entered filter 4 and the relative market share of the six largest competitors in these markets.

If country n's exports to a particular market (product-country combination) is lower than or equal to 5% ($\mu_{n,i,j} \le 0.05$) of the total exports of the top six competitors in that market, it is considered a relatively small market share. If this value is between 5% and 25%, country n's relative market share is considered intermediately small; between 25% and 50%, intermediately high; and above 50% relatively high (see columns of Table 2) (Viviers, $et\ al.$, 2014).

The entire filtering process leads to the categorisation in Table 2 of realistic export opportunities (identified in filters 1 to 3) into 20 cells according to the size and growth in demand (determined in filter 2) and the exporting country's relative market share (determined in filter 4) in these markets. The classification in the rows of Table 2 is obtained from the categories of filter 2 (see Table 1), which indicates the size and growth of import demand, while the columns are based on the relative market share of the exporting country calculated in filter 4.

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²² For a more detailed explanation of the DSM methodology and the determination of cut-off values in each filter, see Cuyvers *et al.* (1995: 173-186), Cuyvers, Steenkamp and Viviers (2012a: 58-84), and Viviers *et al.* (2014).

Table 2: Categorisation of realistic export opportunities based on import market size and growth and the exporting country's relative market share

		Market share of Thailand relatively small	Market share of Thailand intermediately small	Market share of Thailand intermediately high	Market share of Thailand relatively high
vth	Large market	Cell 1	Cell 6	Cell 11	Cell 16
mport demand size and growth	Growing (long- and short-term) market	Cell 2	Cell 7	Cell 12	Cell 17
nd size a	Large market with short-term growth	Cell 3	Cell 8	Cell 13	Cell 18
t demar	Large market with long-term growth)	Cell 4	Cell 9	Cell 14	Cell 19
Impor	Large market (short- and long-term growth)	Cell 5	Cell 10	Cell 15	Cell 20

After categorising each REO in filter 4, we also take into account Thailand's present export capacity by considering Thailand's "Revealed Comparative Advantage" and "Revealed Trade Advantage". Therefore, we distinguished between "potential" REOs (all REOs that came out of filter 3) and "actual" REOs (only those REOs for which Thailand's "Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) index²³" was sufficiently high, e.g. 0.7 (see Balassa, 1965) as well as the cases where Thailand was a net exporter of the product with a "Revealed Trade Advantage (RTA) index²⁴" above zero (see Vollrath, 1991)). These criteria are specifically chosen for the following reasons. An RCA index above one indicates that the exporting country *n* (Thailand in this case) is specialised in exporting product *j* (Balassa, 1965). We however follow Cuyvers *et al.*, (2012b) in considering a RCA above 0.7 an indication that the exporting country is already successfully exporting the product and is close to export specialisation. An RTA larger than zero discloses positive comparative trade advantage or trade

²³ RCA_{n,j} =
$$\left(\frac{\boldsymbol{M}_{n,j}}{\boldsymbol{M}_{W,j}}\right) / \left(\frac{\boldsymbol{M}_{n,tot}}{\boldsymbol{M}_{W,tot}}\right)$$
; with

 $X_{n,j}$ being the exports for country n (Thailand) of product j, $X_{W,j}$ world exports of product j, $X_{n,tot}$ total exports of country n, $X_{W,tot}$ total world exports (all categories). An RCA closer to zero indicate that country n does not have a comparative advantage in exporting product j, while an RCA value greater than or equal to one, indicate that the exporting country n is specialised in exporting product j (Balassa, 1965).

$$^{24}RTA_{nj} = RCA_{nj} - RMA_{nj}$$

$$RMA_{nj} = \left(\frac{M_{n,j}}{M_{W,j}}\right) / \left(\frac{M_{n,tot}}{M_{W,tot}}\right);$$
 with

 $M_{n,j}$ being the imports of country n (Thailand) of product j; $M_{W,j}$ world imports of product j; $M_{n,tot}$ total imports of country n; $X_{W,tot}$ total world imports (all categories). Therefore, this measure implies a Relative Import Advantage (RMA).

competitiveness. It can be assumed that it indicates that the product exported is produced domestically as it corrects for re-exports (Vollrath, 1991). See also section 4.2.

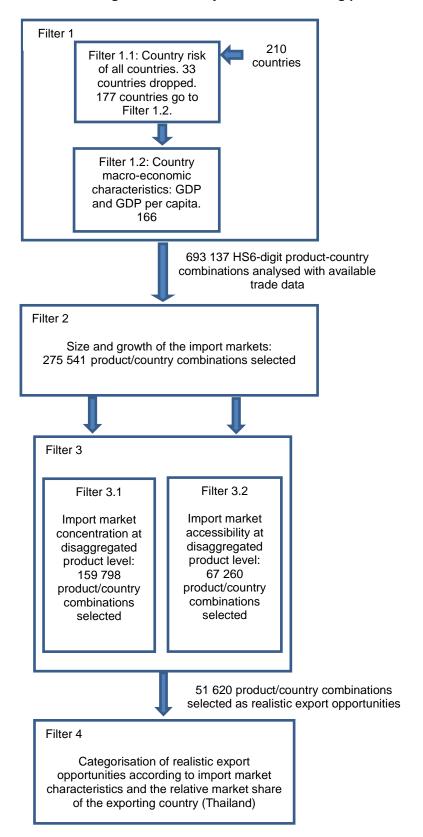
Finally, we follow Viviers *et al.* (2014) by equating the potential export values associated with REOs of product *j* in country *i* as the average imported from the top six countries that supply these imports. It is then assumed that this "average" gives an indication of the size of each REO relative to the others in order to rank and prioritise among product-country combinations. See section 5.

