



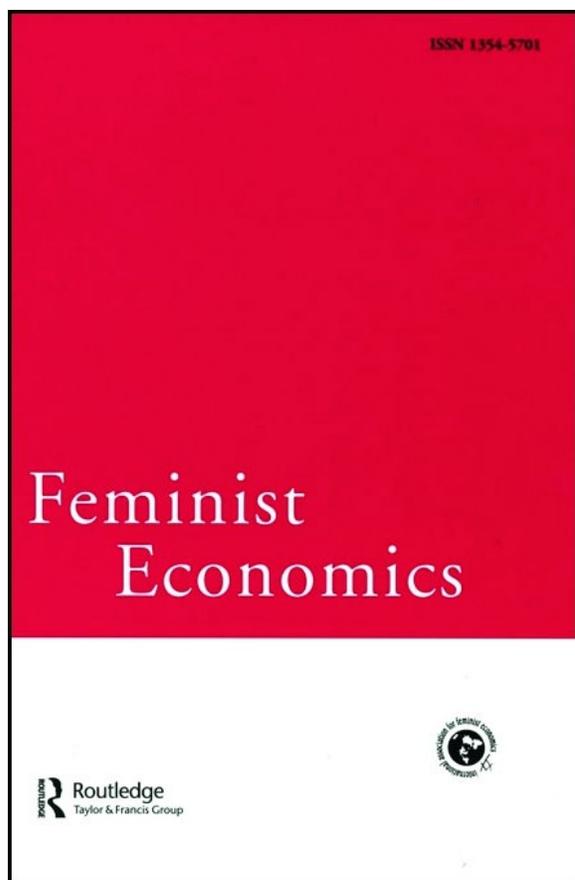
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## Does Women's Labor Force Participation Reduce Domestic Violence? Evidence from Jordan

*Jana Lenze and Stephan Klasen*

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*Elisabeth Prügl*

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## The Gender Contract under Neoliberalism: Palestinian-Israeli Women's Labor Force Participation

*Amalia Sa'ar*

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*Daniel Rosenblum*

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## Relative Pay of Domestic Eldercare Workers in Shanghai, China

*Xiao-yuan Dong, Jin Feng, and Yangyang Yu*

Paid domestic services represent a growing sector of the economy in many high- and upper-middle income countries. Domestic services typically involve low-pay, low-status jobs and tend to employ...

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## Does Microfinance Enhance Gender Equity in Access to Finance?

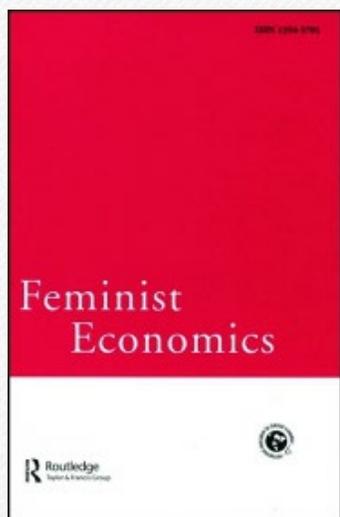
## Evidence from Pakistan

Ghazal Zulfiqar

In recent years proponents of microfinance have diluted their original claim of empowering women and shifted to the more modest assertion of enhancing gender equity in access to finance. It is true, of course, that women are...

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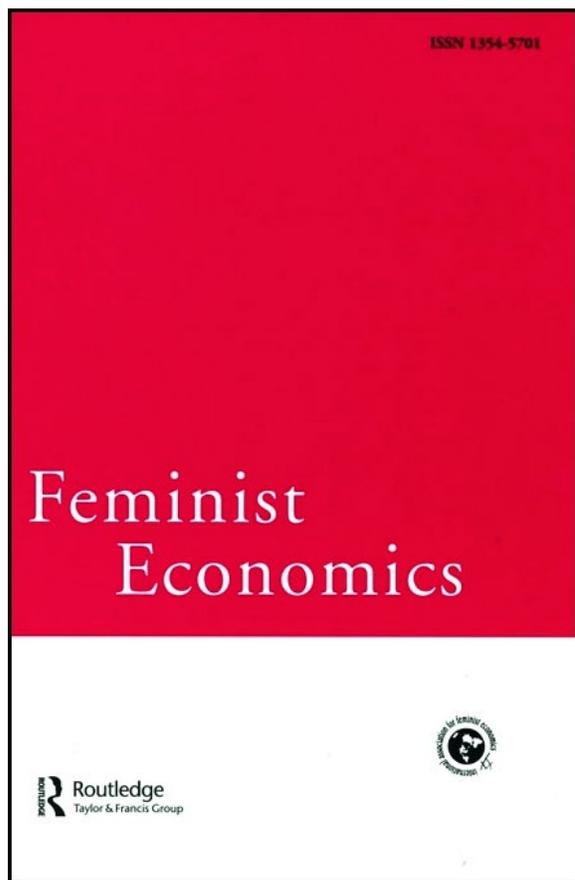
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# Does Women's Labor Force Participation Reduce Domestic Violence? Evidence from Jordan

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*Jana Lenze and Stephan Klasen*

Enhancing women's employment has been considered as a way to promote their empowerment, which, in turn, improves their well-being and the well-being of their children. There may also be negative impacts of women's employment on their welfare by leading to more domestic violence, which is recognized as a violation of their basic rights (Krug et al. 2002). However, empirical evidence on the relationship between women's employment status and domestic violence is not clear-cut. Motivated by this ambiguity, Jana Lenze and Stephan Klasen examine whether women's employment affects the experience of domestic violence based on quantitative data from Jordan.

**Methodology.** To test the hypothesis that women's employment reduces domestic violence, Lenze and Klasen perform a regression analysis on a dataset of 2,283 married women drawn from the 2007 Jordan Population and Family Health Survey (JPFHS). The women's questionnaires contain a specific section

on domestic violence and women's empowerment. This survey is the first wave of nationally representative available data on domestic violence in the context of Jordan. More importantly, this dataset allows the authors to distinguish between different types of abuse, in particular, sexual, emotional, and physical violence.

The regression analysis includes characteristics of the husband, the wife, and the household as well as

regional components since they all might have an independent effect on domestic violence. The outcome variable, domestic violence, captures the incidence of emotional, physical, and sexual violence in the household. The key variable of interest is the women's working status. It indicates whether each woman is involved in paid work outside the home as this is assumed to have important implications on her bargaining position within the household.

A key concern in Lenze and Klasen's analysis is the potential endogeneity of women's working status and violence. For example, domestic violence could push women to seek employment or deter them from employment, or common unobserved factors drive both women's decision and their husbands' violence. To address these issues, the authors apply the instrumental variables technique to various linear probability and probit models.

**Main results.** Without taking endogeneity into account, Lenze and Klasen's first regression results suggest that participation in paid work increases violent incidents by a woman's husband. After controlling for endogeneity, these results turn out to be insignificant. This suggests that women's work status has no causal influence on marital violence. Performing the analysis with the more disaggregated types of domestic violence, these findings are replicated for emotional and physical violence. However, in the case of sexual violence, Lenze and Klasen actually find weak evidence that women's employment lowers sexual violence. These findings are consistent with the view that an increase in women's bargaining power, that is, having a say in the household through their engagement in paid work, leads to a lower probability of experiencing sexual violence.

**Policy implications.** Policies aimed at increasing women's higher participation in the labor market have been advocated recently (United Nations 2013). Lenze and Klasen provide some support to such policies and show that increasing women's employment may indeed lower sexual violence in the household for the case of Jordan. According to the World Bank (2014), additional supportive policies (including education and training programs, policies promoting safety and security, and so on) are needed to ensure that women's employment can lead to reducing domestic violence overall. The authors furthermore highlight the importance of distinguishing between various forms of abuse due to potential difference in underlying mechanisms. The results also highlight husband's characteristics such as greater education and employment as the main protective factors against domestic abuse in Jordan.

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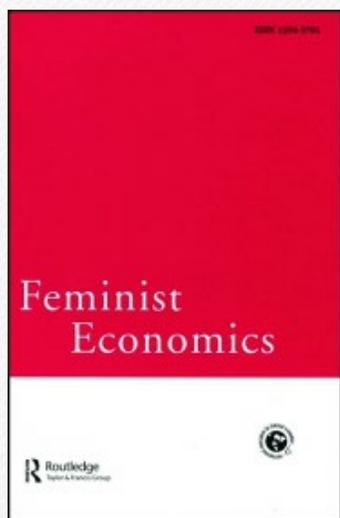
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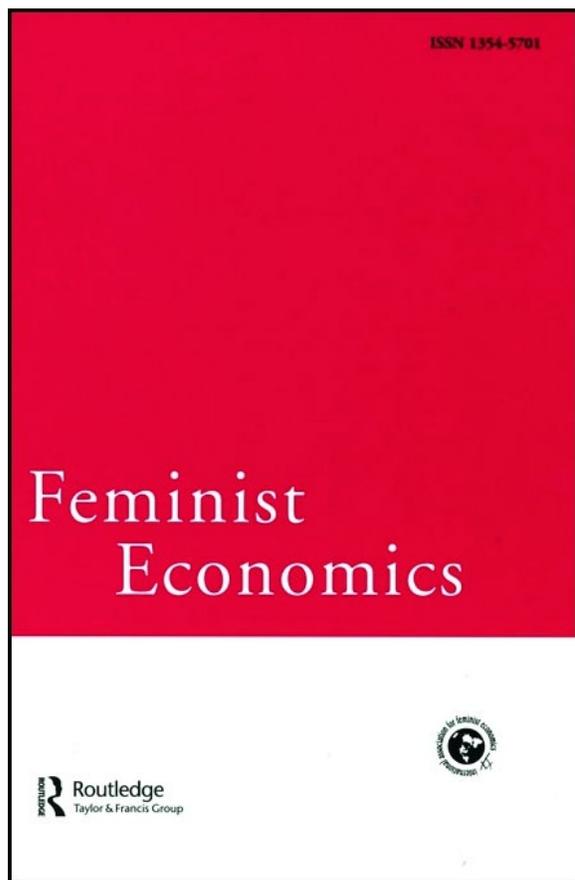
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# Neoliberalism with a Feminist Face: Crafting a New Hegemony at the World Bank

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*Elisabeth Prügl*

With the introduction of its Gender Action Plan in 2007, the World Bank decisively began to mainstream gender into its core business of economic growth and poverty alleviation. How has the Bank reconciled this reorientation with its continued privileging of neoclassical economics? Elisabeth Prügl argues that the heightened attention to gender equality at the World Bank is crafting a new hegemony that can be described as “neoliberalism with a feminist face.” This new hegemony combines elements of cooptation and openings for transformative feminist agendas. Prügl’s argument is derived from an interpretive analysis of thirty-four Bank reports, books, and working papers on gender published between 2001 and 2014.

### **Making gender equality compatible with economic growth.**

Many feminist critics have argued that economic growth hurts women. To counter such assertions, the Bank made a major

effort to establish a definitive relationship between gender equality and economic growth. But findings have been inconsistent and have varied depending on definitions of gender equality. Bank researchers have thus reversed the directionality of the argument: Growth may or may not be good for women; however, gender equality may be good for growth! They have successfully established the relationship at the household level, producing a wealth of research in support. The Bank’s neoclassical macroeconomic commitments have thus been ring-fenced from feminist critique. However, Bank research that draws on feminist insights has begun

to destabilize other core commitments.

**Beyond equal opportunity.** Prügl shows that Bank researchers have pushed beyond the narrow definition of gender equality as equality of opportunity. They have questioned the neoclassical idea that eliminating discrimination and giving equal opportunities to all would generate equality of outcome. Instead, they have recognized feminine difference and its potential to produce unequal outcomes within an otherwise nondiscriminatory market. Such difference is not simply a matter of preferences, but of intrinsically different orientations toward risk, and of external power relations producing “adaptive preferences.” Feminine difference contradicts the rationality of a disembodied market actor, questioning a logic that defines equality as narrowly based on opportunity.

**Making markets work for women.** Prügl argues that gender researchers at the Bank have broadened the range of institutions they see relevant for creating markets and thereby brought core feminist agendas to the table. They have argued that family laws circumscribe markets by limiting women’s rights to inheritance and property, freedom of movement, and contracting. They also have made a topic of informal institutions, such as women’s unpaid care labor.

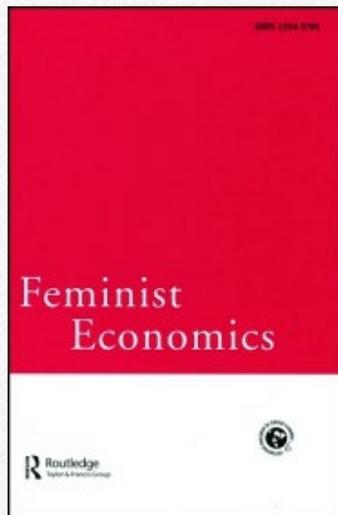
**Making women work for markets.** Prügl demonstrates that Bank publications argue the necessity of enabling women to compete in markets. This approach includes an argument for overcoming “gaps and lacks,” that is, differences in various forms of physical and human capital endowments. The implicit comparator in this argument is the male-imagined market actor – women in this logic need to fit into the existing market environment.

An alternative narrative in Bank publications focuses on empowering women by giving them agency, meaning the capacity for autonomous choice free of violence and fear. This formulation recognizes that patriarchal power relations circumscribe women’s freedom. Gender-based violence and women’s exclusion from politics and decision-making become core issues in this argument.

**Neoliberalism with a feminist face.** Prügl argues that the totality of the World Bank’s arguments represent neoliberalism with a feminist face that reveals a new understanding in which markets do not produce inequality but equality, in which the pursuit of profit and gender equality go hand in hand. This new approach is not simply a matter of cooptation; introducing ideas about feminine difference, family law as market-making institutions, and embodied, rights-bearing subjects profoundly broadens the field of vision and fundamentally questions the viability of an economic orthodoxy based on abstract actors and free markets.

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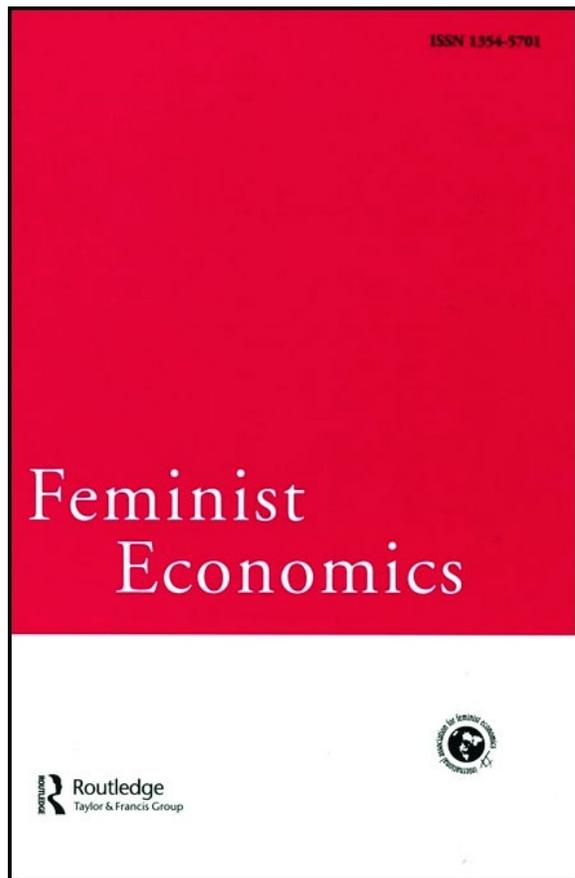
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# The Gender Contract under Neoliberalism: Palestinian-Israeli Women's Labor Force Participation

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*Amalia Sa'ar*

In recent years, the low labor force participation (LFP) of Palestinian women citizens of Israel – merely 26 percent – has gained growing scholarly and public attention. While not exceptional in regional terms, this figure is glaringly anomalous compared to the 65 percent LFP among Jewish Israeli women. Clearly, Israel's legacy of state welfare and relatively progressive gender legislation has not benefitted its national minority. For one thing, Palestinian women's low LFP is a direct corollary of the longstanding discrimination against the Palestinian minority, which at once truncated the economic development of their residential areas and blocked their integration into the national economy. Among other things, this political economic history has delayed the transition of Palestinian households to a public-centered gender regime, in which women are increasingly integrated into paid employment, while domestic and care work are increasingly performed through mechanisms of the state and the market.

**Methodology.** Following other scholarly analyses, Amalia Sa'ar emphasizes the role of structural discrimination in explaining the enigma of Palestinian-Israeli women's low LFP but aims to take this argument a step further. She uses ethnographic data to flesh out the complex nature of women's opportunity-cost calculations, by focusing on the cultural script – “the gender contract” – that mediates their maneuvering through the restrictive structure of opportunities. Sa'ar thus aims to complicate the analysis of

the women's LFP by considering the mutual entanglement of structure and culture while remaining non-culturist, unlike the common tendency to essentialize minority women.

**Main findings.** Sa'ar argues that the low LFP of Palestinian-Israeli women is an upshot of the unfolding neoliberal project that began in the mid 1980s and has accelerated since the turn of the millennium. After decades of restricting their economic opportunities by limiting their integration into the national workforce while also blocking the development of an autonomous ethnic enclave, the state now actively supports "development through the market" for its Palestinian citizens. This shift has coalesced with a rapid transition in the gender regime from a household-centered to a market-led type, which nevertheless lacked the buffer of a transitional welfare-state phase. As the market becomes an all-encompassing presence, at once overtaking home economics and pervading the language of personal accomplishments and moral virtue, women are developing ambivalent attitudes to paid work. They increasingly want to become employed, but still largely refrain from doing so. This internally contradictory approach reflects a changing cultural script by which women are expected to take on a paying job, but still retain caretaking and mothering, in particular, as the core of their gender identity. To succeed, they must find substitutes, through any combination of unpaid work of older women relatives, state services, or the market. This scenario is hardly unique to Palestinian-Israeli women. However, in their case, discriminatory policies and widespread poverty have largely meant that state and market substitutes are not sufficient to compensate households for the loss of women's domestic economic contribution.

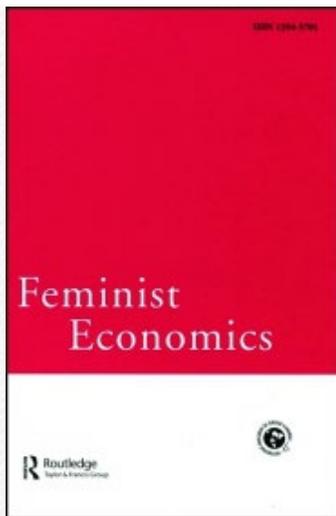
**Policy implications.** Sa'ar's analysis shows that decline in state jobs and state regulation of the economy, and the concomitant expansion of private employment, is a bad solution to the low LFP of minority women since, although it creates new jobs, it simultaneously makes their employment conditions more precarious and ultimately less worthwhile. Combined with high levels of poverty and insufficient welfare support mechanisms, "development through the market" is not likely to generate a sea change in Palestinian Israeli women's LFP or in the overall economic welfare of Palestinian families. Women's tardiness in joining the workforce reflects their deep-seated understanding that, despite their will to participate and their dreams of self-fulfillment, their earnings will not compensate for the loss of their traditional entitlement under the patriarchal gender contract; and will not compensate their families for the loss of their expenditure-saving domestic labor.

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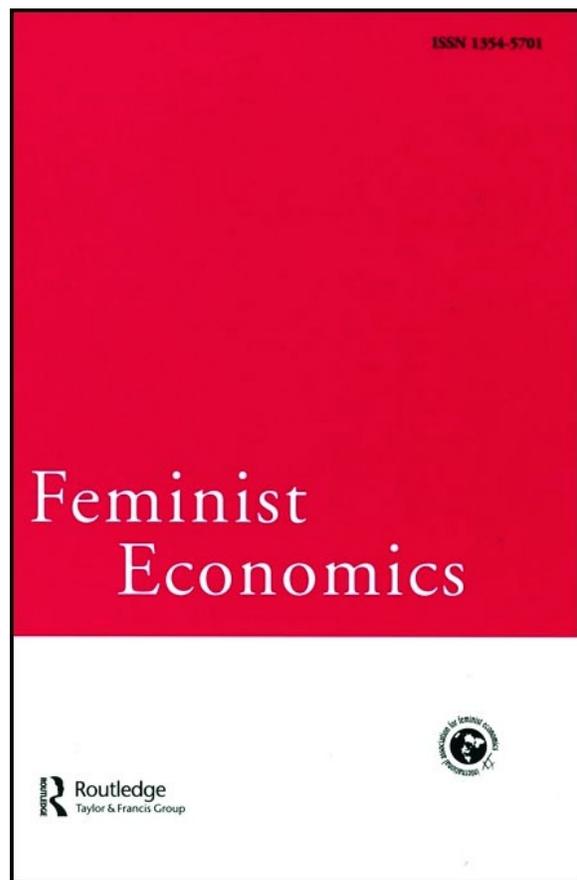
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# Estimating the Private Economic Benefits of Sons Versus Daughters in India

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*Daniel Rosenblum*

In India, gender discrimination manifests itself in the extreme forms of sex-selective abortion and substantially higher female mortality rates than male mortality rates. In combination, they have led to there being far fewer women per men in India than are found in most countries in the world. While prior studies have connected improvements in women's employment and earnings to improved female mortality rates in India, the economic causes of gender discrimination in India are still not well understood.

Daniel Rosenblum seeks to fill some of this knowledge gap by estimating the differences in economic outcomes of households who have sons instead of daughters. If the private economic consequences of having a son instead of a daughter can be measured, then policymakers can better understand the economic incentives that have caused so much discrimination in India. In addition, Rosenblum relates these incentives to

observed patterns in sex-selective abortion across India.

**Methodology.** Rosenblum estimates the private economic effects of having a son instead of a daughter by comparing economic outcomes for households with a first-born son versus households with a first-born daughter using linear regression analysis. Although sex selection is not uncommon in India, it does not occur at a measurable level for first births. Thus, comparing first-born son households to first-born

daughter households provides an unbiased estimate of the effect of having a first-born son relative to a first-born daughter on the household economy. Rosenblum uses the India Human Development Survey from 2005, which is a nationally representative dataset that includes detailed economic and demographic information.

**Main findings.** Rosenblum's estimates show that, on average, households with a first-born son have higher household income, expenditures, and assets and have a reduced probability of being below the poverty line relative to households with a first-born daughter. Rosenblum examines two mechanisms that may be causing these economic differences. First, he finds that, since parents of a first-born son have fewer children on average, younger parents with a first-born son have more economic resources per household member. Second, since many sons stay with their parents after they marry, adult sons become workers in their parents' household increasing income and assets.

