

Development and Export Participation of the Indian Food Processing Industry: A Historical Perspective

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ABSTRACT: This article aimed to analyse the development and export participation of the Indian food processing industry from a historical perspective, using a descriptive research methodology. All the food processing firms accounted for in the Annual Survey of Industries database (2022–23) were subdivided into four sub-groups base on their year of establishment: 1816–1947 (British India period), 1948–1990 (post-independence pre-economic reform period), and 1991–2023 (post-reform period), respectively. Export participation was measured as the absolute number of processed food exporting firms and their percentage share of total food manufacturing firms. The results showed that a total of 568 food processing firms were established between 1816 and 1947, of which only 6 (1.06%) firms participated in the export business. Evidence shows that the first processed food exporting firm was established in 1922. Since 1947, the story of export participation in the Indian food processing industry has turned. During this period, a total of 4596 food processing firms were established from which 113 firms participated in the export process. The share of exporting firms reached 2.46% of the total food processing firms. Out of the total firms established between 1991 to 2023, 910 firms participated in the export process, which was only 3% of the total firms in this industry. It needs to be mentioned that the share of exporting firms in the total number of firms increased marginally in the last period as compared to the period 1947-1990. However, based on the above findings, the following conclusions may be drawn. Up to 1947, despite a sizable number of firms in the industry, only 6 firms were allowed or capable of entering into the export business. Their exports were largely of primary and minimally processed or raw agricultural goods. Exported products included tea, coffee, spices, sugar, rice, oilseeds, and dried or salted marine products. The period between 1948 to 1990 was the period of inclination into the international processed food market through rising involvement in the export business. During the last period the number of exporting firms increased, and their share in the total number of firms increased from only 2.46 % to 3%. This low share of exporting firms in the total firms may be attributed to the rising international competition in the new economic reforms period. This study has the limitation that the count of firms for each period is the cumulative of firms in the previous and the current period. Also, there is no information in the data about which firms are replaced by newly established firms in the industry.

KEYWORDS: Development, export participation, food processing, historical

INTRODUCTION

Today, the food processing industry is a significant component of India's manufacturing sector. It comprises manufacturers of food and beverages under its organised and unorganised segments. The growth and development of the food processing sector remains crucial in any developing economy because of its strong backward linkages with agriculture for raw material supply, forward linkages with domestic and international markets through the supply of processed food products, income transmission effects that increase farm incomes, and its role in reducing the risks of post-harvest losses and price fluctuations. Since food manufacturing involves high value addition, the manufacturing of food products from primary agricultural commodities generates significant employment in the economy (Gopinath, 2002). During 2023–24, the sectoral shares of the Indian food processing industry in gross value added of agricultural, manufacturing, and overall economic activity was 14.46%, 17.5% and 1.39%, respectively. India's food processing industry shared 9.46% of agricultural output and 7.43% of manufacturing output during this period. This is also the first industry in terms of the number of firms and employment among all Indian organised sector manufacturing industries, having employed 69.53 lakh workers across the organised (22.96 lakh) and unorganised sector (46.57 lakh) (MOFPI, 2023–24). Processed food exports constituted 22.6% of the agricultural food exports by India in 2021–22.

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During the neoliberal economic reforms undertaken since 1991 and the WTO regime since 1995, the Indian food processing industry has experienced various changes in terms of its nature, output, size, employment, investments, material requirements, growth, technology, innovations, exports, policy, and many more. More concretely, over the last three decades, this industry has experienced various developments in terms of its structure, conduct, and performance. However, under the globalising food systems in current times, the Indian food processing industry is a significant exporter of processed foods. It has every potential to strengthen India's export capabilities in the international agricultural and processed food markets. Thus, changing dynamics of globalisation, urbanisation, and social codes have come with new opportunities for the Indian food processing sector (Joseph, 2020).

Considering the scope of exports by the Indian food processing industry, this study investigates the development and extent of India's processed food export participation from a historical perspective. This study is expected to trace the export development and participation of India's food processing industry, which is expected to help policymakers in designing long-term policy frameworks for the growth and development of this industry under the globalising food systems.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The developmental history of food processing is closely tied to agriculture, beginning with the evolution of food processing methods from the Stone Age to modern times, followed by the development of pasteurisation, canning, and ready-to-eat meals in the 19th century, and the establishment of international food safety standards and regulations in the 21st century. Historical developments in food science and technology over the centuries has resulted in the development of various food processing technologies to ensure nutritious, fresh, and safe food (Reardon and Timmer, 2012; Buzhal and Koutchma, 2022; Akhila et al., 2022). The export history of processed foods is also not a new phenomenon. Through the centuries, the export history of processed foods is evidence of the changing needs, nature, scope, extent, and direction of exports. India has also witnessed the global export of processed foods for decades. Rather than a linear growth, India has passed through distinct historical phases shaped by regimes of different natures, global demand shifts, and supply-side capabilities. However, India is one of the significant exporter economies in the international export market for processed foods.