3.5 Unique addition to the DSM method in this study

For the first time, and in contrast to the previous "runs" of the DSM, instead of using the international trade data for only the latest year available, we calculate five-year weighted averages²⁵ for the size of the import market (filter 2), the degree of concentration (HHI in filter 3.1), the revealed absence of trade barriers proxy (filter 3.2), Thailand's exports to each market (filter 4) and Thailand's Revealed Comparative Advantage and Revealed Trade Advantage values when determining "actual" *versus* "potential" realistic export opportunities (see Section 4.2). Using the weighted average import and export values has the effect of smoothing out years with unprecedentedly high or low values, gives larger weight to more recent trade figures and allows a stronger focus on the more sustained REOs.

Figure 2 below summarises the results of the filtering process followed.

Figure 2: Summary of the DSM filtering process as applied to Thailand



 $^{^{25}}$ In this weighted five-year average, the most recent year weights the most and each year before approximately half the preceding one. Therefore, year 5 weights 51.61%, year 4 weights 25.81%, year 3 weights 12.9%, year 2 weights 6.45% and year 1 weights 3.23%.

4. Thailand's realistic export opportunities in the ASEAN+3 countries

4.1 ASEAN+3's share in Thailand's export opportunities

Table 3 depicts the distribution of the number of REOs for Thailand in the ASEAN+3 countries.

Table 3: Thailand's realistic export opportunities in ASEAN+3: 2013

Country	No of REOs	%	Potential export value	%
	2013		(US\$ thousand)	
Brunei	783	7.57	158 700	0.06
Cambodia	675	6.53	309 114	0.12
China	1342	12.98	77 787 211	30.94
Philippines	881	8.52	2 336 692	0.93
Hong Kong	795	7.69	32 791 765	13.04
Indonesia	931	9.01	10 587 097	4.21
Japan	979	9.47	53 667 651	21.35
Масао	138	1.33	127 381	0.05
Malaysia	854	8.26	9 798 223	3.90
Singapore	888	8.59	19 021 870	7.57
Taiwan	-	-	ı	-
South Korea	808	7.82	38 905 783	15.47
Vietnam	1264	12.23	5 928 019	2.36
Total ASEAN+3	10 338	100.00	251 419 506	100.00
World vs. ASEAN+3	51 620	20.03	624 937 728	40.23

Of the 51 620 REOs in the world at large, 10 338 are situated in the ASEAN+3 countries, which represents 20% of Thailand's worldwide REOs.26 The REOs to Greater China (China, Hong Kong, Macao) and South Korea constitute 22% and 7.82%, respectively, of the total REOs of ASEAN+3, with China showing the highest number of REOs (1 342), constituting 12.98% of the total REOs. Vietnam comes a close second with 1 264 REOs, representing 12.23% of the total REOs. Japan is in third place with 979 REOs, or 9.27% of the total REOs. More details on the specific products that have REOs in all individual ASEAN+3 countries can be obtained from the authors. However, if we take into account the potential export values involved27, the picture is very different from that based on the number of REOs, with the ASEAN+3 countries accounting for as much as 40.23% of the value of Thailand's potential exports in the world. Of Thailand's total potential export value in the ASEAN+3 countries, Greater China (China, Hong Kong, Macao) represents 44%, followed by Japan (21.35%) and South Korea (15.47%). The ASEAN market constitutes 19.15% of Thailand's potential export value in ASEAN+3.

²⁶ Including Myanmar and Laos, which were dropped from the list of countries to be considered further in filter 1 due to too-high political and commercial risk, would add 933 REOs for Myanmar and 103 REOs for Laos. ²⁷ For the way in which potential export values are calculated, see Section 3.4.

4.2 Thailand's realistic export opportunities in ASEAN+3 according to Thailand's market share and import market characteristics

In order to further analyse Thailand's REOs in ASEAN+3, we categorised (in filter 4) these REOs according to Thailand's relative market share and the import market characteristics into a matrix, consisting of 20 cells (see Section 3.4 and Table 2).

We also took into account Thailand's present export capacity by considering, for each REO, Thailand's "revealed comparative advantage". Therefore, we distinguished between "potential" REOs (all REOs that came out of filter 3) and "actual" REOs (RCA > 0.7 and RTA > 0, see Section 3.4). Table 4a shows the distribution of Thailand's 10 338 "potential" REOs in ASEAN+3, whereas Table 4b shows the distribution of the "actual" REOs in ASEAN+3 and therefore where the RCA \geq 0.7 and the RTA > 0.28

Table 4a: Distribution of Thailand's "potential" realistic export opportunities in ASEAN+3, according to relative market position and market characteristics

