

GENDER IN PHERIPHERICAL COUNTRIES

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Globalization is one of those fashion trend concepts that everybody blames for being the “Good or Evil”. Among the benefits, the more efficient distribution of global resources due to free trade and free mobility of capital are quoted. So, consumers benefit from a greater offer of goods and services at a lower price. Investors will have more opportunities of investing and diversification of the risk. Developing countries may obtain a bigger volume of investment and an easier access to technology. That’s why globalization would result in a generalized increase of productivity and welfare. In this paper we will try to inquire about the real benefit that some countries get, and how much of it makes a difference to people.

We made, a brief description of the changes in the global economy during these last two decades and their gender consequences: a) the feminization of the labor force, b) the role that gender gaps, inequities, on the patterns of accumulation, c) consequences of discrimination over economical growth and d) gender equity and the exchange conditions for peripheral countries in the new global labor division. Finally, using the recent gender researches, we would see some facts and tendencies about the impact of globalization on gender relations in some important "sectors and countries" and underline areas that require further analysis.

1. GLOBALIZATION. GENERAL ASPECTS

Since 1974 the world has experimented great transformations. An export-led-development paradigm¹ prevails. In a certain way, it is about going back to the development model that dominates since the end of the 19th century till the Great Depression of the thirties. After that, the crisis generated a reversion of that process and the return to Protectionism.

During the fifties (postwar) liberalization of trade was again fashion among developed countries (import quotas are eliminated, taxes and the tariffs are reduced among countries who signed the GATT-General agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1948-), in the seventies, after the collapse of the Bretton Woods exchange system, liberalization of capital flows² was accompanied by the progressive reduction of trading barriers in less developed countries and a tendency to deregulation of the markets, including the labor market, in most of those Countries. This determined a fast growing trade (significantly bigger

¹ About forty or fifty years ago, the media taxes on imports that is, taxes media over importation, the media that was imposed on the goods that entered in a country, was 45% Today it has been reduced to almost 4% (Joekes 1997).

than that of production), and the liberalization of international flows of capital, including those related to foreign direct investment³.

Both stages of the acceleration of the globalization are different. Capitalism expansion of the 19th century and beginning of the twentieth was based in complementary flows of trade among suppliers of food and raw materials, while importing Manufacture and Equipment in exchange. Nowadays, trading is based - as you can see in the following Table-on intra branches trade- that is widely controlled, by transnational corporations.

Table N^a1. Manufactures exports as a percentage of total Exports of goods and services (in current U\$\$)

<u>Periods</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>
<u>World</u>	<u>62.9</u>	<u>72.5</u>	<u>76.1</u>	<u>76.3</u>
<u>Core Countries⁴</u>	<u>71.8</u>	<u>77.9</u>	<u>80.6</u>	<u>79.5</u>
<u>Periphery</u>	<u>46.5</u>	<u>60.2</u>	<u>68.0</u>	<u>71.4</u>
<u>Periphery (excluding China, Hong-Kong, Korea, Rep, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia).</u>		<u>54.5</u>	<u>58.2</u>	<u>62.0</u>

Source: Own calculations based on: World Development Indicators 2007. World Bank

The international labor division transformed, in a great extend, as a result of the transference⁵ of a great part of labor intensive industrial production (textiles, garments, toys) or the more work intensive phases of other activities (like electronics) from industrialized countries to countries with lower income, with scarce labor and productive regulations and with abundant cheap labor force. So, they transfer to periphery countries, repetitive and standardized productive processes (too expensive for automation). Transnational corporations and their associated nets are the agents of this new model of foreign investment that transmits capitalism all over the world, imposing technological and organizational changes and determines in some way, the economic policies from governments. The fragmentation and reallocation of the industrial process allows transnational companies to benefit from getting cheap labor, whether it is creating new branches in the periphery or sub contracting existing informal companies there⁶. So, reallocation gave place to industrial poor quality employment that disappeared from Core Countries.

The new work places are unqualified, with little formalization and without the organizational and technological parameters from developed countries

³ The foreign direct investment growth is driven by this liberalization and by the cost reduction of transport, communications and data processing that allows the companies perform different stages of production in different countries.

⁴ The economies included are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States.

⁵ This transference was made possible by the reduction of the natural barriers (transportation cost, communications, information access, etc) and international trade tariff reduction.

⁶ The cost reduction tendency explains the process of flexibilization and precarization of employment so as the deregulation of economic activity in Center countries (Lim 1983; Benería 1991; Castells 1997).

(Tezanos 2001). At the same time, The main companies, located in the Core Countries, are those which commercialize products and maintain an absolute market control so, there is a minimum of potential dynamic from the reallocation in the periphery of part of the economic process because they are only enclaves with no relation with the economies from the Core countries. (Parella Rubio 2003). That may explain the different cross opinions on globalization effects, and that it has not been linked to growth acceleration neither in the Core nor in the Periphery as a whole, although, this last one is closely related to a notorious polarization growth between Winner Countries and Loser Countries.

We have referred to the impact of globalization over the merchandise (goods) trade, which represent 80 % of World Trade. But, at the same time, the Services Trade sector is growing fast. It is clear that in terms of employment it's the most important in almost all economies. Traditionally, services have had to be produced at the same place and time that they were consumed. Nowadays, information and communication technology (ICT) make it possible for information services to break up and trade in the same way as goods. This revolution allows the production of services to be far from the companies' original country. Increasing fragmentation, specialization and commercialization of services activities⁷ is a brand new world division of labor, that can be more important than that produced in the 70's and 80's decade in the production and trade of Manufactures⁸. That is particularly important because services production require more qualified work than merchandize production. But only the future will indicate if its spatial distribution in the Periphery will be less concentrated than exported goods, and if the impact of export services on employment would be significantly different to what the opening of trade and export manufacturing has had.

