



universität
wien

MASTER THESIS

Titel der Master Thesis / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Female Labor Force Participation in Developing Countries:
A Comparative Analysis of Female Employment and Labor
Conditions in Bangladesh, Malaysia, the Philippines,
Thailand, and Vietnam.“

verfasst von / submitted by

Rachel Loper

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Advanced International Studies (M.A.I.S.)

Wien 2018 / Vienna 2018

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt
Postgraduate programme code as it appears on the
student record sheet:

A 992 940

Universitätslehrgang lt. Studienblatt
Postgraduate programme as it appears on the
student record sheet:

Internationale Studien / International Studies

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Prof. Markus Kornprobst, PhD



diplomatische
akademie wien

Vienna School of International Studies
École des Hautes Études Internationales de Vienne

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates female labor force participation (FLFP) in developing countries in South and Southeast Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. After an overview of relevant feminist economic theories the following hypothesis will be tested: Opening of trade will lead to an increase in female labor force participation, but will not increase the quality of female employment. The hypothesis will be tested in two parts, first by analyzing trends in trade and overall FLFP from the 1990s until approximately 2015, then by addressing women's wages in relevant sectors of employment and the quality of labor therein. Aspects of labor quality to be considered include overall working conditions and treatment of pregnant workers and maternity leave policies. Thereafter, anecdotal evidence will be employed to develop an impression of gender roles within each country as they apply to household and care work responsibilities. With this evidence, countries will be plotted on a two-axis matrix modeled after the growth framework developed by Elissa Braunstein to describe and compare their current growth scenarios. In conclusion it will be argued that all countries are experiencing exploitative growth at the expense of women's quality of life. Recommendations will be given for ways to remedy this while still promoting trade liberalism.

This research adds to existing literature by combining measures of employment quantity and quality to analyze the effects of globalization and trade openness through the lens of gender sensitivity.

Diese Arbeit untersucht die Teilnahme von Frauen am Arbeitsmarkt in den Entwicklungsländern Bangladesch, Malaysia, den Philippinen, Thailand und Vietnam. Nach einem Überblick der relevanten Theorien der Feministischen Ökonomie wird die folgende Hypothese getestet: Die Öffnung des Handels führt zu einem Anstieg der Teilnahme von Frauen am Arbeitsmarkt, jedoch nicht zu einer Verbesserung der Arbeitsbedingungen für sie. Zusammenfassend wird mit Hilfe des Rahmenkonzepts von Elissa Braunstein argumentiert, dass die untersuchten Länder ein ausbeuterisches Wachstum zu Kosten der Lebensqualität von angestellten Frauen betreiben. Abschließend werden Vorschläge zur Verbesserung dieser Situation und gleichzeitiger Aufrechterhaltung von liberalem Handel präsentiert.

Key Words: trade liberalization, female labor force participation, globalization, sectoral segregation, care work, exploitation, dual labor market, gender, feminist economics, women's rights.

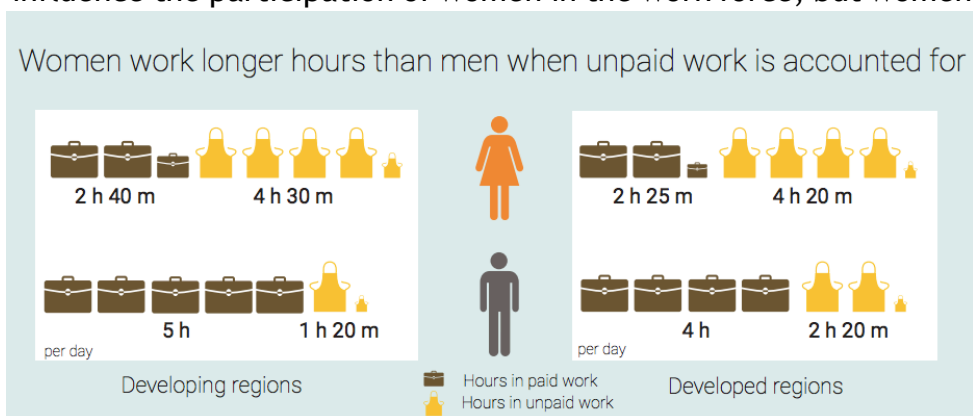
On my honor as a student of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Theory	3
Women, the Family, and Economics.....	3
Multiple Labor Markets	6
Feminization: Globalization and the U.....	8
The Asian Tigers - Trade, Growth, and Employment.....	10
Braunstein's Growth Framework	11
Research Question and Hypothesis.....	13
Case Selection	14
Methods	16
Results	16
Discussion	20
Limitations	20
Methods	22
Results	22
Bangladesh	22
Malaysia.....	25
Philippines	28
Thailand	31
Vietnam.....	34
Discussion	38
Limitations	38
Compounding Factors.....	38
Braunstein's Framework	40
A regional comparison.....	42
Conclusion.....	43
Bibliography.....	46
Appendix I - Sectoral female employment graphs	52
Appendix II - Sectoral Segregation Graphs.....	58
Appendix III - Sectoral Manufacturing Wage Graphs	61

INTRODUCTION

A difference between male and female labor force participation (FLFP) has been noted for decades, with different economic theorists having vastly different understandings of the subject. As our understanding of women's place in society in general and the labor force in particular has developed, so too have our explanations for FLFP. It is often rightly noted that this topic lies between the fields of economics and sociology, making it particularly difficult to interpret changes in FLFP over time within a single country and at one particular time between multiple countries as cultural norms and developments heavily influence the acceptance and understanding of female work outside the home. Not only do these factors influence the participation of women in the work force, but women's participation also has

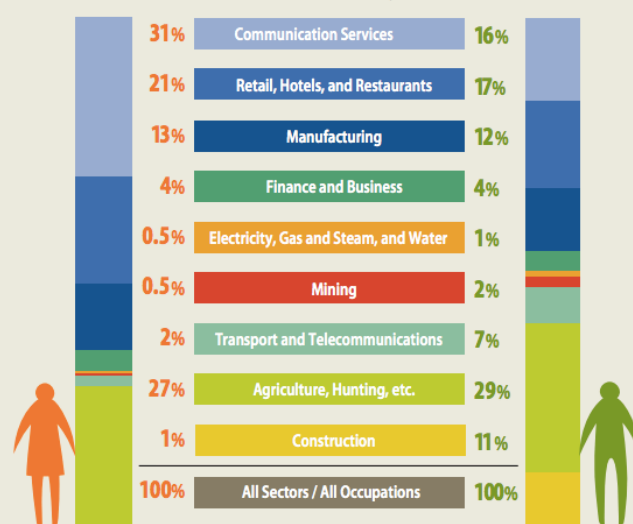


a meaningful effect on various other aspect of the rest of society. In this sense, there is a two way relationship between FLFP and societal norms.

In many cultures, women have traditionally been seen as the caregivers within a society. Due to this assigned role, an increase in their labor force participation also affects the area of household and care work. It is now a well-known and accepted fact that women are responsible for the larger percentage of unpaid care work around the world than men. One such statistic from the United Nations which supports this claim is presented above.¹ If this dynamic remains unchanged, despite women's increased participation in the labor force, they inevitably have an increased total workload.²

FIGURE 2.7 Women and men work in different sectors (and different occupations)

distribution of female / male employment across sectors



Source: WDR 2012 team estimates based on data from LABORSTA Labor Statistics Database, International Labour Organization.

Note: Totals do not necessarily add up due to rounding.

¹ United Nations, "The World's Women 2015: Trends and Statistics," Chapter 4: "Work", <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/chapter4/chapter4.html>.

² The World Bank, "World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development," (2011), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/Complete-Report.pdf>, pg. 80-81.

In addition to this, men and women participate in the labor market in different manners, often producing de facto sectoral segregation (see figure 2.7 from the World Bank Development Report 2012³). This segregation is primarily determined by gender norms concerning what is and is not “women’s work”, but also by the different salaries women and men are offered and what they will accept in different societies and over time. Theories regarding these differences and why they have arisen will be discussed.

With all that goes into determining the labor force participation of women, it is helpful when comparing participation rates across countries to keep as many factors as possible consistent. With this consideration in mind, this research focuses on FLFP in developing countries in South and Southeast Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. These countries were chosen as they are well known for their manufacturing capabilities and are often in the news for their violations of workers’ rights. The combination of these five countries in particular is useful in that they represent three major religions, thus accounting for religious impacts on the dependent variable.

Ultimately, the following hypothesis will be tested:

Opening of trade (IV) will lead to an increase in female labor force participation (DV1) but will not increase the quality of female employment (DV2).

As free trade is encouraged by the World Trade Organization (WTO), if negative impacts of this are observed for a portion of the population, it is the responsibility of individual governments to protect the well-being of their citizens. Often this leads to countries adopting protectionist measures and restricting trade once again, but for those countries which are reliant on profits from international trade, human rights abuses are often observed as they pursue profit gains instead of quality of life improvements. After an analysis of employment data and anecdotal evidence regarding working conditions, this difficult situation for developing countries will be revisited in an attempt to find a third option in the decision between trade liberalization and exploitation versus protectionism and workers’ rights.

This research adds to the existing literature by combining measures of employment *quantity* and *quality* to analyze the effects of globalization and trade openness through the lens of gender sensitivity. Although this topic has been discussed for many years, it has largely been done so in regards to industrialized nations. As the focus on this research on five nations which are currently categorized as newly industrialized or developing countries it aims to provide unique challenges and insights into a long-discussed topic.

This paper will proceed as follows. First, there will be an overview of relevant literature regarding gender inequality and economics. Thereafter, the theoretical framework designed by Elissa Braunstein to describe growth will be explained as this is to be used to analyze the countries which have been selected for this research. Next, sex-disaggregated employment data for the selected countries will be presented and analyzed to determine the effect that trade has on female labor force participation. Once sectors of relevance are determined, the quality of employment within these sectors will be examined using

³ Ibid., pg. 80.

various forms of anecdotal evidence as well as reports from prominent international organizations. Lastly, FLFP and labor quality will be combined to determine the nature of each country's growth within the Braunstein framework and conclusions will be made regarding trade, female employment, and the situation for women in the counties in question.

THEORY

WOMEN, THE FAMILY, AND ECONOMICS

According to Friedrich Engels, female labor force participation is the key to women's empowerment. He argues that due to the division of labor in which men work outside the home and provide money for the family, women become dependent on men and are subjected to household slavery.⁴ As such, the path to women's independence and equality lies in their working outside of the home. Engels suggests that the way to do this is through socialism and the creation of a socialized care sector which would take over the responsibilities of housekeeping and childcare.⁵ In this sense, his understanding of the oppression of women is that it is another form of oppression of one individual by another, and, as such, is inherent in Capitalism. What is not fully elucidated by this socialism/Marxist understanding of women and the economy is the value of household work.⁶ Engels, for example, does not develop an opinion on what should be thought of a woman who chooses to take care of work at home such as chores and childcare as opposed to working in the public sphere and remunerating another to handle these tasks.

Institutionalism does not have as much to say about feminist economics as other theories, but in 1899 Thorstein Veblen touched upon the matter, arguing that women have gone through three phases of evolution in terms of their economic role in society. First, they were considered just to be "the spoils of a usurper"⁷, then they came to be viewed as a relevant consumer and producer of products for their husbands⁸, and finally women were seen as a tool by which their husbands could display their wealth⁹. With this third step, Veblen meant that men could demonstrate their success by providing so well for their families that they wives would not *need* to engage in work outside of the home.¹⁰ It could be argued that women have entered into a fourth phase since Veblen published his original statements on the matter, but institutionalist have yet to add to this theory.

⁴ Friedrich Engels, "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," *Marx/Engels Internet Archive*, originally published October 1884, translation modified 2010, available online at https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/origin_family.pdf, pg. 39.

⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁶ E. Mezentsseva, E, "The Gender Economy," *Problems of Economic Transition* 43, no.7 (2000), <https://doi.org/10.2753/PET1061-1991430720>, pg. 22.

⁷ Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class," originally published 1899, available online at <http://moglen.law.columbia.edu/LCS/theoryleisureclass.pdf>, pg. 12/13.

⁸ Ibid., 39/40.

⁹ Ibid., 69.

¹⁰ Mezentsseva 2000, 22.

More recently, feminist Christine Delphy has taken up the task of explaining the oppression of women in her book “Close to Home: A Materialist Analysis of Women’s Oppression”.¹¹ Unlike Engels, her focus is less upon capitalism as the cause of gender relations and rather on the family. In her understanding, relations between men and women are primarily constructed the way they are due to the fact that women work inside the home, regardless of what they do there. Delphy argues that this makes women the unpaid servants of their husbands and that this relationship prevents many women from participating in their desired manner in the labor market. She goes on to state that many husbands also only allow their wives to do so upon the condition that it not negatively impact their ability to complete household chores as well.

Many scholars, such as Heidi Hartmann, argue that currently existing discussions of feminism within Marxism subsume feminist struggles under the overarching fight against class division, thereby missing much of what is to blame for the inequality experienced by women.¹² In combining these two approaches, many modern socialist feminists maintain that both capitalism, as described by Engels, and patriarchy, as alluded to by Delphy, are to blame for the oppression of women in society¹³. Hartmann critiques Marxism for reducing all explanations of women’s oppression to a lack of production on the part of women.¹⁴ As is commonly accepted and as will be further supported in this research, increasing women’s role in production does not inherently and by itself reduce their oppression. In this regard, Hartmann is right to argue that Marxism and its focus on feminism as a sub-type of class struggle cannot alone explain the plethora of issues facing women.

In order of publication, Hartmann critiques what she determines to be three separate phases of Marxist approaches to feminism and subsequently rejects them all as focusing too heavily on capitalism as the primary cause of inequality. Initially, she criticizes the views of early Marxists such as Marx himself, Engels and Lenin for their assumption that by incorporating women into the labor market the sexual division of labor would subside.¹⁵ As will be shown in this research, it is now known that despite significant female labor force participation, sexual division *within* the labor market is still ubiquitous. She further discards this initial approach due to its lack of acknowledgment of the oppression of women within the household and the ways that men benefitted from the unpaid work of women in that regard.¹⁶ Hartmann rightly points out that although early Marxists argued that the economic empowerment of women would solve their problems of oppression, what we see in today’s society is that these patriarchal structures have in many cases continued to prevail despite women’s increased labor participation.¹⁷

¹¹ Ibid., 23.

¹² Heidi I. Hartmann, “The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union,” *Conference of Socialist Economists* 3 no. 2 (1979), <https://doi.org/10.1177/030981687900800102>, pg. 1.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 2.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Lastly, Hartmann discusses the work of Mariarosa Dalla Costa.¹⁸ Hartmann finds that although Dalla Costa's discussion of the unpaid household work of women and her insistence on this work being remunerated advanced the field of feminism in invaluable ways, her focus on the economic aspects of this missed the mark as it did not adequately attribute this work to the preservation and perpetuation of patriarchal structures.¹⁹

Despite the improvement that remunerating household work would provide for some women, it is fair to say that at this stage in feminism, the majority of women today would prefer that house and care work were shared between the sexes. Remuneration for traditionally unpaid work would have some benefits, but the consequences of this would likely reinforce the subjugation of women by their husbands, merely turning them into employees rather than slaves. Adding a paycheck to this type of work certainly would not bring about equality within the household and by extension equality within the public sphere.

Hartmann's own explanation for the intensification of sexism and gender inequality in the early 20th century follows the following logic: women are paid less than men and therefore get married to support themselves. After marriage, women become dependent on their husbands and the family becomes a source of further patriarchy in which women do the unpaid work and men benefit from this. In this arrangement, women are no longer able to advance their educational or professional careers due to time pressure from housework.²⁰ In this sense, the inequality women face in the labor market all but forces them into marriage, a union in which they are further oppressed due to the needs of the family. Hartmann also argues that the low payment of women reinforces cultural norms regarding male and female types of employment.²¹ As will be shown, these stereotypes are still in practice today, at least in the sense that sectoral division of the genders is prevalent in the countries analyzed here.

Finally, Hartmann goes on to predict that capitalism may eventually overcome patriarchy if women are given wages from which they can sustain themselves and therefore are freed from the obligation of marriage. As her work was written at the end of the 1970s, she states that there was no evidence for this at the time²², but research from the 21st century shows that women have begun to earn more, the frequency of marriage has decreased, and instances of divorce are on the rise as women begin to reject the traditional, patriarchal formulation of marriage.²³

Neoclassical theory entered the feminist discussion of labor during the 1960's with the works Gary Becker's.²⁴ In his writings, Becker attempts to explain the value of household

¹⁸ Mariarosa Dalla Costa, "Women and the Subversion of the Community," 1971, <https://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/357k/357kDallaCostaSubversionTable.pdf>.

¹⁹ Hartmann 1979, 6.

²⁰ Ibid., 16/17.

²¹ Ibid., 16.

²² Ibid., 19/20.

²³ Na'ama Shenhav, "What Women Want: Family Formation and Labor Market Responses to Marriage Incentives," University of California, Davis, (2016): 1-78, http://economics.ucr.edu/seminars_colloquia/2015-16/applied_economics/Shenhav%20paper%20for%202%204%2016%20job%20talk%20seminar.pdf.

²⁴ Mezentsseva 2000, 25.

work by suggesting that one of the goals of families was to produce consumer benefits. In an example where the consumer benefit is clean clothing, families have the choice of either washing their clothes by hand themselves, or hiring and maid to do it for them. Becker's theory postulates that based on a family's decision, one can infer their monetary value of a family member's household work. In this scenario, time spent washing clothes is viewed as opportunity cost.²⁵ If the member of the family who would be doing this activity, traditionally the woman, is able to make more money in the public labor market than would be spent to pay someone else to do this work for the family, it makes sense for the family to hire someone and for the woman to work. Becker's theory goes on to argue that the more educated and the better paid the members of the family are, the higher their opportunity costs are for completing household labor themselves, thus incentivizing the use of labor reducing measures such as technology (washing machines) or outsourcing (maids, cleaning services).

Based on these conclusions, Becker's theory has multiple points of relevance. First and foremost, by applying the concept of opportunity cost to household work, Becker connects the dots between the private and public spheres of work. Second, the more approaches which try to quantify the value of household and care work, the easier it would be in the future to remunerate these types of labor in the way advocated for by Dalla Costa, should we decide to do so.

In 1984, Carol O'Donnell published a presentation and comparative analysis of popular feminist economic theories including among them the theories of dual labor markets and segmented labor markets.²⁶

MULTIPLE LABOR MARKETS

The first way in which dual labor market theory distinguishes itself from traditional neo-classical theory is in its focus on disequilibrium.²⁷ Further, this theory puts the emphasis on labor demand as the driving factor of the labor market, as opposed to supply. Harking back to John Stuart Mill is the idea of non-competing groups within a labor market. Mill pointed out, that if there were indeed perfect competition within the labor market, the worst jobs would be those which paid the most, due to the fact that very few people would be willing to do them. As this is not the case, it was deduced that the labor market was segmented.

Prominent dual labor market theorists conceptualize the labor market as having two separate parts: the primary market and the secondary market.²⁸ Simply put, the primary market is where skills are valued most and employers prefer to keep employee turnover low. As they are willing to pay more to keep their experienced employees with the company, this sector normally has higher wages. The secondary market, on the other hand,

²⁵ Ibid., 26.

²⁶ Carol O'Donnell, "Major Theories of the Labour Market and Women's Place Within It," *Journal of Industrial Relations* 26, no. 2 (1984): 147-165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002218568402600201>.

²⁷ Ibid., 151.

²⁸ Ibid., 156.

comprises employees which the company considers replicable. Often, according to Barron and Norris²⁹, these workers are of some social group which is different from the majority, they have a low desire or ability to improve their skills, they are not highly reliant on the money they earn at the job, and they are weakly organized as a group.³⁰ Barron and Norris rightfully place women within this group of workers. As women are often seen as the secondary breadwinners in a family, their public labor market participation is frequently regarded as optional and, as highlighted by Hartmann, due to their responsibilities at home they are often unable to advance their education or skills training to become more competitive in the labor market. Especially in the countries analyzed here, it will be shown that women also struggle to unionize under certain circumstances.

O'Connell critiques this understanding of labor market segmentation for being too simplistic. She argues that it fails to consider the class that women come from and the differences in education that they may have.³¹ Further, O'Connell notes that dual labor market theory focuses heavily on the manufacturing sector.³² Although this is a flaw in her opinion, the theory is still quite helpful when one is also focusing on this sector, as this research will.

The Marxist response to the dual labor market theory is the segmented labor market.³³ This theory, as the name suggests, posits more than two divisions of the labor market, but agrees that these are along the lines of race, sex, and age. Marxists argue that labor market segmentation allows firms to pay different workers different salaries and thereby lower production costs. Radical feminism theorists use this theory to explain how men come to be in higher paying positions even within predominantly female industries such as teaching.³⁴

Although the reasons given here for market segmentation are compelling, they do largely disregard the simple fact that gender stereotypes exist. This may not be the reason that markets became segmented in the first place, but at some point stereotypes have been formed and are now definite factors to consider when analyzing the causes of market segmentation. It may not be possible to know which of these factors came first, but regardless of the reasoning behind the market segmentation, it does appear to be happening. As will be shown in the countries analyzed, there are certainly sectors within the manufacturing industry which are predominantly female, and it is even commonly reported that when men work in those sectors they are in higher paid, management positions.

²⁹ R.D. Barron, and G.M. Norris, "Sexual Divisions and the Dual Labor Market," in *Sexual Divisions Revisited*, ed. Leonard D., and Allen S (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-21191-3_7.

³⁰ O'Donnell 1984, 156.

³¹ Ibid., 157.

³² Ibid., 158.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 159.

While the theories which have been presented thus far are all interesting when it comes to FLFP at a single time, none of them focus on FLFP development over the years and the factors which can influence it. Factors which influence labor participation can be divided into two groups: societal and economic. Societal factors include education levels, cultural norms, and the impact of traditional gender roles, some of which were briefly discussed above. As for economic factors, two of the most frequently discussed are the correlations between FLFP and GDP changes and the frequently observed feminization of the labor force in response to globalization.

It is quite clear that education impacts one's prospects for employment. In many developing countries, girls are not educated to the same degree that boys are and worldwide there are 4 million more girls out of school than boys at the primary level.³⁵ Reasons for this vary according to the country in question, but are often because of economic constraints within the family, religious beliefs, infrastructural deficiencies, or due to the need for labor at home.

Even when girls do receive a proper education, data analysis from the Asian Development Bank shows that increases in female employment are not always in line with educational improvements and that many educated women remain unemployed.³⁶ In such a situation, one possible explanation is that cultural norms are holding these women back.

Traditional gender roles can also have a negative impact on FLFP in all countries: developed and developing. It is well documented that women do more care work and household work than men in the vast majority of countries, as was previously shown.³⁷ With this type of work taking time out of women's days, it can make it difficult for them to secure full-time employment. Although household and care work are often thought of as time spent cleaning, caring for children, or preparing food for the family, unpaid household work in developing countries can also span other dimensions of life that those of us in developed countries might not consider. For example, in regions where infrastructure is lacking, for instance in clean water provision, this is often made up for by female labor.³⁸ In such situations, government expenditure on infrastructure has a positive impact on women by allowing them to spend less time on basic household tasks and freeing up their time for other, potentially remunerated, tasks.³⁹ As is also the case in developed countries, such sources of female time-poverty are added to when there is a lack of childcare facilities as

³⁵ United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), October 2013, "Girl's Education - The Facts," <https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/sites/gem-report/files/girls-factsheet-en.pdf>.

³⁶ Asian Development Bank, B, "Synthesis Report: Female Labor Force Participation in Asia - Constraints and Challenges," October 2016, <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/project-document/201716/47363-001-tacr-01.pdf>.