			Relative m	arket share of Th	ailand	
		Market share of Thailand relatively small	Market share of Thailand intermediately small	Market share of Thailand intermediately high	Market share of Thailand relatively High	Total
		Cell 1	Cell 6	Cell 11	Cell 16	
	Large market	920	227	60	43	1 250
		8.90%	2.20%	0.58%	0.42%	12.09%
Ę	Growing (long-	Cell 2	Cell 7	Cell 12	Cell 17	
Ŏ	and short-	4 867	1 290	388	479	7 024
<u> </u>	term) market	47.08%	12.48%	3.75%	4.63%	67.94%
anc	Large market	Cell 3	Cell 8	Cell 13	Cell 18	
Ze ?	(short-term	114	21	4	2	141
<u>8</u>	growth)	1.10%	0.20%	0.04%	0.02%	1.36%
ביי	Large market	Cell 4	Cell 9	Cell 14	Cell 19	
l 🖁	(long-term	372	90	33	22	517
9	growth)	3.60%	0.87%	0.32%	0.21%	5.00%
l o	Large market	Cell 5	Cell 10	Cell 15	Cell 20	
Import demand size and growth	(short- and	1 003	279	57	67	1 406
_	long-term growth)	9.70%	2.70%	0.55%	0.65%	13.60%
	Total	7 276	1 907	542	613	10 338
	iotai	70.38%	18.45%	5.24%	5.93%	100.00%

In Table 4a, Cell 2 shows the highest number of REOs, followed by Cell 7. Cell 1 ranks third. From Table 4a it can also be concluded that 70.38% of Thailand's "potential" REOs are in markets where Thailand's market share is negligible or very small (Cells 1 to 5), whereas 11.17% are in markets where Thailand's market share is high or moderately high (Cells 11 to 20), thereby offering immediate export potential. The situation improves with Thailand's "actual" REOs, where 22% of the export

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²⁸ Myanmar, which was dropped from the list of countries in filter 1, shows 933 REOs for Thailand, of which 407 have RCAs ≥ 0.7, and 302 if the condition RCA ≥0.7 and the RTA > 0 is applied. As for Laos, which fared much like Myanmar, it presents 103 REOs, of which 51 have RCAs ≥ 0.7, and 39 if the conditions RCA ≥ 0.7 and the RTA > 0 are applied.

opportunities are in markets where Thailand enjoys a high or intermediately high market share (see Table 4b).

Table 4b: Distribution of Thailand's "actual" realistic export opportunities in ASEAN+3 with RCA ≥ 0.7 and RTA > 0, according to relative market position and market characteristics

		Relative market share of Thailand				
		Market share of Thailand relatively small	Market share of Thailand intermediately small	Market share of Thailand intermediately high	Market share of Thailand relatively high	Total
		Cell 1	Cell 6	Cell 11	Cell 16	
	Large market	222	136	55	39	452
		6.56%	4.02%	1.63%	1.15%	13.36%
ج	Growing	Cell 2	Cell 7	Cell 12	Cell 17	
) wt	(long- and	1 057	566	218	272	2 113
Import demand size and growth	short-term) market	31.24%	16.73%	6.44%	8.04%	62.46%
a	Large market	Cell 3	Cell 8	Cell 13	Cell 18	
ze	(short-term	23	15	4	1	43
<u>0</u>	growth)	0.68%	0.44%	0.12%	0.03%	1.27%
anc	Large market	Cell 4	Cell 9	Cell 14	Cell 19	
en	(long-term	88	54	27	17	186
o +	growth)	2.60%	1.60%	0.80%	0.50%	5.50%
por	Large market	Cell 5	Cell 10	Cell 15	Cell 20	
<u>=</u>	(short- and	291	187	50	61	589
	long-term growth)	8.60%	5.53%	1.48%	1.80%	17.41%
	Total	1 681	958	354	390	3 383
	iotai	49.69%	28.32%	10.46%	11.53%	100.00%

The largest number of REOs, both "potential" and "actual", is found in markets that are growing in the short and long term (Cells 2, 7, 12 and 17), i.e. 67.94% and 62.46%, respectively, and of these, in the markets where Thailand's market share is small (i.e. Cell 2), 47.08% and 31.24%, respectively, are situated in growing import markets. In other words, almost 70% of "potential" REOs are in growing markets, and 50% of "actual" REOs have a small market share (if any at all). If Thailand wants to develop suitable offensive market exploration export promotion strategies involving "taking advantage of a growing market" (Cuyvers, Viviers, Sithole-Pisa and Kühn, 2012), special attention will have to be devoted to exploiting its competitive advantage in terms of price, quality and service/delivery, and to creating awareness of Thai products in these markets. However, as will be seen in Section 5, the picture changes dramatically when the potential export values involved are considered.

5. Thailand's export potential in ASEAN+3

This section attempts to provide an estimate of the export values associated with the given REOs. As described in Section 3.4, we equate the potential export values associated with REOs of product j in country i as the weighted average imported over the period 2009 and 2013 from the top six countries that supply these imports, measured in US dollars. The potential export values of the REOs that share common characteristics, e.g. they belong to the same Cell in Table 4a or Table 4b, can then be added up.

5.1 Thailand's potential exports in ASEAN+3 according to Thailand's market share and import market characteristics

In Tables 5a and 5b, the distribution of these total potential export values for Thailand is shown, according to import market characteristics and Thailand's relative market share in the import markets concerned.

