



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Gender Just Trade?
The Impact of Trade Liberalization on Gender Equality
with regards to EU-Vietnamese Trade**

A Research Paper presented by:

Matilda Flemming

Finland

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

**International Political Economy and Development
IPED**

Members of the examining committee:

Prof. Dr Irene van Staveren

Dr Rosalba Icaza

The Hague, the Netherlands
November, 2011

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Research papers are not made available for circulation outside of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address: Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location: Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>vi</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Problem analysis	2
1.2 Conceptual framework	3
1.3 Methodology and Limitations of the Research	4
1.4 Research Question and Justification	6
Chapter 2 Literature review and Theoretical Framework	10
2.1 Trade Liberalization and Gender Equality	10
2.2 Labor Market and Employment	11
2.2.1 Unpaid work	13
2.2.2 Vulnerable Employment and Unemployment	13
2.3 Income and the Gender Wage Gap	14
2.4 Food affordability	15
2.5 Trade negotiations and trade policy	15
2.6 My Theoretical and Analytical Framework	17
Chapter 3 Vietnam	19
3.1 Political Overview	19
3.2 Gender Equality	19
3.2.1 The Labor Market	24
3.2.2 The Gender Wage Gap	26
3.2.3 Food affordability and Agricultural Production	28
3.2.4 Government policy	29
3.3 Trade	30
3.3.1 EU-Vietnamese Trade	34
Chapter 4 Analysis of EU Policy on Vietnam	37
4.1 EU trade policy	37
4.1.1 EU trade policy on Vietnam	38
4.1.2 Key documents to EU trade policy	38
4.1.3 Sustainability Impact Assessment	39
4.2 EU Development Policy	40
Chapter 5 Chapter 5: Conclusion	42
References	44
<i>Appendices</i>	<i>49</i>

List of Tables

1	Gender Related Social Development Indicators: Vietnam	2
2a	Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality – Trade/GDP	6
2b	Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality – Trade/GDP	7
2c	Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality per trading partner	8
3	Global Gender Gap Report: Vietnam	22
4	Comparison of World Value Survey Vietnam 2001 and 2006	23
5	Elasticities on the Labor Market	24
6	Unemployment Rate in Vietnam, 2009	25
7	Elasticities on Income and the Gender Wage Gap	26
8	Elasticities on Food Affordability	28
9	Top 5 Trading Partners 2005-2010	32
10a	Vietnamese Exports per Industry 2005-2007	32
10b	Vietnamese Imports per Industry 2005-2007	33
11	Vietnamese Top 5 Exports to EU 2000 and 2010	35
12	Vietnamese Top 5 Imports to EU 2000 and 2010	35

Appendices

A.1	Mathematical explanation for tables 2a and 2b	49
A.2	Mathematical Explanation for table 2c	50
B	Overview of Development Indicators in Southeast Asia	51
C.1	Foreign direct investment projects by kinds of economic activity	52
C.2	Foreign direct investment projects in 2010 by main counterparts	53
D	The Gender Wage Gap in Vietnam 2009	54
E.1	Top 5 export destinations 2000-2010 in Million US dollars	56
E.2	Top 5 import destinations 2005-2010 in Million US dollars	56
F.1	Exports to China in 1000 USD per top 5 products and food	57
F.2	Exports to US in 1000 USD per top 5 products and food	57
F.3	Imports from China in 1000 USD per top 5 products and food	58
F.4	Imports from US in 1000 USD per top 5 products and food	58

List of Figures

Figure 1 Studied linkages between trade liberalization and gender equality	18
Figure 2 Share of Population that Never Attended General Education	20
Figure 3a Gender Wage Gap per Sector	27
Figure 3b Gender Wage Gap per Occupation	27
Figure 4 Inflation Index and Food Price Index in Vietnam 1999-2008	29
Figure 5 Trade as a share of GDP 2001-2010	31
Figure 6 Trade expansion in Vietnam 1996-2009	31

List of Acronyms

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSO	General Statistics Office of Vietnam
GSP	Generalised System of Preferences
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NCFAW	The National Committee for the Advancement of Women
SIA	Sustainability Impact Assessment
SITC	Standard International Trade Classification
TCF	Textile, clothing and footwear
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
US	United States of America
USD	United States dollar
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

In this paper I use trade elasticities of gender equality to study the impact of trade liberalization on gender equality with regards to EU-Vietnamese trade. Based on the elasticities I argue that increased trade between Vietnam and the EU has had a very limited impact on gender equality in Vietnam during the studied period (2000-2010) because of a variety of reasons including gender norms in Vietnam limiting women from making use of the possibilities trade expansion brings, Vietnamese exports becoming more capital intensive and providing less job opportunities for women as well as the gender wage gap potentially increasing as a result of foreign investment

The paper argues that a key factor in the limited positive impact of trade expansion on gender equality is the inconsistency of EU external policy. My research adds to existing research arguing that EU trade policy does not take gender into account, while EU development cooperation policy stresses the importance of the EU supporting gender equality in its external actions.

Relevance to Development Studies

This research is relevant to Development Studies, as trade liberalization is an ongoing global process especially targeting developing countries. As the multilateral negotiations within the World Trade Organization (WTO) are essentially standing still, countries are instead turning to bilateral trade negotiations on free trade agreements. Scholars argue that the negotiation power of individual countries plays a bigger role within these bilateral negotiations than in multilateral negotiations, and that this is harmful for developing countries. Many aspects of the impact of trade on gender equality are still to be studied, and especially as the existence of gender disaggregated data is very limited in many developing countries I find it important to use the data available to point to the need for the production of more such data, in order to improve our knowledge about the impact of trade on gender equality in developing countries.

Keywords

Feminist economics, trade, Vietnam, EU external policy

Chapter 1 Introduction

“Trade liberalisation causes profound changes at the global, national and micro level of household economies, which – from the perspective of feminist economics – are seen as gendered processes of production, reproduction and consumption.” (Wichterich and Menon-Sen, 2009: 6).

With this Research Paper I will study the impact of EU trade on gender equality in Vietnam and of the possibilities and challenges that trade brings with regards to gender equality, with a specific focus on the labor market, the gender wage gap and food affordability. With the study I want to contribute to the literature discussing trade liberalization from a feminist perspective. I will especially focus on sectors that are female dominated such as the manufacturing sector, as these sectors are essential to changing gender relations in the country. Through my research I hope to be able to add academic research and policy recommendations to the debate around the free trade agreement negotiations between Vietnam and the EU, given that the EU has previously been criticized for not implementing its gender policy (Kessler 2009: 24) on the ground in developing countries when trade agreements have been signed.

The European Union (EU) is one of Vietnam’s major trading partners and is currently in negotiations with Vietnam about both a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and a Free Trade Agreement. The EU is still creating its identity as a unified actor in its own external activities and in global governance. Trade is one of the few sectors where the EU is acting in a unified way, and this is crucial as trade is arguably the most important of EU’s external policy areas. The single market of the European Union is the largest in the world¹, and thus many countries want to enter it. This gives the EU substantial power, as it is able to make demands of adaptation on countries wanting to enter its market (Kessler 2009: 2).

According to Orbis (2008a: 45), EU trade with developing countries reflects North-South dependence since the EU possesses a structural power as it controls a multitude of trade agreements with developing countries. This is illustrated by the economic dependence of former European colonies on trade with the EU and the fact that the EU in its trade negotiations has been, against the will of its trading partners, successful in negotiating reciprocal trade liberalization.

I have chosen Vietnam as a case study, since the country has seen a massive increase in international trade over the last 20 years and during the same time the gender equality situation has also improved, at least on some indicators as can be seen in Table 1.

¹ In 2010 the GDP in current prices of the EU was 16,242 billion USD, whereas that of the United States was 14,527 billion USD (International Monetary Fund 2011).

Table 1
Gender Related Social Development Indicators: Vietnam

Social Development Indicators	2000	2005	2010
Gender equality	0,63	0,78	0,77
Gender equality Standards Error	0,02	0,01	0,01
Women's economic rights, rating	1,00	1,80	1,67
Women's social rights, rating	1,00	1,00	1,00
Ratio Female-Male Labor Force	98,15	95,88	95,24
Adult Female Literacy Rate		0,93	0,94
Female-Male Mortality Rate Ratio	0,72	0,70	0,66

Source: Institute of Social Studies n.d.

Women in Vietnam compared to women in the region have a very advanced set of legal rights, including extensive maternity leave and positive discrimination in the work place. Vietnam also has a gender equality law as well as a Plan of Action for the Advancement of Vietnamese Women. However, there seems to be a wide gap between theory and practice, between policy and implementation, as many women are not aware of their rights or as cultural practices hinder women from accessing their rights (Wells 2005: 45). Furthermore there are drastic disparities between regions and ethnic groups as rural women from ethnic minorities score much lower on indicators on women's access to health care and education (Ibid: 12).

Important export sectors such as textiles, garment, footwear and fish are all female dominated, and thus create a direct link between increased international trade and domestic gender relations in Vietnam. The labor market in Vietnam follows similar patterns as in the rest of the world: it is gender segregated and the gender wage gap is rather big, with female wages averaging 80 % of male wages.

1.1 Problem analysis

According to socio-constructivist feminist theory, gender inequality springs from “a system of gendered power relations that permeate the whole economy and underpin norms of male and female roles and responsibilities. Individuals themselves absorb these norms, which constrain their choices and structure the ways in which they define themselves” (Elson et al. 2007b: 1). Policies become gendered as they are being shaped in a gendered power system (Ibid) and thus, for feminist economists all policies including economic policies and processes such as trade, even if seemingly gender neutral, are gendered (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 11).

Trade can create possibilities to strengthen gender equality. Rai writes: “Capitalism, while exploitative, also leads an attack upon traditional patriarchy in the countries of the Third World, creating new opportunities for women in the public sphere” (Rai 1996: 12). An example of this is employment, which has the potential of being a source for women's empowerment (Kabeer 2005: 15), and thus gender equality. Public policy plays an essential role in the effects

trade will have: “Improved outcomes for both trade and for gender relations can be achieved together, but only if an appropriate mix and sequence of public investment and regulation of markets is achieved” (Elson et al. 2007b: 9). “While trade liberalisation in itself may overall be beneficial, and may create new employment and commercial opportunities for some women, more needs to be done to anticipate and monitor its effects and manage the consequences.” (Hoskyns 2007: 6)

There are multiple linkages connecting gender equality and trade liberalization – linkages connected to the gendered process of production, such as employment, wages as well as ownership and control of production resources, but also connected to macroeconomics, such as the public provision of services (Elson et al. 2007a: 34), and to power relations, for instance within trade negotiations.

Feminist economics among other issues explore the complex and multiple linkages and variables between trade (liberalization) and gender equality. However, as the linkages between trade and gender equality are very complex, one should refrain from oversimplifying in order to conclude whether trade liberalization has either positive or negative impacts on a country. Both trade relations and gender relations are diverse, thus impacts will be contradictory and context dependent (Elson et al. 2007b: 8), and as Benería states “generalizations about the effects of globalization on women must be approached with great caution, since effects vary according to historical, socioeconomic, and other conditions across countries” (Benería 2007: 24).

1.2 Conceptual framework

I conceptualize trade liberalization as a reduction in the barriers to trade (Randriamaro 2006: 1) as well as the deregulation of foreign investment. In accordance with neo-classical economics, trade liberalization also means that countries specialize in certain goods or services (Ibid: 7). The indicator I use in this paper to measure trade liberalization is changes to the economic value of international trade flows².

I understand trade policy as a domestic (or internal in the case of the EU) political outcome in the form of systematic rules and mechanisms for international trade deeply intertwined with other policies such as development aid and foreign investment (Randriamaro 2006: 7).

I follow the socio-constructivist conceptualization of gender, and will thus understand gender as a social construct. By analyzing gender, the relations between men and women as well as the role of these relations in society are put in focus. I conceptualize gender equality as the existence of equal

² Trade liberalization can also be measured based on the value of changes of tariffs or based on changes in quantities traded.

opportunity for all genders in society. Measuring gender equality is not an easy task, as the existence of numerous gender equality indexes show. For the purpose of the research in this paper I measure gender equality quantitatively by looking at the gender gap on indicators such as labor force participation and personal income.

Women as a group are and traditionally have been disadvantaged in their access to power and resources as well as in their ability to make choices. Through the process of empowerment women acquire the ability to make choices (Kabeer 2005: 13). Added to this, unpaid reproductive work is predominantly done by women and has been undervalued and not taken into account in mainstream economics (Hoskyns 2007: 5). As Ruiz Thierry puts it: “women are the world’s most over-utilized resource and under-valued asset” (Ruiz Thierry 2007: 1360) – and this shows especially as the labor force in many developing countries has feminized as a result of trade expansion.

This structural disadvantage shows today for instance in the global gender wage gap as well as in the gender gap in elected parliamentarians – gaps that are substantial and present all around the world. In the case of Vietnam the life expectancy of women as well as the educational enrollment rates have been and still are lower for women than for men. Thus, this study will focus largely on women in Vietnam, even though it is essential to keep in mind that gender does not equal women and that “women” or “Vietnamese women” are not a unified homogenous group. Different women will experience different impacts of trade liberalization. How trade liberalization will have an impact on women will depend on their ethnicity, class, race, age etc. (Elson et al. 2007b: 8).

For the purpose of this research I understand the European Union as an individual actor with its own policy (Orbie 2008b: xv) on the topics researched in this paper (gender in trade policy). Clearly it would be interesting to also take the disagreements between member-states and other relevant actors on the topic into account, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

1.3 Methodology and Limitations of the Research

By using quantitative and textual analysis informed by gender analysis I will study the interactions between trade and gender relations (Elson et al. 2007b: 1). In this research paper I am following the thought of (liberal) feminist economics. By using feminist economics I choose to prioritize questions that usually are neglected in trade theory and give light to interlinkages that are often kept in the dark (Ibid: 2).

In order to analyze the links between trade liberalization and gender equality and to create my research question, I will use trade elasticities of gender equality, a tool developed by Irene van Staveren that compares change in trade variables with change in gender equality variables. Elasticities are simple to construct, comparable, dynamic and feasible, and is thus a useful tool to monitor trade policy (van Staveren 2007: 258). However, elasticities do not imply causality and this is clearly a limitation of its use as they “reveal symptoms, not causes” (Ibid: 260). Not being able to pinpoint causality is clearly a limitation of this research.

If an elasticity is positive both variables move in the same direction. If it is negative the variables are moving in different directions. If the elasticity is bigger than plus or minus one, the elasticity is elastic and if it is between plus and minus one it is inelastic.

In a trade elasticity of gender equality changes in trade are measured in the denominator and changes in gender equality in the numerator (van Staveren 2007: 258). The elasticities are designed so that a positive elasticity refers to an improvement in the gender equality situation; whereas a negative elasticity indicates that an increase in trade weakens gender equality (Ibid: 261)³.

Access to and lack of data has been a major limitation to my research. There is limited gender disaggregated data existing and available on Vietnam, especially with regards to longer time sequences. Data that would have been highly interesting for this study, such as gender disaggregated data on employment per sector was not available. Employment data on for instance footwear production or industrial fish production, as the literature claim that these are female dominated sectors (Wells 2005: 15) would have added tremendously to the research. Neither was gender disaggregated data on wages over a longer time period available. Such data would have been highly useful in order to in-depth study the gender wage gap problematique.

The paper focuses mainly on the time period 2000-2010 as this period provide data both on the situation before Vietnam joined WTO (2007) and after, but lacking data has forced me to in some cases focus on a more limited time period. The WTO accession of Vietnam is interesting as it is likely to have increased trade flows.