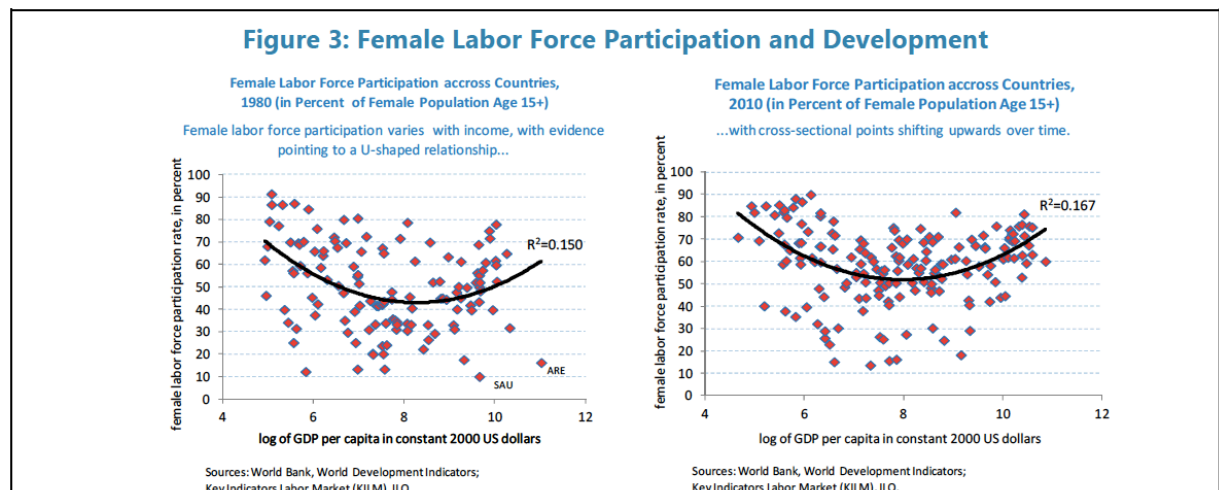
³⁷ Oxfam, "Underpaid and Undervalued: How Inequality Defines Women's Work in Asia," June 2016, https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/ib-inequality-womens-work-asia-310516.pdf.

³⁸ Asian Development Bank, A, "Gender Equality and the Labor Market: Cambodia, Kazakhstan, and the Philippines," Asian Development Bank, 2013, <http://hdl.handle.net/11540/797>.

³⁹ Katrin Elborgh-Woytek, Monique Newiak, Kalpana Kochhar, Stefania Fabrizio, Kangni Kpodar, Philippe Wingender, Benedict Clements, and Gerd Schwartz, "Women, Work, and the Economy: Macroeconomic Gains from Gender Equity," International Monetary Fund, September 2013, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2013/sdn1310.pdf>.

women are traditionally expected to take on the family burden of childcare if it cannot be outsourced.⁴⁰

As for the economic determinants of FLFP, there are two which are commonly discussed. First, it has repeatedly been observed that there is a U-shaped correlation curve between GDP and FLFP.⁴¹ The popular explanation behind this correlation is the following: with low GDP, all members of a family need to work to survive. When GDP rises, a single income is enough to sustain a family and therefore many women return home to do unpaid care work or to run the household. As GDP rises further, education also rises and therefore FLFP goes back up as women often have their own well-developed careers. Another relevant factor here, as was argued by Becker, is that as women become more educated and obtain higher paying jobs, the opportunity cost of their staying home rises past the cost of outsourcing this labor. This would result in the logical decision for women to work outside of the home and use the money made from this employment to pay someone else to complete the care and housework. Although this is only a correlation, it does provide an insight as to why some of the highest FLFP rates are observed in either developing countries (Rwanda, for example) or in highly developed countries (Sweden).⁴²



(Elborgh-Woytek et al. 2013, pg 7)

More recently, however, the feminization U hypothesis has been reexamined and criticized. According to a study by Gaddis and Klasen in 2012, the U is not as robust as was previously thought. During their testing, Gaddis and Klasen found that the U does not appear when dynamic data is used and that there are many more predictors of FLFP rates than GDP, such as factor endowments, historical factors, and initial conditions in the country, all of which serve as more useful predictors.⁴³ With this hypothesis falling out of fashion, scholars have turned elsewhere when looking to explain female labor force participation.

⁴⁰ Asian Development Bank, A.

⁴¹ Elborgh-Woytek et al., 2013.

⁴² World Bank Data, "Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15-64) (modeled ILO estimate)", March 2017, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.ACTI.FE.ZS?locations=RW-SE>.

⁴³ Isis Gaddis and Stephan Klasen, "Economic Development, Structural Change, and Women's Labor Force Participation: A Reexamination of the Feminization U Hypothesis," *Journal of Population Economics* 27 no. 3 (2014): 639-681, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s00148-013-0488-2>, pg. 641.

Another factor which is believed to have a noteworthy impact on FLFP is globalization and the opening of trade. Since the 1970s, there has been a general trend of labor feminization.⁴⁴ Although this trend could be explained by a number of factors, one common explanation which forms the core of this research is that feminization of the labor force stems from globalization and the trend towards freer trade between countries. As scholar Guy Standing describes it, export-led development and opening of trade impacts female labor as companies try to cut costs to compete successfully on an international market.⁴⁵ In this pursuit, they often turn to informal labor options such as contracting, outsourcing, or allowing employees to work from home, all of which are forms of labor more frequently associated with women than men. This shift then manifests as higher rates of female employment. As was stated already in the 1980s, “industrialization in the post-war period has been as much *female* led as *export* led.”⁴⁶ However, as will be discussed, these types of jobs are often of low quality. Statistically speaking, this method of development creates a nice façade which disguises the fact that this rise in female employment does not necessarily correspond to a rise in employment quality and in fact may actually represent the opposite.

Such trends in employment and industrial development have been seen in many Asian countries including the East Asian “Tigers”, discussed below, as well as in Southeast Asia in Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines.⁴⁷ In South Asia, Bangladesh stands apart from the rest in having already begun the process of export-led industrialization in the late 1990s. At the time of publishing in 1998, scholar Ruth Pearson states that Vietnam was not yet experiencing such trends, however the data presented in this research will provide evidence to the contrary.

THE ASIAN TIGERS - TRADE, GROWTH, AND EMPLOYMENT

The “Asian Tigers”, a collective name given to the highly economically developed countries of South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan⁴⁸, are frequently discussed in economic development discourse due to their fast growth from the 1980s until the 1997 financial crisis.⁴⁹ These countries all profited from a similar growth model: low wages and increased labor productivity. Eventually this led to a general increased standard of living and even higher wages for workers. Due to this, the outcome of such a growth strategy was seen as a positive development for the countries despite the fact that it came at the cost of a period of gender segregation in employment and significant wage gaps.⁵⁰ Other regions such as Latin America and Africa have attempted similar methods of export-led

⁴⁴ Sevil Acar, “Globalization and Labor Markets in the Developing World: Gendered Dynamics,” *E-Cadernos Ces*, (2009), <http://journals.openedition.org/eces/290>.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ruth Pearson, “‘Nimble Fingers’ Revisited: Reflections on Women and Third World Industrialization in the Late Twentieth Century,” in *Feminist visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy*, ed. by Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson (London: Routledge 1998.), 175.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ The specific countries which this term refers to often varies, but these four are typically included.

⁴⁹ Lourdes Beneria, “Globalization and Gender: Women’s Labor in the Global Economy,” *Globalization in the 21st Century* (2010): 155-176, https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1057/9780230106390_8, pg. 33.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

industrialization and growth, but have found much less success than the Asian Tigers. As such, economists have been striving to understand the connection between trade liberalization, industrialization, growth and employment.

Sohbrah Abizadeh and Hugh Grant discuss this very situation in 1999 with their investigation of the growth of the economies of the Asian Tigers. By their definition this includes South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, as stated before, minus Taiwan and with the addition of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand, three of which are also relevant for this research.⁵¹ Abizadeh and Grant begin their analysis of these countries by recalling the work of economist Nicholas Kaldor whose work argues that manufacturing was central to their economic growth. By Kaldor's logic, there are two relevant limitations to this assumption; balance of payments and availability of labor. The first limitation, balance of payments, occurs when a country does not have enough profit from exports to be able to afford their imports and therefore is unable to continue production growth.⁵² The second limitation, labor constraints, mostly applies in highly developed countries where there are few low-productivity workers left that can be reallocated to the manufacturing sector to support its growth. Abizadeh and Grant continue, stating that Kaldor was able to provide support for the relationship between output, employment, and productivity.⁵³

In their own research, Abizadeh and Grant try to replicate the work of Kaldor by looking at Southeast Asian countries, although they note the lack of reliability and availability of the data at the time. Despite the fact that they find minimal evidence of trade opening impacting growth, they are able to confirm a link between trade and unemployment levels.⁵⁴

BRAUNSTEIN'S GROWTH FRAMEWORK

Although there have been many theories of employment levels and trade presented here, this research will largely be based on the work of Elissa Braunstein due to her simultaneous focus on two factors related to employment to determine how economic growth is achieved.⁵⁵

To understand Braunstein's analysis of economic growth, her stand-in measures for supply and demand must be examined. For Braunstein, the classic concept of demand is replaced by growth. Within her model, the two extreme options for growth are that it is either wage-led and altruistic or that it is profit-led and individualistic.⁵⁶ The other factor, supply, is conceived of by Braunstein as the "distribution of social reproduction". Social reproduction

⁵¹ Sohrab Abizadeh and Hugh Grant, "Trade Liberalization and Employment: Verdoorn's Law Meets the Asian Tigers," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 20 no.4 (1999): 717-729, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.1999.9669867>, pg. 719.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 720.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 728.

⁵⁵ Elissa Braunstein, "Economic Growth and Social Reproduction," UN Women, September 2015, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2015/9/dps-economic-growth-and-social-reproduction>.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 18.

is defined as the costs, including time and money, needed to produce and sustain the labor force.⁵⁷ This includes producing the next generation of workers, which means costs for care and education are included here, but also includes the maintenance of current workers, thereby bringing in the importance of healthcare costs whether they be provided publically or privately by unpaid individuals (generally female family members). Due to the fact that care work has traditionally been carried out by women, Braunstein focuses on this aspect of the distribution of social reproduction and has created the following two categories: the “low road” represented by the “feminization of responsibility and obligation” or FRO, and the “high road” represented by a gender egalitarian (GE) system.

When analyzing real world economies, each combination of these possibilities exists and it is important to remember that these are merely the extreme points. Real world economies often will not fit directly into one category or another, but rather be arranged along a spectrum between the two extremes of each component.⁵⁸

Growth and social reproduction

Demand: Growth	Supply: The distribution of social reproduction	
	Low road: Feminization of responsibility and obligation (FRO)	High road: Gender egalitarian (GE)
Wage-led/ altruistic	Time squeeze Higher wages for women are good for growth, but more market participation squeezes time and lowers human capacities production. Growth is elusive or unstable.	Mutual Higher wages for women are good for growth, and more market participation increases human capacities production. Growth and social reproduction reinforce one another.
Profit-led/ individualistic	Exploitation Higher wages for women lower growth, and more market participation squeezes time and lowers human capacities production. Growth is partly based on exploiting women's labour and human resources.	Wage squeeze Higher wages for women lower growth, but more market participation enhances human capacities production. Growth is elusive or unstable.

“Growth and Social Reproduction” (Braunstein 2015, 18).

As can be seen above, based on Braunstein’s matrix there are four possible types of growth scenarios to describe an economy: time squeeze, mutual, exploitation, and wage squeeze. These will be individually described in a clockwise manner starting from the top left.

The **TIME SQUEEZE** scenario occurs when growth is wage-led and responsibility for social reproduction/maintenance is heavily allocated to the women within a given society.⁵⁹ Growth is created by raising wages for women and by increased FLFP. In this scenario, the growth created is sufficient to offset the decreases in profit sustained by the increased salaries. However, as more women begin working, their time is taken away from social reproductive activities (caring for other workers and bringing up the next generation - for free). This leads to the time squeeze that this scenario is named after. In such a situation the care of the current workers frequently decreases and the creation of future workers

⁵⁷ Ibid., i.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 17.

also suffers. This often even decreases the fertility rate. In this model, the two uses of women's time are traded against one another - either they contribute to the market through paid labor or they focus their time and effort on social reproduction, generally with no remuneration. This understandably leads to problems for long term sustainable growth.

The **MUTUAL** scenario is what Braunstein calls the “win-win” situation as the two uses of women's time are no longer pitted against one another.⁶⁰ Although more women are working due to the incentive of higher wages and they therefore have less time for social reproduction, the societal structure and public programs within this scenario help account for this loss of time. This allows for an increase in human capacities development and for growth which is more sustainable than in the time squeeze scenario.

The next scenario described by Braunstein is the **WAGE SQUEEZE** which is a combination of profit-led growth and gender egalitarian distribution of social reproduction.⁶¹ In this scenario, although higher wages are good for human capacities development, they are bad for overall profits. In the time squeeze scenario the benefits of this outweighed the costs, but here they do not. Further, gender egalitarian policies are bad for growth in this scenario. If higher FLFP would lower wages, it would actually help growth through profit increases. Braunstein further notes that this effect intensifies the more open and neoliberal the economy of the country is.

The last scenario is simply called **EXPLOITATION** and Braunstein refers to this as the “lose-lose” situation.⁶² Profit-led growth and an unequal distribution of social reproduction responsibility in this scenario lead to low wages for women as a way to create growth. The reduction in time women can spend on social reproduction is also felt by the community because of a lack of compensation for this on the part of the men within the society and/or on the part of the public systems.

As this thesis regards the interaction of trade and women's employment, Braunstein's framework of growth analysis is an apt place to start investigating the countries in question. One of the aims of this research will be to describe Bangladesh, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam in terms of this matrix to determine whether their growth patterns are stable and whether or not they are exploiting women.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

The goal of this research is to determine the impact that globalization, as represented by increases in trade, has on female labor force participation. As was addressed, this is of relevance in that if it is found that freer trade has negative consequences for a certain proportion of the population, then economists might need to rethink their overwhelming support for it or find a way to open trade while protecting workers. To this end, the

⁶⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

research question for this thesis is as follows: Is globalization creating feminization of the labor force, and if so, what is the nature of women's employment?

The research question will be tested with the following hypothesis:

Opening of trade(IV) will lead to an increase in female labor force participation (DV1) but will not necessarily increase the quality of female employment (DV2).

As this hypothesis has two parts, and for organizational purposes, this paper will be organized in two sections, the first addressing labor force participation, the second addressing labor quality. The methods for each section will be described directly before.

Trade openness is also measured by the Trade Openness Index which is (exports + imports)/(GDP). This measure will be used to determine the openness of each economy in this study.

Data describing female labor force participation and wages have been obtained from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)⁶³ and the World Bank⁶⁴. Measures to be analyzed include, overall female labor force participation, as well as female labor force participation in industry, in agriculture and in service as a percentage of total female labor force, relative participation of women and men in each of the ISIC manufacturing sectors per country, and average sectoral wages in manufacturing.

As for the assessment of employment quality, many factors will be taken into consideration including: use of employment contracts, the availability of maternity or paternity leave (both *de jure* and *de facto*), employee working hours, wages, and the relative risk of injury or illness due to the employment. As many of these factors are not systematically recorded in a standardized fashion, anecdotal evidence and qualitative measures will be integrated into this portion of analysis as much as possible.

CASE SELECTION

The countries Bangladesh, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam were chosen for this study due to their classification as either developing or newly industrialized countries, with Bangladesh and Vietnam being slightly less developed than the others.⁶⁵ The regional focus on Asia was also intentional due to the prevalence of literature on the development of the Asian Tigers. Although not the focus of this research, it would be interesting to see if the development experienced in the Asian Tigers was replicable in other Asian countries as well or whether it was phenomenon unique to those countries. The results of this

⁶³ United Nations Industrial Development Organization, *INDSTAT 4*, ISIC Revision 3 (2018), Distributed by UNIDO, <https://stat.unido.org/>.

⁶⁴ The World Bank, *World Bank Open Data* <https://data.worldbank.org/>.

⁶⁵ United Nations, "Country Classification," 2014, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_current/2014wesp_country_classification.pdf.

research should give a small indication as to the development of the countries in question which could be used to inform discussions in future works.

These countries were also chosen due to their differences in terms of religion and level of development. As mentioned, Bangladesh and Vietnam are less developed than Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand. In terms of religion, which has been known to influence, if not determine, cultural norms, Bangladesh and Malaysia are predominantly Muslim, whereas Philippines has a Christian majority, and Thailand is mostly Buddhist. In Vietnam, when individuals identify with a world religion, it is most commonly Buddhism.⁶⁶ The diversity of the selected countries in these manners should help exclude religion and level of development as determinant factors if a relationship should be found between opening of trade and female labor force participation across all countries.

⁶⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook, "Religions," accessed April 28, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html#bg>.

PART I: LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

METHODS

DEPENDENT VARIABLE 1 -

In the investigation of the first part of the hypothesis (opening of trade will lead to an increase in FLFP) multiple measures are used. To measure the opening of trade, World Bank data on trade as a percentage of GDP are used⁶⁷. This is then analyzed against many different measures of female labor force participation. To obtain an overall view of the amount of women working, World Bank data for female labor force participation as a percentage of total female labor force ages 15-64 is utilized⁶⁸. To get an understanding of female labor force participation across different types of employment, World Bank measures for female labor force participation in industry⁶⁹, agriculture⁷⁰, and service⁷¹ as a percentage of total female employment are analyzed. Further, data on the number of women and men employed in each sub-sector of manufacturing collected from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) are used to show sectoral segregation in all countries.⁷² When available, all datasets are used for a range of years from approximately 1990 to 2015 to give a better view of the developments of female employment over time. These observations are then correlated with trade developments in an attempt to elucidate a relationship between the two aspects of the economies.

RESULTS⁷³

When displayed as a scatter plot, one can see that trade as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) and female labor force participation as a percentage of the female population ages 15-64 correlate differently in different countries. Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam exhibit a negative relationship between the two factors, as is expected based on the work of Abizadeh and Grant (Abizadeh and Grant 1999, 728).

⁶⁷ The World Bank, *Trade (% of GDP)*, Distributed by World Bank and OECD, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS>.

⁶⁸ The World Bank, *Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15-64) (modeled ILO estimate)*(March, 2017), Distributed by International Labour Organization, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.ACTI.FE.ZS>.

⁶⁹ The World Bank, *Employment in industry, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)*(November, 2017), Distributed by International Labour Organization, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.IND.EMPL.FE.ZS>.

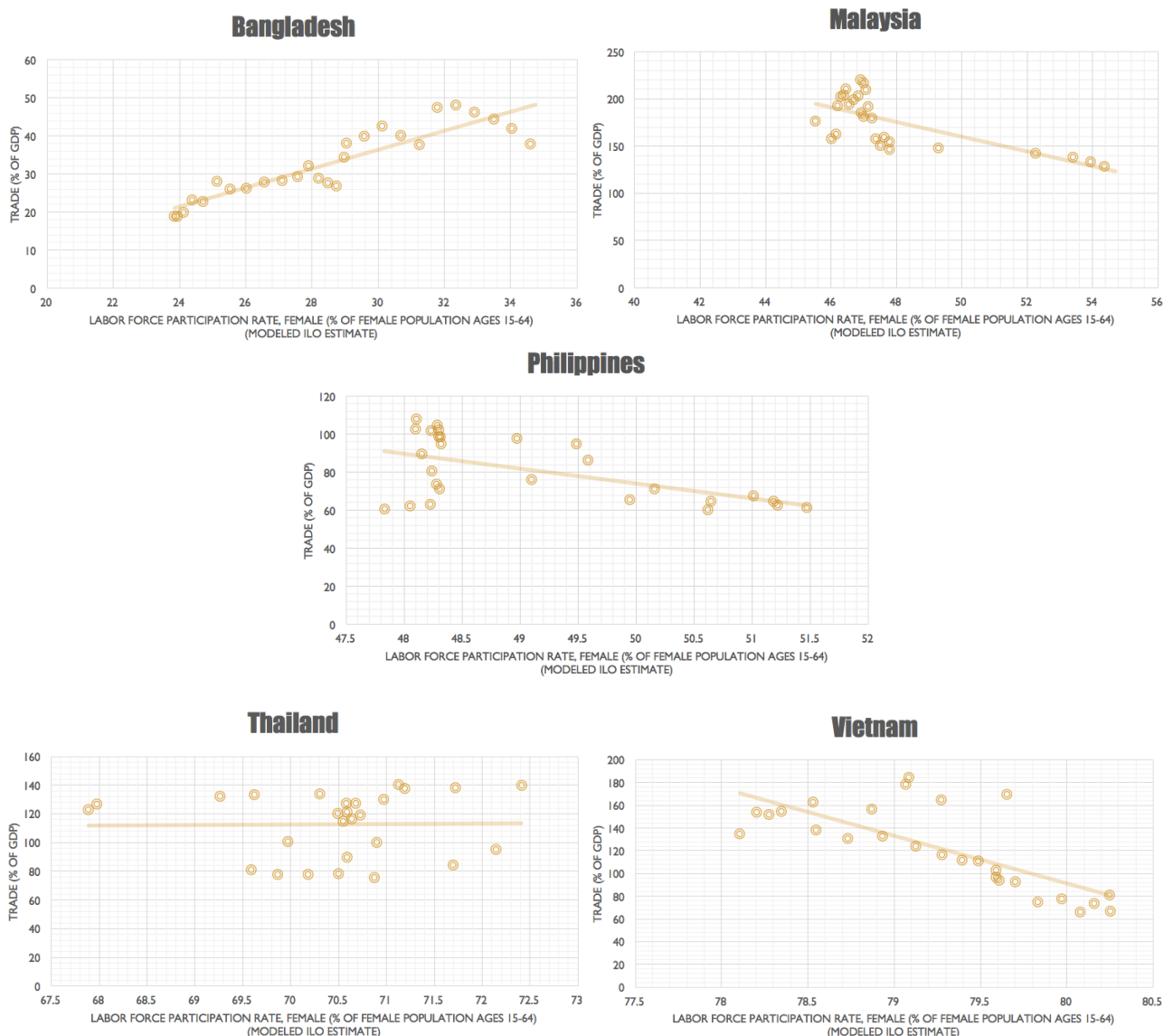
⁷⁰ The World Bank, *Employment in agriculture, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)*(November, 2017), Distributed by International Labour Organization, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.AGR.EMPL.FE.ZS>.

⁷¹ The World Bank, *Employment in services, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)*(November, 2017), Distributed by International Labour Organization, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.SRV.EMPL.FE.ZS>

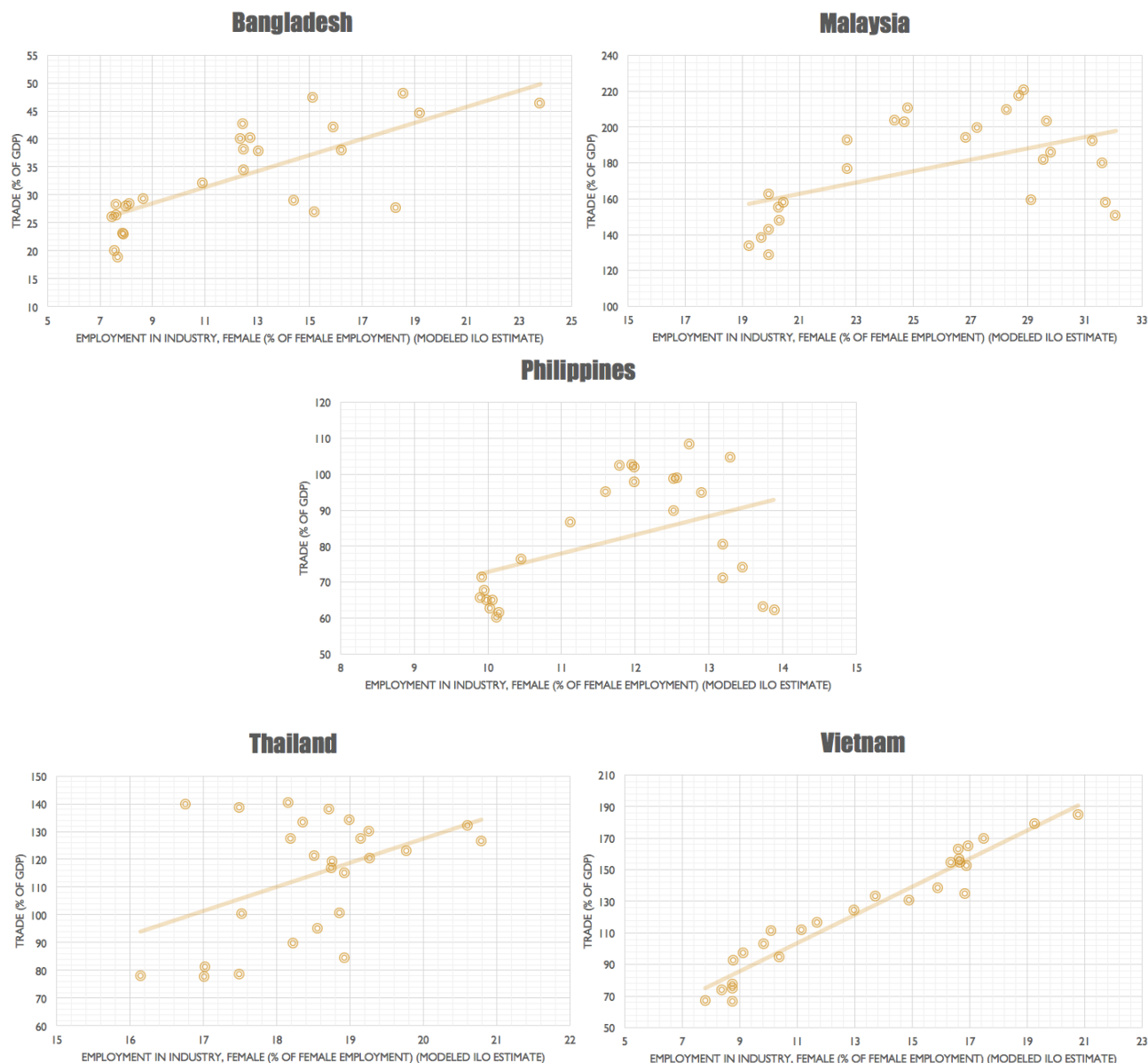
⁷² United Nations Industrial Development Organization, *INDSTAT 4*, ISIC Revision 3 (2018), UNIDO, <https://stat.unido.org/>.