Table 5a: Distribution of Thailand's "potential" realistic export opportunities in US\$ thousands in ASEAN+3, according to relative market position and market characteristics

		Relative n	narket share of T	hailand	
	Market share of Thailand relatively small	Market share of Thailand intermediately small	Market share of Thailand intermediately high	Market share of Thailand relatively high	Total
	Cell 1	Cell 6	Cell 11	Cell 16	
Large market	84 636 073 33.66%	13 049 530 5.19%	1 163 896 0.46%	1 584 279 0.63%	100 433 778 39.95%
Growing	Cell 2	Cell 7	Cell 12	Cell 17	
(long- and	15 135 886	6 284 036	931 426	706 609	23 057 956
short-term) market	6.02%	2.50%	0.37%	0.28%	9.17%
Large market	Cell 3	Cell 8	Cell 13	Cell 18	
(short-term	14 441 257	517 035	39 125	198	14 997 615
growth)	5.74%	0.21%	0.02%	0.00%	5.97%
Large market	Cell 4	Cell 9	Cell 14	Cell 19	
(long-term	37 332 329	2 837 227	1 787 716	194 278	42 151 550
growth)	14.85%	1.13%	0.71%	0.08%	16.77%
Large market	Cell 5	Cell 10	Cell 15	Cell 20	
(short- and	58 260 979	10 161 269	1 091 200	1 265 159	70 778 607
long-term growth)	23.17%	4.04%	0.43%	0.50%	28.15%
Total	209 806 523	32 849 097	5 013 363	3 750 524	251 419 506
	83.45%	13.07%	1.99%	1.49%	100.00%

Table 5b: Distribution of Thailand's "actual" realistic export opportunities in US\$ thousands in ASEAN+3 with RCA ≥ 0.7 and RTA > 0, according to relative market position and market characteristics

		Relative market share of Thailand				
		Market share of Thailand relatively small	Market share of Thailand intermediately small	Market share of Thailand intermediately high	Market share of Thailand relatively high	Total
		Cell 1	Cell 6	Cell 11	Cell 16	
	Large market	16 205 353	10 028 586	1 050 103	1 486 415	28 770 457
		15.89%	9.83%	1.03%	1.46%	28.21%
	Growing	Cell 2	Cell 7	Cell 12	Cell 17	
ج ا	(long- and	3 413 818	4 314 058	642 837	438 935	8 809 648
rowt	short-term) market	3.35%	4.23%	0.63%	0.43%	8.64%
b	Large	Cell 3	Cell 8	Cell 13	Cell 18	
an	market	6 310 340	444 829	39 125	194	6 794 489
size	(short-term growth)	6.19%	0.44%	0.04%	0.00%	6.66%
ρc	Large	Cell 4	Cell 9	Cell 14	Cell 19	
Import demand size and growth	market (long-term	24 607 337	2 336 131	1 699 976	184 461	28 827 905
t	growth)	24.13%	2.29%	1.67%	0.18%	28.27%
od	Large	Cell 5	Cell 10	Cell 15	Cell 20	
<u> </u>	market (short- and	18 342 894	8 277 105	900 399	1 255 563	28 775 960
	long-term growth)	17.99%	8.12%	0.88%	1.23%	28.22%
	Total	68 879 742	25 400 708	4 332 440	3 365 569	101 978 459
		67.54%	24.91%	4.25%	3.30%	100.00%

From Tables 5a and 5b it appears that Thailand's total potential export value in ASEAN+3 amounts to US\$251.42 billion (Table 5a), of which US\$101.98 billion is related to products that Thailand is already successfully exporting to other markets (Table 5b considering RCA ≥ 0.7 and RTA > 0; see Section 3.4). However, these values should rather be considered as a means to weight each REO against the others. Weighting each REO by the assumed US dollar value of its export potential makes quite a difference in the distribution of the REOs over the cells of the categorisation matrix. When Thailand's potential REOs in ASEAN+3 (in which Thailand has already achieved a high or moderately high market share (Cells 11 to 20)), are weighted by potential export values as defined above, they account for only 3.5% of the potential export value in ASEAN+3 of the "potential" REOs, and only 7.55% of the potential export value in ASEAN+3 of the "actual" REOs.

Accordingly, the "potential" REOs in ASEAN+3 in which Thailand has a small or negligible market share (Cells 1 to 10) assume much more importance, representing 96.52% of the potential export value in US dollars. When considering only the "actual" REOs (see Table 5b), the share of the total potential export value of the REOs in which Thailand has acquired a small or negligible market share is 92.45%. The reduction in the share of Cells 1 to 5 from 83.45% to 67.45% is largely due to the impact on Cell 2 of weighting by potential export values. Thus, Cell 2 represents only 6.02% of the "potential" export value and 3.35% of the value of "actual" REOs, compared with 47.08% and 31.24%,

respectively, if unweighted (see Table 4a and 4b). In contrast, of the export value of Thailand's actual REOs in ASEAN+3, 15.89% is found in Cell 1, 24.13% in Cell 4 and 17.99% in Cell 5 in Table 5b. Again, for many REOs, offensive export promotion strategies of market exploration seem to be appropriate (Cuyvers, Viviers, Sithole-Pisa and Kühn, 2012), catering in particular to the specific market characteristics (large market, large market showing growth in the short and/or longer run).

5.2 Thailand's export potential in ASEAN+3 per broad product category and some policy implications

Tables 6a and 6b show Thailand's "potential" and "actual" REOs in ASEAN+3 per broad product category.

Machinery represents the largest share of the "potential" REOs, i.e. 35.56%, as compared to 33.32% in Thailand's worldwide (excluding ASEAN+3) REOs, followed by mineral products (32.23%) and chemicals (5.87%).