2. TRADE, ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND EQUITY.

Attention has to be drawn to the fact that expansion of international trade and the new International Division of Labor might affect the disparity of incomes "in and among" Countries. That means an increase of trade has led to a greater convergence between developed and developing countries, better incomes and reduction of poverty in these latter countries. It is also worth while reviewing "the ECLAC approach" against the traditional theory of foreign trade, the present discussion on the "structural proposal" about the "worsening in the terms of trade for the developing countries" brought about by Prebisch (1950) and Singer (1950).

The world product growth per capita between 1970 and 1980 was 1, 9 % and it decreased in the last two decades. In the developed countries (Core Countries) as you can see in the following Table, the growth rate was 2.6% for the 1970-1980 period, 2.5% during the 80's and 1, 8 during the 90's. There were lower rates than that of the Periphery. But the panorama changes if we exclude China, Hong Kong, Korea Rep., Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. In

⁷They include a great variety of activities from (home domestic services, retailers to governmental administration, health and educational provider's services, the processing of information or legal, accounting and administrative services.

⁸ UNCTAD: <http://www.unctad.org/Templates/Webflyer.asp?docID=5436&intItemID=2807&lang=3>

this case the per capita product growth was lower, only 0, 2% in the 80's and 1.1% in the 90's (Table 2).

Table N^a2. Growth of Gross Domestic Product Per Capita

(Annual rate of US dollar year 2000).

<u>Periods</u>	<u>1980-1970</u>	<u>1990-1980</u>	<u>2000-1990</u>	<u>2005-2000</u>
<u>World</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1.5</u>
<u>Core Countries</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>1.3</u>
<u>Periphery</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>2.4</u>	<u>3.6</u>
<u>Periphery (excluding China, Hong-Kong, Korea, Rep, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia).</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>2.3</u>

Source: Own calculations based on: World Development Indicators 2007. World Bank

The most important part of the growth of underdeveloped countries is concentrated in South East Asia. It is based in unskilled workers, work intensive productions and low costs.

In other regions the International Economic Openness is linked to a contraction process of industrial activities. The Export-oriented industrialization through primary processing could not compensate this contraction process for many reasons. Among the Loser regions in underdeveloped regions, there are some which have low incomes and wages, the levels of skill are low and also a dramatic economic and social infrastructure shortage, like most sub-Saharan African countries.

In other cases, it's about higher income countries with more industrialization that suffer re-primarization processes of their economies. We can find among these different countries like the Russian Federation or Argentina.

A limited set of countries have re-articulated their growth with primary exports that is the case from Chile.

A group of countries were benefited from localization advantages. They have an expansion of industrial exportations beginning with assembly industries - that was Mexico's case, some Central American Countries and some East European countries, like Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia-.

In global terms, if we consider the evolution of real wages in manufacture there is stagnation in developed countries, a big increase in South East Asian countries beginning with very low levels and a big decrease of wages (deterioration or stagnation) with high unemployment rates in the rest underdeveloped countries, including countries like Mexico⁹. The global growth rates were lower than between 1945 and 1975, even lower the glorious 30's, and with very different output growth in different regions and different types of countries too.

Globalization has also had differential effects in the countries. The benefits of commercial expansion, whenever there was any, have been different among

⁹ Mexico's economic opening thus appears to have raised the skill premium and reduced industry rents going to labor. It also appears to have increased wages in states along the U.S. border relative to the rest of the country.

different social stratus between men and women and among different groups of women, and for poverty reduction (in almost all the countries there was a higher income concentration).

3. WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE GENDER RELATIONS

3.1 WOMEN LABOR AND LOBALIZATION

The consequences of world economic integration are complex. In some places gender and income inequities have been reduced. But it has probably done very little to reduce long term gender inequities.

Economic arguments on the effects of globalization on women fall into two broad groups, one intensely critical and the other basically optimistic, but with reservations and qualifications.

From the critical point of view, economic globalization has largely negative consequences for women. It confines them to low pay, low status, often part-time jobs that reinforce their subordination and perpetuate the de-valorization of women's work in most societies. Demand among multinational firms for cheap, flexible labor has encouraged offshore production using low-paid women. The removal of barriers to transnational investment, far from empowering women, has brought them dismal jobs in offshore production sites where they are subject to sexual discrimination and harassment. Women, however, remain excluded from the more stable and higher-paying jobs in heavy industry. Furthermore, competition from foreign firms undercuts efforts to help women launch local "micro enterprises" (Sforza 1999). Some women may benefit from new jobs, but their "work is highly exploitative and features low wages, poor working conditions, suppression of trade unions, and little opportunity for security or advancement (Wright 1995). In addition, the structural adjustment and market liberalization policies that have accompanied globalization are particularly damaging to women. They lead to cuts in public sector jobs that are often disproportionately held by women, they undercut social programs that benefit women, and they inhibit labor organization by women. Further, in an increasingly volatile economic context, women are often the first to suffer in times of financial crisis. Evidences from the Asian financial crisis, show that women were more likely than men to lose their jobs. (Singh and Zammit 2000). Another argument is that industrial development causes environmental damage that disproportionately degrades life for Third World Women. Women suffer the most from ecological problems because they are responsible for most family sustenance.

The alternative to the critical position is a qualified one that posits, on balance, economic advantages in the form of greater agency for women in an era of globalization. The primary advantage centers on enhanced prospects for non-household employment. Indeed, globalization, including greater openness to foreign direct investment (FDI), "has led to a massive infusion of women into job markets".(Standing 1989). Especially in the lower income countries, foreign multinationals often make better paying jobs available to women. Saskia Sassen(1998), recognizes the mixed impact of globalization for women's jobs: "On the one hand, they [women] are constituted as an invisible and disempowered class of workers . . . On the other hand, the access to

wages and salaries (even if low), the growing feminization of the job supply, and the growing feminization of business opportunities . . . alter the gender hierarchies in which they [women] find themselves.