Antani and Mahapatra (2020) traced the evolution of the Indian cuisine through Prehistoric, Vedic, Mughal, and European colonial phases, emphasising a sustained interaction with foreign food cultures. This study explains India's adaptability to producing cuisine-based and ethnic foods for foreign markets. This cultural embeddedness provided latent export potential as well as a platform that economic and institutional regimes could activate later. Hence, this study explored how export participation has been cultural and cuisine-based, which has, in turn, led to the evolution of export participation in other terms. However, India's participation in processed food exports remained limited in the early post-independence period.

Singh and Goyal (2005) showed that India's agricultural and processed food exports have been highly concentrated, unstable, and dominated by low-value or minimally processed products, i.e., India's export participation was narrow in scope and low in value addition. In Independent India (late 1970s and 1980s), due to foreign exchange needs and selective policy support, India's processed food exports, such as marine products, cashews, and basmati rice gained prominence in the processed food export baskets. This demonstrates export participation in terms of the structural shift in processed food exports.

In the neoliberal regime (trade liberalisation, deregulation, and privatisation) of the industrial sector of the Indian economy since 1991, processed food export participation expanded in terms of scale, scope, and direction. However, India's export participation remained uneven. Indeed, India's export participation increased in terms of volumes, but it largely specialised in low- and medium-value processed foods, with limited movement into high-value segments, such as branded, convenience, or functional foods (Singh & Goyal, 2005; Uma, 2014).

Under the WTO framework, food safety and quality standards became critical determinants of export participation of developing countries, such as India. Jongwanich (2009) found that the stringency of international food quality standards hindered the processed food exports from developing economies due to their limited compliance capacity. Mehta and George (2003) indicated that under the Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Agreement, formal access to international markets was enhanced for developing countries, but it imposed restrictions on effective participation for firms that were not competent enough to meet certification and traceability requirements SPS Agreement.

Goyal et al. (2017) analysed the negative implications of food safety barriers on exporters and upstream producers within export supply chains. At the global level, structural shifts in food systems also re-shaped the export participation of developing countries. Senauer and Venturini (2005) argued that the global processed food trade was increasingly being dominated by large manufacturers and global retail chains that govern standards, pricing, and market access. This transformation of food systems altered the nature of and opportunities for processed food export for developing economies. Now, the global players capable of

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manufacturing products with essential scaling, branding, and logistics could survive in the export market. Consequently, India's export participation became segmented, favouring larger firms and organised supply chains.

Many studies evaluated the level of productivity and efficiency of manufacturing firms, showing that efficient firms self-select themselves in export markets (Bernard & Jensen, 1999, 2004; Clerides, Lach & Tybout, 1998; Aw, Chung & Roberts, 2000; Melitz, 2003). The Indian economy, its manufacturing sectors, sub-sectors, industries, sub-industries, and firms have also experienced such linkages that shaped the export participation of manufacturers, including food processing. Gopinath and Carver (2002) showed that technological progress and stronger correlations between agriculture and food processing facilitated a transfer of comparative advantage toward processed foods. However, they warn that policy protection to primary agriculture can hinder processed food exports, which might offer a structural explanation for India's incomplete transition. The changing characteristics of the demand-side of the export market is another determinant of export participation.

Athukorala et al. (2023) observed a structural shift from traditional raw agricultural exports towards processed food products in agricultural exports, challenging Engel's law-based bias against agriculture. This study argued that the success of processed food exporters depends on their ability to exploit the increasing demand for these products. Singh and Meenu (2025) identified domestic resource endowments as the most important determinant of India's processed food exports, while Reddy and Patel (2023) revealed comparative advantage in select product categories rather than across the sector.