Restricting our analysis to the "actual" REOs (see Table 6b), we see that machinery - when weighted with potential export values - represents an even larger share (52.66%, as compared to 33.49% in the worldwide REOs). Mineral products (22.03%, as compared to 21.76% worldwide) and chemicals (4.39%, as compared to 1.98% worldwide) show a somewhat smaller share, to the benefit of plastics/rubbers (7.89%, as compared to 8.83% worldwide).

Table 6a: Thailand's "potential" REOs per broad product category

	Potential export value (US\$ thousands) in ASEAN+3	% of total potential export value in ASEAN+3	Potential export value (US\$ thousands) worldwide	% of total potential export value worldwide
01 - 05 Animal and animal products	2 249 898	0.89	3 507 949	0.94
06 - 15 Vegetable products	924 557	0.37	5 578 611	1.49
16 - 24 Foodstuffs	3 607 195	1.43	10 370 128	2.78
25 - 27 Mineral products	81 036 654	32.23	38 606 074	10.34
28 - 38 Chemicals and allied industries	14 746 223	5.87	38 553 481	10.32
39 - 40 Plastic/Rubbers	13 362 100	5.31	19 920 984	5.33
41 - 43 Raw hides, skins, leather, and furs	945 710	0.38	1 913 770	0.51
44 - 49 Wood and wood products	2 914 025	1.16	8 653 674	2.32
50 - 63 Textiles	4 027 272	1.60	30 787 740	8.24
64 - 71 Stone / Glass	12 636 586	5.03	18 542 661	4.96
72 - 83 Metals	12 637 209	5.03	17 686 954	4.74
84 - 85 Machinery / Electrical	89 400 982	35.56	124 474 722	33.32
86 - 89 Transportation	2 654 400	1.06	19 692 040	5.27
90 - 97 Miscellaneous	10 276 694	4.09	35 229 432	9.43
Grand total	251 419 506	100.00	373 518 221	100

Table 6b: Thailand's "actual" REOs per broad product category with RCA ≥ 0.7 and RTA > 0

	Total potential export value (US\$ thousands) in ASEAN+3	% of total potential export value in ASEAN+3	Potential export value (US\$ thousands) worldwide (excluding ASEAN+3)	% of total potential export value worldwide (excluding ASEAN+3)
01 - 05 Animal and animal products	1 068 053	1.05	1 463 303	0.97
06 - 15 Vegetable products	379 733	0.37	1 497 472	0.99
16 - 24 Foodstuffs	1 782 444	1.75	6 619 680	4.39
25 - 27 Mineral products	22 461 242	22.03	32 803 691	21.76
28 - 38 Chemicals and allied industries	4 477 904	4.39	2 981 140	1.98
39 - 40 Plastic/Rubbers	8 041 065	7.89	13 310 475	8.83
41 - 43 Raw hides, skins, leather, and furs	498 146	0.49	945 214	0.63
44 - 49 Wood and wood products	527 552	0.52	1 617 824	1.07
50 - 63 Textiles	1 959 427	1.92	11 573 204	7.68
64 - 71 Stone / Glass	1 271 320	1.25	9 666 134	6.41
72 - 83 Metals	2 556 345	2.51	4 464 622	2.96
84 - 85 Machinery / Electrical	53 703 769	52.66	50 472 397	33.49
86 - 89 Transportation	876 189	0.86	5 061 086	3.36
90 - 97 Miscellaneous	2 375 270	2.33	8 252 455	5.48
Grand total	101 978 459	100.00	150 728 696	100

Table 7a depicts at the HS 6-digit level the 30 products with the highest export potential for Thailand in ASEAN+3. Thirteen products belong to the category machinery and equipment (HS84-85), and another three belong to mineral products (HS25-27). HS854221-Cards incorporating an electronic integrated circuit (smart cards) rank first, and are good for a potential export value of approximately US\$33.1 billion in seven countries. Petroleum oils, oils from bituminous minerals (HS271000) rank second and third, followed by HS847330-Parts and accessories (excluding covers, carrying cases and the like) in six countries with an estimated total potential export value of US\$4.88 billion. In fifth place is HS847170-Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines, in eight countries with a total potential export value of US\$2.86 billion.

Table 7a can be compared with Table 7b which shows Thailand's top 30 REOs in the world (excluding ASEAN+3) based on export potential. Seventeen products now belong to the category machinery and equipment (HS84-85) but only one belongs to mineral products (HS27). Strikingly, nine products in the top 30 "actual" REOs in ASEAN+3, which belong to the chemical products of HS28-39 (six belong only to HS39), do not feature in Thailand's top 30 REOs in the world, thus requiring a regional public export promotion effort. There are also some notable changes in the rankings of the products. HS271000-Petroleum oils and oils obtained from bituminous minerals, other than crude, rank first in the world, but second in the top 30 in ASEAN+3. The reverse holds for HS854221-Cards incorporating an electronic integrated circuit (smart cards), which rank first in the ASEAN+3 top 30 and fourth in the world's top 30. Apparatus for carrier-current line systems/digital line systems (HS851750) ranks second in the world's top 30 (representing a potential export value of US\$6.98 billion) but only fifth in the ASEAN+3

top 30 (representing US\$2.05 billion). Also, some more labour intensively-produced export products are in demand in the world, but are absent in the top 30 of ASEAN+3, i.e. HS640399-Footwear (excluding waterproof) incorporating a protective metal toe-cap (ranked 9th), HS940360-Furniture of materials other than metal/wood/plastics, including cane/osier/bamboo (ranked 12th), HS611030-Jerseys, pullovers, cardigans, waist-coats and similar articles, knitted or crochet (ranked 15th) and HS 610910-T-shirts, singlets and other vests, knitted or crocheted, of cotton (ranked 27th). The ASEAN+3 countries probably reflect similar comparative advantages.

