

# **Title: The Gendered Impacts of Globalization**

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## **1.0 Introduction**

The last three decades have witnessed the intensification of the process of globalization in its different dimensions—economic, social, political, and cultural. Although national and regional economies have been integrating since the early sixteenth century, and some indicators of globalization were very high in the early twentieth century, the process has recently gained unprecedented impetus in its extension and depth (Beneria et al, 2000). Accompanying it is the resurgence of neoliberal economies across the world, the globalizing effects of technological change, the growth of multinational corporations, and the huge accumulation of capital through mergers and acquisitions. In many developing countries, structural adjustment and stabilization programs have played instrumental roles in establishing more open and globalized economies.

Despite many gains from globalization process for some regions, it has been criticized for intensifying social exclusion and marginalization of the poor (Elson and Cagatay, 2000). The forces of globalization shape the direction of national economies, technological innovations, production processes, resource allocation, institutional changes, and policy formulation. In so doing, they set the parameters and boundaries for choices facing governments, firms, and individuals about everything from expenditure levels and priorities to employment and wages. But these parameters or boundary setting intersects with existing gender norms and perceptions. For example, the decision whether to work in or outside the home is heavily influenced by norms that operate within the households, workplaces, the community, and other institution structures. Thus, a feminist analysis of the global economy requires an understanding of both economic and gender dynamics.

This chapter reviews the literature on several empirical studies on gender dimensions of globalization with the expectation that it will collectively help our understanding of how the processes of globalization operate through gendered institutions and structures of the economy and thereby affecting the lives and well being of women, men and their families.

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Using a feminist lens, this paper draws on the differing experiences of some countries to further our understanding of the gendered process and outcomes of globalization and some alternative development paradigms needed to iron out the globalization ironies.

The paper is organized as follows: The second section sets the stage for this review by presenting the global understanding of the gender concept, gender bias in macroeconomics, and gender issues for development in Tanzania whereas section three presents gender disaggregated data on why globalization is a gender issue. The fourth section concludes the chapter by proposing the way forward to improving women's conditions within globalization.

## **2.0 Development as a Gender Issue**

### **2.1 The Concept of Gender**

Gender refers to the ways in which biological differences between male and females are translated into different sets of social roles and responsibilities that shape one's life chances. Gender roles depend on a particular socio-economic, political and cultural context. They are affected by other factors including age, race, class and ethnicity, which together determine women's access to rights, resources and opportunities. The mandate for addressing gender concerns throughout development work finds its rationale in the recognition that women remain vulnerable, marginalized group that is yet to enjoy equality in status, and access to services and resources with male counterparts. World wide, gender disparities have been noted in all spheres of production and reproduction, access to resources, benefits and opportunities and decision making.

Indeed, as with all social phenomena, gender roles and associated inequalities are not immutable and they are different over time and place. The last decade has seen great improvements in the status of women and reductions in gender inequalities in economic, social and political spheres of life in many developing countries. Yet, in Tanzania, as elsewhere, women's comparatively weaker access to resources and decision-making continues to constrain women's ability to influence resource allocation, investment and expenditure decisions (World Bank, 2001a). Furthermore, there is a sharp gender imbalance in economic policymaking at all levels, that is, from household to national levels.

Since men and women face different constraints in earning incomes, gender is one of the important ways in which data can be disaggregated (Collier, 1993). Men and women will

therefore be affected differently by policy changes. Globalization process, for example, have gendered impacts and outcomes, with globalization leading to increased feminization of the labor force, particularly through the expansion of non-traditional agricultural exports. At the same time gender biases in access to resources, i.e. land and credit and in the terms of participation in labor markets, affect the outcomes of economic policies (Cagatay et al., 1995).

## **2.2 Gender Bias in Macroeconomic Analysis**

The argument for addressing gender inequality is not simply that it exists at all levels of society but it makes the effects of poverty worse for women and biases the form taken by economic growth. Gender concerns were missing from early growth-oriented strategies since these generally did not consider the “Human Factor” in development. In the 1970s, however, when greater attention began to be paid to basic needs, rural productivity and informal sector activity, there was growth advocacy on the issue of women in development. This took two distinct forms: an argument for economic equity and depiction of women as the poorest of the poor. Both started from the premise that women were important economic actors but they emphasized different aspects of women’s performance and used different analysis approaches.

### **The Economic Equity Argument**

This argument focuses on the effects of development planning on women’s economic status. An influential example is the 1970 publication by Ester Boserup *Women’s Role in Economic Development*. It basically maintained that national governments and international development agencies had not understood that women had productive, as well as reproductive roles. The conventional conceptual framework and statistics used to design micro-economic policy are gender blind. They fail to recognize that;

- Women’s contribution to the economy is systematically underestimated.
- There is unpaid care economy in which women do most of the work of maintaining the labor force and keeping the social fabric in good order, and maintaining social cohesion.
- Women participate in most of paid work outside the formal sector

Looking at macroeconomy through a gender lens alerts us to the importance of non-market process in the healthy functioning of an economy and to the ways in which globalization and

in particular liberalization places new burdens on those providing unpaid care while at the same time undermining public provision in support of this work.