In addition, the estimates show that for types of households where sex selection is more common (that is, among parents with high education, households in northern India, those with no previously born sons), there are significant economic benefits of sons. Rosenblum finds that differences in economic incentives across India can explain some of the geographic differences in sex selection. The estimates also show that there is no additional economic advantage of having a second son, which helps to explain why, conditional on having a previously born son, there is no detectable sex selection among later births. The economic benefits of a first-born son hold for both low and high education households and rural and urban households. Rosenblum's findings help to explain why the child female–male sex ratio in rural India has been declining rapidly and approaching the low levels found in urban India.

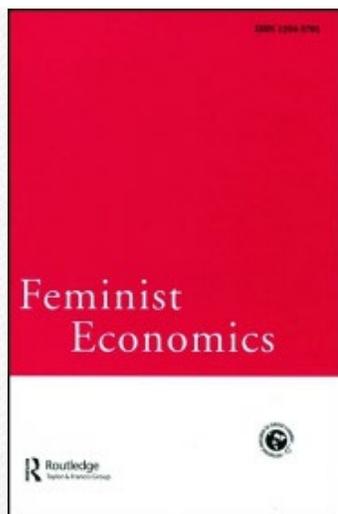
**Policy implications.** Rosenblum argues that having a relatively large male population undoubtedly has substantial negative effects for India as a whole. To address this serious demographic problem as well as the many other ways gender discrimination manifests itself in India, policymakers need to take private economic incentives seriously. Examples of policies that could mitigate the economic advantages of sons are creating an old-age support system, subsidizing education and healthcare for girls, improving women's property rights, and encouraging women to enter and remain in the workforce.

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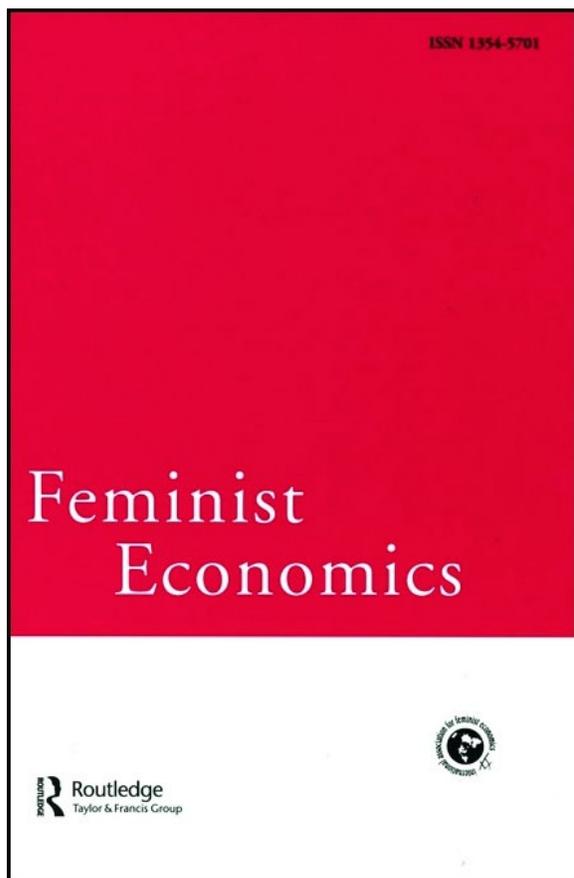
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# The Occupational Segregation of African American Women: Its Evolution from 1940 to 2010

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*Olga Alonso-Villar and Coral del Río*

Most studies agree that occupational segregation by sex decreased in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century, though the process halted toward the new millennium. The intersection of gender and race has been, however, less explored. Olga Alonso-Villar and Coral del Río explore occupational segregation for African American women for the period 1940–2010. The way gender and race shape work settings seems to especially impact these women. Some scholars argue that African American women do not fit the cultural construction of either “women,” which implicitly corresponds to the image of white women, or “African Americans,” generally associated with African American men. These women do not enjoy the racial privilege of white women or the gender advantage of African American men.

**Methodology.** Using occupational data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), which are drawn from the

US decennial census for the period 1940–2000 and the 2005–7 and 2008–10 American Community Surveys, Alonso-Villar and del Río use novel tools (a variation of the classic Gini index, a family of indices related to the generalized entropy family, and a variation of the index of dissimilarity, together with well-being indices that reflect constant inequality aversion), to quantify the occupational segregation level and the well-being losses that African American women experience for being overrepresented in low-paid occupations and underrepresented in the highly paid ones.

**Level of occupational segregation.** Alonso-Villar and del Río's research shows that the occupational segregation of African American women – measured by the discrepancy between the occupational sorting of this group and the occupational structure of the economy – declined dramatically from 1940 to 1980 (especially in the 1960s and 1970s), decreased slightly from 1980 to 2000, and remained stagnant in the 2000s. Thus, while 69 percent of these women would have had to switch occupations to achieve zero segregation in 1940, this percentage fell to around 40 percent in 1980, 36 percent in 1990, and 33 percent in 2000, remaining almost unaltered up to 2010.

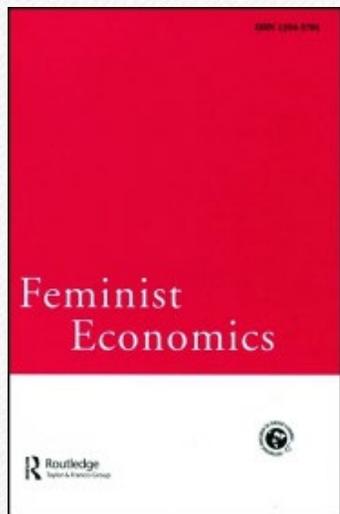
**Assessment of segregation in terms of well-being.** Alonso-Villar and del Río argue that the segregation reduction in the 1960s and 1970s was accompanied by important well-being improvements (measured by earnings gains) due to the higher presence of African American women in occupations with (relative) wages higher than those they had in 1940. This occupational upgrading may help to explain the increasing earnings of this group, as compared to those of white men, in the 1960s and 1970s. From 1990 onward, however, the increasing wage inequality across occupations and the limited improvement in the segregation level of this group gave rise to small reductions in their well-being losses.

**The role of education.** Alonso-Villar and del Río note that only since 1990 have African American women with either some college or university degrees had lower segregation (as compared with their educational peers) than did those with lower levels of education. However, the occupations in which high-skilled African American women tended to work had wages substantially below the average wage of occupations filled by other high-skilled workers. In the 2008–10 period, almost a quarter of these women were concentrated in occupations that only accounted for 10 percent of high-skilled workers, and these occupations had (average) wages that ranged between 0.35 and 1.09 times the average wage of high-skilled occupations.

**Research implications.** The improvements of the 1940s and 1950s could be due to the strong demand of labor from Northeast and Midwest US cities, and the advances of the 1960s and 1970s could be attributed to institutional changes oriented to remove discrimination by race and gender. Political pressures for enforcement lost strength from 1980 onward, and they do not seem to have been replaced by other pushing factors. In some occupations that emerged in 1940–80, mainly associated with the appearance of a more urban and service-oriented society, gender and race seem to have been more delinked from work than in occupations where these women used to work (like domestic service and farm labor). However, technological changes that occurred in more recent decades have not permitted much further advancement. Moreover, educational credentials alone do not seem to explain the low position of African American women in the current labor market. All of this calls for a further implication of policymakers to help these women to come out of the stagnation in which they are trapped.

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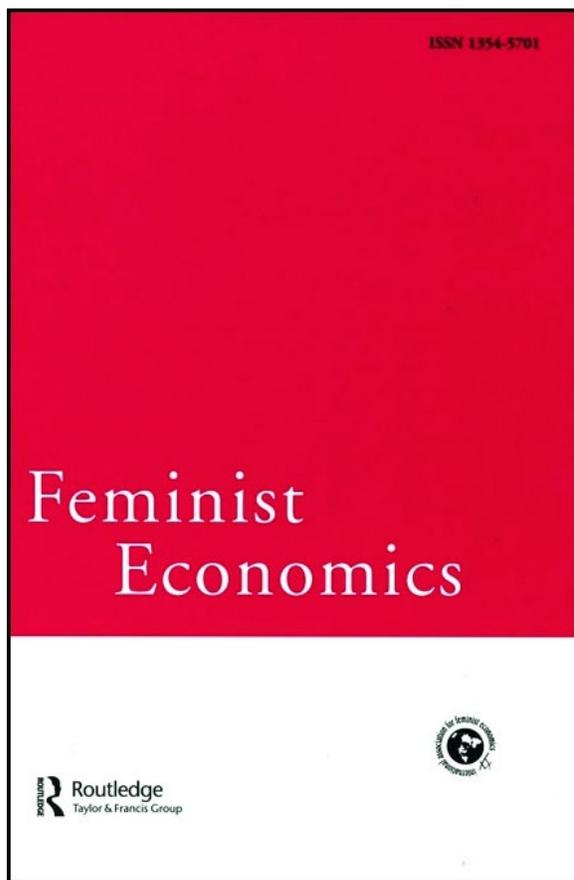
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# Relative Pay of Domestic Eldercare Workers in Shanghai, China

## Feminist Economics

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*Xiao-yuan Dong, Jin Feng, and Yangyang Yu*

Paid domestic services represent a growing sector of the economy in many high- and upper-middle income countries. Domestic services typically involve low-pay, low-status jobs and tend to employ women, most of whom are from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups. Feminists have long expressed concern that care workers face a wage penalty in that their wages are lower compared with workers with the same human capital and demographic characteristics in other occupations. However, much of the literature on the subject has been based on qualitative case studies, and rigorous empirical studies on the wage determinants of domestic workers are sparse.

Xiao-yuan Dong, Jin Feng, and Yangyang Yu analyze the relative pay of domestic eldercare workers and its underlying determinants in Shanghai, China. The market for domestic services in China has grown rapidly since the country embarked

on the transition from a centrally planned to a market-oriented economy in the late 1970s. In 2011, approximately 15 to 20 million workers earned a living by providing domestic services for urban families, and one-third of China's domestic workers engaged in eldercare services. Most Chinese domestic workers are women migrants from rural areas. However, domestic workers are invisible in the standard labor force and household surveys, and mainstream analysts and policymakers have largely neglected the rights and concerns of these workers.

**Methodology.** Dong, Feng, and Yu use data drawn from two surveys: the 2007 Shanghai Domestic Services Survey (SDSS) and the 2007 China Household Income Project (CHIP). The SDSS provides detailed information on domestic workers and their employers in Shanghai, while the 2007 CHIP contains information on a random sample of non-domestic workers in Shanghai.

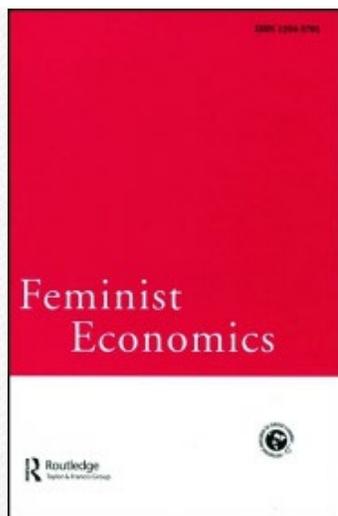
**Main results.** The regression results by Dong, Feng, and Yu show that domestic workers as a whole earn 20 percent less than non-domestic workers with the same observable personal characteristics, and domestic eldercare workers endure a larger wage penalty of 28 percent. The authors next investigate the causes of the low wages for domestic eldercare workers using data from the SDSS and information gathered through in-depth interviews with domestic workers, domestic service agencies, and community leaders. They identify three main factors that contribute to the low wages of domestic workers for eldercare. First, domestic services are culturally devalued in Chinese society. Second, the users of eldercare are poorer than the users of other types of domestic services, and therefore the ability of eldercare users to pay for care services is lower. Finally and most importantly, eldercare workers are the most marginalized in the urban labor market. Compared with other domestic workers, eldercare workers are older, less educated, and more concentrated among migrant workers from less developed regions. As a result, eldercare workers are more likely to be the victims of cultural prejudice, regional antagonisms, and social discrimination. Dong, Feng, and Yu's results underscore the economic vulnerability of women domestic workers in the context of China's market reforms and provide empirical support for feminist theories of the wage penalty for care workers.

**Policy implications.** In China, as in many developed countries in the west, the commodification of care has emerged as a solution to the growing demand for care services. The market provision approach relies heavily on women migrant domestic workers who experience discrimination and marginalization. This low-wage strategy has created a vicious circle of increased social exclusion, economic vulnerability, and a persistent shortage of paid care services. Dong, Feng, and Yu call for an integrated approach to the provision of care that recognizes the rights of domestic workers to decent pay and social protections as well as recognizing the rights of children, the elderly, and the disabled to equal access to care services. This approach involves recognition of the value of care work and a redistribution of caregiving responsibilities away from families and toward the state, from socially marginalized groups toward more privileged groups, and from women toward men.

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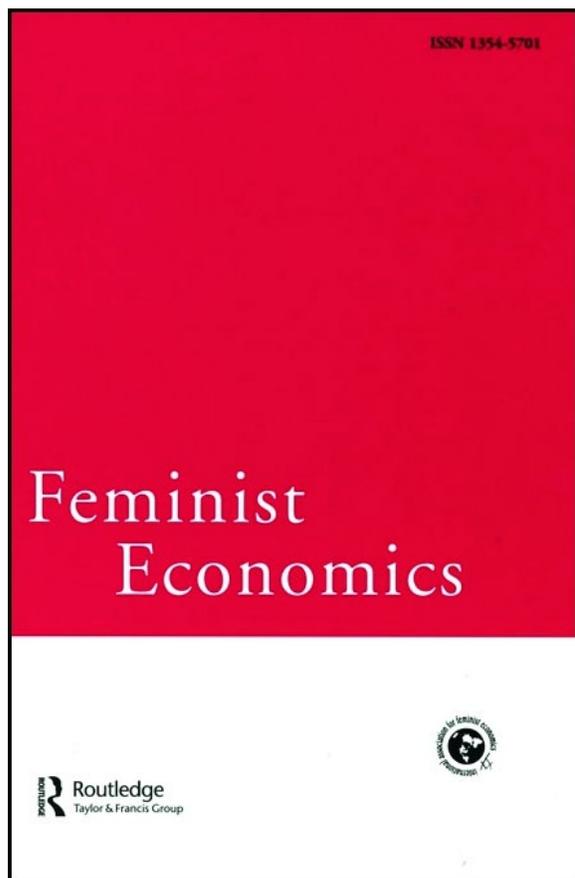
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# Does Microfinance Enhance Gender Equity in Access to Finance? Evidence from Pakistan

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*Ghazal Zulfiqar*

In recent years proponents of microfinance have diluted their original claim of empowering women and shifted to the more modest assertion of enhancing gender equity in access to finance. It is true, of course, that women are significantly less likely than men to have access to banking products across the Global South, and expanding access to finance would move us toward greater gender equity. Ghazal Zulfiqar asks, does microfinance provide a means through which this can be achieved? She studies this claim by focusing on microcredit in the context of Pakistan, a country that ranked 144 out of 145 countries in the 2015 Global Gender Gap Index. The data includes longitudinal microfinance outreach numbers from 2009 to 2014 and interviews with 140 practitioners and borrowers in urban Pakistan.

Pakistan's regulatory framework for microfinance institutions has been ranked among the top five by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) and is lauded for allowing modern microfinance institutions to flourish. This is a reference to Pakistan's profit-oriented microfinance banks (MFBs), which control 57 percent of the entire sector's loan portfolio while the rest belongs to the more traditional NGO microfinance institutions (MFIs).

**Gender-targeted institutional lending.** Zulfiqar's study finds stark differences between the lending patterns of MFBs and MFIs. First, while 75 percent of currently active MFI borrowers are women, only 25

percent of MFB borrowers are women. Similarly, women hold 70 percent of the MFI loan portfolio but only 19 percent of the MFB loan portfolio, as of the first quarter of 2014. And as MFIs spin-off their portfolios to establish standalone MFBs, their outreach patterns change sharply, and they begin lending almost exclusively to men. When asked about this reversal of gender targets the product development head of one of these institutions explained, “We are no longer a ladies’ bank, we now need to focus on profits.”

**Access to finance, but at what cost?** Zulfiqar found that, as opposed to MFBs, MFIs continue to have an overwhelmingly female target market, but in their zeal to reduce credit risk, MFIs were involved in some dubious practices. These practices included publicly shaming women if they were late with repayments, threatening their male relatives with imprisonment, and allowing group members to confiscate the household property of delinquents. Institutions also admit that women’s male relatives control the majority of their loans, but they allow it so as not to disturb the patriarchal order.

MFB institutional practices, on the other hand, are determined by profit-making objectives. For instance, since 2012, all of the eleven MFBs in Pakistan have introduced some form of gold collateralized microcredit. This microcredit is offered to households that have gold jewelry to offer as collateral. Gold in Pakistan is a highly gendered household asset and is the primary form of savings and investment of low- and middle-income women. It is handed down in dowries from one generation of women to the next and is often the only asset they can truly call their own. Collateralizing women’s gold puts them at risk of intergenerational asset depletions, particularly because the gold loan is referred to as an “emergency loan” and is typically taken out in extraneous circumstances. The default rate on this loan hovers at around two percent or less. But this low rate comes at the expense of repeated loan rollovers, so that the women often do not see the return of their jewelry.

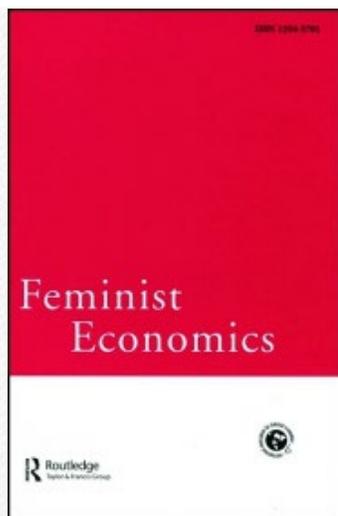
**Policy implications.** Zulfiqar’s findings indicate that both MFBs and MFIs are not working to create gender equity in access to finance in Pakistan because of the overriding concern for improving their risk-return positions. Sustainable finance is the current mantra of global development, but policymakers need to understand that while microfinance may be moving closer to commercial viability, it is failing to meet even a diluted goal of gender equity in access to finance. This inadequacy is because of the institutional instability introduced at the organizational level by modern microfinance’s competing goals.

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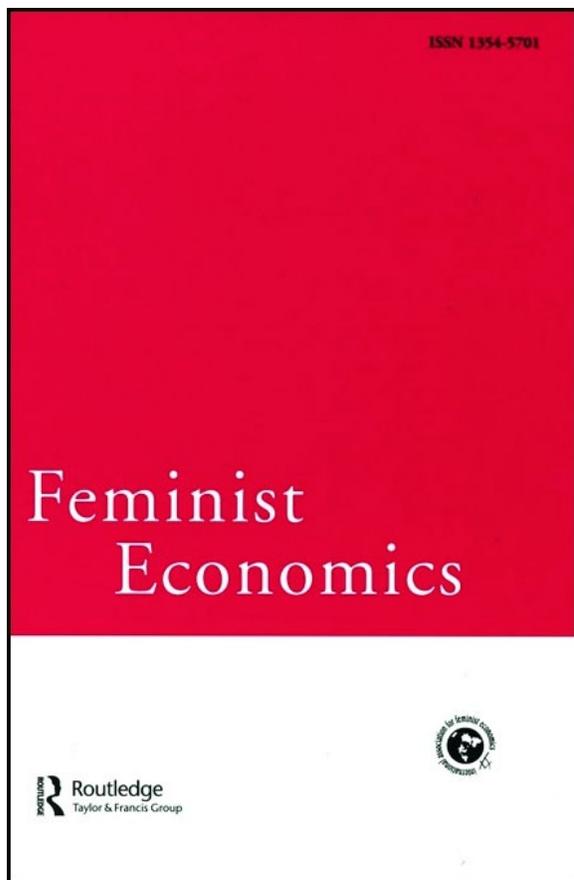


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## The Social Connectedness and Life Satisfaction Nexus: A Panel Data Analysis of Women in Australia

*Christopher Ambrey, Jennifer Ulichny, and Christopher Fleming*

How do changes in social connectedness affect the life satisfaction of Australian women? Christopher Ambrey, Jennifer Ulichny, and Christopher Fleming are among the first to...

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*Yunsun Huh*

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*Yongjin Park, Monika Lopez-Anuarbe, and Maria Cruz-Saco*

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## Twenty-Five Years of Counting for Nothing: Waring's Critique of National Accounts

*Caroline Saunders and Paul Dalziel*

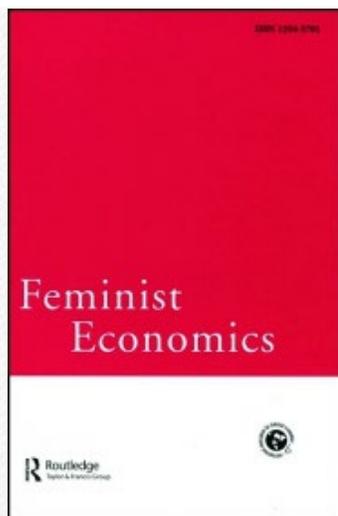
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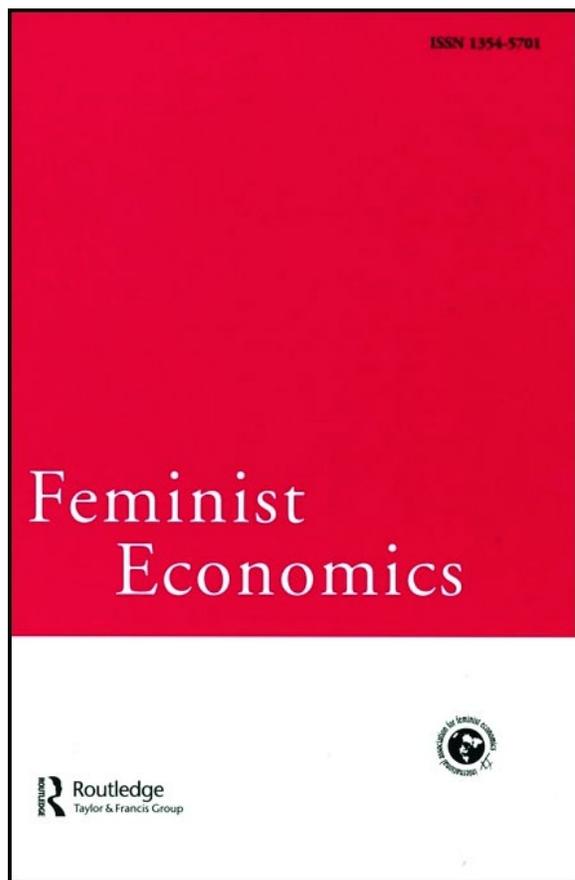
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# The Social Connectedness and Life Satisfaction Nexus: A Panel Data Analysis of Women in Australia

## Feminist Economics

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*Christopher Ambrey, Jennifer Ulichny, and Christopher Fleming*

How do changes in social connectedness affect the life satisfaction of Australian women? Christopher Ambrey, Jennifer Ulichny, and Christopher Fleming are among the first to examine the potentially gendered link between social connectedness and life satisfaction by taking advantage of longitudinal data for 2001–13 from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia survey, and by employing more recent innovations in estimation techniques for this type of data.