Table N°3. Percentage of female employment related to female population. World and Regions.

Regiones	% female employment	
	1997	2007
World	49.5	49.1
<u>Core Countries</u>	47.2	49.1
Central & South-Eastern Europe (non-EU) & CIS ¹⁰	45.2	45.6
East Asia ¹¹	68.7	65.2
South Asia ¹²	34.7	34.1
South East Asia & Pacific ¹³	55.0	55.1
Latin América & Caribbean	42.1	47.1
Sub-Saharan Africa ¹⁴	58.0	56.9
North Africa	19.9	21.9
Middle East	20.8	28.1

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends Model. Global Employment Trends 2008

The gender consequences of the commercial expansion have its maximum intensity in the manufacture industry. In fact, no developing country has increased its manufacture exportation without resorting to a greater number of women workers. This is so because the export industry rests on flexible production systems (Yañez 2004b), that find an adequate labor offer from women willing to accept temporary working contracts part time occupations and unstable working relations. These conditions are the base for low cost production of global markets and are linked to a generated volatile global mobility of capital in search of greater profits. The trade expansion has been enabled by the changes in the gender relations originated by the incorporation of women to the labor market in inequity conditions (Yañez

¹⁰ Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, FYR, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovak Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistán. (Países de Europa Central y Oriental y CIS)

¹¹ China, Korea Rep., Hong Kong (China), Macao, Mongolia.

¹² Afganistán, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka.

¹³ American Samoa, Cambodia, Fiji, **Indonesia**, Kiribati, Lao PDR, **Malaysia**, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Fed. Sts., Myanmar, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, **Philippines**, Samoa, Solomon Islands, **Thailand**, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Vanuatu, Vietnam

¹⁴ Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Dem. Rep., Congo, Rep., Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Etiopía, Gabon, Gambia, The, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mayotte, Mozambique, Namibia, Níger, Nigeria, Rwanda, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

2004a) and the character assumed by this incorporation is not independent from the deregulation of labor markets that have accompanied the global movement towards a liberal market economy (Standing 1989, 1999).

Table N° 4. Percentage of employment in Industry to total employment, by sex. .World and Regions

World and Regions	Female Employment in Industry (%)		Male Employment in Industry (%)	
	1997	2007*	1997	2007*
World	16.8	17.2	24.0	25.6
<u>Core Countries</u>	16.7	12.5	37.1	34.3
Central & South-Eastern Europe	22.2	17.9	33.2	32.6
East Asia	22.8	25.5	25.6	28.0
South Asia	11.2	18.4	17.0	23.0
South East Asia & the Pacific	13.9	16.3	19.4	21.0
Latin América & the Caribbean	13.6	14.5	24.8	27.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	5.9	5.8	10.4	12.4
North Africa	19.1	15.2	20.1	22.3
Middle East	20.0	18.8	27.2	28.0

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends November 2008

The evidence suggests that in the manufacture sector, the fast growing export capacity has benefited some women. It has created many jobs for them (both, absolute and relative to men), often drawing them towards remunerated jobs for the first time, at wages which, although lower than those of men, are often higher than women would have earned in the alternative forms opened to them. In some countries, the salary regularity from these factory jobs and the location of the workplace outside the sphere of man control has empowered women, increasing their influence on household decisions, and permitting them to escape from situations of domestic violence and oppression (Kabeer, 1995). Sassen cites extensive research showing that with regular wage work, “women gain greater personal autonomy and independence . . . [They] gain more control over budgeting and other domestic decisions and greater leverage in requesting help from men in domestic chores.” As households become more dependent on female incomes, the status and relative power of women improve. As Sassen puts it, “In addition to the relatively improved empowerment of women in the household associated with waged employment, there is a second important outcome -

their greater participation in the public sphere and their possible emergence as public actors.”

However, it is also observed that this gain may be only for short term (Joeke, 1995) .But they constitute, in the best of cases, according to Naila Kabeer (2000) precise definition of them as, “the weak winners”

Due to the liberalization of trade, the demographic segments that have found employment is that of young women, that constitute predominant, manual labor in the exporting industries, services and horticulture. But other groups of women (older women, women without education) haven't benefited. Although among men there are winners and losers, but the differential effect is not so big.

3.2 THE FEMINIZATION OF THE LABOR FORCE

One of the characteristics of this whole process (opening and deregulation) is the feminization of the labor force. It's starting point in the analysis of that change, a time-series investigation from 1975 to 1994 of male and female participation rate where, Standing (1989) introduced the feminization concept. The author states that in the majority of the countries, total work force increases and at the same time there is a decrease of masculine participation rate in labor force, , which suggests an important change in the gender labor system (he called it “substitution hypothesis”). He points out certain tendencies concerning the feminization: i) In industrialized countries, women at a grand scale get into the “formal” labor market, while in every developing and industrialized country the rate of female unemployment decreases to a lesser level than that its masculine percentage, ii) Women occupy traditional male jobs and this could lead to a decrease of labor sexual segregation. ii) There is a progressive increase of “repetitive tasks” with little mobility, upon modern tasks that encourages occupational mobility and also increases precarious jobs due to the capital preference of a more “disposable” work force.

Feminist investigators differ from Standing, pointing out that there is not an important decrease in the labor segregation or in the interpretation of the coincidence of the rate of female participation growth, with the growth of different forms of precarious jobs. Armstrong (1996) characterizes this coincidence as gendered “harmonizing down trend”. The largest inclusion of women is linked to a growing pressure over their wages and on the feminization of new market segments which in turn deteriorates the wages of a certain percentage of masculine work forces (Berger, S 2001). In this meaning, Bakker(1996) tackles the simultaneous intensification and gender erosion of the job market and Fudge (1991) have defined feminization and flexibility as a dual process that implies the growth of female labor force participation and an increase of part time, temporary, underpaid and insecure work forms.