### **Women as the Poorest of the Poor**

In the 1970s, it was widely agreed that there was a link between women and poverty. Attention was drawn to the disproportionate number of female-headed households among the poor and the fact that women in the poor households were largely responsible for meeting families' basic needs. This led to the spread of income-generating projects for women intended to help them meet these needs, but which had little effect on the marginalized status in the development process. Genuine anti-poverty strategies, which justified assistance to poor women on the grounds of poverty reduction rather than family welfare, would have meant significant disbursements for women. They therefore run into the same problems as "equity-based" programs. Kabeer (2003) argues that early initiatives on women in development thus did little to change gender biases in poverty alleviation efforts and left them intact in macrocosmic policies.

The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that dominated development policy in the 1980s also contributed to the deteriorating situation of women. These policies emphasized market-oriented growth strategies with a stress on "getting prices right." This was also a period when attempts were made to link gender concerns with macroeconomic policy. Gender analysis of adjustment policies by the Commonwealth Secretariat combine welfare and efficient arguments. It shows how cutbacks in public social services were forcing women to increase their own efforts in the reproductive arena (for example, by caring for sick family members who might previously have been hospitalized). Increased burden of reproductive work: (a) meant that women were less able to respond to economic incentives (b) slowed the reallocation of resources into the traded sector; and (c) made economic reforms less effective (Kabeer, 2003).

### **2.3 Gender Bias in Macroeconomic Analysis**

The economic equity approach reveals several gender biases in macroeconomic analysis. Currently, fiscal and monetary policy is based on a concept of an economy in which private production and investment is carried out by market-oriented firms. This generates cash income for the households that own, or work in the firms. Households then either save their income, or consume it by spending it on goods produced by firms. This framework ignores

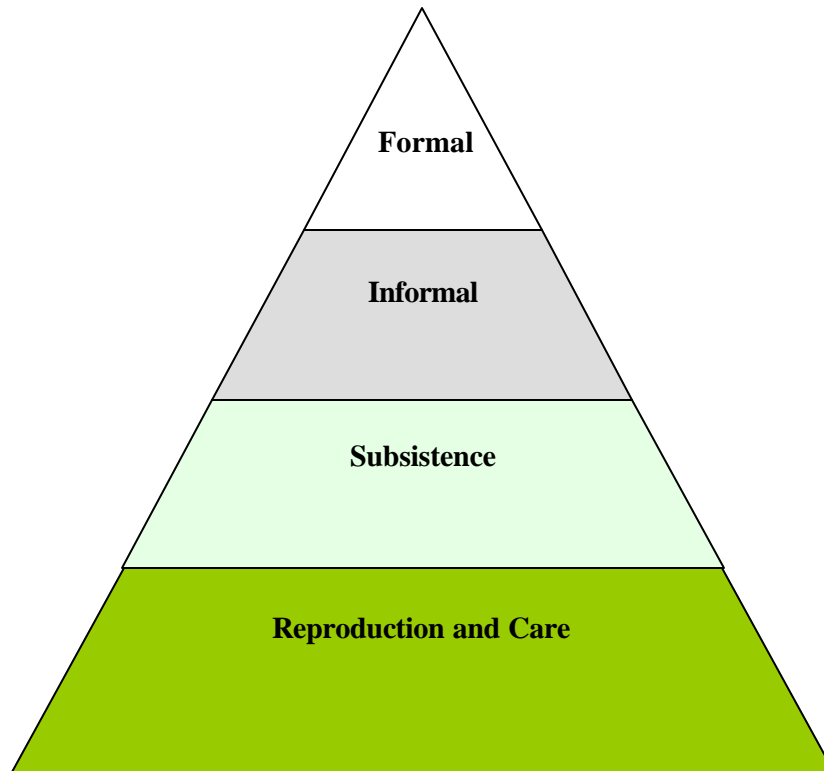
non-market work, especially unpaid care work and voluntary community work. These activities tend to be taken for granted and not brought into the discussion of fiscal and monetary policy. But they are economic in the sense that they require the use of scarce resources, and in the sense that they provide vital inputs to the public and private sectors of the economy. Palmer (1995) describes unpaid care work as a *tax in kind* that is levied on the domestic sector in order to reproduce the economy, a tax that is mainly paid by women.

More of women's work than men's work is not counted by national economic statistics because a great deal of women's work is not market oriented. Elson, (2002) distinguishes three kinds of non market work that women do:

- **Subsistence production**—This is production for home use of goods which in principle could be marketed—such as food, clothing, soft furnishings, and pottery. In principle, it should be included in the measurement of the Gross National Product (GNP). But in practice, it is frequently omitted because statistical surveys do not properly count it.
- **Unpaid care work**—This is the work of looking after a household: cooking, cleaning, and providing personal care for family members, friends and neighbors. In principle, it is excluded from the GDP. But it is vital for keeping the social fabric in good repair, and for maintaining and reproducing the labor force.
- **Voluntary community work**—This includes unpaid activity in all kinds of civic associations, both secular and church based. Again, these activities are in principle excluded from the GNP and are often regarded as leisure activities. Voluntary work makes a vital contribution to sustaining the fabric of society, particularly in the sense of civic responsibility. Unpaid care work and voluntary community work can in principle be done by men or women—but these kinds of work have been socially constituted as more the responsibility of women than men in most countries.