Regarding consumer prices of food, data disaggregated according to rural/urban areas would have been highly interesting as changes in food prices affect the urban and the rural population differently. I was not able to access such data, and that is a limitation of this paper. Similarly, as manufacturing products is both the largest export sector and import (competing) sector disaggregated manufacturing sector data would have been highly useful. But as this was not available I was forced to use the same aggregated manufacturing data in calculating both the specific import and export elasticities.

It is also important to question the accuracy of the secondary data used. The trade statistics has been recovered from IMF, UNCTAD and the General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSO), whereas the gender statistics come from the World Bank, ILO and GSO. I am triangulating the data by using different research methods in order to ensure robustness of my research: I am using calculations in the shape of elasticities in Chapter one, descriptive statistics in the shape of tables and figures in Chapter three, and I am analyzing policy in Chapter three and four. When possible I am using data from several different sources for the same calculation in order to ensure robustness.

Regarding data on trade agreements between the EU and Vietnam, I have contacted both the European Commission Directorate-General for Trade and

³ A mathematical explanation of the elasticities can be found in Annex A.

the Delegation of the European Union to Vietnam repeatedly asking for information about current agreements as well as the schedule for the Free Trade Agreement negotiations, without any response. This has severely limited my research and can be seen as a symptom of the lack of transparency in EU trade policy.

Clearly there are other factors than trade that have an impact on changes in gender equality, and to single out the impact of trade liberalization is difficult and remains one of the major limitations of this research.

1.4 Research Question and Justification

In this section I will develop and justify my research question based on the elasticities described in the methodology section above.

Table 2a shows trade elasticities of gender equality as developed by van Staveren on an aggregated Vietnamese level, using trade as a share of GDP in the denominator. None of the elasticities are elastic – thus the responsiveness between the trade and gender indicators is not strong. The most significant responsiveness in the table is with regards to unemployment, food affordability as well as the gender wage gap in the export sector. The results suggests that there has been a slight increase in the gender gap in unemployment and that food has become somewhat less affordable, both compared to changes in imports and exports. At the same time the gender wage gap in the export sector has decreased somewhat. Interestingly, all other indicators show no or a very slight (often positive) responsiveness between trade liberalization and gender equality.

Table 2a
Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality – Trade/GDP

Elasticity #	Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality	Time span	Value	Elastic
1	Trade elasticity of gender equality in labor force shares	1996-2009	-0,02	No
2	Trade elasticity of gender equality in export sector (manufacturing) labor force shares	2000-2004	0,01	No
3	Trade elasticity of gender gap in unemployment rate	2000-2004	-0,16	No
4	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal income	2004-2009	0	No
5	Trade elasticity of gender equality of gendered wage gap	2006-2009	0,01	No
6	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the export sector	2006-2009	0,21	No
7	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the import competing sector	2006-2009	0,1	No
8	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to exports	1999-2008	-0,28	No
9	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to imports	1999-2008	-0,22	No

Source: Author's own calculations based on data from World Bank n.d., International Labour Organization n.d., United Nations Development Program n.d., General Statistics Office 2009a

Table 2b shows trade elasticities of gender equality developed by myself on an aggregated Vietnamese level. These elasticities use non-economic gender equality indicators, namely the gender gap in literacy, school enrolment and political representation as well as the labor market related gender gap in vulnerable employment⁴ in the numerator. None of the elasticities are elastic and all of them show a result very close to zero. This is likely to be due to the fact that the linkage between trade liberalization and such non-economic gender equality indicators are substantially weaker than the linkages between trade liberalization and economic gender equality indicators. Due to these weak linkages I will not focus on these non-economic indicators in the rest of this paper.

Table 2b
Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality – Trade/GDP

Elasticity #	Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality trade	Time span	Value	Elastic
10	Trade elasticity of gender gap in youth literacy	1999-2009	0	No
11	Trade elasticity of gender gap in adult literacy	1999-2009	0,02	No
12	Trade elasticity of gender gap in primary school enrollment	1999-2009	0,01	No
13	Trade elasticity of gender gap in secondary education enrollment	1999-2009	0,04	No
14	Trade elasticity of gender gap in parliament (seats held by women)	1999-2009	0	No
15	Trade elasticity of gender gap in vulnerable employment	2000-2004	0,02	No

Source: Ibid

Table 2c shows trade elasticities of gender equality from table 1a and b for the three biggest trading partners of Vietnam: China, the United States (US) and the EU. The four elasticities that showed the strongest response for all trade of Vietnam are also showing the strongest responsiveness for the three major trading partners. Interestingly, the responsiveness for these four elasticities (unemployment, food affordability of exports and imports, and gender wage gap in export sector) and also for the elasticities showing only a minor responsiveness, are the strongest for Vietnamese trade with the EU.

⁴ “Vulnerable employment is unpaid family workers and own-account workers as a percentage of total employment” (World Bank. 2011).

Table 2c
Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality per trading partner

Elasticity #	Trade Elasticities of Gender Equality trade	China	US	EU
1	Trade elasticity of gender equality in labor force shares 2000-2009	0	0	-0,01
2	Trade elasticity of gender equality in export sector (manufacturing) labor force shares 2000-2004	0,02	0	0,03
3	Trade elasticity of gender gap in unemployment rates 2000-2004	-0,19	-0,06	-0,39
4	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal income 2004-2009	0	0	0
5	Trade elasticity of gender equality of gendered wage gap	0,02	0,03	0,04
6	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the export sector 2006-2009	0,28	0,32	0,46
7	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the import competing sector 2006-2009	0,12	0,07	0,17
8	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to exports 2000-2008	-0,25	-0,04	-0,21
9	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to imports 2000-2008	-0,05	-0,09	-0,18
10	Trade elasticity of gender gap in youth literacy 2000-2009	0	0	0
11	Trade elasticity of gender gap in adult literacy 2000-2009	0	0	0,01
12	Trade elasticity of gender gap in primary school enrollment 2000-2009	0	0	0
13	Trade elasticity of gender gap in secondary education enrollment 2000-2009	0,01	0,01	0,03
14	Trade elasticity of gender gap in parliament (seats held by women) 2000-2009	0	0	0
15	Trade elasticity of gender gap in vulnerable employment 2000-2004	0,01	0	0,01

Source: Ibid

Even though there are signs of responsiveness in tables 1a-c, all of the results in the tables are inelastic, and thus show no major responsiveness between trade and gender equality. Thus it can be assumed from this that trade has not contributed to improve, but neither substantially harmed the gender equality situation in Vietnam during the studied time period.

This leads me to the following research question: *Why do the trade elasticities of gender equality between EU and Vietnam look like they do?*

In the following chapter I will review the literature on the linkages between gender equality and trade liberalization and especially focus on the indicators used in the elasticities developed by van Staveren: the labor market, income and food affordability. I will also discuss trade negotiations and the effect trade policy can have on gender equality. Based on the literature I will develop my own theoretical and analytical framework. In chapter three I will be looking at the specificities of Vietnam, and the potential explanations to the

elasticities, with a special focus on the main trading sector of Vietnam, manufacturing – a sector where the gender wage gap is very high. In chapter four I will study the role of EU trade policy in the elasticities looking like they do. Chapter five concludes the paper and aims to answer how EU trade policy should be designed in order to strengthen gender equality in Vietnam.

Chapter 2 Literature review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Trade Liberalization and Gender Equality

Mainstream trade theory is based on the assumption that increasing global trade, and thereby making use of comparative advantage and specialization a la Ricardo, benefits all partaking countries and their citizens. Markets create opportunities and efficiency and are a source of export-led growth and market interventions should be avoided as they distort market efficiency (Hoskyns 2007: 6). There might be losers in the trade game, but the net result is that of a gain (Elson et al. 2007a: 33). Two key models in mainstream trade theory are the Hecksher-Ohlin model and the Stolper Samuleson theorem. According to the Hecksher-Ohlin model the driving force of international trade is differences in countries' resources. A country's comparative advantage stems from the interaction of its resources with the technology of production (Obstfeld and Krugman 2003: 67). The Stolper Samuelson effect is a theorem in the Hecksher-Ohlin model that shows how factor prices are affected by changes in output when all industries maintain positive production and no economic profit (The International Economics Study Center 2006).

The two models do not take gender into account, but assume that liberalizing trade should lead to an increase in returns to unskilled labor. As there are more women than men in unskilled jobs, trade liberalization should benefit women as it increases the returns to their labor and hence gender equality would be strengthened through liberalization (Elson et al. 2007a: 35).

However, the mainstream argument is based on a number of neoclassical assumptions about the functioning of markets that are questionable, especially when it comes to markets in developing countries. Dogmas of trade theory, such as full employment, perfect competition, perfect information, trade balance and efficient markets rarely exist in reality, and very seldom in developing countries (Elson et al. 2007a: 36, Brolén et al. 2007: 26).

In heterodox trade theory, differing power relations between players are taken into account, with regards to issues such as setting world prices and thus countries' terms of trade. Feminist theories of trade, similarly to heterodox trade theories, question the interests and power relations involved in trade practices and policies (Elson et al. 2007a: 33). Feminist theories study the impacts of trade policy and practice on gender relations by studying

“changing patterns and conditions of work, including paid and unpaid work; changes in gender gaps in wages, earnings, patterns of ownership, and control over assets; technical change, changes in consumption patterns, and use of technology by men and women; changes in public provisioning of services (through impacts on taxes and expenditures) and their gendered impacts, as well as the gender-differentiated empowerment implications of trade flows” (Ibid: 34).

According to feminist economics all economic processes are gendered, including trade liberalization. National economies experience deep changes as they open up their markets to the world, thus trade liberalization also impact gender relations, mainly through the gendered division of labor in the labor market as well as in households, differences in access to and control over resources between women and men as well as normative views on gender (Wichterich 2009: 1). When studying the relations between trade and gender equality, the gender wage gap and gender segregation of employment are two focus points of special importance, as the two are symptoms of “a deep structural inequality between the paid production of goods and services, and the unpaid social reproduction of labor supply, households and communities” (Elson et al. 2007b: 1).

Whether the changes that trade liberalization brings are positive or negative from the perspective of women is clearly highly contextual - and also depends on your theoretical standpoint. Scholars seemingly agree that globalization and liberalization brings opportunities to shake up old gender structures. Bhagwati (2007: 91) argues that globalization and trade liberalization has a clearly positive impact on gender equality and the gendered wage gap as foreign competition will fight domestic wage prejudices against women. A large part of the feminist scholarship seems substantially more critical (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 12, Elson et al. 2007a: 37) – pointing to the fact that women are hit harder than men by trade liberalization. Trade liberalization can “produce, reproduce and even aggravate inequality, insecurity and social disparity at the same time as it expands wealth” (WIDE 2010: 5) – thus there is no guarantee that increased trade will lead to increased development and welfare. Wichterich and Menon-Sen (2009: 11) are criticizing the assumptions used by Bhagwati as they point out that increased trade does not always lead to growth and that growth does not always lead to development. Apart from that, increased trade does not automatically lead to domestic companies shedding their gender prejudiced policies.

As women’s access to resources are limited and they in general have less resources and capacities, such as education, they are less able to benefit from the changes that trade liberalization bring than men, and similarly are likely to suffer more from the disruptions brought by trade liberalization (Hoskyns 2007: 5).

2.2 Labor Market and Employment

Export industries have employed women to a great extent, but whether this actually has an empowering impact on women is not, as Christa Wichterich (2009: 20) points out, an automatic consequence: “there is no automatic link between women’s integration into the labor market and reducing gender inequality or changes in the supremacy of the male gender”. Even though the labor force has feminized, decision making and ownership of resources is still dominated by men (Ruiz Thierry 2007: 1367), and the majority of reproductive work is still carried out by women.

Feminization of the labor force is a phenomenon that has taken place all over the developing world, also in regions where women's work traditionally has not been accepted, and can be seen as a result of the increasing deregulation of markets (Benería 2007: 23). Young women have become an essential part of the labor intensive export-oriented industries, and are no longer excluded from the labor market. The change of gender norms as a consequence of economic change has happened over an extremely short period of time, thus making it an interesting field of study (Ibid). Women make up a large part of the labor force in the production of footwear, textiles, and electronics in Export Processing Zones (EPZs). In many developing countries with big inflows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), female workers are generally viewed as docile, cheap, flexible, and available in abundance. This makes female employees vulnerable, as they are seen as less likely to join workers' unions and more willing to accept bad working conditions (ECORYS 2009a: 89). For women in vulnerable situations, such as women in poverty, or migrant women, empowerment is especially important as they need to protect themselves, by negotiating safeguards, from unexpected changes in production (Wells 2005: i).

Flexibility is a key characteristic as export-oriented industries often are based on flexible production structures in order to be able to react to the mobility of global capital (Kabeer 2005: 20) and to changes in global demand. For the workers this carries with it volatile working conditions, temporary contracts and part-time work (Benería 2007: 22). Capital intensive industries are generally male dominated (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 13). In Mexico for instance, female employment decreased as production was upgraded technologically (Dominguez et al. 2010: 187).

Most labor markets in the world remain highly gender segregated. Structural gender norms and gender inequality has in many places remained, also as international trade has increased and as certain industries have feminized (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 14). Women are crowded into a narrow occupation range as a result of both demand and supply side discrimination (Elson et al. 2007a: 39). In semi-industrialized countries, export expansion seemingly advantages women compared to men in terms of employment possibilities. However, the competitive advantage of the firms supplying these employment opportunities depends on women's lower wages (Ibid: 46).

The feminization of labor has according to critics come hand in hand with worsening working conditions (Benería 2007: 23) and within the scholarship on feminist economics there is a debate about the role of labor standards in improving the position of women in the global labor market. Several studies point to the fact that women in export sectors suffer from (sexual) harassment, especially on their way to and from work (Ruiz Thierry 2007: 1365). Naila Kabeer (2004: 28) argues that enforcing labor standards can increase gender inequality, as women's employment would reduce, or as jobs would be transferred to the informal sector where no labor standards exist. Both Bhagwati and Kabeer argue that even if the working conditions in the export sector, and specifically in EPZs are sub-par, the conditions outside of the

sector might be just as bad or worse (Bhagwati 2007: 81) and that EPZs should be judged “in light of alternatives available” (Ibid: 85).

Wichterich’s (2009: 12) study on China shows that women are making use of the new job and income opportunities that trade liberalization brings along, and that they gradually have become aware of their rights and have gained dignity as wage earners. Many of the young women working in the factories are migrants from rural areas that are viewed as pioneers, leaving poverty and hardship behind them. However, as old structures of gender norms and inequality are broken down, new ones are created - such as gender segregated labor markets and bad working conditions (Elson et al. 2007a: 46), partly as a result of gender-insensitivity in trade (Ruiz Thierry 2007: 1360).

By entering the labor market, and thereby the public sphere, and earning their own income, Indian women have increased their visibility and recognition (Wichterich 2009: 20). However, as the opportunities for young women have increased dramatically, the perceptions and attitudes of men have not changed. The division of labor within the household has generally stayed the same.

According to Wichterich (Ibid), only a small part of Indian society has changed its patriarchal institutions as a result from increased trade. In India, the income of some women working in the labor market has come to replace dowry.

Other women save part of their income for their dowry. Thus, the new income from a modern sector that is supposedly empowering women, at the same time works to maintain the system of dowry – a system in which women are degraded (Ibid: 15).