⁷³ Unless otherwise stated, all graphs in this section have been created by the author.

Thailand, however, has a changing level of FLFP despite relatively stable trade, and Bangladesh exhibits a positive correlation.



Based on these results, the hypothesis is only accepted in 1/5 cases. It appears as though trade does not positively correlate with FLFP in these countries. However, further analysis was done using the percentage of women employed in the industry sector. The rationale behind this choice is that increases in trade could possibly grow manufacturing of exports and therefore create jobs for women within those sectors, or at least shifting FLFP into the industry sector. This correlation is in fact present in all five countries albeit being more robust in some than in others.

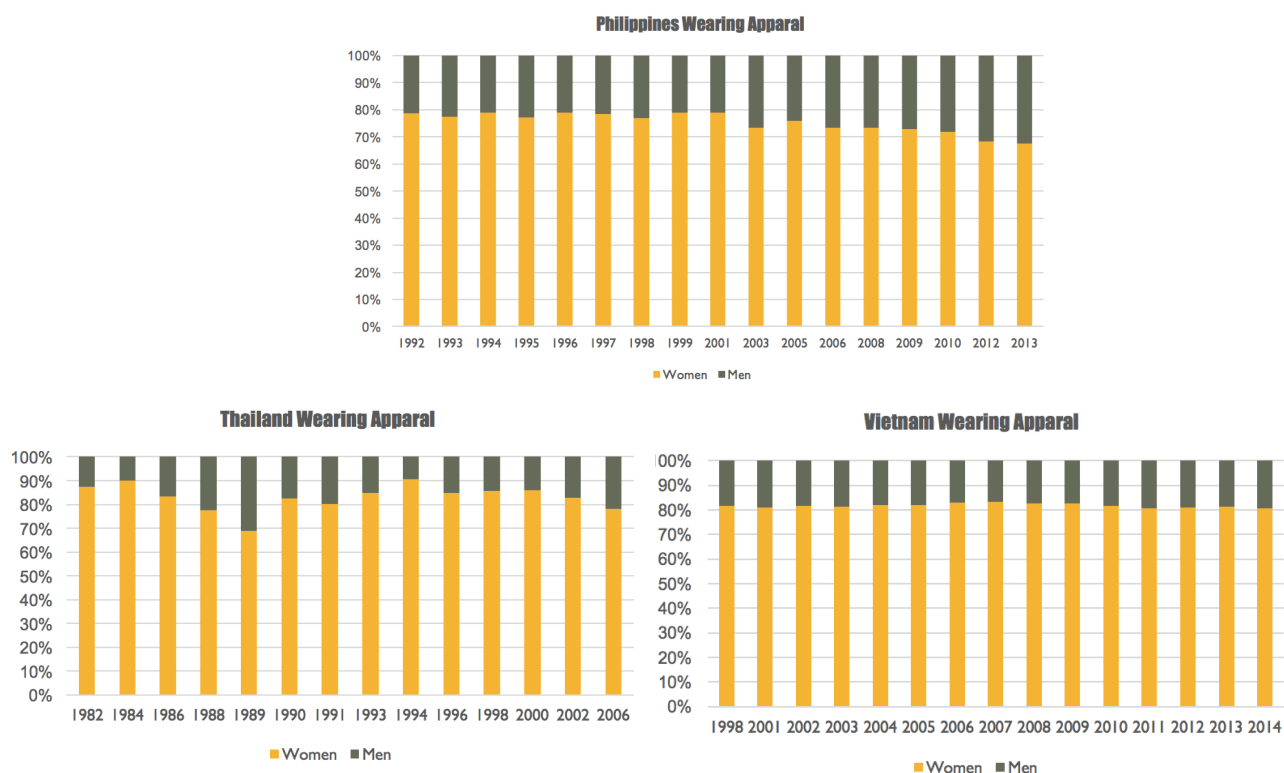


As can be seen here, Vietnam and Bangladesh have the most robust correlation between the two factors. To take the analysis further, distribution of women between the sectors of employment was analyzed using World Bank data. It is observed that all five countries have a declining agriculture sector, an increasing service sector and stable or growing industry sectors, in terms of percentage of female employment.⁷⁴ Malaysia may be an exception here as the industry sector has indeed declined slightly since 1991.

Lastly, female employment in the industry sectors was broken down by UNIDO ISIC Revision 3 categories as seen to the right. At this point it emerged that female employment was largely consolidated into a few specific categories, some of which were consistent across countries.⁷⁵ Sectors with high FLFP include: textiles (17), wearing apparel (18), office machinery (30), electrical machinery (31) radio equipment (32), and medical instruments (33). The following bar graphs depict the relative employment of women and men in category 18, wearing apparel, for each country and over as many years as were available. As can be seen, this sector is highly feminized in all countries.

⁷⁴ Graphs showing this information can be found in Appendix II.

⁷⁵ Graphs depicting this distribution can be found in Appendix I.



Despite fluctuations, it is clear that wearing apparel is a largely female sector of manufacturing in these countries. In Bangladesh this is by far the sector with the highest ratio of female to male employment. In Malaysia and the Philippines, the electrical, medical, office, and radio sectors also employ significantly more women than men. Likewise, Vietnam is currently experiencing feminization of medical, office and radio sectors and additionally has a high ratio (approximately 80:20) of female to male employment in the leather sector. Thailand shows high female to male ratios in all of these sectors as well, with the exception of leather.



DISCUSSION

As was shown, the relationship between trade and overall female labor force participation in the countries in question is not consistent across the sample. This does not necessarily rule out that there is a positive impact of trade on FLFP, but does not support such a conclusion either. With so many confounding factors possibly influencing both measures, many more aspects would need to be held constant to determine causality, minimally including religion and type of export and import goods.

Due to these mixed results, female labor force participation was redefined in a more narrow sense to focus on labor force participation in industry. This was chosen due to the fact that these countries in question are recently industrialized or currently in the process of industrializing and therefore should be expected to see growth in these sectors. This could in theory be positively impacting both employment and trade measures. As was shown above, generally positive correlations were found in all countries for these measures.

Going further, it was noticed that female labor force participation within industry was not spread evenly throughout sectors, but that women were particularly concentrated in a few manufacturing sectors, namely, textiles (17), wearing apparel (18), office machinery (30), electrical machinery (31) radio equipment (32), and medical instruments. Interestingly, this sectoral segregation was similar across all five countries despite their different levels of general FLFP and despite their different positions along the track of industrialization. Due to this observation, it is particularly relevant when considering quality of employment to look not at employment in general within the countries, but to investigate job quality in these sectors specifically.

LIMITATIONS

Some limitations of this analysis have already been discussed such as the existence of many possible confounding factors influencing trade growth and female labor force participation. Religion, as it often has a strong influence on a culture's perceived gender roles, is difficult to measure or account for quantitatively, i.e. how much does religion influence a given country in this regard, but nevertheless bears mentioning. Within the sample of this research there are countries which are primarily Christian, Buddhist, and Muslim. One way that this difference was accounted for was by comparing countries not necessarily to one another, but to themselves over different periods of time. Regardless, as a common pattern was seen across all countries, it does not appear that religion is having a large impact on this measure.

Another possible limitation of this section of the research is that fact that trade opening brings not only economic changes, but is also often synonymous with globalization and sometimes therefore modernization of cultural norms and expectations for genders. While some countries are in fact experiencing a backlash against modernity in recent years despite their engagement in international trade and a globalized culture, this is not the norm and it is more likely that globalization would modernize cultures. In countries which

had traditionally experienced a rigid separation of men and women in terms of external labor force participation, this would be expected to result in increased FLFP. In this regard, data showing FLFP in general or in industry specifically may be influenced by changing cultural norms as well as by increased trade as such. It was attempted to account for this by analyzing multiple countries as it can be expected that not all five of the countries in question would have the same cultural norms regarding women at the onset of data collection.

PART II: LABOR QUALITY

METHODS

To be able to analyze the growth situation in a given country based on the criteria in Braunstein's framework, information must be collected about the wages workers earn as well as the distribution of care responsibilities within a country. For each country the following aspects will be explored: sectoral wage differences, general labor conditions, treatment of pregnant workers and handling of maternity leave, and if possible the general understanding of gender roles in the country.

The section on treatment of pregnant workers and maternity leave policies is included as it can be seen as a more tangible proxy for judging a society's view of women and the importance of their contribution to society through reproduction and childcare. Where respect for pregnant workers is not present and maternity leave policies are lacking, it is likely that women will also be saddled with the large majority of childcare and household responsibilities. This will help indicate where a country should be placed within the Braunstein framework. Of course when explicit discussion of gender roles and norms is available this will also be used as an indicator.

RESULTS

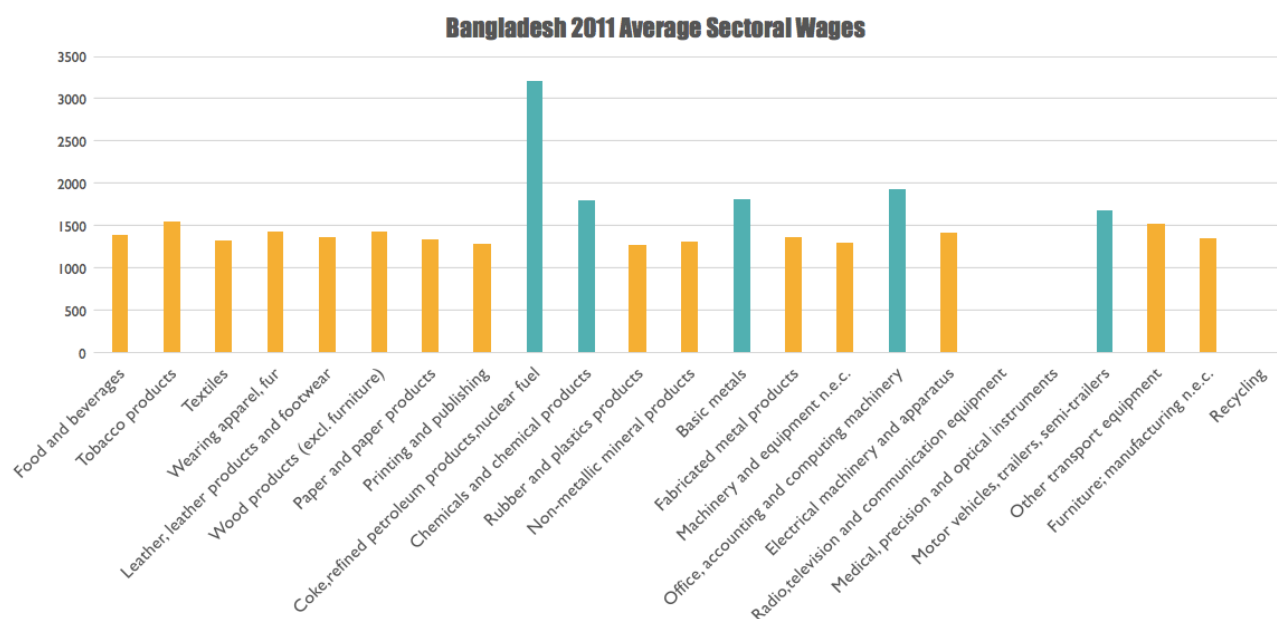
BANGLADESH

WAGES

As was discussed in the previous section, Bangladesh has typical sectors of high female employment. Data from 2011 show the top industries for female employment (in relation to male) are: leather, leather products, footwear (19), textiles (17), rubber (25), and food (15), in descending order. Based on previous trends in data, wearing and apparel (18) is likely the number one feminized sector, but there is no data available on female employment in the sector after 1998. Wages in these sectors are of particular importance for women. As shown below, however, the industries with the highest pay in 2011 were coke/petroleum (23), office, accounting and computing machinery (30), basic metals (27), chemicals (24), and motor vehicles (34). While office, accounting and computer materials (30) is a sector with high female employment in other countries included in this study, Bangladesh has yet to experience this trend. That being said, it is possible that this an area into which women will be able to move relatively easily. Future studies should be done to see how wages in this sector change if it is in fact feminized.

Although data from 2011 is shown below, it is worth mentioning that data from 2006 showed sharp increases in salaries for selected industries while all others experienced slight declines. Industries with wage spikes included: basic metals (27), coke and petroleum (23), rubber (25), furniture (36) and leather and footwear (19), again listed in descending order

of average salary. This is relevant to the situation of women in Bangladesh due to their high representation in both rubber (25) and leather and footwear (19).



WORK CONDITIONS

The working conditions for women in wearing apparel factories in Bangladesh are infamously exemplified by the Tazreen Fashions factory fire of 2012 and the Rana Plaza incident of 2013. In the former, despite fire alarms, managers allegedly would not permit workers to leave the building. As a result, 112 people lost their lives.⁷⁶ In 2013, the Rana Plaza had failed a safety inspection and was ordered to be evacuated, but managers nonetheless pushed their employees back into the building at the start of the next day. During that day the building began to shake and the large cracks in the walls, which had been the reason for the condemnation of the building in the first place, led to the building's collapse.⁷⁷ In the aftermath it was established that 2,000 workers were injured and 1,100 had died. Both of these incidents show the amount of authority that managers can hold over their employees as well as their lack of regard for their safety.

In an analysis of the events two years after the fact, Human Rights Watch (HRW) argues that such treatment is likely to continue unless workers are able to unionize and therefore feel confident in their rights to stand up to their employers and voice concerns over the safety of their work environments.⁷⁸ HRW reports that only 10% of Bangladeshi factories currently have unions and that union leaders are frequently intimidated, threatened, or

⁷⁶ Human Rights Watch, A, "Bangladesh: 2 Years After Rana Plaza, Workers Denied Rights: Enforce Labor Law and End Mistreatment of Unions," April 22, 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/04/22/bangladesh-2-years-after-rana-plaza-workers-denied-rights>.

⁷⁷ Human Rights Watch, B, "Whoever Raises their Head Suffers the Most," April 22, 2015, http://features.hrw.org/features/HRW_2015_reports/Bangladesh_Garment_Factories/index.html.

⁷⁸ Human Rights Watch, A.

abused by factory management.⁷⁹ One particularly disturbing experience is recalled by a garment worker who states that due to the fact that she would not discontinue her association with a union she was beaten with a metal curtain rod in her managers office.⁸⁰ This took place despite the fact that the woman was pregnant at the time. According to reports by HRW, the labor laws in Bangladesh do not currently comply with the standards set by ILO convention 87, Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, or convention 98, Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining, although the country has ratified both of these.⁸¹

In addition, employees in Bangladeshi garment factories report sexual harassment and verbal abuse as well as physical assault, forced overtime, and delayed receipt of wages.⁸² As is commonly experienced in garment factories in other countries as well, workers in Bangladesh report being pressured not to use the bathroom during their shifts and not having clean water available to drink. Such treatment understandably places the workers at risk of health problems.

PREGNANT WORKERS AND MATERNITY LEAVE

According to government regulations, women in Bangladesh in the public sector should receive six months of paid maternity leave and those in the private sector should receive four.⁸³ The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) reports, however, that many women do not take this full time and that others are incentivized, often by payment of extra wages, to quit their jobs before maternity leave would set in.⁸⁴ They further speculate that such treatment of pregnant workers by employers might lead women to opt for abortions as opposed to having children.

Another area of relevance for working women in Bangladesh is the availability of childcare services. The Bangladeshi Labour Act of 2013 requires factories with 40 workers or more to provide childcare services for their employees, but UNICEF reports that this is often not the case and that when it is available, not many workers use it.⁸⁵ They argue that this lack of demand is a cause and a result of the poor quality of childcare available. As an alternate to factory-based services, UNICEF argues that community-based centers are generally of much higher quality, but that they do not accept the same age range of children and therefore do not function as a one-to-one substitute. These centers are also not prevalent enough to handle the amount of demand they would have from garment workers should the age range be expanded.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ UNI Global Union, "Bangladeshi Unions Protest for Maternity Leave Equality on International Women's Day," March 9, 2015, <http://www.uniglobalunion.org/news/bangladeshi-unions-protest-maternity-leave-equality-international-womens-day>.

⁸⁴ United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "The Ready-Made Garment Sector and Children in Bangladesh," November 2015, https://www.unicef.org/csr/files/CSR_BANGLADESH_RMG_REPORT.PDF, pg. 4

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pg. 6.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

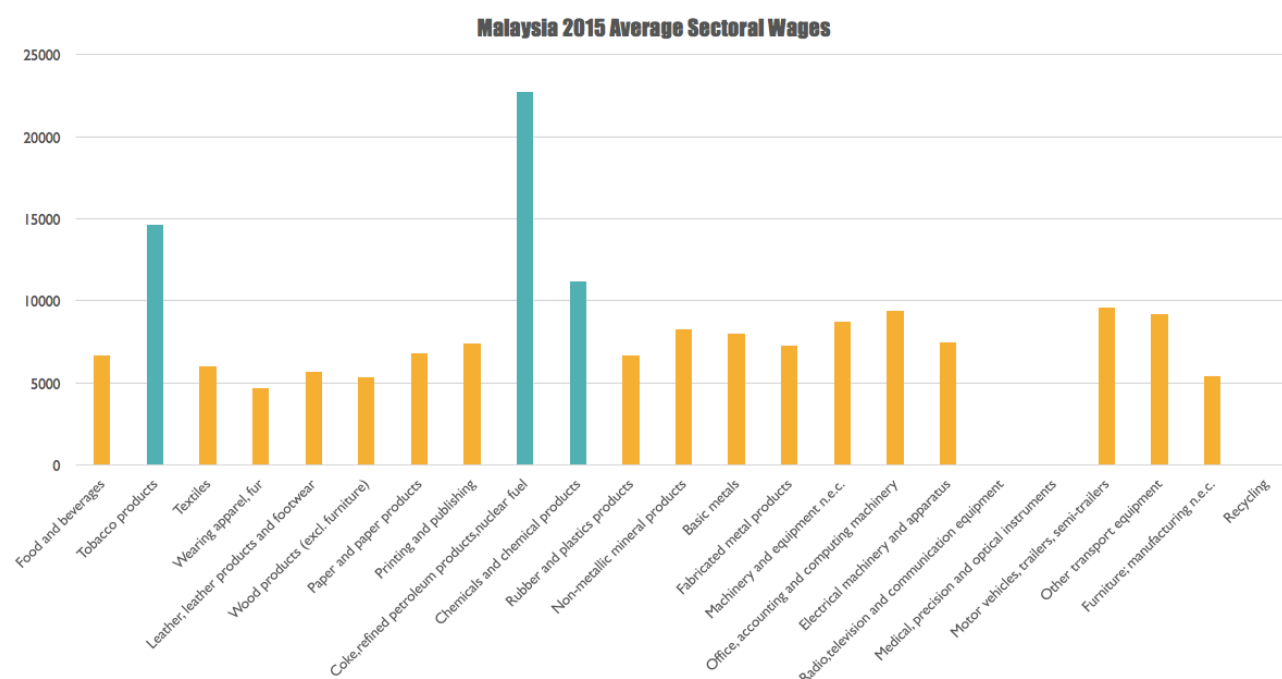
GENDER ROLES

MenCare, a global fatherhood campaign, has recently highlighted eight men from Bangladesh for challenging traditional gender norms in their communities.⁸⁷ One of their chosen examples is contributing to gender equality by asserting that “fathers must participate in household chores and take care of their kids”.⁸⁸ They go on to state that due to traditional gender norms in Bangladesh, men are not supposed to help with household work. In profiles of other men, MenCare indicated that Bangladeshi fathers are traditionally meant to maintain emotional distance from their children. Although positive examples are to be found, this report gives the impression that traditional gender norms are still very much in place in Bangladesh and that work is still needed to break these down. From this report, it appears that women are still expected to handle the majority of the household and childcare responsibilities for their families.

MALAYSIA

WAGES

The most feminized sectors of industry in Malaysia are wearing and apparel (18), medical, precision and optical instruments (33), radio, television and communication equipment (32), and office, accounting, and computing machinery (30). As was the case with Bangladesh, none of these sectors are highly remunerated in comparison to the others in Malaysia. The highest wages in Malaysia are found in the sectors of coke/petroleum (23), tobacco (16), and chemicals (24).



⁸⁷ MenCare: A Global Fatherhood Campaign, “Eight Fathers Challenging Gender Stereotypes in Bangladesh Tell Their Stories,” October 6, 2017, <https://men-care.org/2017/10/06/eight-fathers-challenging-gender-stereotypes-bangladesh-tell-stories/>.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

These three industries are followed by motor vehicles (34), office, accounting and computing machinery (30), and transport equipment (35). As noted, women are highly represented in the office machinery sector, however of the other three top industries for women in Malaysia, two have no data for 2015 and one, wearing and apparel, is the overall lowest paid sector in 2015.

WORK CONDITIONS

Reports of working conditions in Malaysia are heavily focused on the electronics industry. As was stated, many electronic-related industries have high ratios of female to male employment and therefore conditions in these industries are relevant to women. That being said, the largest issue for workers in this sector is that fact that many of them, reports estimate approximately 40 percent, are migrants.⁸⁹ Furthermore, only about two thirds of these workers are documented. This puts these individuals at risk of exploitation from their employers as they are in a weak position in terms of their ability to stand up for their rights. A representative of the Malaysia Trades Union Congress states that the companies in charge of these factories have such power that they are often above the law and do not obey rules regarding minimum wage, overtime, or inspections.⁹⁰ Additionally, many workers report that their passports are confiscated by employers, further weakening their relative position, opening them up to rights abuses, and limiting their ability to move around freely.⁹¹ This practice occurs despite being prohibited by Malaysian law.

In Malaysia, it is reported that due to the poor conditions and payment in the electronic industry, there is a high turnover rate of employees. Due to this, employers have, since the 1990s, looked to migrants to fill the labor market.⁹² It is reported that in 2004 more than 65% of workers in the Malaysian electronics sector were from Indonesia. As Malaysia is considered to be the most popular destination for economic migrants in Southeast Asia,⁹³ many also come from Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Vietnam, relevant countries for this study.⁹⁴ Reports by Fair Labor estimate that two million immigrant workers in Malaysia are undocumented.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Kate Hodal, and Annie Kelly, "Malaysia: Forced Labour Casts Dark Shadow Over Electronics Industry," The Guardian, November 21, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/21/malaysia-forced-labour-casts-dark-shadow-over-electronics-industry>.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Verité, "Forced Labor in the Production of Electronic Goods in Malaysia: A Comprehensive Study of Scope and Characteristics," September 2014, <http://www.verite.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/VeriteForcedLaborMalaysianElectronics2014.pdf>, pg. 11.