Beyond the visible economy (Formal sector), there is less visible informal economy. Here goods and services are still marketed but go undocumented by official statistics. This is the informal economy. Beyond that is the subsistence economy, where goods and services are produced for own consumption. All these activities in turn rest on the unpaid work of reproduction and care in the households that ensures the production and productivity of the labor power that keeps the entire economy working. Figure 1 presents the “Iceberg of the Economy” as depicted by Kabeer, (2003). Women are concentrated in the bottom three sectors, that is, reproductive care, subsistence and informal sectors.

Figure 1: The “Iceberg” View of the Economy



Source: Kabeer, (2003).

As reported in the special issue of *Feminist Economics* (November 1996), a great deal of progress is being made in many countries in measuring women’s subsistence and informal sector activity, so as to include it in the GNP and in measuring women’s domestic or reproductive work and voluntary work (unpaid work). UNDP (1995) estimates that in developed countries, women’s unpaid work produces an output equivalent to at least half of GDP. In the world as a whole, women’s unpaid work is estimated to produce an output of \$11 trillion, compared to a global GDP of about \$23 trillion.

Globalization has tended to reinforce the macroeconomic biases. At the economic level, globalization implies an intensification of international exchange and growing and deepening links among national economies, resulting in ever-increasing flows of goods and services and growing institutional connections across countries. Facilitating these economic trends has been the rapid explosion of information and communication technologies and innovations, which favored the internalization of production process and the expansion of complex, transnational conglomerate firms. This discourse has thrown some ironies that should not be

underestimated. Standing, (2001) described the eight crises of social protection resulted from globalization. These include dismantling of the barriers to capital mobility but at the same time strengthening labor mobility barriers, and making fiscal policy more regressive by cutting subsidies on wage goods consumed largely by low-income groups, but at the same time multiplying the subsidies for capital on the grounds that there must be “incentives” and that mobile capital must be attracted and retained in the country concerned. The gendered consequences of these ironies and others described by Standing (2001) are discussed in section three.

#### **2.4 Gender Issues for Development in Tanzania**

Women constitute about 51 percent of the total population in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania [URT], 2003a). They are disadvantaged in aspects such as employment, skills, access to resources, and social services such as health and education. They provide substantial labor for cash crop production but are seldom in control of the cash crops or the cash output of the crops, control or own the factors of production and property in general. Decisions at household and national levels are male dominated as over 80 percent of Tanzanian communities are guided by a patriarchal system (Food and Agricultural Organization [FAO]/International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2000). The following sections provide gender-disaggregated data at macro, meso and micro level.

##### ***Social Services Indicators***

Tanzania is far from reaching universal primary school, and enrollment in secondary schools is much lower than in most developing countries. While gender equity in access has almost been attained at primary school level, it remains a challenge at secondary level especially at advanced level and even bigger challenge at technical and higher education where the situation is worse in science/technical programs. The overall gender gaps in secondary enrolment are considerable and the gap worsens up the ladder. The average girls/boys ratio (Form One to Form Four) was found to be 0.84 in 2003 (URT, 2003b). The same report further shows the ratios to be 0.93 and 0.80 at Form One and Form Four respectively. By Form Six the ratio was 0.50, that is, about one in three students are female.

Close examination of female/male balance in different degree programs reveals that majority of females are still concentrated at the programs that are stereotyped as feminine programs. In the 2002/2003 academic year for instance, female students constituted 53 percent of students

enrolled in Nursing degree program, 77 percent of students enrolled in Home Economics and Human Nutrition degree program and 70 percent of students enrolled in Bachelor of Arts (BA) Education degree program. On the contrary, female students constituted only 16 percent of students enrolled in Bachelor of Science (BSc) Computer, 9 percent of students in Mineral Processing Engineering, 5 percent in Civil and Structural Engineering, and none in Electro Mechanical Engineering and Mining Engineering (URT, 2003c). This indicates that the problem of attaining gender equity both in terms of access and achievement remains critical issue in the education sector.

Women live slightly longer than men (49 years versus 47 years) [World Bank, 2000] and mortality rate for women is slightly lower than men [520 deaths versus 569 deaths] (World Bank, 2003). Women are known to have an advantage over men in terms of life expectancy, an advantage thought to be linked to innate genetic and biological differences between sexes. Nevertheless, women's advantage in life expectancy is only two years. This difference could easily be offset by cultural, social, economic and/or environment factors detrimental to women such as inaccessibility to reproductive service etc.

Maternal mortality ratios, that is, the number of women who die during pregnancy and childbirth per 100,000 live births are high in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania is not exceptional. Five hundred and thirty women die per 100,000 live births (National Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc., 2000). The same report further shows the contraceptive prevalence rate to be very low with only 16 percent of women using modern family planning methods. This results to a high fertility rate (5.4 children per woman).

### ***Decision Making***

Decision-making on a day-to-day basis is undertaken at different levels in households, communities and different organizations. Women are grossly underrepresented in many formal decision-making organs and levels. At household and community levels, rigid and formal patriarchal structures and attitudes limit women's voices from influencing allocation of domestic and community resources.