In summary, while India's participation in processed food exports has historically expanded in scale, it has remained selective in scope, shaped by cultural foundations, shifting policy regimes, food safety standards, technological capabilities, and incomplete integration into global value chains. Reviewing the literature on the exports of processed food products, specifically from developing countries, the researcher found out that numerous studies have discussed processed food export participation and some of its determinants in terms of volume and composition during the recent period. However, in dynamic and competitive global food systems; entry, replacement and displacement of food processing firms in domestic and international food markets are being reshaped worldwide, specifically in developing economies such as India. In other words, the ideation, growth, maturity, and decline of food processing firms are being severely affected by the ongoing process of globalisation in developing economies. To the best of the author's knowledge, no study has analysed the export participation of the Indian food processing industry from a historical perspective, i.e., the present study finds the question about export participation of this industry from a historical perspective unanswered so far.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

To address the research question identified above, the present study sets the following objectives:

1. To present the historical development of food processing in India.
2. To examine the export participation of the Indian food processing industry from a historical perspective.
3. To assess changes in the share of exporting firms over time in relation to broader economic and policy regimes viz. the British India regime/colonial period (1816–1947), post-independence regime (1948–1990), and new economic reform regime (1991–2023).

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study used the count measure of Indian food processing firms as either participating or not participating in the export process. For this specific purpose, historical information on the year of inception of the firms has been used. The year of inception of a firm was taken as the year in which it started its production. The data on the year of inception of the firms was extracted from the unit-level Annual Survey of Industries (ASI) database (2022–2023), which was availed from the National Data Archive. Within this database, it was found that India's oldest food processing firm (organised sector processing unit) was established in the year 1816. Since then, several food processing firms were established, displaced, and replaced in the industry and the export business. Since the year of inception of 5715 firms, and since information on 1583 firms were missing in the database, 7298 firms were excluded from a total of 42802 firms. The remaining 35504 firms involved in food processing activities under the organised sector were subdivided into thirteen sub-sectors. For this sub-division, the 4-digit-level product classification of industries, National Industrial Classification (NIC) 2008 was followed. All 35504 shortlisted firms were subdivided into three periods according to their year of establishment—colonial period (1816–1947), post-independence pre-liberalisation period (1948–1990), and post-liberalisation (1991–2023) period. It is to be reiterated that this database only included firms that sustained in the production process over the years. Closed or displaced firms were not included in this study.

Other than ASI (2022–2023), this study collected and used data from multiple secondary sources. For example, data on India's share in global export and import of food was taken from ITC Trademap (April 2025). Data on employment in organised and

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unorganised segments of this industry was taken from the Annual Reports of the Ministry of Food Processing Industries, Government of India. STATA-14 statistical software was used for merging, appending, and tabulating data from the unit-level ASI database (2022–23).

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

(a) Historical development of food processing in India

The evolution path of food processing in India reflects its transitions from basic processing, such as roasting, steaming, and oven-baking activities for personal consumption in households to technology-intensive, ultra-processed, and exportable quality processed food products in a liberalised, export-oriented economy. As mentioned in the literature review, food processing developed almost alongside the advent of agriculture, dating back to the prehistoric age, when man's day was nearly entirely devoted to the protection and sustenance of himself and his family (Kumar and Sohanlal, 2021). Modern food processing developed mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries, partly to meet military needs. Important milestones in this industry include Nicolas Appert's invention of food preservation by hermetic bottling in 1809, Peter Durand's canning process in 1810, and Louis Pasteur's discovery of pasteurisation in 1864. In the 20th century, technologies such as spray drying, evaporation, and freeze drying as well as the use of preservatives, sweeteners, and colouring agents expanded rapidly, influenced by World Wars, the space race, and growing consumer demand. Technological developments in food science (cold plasma, high hydrostatic pressure, pulsed electric field, and ultrasonication) have changed the nature, growth, and development of food processing in the world, specifically in developing countries.

Food processing in India has deep historical roots. In the pre-colonial period, food processing activities such as milling, oil extraction, sugar-making, fermentation, drying, and pickling were largely household- or community-based, embedded in local food cultures and regional cuisines. During the colonial era, processing became more commercialised, particularly in plantation crops (tea, coffee), sugar, rice milling, spices, and oilseeds. However, British colonial policies oriented production towards raw material exports, limiting value addition within India.

In India, modern food processing began in the early 20th century. The Bengal Preserving Company, the country's first cannery, was established in 1901. Other early firms, especially in Calcutta and Punjab, produced and exported canned fruits, sauces, squashes, and sharbat, laying the foundation for India's food processing industry. These technological developments in food science (cold plasma, high hydrostatic pressure, pulsed electric field and ultrasonication) have made the Indian food processing industry a significant contributor to the economy.