2.2.1 Unpaid work

The care labor of women is rarely taken into account when calculating GDP or work hours - it is taken for granted. However, the whole global production chain is based on the care and subsistence work generally carried out by women (Hoskyns 2007: 6). Women that also work in the productive sector often suffer from severe time poverty because of their double burden of both reproductive and productive work (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 18). Care and unpaid work can be replaced by market activities to some extent, but in order to overcome the gender inequalities in this field, it is necessary that men take on more unpaid work (Elson et al. 2007a: 46). Unpaid work is in mainstream economics not seen as “real” work or as a productive part of the economy, as the goods and services produced are used and not exchanged. Unpaid work also does not react to the usual market mechanisms, such as competition, but instead to motivations such as nurture, duty or altruism (Benería 2007: 19).

2.2.2 Vulnerable Employment and Unemployment

Related to unpaid work is vulnerable employment. Vulnerable employment is the sum of own-account workers and contributing family workers – employment statuses in which formal work arrangements or social

protection is rarely available, and thus the employee status is vulnerable. Traditionally women have dominated the “contributing family workers” category, and women in this category are generally not economically independent (International Labour Office 2008: 3). Trade liberalization is likely to provide more employment possibilities, but there is a worry that the new jobs created are mainly vulnerable jobs (International Labor Organization and World Trade Organization 2007: 17).

Trade liberalization can lead to an increase in unemployment, especially in import competing sectors (Ibid: 26), as it tends to restructure the labor market (Randriamaro 2006: 2), especially in the case of previously strictly controlled economies, such as Vietnam. Developing countries experiencing high growth rates have seen that the increase in employment has not been as fast as the growth in GDP, and thus have experienced what could be identified as jobless growth. This also means that profits can increase in an industry while the buying power of people decreases as a consequence of rising unemployment (van Staveren 1997: 103).

2.3 Income and the Gender Wage Gap

Employment, formal or informal is a major source for earning personal income, and a personal income has potential of empowering the individual. Thus, as women enter the labor market and start earning a personal income there is a possibility for increased empowerment both on an individual, household and community level (Randriamaro 2006: 2). It is however important to remember that earning a personal income not necessarily means that you have control over that income (Elson 1999: 614), since many women hand over their income to other members of the family (Fontana 2008: 15). According to Fontana, women generally can control their income to a larger extent when working in export-oriented manufacturing, whereas women in agriculture seem to be losing control of their income as a result of increased trade (Ibid: 22).

Even if women retain control over her own income, it does not automatically follow that the woman or her family are better off than if she was not working, since participating in the labor market also has costs, such as transport, child care or accommodation (Elson 1999: 615). Trade liberalization also has an impact on the distribution of income between women and men, since it changes the relative prices of goods and thus the real income of individuals, since the consumption patterns varies among individuals (Fontana 2008: 3).

When discussing the income of women in relation to trade liberalization, the global gender wage gap is essential: women’s wages are structurally lower than men’s. This gap exists globally but varies in size from country to country. The discrepancy in wages between women and men consists of three components: occupational segregation, individual characteristics and gender discrimination (Son 2007: 1).

According to Wichterich and Menon-Sen (2009: 14), trade liberalization can cause an increase in the gender wage gap since trade liberalization tends to

increase the gap between skilled and unskilled labor and since women generally are found in the groups of unskilled laborers. In labor intensive export sectors, wage discrimination against women according to some scholars (Elson et al. 2007a: 40) significantly contributed to the competitive advantage of countries, as labor market discrimination strengthens the competitiveness of a firm as the costs of the firm are reduced. “The gender norm – that women’s work counts less – is prolonged in the transnational value chains” (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 14). Seguino (2000: 1223) has similarly found a positive link between economic growth and gender inequality through both exports and investment.

There are studies indicating China and India can thank the gender wage gap, gender segregated labor market and women’s work for part of its global competitiveness (Wichterich 2009: 22). Evidence from China shows that the gender wage gap has increased as markets have liberalized (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 14). The wage gap is seemingly also the biggest in the most liberalized sectors and smallest in the least liberalized ones, i.e. the state sector (Wichterich 2009: 9), even though this is seemingly differing substantially from context to context.

2.4 Food affordability

According to van Staveren (2007: 266), food affordability is relevant as an indicator of gender equality since a bulk part of women’s unpaid work domestically is to provide food for the household – either homegrown or purchased. Trade liberalization affects women’s possibilities for food provision as domestic food prices tend to increase as the amount of exported food increases, and tend to decrease as food imports increase. An increase in food prices leads to more time spent on food provision and thus increases the time poverty, as the ones in a household responsible for food provision, generally women, will have to spend more time preparing unprocessed food and shopping for good deals. An increase in food prices also means that female farmers selling surpluses of their production increase their incomes. This could however lead to a diversion of the production from the household to the market, and thus decrease the food security of the household (Ibid: 267). A decrease in food prices as a result of increased food imports threatens subsistence farming and local production – and this can offset the advantages of the lower prices (Hoskyns 2007: 5).

When discussing food affordability it is essential to differ between net food sellers and net food buyers, as they are affected differently by changes in the global price level of food, with net sellers being able to benefit from the price increase. (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2011b: 14).

2.5 Trade negotiations and trade policy

Trade negotiations are a political process in which different pressure groups drive discussions forward (Hoskyns 2007: 8). Trade negotiations and

the creation of trade policy have traditionally been male domains, with very little involvement of women (Ruiz Thierry 2007: 1369) and the involvement of women's organizations and civil society in general in trade policy-making have not been sufficient (Hoskyns 2007: 5). However, trade policy making has increasingly become politicized, as social and environmental concerns to a larger extent are brought to light in trade policy discussions. Hoskyns relates this politicization to the increasing discussions on the links between trade and development as well as to the increase in trade in services. Hoskyns further argue that gender mainstreaming is being implemented, but hardly at all in macroeconomic policy (Ibid: 3).

Even if the linkages between gender equality and trade liberalization has been politically recognized to some extent, there is still a major disconnection between the two domains, both regarding the conceptual and the practical level (Hoskyns 2007: 2). Trade and gender "Each represent[s] an attempt to prioritise a certain perspective and uses this to suggest forms of organisation and shifts in structure at the global level which embed the concerns more fully. In this situation, gender is challenging from the margins. Power at the moment lies with the trade process, although negotiating agreements, even among those with 'standing' on the issues, is becoming increasingly difficult." (Ibid: 4)

Gender equitable trade and sustainable development can according to most authors not be accomplished by simply adding and stirring gender into "neoliberal macro-economic policy regimes" (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 12). The artificial division between politics and economics has to be overcome in order for gender just trade to be possible (Ibid). International trade structures are the result of certain political choices, the structures are not given. This means that the actors involved can change current structures (Ruiz Thierry 2007: 1362). However, efforts to increase gender equality often target women and aim to fit them into the current system. It is seldom that such efforts try to actually change the system to make the structures more gender equal (Ibid: 1364).

Trade policy affects gender equality since an increase in trade will have different effects on women and on men as women and men generally are active in different segments of the labor market, as a result of gender segregated labor markets (Elson et al. 2007b: 8). Governments should, through policy, become better at ensuring that workers, and especially women, reap the benefits of the promotion of growth of exports (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 15). However, a consequence of trade liberalization is that the policy space of individual countries decreases, and thereby the tools states can use to mitigate the negative effects of liberalization (Hoskyns 2007: 7). Trade liberalization means cutting tariffs, and tariffs have often been a big source of government income, and thus decisive of government expenditure (Fontana 2008: 3).

Trade negotiations between unequal partners lead to unequal outcomes (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 8). Currently reciprocity is a key feature in international trade negotiations that underline this inequality, especially so within bilateral negotiations, but also in multilateral negotiations (Stiglitz and Charlton 2005: 109). "Demanding reciprocal trade liberalisation and forging equal treatment between unequal partners disregards both the existing

economic disparities and special development needs of individual countries”(WIDE 2010: 5)

The impact of trade liberalization is different in developing and developed countries: when a developed country opens up its market to a developing country, there is generally only limited impact and disturbances, whereas when a developing country opens up its market to a developed, there is generally a much larger impact and adjustments needed (Stiglitz and Charlton 2005: 108). WTO’s multilateral negotiation framework is clearly not giving all negotiating partners an equal chance, but according to Stiglitz and Charlton (Ibid: 164) developing countries are likely to be worse off if the multilateral negotiations were to be abandoned once and for all. Thus the multilateral negotiation process should be changed, but not abandoned.

2.6 My Theoretical and Analytical Framework

Based on the review of the literature above I will here develop my own theoretical and analytical framework.

In this paper I will reject neoclassical trade theory as it is built on assumptions do not hold in the reality of developing countries, especially assumptions such as full employment, perfect competition and perfect information, which has been pointed out by Stiglitz and Carlton (2005: 69). Instead I will use feminist trade theories as a basis for analysis, as well as focus on power relations and interests involved in trade policy-making. I will also recognize that a lack of gender equality can limit women from reaping the benefits of trade liberalization.

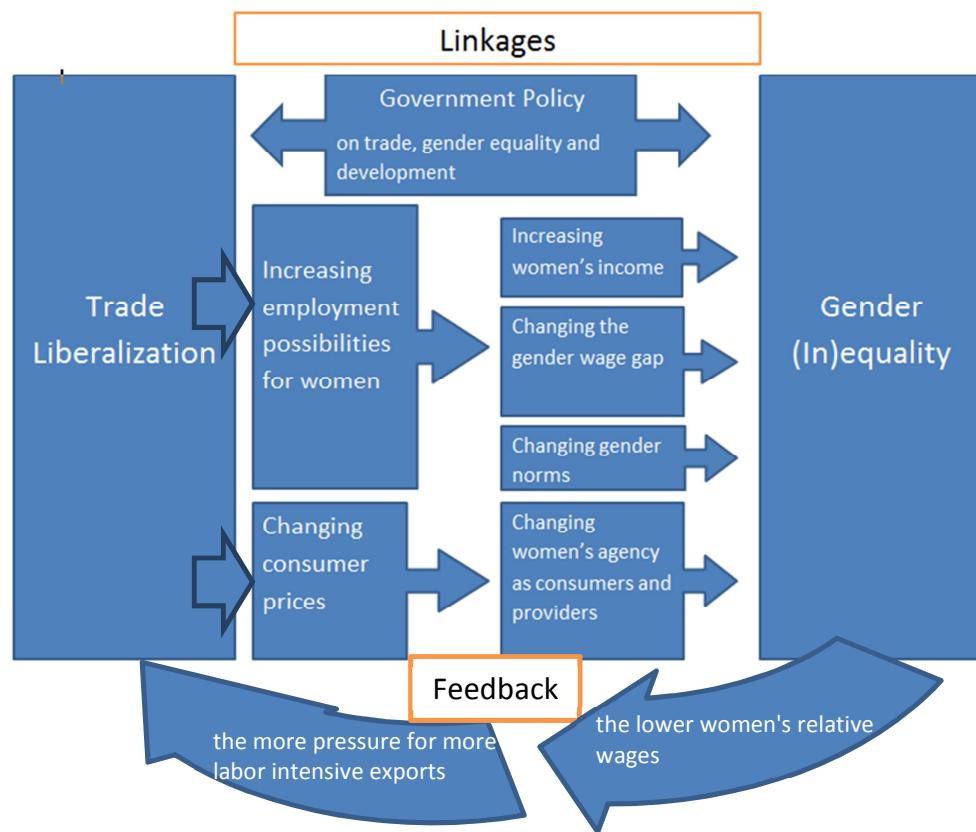
Figure 1 below lines out the linkages between trade liberalization and gender equality that I will study in this paper. Following Hoskyns (2007: 6) I will see trade as bringing potential for change with regards to gender relations, based on that trade liberalization bring increasing employment possibilities for women and that trade liberalization affects consumer prices. The increasing employment possibilities are likely to increase women’s income, and thereby potentially increase the economic freedom of employed women. On an aggregated level, the increased employment possibilities of women are likely to affect the gender wage gap, and thereby gender equality. Following Elson et al. (2007a: 40) as a result of occupational segregation the gender wage gap is likely to increase as women’s lower wages to many countries is a comparative advantage in trade. I will also recognize the feedback effect shown in the diagram: women’s lower wages can lead to an increase in labor intensive exports.

The increase in employment can also lead to a change in gender norms, as more women take part in the formal labor market. Gender norms are in this paper understood in a socio-constructivist framework as constitutive rules that in the words of Kardam “define acceptable behavior, enable actors to play the game and provide actors with the knowledge necessary to respond to each other’s moves in a meaningful way” (2004: 105). Having stated this, in accordance with the literature developed by Kabeer (1994: 191) and Wichterich

(2009: 20) amongst others I will not assume that employment automatically leads to empowerment.

Throughout the paper I will hold essential the role of government policy: the impact of trade liberalization on gender equality will largely depend on trade policy, gender policy as well as development cooperation policy of all trading partners (the EU and Vietnam in this paper). Strongly related to this is the issue of power relations between trading partners: in trade negotiations between a developed and a developing country, or as in the case of EU, a block of developed countries, I will recognize that there is a massive power inequality at the negotiation table as well as in the back room, in accordance to the writings of Stiglitz and Charlton (2005: 82).

Figure 1
Studied linkages between trade liberalization and gender equality



Chapter 3 Vietnam

In this chapter I study the linkages between trade liberalization and gender equality on in Vietnam. I start by giving a brief overview of the political situation, and will then move on to discussing the gender equality situation in Vietnam. I will then move on to explicitly study the indicators used in the elasticities, and thus focus on the labor market, the gender wage gap and food affordability. I will also study the role of Vietnamese government policy on gender equality. The chapter ends with a study of Vietnamese trade with a focus in its trade with EU.

3.1 Political Overview

Vietnam is a socialist one-party state without free elections. It is densely populated – its 82 million people are spread over 330,000 km². Since 1986 it has undergone economic transition, the so called Doi Moi process, and gradually reduced the use of central planning and increased the role of the market in the economy. One of the major challenges for the Vietnamese economy is to continue the transition to an open market economy, while simultaneously sustaining human development and economic growth. In this process gender equality plays a key role, as in order for Vietnam to use its growth potential, the full participation of women is needed (Wells 2005: 9).

Since the Doi Moi process started, Vietnam has seen substantial economic and human development. For more than a decade Vietnam's GDP has grown by more than 7 percent annually, which also can be seen in the rapidly decreasing poverty rates (Wells 2005: i). However, in 2008, 14.5 percent of the population was still living in poverty⁵ (World Bank n.d.a). Despite the high rate of GDP growth, the growth in job creation has been more sluggish at about 2 percent annually on average (Wells 2005: 10).

As the economy makes the transition to a market led economy, access to resources as well as individual empowerment becomes essential in determining the capabilities of households and individuals. As women's access to resources and empowerment is restricted, there is a risk that the market economy will increase gender inequality (Wells 2005: 14).