Women's representation in parliament and political parties is still low. However, the government of Tanzania has introduced an affirmative action to increase the proportion of women in electoral positions. Affirmative action has favored women in parliament

representation where the old quota system of 15 guaranteed female seats was replaced by 15 percent female representation in the 1995 parliament<sup>2</sup> (Mukangara and Koda, 1997). Adding to those elected from the constituencies, female representation account for 22 percent currently. The number of female MPs has increased substantially from 11 percent in 1990 to 22 percent in 2000 general elections. The number of female MPs representing constituencies also increased from 8 in 1995 to 44 in 2000 general elections.

There has not been a substantial increase in the number of female ministers. In 1985 there were only 3 female ministers, which represented 9 percent of the total ministers. The same number prevailed in the 1990 cabinet of ministers, representing 12 percent of the total number of ministers. In 1995, the cabinet had only 3 deputy ministers and in year 2000 it had 4 female ministers and 5 deputy ministers representing 14 percent and 28 percent of the total number of ministers respectively. It is worth noting that, the type of ministries headed by women has mostly been in the gender-stereotyped professions, for instance, community development, and health<sup>3</sup>.

A similar pattern of placement of women is observed in other public offices. Although the civil service in Tanzania is the largest employer of women (32 percent of all employees), only 19 percent of women employed in the Civil Service are found in the middle and senior level management positions. Of these, the majority are concentrated in the personnel and manpower administration, and there are hardly any women appointed at senior level dealing with policy, planning and finance (Rugimbana and Jengo, 1998).

Decision-making at household level is also male dominated. It is mostly men who have final decisions, for instance, on the agricultural production process, including what to grow, how

<sup>2</sup> It is worth mentioning that the women's quota system was strongly challenged by female activists because it perpetuates the negative attitudes that women are not capable of competing with men in their electoral constituencies.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that in 1997, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) heads of state declaration on gender issues stated that there must be equal representation of women and men in decision-making process of member states and in SADC structures at all levels, and that the target of at least thirty percent of women in political and decision-making structures must be achieved by year 2005. The current representation of women in the region is as follows: Parliament—South Africa (29.8 percent), Mozambique (28.4 percent), Seychelles (24 percent), Tanzania (22 percent), Swaziland (7.3 percent), Mauritius (7.6 percent), Malawi (8.3 percent), Botswana (9 percent), Zambia (10 percent), and Lesotho (11.5 percent). Cabinet—Only five countries in the region have reached 15 percent of women in ministerial posts. These are South Africa, Seychelles, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique.

and where to grow the crop for that particular year as documented by Rugimbana and Jengo (1998).

### ***Gender Composition of Employment***

There are gender disparities in employment by occupation, industry, and sector of employment in both urban and rural areas. Agricultural occupations accounted for 73 percent and 79 percent of the total employed population in 1991/92 and 2000/01 respectively. In both urban and rural areas, there are more females in agricultural activities than males. The large share contributed to the GDP by the agricultural sector strongly suggests the important role played by women as key actors in the sector. The following occupations have more males than females; professionals, associate professionals, crafts workers and machine operators (URT, 2002). The same report points out gender disparities in access to paid employment, and affordability of additional labor.

More people were employed in the formal sector in 1991 compared to 2001. This could be explained by the economic restructuring activities going on from mid 1985 whereby many workers were laid off, and economic hardships facing households due to slow economic growth. Overall, one in every three households had informal sector activity in 2000/01 as compared to one in every four in 1990/91 (URT, 2002). Regarding the heads of households, the same report reveals that 36 percent of the male-headed households and 32 percent of the female-headed households had informal sector activities. In 1990/91 however, only 26 percent of both the male-headed and female-headed households had informal sector activities.

### ***Gender Composition of Unemployment***

Under internationally recommended definition, a person is classified as unemployed if she/he meets all of the following: (a) without work (b) available for work and (c) seeking for work. However, standard recommendations allow relaxation of the condition (c) above, that is, seeking for work especially in the countries where a big proportion of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture and informal activities with generally low knowledge of labor market developments in the rest of the economy. Tanzania is characterized by these conditions, and therefore use relaxed standard definition of unemployment but at the same time identifying unemployed using the internationally recommended measure separately for comparison with other countries.

Data using the standard definition shows that the number of unemployed persons has more than doubled in ten years from 405,722 in 1990/91 to 912,772 in 2000/01. Although the number of unemployed of both males and females doubled over the period, the rate of increase (135 percent) for males was higher than for females (118 percent). However, the majority of women were unemployed compared to men in 1991 and 2001 using both definitions of unemployment (URT, 2002).

### ***Access to Productive Resources and Household Income***

Women have access to means of production including land, cattle, implements etc. However, the majority do not own those means as they are vested in the hands of men as husbands, fathers, brothers and sons. Both the Policy and Land Acts have clearly provided for equal rights of every citizen to have access to and ownership of land. Furthermore, section 3(2) of both Land Act 1999 and Village Land Act 1999 emphasizes that the right of every woman to acquire, hold, use and deal with land should be to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions as the right of every man. At the same time, the new Land Act allow for the traditional ways of holding land to be regarded and supported fully notwithstanding the patriarchal nature of the customary laws. This is a controversy that needs to be addressed. Existing statutory laws such as the marriage act 1971 have tended to reinforce further gender inequalities as far as land ownership is concerned.