While Thailand considers itself an agro-business centre, only one of the products in the HS01 to 24 group is in the top 30 worldwide, and the REOs in this category represent, in the country's "backyard" (which ASEAN+3 is), hardly 2.7% of Thailand's total potential export value in the region and 11.3% of the total number of REOs in the region. This, however, might be due to the high levels of protection frequently found in the world of agriculture and agricultural trade.²⁹

²⁹ We are grateful to Ms Pimchanok Vonkhorporn, Minister (Commercial) and Head of Office of Commercial Affairs, Royal Thai Embassy to Belgium and Luxembourg and Permanent Mission of Thailand to the EU, Brussels, Belgium, for having pointed this out.

Table 7a: Thailand's top 30 products in potential export value within ASEAN+3, RCA≥0.7 and RTA > 0

HS 6-digit product category	Rank	Potential	Number of
		export value (US\$ thousands)	opportunities
HS854221-Cards incorporating an electronic integrated circuit (smart cards)	1	33 103 712	7
HS271000-Petroleum oils and oils obtained from bituminous minerals, other than crude	2	21 377 218	6
HS847330-Parts & accessories (excluding covers, carrying cases and the like)	3	4 884 729	6
HS847170-Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines	4	2 860 485	8
HS851790-Apparatus for carrier-current line systems/digital line systems	5	2 048 274	3
HS290243-Benzene	6	1 538 067	2
HS740400-Copper waste & scrap	7	1 430 722	3
HS390120-Ethylene-vinyl acetate copolymers, in primary forms	8	859 142	7
HS390210-Polyisobutylene, in primary forms	9	851 299	6
HS850440-Ballasts for discharge lamps/tubes	10	830 614	7
HS852540-Still image video cameras & other video camera recorders; digital cameras	11	823 070	5
HS851750-Apparatus for carrier-current line systems/digital line systems	12	711 872	2
HS854430-Co-axial cable & other co-axial electronic conductors	13	648 481	4
HS390740-Alkyd resins, in primary forms	14	639 135	8
HS400122-Balata, gutta-percha, guayule, chicle & similar natural gums	15	619 026	3
HS330499-Beauty/make-up preparations & preparations for the care of the skin	16	573 518	6
HS390110-Ethylene-vinyl acetate copolymers, in primary forms	17	548 664	9
HS854121-Diodes (excluding photosensitive/light emitting diodes)	18	530 957	6
HS290122-Buta-1,3-diene & isoprene	19	527 849	4
HS854160-Diodes (excluding photosensitive/light emitting diodes)	20	476 376	6
HS711319-Articles of jewellery & parts thereof	21	464 944	4
HS850490-Ballasts for discharge lamps/tubes	22	464 081	7
HS030613-Crabs, whether or not in shell, frozen	23	461 548	9
HS390190-Ethylene-vinyl acetate copolymers, in primary forms	24	452 403	4
HS854390-Machines & apparatus for electroplating/electrolysis/electrophoresis	25	447 408	9
HS270750-Aromatic hydrocarbon mixtures of which 65% or more by volume	26	428 369	5
HS210690-Food preparations, not elsewhere specified	27	422 616	8
HS390230-Polyisobutylene, in primary forms	28	418 212	5
HS271320-Petroleum bitumen	29	405 418	4
HS847160-Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines	30	401 147	4
Total potential value for the top 30 within ASEAN+3		80 249 35	54

Table 7b: Thailand's top 30 products in potential export value in the rest of the world (excluding ASEAN+3), RCA≥0.7 and RTA > 0

HS 6-digit product category	Product ranking by potential export values (US\$ thousands)	Potential export value (US\$ thousands)	Number of opportunities
HS271000 - Petroleum oils and oils obtained from bituminous minerals, other than crude	1	32 035 421	21
HS851750 - Apparatus for carrier-current line systems/digital line systems	2	6 975 350	23
HS847330 - Parts & accessories (excluding covers, carrying cases and the like)	3	5 411 393	48
HS854221 - Cards incorporating an electronic integrated circuit (smart cards)	4	4 597 467	5
HS711319 - Articles of jewellery & parts thereof	5	4 271 734	16
HS401110 - New pneumatic tyres, of rubber (excluding those with herring-bone)	6	3 567 704	68
HS847170 - Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines	7	3 004 963	64
HS850440 - Ballasts for discharge lamps/tubes	8	2 919 195	61
HS640399 - Footwear (excluding waterproof) incorporating a protective metal toe-cap	9	2 531 154	43
HS847160 - Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines	10	2 374 373	31
HS852812 - Reception apparatus for television, whether or not incorporating radio-broadcast receivers	11	2 154 222	55
HS940360 - Furniture of materials other than metal/wood/plastics, including cane/osier/bamboo	12	1 994 388	58
HS851790 - Apparatus for carrier-current line systems/digital line systems	13	1 800 104	36
HS870323 - Vehicles (excluding of 87.02 & 8703.10) principally designed for the transportation of persons	14	1 789 264	13
HS611030 - Jerseys, pullovers, cardigans, waist-coats & similar articles, knitted or crochet	15	1 613 061	32
HS210690 - Food preparations, not elsewhere specified	16	1 390 855	44
HS940161 - Parts of the seats of 94.01	17	1 388 566	43
HS852540 - Still image video cameras & other video camera recorders; digital cameras	18	1 354 927	37
HS847180 - Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines	19	1 279 913	46
HS853650 - Apparatus for protecting electrical circuits (excl. of 8536.10 & 8536.20)	20	1 089 074	44
HS852691 - Radar apparatus	21	1 018 553	28
HS190590 - Bread, pastry, cakes, biscuits & other bakers' wares	22	998 516	31
HS841590 - Air-conditioning machines	23	963 519	37
HS940350 - Furniture of materials other than metal/wood/plastics, incl. cane/osier/bamboo	24	916 857	62
HS848210 - Ball bearings	25	891 527	42
HS030613 - Crabs, whether or not in shell, frozen	26	887 234	23
HS610990 - T-shirts, singlets & other vests, knitted or crocheted, of cotton	27	799 803	53
HS852821 - Reception apparatus for television, whether or not incorp. radio-broadcast receivers	28	799 257	43
HS841430 - Air compressors mounted on a wheeled chassis for towing	29	772 561	30
HS850110 - AC generators (alternators), of an output >375kVA but not >750kVA	30	739 492	35
Total potential export value for the top 30 products outside ASEAN+3		92 330 448	