3.2 Gender Equality

From a comparative perspective of the Southeast Asian region⁶, Vietnam is scoring high on gender equality and other human development indicators,

⁵ According to the national poverty line

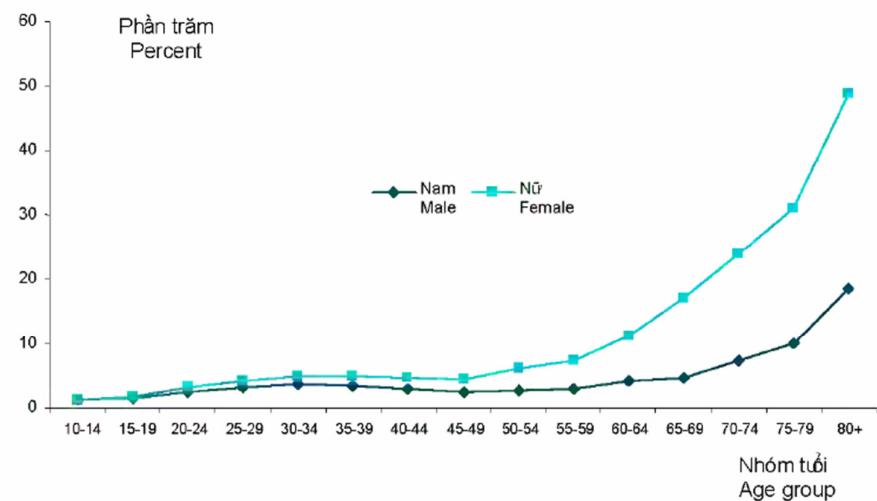
⁶ See Annex B for details.

especially when taking into account Vietnam's relatively low level of GDP. The gender gap in the provision of health care, school enrollment, and literacy is rather small and Vietnam has the highest percentage of female members of parliament in the region. However, women's access to resources such as land, credit and vocational training is restricted (Wells 2005: ii).

A key way of accessing capital is through land, as land is given as collateral for the credit, thus not having land use rights is a hinder in accessing credit. According to Vietnamese inheritance practice land can be passed on to both women and men, but in reality fewer women than men are registered land users. Of all land use holders in Vietnam 21 percent are in the name of a woman, 63 percent are in the name of a man and 17 percent are jointly held (World Bank et al. 2006: 43).

In the case of education the figure below illustrates the big gap in education attendance in the age group 50 and above. As can be seen from this figure the gap has narrowed substantially in the last 20 years. Still, 20 percent of economically active males had completed vocational training compared to 15 percent of females (General Statistics Office of Vietnam, 2009b: 56), thus for women to be able to partake in the labor market on equal terms with men, their level of education should be increased.

Figure 2
Share of Vietnamese Population that Never Attended General Education



Source: General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2009b: 29

Because of gender inequality in access to resources, women are not able to fully make use of and compete for the possibilities that economic growth is

bringing (Wells 2005: ii), and women risk being stuck in unproductive areas of the economy (Ibid: iii).

The rate of economic activity within the Vietnamese population has been among the highest in the world, however, the size of the economically active population⁷ has decreased, as more people (mainly males – 50 percent of economically inactive men are inactive because of studies, the same figure for women is 32 percent) engage in higher levels of education, and as women engage in reproductive work (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2009b: 88). In 2008, 80 percent of men and 71 percent of women were economically active (Ibid: 49). Men to a larger extent take part in wage employment (35 percent of men compared to 24 percent of women) (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2009b: 69). Similarly, more women than men are involved in the informal sector, this as a consequence of women's unpaid reproductive work (Wells 2005: v).

According to GSO (2009b: 88), the biggest gender gap in economic activity, and thus labor force participation, is in the age group 25-54, an age group in which women are to a large extent engaged in reproductive work. 17.1 percent of respondents said they did not work because of household or family duties, and of these 95.8 percent were women. Of the economically inactive population 90 percent have no technical qualifications.

There are substantial differences between urban and rural communities and between the Kinh majority (86 percent of the population) and the ethnic minorities (53 ethnic minority groups exist in Vietnam). According to "Gender Analysis of the 2004 Vietnam Household Living Standard Survey" (World Bank et al. 2006: 27) an unpublished World Bank 2006 report, 55 percent of ethnic minority households are located in the poorest quintile of the population, as compared to 12 percent of the Kinh Chinese, and 93 percent live in rural areas, compared to 71 percent of the Kinh Chinese. Ethnic minority women are facing major hurdles in accessing land and credit (Wells 2005: iii) as well as health and education as compared to ethnic minority men or Kinh and Chinese women (World Bank et al. 2006: 11). Similarly, there are pronounced differences in maternal mortality between regions (Wells 2005: 7).

Table 3 is an overview of the ranking of Vietnam in the Global Gender Gap report. As can be seen, the ranking of Vietnam has worsened significantly from 2007 to 2010, even though the change in total value is only a decrease of 1.6 percent, thus the change in ranking is to a large extent due to other countries improving more than Vietnam. Vietnam is still ranking high on economic participation of women, measured through the gender gap in remuneration, participation and advancement. The value of the educational attainment indicator (measured by the gender gap in educational enrolment in primary to tertiary education) has increased. The health gap is measured by the

⁷ Economic activity is defined by the Vietnamese General Statistics Office as "persons aged 15 and over who were either employed (working) or unemployed during the reference period" – this is also the definition of the labor force (General Statistics Office 2009a: 57).

gender gap in healthy life expectancy and by the sex ratio at birth. Due to a drop in value between 2009 and 2010, the ranking of Vietnam here drops significantly. Political empowerment is measured by the ratio of women to men in parliament, government and executive office. Also here Vietnams ranking has deteriorated due to the decrease of the number of women in parliament in the current term as compared to the previous.

Table 3
Global Gender Gap Report: Vietnam

Indicator	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total ranking	42	68	71	72
Total value	0,69	0,68	0,68	0,68
Economic Participation and Opportunity ranking	11	24	25	33
Economic Participation and Opportunity value	0,75	0,73	0,74	0,72
Educational Attainment ranking	103	106	108	106
Educational Attainment value	0,89	0,89	0,90	0,92
Health and Survival ranking	91	92	97	127
Health and Survival value	0,97	0,97	0,97	0,96
Political Empowerment ranking	42	67	72	72
Political Empowerment value	0,15	0,12	0,12	0,12

Value: 0 = inequality, 1 = equality

Source: Hausmann et al. 2007, Hausmann et al. 2008, Hausmann et al. 2009, Hausmann et al. 2010

The combination of the expectations on women regarding their family and household duties and women's economic participation lead to what seems to be one of the key issues of Vietnamese women: time poverty created by the double burden of work in and outside of the household. Studies show that women work substantially longer hours than men when care work is taken into account (Wells 2005: ii). This limits women in their advancement on the labor market, cause health problems and hinders women to take part in social activities and local governance. Ensuring that men take on a bigger role in care work is essential to decrease time poverty of women. In the Vietnamese Labor Code of 2002, parent leave is only available for mothers, and so is leave to care for a sick child (World Bank et al. 2006: 42).

The opportunities for Vietnamese women have since the beginning of Doi Moi expanded greatly, and the judicial rights of women in Vietnam are strong (World Bank et al. 2006: 5). However, it seems that values and norms surrounding gender have not changed at the same rate. Strong norms about the appropriate behavior of a woman still exist, especially regarding women as nurturers of the family, and women struggle to combine traditional and modern virtues (Wells 2005: 8).

The World Value Survey tries to capture the change in values in societies. Table 4 shows the gender related results of the global World Value Survey from 2001 and 2006 with regards to Vietnam and is an indicator of how gender norms in Vietnam have changed. The general Vietnamese opinion has changed

on whether men have more rights to jobs than women. Interestingly, the biggest change has been with regards to the answer “Neither”, with less people both agreeing and disagreeing to the statement in 2006 as compared to 2001. Regarding male versus female leadership, the survey shows a slight increase (0.5 percent) from 2001 to 2006 in respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing to the statement that men make better leaders. In the case of university education there has been a decrease of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing and an increase in respondents disagreeing or strongly disagreeing to the statement that university is more important for boys than for girls. The confidence in the women’s movement has increased rather dramatically in the studied period.

Table 4
Comparison of World Value Survey Vietnam 2001 and 2006

World Value Survey			Agree 2006	Agree 2001	Disagree 2006	Disagree 2001	Neither 2006	Neither 2001
	Agree Strongly 2006	Agree Strongly 2001	Agree 2006	Agree 2001	Disagree 2006	Disagree 2001	Strongly Disagree 2006	Strongly Disagree 2001
Jobs scarce: Men should have more right to a job than women			40.8 %	48.5 %	37.7 %	45.5 %	21.5 %	6 %
Men make better political leaders than women do	12.2 %	15.5 %	44.5 %	40.7 %	33.8 %	40.2 %	9.5 %	3.5 %
University is more important for a boy than for a girl	3.3 %	5.8 %	17.3 %	18.3 %	54.4 %	66.2 %	24.9 %	9.7 %
Confidence in The Women’s Movement	61.4 %	33.9 %	35 %	50.7 %	3.4 %	14.1 %	0.1 %	1.3 %

Source: World Values Survey n.d.

Based on the table above it can be argued that with regards to norms and values surrounding women’s economic rights, measured here by the question of men’s versus women’s right to work, gender equality has been strengthened as less respondents in 2006 agreed that men have more right to a job. Regarding values surrounding women’s political rights, as measured by the question on female political leadership, there has been a decrease in gender equality. In the case of values around women’s right to education there has been an increase in gender equality, and similarly the confidence of women as a group has increased as represented by the question about the women’s movement.

The structural gender equality in Vietnam, materialized for instance through women’s limited access to credit, education and the formal labor market as well as through gender norms, restrict women from reaping the benefits of trade liberalization. Women’s limited access to credit restricts them from formal entrepreneurship. 75 percent of Vietnamese women are self-

employed, thus access to credit is key to improving their productivity (World Bank 2006: 43). Women's lower education level restricts women to low-skilled jobs and women's normative responsibility for reproductive work limits them in the labor market and cause time poverty. Structural gender equality in Vietnam is one explanation to the elasticities taking the shape they do.

3.2.1 The Labor Market

Table 5 shows elasticities 1-3 related to the labor market as presented in Chapter 1. As discussed earlier, these elasticities show a weak responsiveness, with elasticity 3 on unemployment showing the strongest relationship. In this subchapter I will study the labor market of Vietnam in order to analyze why these elasticities take the shape they do.

Table 5
Elasticities on the Labor Market

Elasticity #	Elasticities according to trade with EU	EU
1	Trade elasticity of gender equality in labor force shares 2000-2009	-0,01
2	Trade elasticity of gender equality in export sector (manufacturing) labor force shares 2000-2004	0,03
3	Trade elasticity of gender gap in unemployment rates 2000-2004	-0,39

Women in Vietnam are disproportionately located in parts of the labor market “with low productivity, low wages and inadequate security” (Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs and Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs 2010: 40): of the economically active female population 54 percent are in agriculture and forestry, 13 percent are in wholesale and trade and 13 percent are in manufacturing. Women's engagement in the export sector makes them extra vulnerable to the volatility of international markets (*Ibid*).

In Vietnam the labor market is highly gender segregated. Labor-intensive industries, such as footwear, garment and textiles as well as fish processing all have a female dominated labor force (ECORYS 2009a: 89). 80 percent of workers in footwear production are women, and 90 percent of the footwear production is exported, with the EU being the largest market (*Ibid*: 94), 70-80 percent of the employees in the textile sector are female (*Ibid*: 89). These women are young, single, migrant workers (Wells 2005: 21).

Women are generally employed in low-skilled positions – this also ensures that the female wages are kept low (*Ibid*: 101). These industries are all export-oriented and thus key components in Vietnam's quest to liberalize trade (Wells 2005: 10). Hence, it is especially in these sectors that international trade has a direct impact on women. Women also dominate the labor force in health and social work. Industries dominated by a male labor force include capital intensive sectors, such as mining, quarrying and transport, but also fishing (*Ibid*: 15).

Men to a larger extent work in non-state enterprises (61 percent), whereas women to a larger extent work in foreign investment companies (64 percent)

(General Statistics Office 2009a: 16). Of the total labor force, 10 percent are state employed, 87 percent are employed in the non-state sector, and 3 percent are employed in the foreign investment sector (Ibid: 1). According to GSO, the working conditions in the foreign investment sector is better than in other sectors, but the gender wage gap is bigger than in other sectors as will be discussed in the following subchapter (Ibid: 27). Of the manufacturing industry, 72 percent is owned domestically by private actors or business households, 18 percent is owned by foreign investors and 7 percent is state owned (Ibid: 184). Manufacturing is the sector receiving the vast majority of foreign investment in Vietnam – 60 percent of foreign investment projects are in manufacturing, and 50 percent of the invested capital is in manufacturing⁸ (General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.c). In 2010 the EU was, measured in invested capital, the second largest foreign investor in Vietnam after Singapore⁹ (General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.d)

Female workers in Vietnam are to a larger extent than men low skilled. More than 25 percent of women in Vietnam have no formal education, whereas the same figure for men is 20 percent (Son 2007: 11). Providing job training to women would be a way to close the gender gap in skills.

In the Vietnamese agricultural sector, 80 percent of workers are female (Kusabe and Kelker 2001 in Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2011a: 16). Just more than 10 percent of women in agriculture work for a wage. For men the share is above 15 percent (Ibid: 18). According to Kabeer and Van Anh (2006: 25), rural unemployment and underemployment in Vietnam cause the big influx of rural women to the manufacturing industry. The increase job opportunities for women have thus contributed to the decrease of unemployment in the country side. As can be seen in the table below, the unemployment rate is higher for women than for men. GSO (2009a: 41) explains this by women facing a larger number of obstacles when entering the labor market than men.

Table 6
Unemployment Rate in Vietnam, 2009

	Unemployment rate		
	Urban	Rural	Total
Male	4,3	2	2,7
Female	4,9	2,1	2,9
Whole country	4,6	2,1	2,8

Source: General Statistics Office 2009a: 43

Related to the elasticities, it is interesting that the elasticities on labor force shares (elasticities 1 and 2) shows such a weak responsiveness, since theory,

⁸ See Annex C for details

⁹ See Annex C for details

data, as well as empirical studies of the Vietnamese labor market indicate that the increase in trade has brought with it increasing employment possibilities for women. The result might partly be due to faulty data, but is also likely to be an indicator of Vietnam's success as an exporter based on low labor costs and labor-intensive industries and the gender segregated labor market as well as the gender gap in education. As Vietnam moves up the global production value chain, increases in trade are likely to take place especially in more capital intense sectors that are less dependent on (female) low-skilled labor (Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs and Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs 2010: 41). It is possible, if not probable, that this move from labor intensive to capital intensive export industry will affect the female labor force in similar ways to that in Mexico where the labor force of the export industry masculinized as production became more capital intensive.

Another major challenge is the current financial crisis – as the export industry is female dominated the decrease in global demand following the crisis has had and will have an impact on the employment possibilities of women. The elasticity on unemployment (elasticity 3) showing responsiveness between increased female unemployment and trade is likely to be due to the structural change from an agriculturally based economy to an economy based on industry the Vietnamese labor market is going through as a consequence of the increase in trade. Young women migrate from unemployment and underemployment in rural areas to urban areas to find industrial jobs and the industrial sector is likely to be struggling to absorb this inflow of labor.

3.2.2 The Gender Wage Gap

Table 7 shows elasticities 4-7 on income and the gender wage gap as presented in Chapter 1. As discussed earlier, these elasticities show a weak responsiveness, with elasticity 6 on the gender wage gap in the export sector showing the strongest relationship.