A study in Kahama District by Rugimbana, (1995) presents a typical case of land ownership in most rural areas in Tanzania. The study results reveals that land was male owned in 78 percent of the households whereas in only 16.7 percent of the households women owned land. Joint ownership was found in 5.6 percent of the cases. The reasons given for such situation include; social and cultural factors, the low economic status of women, their general lack of information as well as gender insensitive male dominated land allocation committees at various levels.

Use of agricultural inputs such as inorganic fertilizers, chemicals, pesticides and herbicides by both men and women is generally low. This is partly contributed by low purchasing power among smallholder farmers as well as knowledge on use of modern farming techniques. However, comparison of households using or having access to inputs indicate that fewer female headed households (FHH) compared to male headed households (MHH) use or have access to agricultural inputs (Rugimbana and Jengo, 1998).

Among pastoralists and agro-pastoralists tribe, cattle, and major cattle products are male controlled. Ownership of big herds of cattle is a symbol of wealth and power. Cattle also offer security in times of food shortage. Women have access to livestock products such as milk, hides, and skin when these products are not traditionally on high demand. However in modern dairy farming systems as is practiced in Kagera region, men now control milk sales (Rugimbana and Jengo, 1998).

### **3.0 Globalization as Gender Issue: The Case of Women's Employment**

An examination of the gender effects of globalization and neo-liberal policies that have led to trade and financial market liberalization is a starting point for assessing policies for promoting gender equity and safeguarding the social welfare. Three interrelated dimensions of global integration and competition that are associated with fundamental restructuring and increased disparities in market relations have emerged. These are; transitional mobility of capital and the relative immobility of labor; transitional mobility of large companies and the relative immobility of small and micro businesses. The third one is the restructuring of production and distribution into global value-chains, what has been called "the global assembly line" (Carr et al, 2000). All these patterns are having a dramatic impact on women's earnings and employment around the world. However, there is no single meaning of economic globalization for women's work. The impact can be both negative and positive and differs by context, by industry or trade and by employment status. Some women have been able to find new jobs or new markets for their products while others have lost jobs or markets. Moreover, many women have seen their wages decline, their working conditions deteriorate, or their workloads increasing. The following cases substantiate these claims.

#### **3.1 Feminization of the Labor Force**

There is by now a large body of work in the academic literature on linkages between globalization and labor markets. One area where there is considerable evidence on linkages between globalization and gender is paid employment in the manufacturing sector in particular in developing countries. Evidence suggest that export promotion and trade liberalization policies have lead to the **Feminization of the Labor Force**. In fact over the last two decades there has been a significant increase in women's share of industrial employment (Ozler, 1999). An increase in women's paid employment has positive dimensions in the light of evidence linking access to paid employment to women's power. Women's degree of

empowerment in family and community decisions is enhanced as a consequence of having paid work. Evidence indicates that women's say in areas of fertility, economic decisions such as purchases and sales and domestic decisions such as mobility appear to increase (Ozler, 1999). However, this has not been a universal case.

Increased competition for goods produced in developing countries force the producers to find strategies to reduce cost of production. Countries and corporations are taking two approaches towards increased competition among developing countries for markets for labor-intensive products such as ready-made garments. The first is to diversify into different types of products for export, especially ones that have higher profits and less crowded markets. In countries where this is happening, the proportion of women employed in the export processing zones (EPZs) is falling as more men are recruited into the new industries which are technologically sophisticated and which demand higher skill levels (which men are given greater opportunities to acquire). In Malaysia for example, the proportion of women workers in EPZs fell from 75 percent in 1980 to 54 percent in 1990 (Carr, 2000). The second strategy is to try to maintain or increase market share in existing export industries by undercutting competitors usually by cutting labor costs. Joekes, (1999) has shown clearly that, neither of these strategies seems to work in favor of women.

As with garments, the global value-chains for Non-traditional Agricultural Exports (NTAE) are buyer driven and controlled by a handful of major supermarkets chains in North America and Europe. Some economists have argued that NTAE offer some hope of increased incomes for women who represent about 80 percent of the workforce in this fast growing sector. However, women in these factories are working for low wages and the working conditions are terrible, that is, high use of pesticides and resulting physical and mental health risks, including nausea, birth defects, and acute depression have detrimental effects on workers health (Dolan et al., 1999).

There is much debate as to whether such increased employment opportunities empower women. On the one hand, women do get wages straight into their hands and have more control over income than when they work for their husbands or smallholder export crops. For example, a 1993 study in Morocco showed that women employed in agribusiness not only controlled their own earnings but also, due to their status of "income earners," had increased role in household decision-making (USAID, 1999). However, research elsewhere has

highlighted the fact that, because the work on NTAEs is seasonal, there is no sustained increase in women's status. Peasant farmers (both women and men) have been displaced from the land they used to farm and now have no alternative but to seek paid (but temporary and insecure) work on the new NTAE farms and plantations. In Chile for instance, there are an estimated 300,000 temporary workers on NTAE farms of whom over 50 percent are women. The same source reports that there are only 50,000 permanent workers, 95 percent of whom are men (Barrientos, 1999, cited in Carr 2000).