(b) Export participation of the Indian food processing industry

Over time, India's processed food export participation has experienced a transition from primary products of agriculture to low value added processed food products to technology-intensive ultra-processed food products. Now, India is a key player in the international processed food market, exporting international quality and technology-intensive processed foods to advanced countries. Consequently, India has marked its presence in the international export market of processed foods. Its skilled pool of labour, new food technologies, and factor endowments are paving the way for sustainability in production and exports. However, from a historical perspective, the export participation of Indian food processing firms can be analysed using Table 1, which shows the current status of all the food processing firms, both participating in and excluded from the exports process. They have been sub-divided into thirteen sub-sectors, as classified under the NIC 2008.

Table 1: No. of Exporting and Non-exporting Food Processing Firms, 2022-23

4-digit NIC-2008 Code	No. of Firms	No. of Exporting Firms	% of Share Exporting Firms	% Share in Industry	% of Non- exporting Firms
1010: Meat and Meat Products	150	37	24.7	2.8	119
1020: Seafoods	577	279	48.4	20.7	379
1030: Fruits and Vegetables	1176	73	6.2	5.4	1153
1040: Edible Oils and Fats	2250	34	1.5	2.5	2265
1050: Dairy Products	1487	25	1.7	1.9	1910
1061: Grain Mill Products	17008	169	1.0	12.6	16926
1062: Starch and Starch Products	584	16	2.7	1.2	574
1071: Bakery Products	1535	45	2.9	3.3	1548

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1072: Sugar	691	56	8.1	4.2	645
1073: Cocoa, Chocolate & Sugar Confectionery	805	38	4.7	2.8	808
1074+1075+1079: Other Food Products	6267	473	7.5	35.2	6403
1080: Prepared Animal Feeds	1084	33	3.0	2.5	1139
1101-1104: Beverages	1891	53	2.8	3.9	1887
Total	35504	1345	3.8	100.0	34159

Source: Annual Survey of Industries, 2022-23 (Unit-level)

Table 1 shows that India's food processing exports are limited and unevenly distributed across its sub-sectors. Out of 35504 food processing firms, only 1345 firms participated in the export process, indicating a strong domestic market orientation. The export participation of the seafood and meat processing sectors was the highest—48.4% and 24.7%, respectively—proving they are the principal sources of processed food exports from India and indicating their integration with global markets. On the other hand, sub-sectors such as grain milling, edible oils, and dairy products had a very low share in exporting firms, despite accounting for a large share in the industry. From this information, one can note that food processing exports have been concentrated in a few modern sub-industries (such as fish and meat), while most firms remained domestic suppliers, highlighting significant scope for export orientation.

Table 2: Cumulative No. of Food Processing Firms Established during three Phases

Period	Total Firms	Exporting Firms	Non-exporting Firms	% Share of Exporting Firms
1816-1947	568	6	562	1.06
1948-1990	4596	113	4483	2.46
1991-2023	30340	910	29430	3.00
Total	35504	1029	34475	3.898

Source: Author's estimates

Table 2 presents the cumulative number of food processing firms established across three distinct phases (1816–1947, 1948–1990, and 1991–2023), classified into exporting and non-exporting firms, along with the percentage share of exporting firms in total firms. The cumulative number of food processing firms established were 568, 4596, and 30340 during 1816–1947, 1948–1990, and 1991–2023, respectively. This shows a substantial growth of the Indian food processing industry over time, perhaps driven by industrialisation, policy reforms, export participation, and growing domestic demand. Although the absolute number of exporter firms increased significantly, they constituted only a small fraction of total food processing firms. Out of a total of 35504 established firms, 6, 113, and 910 firms participated in the export process during 1816–1947, 1948–1990, and 1991–2023, respectively. These findings show that the percentage share of exporting food processing firms was 1.06%, 2.46%, and 3% of the total number of firms, respectively. This statistical information proves that with growth and development, the Indian food processing industry witnessed a low but gradual and consistent improvement in export participation over time. This growth in export participation measured in terms of the number of exporting firms has been significantly sharp between the last two adjacent phases of development, 1948–1990 and 1991–2023. Growth in the share of exporting firms has been significantly slow even between the last two adjacent phases of development, 1948–1990 and 1991–2023. Thus, it is clear that growth in exporting and non-exporting food processing firms has been more or less proportional.

Appendix-I shows that among the exporting firms present in the dataset, the first firm that participated in exports was established in 1922, i.e., it exported directly to other countries. Only 568 food processing firms were established during 1816–1947, out of which only six firms were involved in the export business. This is evidence that these firms, despite being very old, have survived in the industry to date.