Other investigators stated that the employment policy agenda cannot be fulfilled without addressing gender issues and gave more emphasis to the gender labor process ” (Benería 1995; Vosko 2000) , and others called the “gender transformation ” in the sphere of remunerated jobs, (Rubery 1998).

These points of view differ in the relative importance assigned to sex, gender and the sex/gender system as forces which make up labor changes.

Standing (1999) retook the concept of feminization of the labor force, incorporating parts of these critics by making less emphasis in the hypothesis of substitution and emphasizing on the “casualization” that is to say, the process by which more men and women are pushed towards precarious jobs under very insecure situations. This new focus is similar to that of the feminists; however, Standing differs about the emphasis put upon discrimination and incorporation of women’s low salary aspirations.

Other authors have strongly stated, on their behalf, that centralizing the explanation on discrimination and in the politics of equality as a remedy, supposes, that the stable relationship of labor norms is reachable by everyone; and, that it doesn’t consider the organization of unpaid or “caring work” as well as paid work and to include the arrangements for the social reproduction of the labor force and not simply the organization of employment that means analyzing the effects of the relationship between production and reproduction, and not only the ways of women insertion in the labor market (Elson 1995; Picchio 1992, 1998; Fraser 1997). Diaz and Todaro (2005) states that women need labor flexibility to satisfy domestic care but it is only available in more precarious jobs, in terms of stability, social security and of the distribution of working time.

On the other hand, the feminization observed in export oriented countries can result to be reverted (Çagatay and Berik 1991, 1994), a process of de-feminization can result of the adoption techniques that require more “qualified” tasks or greater mechanization. For example women are a minority in the maquila of high technology in Costa Rica in the so called “second and third generation of maquilas”¹⁵, situated in the north of Mexico (Benería 2003; Yépez del Castillo 2004; Joekes 1995, 1999).

3.3 DISCRIMINATION AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The wage gap appears, on one hand, as a consequence of the process of occupational gender segregation in tasks and in the occupations - the largest presence of women in worst paid jobs ---which explains a proportion of the wage difference per sex, and on the other hand of discrimination, when it can’t be explained by differences observed in the productivity (education and training) between men and women.

The neoclassic theory based on Becker’s postulates (1959) shows that discrimination in the labor market of any group is not sustainable, in the long run, under competitive conditions. The existence of a group of men or women workers just the same as productive, but under paid, are to attract firms which have no discrimination preferences and the demand of the expansion

¹⁵ Carillo classifies the Mexican “maquiladora” industry in three categories: first generation “maquiladoras” based upon the intensification of manual work and the taylorist’s system forms, those of the second “maquiladoras” generation based upon the rationalization of work and the third “maquiladoras” generation based on the intensive technical competences.

towards the “discriminated” group, will gradually eliminate the salary difference. Discrimination can only persist in the less competitive sectors. It is not of interest, then, the differences between countries nor the power relations.

Becker’s theory has dynamical implications, if discrimination is expensive in the sense that firms exclude from hiring cheaper manual labor, the larger competence will reduce the incentives for the employers to apply discrimination. In the most concentrated sectors of the economy, the tendency to eliminate discrimination will be less pronounced¹⁶. Within the parameters of a growing competence for the deregulation of the industry, or the inclusion of new enterprises, or the competition of cheaper imported products, it is to be expected that companies hire underpaid workers, which will in turn, give way to a gradual increase of the demand from this “discriminated population” and a reduction of the wage gap¹⁷. Globalization implies a great increase in the competition in the tradable sectors, even though they are highly concentrated in each country, and it should cause, henceforth, a substantial reduction of discrimination.

Feminist economists, however, start working from different methodological premises. From their point of view, the effects on the gender relations are observed in the segregation of tasks in the remunerated work, in the division of the remunerated and not remunerated work, in the incomes and resources distribution at home, in the access to credit in the financial market, in the access to education and social security. As a result of these asymmetric relations, women have more probability of being poor, of being less educated and of being over occupied. These economists also explore the role that gender inequities produce in the international trade, as also, how this reproduces and reconstructs the gender inequities. The emphasis is put on, then, in the complex relationships sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory among different types of inequities (on gender, class, and race and among countries). To sum it up, the matter of concern is the role that inequities play in the accumulation patterns.

Some experiences allow verifying the suitable points of view of either one. The growth of the Asian southeastern economies has been impressive. The growth rate of the per capita product in the region has more than tripled from that of Latin America and of the Middle East during the 80’s. Many authors have pointed out that low women labor cost (in relation to that of men workers) may have contributed to the success of these economies decreasing labor costs of exportable goods. Seguino (1997).

Berik, Rodgers and Zveglic (2002, 2004) studied Taiwan and South Korea between the years 1980 and 1996¹⁸. Both countries had during that period a stable industrial and political structure, being Taiwan the most competitive and market oriented. Industry and exports were directed towards more

¹⁶ In the industrialized concentrated sectors employers face less pressure from the domestic competition and can utilize their extraordinary benefits to cover the costs of discrimination

¹⁷ Inversely, wage discrimination can increase with the growth of trade in a context of occupational segregation due to a technological change that limits the possibility of women to achieve salary improvement.

¹⁸ The study was originally done for the 1980-1998 period, but to rule out distortions as a result of the “Asiatic financial crisis” it was worked for 1980- 1996.

sophisticated technological products, while the labor intensive industries with fewer skills decided to move abroad. At the same time, educational women's achievement improved considerably. However, some tendencies differ in those two economies. Taiwan opened, increasingly, to trade, from 48% at the beginning of the 80's until almost 90% towards the end of the 90's. The Korean international trade fell constantly from 56% in 1985 and up to 45% in 1993, increasing only by 1997 and in 1998, due to the fall of the Gross Internal Product during the "financial crisis". Becker's theory doesn't result, therefore, applicable to this process.