Of interest is the fact that even in the retail part of the global value-chain, it is women workers who are in the weakest position. A recent study that traced the journey of tomatoes from the fields of Mexico to the supermarkets and fast food chain stores of Canada found that the vast majority of temporary workers in the latter were women who faced the same problems of low wages and insecurity as the women in Mexico (Barndt, 1999, cited in Carr et al 2000).

An exception to the trend of feminization of employment has been in those developing economies with less competitive manufacturing sectors, particularly in Africa. Trade liberalization forced these economies to reduce tariffs on imports of labor-intensive products such as clothing, resulting in job loss for women who outnumbered male workers in the garment industry. Many laid off workers have been pushed into informal employment. The evidence is not clear on whether women are disproportionately hurt by this shift from formal to informal work since male-dominated industries have also been affected. It is clear though that women as well as men have experienced income declines and increased job insecurity in the shift to informal employment (Seguino and Grown, 2002).

In agriculturally-oriented developing economies that have emphasized exports of cash crops as part of their liberalization strategy, women have increased job opportunities (or been constrained to work) as seasonal or contract workers or as laborers on husbands' or relatives' land in the production of export cash crops.

Another category of products for which there is now a surprisingly sizable and growing international market is that of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) which include essential oils, medicinal plants, gum, natural honey, mushrooms, shea etc. In all, there are now about 150 NTFPs of major significance in international trade (Carr, 2000). One such product is

shea. Shea is a commodity that has been collected, processed, and used by women in West Africa for centuries as a cooking oil or body lotion and for medicinal purposes. Now there is a growing profitable market for shea butter in Europe, North America, and Japan for use in cosmetics. However, women who collect the shea nuts get very little of the high price that the final product brings in the North. One study in Burkina Faso has estimated that shea butter is sold to consumers in Europe at eighty-four times the price local women receive for the raw material (Provost, 1995, cited in Carr et al, 2000). Most of this value-added is accrued by the numerous middlemen, exporters, importers, refiners, and retailers.

Part of the problem is that while women's level of technology for processing shea nuts is adequate for the needs of local markets, a much higher-quality product is demanded in Northern markets. The result is that women must sell unprocessed nuts directly to middlemen for export to countries where advanced technology is available. Even if women were to gain access to improved processing technologies, there is still a problem in gaining access to market information or links to distant markets, which means that women still are dependent on middlemen further up the value-chain.

As in the apparel and NTAE sectors, women are stuck in the least profitable segments of the industry and, having little power, are not in a strong position to bargain with those further up the chain for increased returns for their labor (and in this case, their traditional knowledge). In addition, the fear is that foreign direct investment (FDI) will be attracted to the area to establish processing facilities and that those women who are now engaged in processing shea butter will be displaced from this increasingly profitable industry. Anecdotal evidence from fishermen around Lake Victoria, Tanzania suggests the same trend. Establishment of large fish fillet processing plants around Lake Victoria has resulted to the displacement of small fishermen.

### **3.2 Informalization of Labor**

The increasing disintegration of international production, as reflected in the rise of outsourcing and subcontracting by multinational firms, may also be linked to and serve to perpetuate gendered norm of work. Women form the majority of the informal workforce in the developing world (Beneria, 2001), partly because gendered responsibilities in the home and persistent gender inequalities in education and the formal labor markets confine women to the most flexible and poorly paid labor markets.

Existing data suggest that the majority of economically active women in developing countries work in the informal sector and globalization has intensified the **Informalization of Labor**. Layoffs and relocation of production often result in gendered transitions to new employments and most likely women are pushed into the informal sector. Some studies have documented gender differences in income loss (women's losses representing a higher proportions of their income than men's), in length of unemployment (also higher for women), and in the effects from layoffs and unemployment experience at the household and community levels (Beneria, 2001).

The feminization of the labor force during the past three decades has intensified the reliance of many women on informal employment. Table 1 which shows the proportion of women in the sector by region indicates an increasing trend for Africa and Latin America in the past three decades but a constant trend for developing and Asian countries. Table 2 illustrates the weight of informal sector employment and of women's contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) generated by this sector in various countries. In some African countries like Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali this contribution reaches levels above 50 percent. Although statistical information regarding the scope of informal activities where women concentrate is deficient, studies have shown that they range from subcontracting processes linked to export-oriented industrialization, including home-based work, to street vending and other trade and service activities that evolve around survival strategies.

Table 1: Self-employment in the Female Non-agricultural Labor Force

Regions	Percent self-employed in female non-agricultural labor force		
	1970	1980	1990
Developed	10.4	9.7	11.1
Africa	38.1	59.3	62.8
Latin America	28.6	29.2	32.1
Asia	27.9	26.7	28.7
World	24.0	28.4	27.6

Source: Beneria, (2001)

Subcontracted and home-based work illustrates many of the problems associated with women's informal employment. A study by Balakrishnan and Huang, (2000) on

subcontracted work in five Asian countries<sup>4</sup> shows that earnings lower than in the formal sector prevail, with no consistency of work contracts, difficult working conditions, and long hours of work. The study points out the difficulty of organizing workers for the purpose of increasing their bargaining power, and it illustrates that subcontracting makes it very difficult to hold one employer responsible for protecting workers' rights due to the many layers of chains. A study by ESRF, (2002) supports the findings by Balakrishnan and Huang, (2000). The study found that membership of cut flower workers to organizations such as Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU) was limited. Most of the respondents have not heard about such organization and yet not being a member is a missed opportunity, because workers who are members can echo their concerns through such organizations. On the contrary, all farm owners were members to organizations like Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Agriculture (TCCIA), Tanzania Flower Farm Association (TAFA) and National Social Security Fund (NSSF).