5.3 Thailand's export potential in ASEAN+3 per country and some policy implications

Since ASEAN+3 is Thailand's "backyard" and represents 40.23% of the potential export value for Thailand in the world (see Table 3), it is interesting to take a closer look at the REOs at HS 6-digit level per target market. In Table 8, some major products from the top 5 are listed, offering promising export potential, together with the actual and potential export values per country.

Table 8: Examples of product-country combinations with large export potential for Thailand in ASEAN+3

Country	Cell	Potential export value (US\$ thousands)	Actual export value (US\$ thousands) Thailand (2013)
HS854221 - Cards incorpor	ating an electronic i	ntegrated circuit (sma	
China	Cell 4	15 415 433	1 170 297
Hong Kong (SARC)	Cell 5	6 669 135	939 942
Singapore	Cell 3	4 738 873	419 706
South Korea	Cell 4	3 032 502	301 557
Japan	Cell 3	1 365 625	185 279
Malaysia	Cell 5	1 239 186	143 070
Vietnam	Cell 2	642 957	48 573
HS271000 - Petroleum oils and o	ils obtained from bit	uminous minerals, otl	ner than crude
Singapore	Cell 6	6 042 598	3 384 751
Indonesia	Cell 1	3 945 859	112 360
China	Cell 1	3 713 460	845 352
Japan	Cell 1	2 915 142	303 699
Malaysia	Cell 7	2 454 074	1 071 217
South Korea	Cell 5	2 306 083	36 701
HS847330 - Parts & acces	sories (excl. covers	, carrying cases and t	he like)
Hong Kong (SARC)	Cell 4	2 913 532	654 947
Singapore	Cell 6	770 442	253 705
Japan	Cell 1	454 123	35 163
Malaysia	Cell 11	361 619	736 508
South Korea	Cell 2	274 326	8 823
Vietnam	Cell 2	110 688	2 092
HS847170 - Analogue	/hybrid automatic da	ata processing machin	nes
Hong Kong (SARC)	Cell 14	1 251 979	2 025 147
China	Cell 16	1 167 103	4 058 215
Singapore	Cell 15	250 254	428 868
South Korea	Cell 7	137 445	186 737
Indonesia	Cell 7	33 901	27 790
Vietnam	Cell 12	18 720	34 180
Brunei Darussalam	Cell 2	770	48
Cambodia	Cell 7	315	426
HS851790 - Apparatus for	carrier-current line	systems/digital line s	ystems
China	Cell 5	1 550 850	149 591
South Korea	Cell 5	496 553	46 781
Brunei Darussalam	Cell 2	871	11

Again, it can be seen that many of these high potential exports involve products and target markets in which Thailand's market share is small or intermediately small (Cells 1 to 10). For instance, for HS854221-Cards incorporating an electronic integrated circuit (smart cards), which rank highest in the top 30 (Table 7), all REOs are located in Cells 1 to 5 in Tables 4a-b and show a large difference between what potentially could be exported by Thailand and what is actually exported. When it comes to public export promotion, it could be difficult to tap this large export potential because the production and export of smart cards are under the control of foreign companies operating in Thailand, which could be relatively immune to national export promotion policies and efforts.

Petroleum oils (HS271000-Petroleum oils and oils obtained from bituminous minerals, other than crude) would be less susceptible to the above problem. However, Thailand has limited domestic oil production and reserves. With a view to promoting petroleum exploration and production and attracting investors, the government enacted the Petroleum Act (Thailand) and Petroleum Income Tax Act (Thailand) in 1971. The country has seven oil refineries, five of which belong to PTT (Petroleum Authority of Thailand). It follows that there is scope for export promotion of the mentioned petroleum oils in Japan, South Korea and Indonesia. Bearing in mind that Thailand's market share in these petroleum oils in the ASEAN+3 countries is small, the strategies to be developed should be offensive but exploratory. What also needs to be taken into account is that large markets for this product, such as Japan and South Korea (Cell 1), need to be approached differently from Indonesia (Cell 2: not a sufficiently large market; growing in the short and long term).