As much as in Taiwan as in Korea, the growth of international trade¹⁹ in concentrated industries is associated with an expansion of the gender gap²⁰; that is to say, to the growth of the difference between men and women's wages. Greater global trade implies a greater wage gap in both countries.

- In the case of Taiwan's case, the result can be explained (according to the authors) by the restructure in the work-intensive industries oriented to exportation (textiles, apparel, electrical and electronic industries) that suffer deindustrialization and lay-offs parallel to the expansion of foreign direct investment (FDI) in the same kind of industries in Continental China and others Southeastern Asian Countries. Larger amounts of imports can be associated with greater lay-off of women and greater pressure on their salary reduction, in a place that offers little social protection to workers. This process wasn't only the result of the growth of exports labor-intensive goods, but also the governmental encouragement to technological improvements. The most successful sectors in improving technologically and in managing new exportation markets are also where they basically employ men and pay them high salaries²¹. Women workers suffer then, the costs of the greater exposure to international trade.
- In contrast, in the Korean case, the decrease of the commercial opening combined with its lesser international competitive industrial structure, is associated to a gradual reduction of the wage gap in these sectors, with a decrease of wage discriminating against women in the concentrated industries during the period under analysis. The old patriarchal pattern of social organization can be eroded by national politics²².

The comparative analysis of two successful export economies shows that a greater international opening doesn't guarantee an improvement in women's relative economical status.

3.4 DISCRIMINATION AND ECONOMICAL GROWTH

Busse and Spielman (2005) explored the link between the flows of international trade and the wage gender equality in 92 developed and under

¹⁹ In this investigation, the results are "solid" for Taiwan when the evolution of international trade is associated with the growth of imports; and in Korea, with the evolution of the exportations

²⁰ Women's salary discrimination was measured by "the residual wage gap", that is the one that can't be explained by the differences observed in the productivity between men and women. (can't be explained by differences in education or training).

²¹ This is coherent with what JOEKES (1999) raised, in the sense that , less women are occupied when the complexity of production increases.

²² This result is consistent with Seguino's (2000a) arguments due to Korea's relative lack of capital mobility, of export oriented sectors, and governmental policies to support the effort of technological improvements of big companies in these sectors, could have benefited women without being aware of the fact

developed countries; the comparative advantages are centered in labor intensive manufactured products. The result is solid as far as the countries with major wages inequality between men and women can take advantage in the production of “labor intensive commodities” from other countries with similar resources, but with smaller wages differences by sex. That is to say, that the gender wage gap is positively correlated with comparative advantages in these types of products. The relation between trade and the gender differences in the participation rate and educational achievements are weaker.

These results agree with those of Seguino’s (1997, 2000), that showed that the wage differences by sex can stimulate the increase of exportation in semi industrialized exporting countries. Seguino is trying to understand if the gender relations at micro level that influence the labor costs of the exporting industries had at macro effects level influence on the rates of economic growth. The bottom line is how gender relations can affect economic growth. Seguino’s hypothesis (2000b) is that if women concentrate themselves in industries that produce goods with high prices-elasticity, this practice may have effects on trade patterns and economic development. But, to have low wages that can promote exports it may not be enough to promote economic growth. The job segregation in exporting industries – where the price elasticity of the demand is high and therefore, the profit rate is high too - the capital accumulation can be stimulated by a drop in women’s relative wages (a widening in the wage gap). Seguino worked with a sample of twenty semi-industrialized countries in the 1975-95 periods. She investigated the effects of low women’s wages relative to males on exports and also the technological change, the change of productivity; and on the investment concerning them. Her results show that there’s a positive correlation between the gender inequality and the economic growth in and among countries. The country with bigger wages difference by sex stimulates exports of labor intensive goods, and increases the Gross Domestic Product growth (Seguino 2000b). The low women’s wage encourage investment and exports, cutting down labor costs and promotes purchasing capital and intermediate goods to upgrade the productivity and raise economic growth. Joekes (1999) argues that the gender social relations - and more precisely, the discrimination of gender—constitute a driving force in the international economic evolution.

3.5 EXCHANGE CONDITIONS OF PERIPHERAL COUNTRIES IN THE NEW GLOBAL LABOR DIVISION AND THE GENDER EQUITY.

Prebisch (1950) and Singer (1950) postulated the existence of a secular negative tendency that affects developing countries exports, and produce the “deterioration of the terms of the trade”²³. They examined data over a long period of time suggesting that the terms of trade for primary commodity exporters did have a tendency to decline.

²³ The thesis on the tendency to the deterioration of the terms of trade for the developing countries was parallel formulated by Sir Hans Singer and by Raúl Prebisch at the beginning of the 50’s decade

This thesis combines two different but complementary hypotheses. A common explanation for the phenomenon is the observation that the income elasticity of demand for manufactured goods is greater than that for primary products - especially food. Therefore, as incomes rise, the demand for manufactured goods increases more rapidly than demand for primary products. It goes on to say that as technology improves, the Centre is able to retain the savings made, since it can retain higher wages and profits through developed unions and commercial institutions. At the Periphery, companies and workers are weaker, and have to pass on technical savings to their customers in the form of lower prices. Both mechanisms, Prebisch pointed to the decline in the terms of trade between industrialized and non-industrialized countries, which meant peripheral nations had to export more to get the same value of industrial exports. Through this system, all of the benefits of technology and international trade would accrue to the centre (Core countries). The Singer-Prebisch thesis is important because it implies that it is the very structure of the market which is responsible for the existence of inequality in the world system.