⁹² Sarah Bormann, Pathma Krishnan, and Monika E. Neuner. "Migration in a Digital Age: Migrant Workers in the Malaysian Electronics Industry: Case Studies on Jabil Circuit and Flextronics." World Economy, Ecology and Development. December 2010. http://electronicswatch.org/migration-in-a-digital-age_3542.pdf, pg. 11.

⁹³ Anuradha Nagaraj, "Pregnant Migrant Workers in Asia Face Discrimination, Deportation: Report," Reuters, March 26, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-workers-women-health/pregnant-migrant-workers-in-asia-face-discrimination-deportation-report-idUSKBN1H211Q>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Fair Labor Association, "Triple Discrimination: Woman, Pregnant, and Migrant: Preventing Pregnancy Discrimination among Temporary Migrant Workers: Lessons from Malaysia, Taiwan, and Thailand," March 2018, http://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/triple_discrimination_woman_pregnant_and_migrant_march_2018.pdf, pg. 19.

PREGNANT WORKERS AND MATERNITY LEAVE

Another factor which puts workers in a worse position to advocate for themselves is pregnancy. In Malaysia, pregnant women are openly discriminated against as one of the requirements for a work permit is to pass a pregnancy test. This is not done just once, but multiple times for migrant women: once before leaving their home country, once upon arrival and then once per year for the first three years in Malaysia.⁹⁶ If it is found that a woman is pregnant, she is liable to be deported back to her country of origin.

In many countries, it can be argued that such practices are undertaken and endorsed by firms looking to cut costs, however, in Malaysia, even companies try to behave in a socially responsible manner become complicit in this system of deportation. As explained by Fair Labor, the system of testing and reporting migrants for pregnancy is fully automatic.⁹⁷ Although employers used to be able to turn a blind eye if a new hire was in fact pregnant, this is no longer an option. On a positive note, it is reported that some companies make it a priority to re-hire workers who have previously been deported due to pregnancy.

For Malaysian women, laws are quite different. They are entitled to 90 days of maternity leave and in 2017 the Deputy Minister of Human Resources, Datuk Seri Ismail Abd Muttalib, stated that employers may not fire women who become pregnant under their employment.⁹⁸ Despite these laws, however, a survey conducted in 2015 by the Women's Aid Organisation on workplace discrimination found that 40% of women experienced discrimination in their jobs due to pregnancy.⁹⁹ These forms of discrimination ranged from women being fired, to being passed over for promotions, placed on probation, or demoted.

GENDER ROLES

In regards to the gendered division of household and childcare work in Malaysia, a few ethnographies from the 1960s display a quite clear traditional gender division.¹⁰⁰ In the 1980s, however, a study by Noor Laily Abu Bakar and Rita Raj Hashim shows that Malaysian men help with laundry, buying food, cooking, and cleaning.¹⁰¹ The authors do not argue that this constitutes gender equality, but merely that men are open to taking on some tasks which are traditionally thought of as female. Much more recently, a survey from 2015 from the Malaysian branch of UNICEF asked respondents how much they agree that women and

⁹⁶ Ibid. 20.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 23.

⁹⁸ HR in Asia, "Malaysian Employers Must Allow Female Workers to Take 90 Days Maternity Leave," December 18, 2017, <http://www.hrinasia.com/employer-branding/malaysian-employers-must-allow-female-workers-to-take-90-days-maternity-leave/>.

⁹⁹ Women's Aid Organisation, "Discrimination Towards Pregnant Women Remains Prevalent in the Malaysian Workplace," August 9, 2016, http://www.wao.org.my/news_details.php?nid=383&ntitle=Discrimination+Towards+Women+Remains+Prevalent+in+the+Malaysian+Workplace.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Hirschman, "Gender, the Status of Women, and Family Structure in Malaysia," *Malaysian Journal of Economic Studies* 53 no. 1 (2016): 33-50,

<http://jummecc.um.edu.my/index.php/MJES/article/view/2778>, pg. 39.

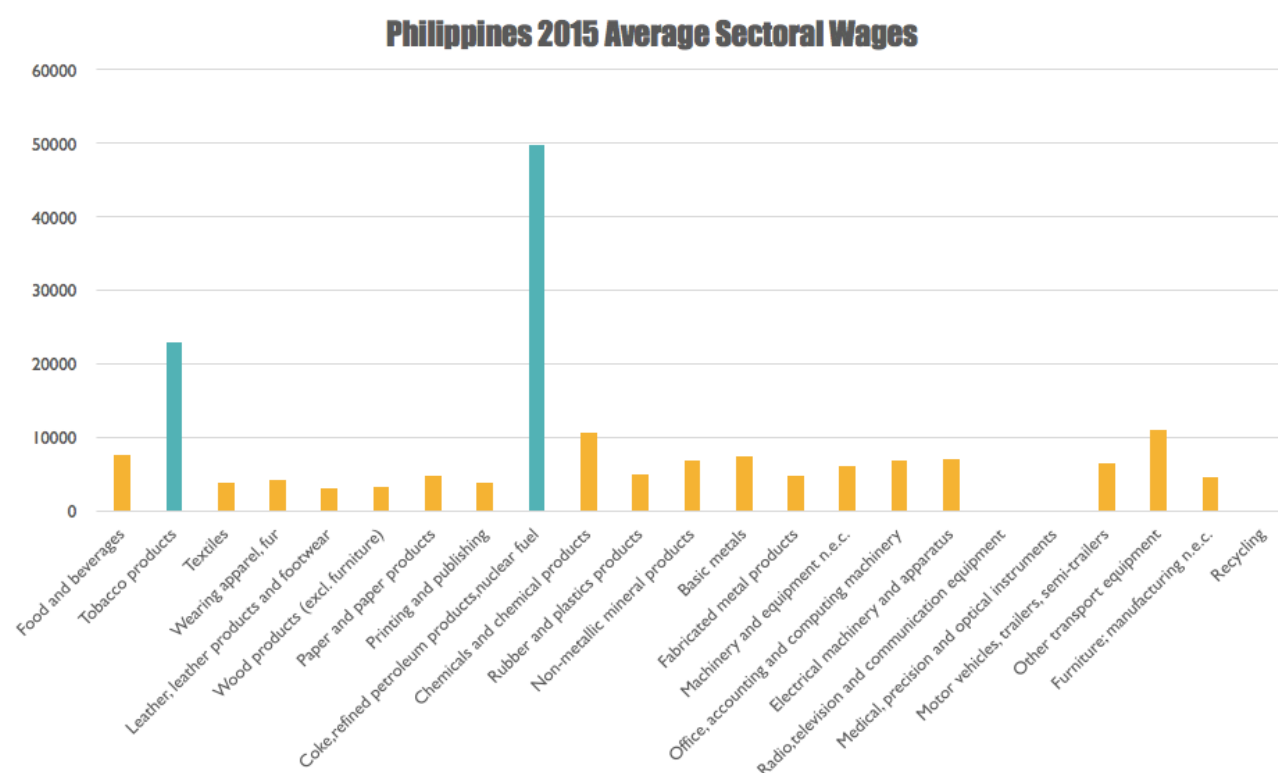
¹⁰¹ Ibid., 40.

men in Malaysia share equal responsibility for childcare and household chores.¹⁰² The largest portion was 39% who said that they somewhat disagree. Only 12% of respondents fully agreed with the statement.

PHILIPPINES

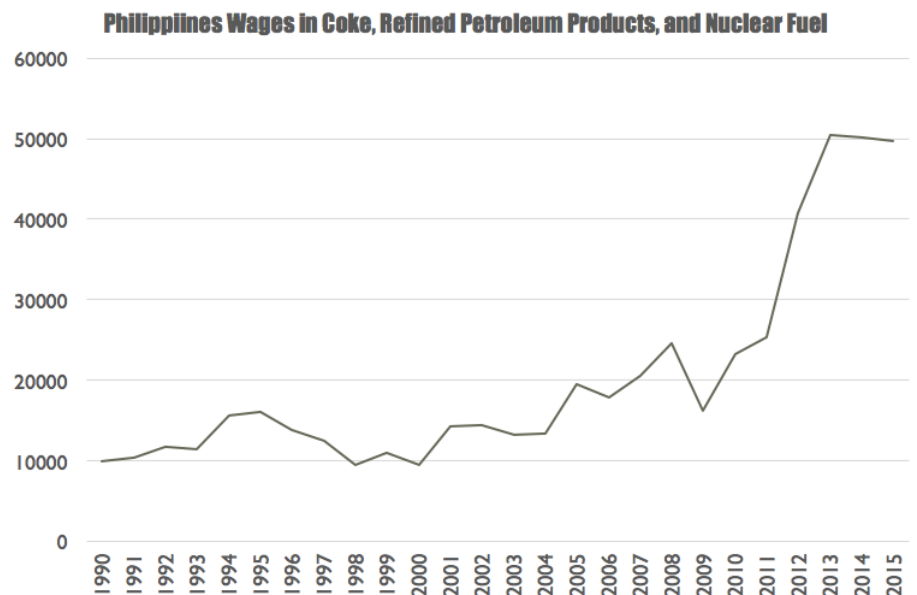
WAGES

The Philippines has only two sectors which stand apart from the rest in terms of wages: coke/petroleum (23), and tobacco (16), shown below for 2015. Like previous countries, women in the Philippines are highly represented in office machinery (30), wearing apparel (18), radio equipment (32), and medical instruments (33), none of which have particularly high wages.



¹⁰² United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "Gender Equality in Malaysia - Fact or Fiction?," https://www.unicef.org/malaysia/media_features2015-gender-equality-in-malaysia-fact-or-fiction.html#.WxPWwVOFPOR.

The coke and petroleum sector (23) is an interesting case in the Philippines and sufficient data to analyze it is not currently available. In the analysis of sectoral female industrial employment, data is only currently available up until 2013, however from 2012 to 2013 there is a substantial spike in reported rates of women



working in coke and petroleum. Overall employment in the sector experienced a moderate increase (1876 employees in 2012 to 1989 employees in 2013) despite many men leaving the sector (1374 men in 2012 versus 750 men in 2013). This resulted in a massive feminization of the industry. Women made up only 26.76% of the workforce in 2012 and in 2013 this rose to 62.29%. To verify if this is an accurate representation of employment numbers, future data should be analyzed as it becomes available. Interestingly, if these numbers are accurate, the female employment increase would coincide with a dramatic spike in wages in the sector as well (shown above). This would be the best example from this research of an industry with high feminization as well as high wages. Currently no explanation for these sudden increases in wages or female employment in the sector have been found.

WORK CONDITIONS

Like Malaysia, economists and consultants believe that the Philippines is currently trying to move away from low wage, low value-added production into high value-added sectors like electronics.¹⁰³ As was previously seen in the example of Malaysia, this is also a key industry for female labor force participation.

A study undertaken by Electronics Watch in 2016 surveyed 34 electronics factory workers in the Philippines, of which 22 were female.¹⁰⁴ They found that while respondents did not report discrimination in hiring based on gender, ethnicity, or religion, there was significant discrimination against workers based on their association with unions.¹⁰⁵ Additionally,

¹⁰³ Heather Timmons, "The Philippines Factory Fire Shows the Grim Reality Behind a Fast-Growth Economy," Quartz, May 18, 2015, <https://qz.com/405744/the-philippines-factory-fire-is-low-wage-darling/>.

¹⁰⁴ Electronics Watch, "Regional Risk Assessment: Semiconductor and Electronics Industry, Philippines," December 2016, http://electronicswatch.org/en/regional-risk-assessment-semiconductor-and-electronics-industry-philippines-december-2016_2522068.pdf, pg.6.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 13.

respondents stated that they were often over worked in terms of hours per day and cumulative overtime per week.¹⁰⁶ As is common in many garment factories, these workers reported a lack of breaks during long 12 hour work days and virtually no days off unless they had a doctor's confirmation that they were ill. Illnesses as such were also frequently reported with the most prevalent illness being unitary tract infections, likely caused by the fact that workers are severely limited in their bathroom breaks during working hours.¹⁰⁷

The emphasis on electronics does not mean, however, that the Philippines has completely abandoned wearing apparel and leather products and footwear. Following in the unfortunate footsteps of Bangladesh, the Philippines had their own factory disaster in 2015 when the Kentex plastic sandal factory burned down causing the deaths of 72¹⁰⁸ workers.¹⁰⁹ Investigations revealed that no proper measures had been taken to protect workers in the event of a fire. There were only two exits, no fire alarms, and the windows had been barred over such that escape was nearly impossible.¹¹⁰ Workers in this factory were paid low wages, often below minimum wage, worked long hours, and inhaled toxic fumes daily due to the nature of their work. Further reports state that workers were not provided with earplugs, face masks, or goggles for welding.¹¹¹ A spokesperson from Associated labor Unions-TUCP states that roughly two-thirds of the workers in the Philippines are victims of labor law violations.¹¹²

PREGNANT WORKERS AND MATERNITY LEAVE

Maternity leave in the Philippines has just been increased in 2017 from 60 days to 120 days, with the option of 150 days for single mothers.¹¹³ Before the new law had been fully implemented, Johnson & Johnson and Uniliver both began meeting these new requirements.

In juxtaposition to the aforementioned countries, human rights and labor law abuses of pregnant workers in the Philippines do not come to the forefront in the available literature. That is certainly not to say that such issues never arise, but they appear much less prevalent than in the previous countries analyzed here.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 14/15.

¹⁰⁸ Rosemarie Francisco, and Karen Lema. "Factory Fire Puts Spotlight on Working Conditions in Philippines." Reuters. May 16, 2015. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-philippines-fire-labour/factory-fire-puts-spotlight-on-working-conditions-in-philippines-idUSKBN00105Q20150516>.

¹⁰⁹ Michelle Chen. "Why the Philippines' Deadly Factory Fire Will Not Be the Last." The Nation. May 26, 2015. <https://www.thenation.com/article/why-philippines-deadly-factory-fire-will-not-be-last/>.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Bernal, Buena. "Dire Conditions Found in Factories around Kentex." Rappler. June 18, 2015. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/96777-dire-conditions-factories-valenzuela-kentex>.

¹¹² Francisco and Lema, 2015.

¹¹³ Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. "Philippines: Companies Increase Maternity Leave Days Beyond 60-Day Requirement of Law." Accessed: April 28, 2018. <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/philippines-companies-increase-maternity-leave-days-beyond-60-day-requirement-of-law>.

GENDER ROLES

Oxfam and Unilever are working to improve gender roles and the equal sharing of household work through a project called the Women's Empowerment and Care initiative, or WE-Care.¹¹⁴ In addition to mapping current gender inequalities in the private lives of individuals, Oxfam and Unilever are trying to influence policy by showing the value of unpaid care work, but there is still progress to be made. An Oxfam report from 2016 shows that for every hour of care work men do, women do 6.6 hours in the Philippines.¹¹⁵

Organizations like the Philippines Commission on Women (PCW) work to combat harmful traditional gender norms with a focus on women's economic empowerment, collection of sex-disaggregated data, and research on gender-sensitive policy.¹¹⁶ While the Philippines performs well in some areas regarding gender, they still struggle with female labor force participation, largely due to the amount of unpaid care work that women are responsible for at home.¹¹⁷

THAILAND

WAGES

Similar to the sectoral distribution of female work, Thailand also has a relatively dispersed distribution of wages throughout different sectors with the top paying sectors in 2011 being coke/petroleum (23), motor vehicles (34), office machinery (30), transport equipment (35), and tobacco (16). Women are highly represented in the production of office machinery, but also in the sectors of wearing apparel (18) and textiles (17) which are nearly the lowest paying in Thailand.

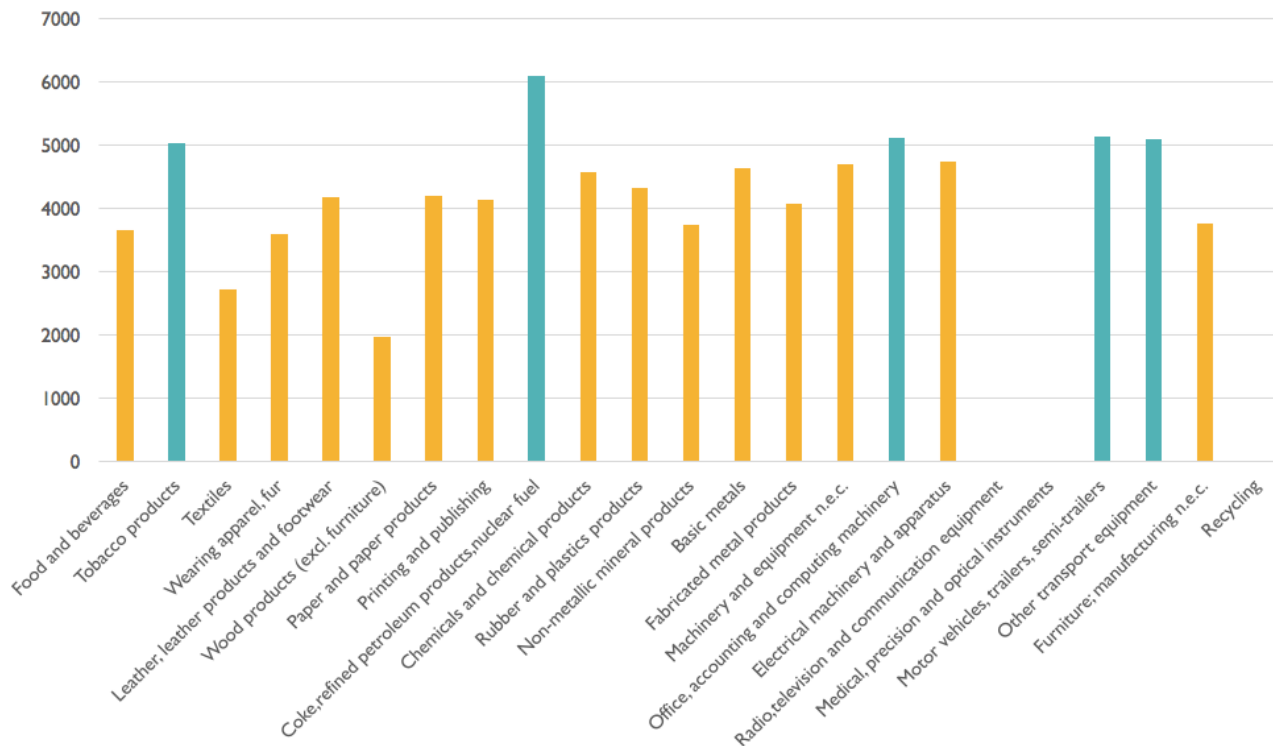
¹¹⁴ Nikki Van Der Gaag, "Women's Work? Challenging Gender Roles in the Philippines," Oxfam, October 17, 2017, <https://views-voices.oxfam.org.uk/gender/wee/2017/10/womens-work-challenging-gender-norms-philippines>.

¹¹⁵ Leyla Karimli, Emma Samman, Lucia Rost, and Thalia Kidder, "Factors and Norms Influencing Unpaid Care Work: Household survey evidence from five rural communities in Colombia, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe," Oxfam, November 15, 2016, <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/factors-and-norms-influencing-unpaid-care-work-household-survey-evidence-from-f-620145>, pg. 16.

¹¹⁶ Fiona MacPhail, "Is Gender Inequality Really so Low in the Philippines?" Australian Institute of International Affairs, March 26, 2015, <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/is-gender-inequality-really-so-low-in-the-philippines/>.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Thailand 2011 Average Sectoral Wages



WORK CONDITIONS

Similar to the situation in Malaysia, Thailand has many migrant workers which, as has been described, increases the vulnerability of workers. Clean Clothes reports that in Thailand workers permits are closely linked with their employment contract which gives employers significant control over their migrant workforce.¹¹⁸ It is reported that if migrants leave their job, they have only seven days to find another or their ability to stay in the country is in jeopardy. This arrangement prevents many workers from properly addressing workplace transgressions.

This is a common issue in many of the countries analyzed here, and also seems to be cross-cutting in terms of manufacturing sectors, affecting women in any fields in which they are prevalent. An issue which GoodElectronics highlights as being of particular relevance for the electronics sector is the firing of vulnerable employees under the pretense of flooding.¹¹⁹ They report that in 2011 many factories closed due to flooding and at least some of those intend to move to Cambodia, Vietnam or Indonesia instead of reopening or moving elsewhere within Thailand. The network claims that this is often a method used to get rid of employees who are unionizing.

Discouraging employees from unionizing is not unique to Thailand. According to the International Labour Organization, Thailand has not ratified convention C87, Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, or C98, Right to Organize and

¹¹⁸ Clean Clothes Campaign, "Report: Migrant Workers in Thailand's Garment Factories. Pay A Living Wage," 2014, <https://cleanclothes.org/resources/publications/migrant-workers-in-thailands-garment-factories>, pg. 20.

¹¹⁹ GoodElectronics, "Labour Issues in the Thai Electronics Industry," April 4, 2012, <https://goodelectronics.org/labour-issues-in-the-thai-electronics-industry/>.

Collective Bargaining.¹²⁰ As has been discussed previously, these working conditions significantly increase the vulnerability of workers.

In general, conditions in industrial factories in Thailand appear to be similar to those in the countries previously analyzed. One important difference in Thailand, however, is the long history that women have of participating in the work force.¹²¹ This is not to say that there is better gender equality in Thailand than in these other countries, but that the society is not going through a period of adjustment in regards to the way women are spending their time.

PREGNANT WORKERS AND MATERNITY LEAVE

As was seen in Malaysia, workers in Thailand are especially at risk of being fired or deported if they are migrants and found to be pregnant.¹²² However, one important distinction exists between the policies in these two countries. In Malaysia it was already noted that pregnancy tests were required for new migrants being hired into factories and that these results were immediately passed to the government, at which time a women found pregnant would not be able to begin working in the country. In Thailand, although these tests are similarly administered, employers are not explicitly required to take them into consideration during the hiring process.¹²³ This system does not always provide a better outcome for workers, as some employers may still choose to use pregnancy as a basis for discrimination. Reports of interviews with migrant workers in Thailand from Fair Labor indicate that in reality the practice of pregnancy discrimination varies. They specifically highlight the difference between two large industrial zones, one on the border of Myanmar and the other near Bangkok.¹²⁴ In the former it is reported that pregnancy discrimination is quite common while the opposite is true in the latter.

Once workers in the Myanmar-border-area are pregnant they report to Fair Labor that they have the option of getting an abortion, often done at home, or of maintaining the pregnancy and continuing to work.¹²⁵ Those interviewed state that their workloads were not lightened in response to the pregnancy, that they were required to return to work 20 days after the birth, and that they received no pay for that leave time. In contrast, women in the area surrounding Bangkok report having lighter workloads during pregnancy.¹²⁶

Despite these reports from migrant workers, Thai laws currently allows new mothers to take 45 days of paid and 45 days unpaid maternity leave.¹²⁷ Women are in the process of lobbying to extend the total allowance to 120 days. Based on the reports presented above,

¹²⁰ Arun Kumar, "International Labour Standards and Thai Trade Unions Agenda for Labour Law Reforms," International Labour Organization (ILO), March 10, 2017, http://www.ilo.org/asia/countries/thailand/WCMS_546209/lang-en/index.htm.

¹²¹ John N. Edwards, Theodore D. Fuller, Sairudee Vorakitphokatorn and Santhat Sermsri, "Female Employment and Marital Instability: Evidence from Thailand," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 54 no. 1 (1992): 59-68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/353275>, pg. 66/67.

¹²² Ibid., 30/31.

¹²³ Fair Labor Association, 2018, 33.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 36/37.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 38/39.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 37.

¹²⁷ Penchan Charoensuthipan, "Call for More Maternity Leave Resurfaces," Bangkok Post, March 9, 2018, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/general/1424754/call-for-more-maternity-leave-resurfaces>.

however, it seems unlikely that these increases would help the migrant women in the country.