Table 7
Elasticities on Income and the Gender Wage Gap

Elasticity #	Elasticities according to trade with EU	EU
4	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal income 2004-2009	0
5	Trade elasticity of gender equality of gendered wage gap	0,04
6	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the export sector 2006-2009	0,46
7	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the import competing sector 2006-2009	0,17

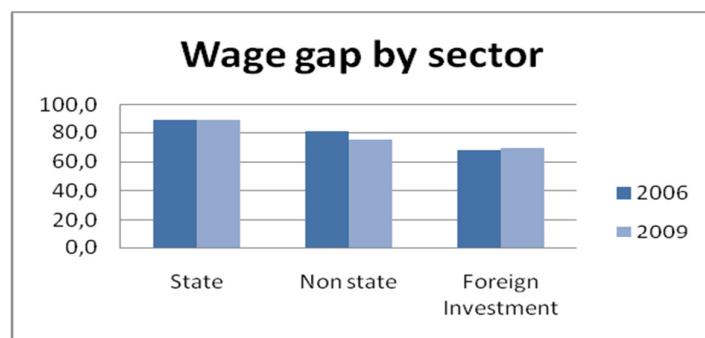
In a study comparing the gender wage gap in Vietnam and Thailand, Son found that the welfare disparity between male and female workers is substantially bigger in Vietnam, where the welfare of women was 17.9 percent lower as compared to men, whereas the same difference in Thailand was only 8.3 percent (Son 2007: 7). The gap in both countries can be attributed to mainly gender discrimination (Ibid: 8). Son (Ibid: 7) also finds, similar to Wells

(2005: 14), that the welfare gender discrepancy is biggest in the poorest income group.

Based on my calculations on data from GSO¹⁰ on the gender wage gap in 2009, the foreign investment sector has the highest wage gap (female wages 69.6 percent of male wages) of the economic sectors as compared to the state (89.8 percent) or to non-state companies (75.2 percent). The wage gap is also rather large in the two key export sectors: agriculture (73.4 percent) and in manufacturing (71.2 percent).

Figures 3a and b depict the development of the gender wage gap over time comparing 2006 and 2009¹¹. The closer to 100, the smaller is the wage gap. Figure 3a shows that the wage gap is the smallest in the state sector and the largest in the foreign investment sector. The wage gap has increased in the state and domestic non-state market, but decreased in the foreign investment sector.

Figure 3a
Gender Wage Gap per Sector



Source: Author's calculation on General Statistics Office 2009a and World Bank in Vietnam 2008: 74

Figure 3b
Gender Wage Gap per Occupation



Source: Author's calculation based on General Statistics Office 2009a and World Bank in Vietnam 2008: 74

¹⁰ See Annex D for details

¹¹ Unfortunately data on a larger time span was not available.

Figure 3b shows that the wage gap is the largest among skilled manufacturing workers, generally an occupation that is involved in the export sector. The gap has decreased among managers, professionals and in the agricultural sector.

Based on the labor market data and on the gender wage gap data, a key linkage between trade and gender equality appears: women to a substantially larger extent than men are employed in the foreign investment sector. Even if the foreign investment sector on an aggregated level is small, foreign investment plays a crucial role in manufacturing industries. Manufacturing is the dominant export as well as import competing sector, and as the EU is one of the major sources of foreign investment, it is highly likely that foreign investment from the EU plays a key role in manufacturing. Interestingly the gender wage gap in 2009 in the foreign investment sector is the largest (69.6 percent) among the economic sectors, and also among the largest I found in my calculations. The gender wage gap in manufacturing in general is 71.2 percent. Elasticity 6 on the gender wage gap in the export sector shows a stronger positive response than the other elasticities, this could be due to that fact that as figure 3a shows, the gendered wage gap in the foreign investment sector has decreased slightly.

3.2.3 Food affordability and Agricultural Production

Table 8 shows elasticities 8-9 on food affordability as presented in chapter 1. As discussed earlier, both of these elasticities show a weak responsiveness. In this subchapter I will study the gender wage gap of Vietnam in order to analyze why these elasticities take the shape they do.

Table 8
Elasticities on Food Affordability

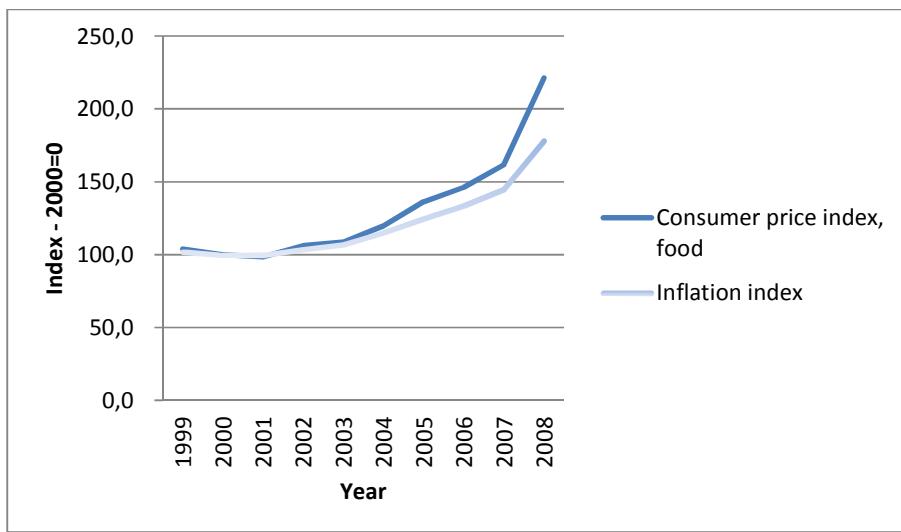
Elasticity #	Elasticities according to trade with EU	EU
8	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to exports 2000-2008	-0,21
9	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to imports 2000-2008	-0,18

62 percent of the Vietnamese population is dependent on agriculture for their subsistence (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2011c). Consumer prices for food more than doubled between 1999 and 2008 (International Labour Organization n.d.). The global increase in prices of agricultural products has according to FAO benefitted Vietnam as the poor food producers in Vietnam generally are net food sellers, and as the increase in prices led to an increase in their incomes (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2011b: 9). Vietnam differs from most countries in the same income category, as the distribution of land is rather equitable, this in addition to Vietnams big rice exports results in many relatively poor rice producing households (Ibid: 16). However, almost the full urban population are net buyers (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

2011b: 14), and they are clearly affected differently than the rural producers as they face price increases accompanied by no increase in incomes.

Inflation plays a key role in food prices, but as can be seen in the figure below, food prices have risen more than inflation, especially between 2007 and 2008 when the inflation rate rose sharply. The sharp rise in inflation is likely a result of the growth experienced by the country. That food prices are rising sharply is in part due to the increase in global food prices, but likely also a result of increased exports of food.

Figure 4
Inflation Index and Food Price Index in Vietnam 1999-2008



Source: Author's own calculation based on World Bank n.d. and International Labour Organization

3.2.4 Government policy

The achievements with regards to gender equality in Vietnam are arguably partly a result of the policies and legislation put forward by the Communist Party (Wells 2005: 2). However, strong ideas about gender norms remain in the Vietnamese society and so do gender gaps in wages and education and work load.

The National Committee for the Advancement of Women (NCFAW) is the government agency that is mandated to represent women's interests and to oversee the implementation of the National Plan for the Advancement of Women that sets targets for women's representation in political and other elected bodies, but the committee lacks the expertise in gender issues needed to be advising ministries. Currently initiatives to promote gender equality are dependent on donor funding and limited funds are allocated to NCFAW. The Vietnamese government is using 5-year socio-economic development plans to direct development in the country. Gender concerns have not been integrated sufficiently in this plan (Wells 2005: iv).

Since 2006 Vietnam has a gender equality law that stipulates that tax incentives as well as financial preferential treatment are given to companies employing "many female laborers" (National Assembly of the Socialist

Republic of Vietnam 2006: 5) and lays out that men and women are equal in a number of contexts such as education, business, the family. It also states that the housework is to be shared between male and female family members (Ibid: 6), but suggests no concrete measures to implement this. The law does not mention gender implications of trade.

The Labor Code lacks in implementation, as its implementation is widespread only in the state sector (Wells 2005: 19). As the role of private companies is increasing in importance, the role of unions should also be strengthened in order to protect workers' right. Parts of the labor code have been written explicitly to protect women, but seemingly have an opposite effect on women. The Labor Code includes positive discrimination for women in the case of an open position that suits both women and men and four to six months of maternity leave. Similarly, the pension age of women is lower than that of men, as a measure to recognize the unpaid reproductive work that women do. Entitlements for women such as these can function as a disincentive and limits women's possibilities of promotion, and thus hinder women from being hired or promoted (Ibid).

The policies on gender equality that are in place are arguably intended to protect women from discrimination and maltreatment in the labor market. However, as discussed above it is questionable to what extent they are being efficient. Furthermore, if policy views women as having a need for protection, this contributes to gender stereotyping. With regards to the elasticities, the lack of implementation of existing policies (World Bank et al. 2006: 21) could be a reason for the lack of responsiveness in the elasticities.

3.3 Trade

In this subchapter I will study the denominator of the elasticities: Vietnamese trade. I will start by discussing the major trading partners of Vietnam, and then move on to the structure of Vietnamese exports and imports. I will then focus explicitly on Vietnam's trade with the EU and study how the trade pattern has changed over time.

As can be seen in figure 5 there was a steady increase of trade as a percentage of GDP that reached its top in 2008, only a year after Vietnam joined the WTO. Interestingly, after joining the WTO in 2007 there was no boom in trading. This is likely due to expectations – both the Vietnamese government and Vietnamese trading partners were expecting for Vietnam to join the WTO for several years before it actually did, thus the steady increase. The downward slope in 2008-2009 is clearly due to the global financial crisis.

Figure 5
Trade as a share of GDP 2001-2010

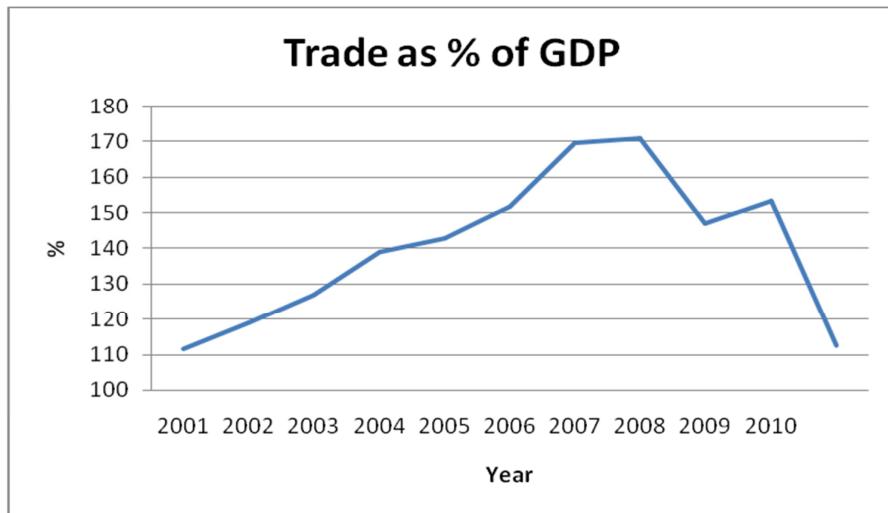
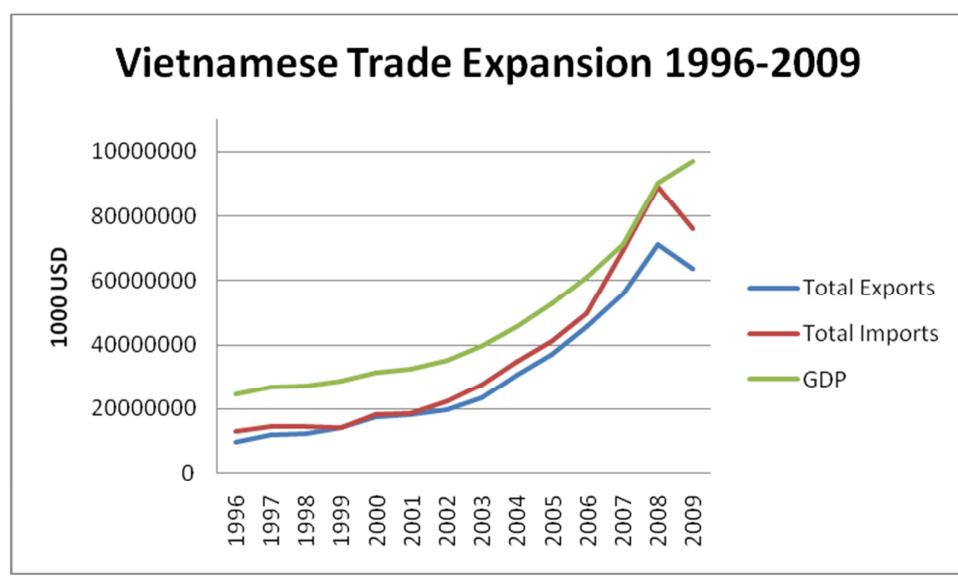


Figure 6 shows that the GDP has continued its growth path even as both import and exports have decreased dramatically. The figure also shows that Vietnam since the year 2000 has had a trade deficit.

Figure 6
Trade expansion in Vietnam 1996-2009



As can be seen in Table 9, China has the last few years become the dominant trading partner of Vietnam, with the United States and the EU lagging behind. The United States overtook the EU in value of trade (imports

+ exports) only in 2010, and the EU remains a bigger exporter of goods to Vietnam than the United States.

Table 9
Top 5 Trading Partners 2005-2010

Value of Exports and Imports 2005-2010 in Million USD per partner						
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
China,P.R	9128	10634	16356	20824	21350	31771
United States	6787	8832	11805	14533	14365	18525
European Union	8099	10229	14165	16323	15090	17401
Japan	8414	9942	12279	16708	13760	16428
South Korea	4258	4751	6584	9049	9041	10197

Source: Author's own calculations based on International Monetary Fund n.d.

United States is the major destination of Vietnamese exports, and the growth in exports to the US has almost doubled in the period 2005-2010. The EU is the second largest export destination. Imports from China has grown massively (331 percent) in the period 2005-2010 whereas imports from the EU have grown with 140 percent, making it the fifth largest importer in Vietnam¹². The imports from China are causing a rapidly increasing trade deficit with China that reached 19 billion USD in 2010. Vietnam has a trade surplus of 10 billion USD with the United States and of 5 billion with the EU (Author's calculations based on International Monetary Fund n.d.).

Tables 10a and b show the main export and import sectors of Vietnam. Manufactured products make up half of all exports, and this rate has been steadily increasing as the table shows. The share of primary production in exports has been decreasing, mainly due to a decrease in export of mineral fuels. However, food exports have seen a slight increase. This decrease of primary production is to be expected as Vietnam is developing its manufacturing sector. The share of services in exports is still very small but steadily expanding. This is expected as the Vietnamese economy develops.