In the 50's and 60's, neoclassic and Keynesian debated over the first hypothesis²⁴. Since the 60's, the analysis concentrates in the retention of the benefits of technological progress in central economies, in as much as growth in the productivity in such economies were distributed between labor and capital rather than be transmitted, through lower prices for manufactured goods to the periphery, as predicted by the classical theory of foreign trade. In contrast, productivity increase in the exporting enclaves in the periphery was transferred to the central economies (lowering prices) because of the weakness of trade unions in the peripheral countries²⁵. Ocampo and Parra (2003), has noted that the deterioration in the barter terms of trade for primary products is discontinuous rather than gradual, with sharp deteriorations in the 1920s and 1980s followed by periods of stability. According to Ocampo there is a big and important difference between the first Prebisch and Singer's hypothesis because it is applied only to primary goods, meanwhile the second one, affects all goods and services produced in the Periphery, whatever their final demand was.

To verify this hypothesis, our question is: a) the level and the evolution of imported product prices have a special bias for a type of product and/or b) for the type of exporting country? It tries to show to which extent export product prices are related with the country's income level; or to put it differently, to verify the evolution of the products prices that exports the peripheral and the core countries.

²⁴ This stated that economic growth has a tendency to generate changes throughout time in the production and consumption structure and in particular, a tendency to decrease the relative size of the primary sector. Thus being, in an international division of labor where the developing countries specialize in the primary product production and the industrialized countries in the manufactures, the first ones will have to grow slower or alternatively, the excesses of primary goods that they produce will have the tendency to pressure relative prices in the international field.

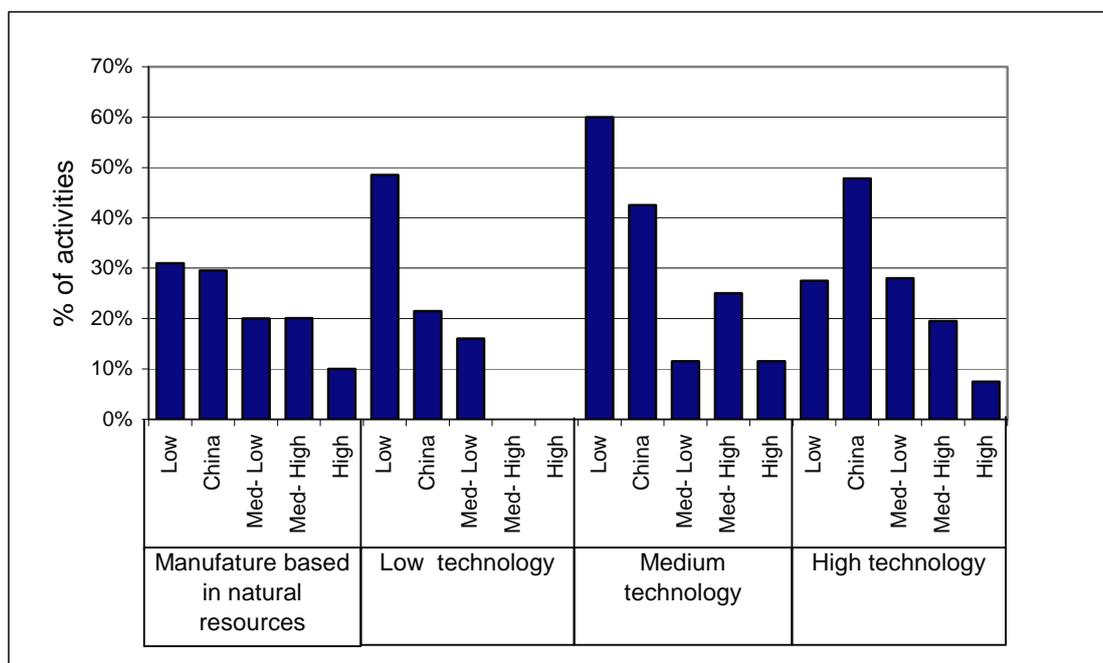
²⁵ According to Prebisch, the long term of smaller demands of raw materials generates, in developing countries, a relative excess of manual labor that is displaced from the primary activities and encounters difficulties to be applied in new productive sectors. These difficulties arise from the restrictions of political character to the migration towards industrialized countries and from the obstacles on delayed industrialization of the developing countries, associated, according to Prebisch' hypothesis, to the great technical differences and availability of capital among the countries of the "Core" and the "Periphery". This way, relative excesses of manual labor are generated which is understood as a deterioration of the relative wages of workers in the developing countries and, therefore, of the terms of trade of these countries.

Kaplinsky and Paulino correlated different countries and products based on the of import prices of the European Union for the 90's. The authors classify the countries according to their per capita income in four stratus (low, medium low, medium high, and high) and China separately. At the same time, the products are also classified in stratus according to their technological characteristics (manufactures based on natural resources, manufactures of low, medium and high technology).

The results shown that unit-price trends vary with the type of economy exporting into Europe, and the type of product being exported. That in different types of products, the percentage of sectors in which prices fall is less when the per capita income of the exporting countries increases²⁶, or the lower-income the group of exporting economies, the more likely their prices will fall.-and - the degree of price-fall is lower the greater the technological content in all types of countries²⁷ (Chart 1).

This test has a singular importance. It confirms that there is a deterioration of trading prices in peripheral countries in favor of the central countries. On account of the reduction of unit-prices, .peripheral countries to increase their participation in world trade must increase the export volumes²⁸. .

CHART 1. European Union 1988-2002. Percentage of exports sectors or activities in which prices are decreasing, according technological complexity of products and type of countries (by level of income).



Source: Kaplinsky y Paulino (2004).

²⁶ The difference is lower in manufactures base in natural resources than in the others.