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Table 3: Sectoral Distribution of Exporting and Non-exporting Food Processing Firms during three Phases

Sub-sector/ Period of Establishment	Colonial Period (1816-1947)		Post-independence pre-liberalisation (1948-1990)		Post-liberalisation (1991-2023)	
	Total Firms	Exporting Firms	Total Firms	Exporting Firms	Total Firms	Exporting Firms
1010: Meat and Meat Products	0	0	17	1	133	31
1020: Seafoods	0	0	57	19	520	210
1030: Fruits and Vegetables	7	0	93	9	1077	58
1040: Edible Oils and Fats	8	0	352	2	1890	28
1050: Dairy Products	4	0	203	4	1280	10
1061: Grain Mill Products	53	0	1970	7	14986	152
1062: Starch and Starch Products	1	0	88	1	495	15
1071: Bakery Products	8	0	175	16	1352	22
1072: Sugar	48	3	212	22	431	28
1073: Cocoa, Chocolate & Sugar Confectionery	36	0	106	3	664	31
1074+1075+1079: Other Food Products	382	3	980	26	4905	259
1080: Prepared Animal Feeds	1	0	135	0	948	21
1101+1102 +1103+1104: Beverages	20	0	212	3	1659	47
Total Firms	568	6	4596	113	30340	910
Source: Author's compilation from Annual Survey of Industries, 2022-23 (Unit-level)						

Table 3 shows that Indian food processing firms marked variations in their presence across three historical phases of their development, reflecting the evolving dimensions of the economic, social, and political environment.

1. Colonial Period (1816–1947)

During the colonial period (1816–1947), the export participation of Indian food processing firms was negligible. Out of a total of 568 firms in the industry, only 6 firms participated in the export process. This indicates extremely low participation in processed food exports from India during that time (only 1% of total firms). Only a few firms participated in the export process— 03 firms under NIC 1072 (sugar) and 03 firms under NIC codes 1074–1079 (other products). This pattern can be attributed to the political economy of British India, wherein the extraction of raw agricultural products was prioritised over the development of domestic capabilities in food processing. In other words, food processing firms were largely small and domestically oriented, not export-oriented. They did not get policy support for access to capital, infrastructure development, and exports to international markets.

2. Post-Independence Period (1948–1990)

The post-independence period (1948–1990) was known for industrial expansion in India. It focussed on the dirigisme (state-led industrialisation strategy) of economic management rooted in import substitution and planning. However, India's food processing industry experienced a quantitative growth in the number of processing firms, with a total of 4596 firms. It was a much higher number of firms than that in the previous period of analysis. However, in terms of export participation, growth was quite low compared to that in the number of total firms; only 113 out of 4596 food processing firms participated in the export process, constituting only 2.46% of the food processing industry. Notably, sub-sectors such as meat (NIC 1020), fish (NIC 1030), bakery and cereal products (NIC 1071 and 1072) manufacturing registered relatively higher export participation. This change hints towards structural shifts in the processed food exports, which may be attributed to the changing nature of export demand, supply conditions, and structural shift in the industrial policies in India.

3. Post-Liberalisation Period (1991–2023)

The post-liberalisation period (1991–2023) of the Indian economy has been a period of deep structural changes in almost all aspects of the economy, including the food processing industry. From Table 3, one can easily notice that India's food processing

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industry experienced growth as well as structural transformation. The number of food processing firms and exporting firms grew to 30340 and 910, respectively, showing 3% growth in export participation rate. Notably, growth in export participation was observed across the sub-sectors of this industry, specifically food processing sub-sectors represented by NIC Codes 1061, 1020, 1030, and 1101-1104. This revealed that the scope of export participation increased during this period of analysis. The fundamental question is what factors made this possible? In fact, institutional initiatives, export-oriented economic policies, integration in the global food value chains, etc. are considered as the determining factors.

However, processed food export participation trends provide us the following structural insights. Export participation of the Indian food processing increased across three phases of analysis, showing integration of this industry into global food value chains. Over this period of analysis, this industry observed a shift from sporadic export to systematic and diversified participation in exports. Though export participation has increased across the sub-sectors, fish and meat processing segments marked a remarkable growth. The differential in export participation of various segments of this industry seemed to be rooted in historical capabilities, raw material endowments, and policy support and shifts, etc.