Table 10a
Vietnamese Exports per Industry 2005-2007

Exports of goods and services in Million USD	2005	%	2006	%	2007	%
TOTAL	36712		44926		55021	
Primary products	16101	44	19227	43	21658	39
Food, foodstuff and live animals	6346	17	7509	17	9192	17
Beverages and tobacco	150	0	144	0	155	0

¹² See Annex E for details

Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	1229	3	1845	4	2200	4
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	8358	23	9709	22	10061	18
Animal and vegetable oils, fats and wax	18	0	19	0	50	0
Manufactured products	16341	45	20592	46	26886	49
Chemical and related products, n.e.s	536	2	792	2	1029	2
Manufactured goods classified chiefly by materials	2165	6	2926	7	3976	7
Machinery, transport and equipment	3145	9	4195	9	5601	10
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	10495	29	12679	28	16281	30
Commodities not classified elsewhere in SITC	5	0	7	0	18	0
Services	4265	12	5100	11	6460	12
Transportation	1167	3	1540	3	1879	3
Postal and telecommunication	100	0	120	0	110	0
Travel	2300	6	2850	6	3750	7
Finance	220	1	270	1	332	1
Insurance	45	0	50	0	65	0
Government services	33	0	40	0	45	0
Other services	400	1	230	1	279	1

Source: General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.e, General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.b, General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.a and author's own calculations

Table 10b
Vietnamese Imports per Industry 2005-2007

Imports of goods and services in Million USD	2005	%	2006	%	2007	%
TOTAL	41211		50013		69942	
Primary products	9308	23	11481	23	15421	22
Food, foodstuff and live animals	1955	5	2299	5	3280	5
Beverages and tobacco	176	0	145	0	183	0
Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	1623	4	2084	4	2741	4
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	5366	13	6699	13	8744	13
Animal and vegetable oils, fats and wax	188	1	254	1	473	1
Manufactured products	26633	65	31531	63	46028	66
Chemical and related products, n.e.s	5310	13	6317	13	8369	12
Manufactured goods classified chiefly by materials	10172	25	12164	24	17062	24
Machinery, transport and equipment	9252	23	10806	22	17860	26
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	1899	5	2244	5	2737	4
Commodities not classified elsewhere in SITC	820	2	1879	4	1316	2
Services	4450	11	5122	10	7177	10

Transportation	2190	5	2580	5	4079	6
Postal and telecommunication	31	0	30	0	47	0
Travel	900	2	1050	2	1220	2
Finance	230	1	270	1	300	0
Insurance	249	1	302	1	461	1
Government services	30	0	40	0	40	0
Other services	820	2	850	2	1030	2

Source: General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.e, General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.b, General Statistics Office of Vietnam n.d.a and author's own calculations

Table 10b shows the main import sectors of Vietnam. Similarly to exports, manufacturing is also the largest share of imports. Within the manufacturing sector there has been an increase in imports of machinery, which is to be expected as Vietnam is importing capital in order to make use of its domestic supply of labor, and thus to create economic growth.

3.3.1 EU-Vietnamese Trade

In order to assess the actual impact of EU trade policy on the gender equality situation in Vietnam, the trade flow should be studied. In the subchapter below I will look at Vietnam's exports and imports to and from the EU. I will also compare the Vietnamese trade with EU with the two other major trading partners, US and China, as it is important to study the EU-Vietnamese trade in its context. Based on the data and the theory presented earlier I will draw conclusions on how the specific trade flows are affecting gender equality.

Vietnam joined the WTO in January 2007. Before this, trade between EU and Vietnam was unregulated, and both parties faced substantial trade barriers. Vietnam's WTO membership meant that both parties lowered their trade barriers towards each other, and international trade is expected to increase substantially after the WTO accession.

The tables below show the value of the five most imported and exported products for 2000 and 2010 respectively, as well as the aggregated value of all food imports and exports for Vietnam's trade with the EU¹³. The change in the ten year period is also calculated. This gives an insight in to how the trade pattern has changed over the past ten years.

Table 11 shows a massive increase in the export to the EU of fish in the covered period. As it is approximated that 1/3 of the employees in the fish industry are women, this increase should increase the employment possibilities of women in Vietnam. Related to this, the aggregated value of food exports to the EU has also increased, and this is very likely to have an impact on food prices, since more food being exported can decrease the domestic food supply

¹³ The same data on Vietnam's trade with China and the US is found Annex F.

and thus push up domestic food prices¹⁴. Footwear and clothing are also female dominated industries, and adding together these industries and 1/3 of the value of fish exports, the value of the female intense sector is more than 3.6 billion USD.

Table 11
Vietnamese Top 5 Exports to EU 2000 and 2010

Vietnamese Exports to EU in 1000 USD 2000-2010 per top 5 products and food			
YEAR	2000	2010	% change
All food items	445617	3323669	646
Top 5 products 2000			
Footwear	1062699	2653007	150
Men's clothing	311054	653753	110
Coffee and coffee substitutes	218505	1355823	520
Women's clothing	192709	471598	145
Furniture & parts	108484	987843	811
Top 5 products 2010			
Footwear	1062699	2653007	150
Coffee and coffee substitutes	218505	1355823	520
Furniture & parts	108484	987843	811
Fish	8007	968553	11996
Men's clothing	311054	653753	110

Source: UNCTAD n.d.

Table 12 shows that the imports from the EU are dominated by capital goods, such as machinery. These goods are used in many different industries, thus it is hard to lay down the gender implications of these imports. The data show that the import of foods from the EU has increased – and this will have an impact on the affordability of food in Vietnam as well as on employment in the agricultural sector. Imports will likely lower the food prices at the same time as it crowds out local production.

Table 12
Vietnamese Top 5 Imports to EU 2000 and 2010

Vietnamese Imports from EU in 1000 of 2000-2010 per top 5 products and food			
YEAR	2000	2010	% change

¹⁴ As discussed previously food prices affects the rural and urban population differently.

All food items	121162	569287	370
Top 5 products 2000			
Medicaments	113740	326114	187
Telecommunication equipment	63590	235344	270
Other machinery for particular industries	49211	197828	302
Milk, cream and milk products	36077	77091	114
Apparatus for electrical circuits	34087	82688	143
Top 5 products 2010			
Aircraft & associated equipment	2210	710965	32073
Medicaments	113740	326114	187
Telecommunication equipment	63590	235344	270
Other machinery for particular industries	49211	197828	302
Parts & accessories of vehicles	6725	177432	2538

Source: UNCTAD n.d.

Especially with regard to Vietnamese exports, the exports to the EU and to the US follow rather similar patterns, in which female dominated industries, such as clothing and footwear. Exports to China on the other hand follow a different pattern where male dominated industries such as mining play a much larger role. Both China and the US are major providers of input to the clothing industry, and as the textile industry female dominated these imports have a clear gender component. The dependency of imports for the clothing industry makes Vietnamese clothing exports less competitive (Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs and Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs 2010: 16).

To conclude, the female labor force play a key role in Vietnamese exports to the EU. Vietnam's exports to the EU provide women with more employment possibilities than for instance its exports to China since heavy industry plays an important role in the trade with China. However, China is supplying the input to the clothing sector, thus these imports are an essential part of the global value chain.

Chapter 4 Analysis of EU Policy on Vietnam

In this chapter I will first look at EU trade policy and the role of gender in it. I will then briefly do a gender analysis on key documents related to EU trade policy, as well as a more in depth analysis of the Sustainability Impact Assessment on the free trade agreement with Vietnam. I will move on to study the coherence between EU trade and development policy. I will conclude by discussing what components of EU's policy on Vietnam have an impact on the elasticities looking like they do.

4.1 EU trade policy

As discussed in chapter 1.3 I have not been able to access documentation specifically on EU-Vietnam trade agreements, and therefore EU trade policy is here discussed in general terms with limited reference to Vietnam.

“Trade is the European Union’s most powerful external policy domain” (Orbie 2008a: 35): the EU has the largest internal market in the world, and this makes it an attractive destination of trade. Furthermore, trade is one of the few sectors where the EU can act as a single actor and where the debate among member states is limited (Kessler 2009: 5). This also gives the EU substantial power - in the trade sector, but also through its trade. The EU today makes demands for the adoption of certain normative standards on its trading partners (Ibid: 2). The EU as an international actor is still developing as the European integration is furthering (Ibid: 3). Because of the unequal power relations between the EU and many of its developing country trading partners, the EU is able to include certain conditions with regards to for instance human rights, in trade agreements (Ibid: 8).

In the Treaty of Lisbon, the treaty that establishes the functioning of the European Union, equality between women and men is established as a common value within the union (European Union 2007: 11). The same treaty also stipulates that the values of the union shall be “upheld and promoted” (Ibid) in its external relations. From this a straightforward conclusion can be drawn that the EU should work to promote gender equality in its external relations, including trade policy.

According to Kessler (2009: 23) women are in EU trade policy mainly viewed in an economic way as human capital that is not used to its full potential. Thus, gender equality or women’s wellbeing is not of interest. Kessler has shown that economic interests generally take precedence over gender equality and that the EU is not using its trading power to promote gender equality. This leads Kessler to question the coherence of internal and external gender equality efforts by the EU (Ibid: 2). True along the same lines argue that internally the EU has worked hard to mainstream gender, but externally as a trade organization, it has neglected gender equality. Within the EU development cooperation gender issues is a part of the institutional norm, while this is not the case in EU trade policy (True 2008: 133). Thus, despite the

Treaty of Lisbon stressing the need for consistency “between the different areas of its external action and between these and its other policies” (European Union 2007: 24), there seems to be an obvious gap in the consistency between the EU’s trade and gender policy.

4.1.1 EU trade policy on Vietnam

The EU has opened up its internal market to developing countries by offering them low or zero import tariffs. These preferences should give importers an incentive to trade in goods from developing countries, and give developing countries access to international markets. Currently 178 countries are allowed preferences under the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) scheme (European Commission Directorate-General for Trade 2008: 12). Vietnam is a beneficiary under the GSP scheme, but the preference for products in section 7 (footwear, headgear, umbrellas, sun umbrellas, walking sticks, seat-sticks, whips, riding crops and parts thereof; prepared feathers and articles made therewith; artificial flowers; articles of human hair) have been removed (Council of the European Union 2008: 18) since the value of imports to the EU from Vietnam of these products exceed 15 % of the total EU import of these products. This is highly interesting as these products are produced within the light manufacturing sector, a sector that is heavily dominated by female workers. Thus, the decision by the Commission to exclude this group of products is likely to have strong effects on these workers, as these industries will be facing more competition from the surrounding world and thus will be more vulnerable to the global changes in demand.

The EU was very motivated to secure a regional Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN¹⁵, but these regional negotiations have been paused since 2009. Instead the EU is now trying to pursue free trade negotiations with the ASEAN member states. Negotiations with Malaysia and Singapore have already started. According to the European Commission “Vietnam has given a political signal that it is ready to engage in a bilateral FTA with the EU and are ongoing” (sic.) (European Commission 2011: 2). The Commission has however stated that it is still aiming for a FTA with ASEAN as a whole and that it sees “the individual agreements as building blocks towards a regional agreement” (European Commission 2010: 2).

4.1.2 Key documents to EU trade policy

The new key trade policy document “Trade, Growth and World Affairs – Trade Policy as a Core Component of the EU’s 2020 Strategy” outlining the Union’s trade policy does not mention “gender”, “women”, “men”, “female”

¹⁵ The member states of ASEAN are Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam.

or “male” at all (European Commission Directorate-General for Trade 2010). Similarly, the Commission communication “Global Europe – competing in the world” that lays out how the EU is to remain competitive and how the EU is to trade does not refer to “gender”, “women”, “men”, “female” or “male” a single time (European Commission 2007a). These two examples clearly show the disconnect between gender equality and trade policy in the EU policy framework.

4.1.3 Sustainability Impact Assessment

Sustainability Impact Assessments (SIAs) are carried out by the European Commission to study the social, economic and environmental consequences of a free trade agreement with the EU as a partner (Kessler 2009: 5). Gender is not a primary indicator in the SIAs, but a part of the social impact assessment, and thus a “second-tier indicator” (Ibid: 12). The SIAs are non-binding in the negotiations (Ibid), and usually do not include policy recommendations (Ibid: 19).

When the SIAs were introduced they were seen as a potential source of change of trade conceptualization within the EU, as the social consequences of trade were to be studied. Today however, there are concerns that the SIAs are only cosmetic and have no real input into the trade policy of the EU (Hoskyns 2007: 6).

On issues related to gender equality in Vietnam the SIA that was carried out as a part of the negotiations with ASEAN states:

- The FTA would create a substantial shift in production between sectors, from the electronic, machinery and motor vehicle sector to leather, trade and wearing apparel (in the long run) (ECORYS 2009b: 29).

This could be a shift from male dominated sectors to female dominated sectors – the leather and wearing apparel sectors are female dominated, whereas the motor vehicle industry is male dominated. However, this also entails a shift away from more refined products demanding a certain level of skills, to low-skilled labor-intense production. This means that an FTA between the EU and Vietnam would turn around current trade developments where Vietnam is moving up the global value chain as its export sectors are becoming increasingly capital-intense.

- “the shifts towards manufacturing sectors in Vietnam / ... / may initially lead to reduced real income levels in rural areas as people move towards the cities in search of higher paid jobs” (Ibid: 31).

As women currently make up 80 percent of the labor force in the agricultural sector (as discussed in chapter 3.2.1), it is likely that the majority of the migrants from rural to urban areas would be women, but it is also likely that women in rural areas will be hit by the reduction in real income.

- The consumer price index would increase by ca. 0.6 percent in the short run and 2 percent in the long run (Ibid: 30).

As discussed previously, women as the general food providers are hit by increases in price levels as their possibility of making choices is being limited and as their time deprivation is amplified.

Gender issues were not widely mentioned in the SIA, but gender with regard to Vietnam was explicitly mentioned as follows:

- “In other, higher skilled sectors and activities, gender inequalities may in fact increase slightly, as high-skilled employment opportunities especially in (specific segments of) services sectors may exist, and these sectors tend to be relatively less open to females. The increased opportunities for skilled workers in the services (and other) sectors in ASEAN may benefit male workers relatively more than female workers.” (ECORYS 2009b: xvi)
- “Lack of decent working conditions and gender inequality especially in employment remain obstacles to true sustainable development.” (Ibid: 11)
- “Social policy measures also are needed to ensure and strengthen the pro-poor effects and pro-gender equality effects of the FTA” (Ibid: 54).
- “The growth of the TCF [textile, clothing and footwear] sectors in ASEAN as a consequence of the FTA is expected to benefit female labour in particular, as the sectors tend to employ predominantly females.” (Ibid: xvi)

The SIAs bring a real possibility of including gender into EU trade policy. However, SIAs would have to be made binding or at least responded to by the Commission in order for them to play an actual role in the negotiations and policy making. Gender should be included in the SIA process as a first tier indicator in order to highlight its importance.

4.2 EU Development Policy

In the European Council’s conclusions from May 2007, it is stated that “Gender equality is a fundamental human right, a question of social justice and also a core value of the EU, including EU development policy” (Council of the European Union 2007: 2). The Council calls on the Commission and on Member States to “provide special support for women to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by national and international trade and markets, address negative effects of trade liberalisation on women’s working conditions and income opportunities” (Ibid) and also recognizes that the scope of gender equality has to be broadened to include issues such as economic growth and trade (Ibid: 3).

For each individual partner country or region the Commission sets priorities for aid allocation through a Country Strategy Paper (CSP) “in line with the partner countries’ development strategies” (European Commission Directorate-General for Trade 2008: 8). This is a step in the implementation of the Development Cooperation Instrument Regulation of the EU. The role of

the CSPs are “turning development policy into practical help on the ground” (Ibid). The main element of the EU country strategies for South East Asia is support for economic and social reform.

In the case of Vietnam the CSP for 2007-2013 includes a general writing that “Gender will be mainstreamed in all the sectors covered by the SP [Strategy Paper]” (European Commission 2007b: 18). It further states that gender will be an essential component in the discussions about the funding of the Socio-Economic Development Plan, that gender trainings are to be implemented, and that the awareness of gender issues among health care policymakers will be raised (Ibid) but besides for the health care sector it includes no further specification of how this mainstreaming is to become reality. Trade is mentioned in relation to trade-related assistance, but the linkages between gender and trade are not highlighted in the paper. According to Karadenizli this gender blindness in the CSPs is contradicting key policy documents of the EU, such as the EU Consensus of Development in which gender play a key role (Karadenizli 2007: 45).