²⁷ China occupies an intermediate position between the low and medium income countries

²⁸ Naturally, this trend differs according the economy that exports and the type of product that is exported

But, does it affect gender relations? The different studies from Berik, Rodgers and Zveglic (2004), Busse and Spielman (2005), Seguino (2000), etc which we have made a reference about, up to this point, establish a relation between the growth of international trade, product growth and gender inequity²⁹.

- Joeques (1999) articulates the implications of the “genderization” of labor markets and trade in Prebisch and Singer hypothesis (also in the study about unequal interchange done by Emmanuel (1972)). Joeques showed that the *gender gap* in different semi-industrialized countries is associated with a deterioration of the terms of trade (manufactures against manufactures) Women have the tendency to concentrate in the basic manufacturing sectors - labor intensive process that uses unskilled workers, men workers have a tendency to specialize in sectors which use more advanced technologies and are relatively more qualified or skilled workers. In these sectors (basic industries) in which the peripheral countries are specialized, the low wages that were paid to women workers have enabled the final price product to be inferior of that which would have resulted (with a profit rate constant). For the developing countries this reduces the value added generated in the international market (it would have been greater if relative women’s wages would not have been so low). Osterreich (2002) develops the hypothesis that the benefits of the liberalization of the trade are distributed, at least partly, in agreement with the power for negotiation existing in its labor markets. If these markets, institutionally, are segregated by gender, being wages differential by sex, then the disparity of wages is a determining factor of terms of trade in the South with respect to the North. Against this background, the results suggest that occupational gender segregation and the consequent wages differentials are connected with the second hypothesis of Prebisch and Singer. The empirical investigation have sustained that the wage gap in the semi-industrialized countries -with medium per capita income- is associated to a worsening in its manufacture trading terms with center countries. It is to point out that Osterreich use the same group of countries that Seguino (2000b).
- Apparently, the results of both investigations are contradictory, but Çağatay and Ertük (2004) point out that there can be a fallacy of composition (presuming that what is true for a country must be true for the group or for the total countries). The wage gap between men and women in semi / industrialized countries of medium income (in the context of integration to the World market with international trade), allow to develop their competitiveness, attract investment and, therefore, could have contributed to their exporting success and generate economic growth (Seguino’s hypothesis); but, at the same time, those wage gaps of semi-industrialized countries as a whole are responsible for a deterioration of the trade terms in the South (Osterreich’ hypothesis) .

²⁹ In this sense Berik et al (2002) show that the residual wage gap between men and women was associated with the growth of the international trade and Seguino (2000b), that investigated the impact of the wage gap over the product growth found a positive correlation between this two variables for a sample of 20 mid-incomes semi-industrialized countries.

4. SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The most outstanding aspect of the globalization process has been the remarkable expansion of international trade. What really calls the attention to this context is the set of adverse effects of equity and the unequal opportunity distribution. We saw some aspects of the labor market and the international trade, especially in the peripheral countries. The gender influences the economical behavior, and the gender relation in the distribution of the output, labor, income, wealth and power. The inequality of gender constitutes a fundamental obstacle for human development (Çağatay, Elson and Grown 1995; Grown, Elson and Çağatay 2000).

The general aspects of the globalization impact on the relation of gender must be specified for the different activities, the different types of insertion of the countries in the international labor division and the pre-existence of diverse gender relations. It is about an immense, still not well covered, field for research. However, the studies that already exist, even though they don't ever specify about the effects of trade on occupied women in the informal sector- which is the main source of employment of the majority of women in countries from the periphery -, allow establishing interrelations of gender relations and globalization:

- The increase of export processing zones³⁰ where the firms get benefit from fiscal advantages, credits, tariff grants, clearly shows the type of industrial development, privileged by the governments of the developing countries. Known in Latin America as “maquiladoras”³¹, these exportation industries constitute one of the important chain links of the globalization process. According to a study by OIT/CNUET (1998: 50-51), women participation in labor force varied in those industries between 60 and 80% in South Korea, Philippines, Mauricio, Mexico and Singapore, and between 80 and 90 % in Barbados, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Tunisia. Anyhow, in the export enclaves employment opportunities are less for women of low income and with little formal education than in manufacture or agriculture.
- Home Workers far from decreasing due to the globalization effect, have grown; and that is why, they adapt themselves, without cost, to the market fluctuation, and don't need capital investment. In Latin America the Home Workers are growing in the shoe, textile and garment industries, and it is also present in dynamic activities oriented towards exportation, as the food manipulation and electronics. Piece-wage system, in which payment is for units of output without special regard for the time applied, that predominate for Home Workers, doesn't guarantee proper remunerations for the amount of hours worked compelling their family,

³⁰ There are more than 200 export processing zones (EPZ) in Latin America and Caribbean Countries according to “The American Free Zones Comity”, ECLAC” (Granados 2003:7

³¹ By “maquila for export” it is understood a productive activity performed by a third person situated in the international media (an employer and the home branch of a Trans national enterprise), and not self employed. The “maquila” has no relation with the international market and the enterprise that does the activity can be found in the interior or exterior of a free zone industrial park.

including children, to labor force.. On the other hand, “the flexibility of the working day presents a strong rigidity that doesn’t leave room for the reproductive necessities, as much as the care of family and health as for personal labor formation” (Todaro 2004: 31). Besides, Home Workers have the tendency to fall outside the social protection schemes due to the informal nature of their work, or because their employer demands that they register as independent workers. In spite of the difficulties to obtain information, the ILO has suggested that the number of women Home Workers is rising all over the world and much of this growth is a result of the establishing of the transnational production systems, that impels the expansion of this group of workers in - global economy.

- The research in the Services sector is scarce. It’s the field where informal labor predominates although it is not the only one. In Latin America, the Informal Sector represents in 2005 about 48,5% of total occupation, in female case it is greater around 51.4% . Here is the Domestic Services Sector with 29% of women employment. That means, that we find here about 3 from 10 informal women employments.