**Methodology.** Ambrey, Ulichny, and Fleming estimate a microeconomic life satisfaction function, where self-reported life satisfaction (measured on an eleven point ordinal scale) is determined by a range of socioeconomic and demographic variables, including four separate variables to measure social connectedness: (1) hobby; (2) frequent social interaction; (3) sense of belonging; and (4) tangible support. The hobby and frequent social interaction variables give an indication of the

breadth of community participation, while sense of belonging and tangible support measure personal social cohesion. The estimation technique employed is the “blow up and cluster” estimator.

**Main findings.** Ambrey, Ulichny, and Fleming find evidence that: (1) there has been a marginal, although statistically significant, decline in the life satisfaction of women over the 2001–13 period, not experienced by men; (2) after accounting for changes in sociodemographic characteristics, a more pervasive negative trend

in life satisfaction appears to be reported by both men and women; (3) levels of two of our four social connectedness variables (hobby and frequent social interaction) have declined for both genders, whereas two measures (sense of belonging and tangible support) have increased; (4) both women and men report higher levels of life satisfaction on almost all measures of social connectedness; (5) for the most part, coefficient estimates are too imprecise to reliably reveal statistically significant differences in the association between social connectedness and life satisfaction between genders; (6) controlling for the social connectedness variables that have tended to decline over the period appears to explain away some of the negative time trend for both genders, but particularly for women.

**Policy implications.** Ambrey, Ulichny, and Fleming report that both women and men in Australia appear to be reporting lower levels of life satisfaction over time and suggest that socializing less frequently and not participating in sporting, hobby, or community-based clubs or associations is a contributing factor. This may suggest a role for government to create conditions that foster social connectedness within communities in order to promote individual well-being and societal welfare. Urban planning is likely to play a critical role through the design of public spaces that prioritize human interactions and social connections. Policies to help facilitate such design include the addition of social connectedness in the objectives, goals, and strategies in official community plans and regional growth strategies, as well as through the creation of zoning bylaws that allow variances for residential developers to receive additional density or height in exchange for creating common, shared use spaces. The other critical component is the creation of a work-life balance, perhaps through the creation of shorter working weeks as recently put forward by the Australian Greens' Party leader Richard Di Natale (Anderson 2017). A consequence of any such changes would be to foster an environment in which social connectedness is more likely to flourish and thus promote individual well-being and broader societal welfare. Ambrey, Ulichny, and Fleming expect their findings to support the growing body of work that emphasizes the importance of frequent and meaningful social connections and the need to refocus attention on well-being in public policy spheres.

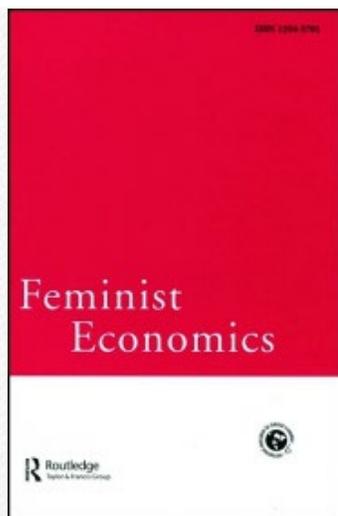
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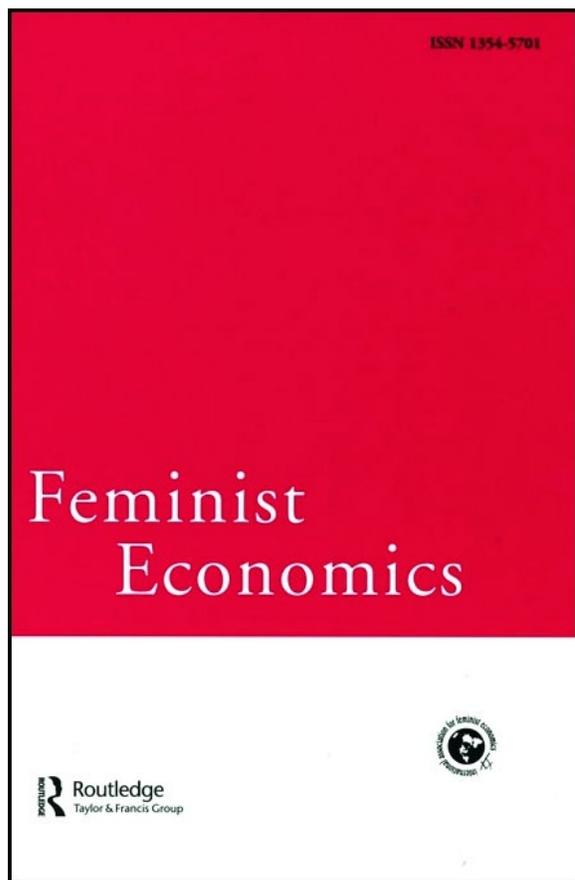
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# Women in Business in Late Nineteenth-Century Chile: Class, Marital Status, and Economic Autonomy

## Feminist Economics

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*Bernardita Escobar Andrae*

The debate over women's historical participation in economic activity has been grounded in the experience of the developed countries of Europe and North America, and consequently, little is still known about the prevalence and presence of entrepreneurial women in similar periods in less developed countries. Bernardita Escobar Andrae addresses this research gap by analyzing involvement of women in business in late nineteenth-century Chile, a developing economy that was experiencing significant institutional, cultural, and economic transformations at the time.

**Methodology.** Escobar Andrae analyzes Chilean women's entrepreneurial activity in the 1877–1908 period through two official data sources representing different socioeconomic business niches: the national trademark registry, covering the full period, and the Santiago business license registry, using data for the years 1878 and 1893. Relying on the ethnic origin of the

surnames of the people included in these datasets, she finds evidence that the trademark dataset better represented the elite among business people, while the business license registry included a higher percentage of non-elite groups. The analysis also reveals an economy in which women engaged increasingly as businesses owners in an expanding range of economic sectors, but to different degrees depending on their social origin.

**Main findings.** Escobar Andrae's analysis of the trademark registry reveals that women's involvement in business increased from 2 percent in the 1878–88 decade, to 5 percent by the turn of the century (1898–1908). On the other hand, the Santiago business license registry showed that women represented 13 percent of business owners in 1878, and 22 percent in 1893. The comparative evidence shows that businesses run by non-elite women expanded faster, earlier, and into a more diversified range of economic sectors than ones run by elite women. Despite the differences in the incidence of women's participation in business, both datasets find women doing business in nearly half of the economic sectors covered in each dataset.

The findings show that the trade of alcoholic beverages was a prominent activity for women of all social classes, but more so for elite women, for whom this sector represented 72 percent of women's businesses. The evidence indicates that the expansion of women-run firms triggered a reduction in the degree of gender segregation across economic activities licensed in Santiago. Women entered former elite male domains, such as the professions of lawyer and physician, and ran businesses in activities not traditionally linked to women, such as blacksmith. The evidence of a decrease in the levels of gender segregation across economic activities reflects a society that was undergoing transformations in its prevalent views of gender roles, a Chilean society that was becoming more permissive of the involvement of women as business people in economic activities less traditionally performed by them, particularly for the middle and working classes. This finding further suggests that in such segments, women experienced increasing degrees of economic autonomy. Widows were disproportionately represented in the business communities, relative to the census benchmark (13 percent of women). They were overrepresented among elite businesswomen (28 percent of women recorded in the trademark registry) and underrepresented among businesswomen of the non-elite (2 percent of the licensed businesswomen), which suggest that widowhood was more of an enabling factor to become a business person among the elite than among the non-elite.

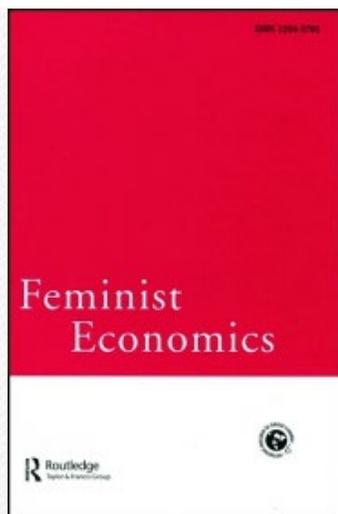
**Research implications.** Considering the better education, access to capital, and business networks that could be expected among the elite, Escobar Andrae's findings suggest that the prevailing cultural patriarchal values regarding gender roles were more enforced and constraining for upper-class women than among women of other social classes.

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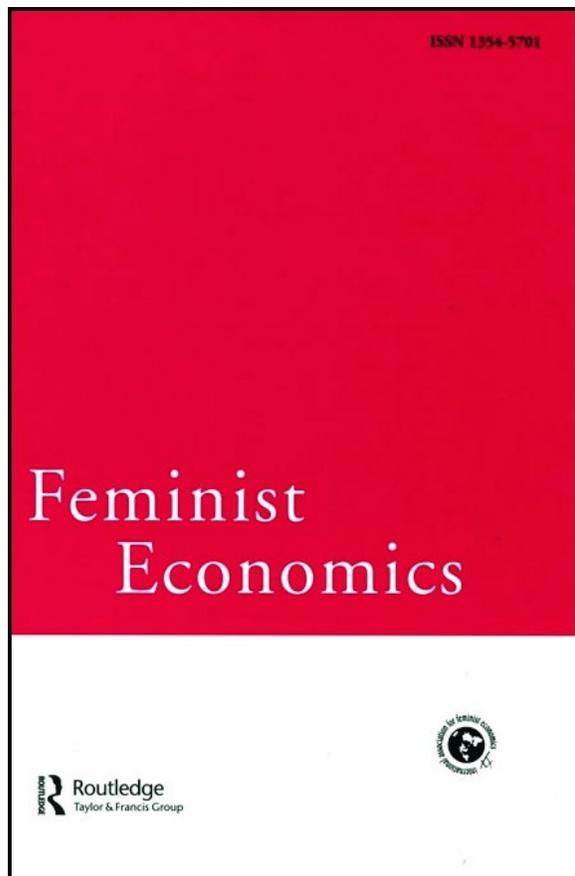
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# Marriages Are Made in Kitchens: The European Marriage Pattern and Life-Cycle Servanthood in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam

## Feminist Economics

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*Corinne Boter*

In present times, the economic and social significance of women's earnings is widely recognized. However, our understanding of women's earnings in the past and their implications for household income and economic growth is still limited. This gap has above all been caused by a scarcity of sources and methodological difficulties. Scholars investigating women's earnings need to be creative in the types of sources they use, as highlighted by the "Off the Record" project (Humphries and Sarasúa 2012). Corinne Boter demonstrates that the account books of eight wealthy Amsterdam families during the period 1752–1805 prove a wonderful source since the wages that were paid to the employed domestic servants – one of the most important female occupations throughout history – were meticulously registered by the heads of households. Based on this source, Boter presents a sample of nearly 900 payments to a total of 115 servant women and 68 servant men.

**The European Marriage Pattern.** During the early modern period, Western European countries were characterized by a specific marriage pattern: both men and women married at a relatively high age, and a high proportion of people remained single their entire lives. Moreover, adolescents left their parental home at a young age, and when they eventually got married, the newlyweds founded their own household instead

of moving in with the groom's parents, as was the case in many other parts of the world. This practice is also called "neo-locality." The period between leaving the parental home and marriage was used to save money for the foundation of a new household.

**Premarital savings.** Most scholars agree that the vast majority of unmarried women in early modern Europe worked as domestic servants to accumulate their premarital savings. In the literature, this is generally referred to as "life-cycle servanthood." Boter's study is the first to use domestic servants' wages to estimate the extent of this capital. To calculate this capital, Boter took several steps. First, she determined the average time between leaving the parental home and marriage. Girls left their parents when they were between 15 and 18 years old and married when they were 25 years old. Thus, they had circa eight years to work and save for their marriage. Second, Boter multiplied the servants' annual wages to calculate the (hypothetical) sum of money these girls could save. After all, they received food and shelter on top of their wages so in theory they did not need to spend any money at all. However, and this is step three, they probably did spend money on clothes. That is why Boter subtracted 15 percent of their wages because in general, households in Amsterdam spent this share of their total expenditures on textiles.

**The capital of newlywed couples.** Boter's results show that on average, domestic servants working for the wealthier households of Amsterdam could save 537.86 guilders in a period of eight years. To determine what this meant for the foundation of a new household, Boter calculated the hypothetical capital of an unskilled, male laborer (servants' likely marriage partners), using the same method as applied to the servants' wages. On average, these men could save 1,490.38 guilders in eight years' time. This means that upon marriage, a woman roughly owned between a quarter and a half of what her husband's capital was worth and between one-fifth and one-third of the capital the couple owned together.

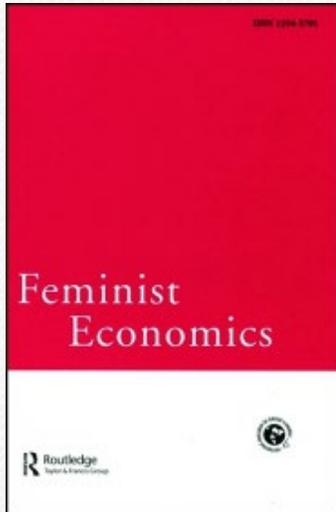
**Household living standards.** Boter's research results inform us, although indirectly, about household living standards. Many newlywed couples started their own business in, for instance, retailing. To start such a business, seed capital was needed. Women's savings, which could be obtained by working as a domestic servant *before* marriage, were as such crucial for their source of income *after* marriage. Boter demonstrates that for a proper understanding of household welfare throughout history and for economic development in general, it is imperative to include women's earnings in the analysis.

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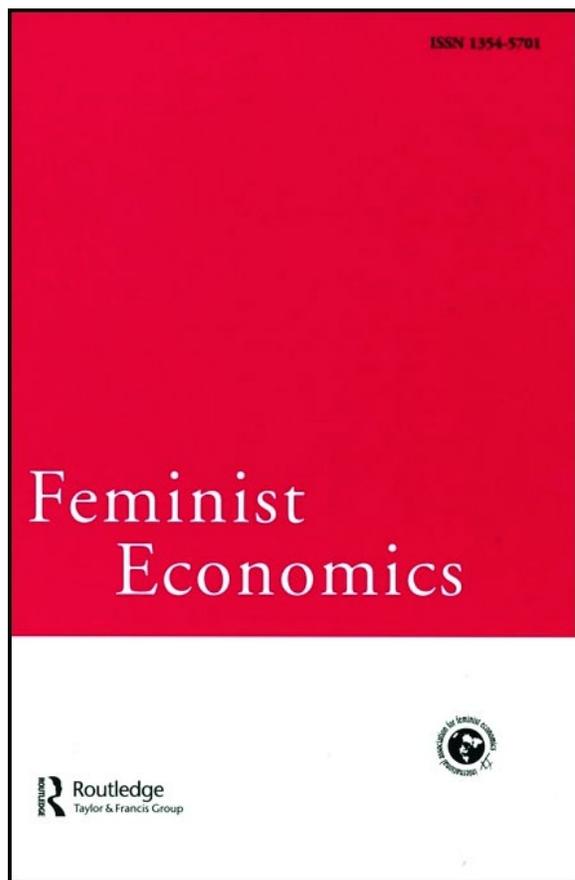
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# A Gendered Model of The Peasant Household: Time Poverty and Farm Production in Rural Mozambique

## Feminist Economics

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*Diksha Arora and Codrina Rada*

The responsibility to produce and provide food for the family and care for household members forces many women in rural Africa into time poverty. Thus, women often work longer hours than men, engage in multitasking, and give up on paid work in order to complete the tasks that are essential for the daily survival of the household. Eventually, many women must give up their basic right to enjoy leisure or the right to recuperate, which puts a significant strain on their physical and mental health. But, women's time poverty may also adversely affect the well-being of other household members, given the woman's central role in food production and household maintenance.

Drawing on insights from a 2013 case study on gender roles and women's coping mechanisms in 206 smallholder farming households in Nampula, Mozambique, Diksha Arora and Codrina Rada examine the relationship between time poverty and farm production in the peasant household economy. Social norms in

Mozambique limit the degree of labor substitution between men and women in the maintenance of household and provision of care. Although men and women realize the drudgery of women's labor, gender division of labor in the household is rarely challenged by either sex.

**A gendered model of the peasant household.** Arora and Rada adopt an analytical framework that is similar to the peasant household model of Chayanov. The household does not hire outside labor nor does

it sell its own labor; the household is both a consuming and a producing unit. The objective is to maximize household utility, which depends on consumption of farm output and leisure. Unlike Chayanov, however, Arora and Rada do not treat all household labor as an undifferentiated entity. Arora and Rada's household model builds on previous attempts to theorize gender relations in household economics (Darity 1995; Warner and Campbell 2000; Burda, Hamermesh, and Weil 2007) and takes a step further in formalizing the role of social norms in the labor allocation decisions of men and women. Contrary to neoclassical economics, men's and women's decisions regarding work and leisure in this model are affected not only by wage and disutility of work but also by social norms. The model incorporates both farm and household production, including care provision in order to make visible women's actual work burden.

The authors use the model to explore how an idiosyncratic shock that deepens women's time constraints impacts labor allocation in the household. An illness that befalls a family member is expected to impose an additional responsibility on women to which they respond by reducing both their work time on the farm and their rest time. The latter may negatively affect women's labor productivity on the farm. In response, it is likely that given the minimum level of food consumption that is required for the household's survival, men will increase their labor supply on the farm.

**Main findings.** Arora and Rada use simulations to test the model's theoretical predictions. These are indeed confirmed by simulation results: a 5 percent increase in the woman's labor time in care provision causes a loss of 5.9 percent in farm production.

**Research implications.** The gendered model of the household and empirical evidence from Mozambique reveal that extreme time poverty among women could adversely affect household food production, a link that has been overlooked in the food security literature. The study recommends prioritizing the role of intrahousehold labor allocation in understanding the potential threats to food security.

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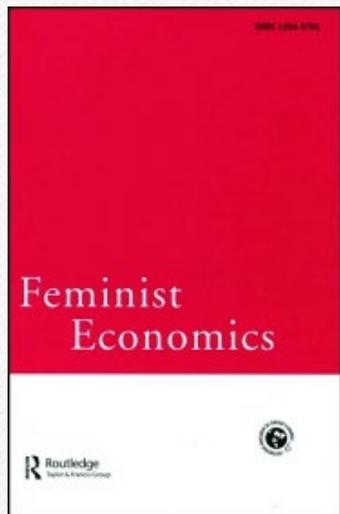
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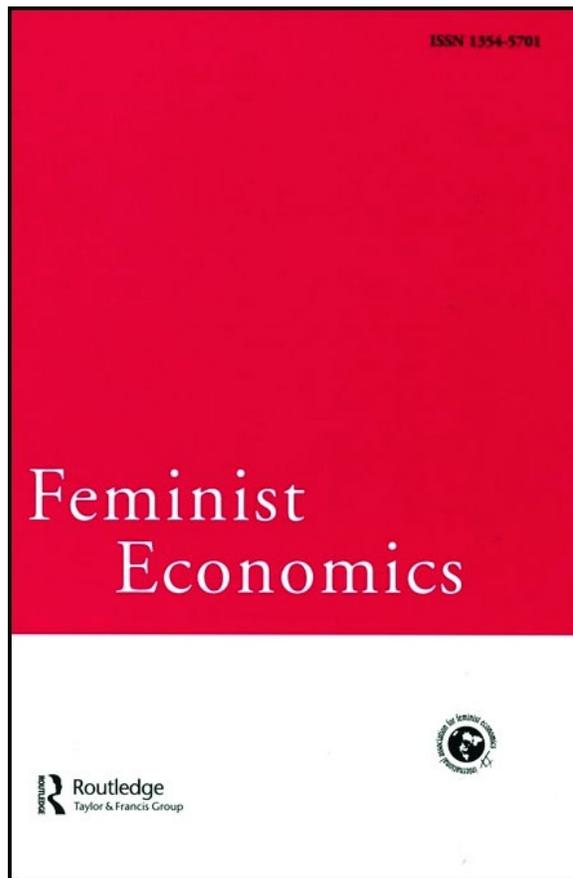
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# Gender Empowerment and Educational Attainment of US Immigrants and Their Home-Country Counterparts

## Feminist Economics

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*Yunsun Huh*

The immigrant population in the US has been rapidly increasing since 1990, and over half of incoming immigrants are women. Understanding what types of individuals migrate and why they choose to do so are important policy questions affecting labor markets in both the receiving and sending countries. Yunsun Huh explores these questions by examining the educational attainment of US women and men immigrants from forty-two countries of origin, relative to their home country counterparts.

Importantly, Huh also examines how home country gender norms influence the decision to migrate. Most previous empirical studies examining these issues employ data that predominantly focus on men, thus these male-centered studies may miss important factors driving women to migrate. Even those few studies dealing specifically with the characteristics of immigrant women do not consider gender inequality as a key factor of home country conditions that may influence the choice to

migrate. Given that traditional gender norms create different economic and sociopolitical environments for women relative to men, gender inequality provides different incentives for women to work, obtain education, and migrate.

**Methodology.** Utilizing data from the 2006 American Community Survey and the 2000 and 2014 Barro-Lee World Educational Attainment Dataset, Huh calculates the Net Difference Index (NDI), to compare

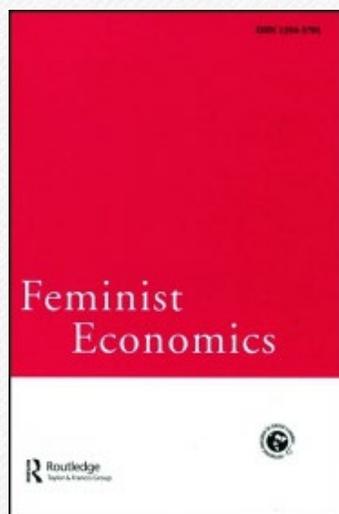
educational attainment between US immigrants and the population of their home country. Focusing on adult immigrants who possess their home country gender norms, Huh creates three different cohort groups based on the timing of migration to account for changes in home country conditions over time. In turn, utilizing the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) published by the United Nations as an indicator for home country gender equality, Huh examines the impact of gender empowerment on the differences in educational attainment of migrants versus non-migrants.