In the Blue Book 2011 on EU’s development cooperation activities in Vietnam, the need for coherence between the EU’s development cooperation, trade policies, as well as political dialogue is stressed (EU Delegation to Viet Nam and EU Member States Embassies in Viet Nam 2011: 25), and so is the importance of gender equality (Ibid: 11) as one of the priorities of EU development cooperation, but the link between trade and gender is again not highlighted. In the Blue Book 2010 it is stated that “Trade liberalization has led to increased employment opportunities and labour market participation for women, increasing their incomes, and enabling them in some cases to play a stronger role in household decision-making.”(EU Delegation to Viet Nam and EU Member States Embassies in Viet Nam 2010: 21). It is also mentioned that most of the employment opportunities created are in the informal sector.

It is clear that EU development policy, at least in theory, to a larger extent is accounting for issues of gender equality than EU trade policy is. However, the example of the CSP on Vietnam shows that gender is not very present in applied EU development policy. As discussed in the previous subchapter, the Commission has not been successful in broadening the scope of trade to include gender equality. This lack of policy coherence is likely to contribute to EU trade not strengthening gender equality as seen in the case of Vietnam.

Chapter 5 Chapter 5: Conclusion

The elasticities calculated in the introduction of this paper show that trade between the EU and Vietnam has so far had limited impact on gender equality in Vietnam, as none of the elasticities are elastic. There were weak indications that food affordability and women's unemployment had worsened as a result of trade, but that the gender wage gap had decreased in the export sector. With this paper I have attempted to reason why the elasticities take the value they do by gender and trade relations in Vietnam, as well as EU trade policy.

The Vietnamese context is highly specific, since women since long and as a result of the socialist political system have been economically active to a large extent. As a result of trade liberalization, the employment possibilities especially for women have increased dramatically – but importantly with the majority of jobs being unskilled manufacturing positions. Economic activity or employment do not solve all problems of gender inequality, and trade liberalization brings new problems. As Elson writes “It will be a hollow victory for women if greater gender equality within labor markets is achieved only to find that the real power is in the board rooms of multinational companies and on the trading floors of international capital markets, and that this is beyond their reach.” (Elson 1999: 618)

Why has the increase in trade not been matched by an increase in gender equality, as shown by the elasticities? My argument throughout the paper has been multifaceted and supported by feminist economic theory that argues that there is no direct causal relationship that would increase gender equality as trade expands. I have in this paper argued that:

- because of discrimination in society in access to credit, education and the formal labor market Vietnamese women cannot reap full benefits and opportunities of trade liberalization;
- as Vietnam moves up the global value chain and its production becomes more capital intensive and as demand for high skilled workers increase, women are likely to lose out at least in the short run as they generally are lower skilled;
- women workers play a key role in exports to the EU, especially through the manufacturing industry. The foreign investment sector is dominated by female workers and is the economic sector with the largest wage gap. This is also a sector that is likely to be heavily involved in exports, foreign trade has a direct impact on gender equality;
- food prices have increased sharper than inflation, potentially due to the increase in trade. This causes a decrease in women food providers' possibility to make choices and in their time availability;
- Vietnamese government policy plays an essential role in how women can benefit of trade liberalization, and currently it is not efficient enough;
- EU trade policy is not consistent with EU development policy as it does not take gender equality into account. This inconsistency is visible in the EU policy on Vietnam and is a likely cause of the weak responsiveness

between gender equality and trade liberalization in the elasticities. In the Vietnam-European Community Strategy Paper 2007-2013 it is stated that gender is to be mainstreamed in all activities. My research shows that EU-Vietnamese trade has no positive impact on gender equality in Vietnam, thus the attempt to mainstream gender has not been effective.

How could the trade policy of the EU on Vietnam change in order to strengthen gender equality? It would be essential that the consistency between EU trade and development policy is improved, and thereby that the scope of gender equality in the EU external policy also includes trade. It would be highly important that the role of the SIAs is enhanced in the trade negotiation process so that the SIA result play a role in the trade negotiations and that gender is made a first-tier indicator in the process. Giving the SIAs a larger role would also be a way of equaling the power inequalities between the EU and its developing country trading partners, as the SIAs optimally can give valuable input into the negative consequences of a trading contract. However, the SIAs currently are commissioned by the Commission, thus they should not be viewed as objective.

Trade related assistance is one of the EU's priorities in its development cooperation, and is an excellent opportunity to couple trade and gender policy. Currently the main focus on trade related support is on legal issues, but this should be broadened to also include issues such as strengthening labor standards in export industry, especially in the female dominated sectors and vocational education programs aimed at low skilled women.

Gender sensitive trade policy goes hand in hand with development – trade relations should be reshaped to take into account objectives such as “empowerment of vulnerable sections in society, poverty eradication, social equality, gender justice, and food sovereignty” (Wichterich and Menon-Sen 2009: 43).

The lack of relevant data has been the major limitation of this research, thus it would be highly important for future research on Vietnam to produce gender and sector disaggregated data on employment, unemployment and wages. Gender disaggregated data on unpaid reproductive work as well as on the informal sector would also be highly useful and important in order to further research in feminist economics. Further research on the effects of trade liberalization on women as a disaggregated group where intersectionalities such as class, race, ethnicity or religion are taken into account would also be important, but also here lack of data is a major challenge.

References

Benería, L. (2007) 'Gender and the Social Construction of Markets', in I. van Staveren, D. Elson, C. Grown and N. Çagatay (eds) *Feminist Economics of Trade*, Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Bhagwati, J.N. (2007) *In Defense of Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brolén, K., K. Wilska and M. von Bonsdorff (eds) (2007) *Aid for Trade: From Policies to Practice*. Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland.

Council of the European Union (2007) 'Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Cooperation - Conclusions of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States Meeting within the Council'.

Council of the European Union (2008) 'Council Regulation (EC) no 732/2008 of 22 July 2008 Applying a Scheme of Generalised Tariff Preferences for the Period from 1 January 2009 to 31 December 2011 and Amending Regulations (EC) no 552/97, (EC) no 1933/2006 and Commission Regulations (EC) no 1100/2006 and (EC) no 964/2007'.

Dominguez, E., R. Icaza, C. Quintero, S. Lopez and A. Stenman (2010) 'Women Workers in the Maquiladoras and the Debate on Global Labor Standards', *Feminist Economics* 16(4): 185-209.

ECORYS Nederland BV (2009a) "Trade Sustainability Impact Assessment of the FTA between the EU and ASEAN Final Report Volume II - Annexes TRADE07/C1/C01 – Lot 2". Rotterdam: ECORYS Nederland BV.

ECORYS Nederland BV (2009b) "Trade Sustainability Impact Assessment of the FTA between the EU and ASEAN: Final Report Volume I - Main Findings and Recommendations TRADE07/C1/C01 – Lot 2". Rotterdam: ECORYS Nederland BV.

Elson, D. (1999) 'Labor Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency and Empowerment Issues', *World Development* 27(3): 611-627.

Elson, D., C. Grown and N. Çagatay (2007a) 'Mainstream, Heterodox and Feminist Trade Theory', in I. van Staveren, D. Elson, C. Grown and N. Çagatay (eds) *Feminist Economics of Trade*, Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Elson, D., C. Grown and I. van Staveren (2007b) 'Introduction: Why a Feminist Economics of Trade?', in I. van Staveren, D. Elson, C. Grown and N. Çagatay (eds) *The Feminist Economics of Trade*, pp. 1. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

EU Delegation to Viet Nam and EU Member States Embassies in Viet Nam (2010) 'EU Blue Book 2010: European Union Development Cooperation Activities in Viet Nam'. Hanoi: EU Delegation to Viet Nam; EU Member States Embassies in Viet Nam.

EU Delegation to Viet Nam and EU Member States Embassies in Viet Nam (2011) 'EU Blue Book 2011: European Union Development Cooperation Activities in Viet Nam'. Hanoi: EU Delegation to Viet Nam; EU Member States Embassies in Viet Nam.

European Commission (2007a) 'Global Europe - Competing in the World: A Contribution to the EU's Growth and Jobs Strategy'. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (2007b) 'Vietnam - European Community Strategy Paper for the Period 2007 to 2013'.

European Commission (2010) 'Commission Services' Position Paper on the Trade Sustainability Impact Assessment of the Free Trade Agreement between the EU and ASEAN'. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission (2011) 'Overview of FTA and Other Trade Negotiations' European Commission.

European Commission Directorate-General for Trade (2008) 'Making Trade Work for Development - Aid for Trade: A Selection of Case Studies from Around the World' European Commission Directorate-General for Trade.

European Commission Directorate-General for Trade (2010) "Trade, Growth and World Affairs – Trade Policy as a Core Component of the EU's 2020 Strategy", No. COM(2010)612. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Trade.

European Union (2007) "Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community, Signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007", *Official Journal of the European Union* 50(C 306).

Fontana, M. (2008) "The Gender Effects of Trade Liberalization in Developing Countries: A Review of the Literature", Paper prepared for the UNCTAD International Seminar Moving Towards Gender Sensitisation of Trade Policy, New Delhi, (February) .

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2011a) "The State of Food and Agriculture 2010-11". Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2011b) "The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2011: How does International Price Volatility Affect Domestic Economies and Food Security? ". Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2011c) 'Countries: Vietnam'. Accessed November 1 2011
<http://www.fao.org/countries/55528/en/vnm/>.

General Statistics Office (2009a) 'Report on Labour Force Survey Viet Nam 1/9/2009 '. Hanoi: Ministry of Planning and Investment, General Statistics Office.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam (2009b) 'The 2008 Population Change, Labour Force and Family Planning Survey: Major Findings'. Hanoi: General Statistics Office of Vietnam.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam (n.d.a) 'Exports and Imports of Services' Accessed November 9 2011
http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=472&idmid=3&ItemID=11814.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam (n.d.b) 'Exports of Goods by SITC'. Accessed November 9 2011
http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=472&idmid=3&ItemID=11822.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam (n.d.c) 'Foreign Direct Investment Projects Licensed by Kinds of Economic Activity (Accumulation of Projects having Effect as of 31/12/2010)'. Accessed November 9 2011
http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=471&idmid=3&ItemID=11391.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam (n.d.d) 'Foreign Direct Investment Projects Licensed in 2010 by Main Counterparts'. Accessed November 9 2011

<http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=471&idmid=3&ItemID=11387>.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam (n.d.e) 'Imports by SITC'. Accessed November 9 2011
http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=472&idmid=3&ItemID=11818.

Hausmann, R., L.D. Tyson and S. Zahidi (2007) 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2007'. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Hausmann, R., L.D. Tyson and S. Zahidi (2008) 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2008'. Geneva, World Economic Forum.

Hausmann, R., L.D. Tyson and S. Zahidi (2009) 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2009'. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Hausmann, R., L.D. Tyson and S. Zahidi (2010) 'The Global Gender Gap Report 2010'. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Hoskyns, C. (2007) 'Gendering EU Trade Policy Contrasting Views and New Research', Paper for European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Pisa (September 6-8).

International Labor Organization and World Trade Organization (2007) 'Trade and Employment - Challenges for Policy Research'. Geneva: International Labor Organization and World Trade Organization.

International Labour Office (2008) 'Global Employment Trends for Women'. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

International Labour Organization (n.d.) 'LABORSTA'. Accessed November 1 2011
<http://laborsta.ilo.org/>.

International Monetary Fund (2011) 'World Economic Outlook Database'. Accessed November 9 2011
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2011/02/weodata/index.aspx>.

International Monetary Fund (n.d.) 'Direction of Trade Statistics'. Accessed September 15 2011 <http://elibrary-data.imf.org/FindDataReports.aspx?d=33061&e=170921>.

Institute of Social Studies (n.d.) 'Indices for Social Development'. Accessed September 1 2011 <http://www.indsocdev.org/data-access.html>.

Kabeer, N. and T.T. Van Anh (2006) 'Globalization, Gender and Work in the Context of Economic Transition: The Case of Viet Nam', *International Working Group on Gender, Macroeconomics, and International Economics Working Paper Series* : 06-03.

Kabeer, N. (1994) *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London [etc.]: Verso.

Kabeer, N. (2004) 'Globalization, Labor Standards, and Women's Rights: Dilemmas of Collective (In)Action in an Interdependent World', *Feminist Economics* 10(1): 3-35.

Kabeer, N. (2005) 'Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1', *Gender & Development* 13(1): 13-24.

Karadenizli, M. (2007) 'Who Decides? Gender Mapping the European Union's Policy and Decision-Making in the Areas of Development, External Relations and Trade.'. Brussels: WIDE.

Kardam, N. (2004) 'The Emerging Global Gender Equality Regime from Neoliberal and Constructivist Perspectives in International Relations', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6(1): 85-109.

Kessler, S. (2009) 'The EU as a Global Actor and its Influence on Gender Equality Globally', Paper prepared for the 1st European Conference on Politics and Gender, Belfast (January) .

Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs and Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs (2010) 'Labour and Social Trends in Viet Nam 2009/10'. Hanoi: International Labour Organization.

National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2006) 'Law on Gender Equality 73/2006/QH11'.

Obstfeld, M. and P.R. Krugman (2003) *International Economics: Theory and Policy*. Boston, Mass., [etc.]: Addison-Wesley.

Orbie, J. (2008a) 'The European Union's Role in World Trade: Harnessing Globalisation?', in J. Orbis (ed.) *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*, Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate.

Orbie, J. (2008b) 'Preface', in J. Orbis (ed.) *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union*, pp. xv. Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate.

Rai, S.M. (1996) *Women and the State: International Perspectives*. Vol. 3. London [etc.]: Taylor & Francis.

Randriamaro, Z. (2006) *Gender and Trade - an Overview*. Brighton: Bridge.

Ruiz Thierry, A. (2007) 'The Elephant in the Room: Gender and Export-Led Poverty Reduction', *Management Decision* 45(8): 1359-1376.

Seguino, S. (2000) 'Gender Inequality and Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Analysis', *World Development* 28(7): 1211-1230.

Son, H.H. (2007) *Occupational Segregation and Gender Discrimination in Labor Markets: Thailand and Viet Nam*. Asian Development Bank.

Stiglitz, J.E. and A. Charlton (2005) *Fair Trade for all: How Trade can Promote Development*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press.

The International Economics Study Center (2006) 'Trade: Chapter 60-5: The Stolper Samuleson Theorem'. Accessed October 28 2011
[<http://internationalecon.com/Trade/Tch60/T60-5.php>](http://internationalecon.com/Trade/Tch60/T60-5.php).

True, J. (2008) 'Gender Mainstreaming and Regional Trade Governance in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)', in S.M. Rai and G. Waylen (eds) *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, Basingstoke [etc.]: Palgrave Macmillan.

UNCTAD 'UnctadStats' (n.d.). Accessed April 6 2011
[<http://unctadstat.unctad.org/ReportFolders/reportFolders.aspx>](http://unctadstat.unctad.org/ReportFolders/reportFolders.aspx).

United Nations Development Program (2010) 'Human Development Report 2010'. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

United Nations Development Program (n.d.) 'Indices & Data | Human Development Reports (HDR)'. Accessed November 1 2011
[<http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>](http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/).

van Staveren, I. (1997) 'Women, Trade and Responsibility', in E. Haxton and C. Olsson (eds) *Gender and Sustainability in International Trade*, pp. 99-110. Uppsala: Stiftelsen Global Kunskap - UFFN Forlag/ICDA.

van Staveren, I. (2007) 'Gender Indicators for Monitoring Trade Agreements', in I. van Staveren, D. Elson, C. Grown and N. Çagatay (eds) *Feminist Economics of Trade*, Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Wells, M. (2005) 'Viet Nam: Gender Situation Analysis' Asian Development Bank.