Table 2: Contribution of Women to Informal Activities, Various Countries and Years

Country	Year	Informal Sector employment	Informal sector GDP
Benin	1992	59.7	51.1
Burkina Faso	1992	41.9	61.4
Chad	1993	53.4	62.3
Mali	1989	71.9	68.2
Kenya	1998	60.3	46.2
Tunisia	1994-1996	18.1	15.7
India	1993	22.7	22.1
Indonesia	1998	43.1	39.5
Philippines	1995	46.3	44.2

Source: Beneria, (2001).

Agreements being signed by governments as part of the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations can also have significant implications for own-account workers. For example, through the Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Right (TRIPS), which makes it possible to patent life forms if they have been altered in some way for new and innovative uses, some indigenous products harvested by women run the risk of becoming patented. For example, brazzein, a substance found in a Western Africa berry that is 500 times sweeter than sugar has been patented by researchers from the North. American researchers have obtained a patent in the United States of America (USA) and in Europe for a protein isolated from the

<sup>4</sup> The Philippines, Thailand, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka

berry and plan to market it worldwide claiming that it is their invention. They have no plans to assist the West African people to share in the estimated US\$100 billion a year market (Kaihuzi, 1999).

### **3.3 Gender and Conditions of Employment**

Employment has become increasingly flexible in the recent process of globalization as employers attempt to reduce costs (Standing, 1999). Seguino and Grown (2002) provides evidence from India that the trend towards casualization, in the form of subcontracting and home production is the result of competitive pressures to lower costs in the context of an increasing number of suppliers. The trend extends to the agricultural sector where trade liberalization has created seasonal employment in the area of agricultural exports (UNDP, 1999). In the case of Chilean and South African export grape industries, women are the preferred source of temporary workers and hold a small share of permanent jobs (Seguino and Grown, 2002).

This trend is due in part to the continued adherence to a “male breadwinner” bias, which slots women for insecure jobs or homework. Men are affected by these trends as well, as the jobs they hold take on the character of women’s jobs (temporary or casual status, limited job mobility, few or no benefits), but the percentage of women in “flexible” jobs greatly exceed that of men (UNDP, 1999). For that reason, women’s increased incorporation into the paid economy is under conditions inferior to those necessary to provide them with secure income. The types of jobs they have access to constrain their ability to raise their incomes and improve their working conditions, and come at a higher cost. However, in agriculture, health hazards associated with working with chemical pesticides further dampen the positive employment effects. The seasonality of agricultural jobs, for example, implies there are no sustained improvements in women’s employment status.

### **3.4 Gender Wage Differentials**

The empirical evidence on the relationship between globalization and the gender gap in wages is scarce, unreliable and difficult to interpret (Ozler, 1999). However, if globalization does indeed raise the relative demand for female labor in some sectors, it may also play an important role in lowering the gender wage gap. Such an effect is important not only in terms of its effect on gender equality but it could also have a significant implication for long-term investment and growth because women’s income has been associated with increased

investment in children (Blumberg, 1991; Chant, 1991) a finding that has been termed the “good mother hypothesis.” Income that is controlled by women is more likely to be spent on children’s health and nutrition.

Among the work force, increased wage dispersion is likely to occur across gender, skills, age, sectors, and ethnicity (Beneria and Floro, 2003). For instance, those with more skills have high-end jobs and/or employed in expanding sectors, and are likely to earn higher if not rising wages. Those with less skills work in low-end jobs and/or employed in displaced sectors, and are likely to face low, if not declining real wages. Female workers are likely to earn lower wages than their male counterpart’s as a result of discrimination and general norms that permeate in economic and social institutions, but some researchers have also observed increasing income differentiation among women (Lavinias, 1996, cited in Beneria and Floro, 2003). Workers who are hired on a casual, subcontracted or part-time basis and who have little or no labor protection are likely to earn less and have less benefits than those with regular, full-time jobs. Workers with means of expressing their voice in collective bargaining are likely to earn more than those without. In most cases women are the ones with low skills, and low bargaining power. Consequently, they end up in low paying, part-time and poor working condition jobs

In agricultural work, female earnings lag behind men’s substantially as well. The distribution of benefits in the Chilean grape industry underscores the disadvantaged position of female workers. For seedless grapes produced in 1993-94, exporters received 28 percent, importers 26 percent, and distributors 35 percent (Seguino and Grown, 2002). There are some exceptions to the negative picture we have drawn of the effect of globalization on women’s relative earnings in the agricultural sector. Women’s earnings have improved in some cases of NTAE production where they have access to or control over land. One such case is Uganda (Fontana et al., 1998) although this enlarged area of economic activity for women does not appear to have disturbed the wide gender gap in earnings in other sectors of the economy where women’s wage are roughly 40 percent below those of men.