GENDER ROLES

Anecdotal evidence speaking to the nature of gender roles in Thailand comes from a male, Thai political economist called Kriangsak Teerakowitkajorn who writes about his experience listening to an all-female panel in Chiang Mai on International Women's Day 2017.¹²⁸ Teerakowitkajorn notes that despite the fact that the four women on the panel were all employed, and that some of them were the only member of the family bringing home money, they all still felt that their husbands were not supportive enough in terms of household work. The women reported that their husbands viewed household responsibilities to be the job of women. To remedy this they proposed multiple changes: gender equality education in schools, improved maternity leave policies, and better laws regarding child support payments from men in the event of divorce.

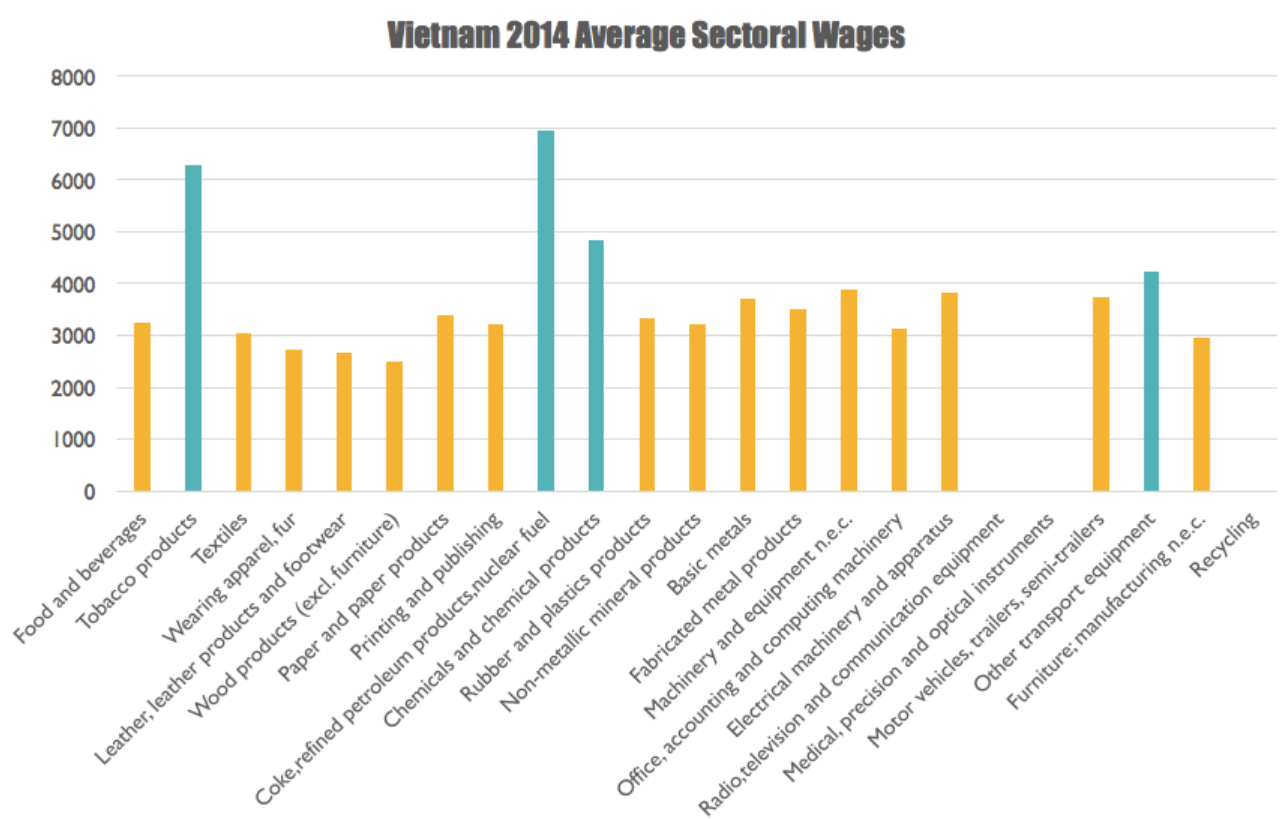
To his credit, Teerakowitkajorn rightly argues that men need to support women in their fight against these unequal norms in the private and public spheres. He suggests psychological as well as practical changes. On the one hand, men should realize the relevance of care work. On the other hand, he argues that men should help with household work on a daily basis and support women's movements for political change.

VIETNAM

WAGES

In Vietnam, women are highly represented in the manufacturing of wearing apparel (18), leather (19), office machinery (30), medical instruments (33), and radio equipment (32). None of these sectors is among the highest paying in Vietnam.

¹²⁸ Kriangsak Teerakowitkajorn, "Women Workers in Thailand's Caring Economy," New Mandala, March 8, 2017, <http://www.newmandala.org/women-workers-thailands-caring-economy/>.



WORK CONDITIONS

A report published by ActionAid Vietnam in 2017 on the garment industry highlights the difficult conditions women work under in this sector.¹²⁹ In particular they emphasize the short-lived nature of a career in garment manufacturing, as factories prefer to hire young women. Results from a 2015-2016 BetterWork Vietnam survey show that while employed these women face many different forms of rights violations. Of 257 factories surveyed, BetterWork Vietnam shows that non-compliance with Vietnamese labor laws is common.¹³⁰ The areas of collective bargaining, paid leave, employment contracts, contract termination, occupational safety and health, and working time all have a particularly high percentage of factories committing violations.¹³¹ According to their measures, for instance, Worker Protection laws are violated by 89% of the 257 factories and 73% do not follow guidelines regarding chemicals and hazardous substances.

Within the garment industry in Vietnam, women are even further segregated in terms of which particular jobs they do within the factories. Around 55% of employees in factories are women working as sewers while men often occupy higher-level positions.¹³² This is arguably due to gender stereotypes even within the sector. One factory manager reportedly told ActionAid that this was women's work due to its "low intensity" which allows women

¹²⁹ ActionAid, "Stitching a Better Future: Is Vietnam's Boom in Garment Manufacturing Good for Women?" November 2017, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/en_stitching_a_better_future_final_1.pdf, pg. 5.

¹³⁰ BetterWork Vietnam, "Annual Report 2017 an Industry and Compliance Review," 2017, <https://betterwork.org/blog/portfolio/better-work-vietnam-annual-report-2017/>, pg. 10.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Marzia Fontana, and Andrea Silberman, "Better Work Discussion Paper No. 13: Analysing Better Work Data from a Gender Perspective: A Preliminary Exploration of Worker Surveys with Focus on Vietnam," December 2013, <https://betterwork.org/global/wp-content/uploads/DP13.pdf>, pg. 12.

to maintain enough energy to take care of household work when they return home in the evenings.¹³³ Beliefs like these about women's working abilities and household responsibilities after work are particularly harmful to the empowerment of women and their integration throughout different sectors of employment. Unfortunately, as has been alluded to, these are not the only problems Vietnamese women face. Garment workers are also subjected to longer-than-legal working hours, lower than acceptable wages, and violence and sexual harassment.¹³⁴

Within the electronics industry in Vietnam, women are subjected to particularly dangerous working conditions. A 2017 publication from the International POPs Elimination Network (IPEN) and the Centre for Gender, Family and Environment in Development (CGFED) provides an in-depth analysis of a Samsung factory in Vietnam. Of the 45 women surveyed in the study, none had a copy of their work contract though this is required to be given to them by Vietnamese law.¹³⁵ On a positive note, the women report that during hiring no preference was made between married and unmarried women or between women with children or without.¹³⁶ However, those with children report that at this time they are not able to be living with them.

Further indications of poor work environment include reports from all women of dizziness and faintings on the job.¹³⁷ While these conditions are also quite common in the garment industry, the chemical use in the electronics industry comes with additional risks. One workshop in 2013 had 6 pregnant workers experience miscarriages, one of which occurred during the 7th month of pregnancy.¹³⁸ Additionally, one mother required an abortion due to the fetus' development of birth defects.

In addition to these risks for pregnant workers, the ministry of labor admitted to IPEN and CGFED that, despite not having enough data to unequivocally prove this, working in the electronics industry can lead to cancer and heart attacks due to various workplace hazards such as chemicals, electronic waves, and radiation.¹³⁹

These reports undermine the common impression that the electronics industry is inherently safer for employees than other forms of industry such as garments.¹⁴⁰ Although employees often work in factories with air conditioning, a luxury garment factories often forego for the sake of profits, the chemicals involved in the production process come with their own, potentially worse, problems.

¹³³ ActionAid 2017, 13.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 12-15.

¹³⁵ IPEN and CGFED, "Stories of Women Workers in Vietnam's Electronics Industry," November 2017, http://ipen.org/sites/default/files/documents/FINAL_Stories%20of%20Women%20Workers%20in%20Vietnam%27s%20Electronics%20Industry%20FINAL%20Nov%202017.pdf, pg. 20.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 6.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 18.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 17.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

PREGNANT WORKERS AND MATERNITY LEAVE

A 2012 report from the ILO comparing maternity leave policies applauds Vietnam for increasing their leave from 4 to 6 month in 2012, putting it in the top five Asian countries for maternity leave length.¹⁴¹ Financing for these leaves in 58% of counties and territories is obtained through social security and around 25% of counties and territories maintain that employers should pay. During this 6 month period, new mothers are entitled to 100% of their average salary leading up to the birth.¹⁴²

ActionAid, though often quite critical of any labor condition infractions they find, does not specifically report any abuses of the rights of pregnant women in Vietnam. On the contrary, their report supports the statements by the ILO regarding the entitlements for maternity leave and they add that pregnant workers are additionally protected from certain types of work during pregnancy including night-time, overtime and “dangerous” work.¹⁴³ ActionAid further notes that workers cannot be fired due to their pregnancy. Where more problems begin to occur for mothers seems to be after childbirth when they attempt to balance reentering the workforce and an uneven share of childcare responsibilities at home.

GENDER ROLES

When it comes to gender roles in Vietnam, ActionAid reports that women are expected to do most of the unpaid care work. It is stated that there are not enough public services available to help women with these tasks, especially noting the lack of childcare options for children between the ages of 6 and 36 months.¹⁴⁴ This is especially difficult for working migrant women as they are less likely to have older family members in the area who can take over the childcare responsibilities for them while at work.

A two-year, longitudinal study which began in 2015 shows diversity among regions in terms of time spent by men versus women on childcare.¹⁴⁵ The region with the most equal distribution, Ha Glang, shows men on average spending 55 minutes per day compared to women’s 68 minutes per day. This varies greatly from Tra Vinh where men spend less than twenty minutes per day compared to women’s contribution of over 60 minutes. Even more unique, however, is the region of Vinh Long, where men are actually reported to spend more time caring for children than women, despite both genders allegedly spending less than 35 minutes per day on childcare activities.

¹⁴¹ International Labour Organization, “Despite Long Maternity Leave, Viet Nam is Left Behind in Paternity Protection,” May 13, 2014, http://www.ilo.org/hanoi/Informationresources/Publicinformation/Pressreleases/WCMS_243007/lang-en/index.htm.

¹⁴² Dezan Shira & Associates, “Maternity Leave in Vietnam,” Vietnam Briefing, December 4, 2015. <http://www.vietnam-briefing.com/news/maternity-leave-vietnam.html/>.

¹⁴³ ActionAid 2017, 16.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁵ ActionAid. B, “Unpaid Care Work: Redistribution for Sustainable Development,” March 2018, <http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/ucw3.pdf>, pg. 24.

DISCUSSION

LIMITATIONS

One limitation of this analysis is the lack of comparison between women's working conditions in industry and their conditions in other forms of employment. It has been noted by others that although conditions and wages for women in industry may be less than desirable, they may be better than those in other sectors.¹⁴⁶ That being said, this research does show that wages could be higher for women if sectoral segregation did not typically keep them confined to the worst paying sectors of manufacturing (with the possible, yet unconfirmed, exception of women in petroleum in the Philippines).

Another, somewhat obvious, limitation of this analysis of job quality is the qualitative nature of the aspects being examined. Anecdotal evidence, although eye opening, is not highly comparable between countries and is inherently hard to quantify. While the wage component of this analysis is an exception, when it comes to treatment of pregnant workers and mothers or the situation of gender roles it is hard to establish values which accurately capture the experiences of workers. This naturally also makes it somewhat difficult to compare countries with one another in an objective manner, although this will nevertheless be attempted.

COMPOUNDING FACTORS

As has been alluded to, there are a few specific compounding factors that make conditions worse for women working in these sectors in the countries analyzed here. Among these are their common status as migrants, the use by their employers of short-term work contracts, and the prevalence of foreign direct investment as a means of company finance, particularly in the garment sector.

Through the course of this research it has become apparent that the distinction between migrant and local workers is of great importance to the discussion of women, employment, and job quality, particularly in Malaysia and Thailand. As has been discussed, in the industries upon which this research has focused, wearing apparel and electronics, the large majority of the migrant workers in question are also women, creating overlapping layers of discrimination. This observation supports the theory of the dual labor market which noted that women are often in the secondary labor market. Qualities of the secondary labor market which were noted included difficulty unionizing, minority status (based on gender or another aspect), low wages, and a high turn-over rate for employees. While previously it seemed that minorities and women were being grouped together in the same category, at least where Malaysia and Thailand are concerned, these may actually be the same group which is at risk: minority women.

¹⁴⁶ Raymond Robertson, Hongyang Di, Drusilla Brown, and Rajeev Dehejia, "Working Conditions, Work Outcomes, and Policy in Asian Developing Countries," Asian Development Bank Working Paper Series, September 2016, <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/198551/ewp-497.pdf>, pg. 4.

That these factors overlap in certain countries makes it difficult to get a representative overview of the situation for women in a given country. Although the broad spectrum scope of this study prioritized large-scale country comparison, future work looking at the details in terms of difference between women within given countries would be beneficial.

Although not heavily focused on before, short-term contracts are another means by which workers, particularly in the garment sector, are controlled by their employers.^{147, 148} It was noted in conjunction with pregnancy that women's contracts are often not extended if they are to be found pregnant and this loophole is how firms can get away with essentially firing women for pregnancy. This is also used to deter unionizing.

Before globalization, unions were a way for employees to join together and use their combined power to protect their rights against otherwise abusive companies. As has been discussed, in many countries in this study, unionization is low and often deterred by employers even with physical violence. This is the first problem.

The second problem is that even if these workers were able to properly unionize and fight for their rights, the heavy reliance on foreign investment in the garment and electronics industries means that firms may decide to leave the country if conditions do not suit them.¹⁴⁹ Due to the impact of foreign firms on GDP, countries themselves may not be overly keen on protecting their workers from the rights abuses of these companies. The Samsung factory discussed in the Vietnam section, for example, is owned by South Korea and since 1996 has become the largest foreign investor in Vietnam. This factory alone employs approximately 137,000 workers.¹⁵⁰ It is unlikely that Vietnam would want to risk losing such an investment in their economy.

¹⁴⁷ Man-Kwun Chan, "Contract Labour in Global Garment Supply Chains: Key Characteristics and Recent Trends," Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), November 2013, http://www.wiego.org/sites/wiego.org/files/publications/files/Chan_Contract_Labour_Report_final_2013.pdf, pg. 16.

¹⁴⁸ Aruna Kashyap, "Tackling Sexual harassment in the Garment Industry," Human Rights Watch, December 11, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/12/11/tackling-sexual-harassment-garment-industry>.

¹⁴⁹ ActionAid 2017, 5.

¹⁵⁰ IPEN and CGFED, "Stories of Women Workers in Vietnam's Electronics Industry," November 2017, http://ipen.org/sites/default/files/documents/FINAL_Stories%20of%20Women%20Workers%20in%20Vietnam%27s%20Electronics%20Industry%20FINAL%20Nov%202017.pdf, pg. 5.

BRAUNSTEIN'S FRAMEWORK

Growth and social reproduction

Demand: Growth	Supply: The distribution of social reproduction	
	Low road: Feminization of responsibility and obligation (FRO)	High road: Gender egalitarian (GE)
Wage-led/ altruistic	Time squeeze Higher wages for women are good for growth, but more market participation squeezes time and lowers human capacities production. Growth is elusive or unstable.	Mutual Higher wages for women are good for growth, and more market participation increases human capacities production. Growth and social reproduction reinforce one another.
Profit-led/ individualistic	Exploitation Higher wages for women lower growth, and more market participation squeezes time and lowers human capacities production. Growth is partly based on exploiting women's labour and human resources.	Wage squeeze Higher wages for women lower growth, but more market participation enhances human capacities production. Growth is elusive or unstable.

Table 1 "Growth and Social Reproduction" (Braunstein 2015, 18).

In the case of **BANGLADESH**, it is quite clear that Braunstein's lose-lose growth situation is occurring. Wages in the wearing apparel industry, the most feminized sector of industry employment, are quite low compared to others. In addition to this, it is clear from the reports of UNICEF and Human Rights Watch that labor conditions in the sector are poor. These factors indicated profit-led growth. This is combined with a "low road" care scenario, or what Braunstein refers to as the feminization of responsibility and obligation. As evidence shows that traditional gender roles are still strong within Bangladesh, much of the household and childcare responsibilities are falling on women. This, combined with their poorly paid employment in the public sphere is leading to a situation in which women are being exploited for the benefit of the country's growth.

MALAYSIA, despite also having low wages in electronics and wearing apparel, the highest sectors of female employment, has many different issues than Bangladesh which are hard to analyze within Braunstein's framework. Keeping the human rights abuses and treatment of migrants aside, Malaysia appears to perform slightly better than Bangladesh in terms of their division of household labor and care work. Although no one has argued that it is a gender equal society, reports over the past decades show that Malaysia is moving in that direction and as such has progressed a bit further than other Southeast and Southern Asian countries. As stated by Braunstein herself, her framework should be conceived of as two axes running on a continuum and not as four distinct and rigid categories. With this in mind, Malaysia should be placed somewhere between the full exploitation scenario and the wage squeeze, due to the fact that the country appears to be between the "low road" and "high road" where gender roles are concerned. This is not to say, however, that the overall situation in Malaysia is necessarily better than the situation in Bangladesh, as the high percentage of migrants and their inhuman treatment must remain in the picture as well.

In the **PHILIPPINES**, despite their intended focus on the electronic sector, the wearing apparel sector is still a large employer of women and both sectors perpetuate human rights

and workers' rights abuses. The work of organizations such as Oxfam to improve the gender equality situation for women certainly push the Philippines towards the progressive side of the Braunstein framework in terms of low versus high road development, but not far enough to be considered a wage squeeze scenario as women are still not highly supported by their male counterparts or the government when it comes to care work.

In addition to the electronic and wearing apparel sectors, based on the data obtained from UNIDO and World Bank, it is possible that petroleum is also a new sector for women since 2013. Unfortunately, due to a lack of sex-disaggregated sectoral employment data after 2013, it is impossible to say whether this spike in employment and wages in this sector is a mistake in the data or a highly relevant change. If it can later be confirmed that the data is correct, within this sector the case could be made that the Philippines would be shifting towards a time squeeze scenario. Although not as preferable as the mutual growth scenario, this would certainly be an improvement over the exploitation case being experienced at the moment.

As was seen in Malaysia, **THAILAND** also experiences migrant issues which prevent a uniformed analysis of the situation for women. Due to the vulnerable position of migrant women in Thailand, the lack of unionization, the use of short term contracts and floods as an excuse to not keep employees on, the quality of labor there does not appear to be optimal. That being said, with the feminization of the office machinery sector and the high wages paid in this field, women are represented in one of the best paying types of manufacturing in the country, something that has not been seen in other countries.

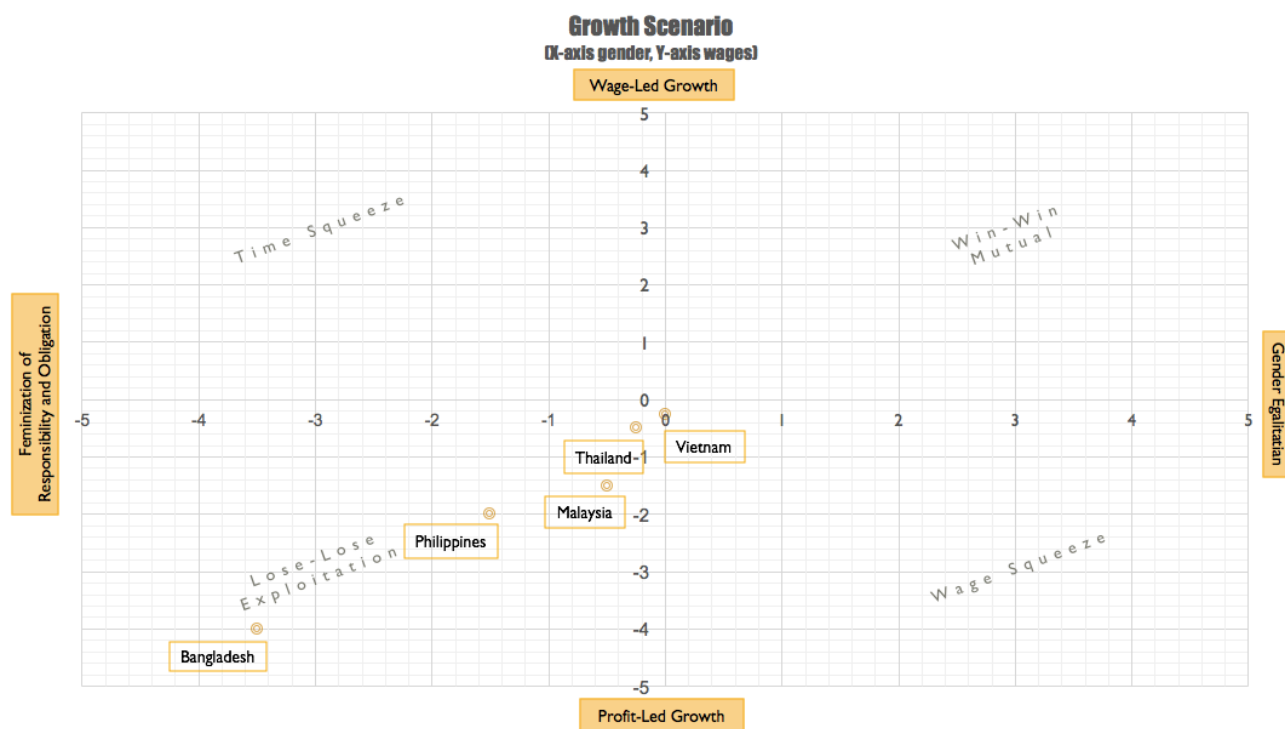
In terms of the gender norms in Thailand, there is still improvement to be made when it comes to sharing household chores and care work. When it comes to migrants, discrimination based on pregnancy is not required by law as it is in other countries, but there are reports of it occurring. With these factors in mind, it is difficult to place Thailand in Braunstein's framework. It is clear that there is much variation between women within Thailand based on which sector of industry they work in as well as their migrant status. That being said, in comparison to the other countries already analyzed, Thailand appears to be doing better in most regards. Still, with low pay in wearing apparel and textiles, traditional division of care work at home, and many migrant rights abuses which disproportionately affect women working in the manufacturing industry, it cannot yet be argued that Thailand has escaped the exploitation growth scenario for all women.

As it stands, **VIETNAM** appears to be right on the threshold of leaving the exploitation growth scenario. The information gathered shows there is much diversity in the situation of women in Vietnam both between various geographic regions and between industrial sectors. The garment sector, while still below the standards of what the Western developed world would consider decent work, performs better in terms of upholding human rights than in other countries analyzed here, such as Bangladesh. The electronics industry, however, comes with many chemical hazards which are not to be overlooked. Both industries are not yet paying workers well enough to put the country securely within the "wage-led" growth category. The analysis of care work also revealed a wide variety of reports. Maternity leave policies seem to be more respected in Vietnam than in other countries and with the ActionAid report indicating improvements in men's acceptance of

childcare responsibilities, Vietnam may well be on the right track to a gender egalitarian society, though the road ahead is still long. With this analysis in mind, depending on which variable improves faster, Vietnam may soon be in either the time squeeze or wage squeeze growth scenario. Though not optimum, they are both improvements on exploitation and therefore would be developments to cautiously celebrate.