Similarly, there is a need for offensive exploratory export promotion strategies to be developed and adopted in order to promote HS847330-Parts and accessories (excluding covers, carrying cases and the like) in ASEAN+3 target markets, such as Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea and Vietnam (but not in Malaysia where Thailand's market share is intermediately high), and to promote HS847170-Analogue/hybrid automatic data processing machines in countries such as South Korea, Indonesia and Brunei. However, in respect of HS847170, offensive export promotion strategies involving market expansion could be developed and applied for China, Hong Kong, Singapore and Vietnam, where Thailand already has an established presence (evidenced by Cells 11 to 15 in Tables 4a-b).

For the sake of brevity, we have opted to restrict ourselves to these few REOs in the ASEAN+3 countries discussed above. They are helpful in that they are illustrative but are far from exhaustive in terms of where the analysis and discussion of REOs could potentially go.

6. Conclusions and some policy implications

By applying the latest DSM methodology using international macro-economic data and detailed international trade data for Thailand up to 2013, we have identified 51 620 realistic export opportunities (REOs) in the world at large, of which 10 338 (20%) are in ASEAN+3. Of these 10 338 REOs, the greatest number of REOs can be traced to China (1 342, representing 13% of the total REOs in ASEAN+3) and Vietnam (1 264, representing 12.23% of the total REOs in ASEAN+3). The other REOs in ASEAN+3 are more or less evenly spread over the remaining countries of the region. Somewhat disconcerting is that Thailand's neighbours, Laos and Myanmar, had to be excluded due to political and commercial risks being above the threshold level.

In earlier research, a headcount was taken of the REOs identified per importing country or per product, whereas in the present research (following Cuyvers, Steenkamp and Viviers, 2012b), an attempt has been made to weight each individual REO by an (admittedly rough) estimate of its potential export value in US dollars. We demonstrate that such weighting allows the focus to be placed on the more important REOs (in terms of export value), rather than on the REOs that are more readily detected but could lead to focused export promotion efforts being diluted if attention were given to too many import markets. Based on our estimations, the ASEAN+3 markets represent US\$251.4 billion or as much as 40.23% of the total potential export value within ASEAN+3), followed by Japan (21.35% of the total potential export value within ASEAN+3) and South Korea (15.47% of the total potential export value within ASEAN+3). Strikingly, Vietnam, which represents 12.23% of Thailand's REOs in ASEAN+3, accounts for only 2.36% of potential export value.

It is important to make a further distinction between "actual" REOs (in which Thailand has already acquired a sizable comparative advantage in international trade) and "potential" REOs (which constitute all REOs, irrespective of Thailand's comparative advantage). The distinction is of particular significance as it enables Thailand's export promotion agency to focus on the promotion of exports of products that are already successfully exported by the country.

Although 40.23% of Thailand's potential export value in the world can be found in the ASEAN+3 countries, Thailand has a relatively small or intermediately small market share in the vast majority of these REOs. Of the total export value of the "actual" REOs, only 22% relate to product/country combinations in which Thailand has a high or intermediately high market share. This has important implications for the design and implementation of export promotion strategies, which should more often than not be of an offensive and exploratory nature rather than be aimed at immediate market expansion. This conclusion is also justified if one considers the top 15 REOs in ASEAN+3.

Based on the product composition of Thailand's "actual" REOs in ASEAN+3, the product category machinery and equipment takes the lion's share (52.66%), thereby offering relatively quick export potential in the ASEAN+3 markets. This proportion is even better than in the world at large as the share of this product category in the "actual" REOs worldwide stands at only 22.5%.

Furthermore, the export potential of the top 30 REOs in ASEAN+3 is almost as large as Thailand's top 30 REOs worldwide (excluding ASEAN+3), which builds a strong case for Thailand to introduce a strong regional focus in its export promotion efforts. For example, it is striking that in the former list, a number of products considered to be the traditional "playground" of multinational business are less prominent, thereby offering scope for the promotion of Thai export products, such as various machines, parts and components, and electrical appliances and parts, etc. This is not to say that the export potential of multinational corporations' offerings should be neglected, as a number of products in the top 30 REOs in ASEAN+3 can be outsourced to, and supplied by, Thai producers (such as various products belonging to HS84-85). However, promoting the export of products that are mainly, if not completely, produced and marketed by multinational companies, is somewhat problematic.

Finally, as previously mentioned, nine products of the chemical industry (HS28-39) that are in Thailand's top 30 "actual" REOs in ASEAN+3 (representing 8% of the potential export value of these "actual" REOs) do not feature in the country's top 30 REOs worldwide, which similarly highlights the need for a regional focus in Thailand's public export promotion activities.

Although it seems unwise to advocate that Thailand's export promotion efforts should focus solely on the region, our conclusions point to the fact that relatively more of the country's scarce public export promotion resources should be directed at ASEAN+3. As economic integration in the region deepens - and taking into account the recent launch of the ASEAN Economic Community and the plans to establish an East Asia Free Trade Area - an enhanced regional focus is likely to deliver the greatest successes on the export front. To this end, the specific realistic export opportunities for Thailand as depicted in Table 8 of this paper will help to direct Thailand's export promotion policies and strategies, and make the desired outcome of elevated competitiveness and enhanced exports all that more attainable.

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