**Main findings.** Huh's results show that immigrant women and men from all countries are more educated relative to their home country counterparts. Moreover, using regression analysis, Huh shows that higher gender inequality in a home country induces more highly educated women to leave their home country and migrate. This result confirms the importance of gender inequality on the migration decision making of women. Thus, high gender inequality in the home country strengthens migration incentives for high-skilled women (but not low-skilled women), since it decreases the returns to skill and opportunities to reach higher socioeconomic status. Additionally, the results reinforce previous findings in the literature that higher migration costs and lower income inequality in a home country lead to more high-skilled individuals choosing to migrate.

**Policy implications.** Huh's findings suggest that policies promoting more women to positions of political and economic power within a country, for example through quotas for women or other policy tools, could have a positive impact in attracting or retaining more skilled workers in both receiving and sending countries. Greater women's empowerment in a society encourages more skilled women to migrate to that society and discourages brain drain of skilled women from leaving.

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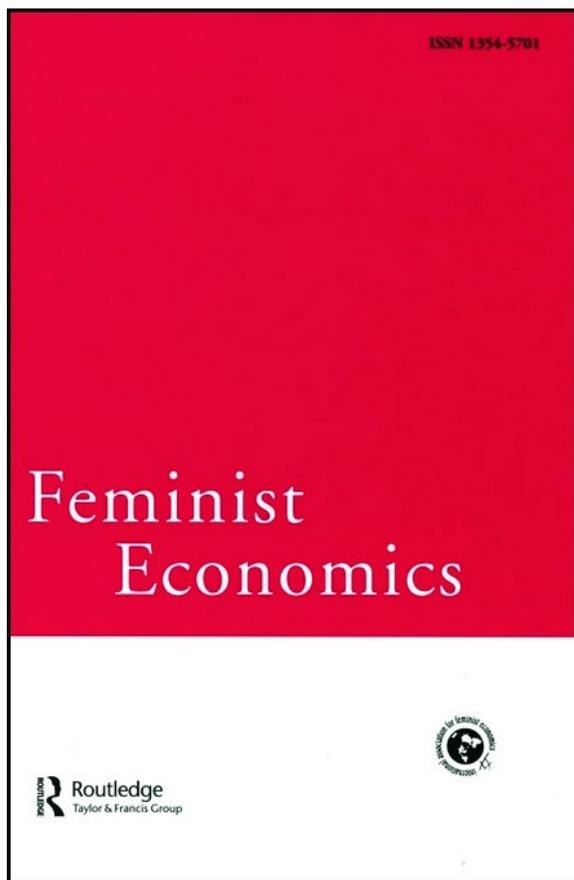
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# Gender Gaps in Social Capital: A Theoretical Interpretation of Evidence from Italy

## Feminist Economics

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Elisabetta Addis and Majlinda Joxhe

How do gender differences in social capital relate to other personal characteristics such as age, education, having children, and employment status? The concept of social capital is widely used in the economic development literature, including as an explanation for cross-country differences in economic growth. According to this literature, a network of relations connects people in every society. Through this network, people share information and norms and implicitly agree on behavior. The existence and thickness of this network can be assessed by looking at social activities, such as civic participation, professional relations, and school- or sport-related activities. There is a positive correlation between the thickness of the network and economic growth, confirmed in datasets for many countries, due to the fact that such networks foster trust, make it easier to enforce all kinds of contracts, and allow valuable information to flow. Women have an important presence in social networks. However, a review of the literature shows that most data analysis

is made with no gender disaggregation. Focusing on the case of Italy, Elisabetta Addis and Majlinda Joxhe ask the question: is there a difference of the accumulation of social capital over lifetime between men and women? If there is such a difference, what may be the explanation?

**Methodology.** Addis and Joxhe use the Italian Multiscopo (multipurpose) surveys, individual data collected by the Italian National Statistic Agency, for the years, 1997 and 2011. They adapt the methodology of a

model in Glaeser, Laibson, and Sacerdote (2002) who use US-based data and take the number of memberships in civic organizations as an indicator of the formal social capital owned by each respondent. Different from Glaeser, Laibson, and Sacerdote, Addis and Joxhe disaggregate by sex. The authors approximate the number of connections to individuals by a quadratic curve depicting the rising and falling of social capital over age, which is more marked for men. They also estimate the correlates of social capital using regression analysis.

**Main findings.** Addis and Joxhe show that being a man is associated with approximately 30 percent more social capital. Having children is associated with less social capital, while being married and having a large household are correlated with more. Education increases social capital, with people with a university degree having about 37 percent more social capital than people who only complete mandatory schooling. Being employed increases social capital by 35 percent, and interestingly, being a housewife increases social capital by 15 percent with respect to being unemployed.

**Theoretical implications.** Addis and Joxhe then develop a model capable of explaining gender and age differences in social capital. The authors propose that a gender and age ordering, which attaches differential social value to women versus men (and adults versus young persons), determines the social capital they get. They introduce a simple example of such ordering.

**Policy implications.** Labor policies should be based on models where differences in characteristics of workers are taken into proper account. If we assume that all workers are identically equal we fail to explain and forecast labor market inequalities correctly. Instead, the literature may use models that include all the relevant differences, including also the differences in social capital endowment by sex. For example, labor policies to increase women's employment should aim to help women build appropriate social capital networks; family policies should ensure that women have enough free time to invest in civic participation.

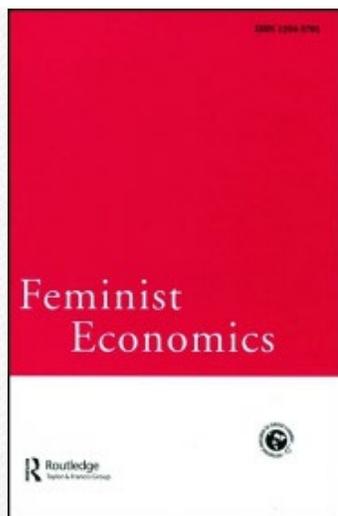
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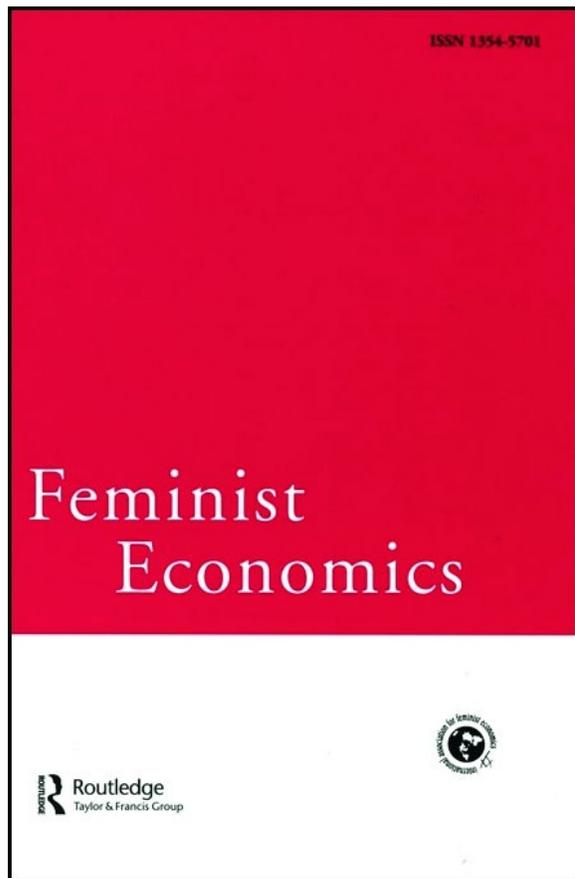
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# Understanding the Remittance Gender Gap among Hispanics in the US: Gendered Norms and the Role of Expectations

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*Yongjin Park, Monika Lopez-Anuarbe, and Maria Cruz-Saco*

Remittances, or income transfers from international migrants to their country of origin, represent an important source of foreign exchange and household income in Latin America. Remittances reached around \$50 billion in 2015 and are mostly sent from migrants residing in the United States. For many recipient countries in Central and South America, remittances contribute to more than 10 percent of GDP, often surpassing official development assistance and foreign direct investment, and they help communities at home by increasing consumption and human capital formation. Using the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS), Yongjin Park, Monika Lopez-Anuarbe, and Maria Cruz-Saco examine the gendered remittance behavior of Hispanics residing in the US.

### Viewing remittances through a cultural and gendered lens.

Research shows that remittance decisions, like migration, are based on complex gender and familial relationships embedded

in specific institutional and cultural settings. The decisions to migrate and remit are “gendered phenomena” that result from interactions within networks of households, families, and friends and require interdisciplinary analysis to understand their dynamics. Yet to date, the relationship between gender norms and expectations and remittance behavior has not been explored empirically.

**Remittance gender gap due to a difference in expectations.** Park, Lopez-Auarbe, and Cruz-Saco find

that, in general, men migrants tend to remit more than women migrants. However, they also demonstrate that the gender gap varies greatly across diverse subgroups of Hispanics. The groups that are most likely to send money – non-US-born Hispanics who migrated for economic reasons, plan to return home, have a low educational level, and earn a low income – are also the ones among which the remittance gender gap favoring men is the greatest.

Park, Lopez-Anuarbe, and Cruz-Saco hypothesize that the gender gap in remittances may stem from the differences in expectations of men and women migrants by their home families. That is, women migrants may remit less to conform to their home family expectations due to gender norms of the community. To test this hypothesis, using the LNS the authors construct a gender norm index based on a set of survey questions that ask migrants' views on the gender division of labor at home, the gender wage gap, and a woman's potential to be a leader. The index is designed to capture the gender norms of migrants, which should reflect the gender norms of their families of origin. The authors examine the correlation between the remittance gender gap, measured by the coefficient of the gender dummy variable, and the gender norm index values of various subgroups. The results show that the subgroups in which the remittance gender gap is the greatest are also the ones that display more traditional gender views. This result suggests that the expected remittances from families back home may reflect the gender norms of the home family in their country of origin, which eventually affect the amount of money migrants send back to their home family.

The authors show that for many migrants "the community of which they are a part stretches across the border, that even when they are thousands of miles apart they can in some way still remain *aqui con nosotros* (here with us)" (Hirsch 2003: 207–8), and therefore their remittance behavior also has to be understood through the cultural and gender norms they carry.

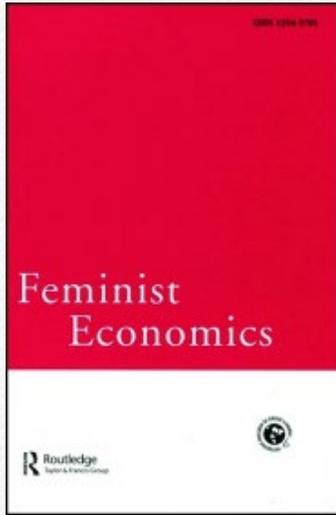
**Policy implications.** The authors show that remittances sent by migrant workers and families are affected by the expectations of families back home, which may ultimately reflect the gender norms in that country. This suggests that future studies on remittance behavior should incorporate information on a migrant's family background, such as the income of the family in the home country, to control for motivation and differences in gendered perspectives. Also, as notions of gender and gender views of migrants change, of which high-skilled female migrants are an example, we should expect a change in the gender remittance gap.

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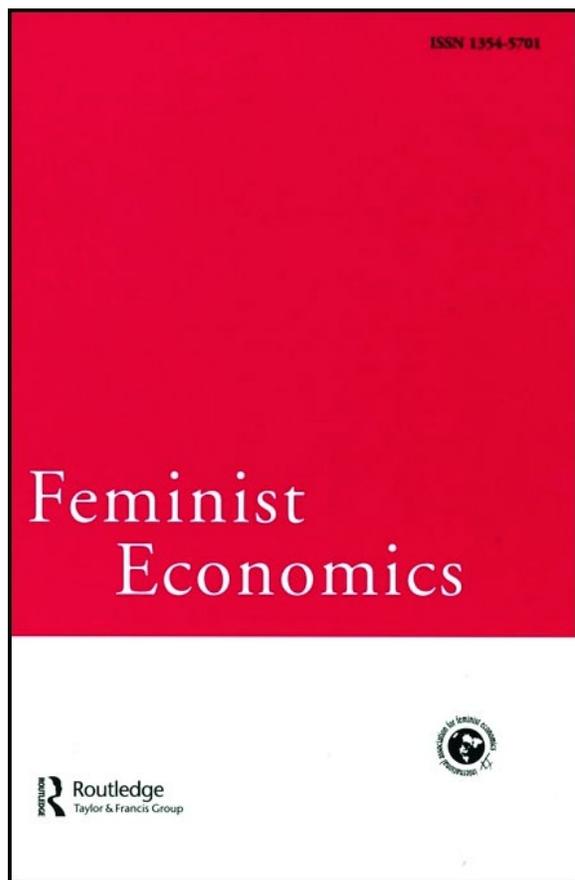


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# Twenty-Five Years of Counting for Nothing: Waring's Critique of National Accounts Feminist Economics

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*Caroline Saunders and Paul Dalziel*

In 1988, Marilyn Waring published an influential book, *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics*, which argued that the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA) was infused with patriarchal values dominant among economists of the day, constructing reality in a particular way by deciding which facts would be relevant and what parts of human experience were to be made invisible to economic policymakers. Her focus was on the invisibility in the UNSNA of the valuable contributions of unpaid care work and services of nature to human well-being. There have been important developments since 1988, including the success of the Accounting for Women's Work project that reflects the contributions of diverse scholars, UN agencies, and policymakers in making unremunerated work within households visible for national accounts. Nevertheless, Caroline Saunders and Paul Dalziel argue that Waring's description of the UNSNA as "applied patriarchy" continues to be relevant.

**The ideology of post-World War II patriarchy.** Saunders and Dalziel describe the influences that shaped the design of UNSNA framework but also brought forth feminist critiques. Betty Friedan's 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique* analyzed the postwar emergence of the highly constraining propaganda that confined women's work to domesticity. Feminist economists critiqued the same ideological separation between women's and men's work that was firmly embedded in postwar mainstream economics. Waring had direct experience of the oppressive nature of this ideology as an elected member of the New Zealand House of

Representatives (1975–84). This experience included her rude awakening to the implications of UNSNA rules for measuring the value of work, discovered from her efforts to promote policies to improve the well-being of women in her own country and through meetings in her parliamentary role with women in developed and developing countries around the world.

***If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics.*** Waring's book acknowledged the previous critiques of researchers such as Ester Boserup, Kathleen Newland, Lourdes Benería, and Barbara Rogers. Her own contribution was to focus specifically on demystifying the UNSNA's role as an essential tool of the male economic system, paying particular attention to how the UNSNA ignores damage to the natural environment and excludes domestic production (dominated by women's work) for a household's own consumption. The book was well received and recent publications have documented its global inspiration for change, including the tribute volume edited by Margunn Bjørnholt and Ailsa McKay in 2014.

**The UNSNA as the ideology of patriarchy (cont'd).** Those responsible for the UNSNA have not been impervious to criticisms such as those made by Waring. Nevertheless, the latest revisions in 2009 continue to maintain that services from nature such as the atmosphere and the high seas that are not capable of bringing economic benefits to owners are not to be included; nor are services produced by household members for consumption within the same household, such as the care, training, and instruction of children, or the care of sick, infirm, or the elderly. The UNSNA rules that these items are outside the boundaries of essential economic behavior. This was precisely at the heart of Waring's critique: that the UNSNA constructs reality in a particular way by defining what does and does not constitute economic behavior. Moreover, GDP continues to be used as the major measure of policy success. Urgent problems of global climate change and the well-being of women in developed and developing countries mean that Waring's insights remain relevant for creating a better national accounting system that covers all economic activity and includes all the anthropogenic impacts on social and natural environments.

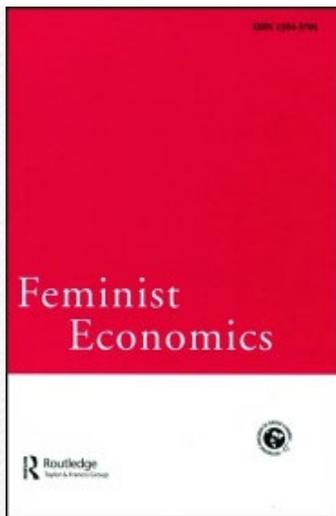
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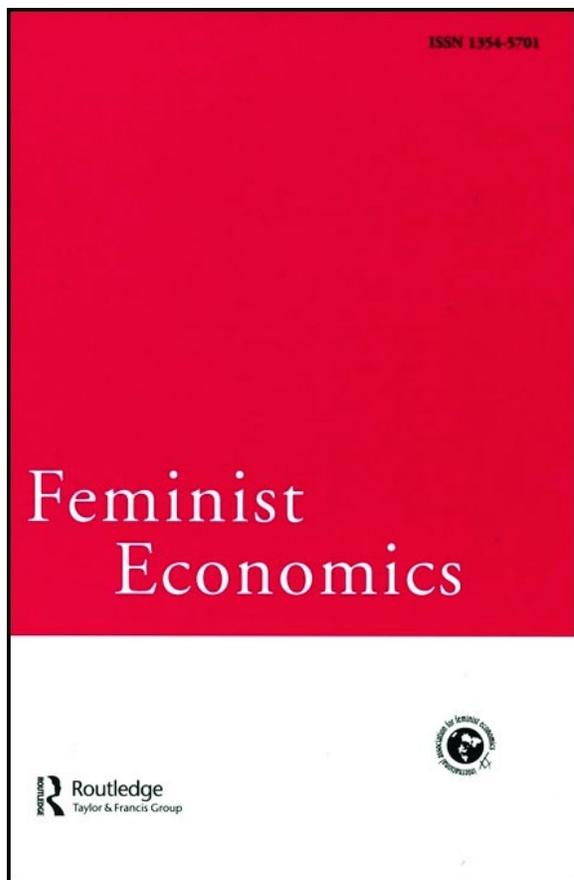


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### Sex Work among Trans People: Evidence from Southern Italy

*Carlo D'Ippoliti and Fabrizio Botti*

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## Cam Models, Sex Work, and Job Immobility in the Philippines

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## Sex, Deportation, and Rescue: Economies of Migration among Nigerian Sex Workers

*Sine Plambech*

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## Sex Work and Trafficking: Moving beyond Dichotomies

*Francesca Bettio, Marina Della Giusta, and Maria Laura Di Tommaso*

Francesca Bettio, Marina Della Giusta and Maria Laura Di Tommaso advance new feminist economics inquiry into the topic of sex work to include arguments that are currently...

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## Between Visibility and Invisibility: Sex Workers and Informal Services in Amsterdam

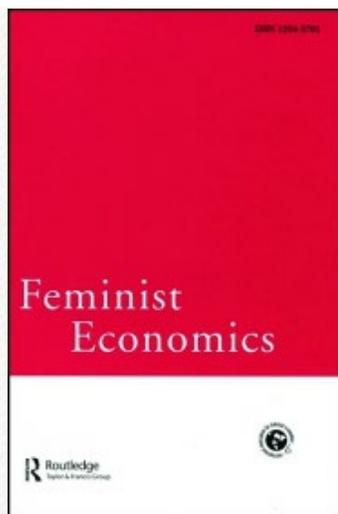
*Maite Verhoeven and Barbra van Gestel*

Although sex work was legalized in the Netherlands in 2000, certain characteristics of the Dutch sex industry maintain a degree of informality that influences sex workers' employment and working...

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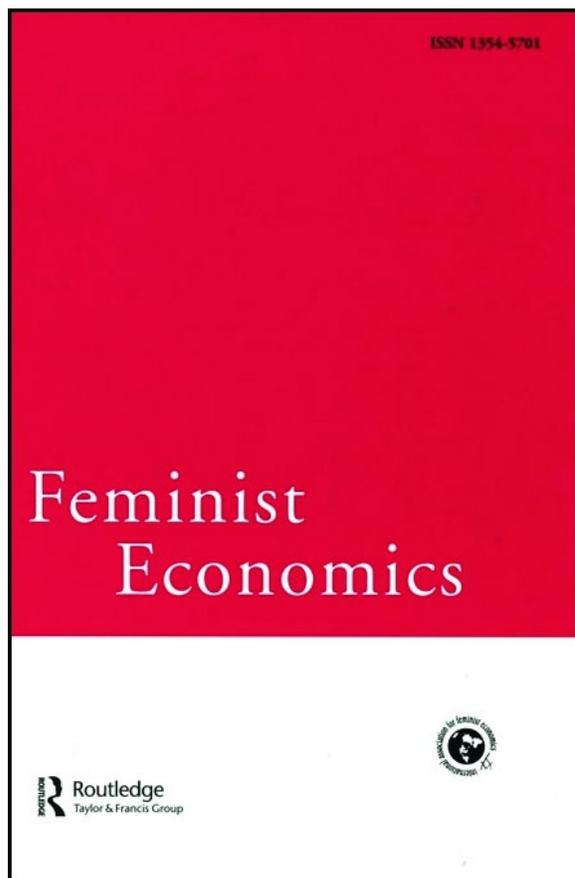


# Sex Work among Trans People: Evidence from Southern Italy

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*Carlo D'Ippoliti and Fabrizio Botti*

The difficulty of sampling hard-to-reach and hidden populations has to date limited the ability to empirically test the determinants of being involved in sex work. Carlo D'Ippoliti and Fabrizio Botti contribute in that direction by analyzing a very stigmatized and discriminated-against segment of the sex market in Italy: that of transsexual and transgender people. In Italy, sex work is mostly ignored by legislation and public policies, and this is likely to impact the most fragile segments of the sex work market, including trans sex workers. D'Ippoliti and Botti attempt to empirically investigate the determinants of the supply side of sex work, moving beyond the dichotomy between coerced sex work, often as a consequence of human trafficking, and cases in which sex work may be considered as a free choice of the individual.

**Gender identity discrimination in Southern Italy.** D'Ippoliti and Botti collected original data on trans people through snowball sampling in 2010, within a study on sexual orientation

and gender identity discrimination in the four Italian "Objective Convergence Regions" (that is, those exhibiting a per capita income lower than 75 percent of the European average). The authors designed the survey to ensure the anonymity of all answers, and all stages of the survey and sampling benefited from the active support of local LGBT and trans associations. In that context, although the survey did not specifically focus on trans sex workers, the authors gathered a conspicuous amount of information concerning trans sex workers. While all trans people in the sample state that they have been victims of some form of

discrimination in the two years prior to the interview, sex workers typically declared of suffering from heightened discrimination specifically in the labor market (as well as rejection by family members and relatives). Coupled with their lower average educational attainment, such trends are associated with a higher probability for sex workers to state they were unable to find any other occupation.