A REGIONAL COMPARISON

Based on wage data and the impressions gathered of the quality of work in the countries analyzed here, the two variable in question have been arranged along separate axes to create four quadrants representing each of Braunstein's growth scenarios. By approximating each country's standing on each variable, it is possible to plot their positions relative to one another and compare growth scenarios. Though all countries are currently experiencing some degree of exploitative growth, there are ways that each can improve on both factors.



CONCLUSION

As the original question posed for this research was regarding the relation between trade and female labor force participation, this is worth addressing in so far as that is possible from the results obtained here. While it was not able to be shown that trade increased female labor force participation as such, it was shown that for the observable period, trade increases did correlate to increases in female shares of employment in industry. It was also shown that this employment is contained within a handful of sectors of manufacturing, mainly garments and electronics. In the countries analyzed, these sectors pay some of the lowest wages in manufacturing and are home to many varieties of human rights and labor rights abuses. As a result, the original hypothesis that increased trade would lead to higher FLFP, but not better job quality, can neither be fully accepted or rejected. Rather, a modified version of the hypothesis can be accepted: increasing trade increases female employment in certain sectors of manufacturing in which low job quality is the norm.

Due to the heavy involvement of foreign direct investment in these industries, companies are not often loyal to the country they are currently producing in, rather they look for the cheapest location for production. This puts employees and host countries at a disadvantage when it comes to fighting for and protecting their rights. The fear is that if they push too hard, the company will simply pull out of the country and find another, cheaper, location for production. Due to this observation, it may be argued that trade increases, a stand-in for globalization, are a double edged sword for women. Despite providing women with jobs in the manufacturing sector that they might not have had before, the quality of their working conditions and the security of their jobs leave much to be desired. A heavy reliance on foreign-run companies with no ties to the production country disadvantages women by placing them at the mercy of profit-maximizing international companies. In this regard, women are simultaneously experiencing socio-economic empowerment and exploitation in this phase of industrialization.¹⁵¹

The preference for women in these sectors of manufacturing may be the results of various different factors. First, as highlighted, gender stereotypes about work are influential. Regardless of the reason for their development, these stereotypes are pervasive across cultures and tend to affect not only hiring managers, but also the workers themselves. Second, the fact that women are often seen as secondary labor market workers makes them vulnerable to exploitation by profit-maximizing firms and therefore the optimum workers for such jobs. In such circumstances women are considered easier to fire than men as they are typically secondary breadwinners, struggle to unionize in these countries, and are willing to accept below-standard working conditions. The one factor related to women that complicates this picture for employers is social reproduction.

Although in many developed countries the risk of pregnancy might make employers reluctant to hire women, in the countries analyzed here this risk is done away with in one of two ways. Employers prevent dealing with pregnancy either by explicitly prohibiting and

¹⁵¹ Anne Clawen, "Female Labour Migration to Bangkok: Transforming Rural-Urban Interactions and Social Networks through Globalization," *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 17 no. 3 (2002): 53-78. http://www.unescapsdd.org/files/documents/PUB_APPJ-Vol-17-No-3.pdf, p. 72.

testing for pregnancy, or by making workers so fearful of losing their jobs that they themselves choose to have abortions.

In the countries analyzed this creates a situation where women are forced to make a decision between family and employment. It is clear from the analysis presented above that women who attempt to have both end up in very stressful and unhealthy situations. In a forthcoming publication, Marzia Fontana argues that this decision between family and work is hindering FLFP in Vietnam.¹⁵² In personal correspondence, Stephanie Seguino disagrees, arguing that due to the preference in these countries for hiring young, unmarried, childless women this argument does not apply.¹⁵³ Evidence presented earlier would support Fontana's argument. A woman quoted in the Bangkok Post discusses her personal struggle with this choice:

*"I quit my job at the factory when I had my first child," said Eungpha Chumket, a former automotive factory worker and a mother of two children. "I wanted to be a part of her growth. Working at the factory would have provided her money, but no family. Raising a child doesn't work that way."*¹⁵⁴

Based on the data presented here, trade is not inherently bad for women, but it does impact the distribution of their labor in a noteworthy manner. As we saw from the countries analyzed in this research, sectoral segregation remains strong in Asia and women are congregated into sectors with lower-than-average pay. To prevent this consolidation and exploitation, more focus needs to be put on the quality of labor within the industry sector in developing countries.

This could be achieved through gender-responsive industrial policy. This would involve including women in the plans for industrialization from the very beginning. Done properly it would be possible to integrate women across different sectors of manufacturing and stop their congregation in low-value, low-quality sectors such as garments and electronics. In this way, women could be shielded from some of the effects they are experiencing now. If women are seen as secondary labor market workers and they are congregated in one sector, it is easier for them to be exploited. If the labor market is able to be merged and sectors become more gender equal, it will be less likely that human rights and labor rights abuses will disproportionately fall on women.

Improving the lives of women in the countries analyzed here would need to happen on two fronts, each corresponding to one of Braunstein's factors. In regards to care responsibilities, countries can either run campaigns to challenge traditional gender norms which limit men's involvement in household and care work, or they can increase their social provisions which take over some of this work. By providing government subsidized childcare and nursing homes, countries help lift the burden of care work from women and free up some of their time for other activities of their choosing. As was shown in the country

¹⁵² Marzia Fontana and the UNIDO Gender Team, "Inclusive and Sustainable Industrialization: The Gender Dimension," Forthcoming publication, last edited March 2018.

¹⁵³ Stephanie Seguino, e-mail message to Marzia Fontana and author, May 25, 2018.

¹⁵⁴ Paritta Wangkiat, "How Women Pay the Costs of Development," Bangkok Post, March 11, 2018, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/special-reports/1426155/how-women-pay-the-costs-of-development>.

analyses, proper maternity leave policies are also an area for improvement and although not implemented in many developed countries either, paternity leave policies would be a great leap forward. In addition to campaigns to break down gender norms, these policies could go a long way to creating a more gender egalitarian distribution of social reproduction responsibilities.

The other factor analyzed here, wages, lends itself to multiple different governmental approaches. First and foremost, governments should sign and enforce international agreements protecting their citizens' right to unionize. This would help workers fight against companies which infringe upon their rights. That being said, foreign firms which can threaten to move production to another country are more difficult to control through traditional union methods. In light of this, if free trade and globalization are to be embraced, they must be undertaken with the protection and enforcement of global labor laws to prevent companies from being able to create a race to the bottom between countries. With proper implementation of agreed upon labor laws, trade liberalization can be promoted and workers' rights can be protected all over the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abizadeh, Sohrab and Hugh Grant. "Trade Liberalization and Employment: Verdoorn's Law Meets the Asian Tigers." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 20 no.4 (1999): 717-729. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.1999.9669867>.
- Acar, Sevil. "Globalization and Labor Markets in the Developing World: Gendered Dynamics." *E-Cadernos Ces*. (2009). <http://journals.openedition.org/eces/290>.
- ActionAid. "Stitching a Better Future: Is Vietnam's Boom in Garment Manufacturing Good for Women?" November 2017. http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/en_stitching_a_better_future_final_1.pdf.
- ActionAid. B. "Unpaid Care Work: Redistribution for Sustainable Development." March 2018. <http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/ucw3.pdf>.
- Asian Development Bank. A. "Gender Equality and the Labor Market: Cambodia, Kazakhstan, and the Philippines." Asian Development Bank. 2013. <http://hdl.handle.net/11540/797>.
- Asian Development Bank. B. "Synthesis Report: Female Labor Force Participation in Asia - Constraints and Challenges." October 2016. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/project-document/201716/47363-001-tacr-01.pdf>.
- Barron, R.D., and G.M. Norris. "Sexual Divisions and the Dual Labor Market." in *Sexual Divisions Revisited*, edited by Leonard D., and Allen S, 153-177. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-21191-3_7.
- Beneria, Lourdes. "Globalization and Gender: Women's Labor in the Global Economy." *Globalization in the 21st Century* (2010): 155-176. https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1057/9780230106390_8.
- Bernal, Buena. "Dire Conditions Found in Factories around Kentex." Rappler. June 18, 2015. <https://www.rappler.com/nation/96777-dire-conditions-factories-valenzuela-kentex>.
- BetterWork Vietnam. "Annual Report 2017 an Industry and Compliance Review." 2017. <https://betterwork.org/blog/portfolio/better-work-vietnam-annual-report-2017/>.
- Bormann, Sarah, Pathma Krishnan, and Monika E. Neuner. "Migration in a Digital Age: Migrant Workers in the Malaysian Electronics Industry: Case Studies on Jabil Circuit and Flextronics." *World Economy, Ecology and Development*. December 2010. http://electronicswatch.org/migration-in-a-digital-age_3542.pdf.
- Braunstein, Elissa. "Economic Growth and Social Reproduction." UN Women. September 2015. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2015/9/dps-economic-growth-and-social-reproduction>.

- Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. "Philippines: Companies Increase Maternity Leave Days Beyond 60-Day Requirement of Law." Accessed: April 28, 2018. <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/philippines-companies-increase-maternity-leave-days-beyond-60-day-requirement-of-law>.
- Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. "Religions." Accessed April 28, 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html#bg>.
- Chan, Man-Kwun. "Contract Labour in Global Garment Supply Chains: Key Characteristics and Recent Trends." Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). November 2013. http://www.wiego.org/sites/wiego.org/files/publications/files/Chan_Contract_Labour_Report_final_2013.pdf.
- Charoensuthipan, Penchan. "Call for More Maternity Leave Resurfaces." Bangkok Post. March 9, 2018. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/general/1424754/call-for-more-maternity-leave-resurfaces>.
- Chen, Michelle. "Why the Philippines' Deadly Factory Fire Will Not Be the Last." The Nation. May 26, 2015. <https://www.thenation.com/article/why-philippines-deadly-factory-fire-will-not-be-last/>.
- Clean Clothes Campaign. "Report: Migrant Workers in Thailand's Garment Factories. Pay A Living Wage." 2014. <https://cleanclothes.org/resources/publications/migrant-workers-in-thailands-garment-factories>.
- Dalla Costa, Mariarosa. "Women and the Subversion of the Community." 1971. <https://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/357k/357kDallaCostaSubversionTable.pdf>.
- Dezan Shira & Associates. "Maternity Leave in Vietnam." Vietnam Briefing. December 4, 2015. <http://www.vietnam-briefing.com/news/maternity-leave-vietnam.html/>.
- Edwards, John N., Theodore D. Fuller, Sairudee Vorakitphokatorn and Santhat Sermsri. "Female Employment and Marital Instability: Evidence from Thailand." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 54 no. 1 (1992): 59-68. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/353275>.
- Elborgh-Woytek, Katrin, Monique Newiak, Kalpana Kochhar, Stefania Fabrizio, Kangni Kpodar, Philippe Wingender, Benedict Clements, and Gerd Schwartz. "Women, Work, and the Economy: Macroeconomic Gains from Gender Equity." International Monetary Fund. September 2013. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2013/sdn1310.pdf>.
- Electronics Watch. "Regional Risk Assessment: Semiconductor and Electronics Industry, Philippines." December 2016. http://electronicswatch.org/en/regional-risk-assessment-semiconductor-and-electronics-industry-philippines-december-2016_2522068.pdf.
- Engels, Friedrich. "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State." *Marx/Engels Internet Archive*. Published October 1884, Translation modified 2010. Available online at https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/origin_family.pdf.

- Fair Labor Association. "Triple Discrimination: Woman, Pregnant, and Migrant: Preventing Pregnancy Discrimination among Temporary Migrant Workers: Lessons from Malaysia, Taiwan, and Thailand." March 2018.
http://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/triple_discrimination_woman_pregnant_and_migrant_march_2018.pdf.
- Fontana, Marzia, and Andrea Silberman. "Better Work Discussion Paper No. 13: Analysing Better Work Data from a Gender Perspective: A Preliminary Exploration of Worker Surveys with Focus on Vietnam." December 2013.
<https://betterwork.org/global/wp-content/uploads/DP13.pdf>.
- Fontana, Marzia and Cristina Paciello. Food and Agriculture Organization. "Gender Dimensions of Rural and Agricultural Employment: Differentiated Pathways out of Poverty. A Global Perspective." 2010.
<http://www.fao.org/docrep/013/i1638e/i1638e01.pdf>.
- Fontana, Marzia and the UNIDO Gender Team. "Inclusive and Sustainable Industrialization: The Gender Dimension." Forthcoming publication. Last edited March 2018.
- Francisco, Rosemarie, and Karen Lema. "Factory Fire Puts Spotlight on Working Conditions in Philippines." Reuters. May 16, 2015.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-philippines-fire-labour/factory-fire-puts-spotlight-on-working-conditions-in-philippines-idUSKBN00105Q20150516>.
- Gaag, Nikki Van Der. "Women's Work? Challenging Gender Roles in the Philippines." Oxfam. October 17, 2017. <https://views-voices.oxfam.org.uk/gender/wee/2017/10/womens-work-challenging-gender-norms-philippines>.
- Gaddis, Isis and Stephan Klasen. "Economic Development, Structural Change, and Women's Labor Force Participation: A Reexamination of the Feminization U Hypothesis." *Journal of Population Economics* 27 no. 3 (2014): 639-681.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s00148-013-0488-2>
- GoodElectronics. "Labour Issues in the Thai Electronics Industry." April 4, 2012.
<https://goodelectronics.org/labour-issues-in-the-thai-electronics-industry/>.
- Hartmann, Heidi I. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union." *Conference of Socialist Economists* 3 no. 2 (1979): 1-33.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/030981687900800102>.
- Hirschman, Charles. "Gender, the Status of Women, and Family Structure in Malaysia." *Malaysian Journal of Economic Studies* 53 no. 1 (2016): 33-50.
<http://jummecc.um.edu.my/index.php/MJES/article/view/2778>.
- Hodal, Kate and Annie Kelly. "Malaysia: Forced Labour Casts Dark Shadow Over Electronics Industry." The Guardian. November 21, 2016.
<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/21/malaysia-forced-labour-casts-dark-shadow-over-electronics-industry>.

- HR in Asia. “Malaysian Employers Must Allow Female Workers to Take 90 Days Maternity Leave.” December 18, 2017. <http://www.hrinasia.com/employer-branding/malaysian-employers-must-allow-female-workers-to-take-90-days-maternity-leave/>.
- Human Rights Watch. A. “Bangladesh: 2 Years After Rana Plaza, Workers Denied Rights: Enforce Labor Law and End Mistreatment of Unions.” April 22, 2015. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/04/22/bangladesh-2-years-after-rana-plaza-workers-denied-rights>.
- Human Rights Watch. B. “Whoever Raises their Head Suffers the Most.” April 22, 2015. http://features.hrw.org/features/HRW_2015_reports/Bangladesh_Garment_Factories/index.html.
- International Labour Organization. “Despite Long Maternity Leave, Viet Nam is Left Behind in Paternity Protection.” May 13, 2014. http://www.ilo.org/hanoi/Informationresources/Publicinformation/Pressreleases/WCMS_243007/lang--en/index.htm.
- IPEN and CGFED. “Stories of Women Workers in Vietnam’s Electronics Industry.” November 2017. http://ipen.org/sites/default/files/documents/FINAL_Stories%20of%20Women%20Workers%20in%20Vietnam%27s%20Electronics%20Industry%20FINAL%20Nov%202017.pdf.
- Karimli, Leyla, Emma Samman, Lucia Rost, and Thalia Kidder. “Factors and Norms Influencing Unpaid Care Work: Household survey evidence from five rural communities in Colombia, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe.” Oxfam. November 15, 2016. <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/factors-and-norms-influencing-unpaid-care-work-household-survey-evidence-from-f-620145>.
- Kashyap, Aruna. “Tackling Sexual harassment in the Garment Industry.” Human Rights Watch. December 11, 2017. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/12/11/tackling-sexual-harassment-garment-industry>.
- Kumar, Arun. “International Labour Standards and Thai Trade Unions Agenda for Labour Law Reforms.” International Labour Organization (ILO). March 10, 2017. http://www.ilo.org/asia/countries/thailand/WCMS_546209/lang--en/index.htm.
- MacPhail, Fiona. “Is Gender Inequality Really so Low in the Philippines?” Australian Institute of International Affairs. March 26, 2015. <http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/is-gender-inequality-really-so-low-in-the-philippines/>.
- MenCare: A Global Fatherhood Campaign. “Eight Fathers Challenging Gender Stereotypes in Bangladesh Tell Their Stories.” October 6, 2017. <https://men-care.org/2017/10/06/eight-fathers-challenging-gender-stereotypes-bangladesh-tell-stories/>.
- Mezentseva, E. “The Gender Economy.” *Problems of Economic Transition* 43, no.7 (2000): 20-37. <https://doi.org/10.2753/PET1061-1991430720>.

- Nagaraj, Anuradha. "Pregnant Migrant Workers in Asia Face Discrimination, Deportation: Report." Reuters. March 26, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-workers-women-health/pregnant-migrant-workers-in-asia-face-discrimination-deportation-report-idUSKBN1H211Q>.
- O'Donnell, Carol. "Major Theories of the Labour Market and Women's Place Within It." *Journal of Industrial Relations* 26, no. 2 (1984): 147-165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002218568402600201>.
- Oxfam. "Underpaid and Undervalued: How Inequality Defines Women's Work in Asia." June 2016. https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/ib-inequality-womens-work-asia-310516.pdf.
- Pearson, Ruth. "'Nimble Fingers' Revisited: Reflections on Women and Third World Industrialization in the Late Twentieth Century." In *Feminist visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy*, edited by Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson, 171-188. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Robertson, Raymond, Hongyang Di, Drusilla Brown, and Rajeev Dehejia. "Working Conditions, Work Outcomes, and Policy in Asian Developing Countries." Asian Development Bank Working Paper Series. September 2016. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/198551/ewp-497.pdf>.
- Seguino, Stephanie. "Gender Inequality and Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Analysis" *World Development* 28 no. 7 (2000): 1211-1230.
- Shenhav, Na'ama. "What Women Want: Family Formation and Labor Market Responses to Marriage Incentives." University of California, Davis. (2016): 1-78. http://economics.ucr.edu/seminars_colloquia/2015-16/applied_economics/Shenhav%20paper%20for%202%204%2016%20job%20talk%20seminar.pdf.
- Standing, Guy. "Global Feminization Through Flexible Labor." *World Development* 17 no. 7 (1989): 1077-1095. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(89\)90170-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(89)90170-8).
- Teerakowitkajorn, Kriangsak. "Women Workers in Thailand's Caring Economy." New Mandala. March 8, 2017. <http://www.newmandala.org/women-workers-thailands-caring-economy/>.
- Timmons, Heather. "The Philippines Factory Fire Shows the Grim Reality Behind a Fast-Growth Economy." Quartz. May 18, 2015. <https://qz.com/405744/the-philippines-factory-fire-is-low-wage-darling/>.
- UNI Global Union. "Bangladeshi Unions Protest for Maternity Leave Equality on International Women's Day." March 9, 2015. <http://www.uniglobalunion.org/news/bangladeshi-unions-protest-maternity-leave-equality-international-womens-day>.
- United Nations. "The World's Women 2015: Trends and Statistics." Chapter 4: "Work". <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/gender/chapter4/chapter4.html>.
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). "Gender Equality in Malaysia - Fact or Fiction?". https://www.unicef.org/malaysia/media_features2015-gender-equality-in-malaysia-fact-or-fiction.html#.WxPWwVOFPOR.

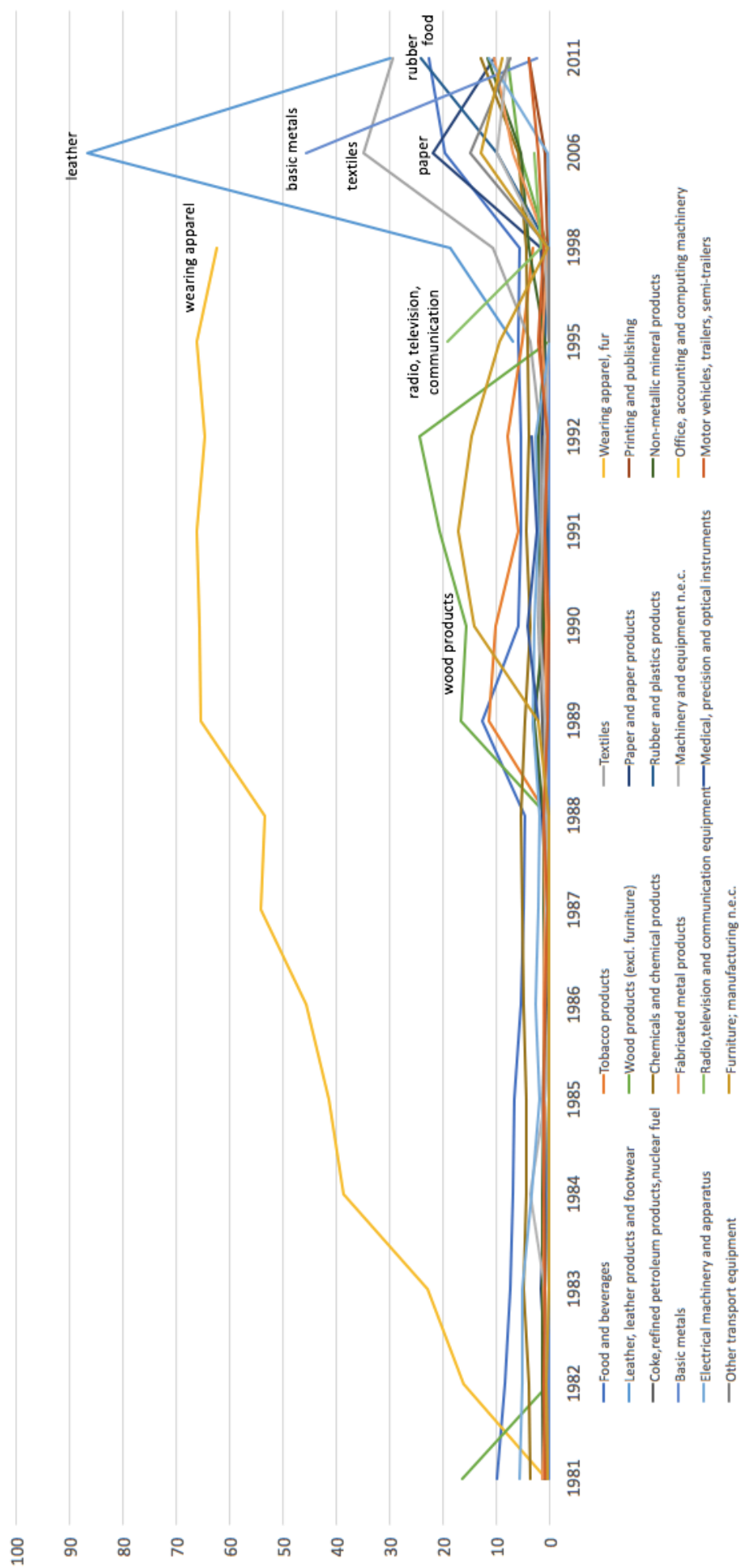
- United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF). “The Ready-Made Garment Sector and Children in Bangladesh.” November 2015.
https://www.unicef.org/csr/files/CSR_BANGLADESH_RMG_REPORT.PDF.
- United Nations Educational, Scientifics, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). “Girl’s Education - The Facts.” October 2013. <https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/sites/gem-report/files/girls-factsheet-en.pdf>.
- United Nations Industrial Development Organization. *INDSTAT 4*. ISIC Revision 3. 2018. UNIDO. <https://stat.unido.org/>.
- Veblen, Thorstein. “The Theory of the Leisure Class.” Originally published 1899. Available online at <http://moglen.law.columbia.edu/LCS/theoryleisureclass.pdf>.
- Verité. “Forced Labor in the Production of Electronic Goods in Malaysia: A Comprehensive Study of Scope and Characteristics.” September 2014. <http://www.verite.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/VeriteForcedLaborMalaysianElectronics2014.pdf>.
- Wangkiat, Paritta. “How Women Pay the Costs of Development.” Bangkok Post. March 11, 2018. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/special-reports/1426155/how-women-pay-the-costs-of-development>.
- Women’s Aid Organisation. “Discrimination Towards Pregnant Women Remains Prevalent in the Malaysian Workplace.” August 9, 2016.
http://www.wao.org.my/news_details.php?nid=383&ntitle=Discrimination+Toward+s+Women+Remains+Prevelant+in+the+Malaysian+Workplace.
- The World Bank. “World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development.” 2011. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/Complete-Report.pdf>.
- The World Bank. *Employment in agriculture, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)*. November, 2017. Distributed by International Labour Organization. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.AGR.EMPL.FE.ZS>.
- The World Bank. *Employment in industry, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)*. November, 2017. Distributed by International Labour Organization. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.IND.EMPL.FE.ZS>.
- The World Bank. *Employment in services, female (% of female employment) (modeled ILO estimate)*. November, 2017. Distributed by International Labour Organization. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.SRV.EMPL.FE.ZS>.
- The World Bank. *Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15-64) (modeled ILO estimate)*. March, 2017. Distributed by International Labour Organization, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.ACTI.FE.ZS>.
- The World Bank. *Trade (% of GDP)*. Distributed by World Bank and OECD. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS>.