Table N^a5. Percentage of employment in Services to total employment by sex. .World and Regions .

World and Regions	Female Employment in Services (%)		Male Employment in Services (%)	
	1997	2007*	1997	2007*
World	38.6	46.3	36.1	40.4
<u>Core Countries</u>	78.1	84.3	56.1	61.1
Central & South-Eastern Europe (non-EU) & CIS	50.8	62.8	39.8	47.6
East Asia	25.3	33.5	29.8	35.7
South Asia	14.7	21.1	29.5	34.1
South East Asia & Pacific	33.8	38.8	32.9	34.7
Latin América & Caribbean	71.9	74.8	46.5	48.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	19.2	26.4	19.6	25.2
North Africa	49.7	52.2	43.3	44.8
Middle East	51.6	50.2	53.3	59.4

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends Model. G lobal Employment Trends 2008

- There is also strong evidence in the processing of the information, in the “data entry” segments, that there is an exclusive demand of women workers with middle-high level of education. Credit card providers, mail services, airlines and the railroad, frequently hire the processing of the

information in countries where smaller wages are paid. There are centers for this task in the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and in India, and the women proportion in them is at least the same to the existing in manufactures. The labor relation in these tasks is unstable and stationary, strongly depending on the increase or decrease of the international demand.

- “Specialized services”. In the software design of the highly qualified services, computer programming and financial services, as well as for those high income services, such as insurance and banks, a high proportion of women are hired with relatively high wages. The problem here is the effective contribution of these activities to the growth of global employment in countries with a very important stock of unskilled workers.
- The information about the gender labor market situation in other activities is even more reduced. In agriculture the situation varies with the kind of agro business and with the region. As a very wide generalization, it can be said that in Asia and Latin America women have few rights in the agriculture. In Africa the gender system is more complex and women have certain rights to the use of the land. In all the regions a new type of production is arising based on the non conventional horticulture products of high value, that open interesting perspectives from a gender point of view. According to Todaro (2000:5), “for example, women expelled from the fields for the lack of land or due to the agriculturist restructure, who had the only alternative of migrating towards the cities in search of domestic employment, are now finding alternatives in temporary work in the agriculture of exportation. The existing alternatives have improved, including the working conditions of domestic employment”. But in general, the expansion of trade has operated against small rural properties, where self employed women are abundant and have more difficulties than men to access to international markets.
- Liberalization of world trade also leads to an increase of migrant workers at unprecedented rates³² among which women represent a larger portion. They get jobs easier than men and convert themselves into domestic workers and / or day care, but at the price of sometimes needing to leave their children in their father’s care or in their elder sisters or other family members in their country of origin. Migrants from Philippines, Sri Lanka; Mexico, Ecuador, Peru or other Latin-American countries have been working in the United States, Canada and the European Union, as well as in Hong Kong and the Middle East. This has been called the “feminization survival”. Sanchis (2004) points out that the amount of remittances that the migrants send to their countries of origin had an exponential growth. In Latin America, in the year 2003, the transfer of funds represented a greater amount than the sum of foreign direct investments plus the “development aid”, and in many countries, unfortunately they constitute today’s principal poverty moderator.
- Globalization also makes links easier for the international prostitution net and related services, although true data about it is really hard to find.

³² There are 175 millions of migrants in the world, that means that one out of three workers are migrants

Moreover, the growing phenomenon of infant prostitution of boys and girls has turned to be of important concern.

The analysis confirms that labor markets, must be boarded like gender institutions, that operate in the intersection of the productive and reproductive economy. These markets are not “neutral”; they are structured by practices, norms, perceptions and networks that act like gender barriers (Elson 1998). The passage of neutral to sex categories in the analysis of “the world of work” has taken place in the course of the 80’s, allowing to take into account the growing heterogeneity of situations - initially limited to the analysis of the male industrial wage earner- contributing to an extension of the concept of work to domestic work, family workers not remunerated and informal work. At the same time, it is also possible to infer that globalization intensify heterogeneous labor forms. Meanwhile, the impact of the liberalization of trade over economic growth is mediated by many factors, including social inequities, the technological potential, the macroeconomic politics and industrial policies, etc.

As far as the gender inequity is concerned,

- The gender relations and the class and gender inequities interpose between policies and trade. The inequities of gender sometimes restrict the possibilities of the countries to increase their exports, while in other cases they constitute an instrument of global competitiveness.
- The expansion and liberation of trade has contradictory effects on men and women’s well being, and varies in the different types of economies depending, partly, on the nature of class and gender relations. In general, a growth in the ratio of exports to gross national product is associated with a growth of women’s labor. As it can empower women in the family and the society, then, it is possible to interpret it as a benefit.
- However, we must consider: i) the conditions under which this expansion took place. In an era of weaken workers power, women labor is uncertain and unstable. The expansion of women’s jobs has not led to a reduction of the wage gap, working conditions have not improved; ii) the increase of female jobs hides the labor sectorial reassignment, which means that some women, especially those with little qualifications, lose jobs; iii) as the countries improve the quality and the technology of their exports, women’s occupation can decrease; iv) the incorporation of women to the remunerated labor usually implies overwork, since it is not accompanied by a reduction in her no remunerated domestic job; v) although women can get power within their family for being remunerated workers, they have yet less power of negotiating with the capital, if we compare them to men.
- It has been found in the semi-industrialized-countries that

The wage gap and poor working conditions contribute to economic growth. So, the exporting success and the economic growth is made through the reduction of gender equality.

At the same time, in the long term, it can have an adverse effect in developing countries. The worsening of terms of trade for these countries (Prebisch-Singer thesis) means that to maintain GNP growth rhythm, it is necessary to increase the export volume and maintain low salaries. It is a phenomenon that freezes women's salaries, majority workers in this export sectors.

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