**The “sex work trap.”** D’Ippoliti and Botti conducted a multivariate analysis of the determinants of entering sex work, which confirmed that within the trans population, “pull factors” into sex work – for example, prospective income – positively affect individuals’ decision to supply sex services. Their data also confirm that “push factors,” such as low employability and past experiences of discrimination, contribute to the same result. On the whole, the latter drivers seem to weigh more than the former. Accordingly, for trans people in Italy D’Ippoliti and Botti note a widespread “sex work trap,” in which marginalized and stigmatized individuals may fall into sex work for lack of better alternatives.

**Trans sex workers’ employability and the fight against stigma and discrimination.** D’Ippoliti and Botti argue that to prevent people from falling into a sex work trap, and to help them exit from it, it seems equally relevant to enhance their employability and to effectively fight stigma and discrimination in the labor market. Indeed, discrimination affects trans people not only by establishing a barrier to formal employment, but also by constraining their income potential in the labor market, thus impacting both push and pull factors into sex work.

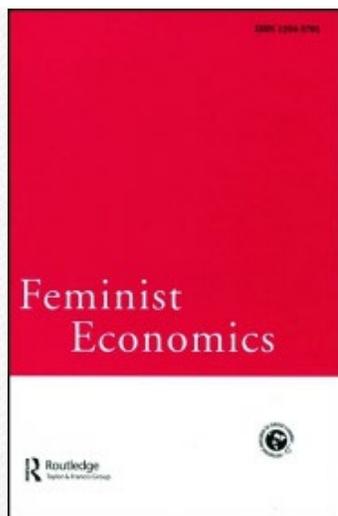
At the same time, D’Ippoliti and Botti provide evidence of a risk of further discrimination specifically against sex workers, especially in their interactions with strangers, clients, healthcare operators, and law enforcement officers. As a consequence, trans sex workers face even higher risks of discrimination than trans people in general. Thus, the authors argue for the need for policy design with adequate protection measures for sex workers. These encompass both active labor market policies aimed at increasing trans people’s employability and income potential in the labor market and strengthening social and healthcare services, including training for the workers in these sectors and for police officers on the importance of respecting and valuing diversity and on the specific needs of trans people.

Concerning the implications for future research, Botti and D’Ippoliti’s contribution highlights the need to collect more and better data on marginalized and hard-to-reach populations and the importance of involving actors to access hidden and stigmatized strata of the population as well as to better understand their specificities and life experiences.

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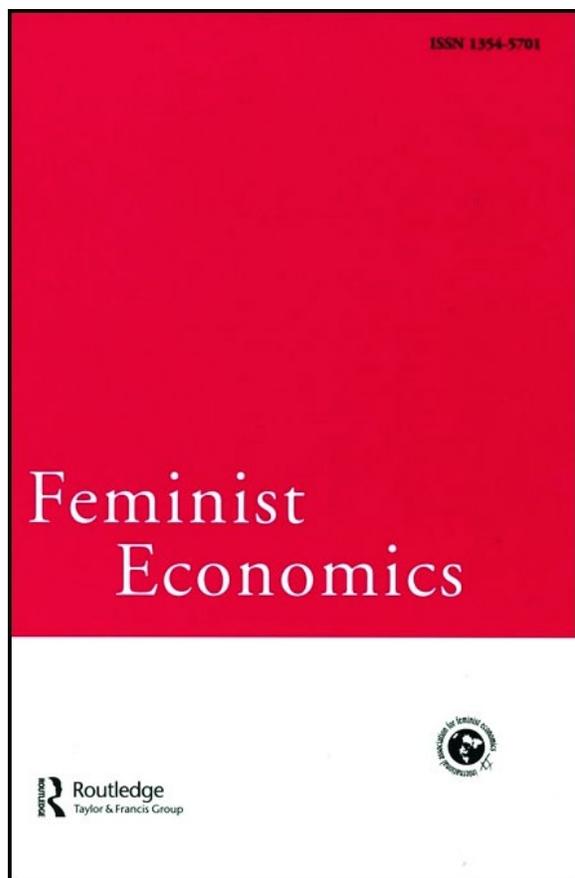


# Bargaining Power and Indicators of Well-Being among Brothel-Based Sex Workers in India

## Feminist Economics

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*Neha Hui*

Neha Hui's study looks at the determinants of bargaining power and consequently, well-being of women in sex work in India. Bargaining power is understood here as the capacity of the sex worker to achieve or experience positive well-being outcomes given individual, institutional, and occupational constraints. These well-being outcomes are consequences of the individual's negotiation with other agents inside and outside the trade, including pimps, madams, law enforcers, customers, family members, and partners. The individual's bargaining power determines her ability to negotiate with these agents. Institutional factors, including social and patriarchal structures that result in stigma attached to the work can be expected to affect the individual's bargaining power. Furthermore, occupational constraints resulting from both the legal and social framework within which the industry is situated can also be expected to have an impact.

**Methodology.** Hui draws on a questionnaire-based field survey of brothel-based sex workers from Delhi and Kolkata, carried out between June and December 2013, and uses the capabilities approach to understand individual, occupational, and institutional determinants of bargaining power and well-being. Hui's study considers bargaining power to be a latent, unobservable variable and draws from Maria Di Tommaso et al. (2009) on the use of latent variable analysis for unobservable factors determining well-being

outcomes. Hui uses a structural equation model (SEM) to estimate the overall well-being of the individual as the outcome of her unobservable bargaining power. This model allows us to build a system of equations that specifies the relationship between a set of observable exogenous variables (in this case the set of individual and institutional resources available to the sex worker) and a set of endogenous indicator variables (the well-being outcome variables) either directly or via an unobserved or unmeasured latent variable (here, bargaining power).

**Main findings.** Hui's findings indicate that some individual, occupational, and institutional variables have a significant effect on bargaining power and, consequently, on the determination of well-being outcome variables. Specifically, involvement with NGOs and collectives, such as sex workers' unions and NGOs involved with sex workers' rights seems to positively affect bargaining power. However, it should be noted that there are differences in what determines actual (objective) and perceived (subjective) bargaining. Some factors that play a significant role in determining objective bargaining power, such as years spent in sex work and residence in a brothel, may not play a role in determining subjective bargaining power. Conversely, factors such as marital status and caste play a significant role in determining subjective but not objective bargaining power. There are indications that stigma implicitly affects perceived bargaining power more than actual bargaining power.

**Research implications.** Hui's study has limitations in terms of sample selection bias and measurement error, as it was not possible to interview sex workers who are presently facing abusive conditions or who have been trafficked into the trade very recently because of the coercive conditions under which they live. This results in sample selection bias due to the nonrandom nature of sampling. Therefore, the author does not make any claims on generality of bargaining power among sex workers based on this study, as she is forced to omit the section of the population that may be faced with very low levels of bargaining power. Measurement error is a concern as all the well-being outcomes are measured on the basis of responses of the sex workers.

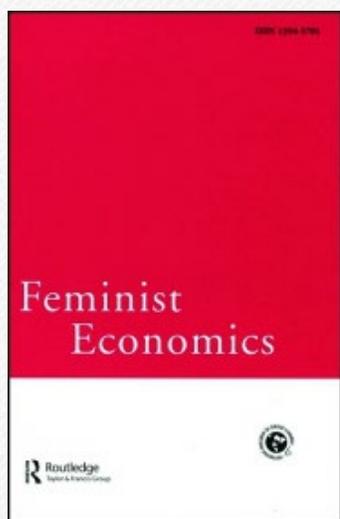
The differentiation between objective and subjective bargaining power deals with this self-reporting bias to a certain extent by isolating the sex worker's actual experience from her perception of her experience. This research contributes to the existing academic and policy literature on sex work by providing a framework of analysis in terms of bargaining power, or the individual's capacity to negotiate vis-à-vis other agents in the trade. By doing this, the author extends current analysis beyond the victimization or consent assumptions that are extant in policy analyses of this occupation.

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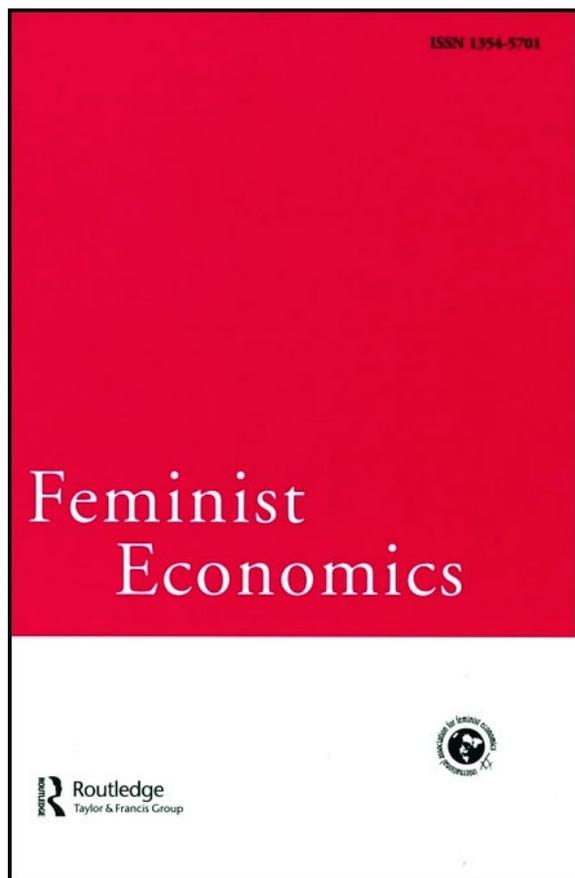
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# Stigma and Risky Behaviors among Male Clients of Sex Workers in the UK

## Feminist Economics

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*Marina Della Giusta, Maria Laura Di Tommaso, and Sarah Louise Jewell*

Sex work is an activity carried out by women, men, and transgender individuals mostly, although not exclusively, to cater to male demand. Sex work has been widely studied in the social sciences along a variety of dimensions including violence, immigration, sex tourism, identity and rights, drug abuse, HIV risks, trafficking, and regulatory concerns. Economists have concentrated on bargaining, prices and earnings, supply characteristics, and risk, with relatively little work dedicated to understanding the nature of demand, which has been largely modeled as a straight substitute for unpaid or “free sex.”

Marina Della Giusta, Maria Laura Di Tommaso, and Sarah Jewell argue that demand for paid sex is only partially a substitute for free sex and empirically is shown to be connected to control, and that the exchange is poorly understood unless stigma is properly taken into account in both supply of and demand for

paid sex. Although there is plenty of evidence that sex workers are stigmatized and suffer consequences in terms of both the riskiness of their work and the effect this has on their lives more broadly, the effect of stigma on demand has been much less studied.

**Methodology.** Della Giusta, Di Tommaso, and Jewell use a representative sample of British men, drawn from the second British National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (NATSAL), conducted between 1999

and 2001, to investigate the determinants of client demand. Sex work itself is not illegal in the UK, although many of the activities that facilitate or flow from both its street and off-street manifestations (including soliciting, kerb-crawling, controlling prostitution for gain, and so on) are. In particular, the authors examine the effects of client characteristics (demographics as well as education and professional status), their attitudes (conservative views), and risky behaviors (smoking, drinking, drug use) on the demand for paid sex. The authors model the demand for paid sex using probit models to examine the effect the various factors have on the probability of whether an individual has ever paid for sex.

**Main findings.** Della Giusta, Di Tomasso, and Jewell find that demand increases with income (as proxied by education level) though it decreases with professional status, which they take as evidence of the effect of stigmatization on clients who have much to lose reputation-wise from engaging in the purchasing of paid sex. The authors find that there is a positive and significant effect from all risky behavior variables, and no significant effects of variables that measure the relative degree of conservatism in morals.

**Policy implications.** The policy implications from these findings are not straightforward, and more analysis is needed to be able to offer robust suggestions. However, it seems clear that stigma plays a role in demand (at least the stigma potentially suffered by a client), as do attitudes to risk. If these findings are confirmed with more data and analysis, it would seem appropriate to introduce self-control training to prevent risky behaviors, rather than education about the experiences and harms of sex work, especially for sex workers and the local area, or appeals to morals to increase the effectiveness of John's schools (education programs originating in the US for men convicted of sex offenses and more commonly known as kerb-crawling rehabilitation schemes in the UK).

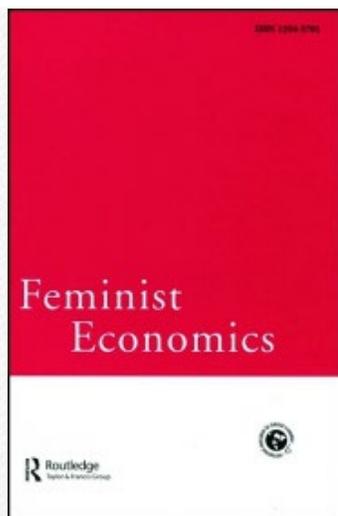
**Future research.** The third survey NATSAL (covering data collected between 2010 and 2012) has recently become available. Future work will compare the second and third surveys of NATSAL to see if the determinants of the demand for paid sex have changed between the two surveys. Between the two surveys there has been a move to criminalize clients and changes in legislation in the UK, which moved from a relatively permissive regime under the Wolfenden Report of 1960, to a much harder line of aiming to crack down on prostitution with the Prostitution (Public Places) Scotland Act of 2007 and the Policing and Crime Act of 2009 in England and Wales.

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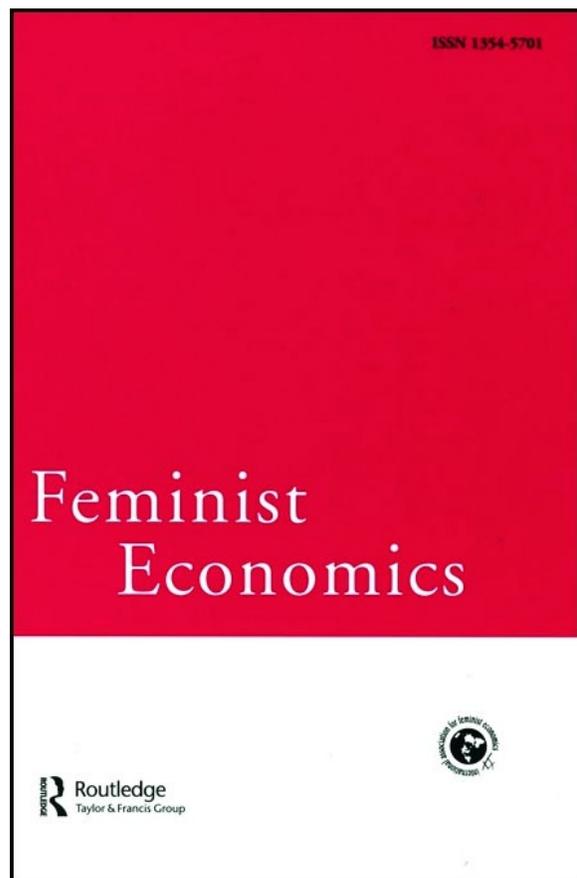


# Cam Models, Sex Work, and Job Immobility in the Philippines

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*Paul William Mathews*

There are limited studies of the sex work industry in the Philippines, which focus mostly on bar-girls and the bar structure within particular local contexts. Paul William Mathews' study explores a relatively new activity and personnel within the Philippines' sex industry – the work of adult Asian Cam Models (ACMs), women who present themselves live via Internet webcam to solicit customers to view the women naked or engaging in sexual activities. It is widely assumed that because ACMs present their sexuality on camera, they are prostitutes and are therefore willing to engage in physical sexual relations for money. But Mathews points out that ACMs do not identify as (digital) prostitutes because their work is mediated by technology, and they do not have to “touch” clients. He argues that cam modeling provides opportunity to women who are not, or do not want to be, prostitutes, and who otherwise have limited employment prospects. Thus, cam models are able to earn income in a way that is both economically and socially

“convenient” to them. He portrays how these models work in a sexual, social, and economic sense, with some comparison to other sex workers.

**Methodology.** Mathews used participant-observation, ad hoc conversations, and fragmented interviews primarily on one particular cam site, and offline interviews with some twenty models, over a period of six years (2010–16). In addition, the study draws on the author's thirty-five years of knowledge about the sex

industry in the Philippines. Thus, Mathews' study also highlights the importance of using online and other methodologies in economics research, particularly in examining sensitive topics such as the sex work industry, and particularly cam modeling, within the informal economy.

**Main findings.** Mathews situates ACMs and associated structural constraints and social stigma within a broad-brush summary of the sex industry in the Philippines. Doing so enables us to understand occupational immobility within the Philippines' sex industry for each form of sex work. He argues that because ACMs do not necessarily identify as sex workers they are unwilling to move to other forms of sex work, choosing the type of sex work that they do for various reasons.

Yet, Mathews shows that, as with other sex workers, ACMs operate on a piece-rate basis that shifts the burden and risks of production to the worker at the point of production and exposes them to various forms of exploitation. However, few if any ACMs are trafficked, contrary to popular perceptions. Rather, many work from their own homes or for primarily women bosses who themselves may be ACMs or hold other respectable jobs such as teaching school or government employment.

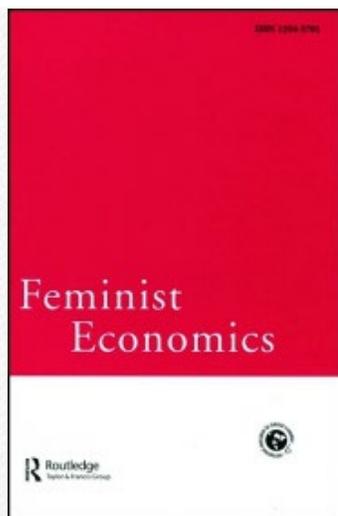
**Research implications.** In portraying cam models' work and identity, Mathews' study problematizes the nature of sex and sex work by exploring the notion of agency as more than economic decision making, but also as a factor in determining a sense of self. While the argument of agency is not new, this study applies the concept to a new activity and personnel within the sex industry, highlighting not only women's agency to engage in sex work, but also the kind of sex work they choose. In self-identifying their work as performance vis-à-vis sex work, ACMs problematize the Philippines' 2012 Cybercrime Prevention Act's classification of cam modeling as sex work, given that it is virtual and a representation of sexuality. Because such ACM work is mediated by technology and thereby negates physical touching, it problematizes what both sex and sex work are, yet the new legislation ignores this problematization and simply equates ACM work as prostitution. Future research should aim toward exploring how these issues and concepts of sex work may expand or fit within existing economic theories.

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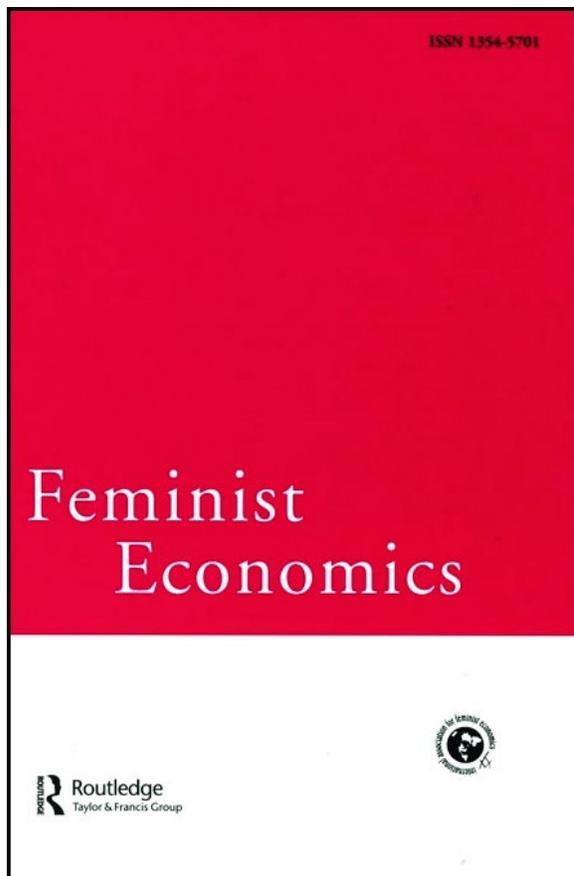


# Sex, Deportation, and Rescue: Economies of Migration among Nigerian Sex Workers

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*Sine Plambech*

Economies of sex work-related migration are commonly located within a framework in which criminal trafficking networks and pimps are portrayed as the sole actors who profit. Indeed, human trafficking is described as the third most profitable organized crime behind drugs and arms trafficking (Walker-Rodriguez and Hill 2011). Though evidence for this claim and how it is calculated are difficult to locate, it has been cited widely since it was first introduced in 2000 (McCulloch 2000). Yet, Sine Plambech argues that this focus on human trafficking ignores the multifaceted ways in which a range of other actors profit, legitimately as well as illegitimately, from the migration of sex workers, not least the women themselves, and how these economies shape migrant women's lives and migratory trajectories.

**Methodology.** Plambech's study suggests a more complex understanding of the "economy of human trafficking," based upon ethnographic fieldwork among Nigerian sex worker migrants in 2011 and 2012 in Benin City, Southern Nigeria – a so-called "migration hub" or "trafficking hot spot." For decades, Benin City has appeared as a city from where migrants, particularly women, originate, borrowing money and embarking on high-risk migration to pay off their debt by working in the European sex industry.

**Main findings.** Plambech finds that in Benin City, a variety of enterprises depend on the migration of Nigerian women. These include the “sponsors” or “traffickers” who arrange the women’s migration, either by providing counterfeit documents that allow them to board flights from Lagos or by organizing high-risk journeys through the Sahara desert. They involve families who depend upon remittances from their daughters, mothers, or sisters who are selling sex in European cities to pay for food, medicine, and school tuition. They also include anti-trafficking nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that get funds to “reintegrate” migrant women who return to Benin City from Europe through anti-trafficking reintegration programs. Other financial and intimate exchanges take place between actors as varied as the women and their clients in Europe; European anti-trafficking NGOs; international organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM); European governments with anti-trafficking action plans on their budgets; and international private security companies, who detain and deport the Nigerian women categorized as undocumented migrants.