APPENDIX I - SECTORAL FEMALE EMPLOYMENT GRAPHS

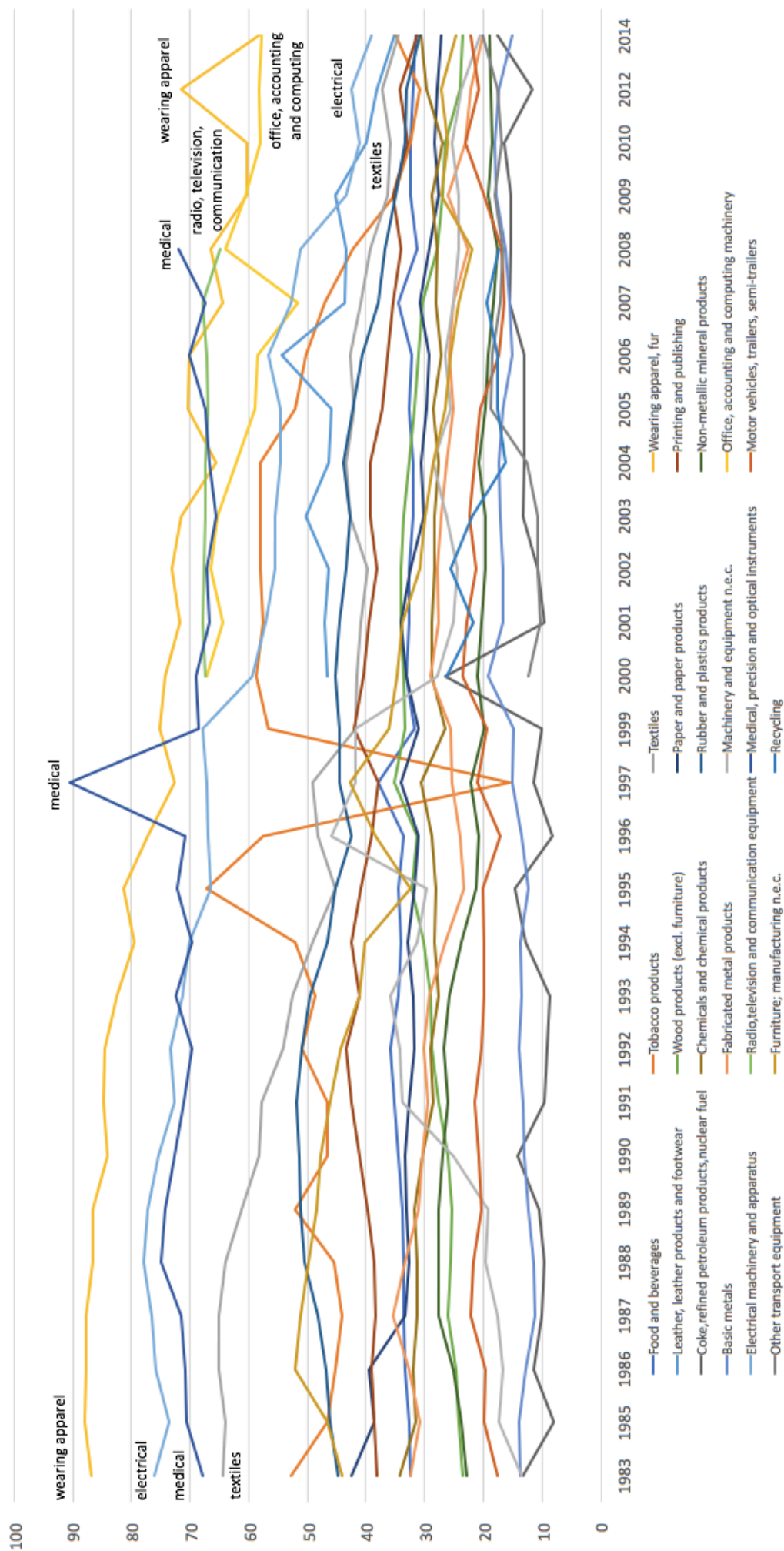
The following graphs display the percentage of employees within each sector for each year which are women. For example, a value of 100% would indicate that ALL employees in a given sector were women, but not that all women were working in this sector. Therefore, this data provides information about the gender distribution within each sector, but says nothing about the importance of the sector in terms of overall female employment, as it may well be the case that 100% of the sector is women, but that the sector only represents 5% of total female employment in a given country. Nevertheless this information is important to identify sectors in which job quality would be of higher relevance for women than for men.

Labels have been added to many of the lines on the following graphs for ease of reading.

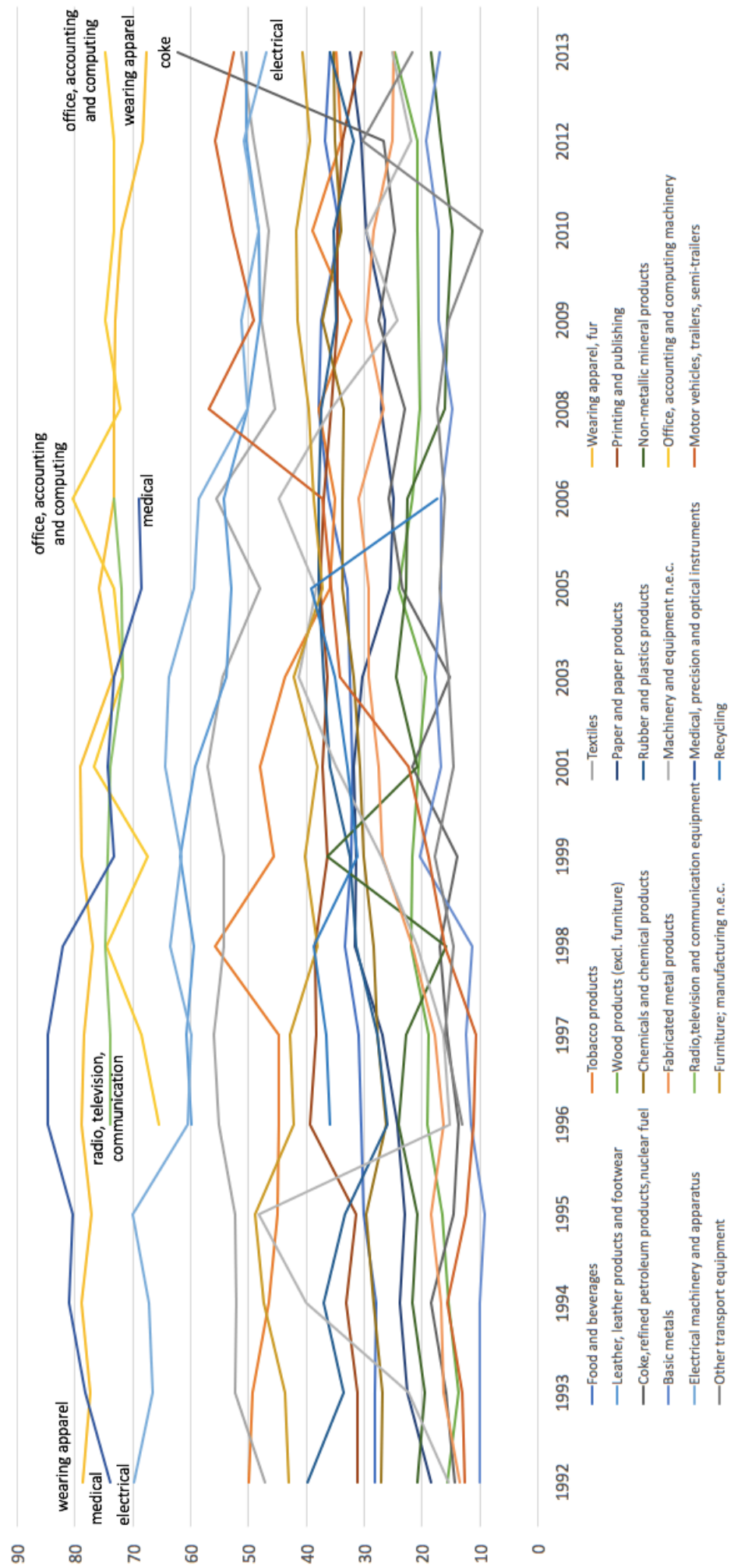
Percentage of Female Representation - Sectoral Employment Bangladesh 1981 - 2011



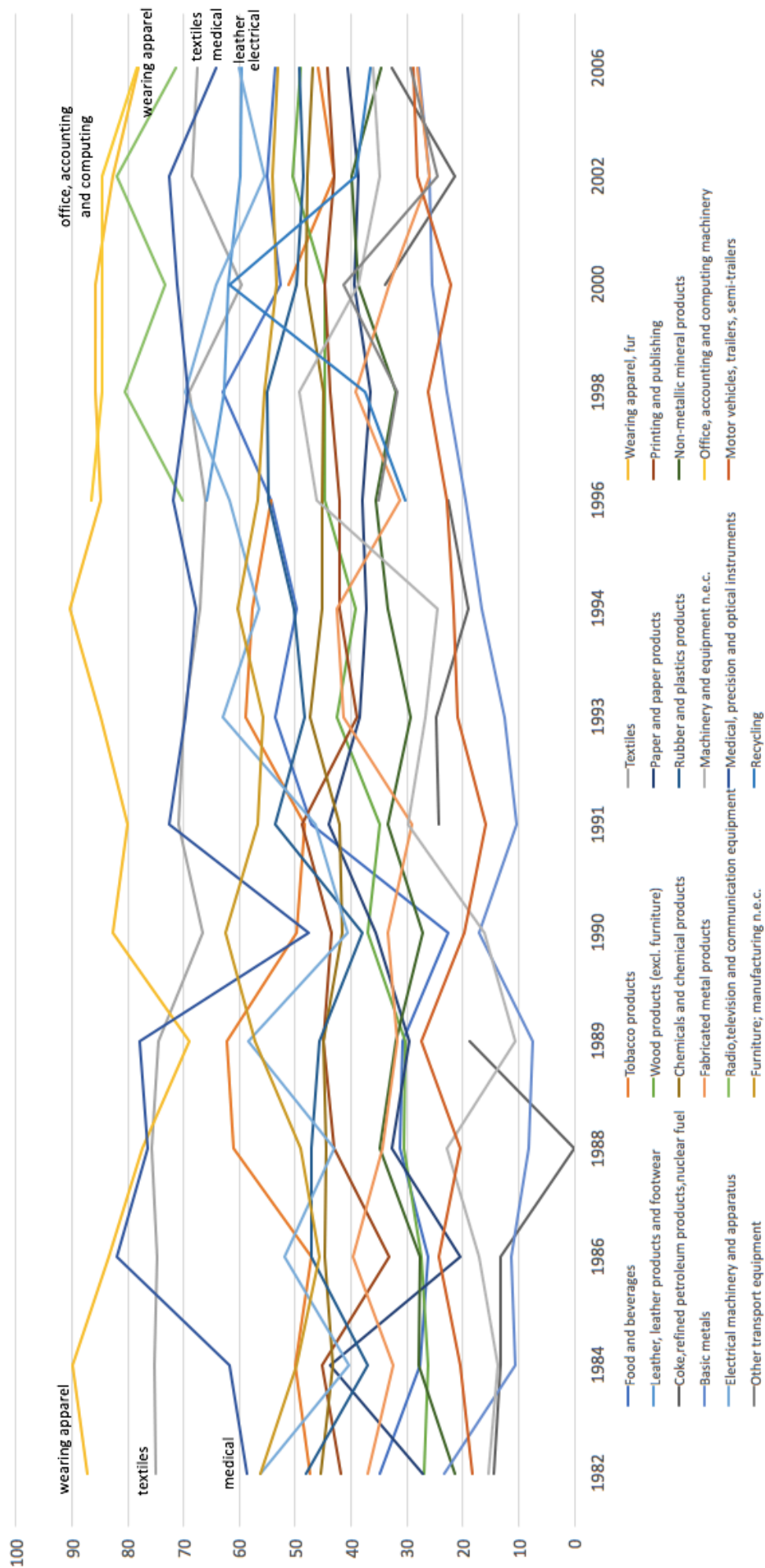
Percentage of Female Representation - Sectoral Employment Malaysia 1983 - 2014



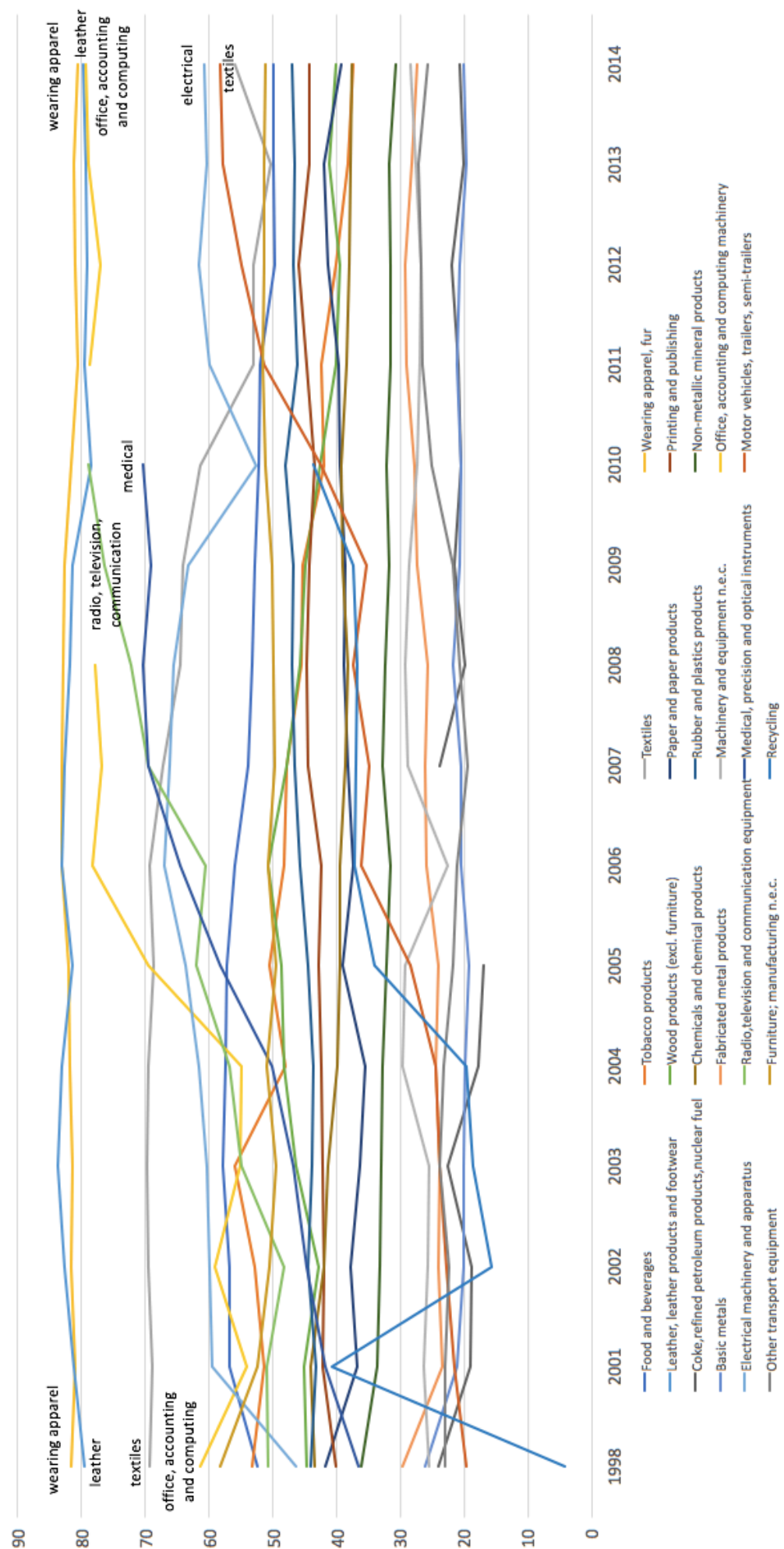
Percentage of Female Representation - Sectoral Employment Philippines 1992 - 2013



Percentage of Female Representation - Sectoral Employment Thailand 1982 - 2006



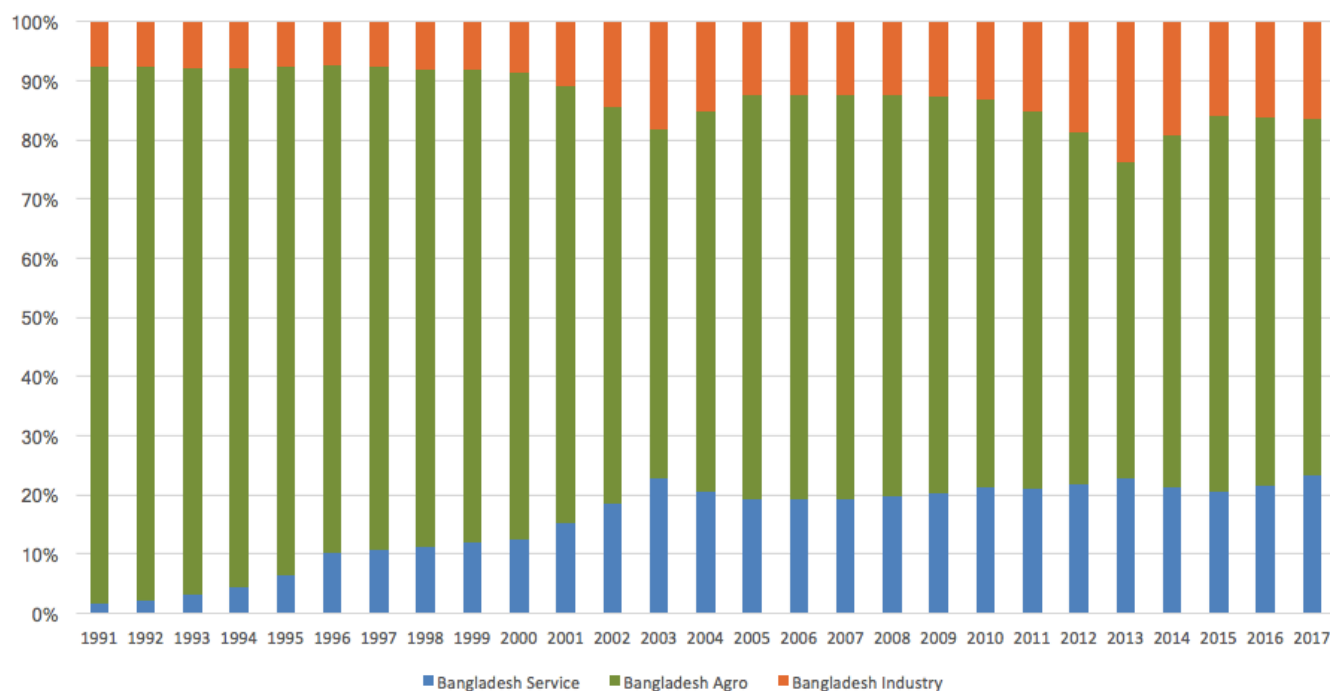
**Percentage of Female Representation - Sectoral Employment
Vietnam 1998 - 2014**



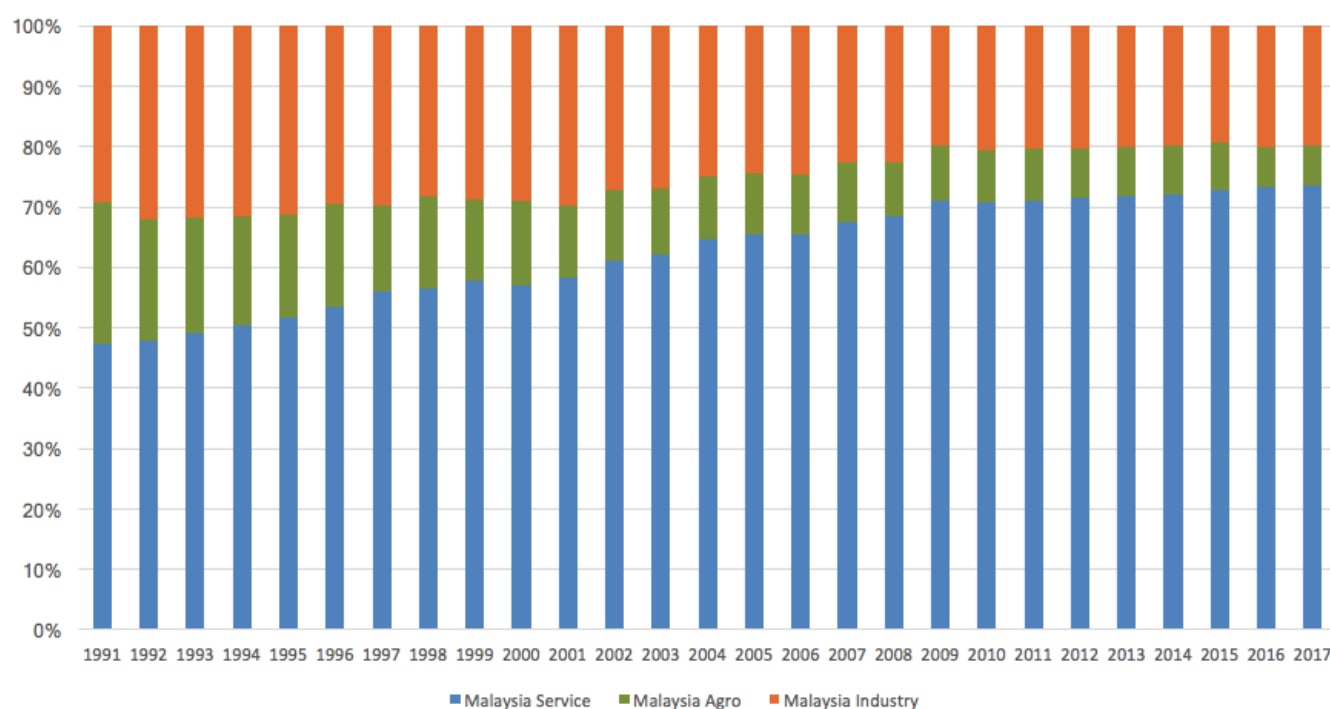
APPENDIX II - SECTORAL SEGREGATION GRAPHS

In contrast to the previous graphs, the following graphs display the distribution of women employees in each country over the years with available data. As each bar has been evaluated out of 100%, these graphs show trends in women's employment over the years (i.e. in Bangladesh from 1991 to 2017 the share of women's employment has gradually shifted from agriculture to become more concentrated in the service and industry sectors). With this in mind, these graphs therefore do not provide any information about the overall rate of female employment, just the distribution of said employment throughout the three sectors.