### **3.5 Intra-household Gender Relations**

Intra-household gender relations are also impacted by globalization process. To see why this is so, consider how female labor supply and the price of labor are partly determined by intra-household gender relations and decision-making. Women make decisions about whether or

not to look for wage work, decisions that are taken in the intra-household context. One's input into these decisions depend on ones power or voice in the family. At one extreme end whereby patriarchy dominates women have little or no influence over decision-making. Thus, women under this circumstance may not be able to take the advantage of increased employment opportunities. In the absence of mechanisms to redistribute household activities and caring roles, women may not partake in the formal labor market and take advantage of the newly created employment opportunities.

Women's involvement in domestic and child care responsibilities continues to be a source of vulnerability for them, not only because this is unpaid work but also because it diminishes women's mobility and autonomy to design their labor market strategies. Globalization also tends to devalue non-market goods and services, including reproductive work. It tends to scorn or degrade those values and social relations that do not adhere to market norms of self-interest and profit maximization. Thus, a significant proportion of women's contributions to the economy is relegated little or no importance, as symbolized by underestimation of unpaid work in the national and international statistics. The effort of the past two decades to account for and analyze unpaid work and its consequences for women participation in paid production has no been sufficiently translated into practical action and policies.

### **3.6 Effects on Gender Inequality in Leisure and Caring Labor**

Theoretically, job access for women can improve their level of well being and that of the children they care for—if this provides more income, and if women can find a way to juggle their care responsibility (or if men take on more unpaid care work). Although time use data is sparse, what little evidence available suggests is that women's time burden have increased with globalization. Further, studies such as Floro (1995) indicate that the time intensity of women's labor has increased. Men's performance of unpaid labor does not appear to have increased enough to compensate, suggesting a decline in female leisure.

### **4.0 Conclusions and the Way Forward**

As globalization progresses, understanding under what circumstances does it contributes to the goals of development is increasingly becoming important. Merely integrating in the globalization process is not enough, as its affects on domestic economy depending on the social and policy framework it finds. Within globalization, unemployment, low paid employment and weakening workers' bargaining power have had gendered dimensions.

Unless gender issues and concerns are understood, acknowledged, and addressed, globalization will only exacerbate the inequalities between men and women, even in the circumstance where its effects are positive.

Although globalization and its multiplicity of processes have contributed to economic growth in many countries, the benefits have been unevenly distributed. There are winners and losers from trade liberalization, and who exactly they are, is specific to each case, hence the importance of research that will shed light on policy and action. To date, few policy makers have explicitly addressed the gender related opportunities and constraints faced by women in the context of global integration and competition. The evidence provided in this review bears a testimony on this. A lot of information is available about developed world and Asian continent but very little from Africa. This makes the noisemakers shouts without strong and enough evidence on a particular negative impacts. Thus, their voices/efforts end up unheard/unsupported. This calls for gender sensitive researches in this subject matter, that will be instrumental in informing the policy making process.

Women working as they are, in isolation from each other and without access to information on emerging market opportunities or the ways and means of taking advantage of these, the bulk of the high and growing profit margins resulting from increased trade would be siphoned off by numerous middlemen and final retailers. There is obviously a need to help individual women producers organize themselves into producer associations through which they would be able to voice their demands and bargain for better prices with middlemen involved in the market chain. Organizing will also strengthen their ability to bargain for increased access to credit, and improved technologies, and other economic resources required to improve the quality of their produce.

As members of the association, women will also be able to link into ways of accessing marketing information through use of new information and communication technologies and links to international market research channels. Elsewhere, women involved in other own-account activities such as craft production, gum collection, and salt production have benefited from similar strategies. For example, in Gujarat, India, thousands of women have been organized by Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) and now are able to cut out some middlemen activity and to command higher prices for their products in local, regional, and international markets (SEWA, 1999). Organizations such as Federation Association of

Women Entrepreneurs in Tanzania (FAWETA) are very instrumental in informing women entrepreneurs.

As discussed, global integration and competition often lead to unacceptable conditions of work. This is because the transnational mobility of capital allows companies to bypass national labor standards and collective bargaining systems. The transnational companies, voluntary or under pressure usually from consumers group should be made to agree to adopt various codes of conduct and allow outsiders to verify compliance. In addition, women should also be sensitized to use the available protective gear effectively. Some studies in cut flower sector have indicated women's reluctance to use the gear on pretence that they reduce their work efficiency (ESRF, 2003).

The insecurity of jobs that women hold can be offset by appropriately designed social safety nets. The goal of gender equity would be further assisted by full-employment polices and a reduction in economic volatility. These conditions are not met in the current environment due to constraints on public spending and financial liberalization that have resulted in slow growth and an increase in the variance of output and employment. Thus, policy framework should include promotion of the type of development consistent with full employment and in which economies are wage-led with rising productivity. In addition, there should be a concomitant increase in share of unpaid labor by men so that women's access to paid work could be offset by a reduction in unpaid labor. In relieving the burden of the reproductive and care economy shouldered by women, continued and increased public support for social services is critical as globalization process unfolds.

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