Rather than providing an economic calculation, Plambech elucidates four different economic domains involved in the realm of Nigerian women sex workers’ mobility. The four main economies are: the migration facilitation economy, the remittance economy, the deportation economy, and the anti-trafficking rescue economy, all of which profit from the same phenomena – Nigerian women’s mobility. These intersected economies emerge by a combination of three aspects: an urge for social mobility through migration, a threat (from the perspective of European governments) of undocumented migration, and the simultaneous desire to rescue women. Yet, the political paradox of these connections is that some actors profit from the migration of the women to Europe (the facilitation and remittance economy), while others profit from the women returning to Nigeria (the deportation and rescue economy). The consequence is that while it may be politically convenient to delink and isolate these economies, by only focusing on the human trafficking economy as the third most profitable organized crime, a linking of economies shows how the dearth of employment in Benin City, the lack of legal migration opportunities, and the upsizing of deportations and rescue are two sides of the same coin.

**Research implications.** Plambech’s study reveals how deportation and the imagined rescue of women migrants have emerged as business opportunities, as state functions are outsourced to private actors and NGOs, and thus, the economies of rescue and deportation cannot be delinked from the broader process of neoliberal governance. Conceptualizing the “economy of human trafficking” as more than simply a criminal economy requiring policing and security interventions illustrates the ways in which neoliberal migration governance involves a series of paradoxes in which the problems and the solutions develop in a mutually interdependent fashion.

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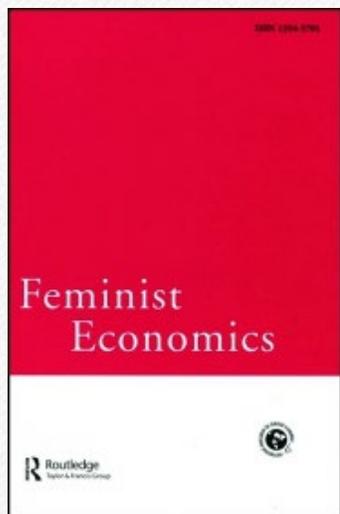
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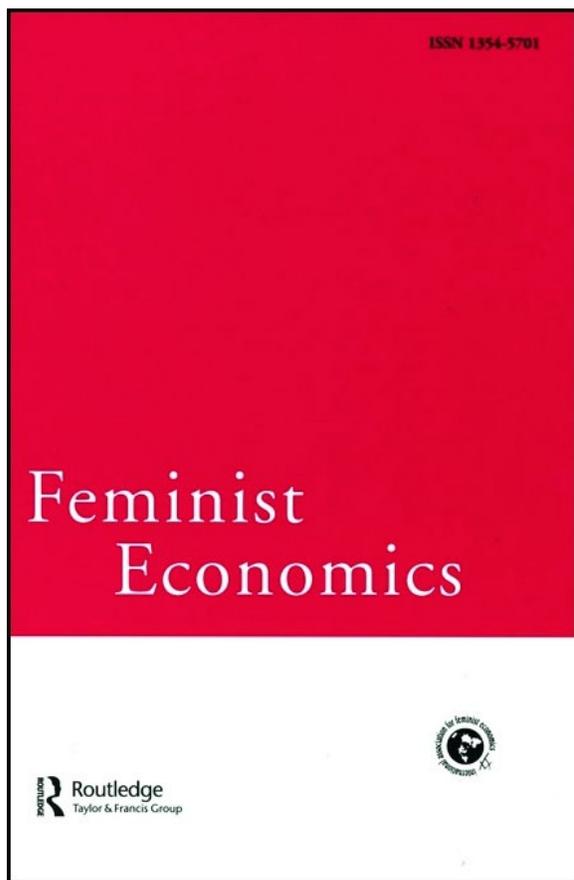
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# Sex Work and Trafficking: Moving beyond Dichotomies

## Feminist Economics

### FERNs 23.3

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*Francesca Bettio, Marina Della Giusta, and Maria Laura Di Tommaso*

Francesca Bettio, Marina Della Giusta and Maria Laura Di Tommaso advance new feminist economics inquiry into the topic of sex work to include arguments that are currently underrepresented in the debates on criminalization of sex work. Their objective is to shift the focus from ideological positions to the agency and well-being of sex workers. They build on the evidence and the analysis advanced by the contributions to the special issue on Sex Work and Trafficking to contend that theoretical and policy debates about these issues are dominated by false dichotomies concerning agency and stigma. Both agency and stigma come in degrees rather than fitting a yes/no dichotomy; they operate along a continuum of contractual arrangements that underpins a high degree of segmentation in the industry. Acknowledging this continuum provides new insights for theorizing the sex market and trafficking. In addition, it calls for reconsideration of the heated policy debate that sets

up an opposition between criminalizing and legalization of sex work, which currently sees mounting support for criminalization.

**The continuum of agency and stigma.** According to Bettio, Della Giusta, and Di Tommaso, the contributors to the special issue illustrate that agency comes in degrees in the various contexts and issues they examine: “informed” enrollment into a system of indentured sex work migration, choice of

occupational identity within the sex work industry, access to credit, or more general ability to make economic choices under constraint. Likewise, the authors argue that stigma, too, can be viewed to fit a continuum when applied to the sex industry. A relatively neglected dimension of this continuum documented by several contributors in this issue is that sex work attracts stigma because it is “brawn,” and the more brawny sex work is, the more stigma it carries. So, escort girls in Italy or cam girls in the Philippines suffer or perceive less stigma because their work is more brain than brawn. At the top of the market, sex work is less stigmatized.

These insights that challenge familiar dichotomies raise questions that have been largely overlooked in the economic theorization of sex work. In particular, stigma, like preferences, is assumed to be “exogenous” in standard theorizations, that is, to come “prior” to the market for sex, as well as in one lump. For example, it may influence the price of sexual services if it acts as a barrier between sex work and marriage, but it does not vary in strength or amount depending on the price. If, instead, stigma comes in degrees and within a segmented industry as the sex industry, as the authors argue, then it cannot be modeled as if it were independent from prices. Also, do higher earnings for sex workers go along with reduced stigma as the case of escorts would suggest, or are they being traded off for less stigma? Is there mobility between segments? If not, what stands in the way? Although the contributions to the special issue do not provide definitive answers, they nevertheless advance our understanding on these questions.

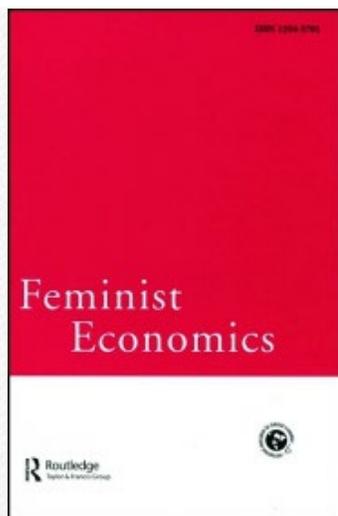
**Policy implications.** Bettio, Della Giusta, and Di Tommaso argue that recognizing that both agency and stigma can be placed along a continuum reinforces available evidence that the lower the agency that is allowed in a given segment of the industry, the higher the stigma that is attached. Any policy affecting agency may therefore be expected to affect stigma, and vice versa. Regulating sex for pay as any other form of work need not maximize agency if it does not succeed in eradicating stigma. Conversely, the mounting support for criminalization of clients might well have adverse effects on the well-being of sex workers, as it may push them online and underground where the space for agency and supporting interventions, are likely to be considerably restricted. If criminalization increases the stigma associated with sex work, sex workers will lose agency, whereas stigma may decrease if they are empowered through collective action or associations.

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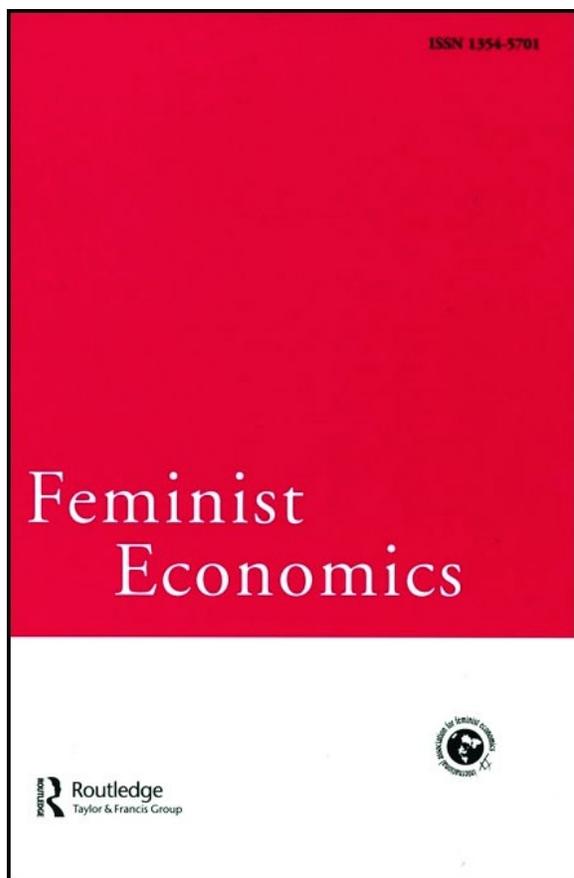
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# Between Visibility and Invisibility: Sex Workers and Informal Services in Amsterdam

## Feminist Economics

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*Maite Verhoeven and Barbra van Gestel*

Although sex work was legalized in the Netherlands in 2000, certain characteristics of the Dutch sex industry maintain a degree of informality that influences sex workers' employment and working conditions. Focusing on the regulated Red Light District in Amsterdam, Maite Verhoeven and Barbra van Gestel examine what informal economic activities take place in this district and how these informal activities involve both the exploitation and the autonomy of sex workers.

**Methodology.** Verhoeven and Van Gestel's findings are based on an analysis of the police files of twelve criminal investigations into human trafficking in the Amsterdam window prostitution sector in the period 2006–10. Although these criminal cases are aimed at the investigation of human trafficking, they provide details about the daily lives of sex workers, proving a useful source of information for insight into informal activities.

**Main findings.** The police files revealed a wide range of informal activities surrounding the sex industry and its working conditions in Amsterdam. While these activities enabled sex work, they were not regulated, or were performed without the required licenses or permits, or did not comply with tax regulations. Examples included pimps and bodyguards who provided informal protection services, errand boys who took care of all kinds of informal services, unlicensed drivers who transported sex workers, brothels that operated under

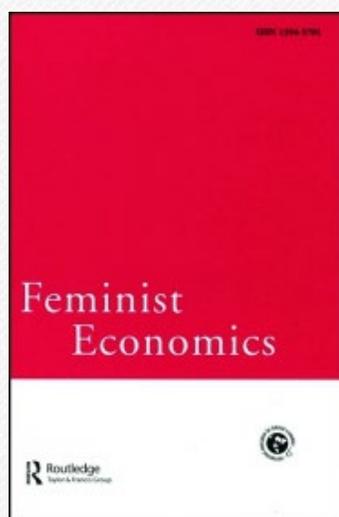
the license of someone other than the real owner, and accountants and consultants who advised on how to bypass regulations and taxes. Together, these activities constitute a lively informal economy.

Verhoeven and Van Gestel found that while these informal players offer services to facilitate sex work, they simultaneously create a network of control around the sex workers and profit from the latter's earnings. The existence of this informal network and its activities supports sex workers, but also undermines the autonomy of self-employed sex workers in the studied cases.

**Policy implications.** Verhoeven and Van Gestel's findings provide insight into the informal services that facilitate sex work, which can contribute to the search for improvements in the working conditions of sex workers. Within the informal networks the authors found that pimps are pivotal to several activities that enable sex work in the Red Light District in Amsterdam. They link a number of activities such as registration, security, and transportation. The services of pimps and other informal players, however, are hardly recognized within the Dutch policy on the sex industry, even though the aim of the Dutch policy is to counter sex trafficking and to strengthen the autonomy of sex workers. The policy is mainly focused on brothel owners and on sex workers themselves and takes no account of the roles of pimps and other service providers. Moreover, a formal alternative for the offered services is often not available. This has afforded informal players the opportunity to intercede freely with sex workers. The agreements sex workers make with informal service providers and the working conditions that are a result of this stay out of sight of the authorities. These activities are therefore not inspected by the authorities. Solutions could be sought in looking for more formal alternatives for services that enable sex work. For example, support agencies for sex workers could provide reliable services.

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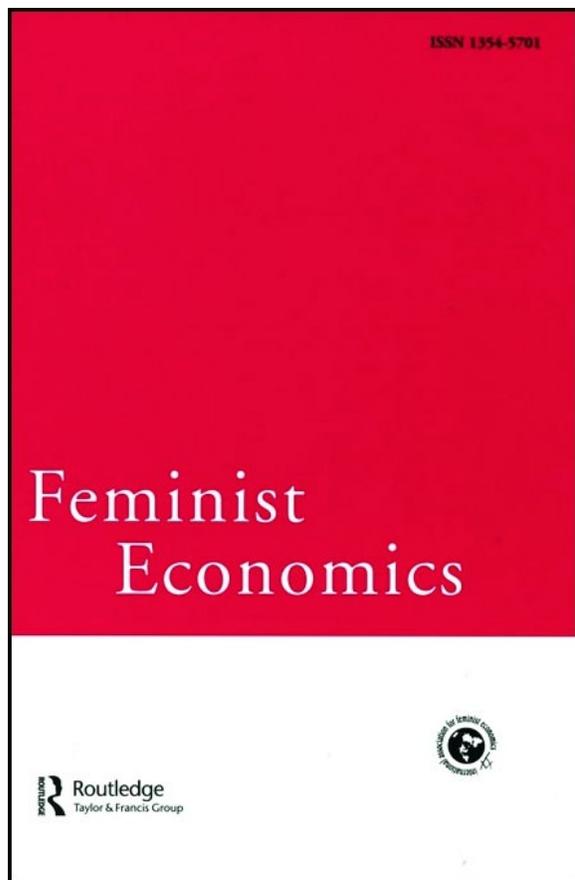


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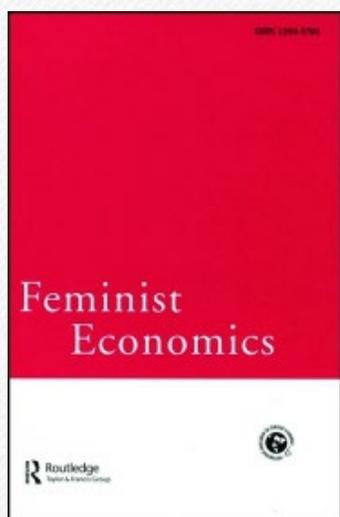
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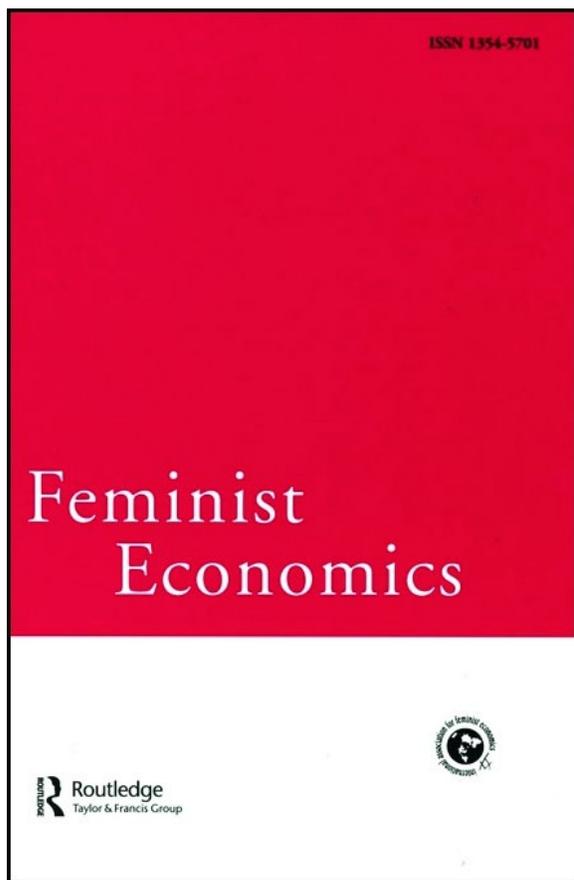
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# Gender-Based Occupational Choices And Family Responsibilities: The Gender Wage Gap In Italy

## Feminist Economics

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*Andrea Cutillo and Marco Centra*

Andrea Cutillo and Marco Centra explore the relationship between the gender division of labor, occupational choices, and the gender wage gap in Italy. In Italy, gender roles are generally based on the male breadwinner model, in which childcare is mainly delegated to women. This scenario also plays out in the rest of Europe, although its effects are more evident in Italy, where the unequal gender division of labor is driven by cultural factors and made worse by the low availability of formal childcare services.

Cutillo and Centra's underlying hypothesis is that there are gender differences in occupational preferences, both due to psychological traits and especially due to constrained choices for women, which affect occupational paths and, in turn, the gender wage gap. In this view, gender-based differences about occupational choices and work-life balance are also driven by the expected unequal treatment in and out of the labor market.

**Methodology.** Cutillo and Centra employ an empirical strategy that extends the traditional Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition, which is one of the most popular methodologies for estimating the effect of gender discrimination on wages. The particular specification they adopted allows consideration of both the effects of family responsibilities on the wages of women and men and the impact of gender differences in occupational paths. Indeed, their model adds the components of the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition

(productivity differences and discrimination) with two additional components. The third term represents the effects on productivity deriving from family responsibilities that affect women and men in different ways. The fourth term derives from the nonrandom allocation of jobs between genders. This component represents to a certain extent the effects of different occupational preferences and psychological traits. The study uses data from a survey carried out by the Italian National Institute for Workers' Professional Development (ISFOL) in 2007. The survey was specifically designed to analyze wages from a gender perspective, thus including fundamental questions such as which factors are relevant in work–life decisions, and work–life balance.

**Main findings.** Cutillo and Centra find that jobs are not randomly allocated to individuals. In particular, job security, employment benefits, and control over time use are more important in women's decisions, while pay grade is more important in men's decisions. Such different preferences also derive from the difficulties that women face in achieving a satisfactory work–life balance. Their results are also consistent with wage discrimination against women, which is made worse by employers who penalize women on wages when hiring them in the jobs they desire to achieve a satisfactory work–life balance.

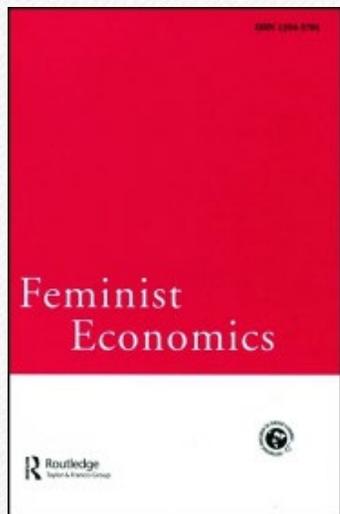
Finally, Cutillo and Centra find that family responsibilities differently impact women's and men's effort to devote themselves to market production. Both men and women increase their effort to earn more; however, women's unpaid domestic work interferes negatively with market productivity, especially during a child's early years, widening the gender wage gap.

**Policy implications.** Cutillo and Centra's results support the need to ensure gender equality in the Italian labor market. Presently, balancing motherhood and employment is difficult in Italy because of structural constraints, such as limited supply of public childcare. Moreover, women's difficulties in the labor market are made worse by difficulties out of the labor market. Indeed, cultural factors, such as traditional gender roles, stereotypes, and scarce support from male partners, have additional negative effects on the gender division of labor.

In conclusion, an effective reform aimed at ensuring gender equality should promote development of formal childcare and modification of parenting legislation, especially concerning children under 3 years. The additional costs could be compensated by economic advantages for families and the entire community. Indeed, gender equality could favor better matching between labor demand and supply, and thus a better allocation of the available human capital, with positive consequences for labor productivity, women's employment rate and wages, and, in turn, GDP growth. However, to be effective, these reforms should also be accompanied by deep changes in Italian social norms, such as egalitarian attitudes toward employment, housework, and childcare.

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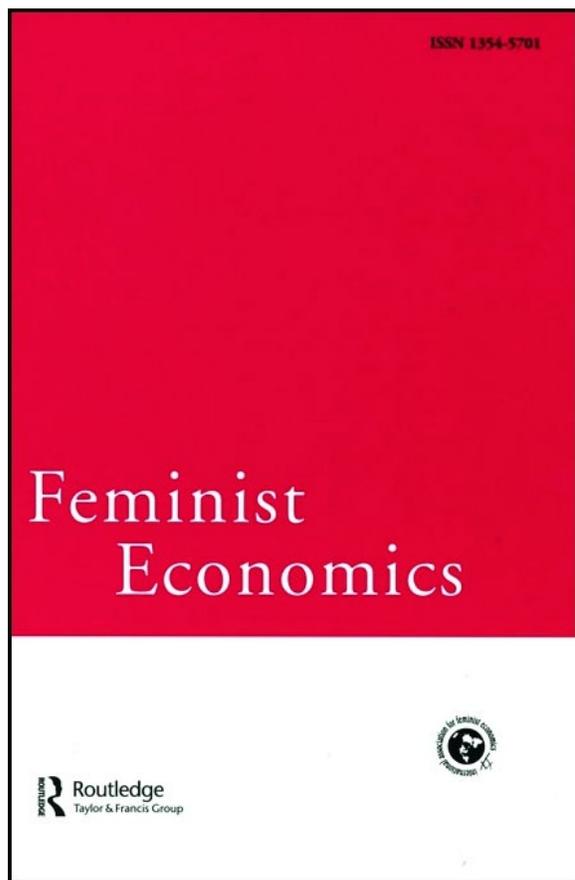
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# The Return To Caring Skills: Gender, Class, And Occupational Wages In The Us

## Feminist Economics

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*Bruce Pietrykowski*

Contributions to the study of care work typically focus on those occupations that enhance the emotional, physical, and cognitive capabilities of others. Care work occupations are predominantly found in healthcare, education, and social and community service. Although there are cross-country differences in the economic return to care work, analyses of care work in the United States have found a wage penalty associated with caring labor. Many, though not all, care occupations pay low wages. In the US, the growth of low-wage care occupations has the effect of exacerbating wage inequality.

While past studies have explored caring occupations, they have not directly estimated the return to caring skills and activities. Bruce Pietrykowski examines the skill content of US occupations and the economic return to caring skills, analyzing differences in the returns to skill by gender and class. Since many caring skills are utilized in occupations that are not traditionally classified as

care work, Pietrykowski's study expands the scope of research on care work.