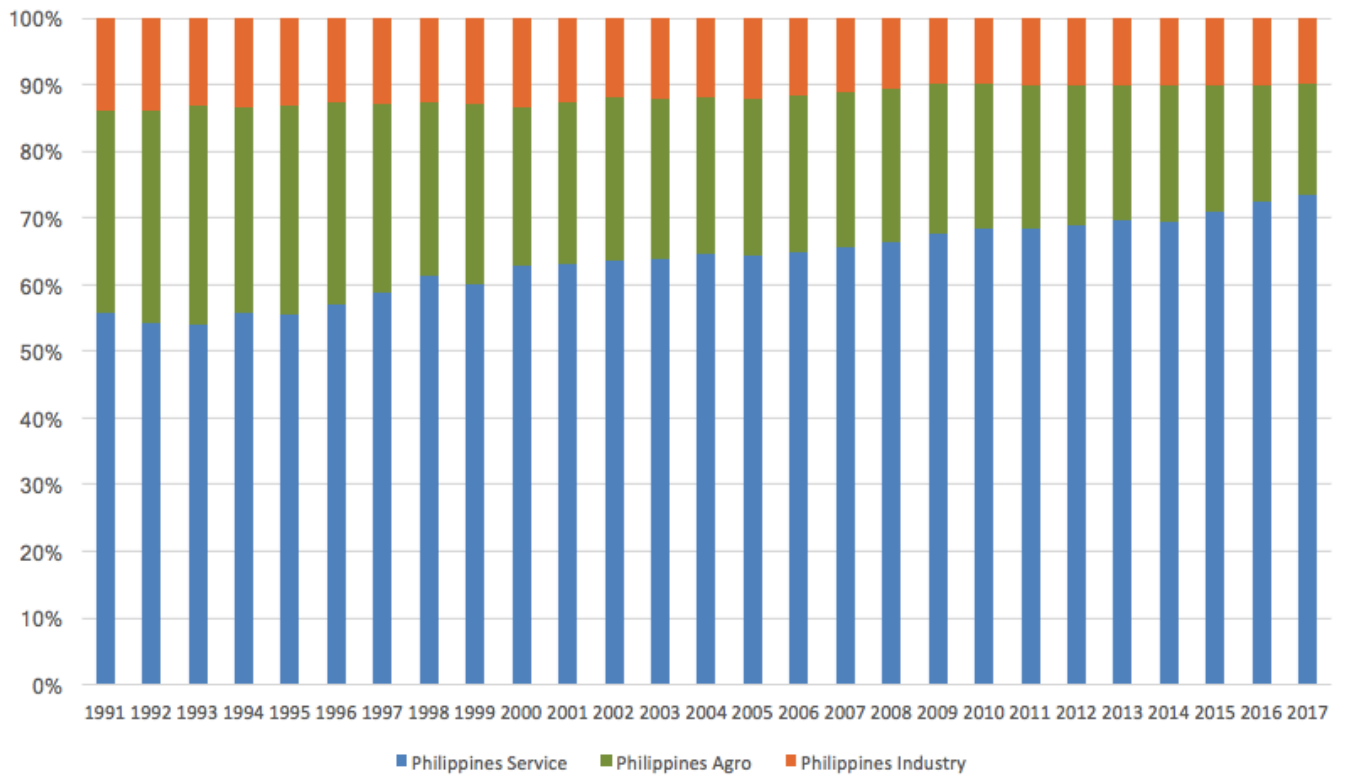
Bangladesh FLFP



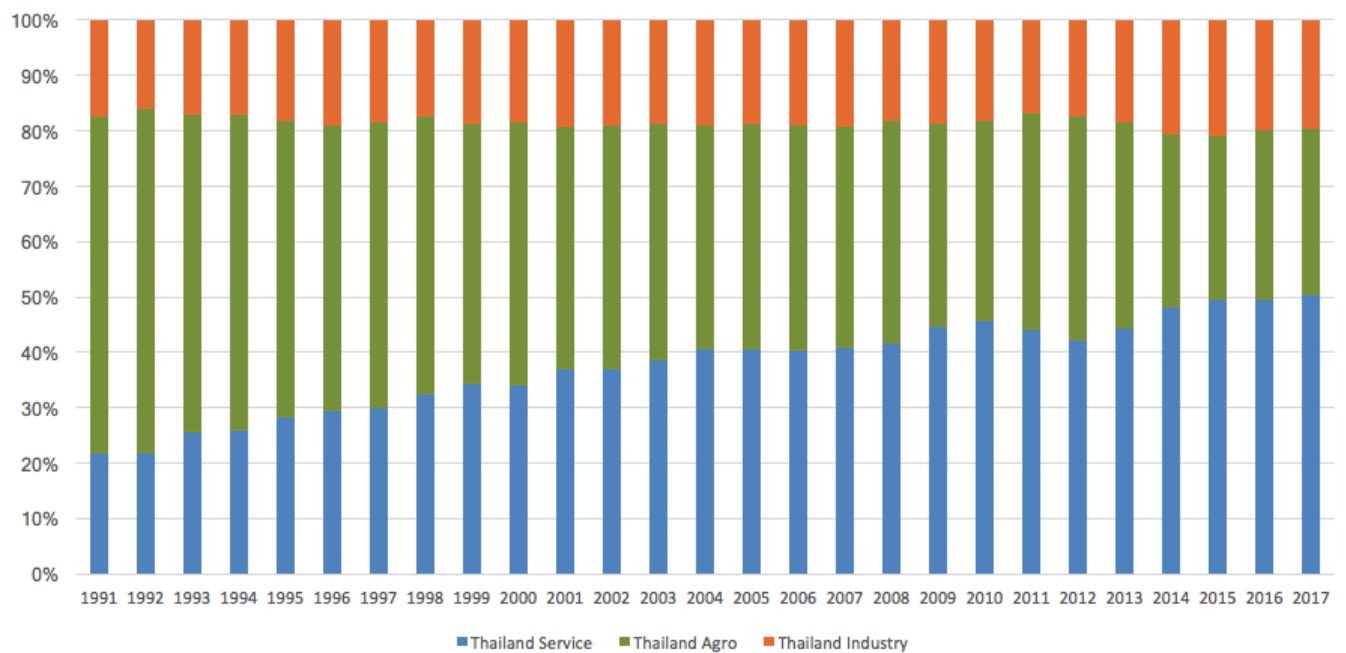
Malaysia FLFP



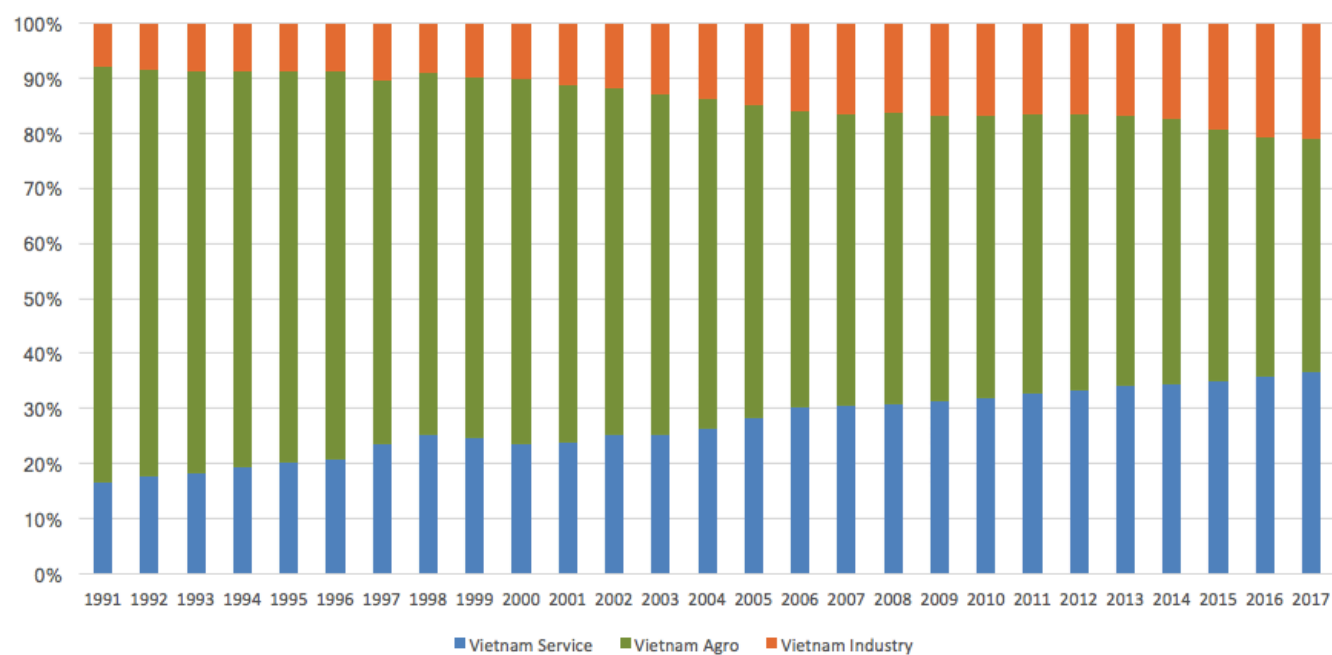
Philippines FLFP



Thailand FLFP

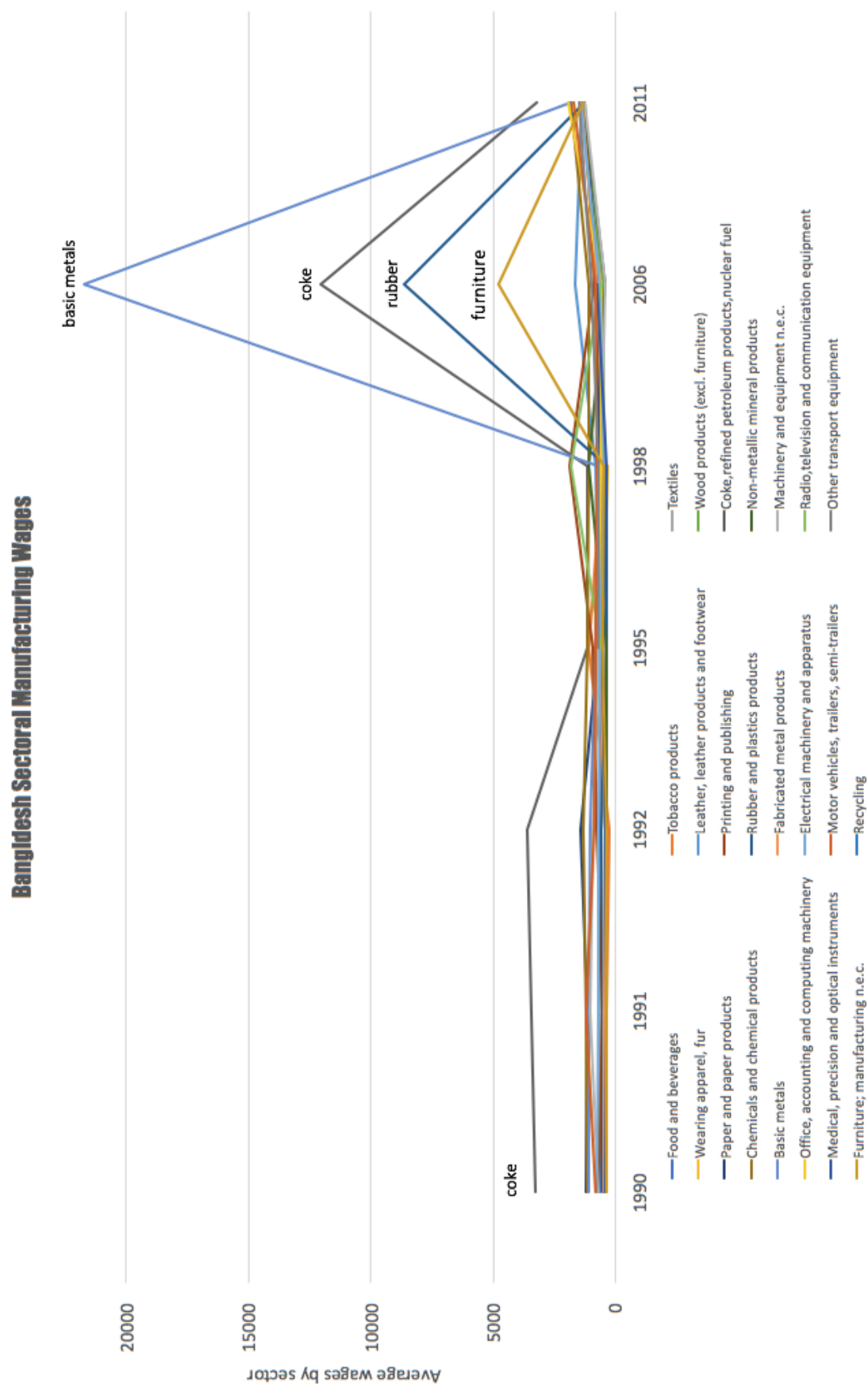


Vietnam FLFP

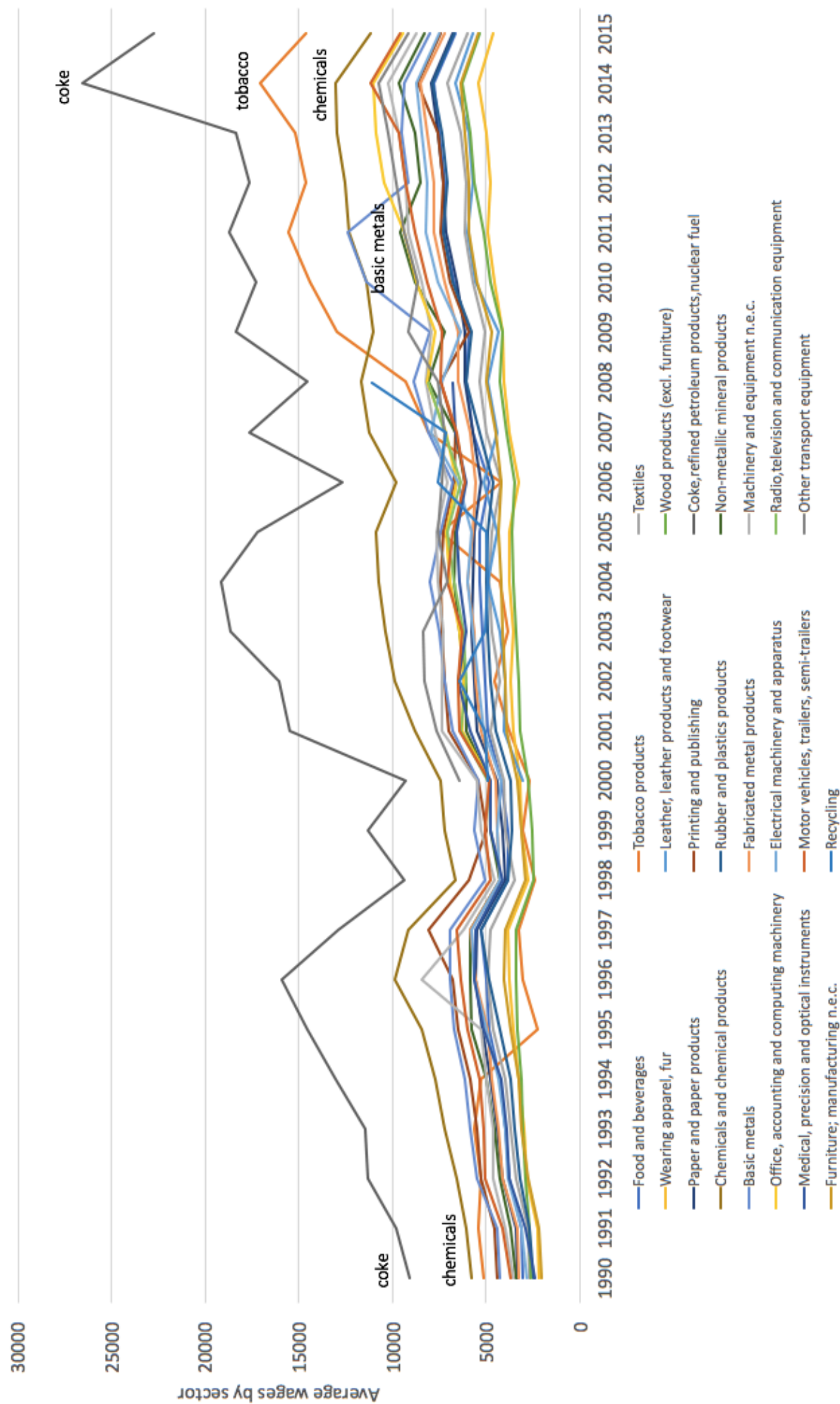


APPENDIX III - SECTORAL MANUFACTURING WAGE GRAPHS

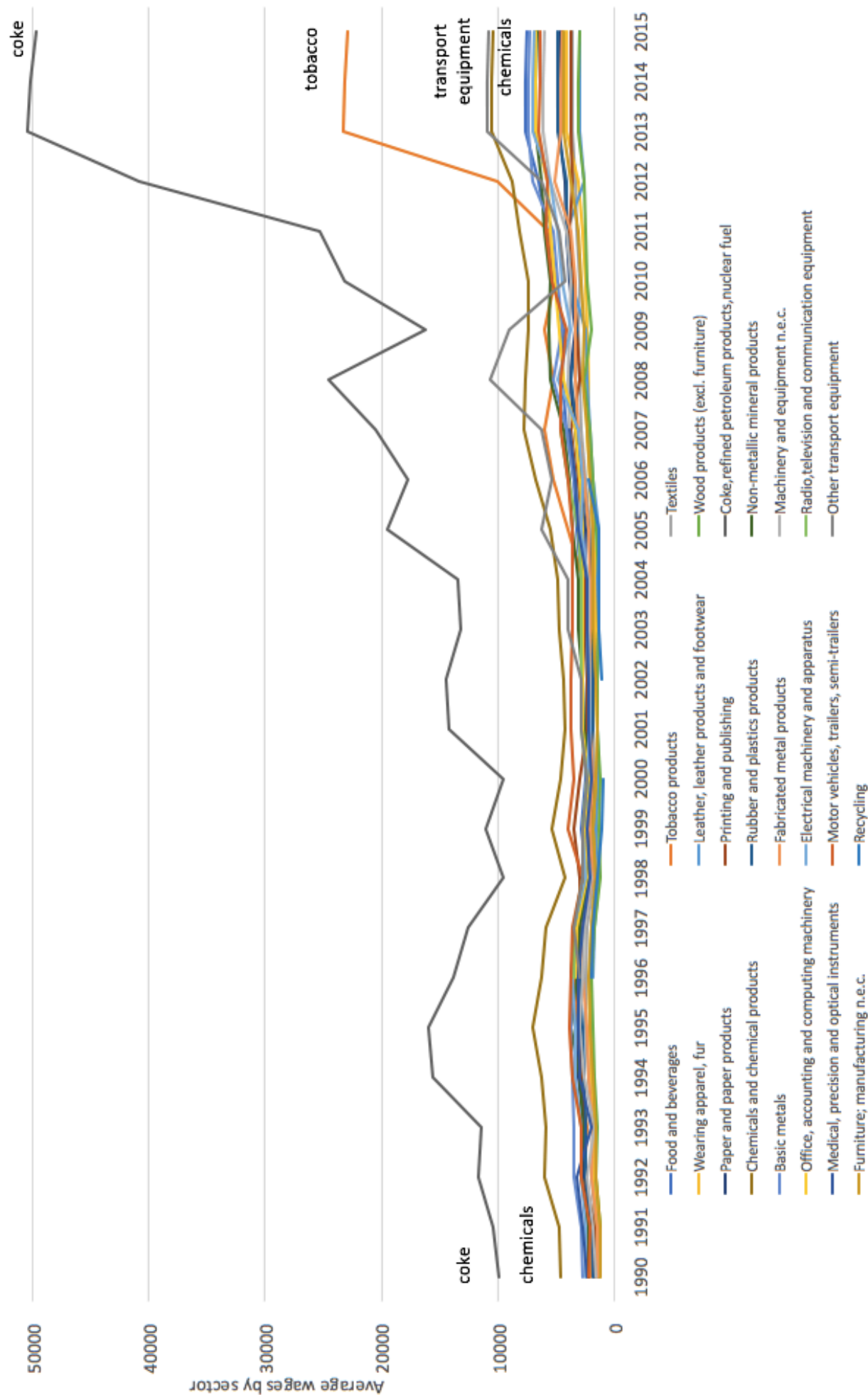
The following graphs show average salary per manufacturing sector per year in each country.



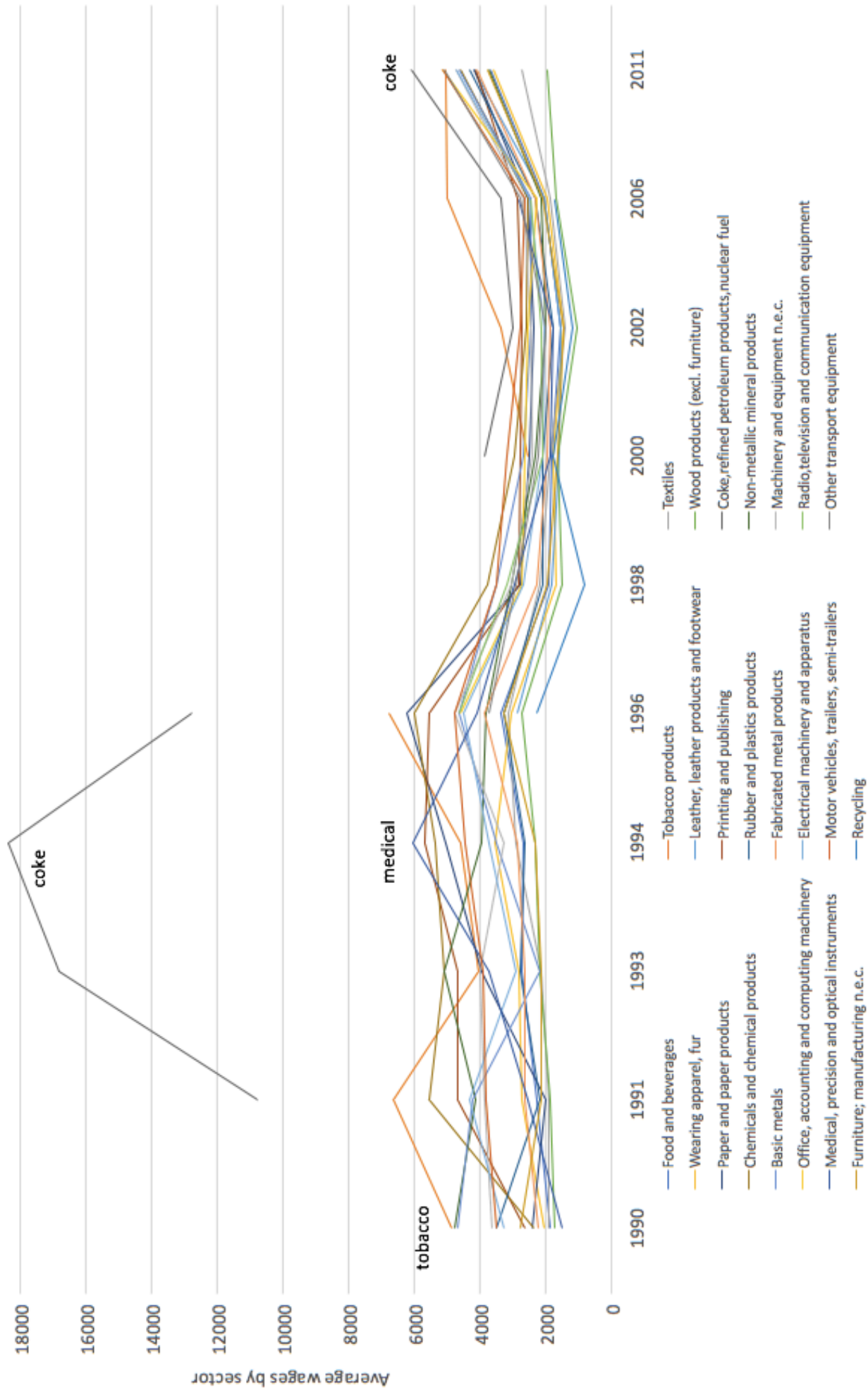
Malaysia Sectoral Manufacturing Wages



Philippines Sectoral Manufacturing Wages



Thailand Sectoral Manufacturing Wages



Vietnam Sectoral Manufacturing Wages