CONCLUSIONS

This study provides a structural analysis of how export orientation of the Indian food processing industry evolved over three phases of administrative and economic governance. It concludes that the Indian food processing industry's export participation was virtually absent during the colonial regime, indicating an extractive policy regime of the imperial government that prioritised the export of agricultural raw products over value added and processed food products. In the post-independence period, export participation increased modestly, as a few firms entered the international processed food markets despite an inward-looking and import-substitution policy framework. During this phase, the scope of export participation expanded to all the sub-sectors of food processing. Like many other sectors of the Indian economy, export participation of the Indian food processing industry occurred in the last phase of analysis. Indeed, new industrial policies such as liberalisation, deregulation, and institutional support played a significant role that led a sharp growth in export participation across the sub-sectors of this industry. Nevertheless, processed food exporting firms continue to constitute only a small share of total food processing firms. This persistently low share of exporting firms indicates that export participation is still low and yet to become mainstream. Structural rigidities related to production scale, technology use, quality standards, logistics, and global competition continue to restrict its wider participation in exports. However, this study shows that export participation of this industry has been path-dependent, and an outcome of external exposure and institutional reforms.

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Appendix-I: Establishment Year-wise Distribution of Food Processing Firms/ Exporting Firms

Year of Initial Product ion	No of Firms/ Exporti ng Firms	Year of Initial Product ion	No of Firms/ Exporti ng Firms	Year of Initial Product ion	No of Firms/ Exporti ng Firms	Year of Initial Product ion	No of Firms/ Exportin g Firms	Year of Initial Produc tion	No of Firms/ Exporting Firms	Year of Initial Product ion	No of Firms/ Exporting Firms
1816	1 /0	1898	15/0	1929	7/0	1959	42 /1	1988	177 /6	2017	1459 /41
1818	1/0	1899	1/0	1930	5/0	1960	51 /2	1989	306 /6	2018	1129 /53
1836	1/0	1900	17/0	1932	26 /1	1961	56 /1	1990	443 /11	2019	1264 /59
1839	3/0	1901	3/0	1933	15 /1	1962	29 /2	1991	332 /4	2020	977 /22
1848	1/0	1902	1/0	1934	10 /1	1963	53 /2	1992	529 /19	2021	1266 /18
1850	1/0	1903	3/0	1935	8/0	1964	15 /3	1993	348 /10	2022	1215 /16
1853	1/0	1905	2/0	1936	8/0	1965	50 /1	1994	341 /39	2023	273 /2
1859	18/0	1907	3/0	1937	12/0	1966	31/0	1995	716 /19	Total	35504
1861	1/0	1908	5/0	1938	5/0	1967	40 /1	1996	601 /33		
1863	1/0	1909	1/0	1939	21/0	1968	46 /3	1997	556 /7		
1864	4/0	1910	3/0	1940	2/0	1969	49 /1	1998	942 /20		
1869	14/0	1911	2/0	1941	1/0	1970	176 /2	1999	514 /14		
1873	2/0	1912	4/0	1942	23/0	1971	67/0	2000	1467 /39		
1876	2/0	1913	1/0	1943	8/0	1972	108 /1	2001	590 /21		
1879	1/0	1914	4/0	1944	2/0	1973	70 /3	2002	744 /35		
1880	1/0	1915	22/0	1945	20/0	1974	44 /2	2003	554 /9		
1882	7/0	1916	19/0	1946	39/0	1975	102 /6	2004	888 /23		
1885	2/0	1917	6/0	1947	21/0	1976	69 /1	2005	993 /44		
1887	23/0	1918	8/0	1948	9/0	1977	58 /1	2006	850 /8		
1888	3/0	1919	8/0	1949	4/0	1978	150/0	2007	846 /25		

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1889	7/0	1920	5/0	1950	38/0	1979	109/0	2008	986 /26		
1890	20/0	1921	6/0	1951	20 /1	1980	246 /4	2009	1062 /24		
1891	7/0	1922	5 /1	1952	37 /1	1981	148 /1	2010	1709 /52		
1892	4/0	1923	2 /0	1953	2/0	1982	316 /2	2011	900 /20		
1893	2/0	1924	12/0	1954	10 /1	1983	243 /5	2012	1595 /53		
1894	4/0	1925	4/0	1955	8 /1	1984	212 /5	2013	1013 /27		
1895	15/0	1926	15 /2	1956	42 /2	1985	375 /18	2014	1301 /38		
1896	1/0	1927	2/0	1957	28 /3	1986	323 /7	2015	1139 /58		
1897	6/0	1928	5/0	1958	31/0	1987	164 /5	2016	1241 /35		

Source: Author's compiled from the Annual Survey of Industries, 2022-23 (Unit-level).



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