**Methodology.** Understanding the relationship between skills and wages is fundamental to explaining US wage inequality. However, skills are often difficult to measure. Educational attainment and cognitive tests are commonly used estimates of skill, but especially in the case of "soft skills," they are very imperfect measures. So, Pietrykowski employs data from the 2014 Occupational Information Network (O\*NET) to

identify the following caring skills and activities for 623 US occupations: (1) Assisting and Caring for Others; (2) Service Orientation; (3) Establishing and Maintaining Interpersonal Relationships; and (4) Social Perceptiveness. For each skill, Pietrykowski used a numerical score to measure both the importance and level of the skill needed in each occupation. O\*NET occupational analysts evaluated the importance of these four skills to an occupation using a standardized scale from 0 (“not important at all”) to 100 (“very important”). In addition, the skill level was assigned a 0–7 score standardized to 0–100 reflecting the degree of skill required for that occupation.

Next, Pietrykowski estimated wage models using linear regression and quantile regression methods. He examined the response of low-, middle-, and high-wage occupations and women’s, gender-balanced, and men’s occupations to a change in the importance and level of the four caring skills.

**Main findings.** Pietrykowski’s results reveal that assisting and caring skills receive a wage penalty for workers in low-wage occupations. Yet, this same caring skill results in a wage premium for high-wage occupations, for both women and men. Next, service-oriented skills also result in decreased wages for workers in low-wage occupations for which service is an important part of the job. This was the case for both men’s and women’s occupations. Pietrykowski found a noticeable wage premium for occupations in which establishing interpersonal relationships was an important part of the job, and this was especially the case for women’s occupations across the wage distribution. Finally, skills associated with being attuned to the behavioral and emotional state of others – social perceptiveness – were associated with a wage premium but only for high-wage, especially high-wage men’s, occupations.

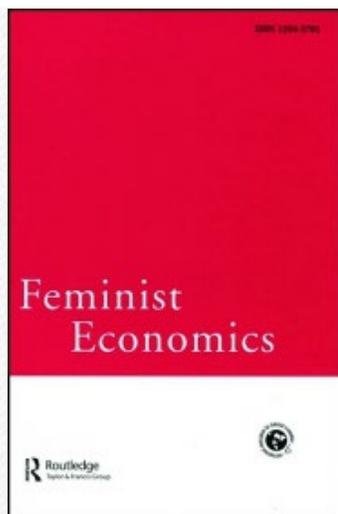
Overall, with the exception of interpersonal relationship skills, caring skills deployed in women’s jobs were either invisible or penalized. Additionally, the return to the caring skills of workers in low-wage occupations was also largely negative or absent. By contrast, men’s occupations, especially high-wage occupations for which care is an important part of the job, reported a wage premium.

**Policy implications.** Pietrykowski’s study finds that while skills are largely undervalued in women’s and low-wage occupations, they are rewarded in high-wage and men’s occupations. The results lend support to efforts to implement comparable worth and create policies that better align wages with caring skills, especially for low-wage service workers.

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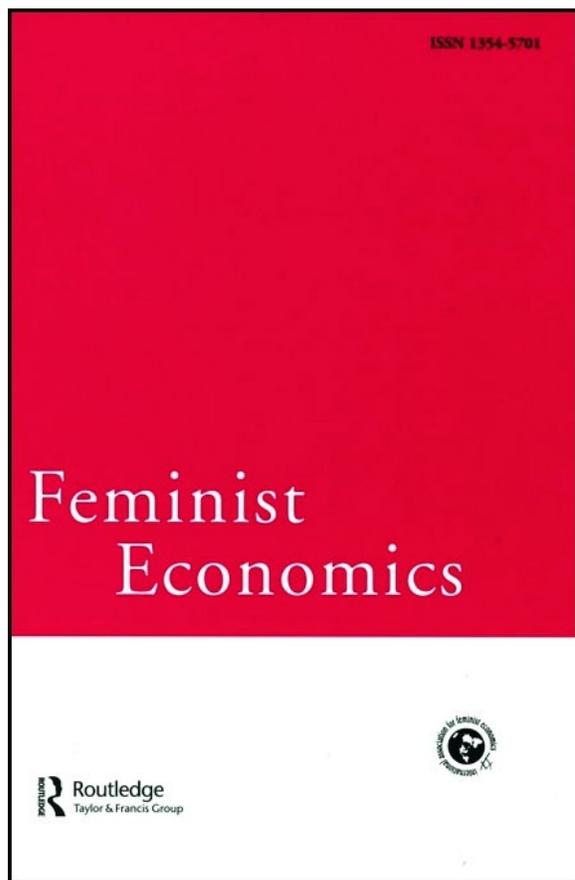
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# The Macroeconomic Loss Due To Violence Against Women: The Case Of Vietnam

## Feminist Economics

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*Srinivas Raghavendra, Nata Duvvury, and Sinéad Ashe*

Violence against women (VAW) is now recognized as a global issue that is prevalent in all societies at all levels of development. Globally, the leading form of VAW is intimate partner violence (IPV) with more than 1 in 3 women reporting experiencing it in their lifetime (WHO 2013). Even though VAW (and thus IPV) is widely accepted as a fundamental human rights issue and public health issue, there has been considerable inertia in acknowledging it as a development issue. The recent UN declaration on the new Sustainable Developmental Goals (the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development) is the first time that the issue has been explicitly incorporated in the global development policy agenda. However, translating this commitment to concrete policy action on VAW remains the next challenge.

The literature on the costs of violence provides the aggregate monetary cost due to violence, derived by aggregating costs arising at the individual level. However, these estimates do not reflect the macroeconomic loss due to VAW in so far as they fail to consider the associated loss of output and demand in the economy, which results from lost working days, earnings, and consequent loss in consumption demand. A main reason why the issue of VAW does not enter the policy discourse is the lack of quantitative translation of the individual micro-level costs that arise in the incidents of violence to the macroeconomic level.

**Methodology.** Srinivas Raghavendra, Nata Duvury, and Sinéad Ashe aim to fill this gap by providing an estimate of the macroeconomic loss to the economy due to VAW. Their approach takes into account the interlinkages of the economy as described by a social accounting matrix (SAM), which provides a way to estimate loss both at the level of output and the multiplier loss. They implement this approach for the case of the Vietnamese economy using the 2011 SAM for Vietnam.

**Main findings.** Raghavendra, Duvury, and Ashe find that for Vietnam, the estimated macroeconomic loss due to violence is 0.96 percent of GDP at factor cost and 0.82 percent of GDP at market prices. In terms of the sectoral contribution to the total income loss, the agricultural sector accounts for almost 40 percent of the total loss followed by manufacturing (16 percent) and retail and wholesale (14.5 percent). In terms of the multiplier loss, major sectors, such as the agricultural sector, also have a high multiplier loss value of 1.26. Similarly, the manufacturing sector has a multiplier loss of 1.21. Other female-dominated sectors, such as hotels, education, and health, had multiplier losses ranging from 0.06 to 0.10. The authors conclude that, overall, labor-intensive sectors with high backward and forward linkages and with low import content seem to suffer higher losses of income than other sectors in the economy.

**Policy implications.** Raghavendra, Duvury, and Ashe argue that from a macroeconomic policy point of view, the economic loss due to VAW is a *leakage* that is permanently lost from the circular flow of the macroeconomy. The multiplier analysis sheds further insights on the way the loss due to VAW propagates through the various sectors of the economy. The loss due to VAW limits the full realization of the multipliers due to the exogenous demand shock, be it export demand or government expenditure, and results in a loss of income and output, which is an *invisible leakage* that is permanently lost from the circular flow. Or more explicitly, the loss due to VAW acts as an endogenous destabilizer, potentially dampening the positive gains from government welfare programs. Therefore, minimizing the loss due to VAW can be a significant contributor in achieving efficiency gains and, would, in fact, enhance the fiscal space. In terms of concrete policy action, the economic logic is quite compelling: investment in the provision of support services, prosecution of perpetrators, and prevention of VAW will reduce the economic loss and thereby deliver efficiency gains to the macroeconomy.

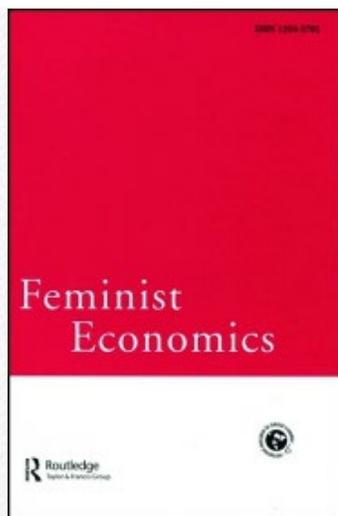
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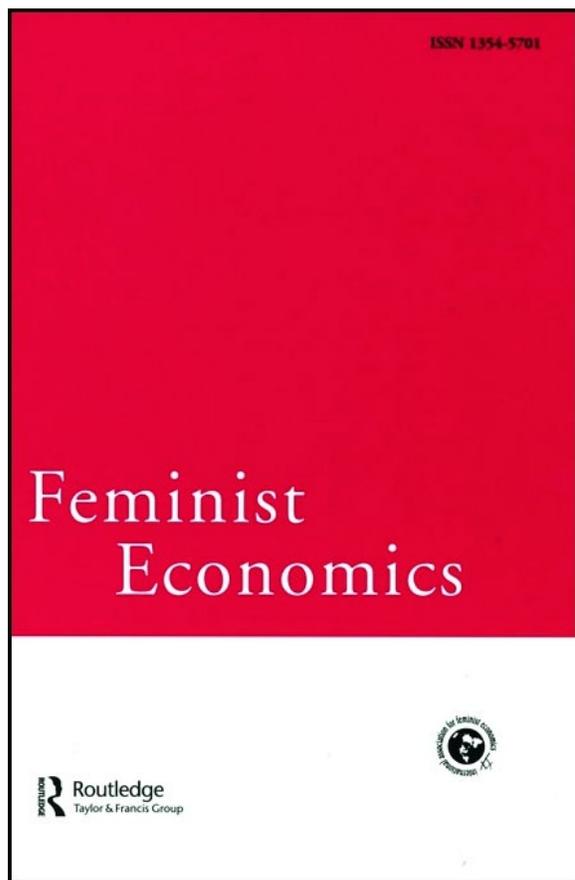
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# Bargaining Or Backlash? Evidence On Intimate Partner Violence From The Dominican Republic

## Feminist Economics

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*Cruz Caridad Bueno and Errol A. Henderson*

In September 2012, Jonathan Minaya Torres stabbed his wife, Miguelina Martinez, fifty-two times in a beauty salon in Santiago, Dominican Republic (DR). Martinez had gone to the district attorney's office eighteen times in the two weeks prior to her murder to report that she feared for her life and had left home because of her husband's violent threats. As Torres fled the beauty salon, news of Martinez's murder spread, and a mob of Santiagans captured and beat Torres until police arrived – saving his life and transporting him to the nearest hospital.

The irony of police saving the life of Martinez's murderer, but failing to help protect her raises the questions about women's vulnerability to intimate partner violence (IPV) and the responsiveness of government authorities and law enforcement to the incidence IPV in the DR. Indeed, the DR has the highest rate of femicide in the Caribbean and Latin American region and sixth highest rate in the world. Further, that Miguelina's murder

was committed after she had left the spousal home raises concerns about both women's ability to leave abusive environments and the adequacy of support services for women who seek to leave such abusive environments. Cruz Caridad Bueno and Errol A. Henderson's study focuses on the economic, political, and social correlates of IPV in the DR, through an examination of two prominent models that attempt to account for them: the household bargaining model and the male backlash model. With regard to intimate partner violence, the household bargaining model suggests that as a woman's outside opportunities – real or

potential – increase, the likelihood of experiencing violence in the household decreases. The male backlash model proposes that the relative status between men and women in relationships matters, and that as a woman challenges traditional gender roles, her partner may use violence to assert male dominance in the household.

**Methodology.** Bueno and Henderson’s analysis draws on data from the 2007 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for the DR, which distinguishes between physical and sexual IPV. They employ a subsample of 1,820 women – ages 15–49, currently married or cohabitating – who were randomly selected to participate in the domestic violence module of the DHS survey. The estimation utilizes logistic regression and generates predicted probabilities of the factors contributing to different types of IPV.

**Main findings.** Bueno and Henderson find that economic, political, and social factors each contribute to the incidence of IPV. Interestingly, results were mixed when they examined IPV in general, but when they distinguished between types of IPV, the authors found that women’s lower bargaining power in the household better accounts for physical IPV, while sexual IPV is more closely associated with male backlash. Further, the women’s bargaining power in the household better accounts for IPV among wealthier women, while the male backlash hypothesis best explains IPV among poorer women.

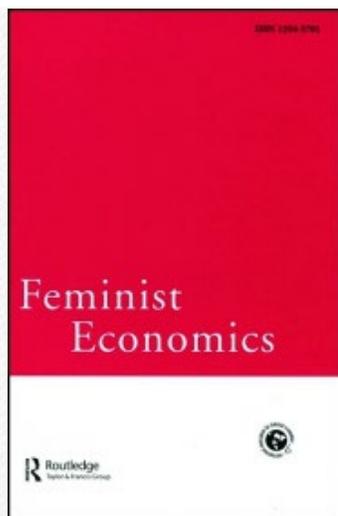
**Policy implications.** Bueno and Henderson’s findings suggest that the household bargaining power and male backlash hypotheses are complementary frameworks for accounting for IPV. They argue that initiatives to provide greater exit options for women experiencing IPV, such as education and employment that pays a living wage, are paramount. Additionally, the authors argue that perpetrators of IPV and potential abusers should be targeted for intervention, prevention, and education. Policies are necessary to enhance awareness of the implications of alcohol abuse for violence in the home, as well as the cross-generational impact of IPV. Also, national and grassroots initiatives are needed to challenge the sexist norms that rationalize IPV among men – and these are especially necessary for the police, policymakers, as well as potential abusers. In sum, policies to eradicate IPV in the DR must similarly attend to both the economic and sociopolitical factors that help generate it.

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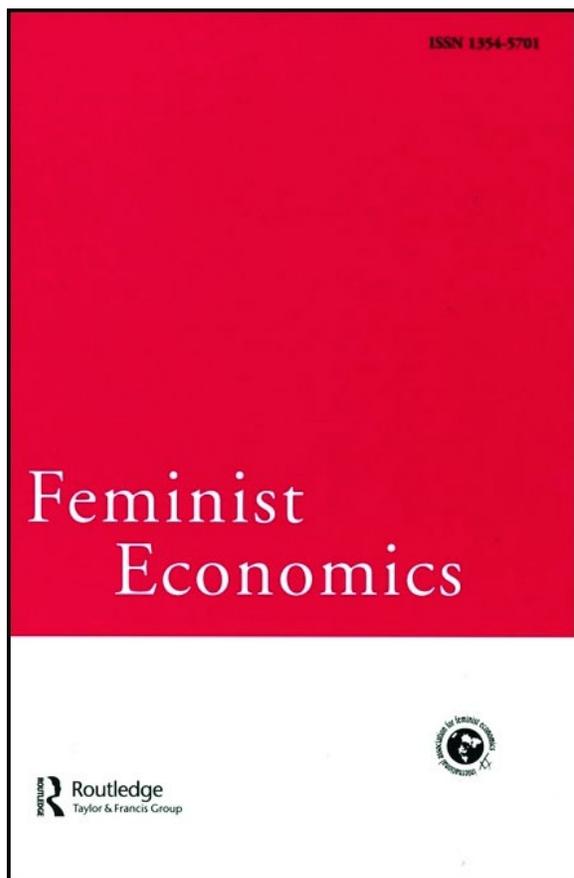
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# Are Women Less Capable In Managing Crops? Insights From Cotton Production In Northern China

## Feminist Economics

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*Guiyan Wang and Michel Fok*

The performance of women farmers matters, as women are becoming increasingly involved in agricultural production worldwide. Most studies have shown that women-led farms perform weakly, essentially as a result of less access to production inputs. Guiyan Wang and Michel Fok's study asks: Would women perform better if they had better access?

Wang and Fok explore this question by conducting a case study on cotton cropping in northern China. They selected cotton cropping because of its high labor requirements, high production inputs, and need for technical knowledge, which are all characteristics for which women are not usually favored. Furthermore, they chose China because women could be assumed to enjoy the same access to production factors as men, given China's longstanding commitment to gender equality.

**Methodology.** Wang and Fok used primary data over the 2006–9 period, collected from a total of 771 farmers in the five major cotton districts of Hebei Province. They used the concept of “Daily Crop Management” (DCM) to assess the performance of farms managed by women compared to farms managed by men, and to analyze the differences in farm and family characteristics between the two types of farms. Farms managed by women were those where husbands were engaged in off-farm activities on a long-term basis. Wang and Fok appraised technical performance by cotton yield per hectare and assessed financial performance by returns before unpaid labor (REBUL), which corresponds to

the gross production value minus input costs and costs paid for services. They assessed REBUL at farm level and on a unit area (hectare) basis.

**Main findings.** Wang and Fok's results show that 31.4 percent of farms were female-managed (or female-DCM) farms. Compared to male-managed (or male-DCM) farms, female-DCM farms were smaller in total cultivated area (0.63 vs. 0.79 ha), as well as in cotton area (0.36 vs. 0.49 ha); their heads were younger but attended school for a longer period. Children still living at home seldom took part in fieldwork, so that women almost always farmed alone on female DCM-farms, while they farmed alongside their husbands on male DCM-farms. Consequently, the area cultivated per family fieldworker unit was substantially higher on female-DCM farms for all crops (0.73 vs. 0.44 ha) and for cotton (0.43 vs. 0.27 ha).

Wang and Fok find that women perform at least as well as men when they have equal access to production inputs. Technically, women obtained similar yields as men at the same level of costs for various cultivation practices. Financially, women's REBUL on a hectare basis was also similar, but lower on a farm basis because of the smaller cropping size. However, a higher REBUL value was observed per family fieldworker unit on female-DCM farms.

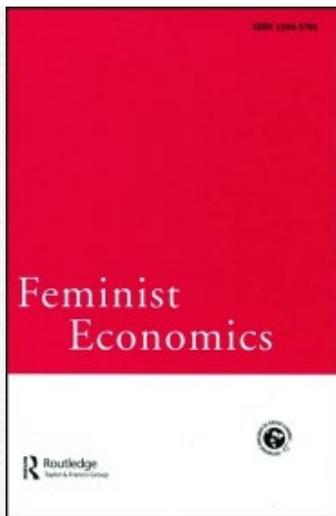
**Policy implications.** Wang and Fok conclude that improving women's access to production inputs positively impacts their performance in agriculture, hence on the whole sector. They argue that while policy measures may be directed to women-managed farms, their effectiveness in practice will depend on their adaptation to local contexts. In this regard, investigation is required for each specific context. Finally, Wang and Fok note that when women have equal access to production inputs, their good performance arises from a greater workload, which might be detrimental to their health in the medium- or long-term. This evidence must be taken into consideration when designing policy measures.

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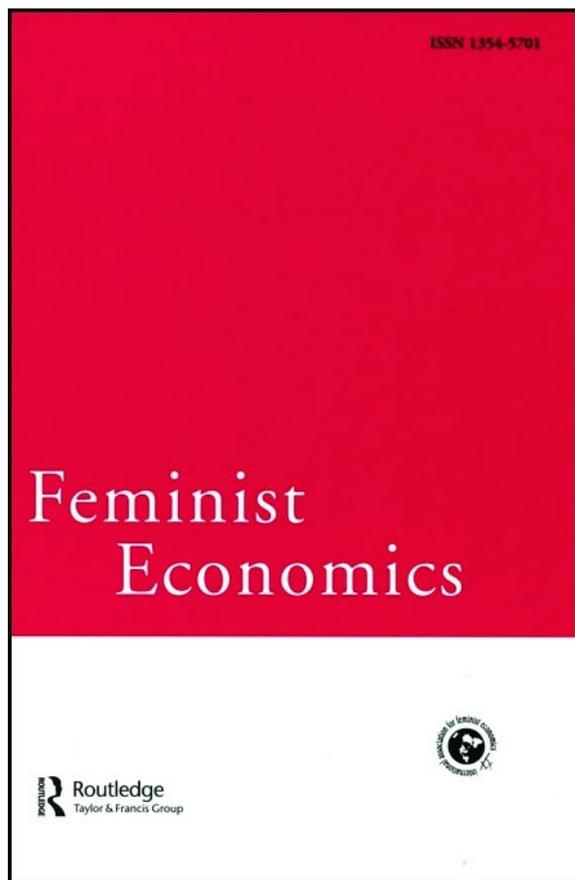
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# Do Women Have Different Labor Supply Behaviors? Evidence Based On Educational Groups In Uruguay

## Feminist Economics

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*Alma Espino, Fernando Isabella, Martin Leites, and Alina Machado*

Growing numbers of women entering paid work is among the greatest social transformations in Western economies in recent decades. The increase in women's labor force participation and hours worked is commonly attributed to rising wages, and this relation between labor supply and wage rates is measured by elasticities. In the empirical literature, there is no consensus about how responsive or elastic women's labor supply is, and additionally, no agreement about how important wage levels are in explaining the recent changes in women's labor market behavior. In particular, the reaction of women's labor supply to wages could be overestimated for developed countries because the rising trend in women's labor supply coincides with long periods of rising wages. This time trend makes it difficult to isolate and measure the effect of wages on labor supply.

To examine women's labor supply elasticity, Alma Espino, Fernando Isabella, Martin Leites, and Alina Machado focus on

Uruguay. Unlike most OECD countries, Uruguay has undergone several macroeconomic shocks, which generates considerable fluctuations in real income and wages and provides the opportunity for a natural experiment to estimate elasticities. Moreover, a number of Uruguay's economic, demographic, and sociocultural characteristics allow comparison with developed economies.

**Conceptual issues.** When devoting time to paid work two decisions are involved. First, there is the choice

to enter the labor market (extensive margin decision), and second, once the decision to participate has been made, the choice of the number of hours to work (intensive margin decision). Also, there is a conceptual distinction between hours worked in response to changes in wages over the life cycle (inter-temporal elasticity), and when there is an unexpected wage change at any age that affects the wage profile (uncompensated elasticity). Espino, Isabella, Leites, and Machado analyze the distinction between inter-temporal and uncompensated elasticities and the different ways that education and cohorts affect women's decisions on both labor supply decisions.

**Methodology.** Espino, Isabella, Leites, and Machado use Uruguayan Household Surveys for the period 1986–2010 and create pseudo-panels of cohorts built up the basis of these cross-section surveys. Each cohort is defined as a group of women sorted into five-year birth cohorts and four schooling levels. The criteria for pseudo-panel construction enable analysis of the presence of differences in the elasticities for different wage profiles.

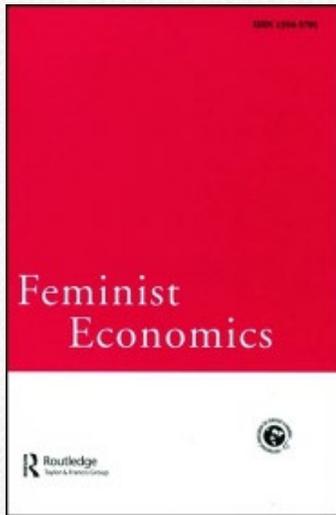
**Main findings.** Espino, Isabella, Leites, and Machado find that women from different education and cohorts adjust their labor behavior to their life-cycle wages at the intensive and the extensive margins. Unexpected changes in wages affect women differently: those with less education tend to react strongly – which is a feature of a secondary labor force – whereas women with tertiary education show no reaction. The latter case could be interpreted as a sign of a stronger worker identity, or also, as a sign of greater access to safety nets that allow them to cover the fixed costs of going to work.

Younger generations of women have greater participation in the market in Uruguay, but their average workweek hours are shorter. These different behaviors at the intensive margin could be associated with the entry of women who are married or have a partner. Paid work participation of these women has increased the most, but at the same time they continue to fulfill their responsibilities in the home.

**Policy implications.** Espino, Isabella, Leites, and Machado argue that the trend of women's rising paid work participation is expected to continue. The implications of this trend at the intensive margin are ambiguous and depend on how far women – especially those with less education – are able to coordinate paid work with their household and family responsibilities. The situation of less-educated women represents the main challenge for policy design, as individuals in this group tend to belong to households with higher home-care demands and fewer economic resources while they have low wage profiles. This has practical consequences for both the provision of quality services and promoting co-responsibility between women and men, and it highlights the importance of public policies to encourage women's labor market participation and to achieve the goal of gender equality.

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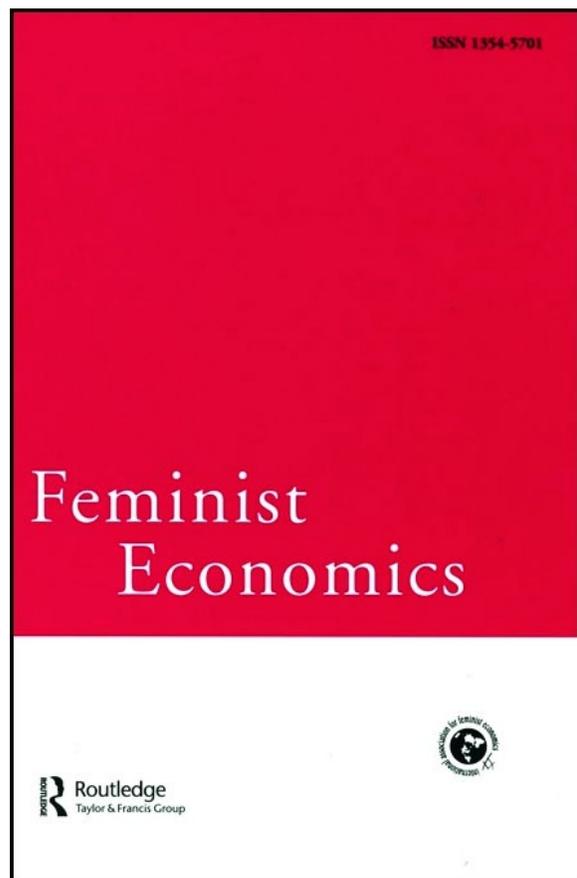
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# Proposal For A Global Fund For Women Through Innovative Finance

## Feminist Economics

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*Bilge Erten and Nilüfer Çağatay*

Despite major international commitments and human rights initiatives, the resources allocated to the achievement of gender equality have been rather limited. Out of all development objectives agreed upon by the international community, gender equality is one of the most underfunded. While feminist economists and others have engaged in research and advocacy on macroeconomic policies from a gender perspective for many years, scant attention has been paid to how gender equality could be promoted through the use of innovative financing.

**Global Fund for Women through Innovative Finance.** Bilge Erten and Nilüfer Çağatay fill this gap by proposing to create a Global Fund for Women through Innovative Finance (GFWIF), an institution with the ability to provide adequate financing for achieving gender equality and women's empowerment by recognizing their cross-border positive externality effects.

Reviewing existing funding initiatives thus far Erten and Çağatay

propose that funds for GFWIF be raised through innovative sources of development finance, including an international currency transactions tax, allocations of new Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), and carbon taxes. Under the recommended arrangement, a portion of the innovative financing would be raised for the GFWIF. This is far preferable to the alternative of asking for pledges from donors and having high-level meetings every few years without decisive outcomes. This institution can, in turn, lend to countries commensurate with their needs. It would finance gender-equality investments in priority areas by frontloading of the funds

to increase the probability of successful outcomes in later stages. The Fund would finance investments in: (i) securing the sexual and reproductive rights of women with the double dividend of promoting women's rights and reducing population growth and carbon emissions, (ii) increasing women's participation in the governance of common pool natural resources to improve their conservation and regeneration, (iii) provision of care services for children and the elderly to reduce the disproportional time burden on women, thus enabling them to undertake paid work and contribute to the economy on equal footing with men.

Such an arrangement would go a long way toward rectifying the historic underfunding of investments in gender equality and recognizing that any serious effort to generate gender equal outcomes requires that substantial resources be raised, managed, and allocated. Given that women's increased participation in political bodies in general, and in natural resource management in particular, provides increased provision of other public goods (including water, sanitation, irrigation, health, and education), as well as better conservation and regeneration of natural resources, this institutional arrangement would benefit not only women but also children, men, and elderly across the world.

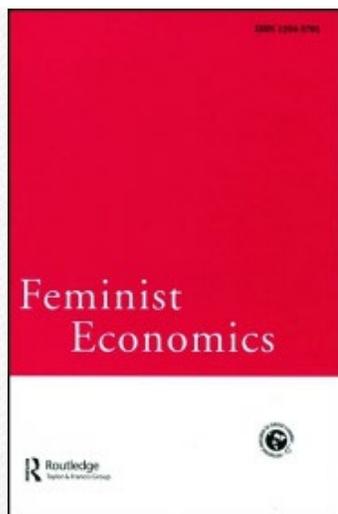
**Financing gender equality.** Erten and Çağatay argue that if gender equality is to be among the adequately funded development objectives of international cooperation, the participating countries have to demonstrate a significant political effort to create the GFWIF. The potential gains, however, are substantial. First, this Fund could provide a coordination framework capable of mobilizing large resources and meeting the financing requirements of attaining and sustaining gender equality for generations to come. This result is far preferable to the alternative of asking for pledges from donors and having high-level meetings every few years without decisive outcomes. Second and related, the GFWIF's source of funding would be disassociated from typical donor country politics, creating a more predictable, sustainable, and larger scale source of financing. Third, the establishment of the GFWIF could help move the international community to a coordinated global consensus on eliminating gender inequalities at economic, political, and social levels. This consensus would allow the implementation of previously agreed upon objectives in a successful and rapid fashion.

**Achieving sustained gender equality.** Erten and Çağatay argue that the GFWIF could enable developing countries that face relatively larger financing constraints to begin investing in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment much sooner than might otherwise be feasible, with positive spillover effects to the rest of the world. The mobilization of these global resources is not a goal in itself – instead, they should be seen as a means to achieving sustained global gender equality in several dimensions.

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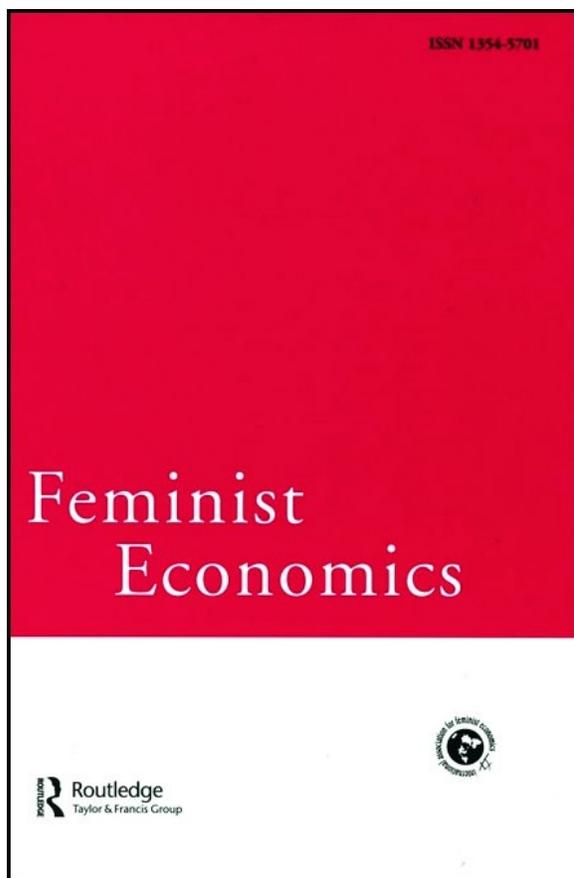
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# Is Part-Time Employment After Childbirth A Stepping-Stone Into Full-Time Work? A Cohort Study For East And West Germany

## Feminist Economics

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*Nadiya Kelle, Julia Simonson, and Laura Romeu Gordo*

Does part-time employment act as a stepping-stone into full-time employment for women after they have their first child? In the last few decades, this issue has gained relevance as there has been a considerable increase of part-time employment among women in Germany. Analyses of this trend have been ambiguous. On the one hand, it has been argued that part-time employment has facilitated women's greater participation in employment. On the other, it has also been argued that part-time employment prevents women from progressing further in their careers. Nadiya Kelle, Julia Simonson, and Laura Romeu Gordo contribute to the debate by adding an analysis of the role of part-time employment as a stepping-stone into full-time work for first-time mothers in Germany.

**Methodology.** Kelle, Simonson, and Romeu Gordo use data from the German Socio-Economic Panel from 1984-2012 to distinguish between East and West Germany and to examine the

extent to which part-time employment after childbirth is followed by full-time work. Next, they focus on cohort-to-cohort changes and analyze how the use of part-time employment as a stepping-stone into full-time work has changed since German reunification. To analyze transitions into and out of part-time employment, they apply the Cox proportional hazard model.

**Main findings.** Kelle, Simonson, and Romeu Gordo show that mothers in West Germany in all cohorts tend to remain in part-time employment for longer periods than those in East Germany. Furthermore, the authors find that East German women who gave birth after reunification are less likely than older cohorts to experience a transition from part-time to full-time work. Consequently, part-time employment not followed by subsequent full-time work seems to have become a more common phenomenon in the East.

These trends imply a certain convergence in the use of part-time employment after childbirth between East and West Germany. However, although East German mothers have to some extent adopted the West German pattern of working part time for longer periods, they are still more likely to experience a faster transition into full-time employment, and Kelle, Simonson, and Romeu Gordo therefore argue that the stepping-stone role of part-time employment remains more widespread in the East than in the West of Germany. Their findings show that the convergence that has been identified between the way mothers in East and West Germany balance family and employment is developing relatively slowly and provide evidence for the resilience of the male breadwinner or one-and-a-half earner family model in the West.

**Policy implications.** Kelle, Simonson, and Romeu Gordo's research shows that for mothers, part-time employment can have the function of a stepping-stone into full-time employment. However, many women may not move out of part-time employment. Therefore, it is fundamental to improve not only the possibilities for a (re-)transition to full-time employment but also the conditions of part-time work. For example, the authors call for improving mothers' opportunities to avoid low-paid mini jobs, which offer exemptions from social security contributions and other tax advantages for employers and employees, and to secure state-insured jobs with more working hours. Kelle, Simonson, and Romeu Gordo argue that it is important to support the full-time employment of mothers after childbirth in order to avoid them being subject to work arrangements that may negatively affect their subsequent employment. The extension of public childcare provision is a crucial component in enabling mothers to participate in (full-time) gainful employment.

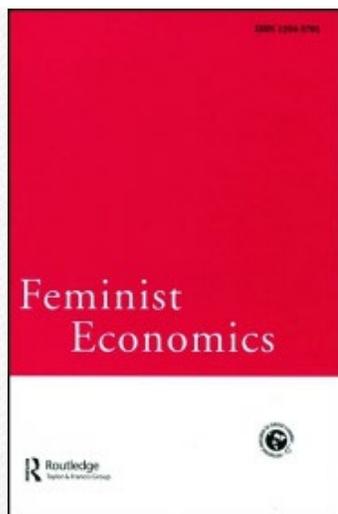
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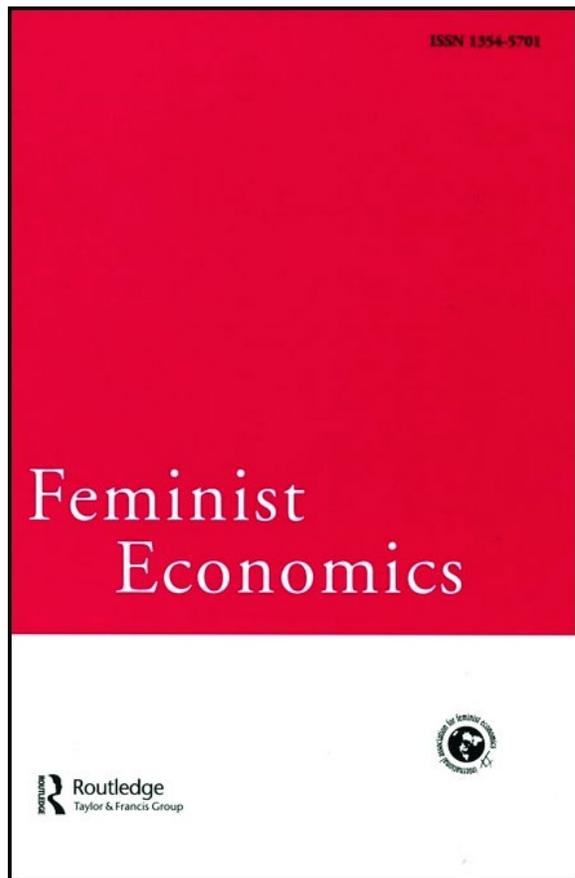
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# Engendering Economic Recovery: Modeling Alternatives To Austerity In Europe Feminist Economics

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*Hannah Bargawi and Giovanni Cozzi*

Job creation for both women and men should be a high priority for European policymakers, given the unsustainably high levels of unemployment in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis and the persistent employment gap between men and women. Instead, economic policies to date have overwhelmingly focused on attempts to cut both government debts and deficits by adopting a series of austerity measures, with negative consequences for job creation and growth. But, what are the broader, medium-term consequences of continued austerity versus alternative policy measures? Hannah Bargawi and Giovanni Cozzi aim to answer this question by making use of a global macroeconomic model that can compare opposing policy scenarios.

Bargawi and Cozzi add to existing research by developing a gendered perspective on investment-led economic recovery as an alternative to continued austerity policies in Europe. This is of

particular importance in light of increased evidence that current austerity policies in Europe are likely to disproportionately disadvantage women via their roles in the labor market. Additionally, recent European investment policies such as the Investment Plan for Europe are focusing overwhelmingly on investing in the male-dominated physical infrastructure sector and neglect more female-oriented social investment in care, health, education services, and so forth.

**Methodology.** Bargawi and Cozzi employ a non-equilibrium, structuralist macroeconomic model known as the Cambridge-Alphametrics-Macroeconomic (CAM) model. While this model does not permit consideration of the long-term gender outcomes in specific sectors and unpaid household labor, it does investigate the impacts of different policies on men and women in the labor market and on broader economic variables in specific countries and regions.

Focusing on eleven countries of the Eurozone and the United Kingdom, Bargawi and Cozzi explore three different policy scenarios for the period 2015–25 and consider the macroeconomic and employment consequences of each. The three scenarios entail: i) continued austerity policies; ii) gender-blind expansionary policies; and iii) gender-sensitive expansionary policies.

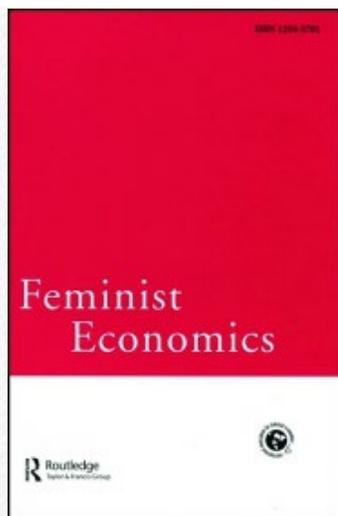
**Main findings.** Bargawi and Cozzi find that results generated by the CAM model project substantially higher women's employment rates under the gender-sensitive expansionary scenario compared to the austerity and the gender-blind scenarios. Projections for the gender-sensitive expansionary scenario suggest that an additional 7.4 million jobs for women could be created in the Eurozone and UK by reversing austerity policies and by increasing government expenditure and private investment in a gender-sensitive manner. Furthermore, projected results for this scenario demonstrate that gender-sensitive government expenditure allows European countries to achieve higher employment rates for both women and men by using less government spending compared to a gender-blind expansionary scenario. This result is because the responsiveness of employment to changes in government spending is higher at lower levels of employment. In other words, we would need less government spending to stimulate women's employment vis-à-vis men's employment. Finally, higher growth rates under the gender-sensitive scenarios feed into projected reductions of debt-to-GDP ratios and lower budget deficits in all of the European bloc countries.

**Policy implications.** Bargawi and Cozzi's analysis shows that an alternative strategy for Europe should rest on a gender-sensitive approach. Such a macroeconomic strategy is economically feasible, leading to substantial gains in terms of job creation for both women and men, as well as accelerated growth *and* debt reduction. Crucially, Bargawi and Cozzi demonstrate that a gender-sensitive approach is fiscally more sustainable than a gender-blind alternative. Thus, the recommendation that stems from their analysis is to roll back current austerity policies and embark on a new gender-sensitive expansionary economic trajectory.

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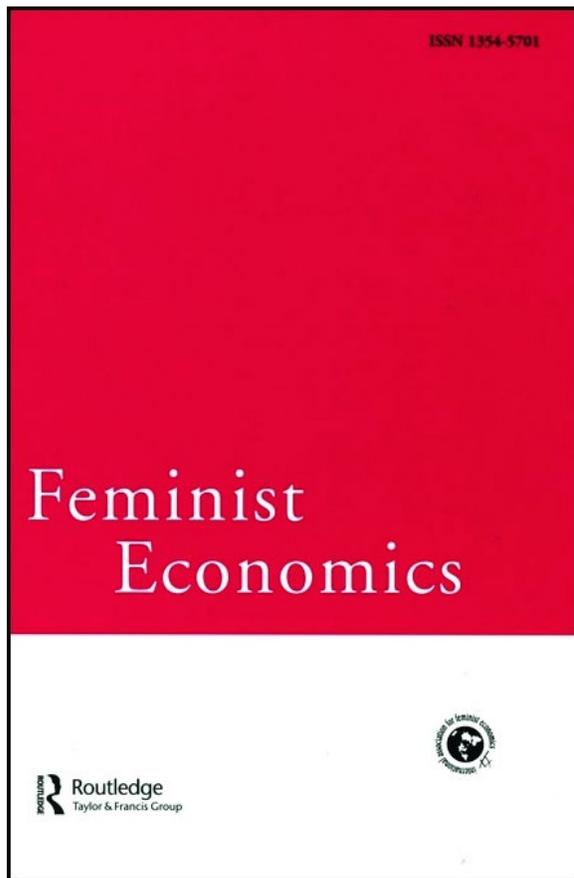
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# Does Off-Farm Wage Employment Make Women In Rural Senegal Happy?

## Feminist Economics

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*Goedele Van den Broeck and Miet Maertens*

As women in developing countries are increasingly employed in export-oriented industries, this employment is heavily debated by researchers, policymakers, and civil society. On the one hand, women's employment can lead to poverty reduction, rural development, and women's empowerment. On the other hand, it is sometimes associated with detrimental effects, such as a higher risk of domestic violence or a larger burden on women's workload. Women are particularly vulnerable to end up in low-paid, insecure, and unsafe jobs.

Goedele Van den Broeck and Miet Maertens contribute to this debate by investigating whether off-farm wage employment in Senegal makes women happy. They use a subjective measure of well-being, that is, self-reported happiness, in order to capture both income and non-income effects of employment. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the implications of employment for women's lives.

Van den Broeck and Maertens focus on the Saint-Louis region, a rural region in Senegal, where many off-farm wage employment opportunities have been created for women during the last decade. Women work in companies that export fruits and vegetables and are responsible for harvesting, sorting, and washing of the produce. Before the establishment of these companies in the region in 2003, women hardly found employment opportunities outside their own farm-household.

**Methodology.** Van den Broeck and Maertens collected both quantitative and qualitative data through a structured household questionnaire and focus group discussions. They personally interviewed 487 women about demographic and employment characteristics and asked the women how happy they are, ranking on a score from zero (very unhappy) to five (very happy). For the analysis, they retained 412 women who are younger than 60 years old, of which 53 are off-farm wage employed. They use the findings from the focus group discussions to interpret the quantitative results.

**Main findings.** Using various econometric models, Van den Broeck and Maertens find that women's off-farm wage employment improves happiness for the poorest women but not necessarily for women whose household income is well above the poverty threshold. Women's employment improves their happiness through an income effect, as women's employment leads to higher income levels and improved living standards, but the non-income effects of women's employment reduce their happiness. This negative effect is related to a higher overall workload and low job satisfaction due to unfulfilled expectations owing to low wages, scarcity of permanent contracts, and lack of year-round employment. The positive income effect outweighs these negative non-income effects for poor women, but not for relatively wealthier women.

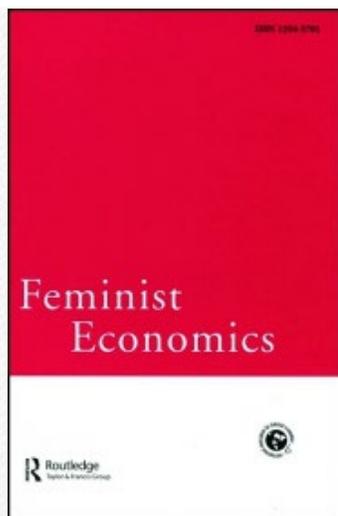
**Policy implications.** Van den Broeck and Maertens' findings indicate that women's off-farm wage employment can be an escape out of poverty and a route toward improved well-being for poor women. However, for broader and more long-term benefits for the well-being of women, women's employment needs to be associated with decent employment conditions, with an evolution of gender roles and norms, and with the development of institutions that support women in their employment and changed role. The authors' findings support the view that not only is the creation of off-farm employment opportunities important for poverty reduction and rural development, but that employment conditions also matter. Decent jobs that are well-paid and offer secure contracts and additional company services, can have far-reaching development effects. However, as long as poverty remains prevalent in a region, job creation is a priority issue to improve welfare.

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