Wichterich, C. (2009) "Trade – A Driving Force for Jobs and Women's Empowerment? Focus on China and India" Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Wichterich, C. and K. Menon-Sen (2009) 'Trade Liberalisation, Gender Equality, Policy Space - the Case of the Contested EU-India FTA'. Brussels, Belgium: WIDE.

WIDE (2010) 'EU-India Free Trade Agreement – People's Lives and Livelihoods at Threat' WIDE.

World Bank (2011) 'Vulnerable Employment, Female (% of Female Employment)'. Accessed October 24 2011
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.EMP.VULN.FE.ZS>.

World Bank (n.d) 'Data: Vietnam'. Accessed September 28 2011
<http://data.worldbank.org/country/vietnam>.

World Bank in Vietnam (2008) 'How do Women Fare in Education, Employment and Health? A Gender Analysis of the 2006 Vietnam Household Living Standard Survey Final Report' World Bank in Vietnam.

World Bank, Asian Development Bank, UK Department for International Development and Canadian International Development Agency (2006) 'Vietnam Country Gender Assessment' World Bank, Asian Development Bank, UK Department for International Development and Canadian International Development Agency.

World Values Survey (n.d.) 'Online Data Analysis (Step-1): Study Selection'. Accessed September 2 2011 <http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAalyzeStudy.jsp>.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table A.1: Mathematical explanation for tables 1a and 1b

Elasticity #	Elasticity	Numerator (gender equality indicator)	Denominator (trade indicator)	Formula
1	Trade elasticity of gender equality in labor force shares 1996-2009	Change in female share of the labor force: $d(Lf/L)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(Lf/L)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
2	Trade elasticity of gender equality in export sector (manufacturing) labor force shares 2000-2004	Change in female employment share in the export sector: $d(Lfex/Lex)$	Change in exports as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX)/d(GDP)$	$d(Lfex/Lex)/ (d(EX)/d(GDP))$
3	Trade elasticity of gender gap in unemployment rates 2000-2004	Change in ratio of male unemployment rate to female unemployment rate: $d(Um/Uf)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(Um/Uf)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
4	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal income 2004-2009	Change in ratio of female income to male: $d(Yf/Ym)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(Yf/Ym)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
5	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal wages 2006-2009	Change in ratio of female wages to male: $d(Wf/Wm)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(Wf/Wm)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
6	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the export sector	Change in ratio of female wages to male: $d(Wf/Wm)$	Change in exports as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX)/d(GDP)$	$d(Wf/Wm)/ (d(EX)/d(GDP))$
7	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the import competing sector	Change in ratio of female wages to male: $d(Wf/Wm)$	Change in imports as a share of change in GDP: $d(IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(Wf/Wm)/ (d(IM)/d(GDP))$
8	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to exports 1999-2008	Change in the inverse of the food price index $d(100/FPI)$	Change in exports as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX)/d(GDP)$	$d(100/FPI)/ (d(EX)/d(GDP))$
9	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to imports 1999-2008	Change in the inverse of the food price index $d(100/FPI)$	Change in imports as a share of change in GDP: $d(IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(100/FPI)/ (d(IM)/d(GDP))$
10	Trade elasticity of gender gap in youth literacy 1999-2009	Change in ratio of female youth literacy to male: $d(YouthLitf/YouthLitm)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(YouthLitf/YouthLitm)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
11	Trade elasticity of gender gap in adult literacy 1999-2009	Change in ratio of female adult literacy to male: $d(AdultLitf/AdultLitm)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(AdultLitf/AdultLitm)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
12	Trade elasticity of gender gap in primary school enrollment 1999-2009	Change in female share of 1 school enrollment: $d(1Enrollmentf/1Enrollment)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(1Enrollmentf/1Enrollment)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
13	Trade elasticity of gender gap in secondary education enrollment 1999-2009	Change in female share of 2 school enrollment: $d(2Enrollmentf/2Enrollment)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(2Enrollmentf/2Enrollment)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
14	Trade elasticity of gender gap in parliament (seats held by women) 1999-2009	Change in female share of parliament seats: $d(Seatsf/Seats)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(Seatsf/Seats)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$
15	Trade elasticity of gender gap in vulnerable employment	Change in ratio of male vulnerable employment to female vulnerable employment: $d(VEm/VEf)$	Change in total value of trade as a share of change in GDP: $d(EX+IM)/d(GDP)$	$d(VEm/VEf)/ (d(EX+IM)/d(GDP))$

Table A.2: Mathematical Explanation for table 1c

Elasticity #	Elasticity	Numerator (gender equality indicator)	Denominator (trade indicator)	Formula
1	Trade elasticity of gender equality in labor force shares 1996-2009	Change in female share of the labor force: $d(Lf/L)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(Lf/L)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
2	Trade elasticity of gender equality in export sector (manufacturing) labor force shares 2000-2004	Change in female employment share in the export sector: $d(Lfx/Lex)$	Change in exports to specific trading partner from Vietnam: $d(EXpartner)$	$d(Lfx/Lex)/d(EXpartner)$
3	Trade elasticity of gender gap in unemployment rates 2000-2004	Change in ratio of male unemployment rate to female unemployment rate: $d(Um/Uf)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(Um/Uf)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
4	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal income 2004-2009	Change in ratio of female income to male: $d(Yf/Ym)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(Yf/Ym)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
5	Trade elasticity of gender equality in personal wages 2006-2009	Change in ratio of female wages to male: $d(Wf/Wm)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(Wf/Wm)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
6	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the export sector	Change in ratio of female wages to male: $d(Wf/Wm)$	Change in exports to specific trading partner from Vietnam: $d(EXpartner)$	$d(Wf/Wm)/d(EXpartner)$
7	Trade elasticity of gendered wage gap in the import competing sector	Change in ratio of female wages to male: $d(Wf/Wm)$	Change in imports to Vietnam from specific trading partner: $d(IMpartner)$	$d(Wf/Wm)/d(IMpartner)$
8	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to exports 1999-2008	Change in the inverse of the food price index $d(100/FPI)$	Change in exports to specific trading partner from Vietnam: $d(EXpartner)$	$d(100/FPI)/d(EXpartner)$
9	Trade elasticity of food affordability in relation to imports 1999-2008	Change in the inverse of the food price index $d(100/FPI)$	Change in imports to Vietnam from specific trading partner: $d(IMpartner)$	$d(100/FPI)/d(IMpartner)$
10	Trade elasticity of gender gap in youth literacy 1999-2009	Change in ratio of female youth literacy to male: $d(YouthLitf/YouthLitm)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(YouthLitf/YouthLitm)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
11	Trade elasticity of gender gap in adult literacy 1999-2009	Change in ratio of female adult literacy to male: $d(AdultLitf/AdultLitm)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(AdultLitf/AdultLitm)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
12	Trade elasticity of gender gap in primary school enrollment 1999-2009	Change in female share of 1 school enrollment: $d(1Enrollmentf/1Enrollment)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(1Enrollmentf/1Enrollment)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
13	Trade elasticity of gender gap in secondary education enrollment 1999-2009	Change in female share of 2 school enrollment: $d(2Enrollmentf/2Enrollment)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(2Enrollmentf/2Enrollment)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
14	Trade elasticity of gender gap in parliament (seats held by women) 1999-2009	Change in female share of parliament seats: $d(Seatsf/Seats)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(Seatsf/Seats)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$
15	Trade elasticity of gender gap in vulnerable employment	Change in ratio of male vulnerable employment to female vulnerable employment: $d(VEm/VEf)$	Change in total value of trade of specific trading partner with Vietnam: $d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$	$d(VEm/VEf)/d(EXpartner+IMpartner)$

Appendix B

Table B Overview of Development Indicators in Southeast Asia

Country	Human Develop- ment Index Ranking 2010	Gender Inequality Index Ranking 2010	GDP per capita 2010 in USD
Brunei	37	NA	NA
Burma	132	NA	NA
Cambodia	126	95	802
East Timor	122	120	623
Indonesia	110	108	2946
Laos	124	122	1208
Malaysia	57	50	8373
Philippines	99	97	2140
Singapore	27	10	43867
Thailand	92	69	4613
Vietnam	115	58	1191

Source: World Bank n.d., United Nations Development Program n.d., United Nations Development Program 2010

Appendix C

Table C.1 Foreign direct investment projects licensed by kinds of economic activity

	Number of projects	%	Total registered capital (Mill. USD)	%
TOTAL	12463	100 %	194572,2	100 %
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	478	3,80 %	3095,8	1,60 %
Mining and quarrying	68	0,50 %	2943,4	1,50 %
Manufacturing	7385	59,30 %	95148,3	48,90 %
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	63	0,50 %	4870,4	2,50 %
Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	24	0,20 %	64,8	0,00 %
Construction	707	5,70 %	11589,1	6,00 %
Wholesale and retail trade; Repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	517	4,10 %	1649,1	0,80 %
Transportation and storage	304	2,40 %	3181,5	1,60 %
Accommodation and food service activities	302	2,40 %	11390,9	5,90 %
Information and communication	656	5,30 %	4819,1	2,50 %
Financial, banking and insurance activities	75	0,60 %	1321,5	0,70 %
Real estate activities	354	2,80 %	48043,2	24,70 %
Professional, scientific and technical activities	991	8,00 %	707,6	0,40 %
Administrative and support service activities	99	0,80 %	182,8	0,10 %
Education and training	136	1,10 %	342,4	0,20 %
Human health and social work activities	75	0,60 %	1093,2	0,60 %
Arts, entertainment and recreation	124	1,00 %	3483,1	1,80 %
Other activities	105	0,80 %	646	0,30 %

Source: General Statistics Office n.d.c and author's own calculations

Table C.2 Foreign direct investment projects licensed in 2010 by main counterparts

	Number of projects	Total registered capital (Mill. USD)
TOTAL	1237	19886,1
Singapore	111	4585,6
European Union (*)	97	2763,2
Korea Rep. of	313	2545,2
Japan	144	2399
United States	64	1936
Taiwan	126	1453,1
British Virgin Islands	28	823,1
China , PR	105	685
Cayman Islands	5	565,8
Malaysia	31	491,3
British West Indies	1	475,8
British West Indies	5	290,7
Hong Kong SAR (China)	59	248,7
Thailand	20	166,2
Fed. Russian	8	146
Lao PDR	2	50,2
Canada	13	48,2
Australia	18	34,5
Brunei	10	32,7
Israel	3	19,1
United Arafib Emirates	2	16,2

() EU countries that invested in Vietnam in 2010: Netherlands, Luxembourg, Slovakia, United Kingdom, Germany, France*

Source: General Statistics Office n.d.d and author's own calculations

Appendix D

Table D the Gender Wage Gap in Vietnam 2009

Average monthly income in the last month prior the survey for wage workers aged 15 and over, 1/9/2009. In thousand dongs				
...by sex and age	Total	Male	Female	Wage gap
Under 30	1935,3	2094,7	1727,3	82,5
30-39	2232	2392,1	1983,1	82,9
40-49	2226,2	2304,5	2093,8	90,9
50-59	2386,9	2459,6	2237,7	91
60 and over	1277,8	1396,6	976,9	69,9
Average	2011,6	2129,5	1803,8	83,4
... by sex and qualification				
	Total	Male	Female	Wage gap
None	1619,5	1739,9	1435,4	82,5
Technical worker without certificate	2002,3	2120,6	1755,8	82,8
Short term vocational training	2500,6	2733,2	1708,8	62,5
Long term vocational training	2720	2916,2	1803,7	61,9
Secondary vocational school	2134,2	2189,4	2089,1	95,4
Vocational college	2399,2	2506,8	2192,2	87,5
College	2577,1	2814,7	2454,9	87,2
Graduate and above	3503,5	3785,1	3148,5	83,2
Average	2432,1	2600,7	2073,6	80,4
...by sex and type of economic sector				
	Total	Male	Female	Wage gap
State	2537,6	2662,3	2391,6	89,8
Non state	1864,5	2033,7	1529,6	75,2
Foreign Investment	2320	2878,2	2002	69,6
Average	2240,7	2524,7	1974,4	78,2
...by sex and industry				
	Total	Male	Female	Wage gap
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1410,6	1582,4	1161,4	73,4
Manufacturing	1998,2	2335,5	1662	71,2
Average	2560,54	2615,965	2612,1	72,3

... by sex and occupation	Total	Male	Female	Wage gap
Occupation in Total	2106,1	2247,4	1893,5	84,3
Leaders/managers	3475,5	3505,9	3367,5	96,1
High-level professionals	3368,7	3657,6	3070,3	83,9
Mid-level professionals	2357,5	2618,4	2177,8	83,2
Clerks	1836,6	1671,2	2027,4	121,3
Personal services, protective workers and sales workers	1756,1	1842,5	1650,9	89,6
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	1934,1	2023,1	1733,5	85,7
Craft and related trades workers	1912,4	2069,1	1370,7	66,2
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2304,6	2684,9	1780,1	66,3
Unskilled occupations	1380,5	1500,2	1200	80
Average	2258,4	2397	2042	85,8

Source: General Statistics Office 2009a and author's own calculations

Appendix E

Table E.1 Top 5 export destinations 2000-2010 in Million US dollars

2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
United States	5924	United States	7845	United States	10105	United States	11887	United States	11356	United States	14444
European Union	5510	European Union	7095	European Union	9044	European Union	10822	European Union	9283	European Union	11182
Japan	4340	Japan	5240	Japan	6090	Japan	8468	Japan	6292	Japan	7432
China,P.R	3228	Australia	3745	Australia	3802	China,P.R	4850	China,P.R	4909	China,P.R	6337
Australia	2723	China,P.R	3243	China,P.R	3646	Australia	4352	Switzerland	2487	Australia	2868

Source: International Monetary Fund n.d.

Table E.2 Top 5 imports destinations 2005-2010 in Million US dollars

2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
China,P.R.	5900	China,P.R.	7391	China,P.R.	12710	China,P.R.	15974	China,P.R.	16441	China,P.R.	25433
Singapore	4482	Singapore	6274	Singapore	7614	Singapore	9378	Japan	7468	Japan	8996
Japan	4074	Japan	4702	Japan	6189	Japan	8240	Korea	6976	Singapore	8126
Korea	3594	Korea	3908	Korea	5340	Korea	7255	European Union	5807	Korea	7169
European Union	2589	European Union	3134	European Union	5121	European Union	5502	Thailand	4514	Thailand	6430

Source: International Monetary Fund n.d.

Appendix F

Table F.1 Vietnamese Exports to China in 1000 USD 2000-2010 per top 5 products and food

YEAR	2000	2010	% change
All food items	488389	992284	103
Top 5 products 2000			
Petroleum oils, oils from bitumin, materials	779157	664286	-15
Crustaceans, mollusks and aquatic invertebrates	221466	89298	-60
Fruits and nuts	167062	295117	77
Natural rubber & similar gums	66569	1736817	2509
Petroleum oil > 70per cent oil	39513	87080	120
Top 5 products 2010			
Natural rubber & similar gums	66569	1736817	2509
Coal	7729	1200046	15427
Petroleum oils, oils from bitumin, materials	779157	664286	-15
Vegetables	7987	307073	3745
Fruits and nuts	167062	295117	77

Source: UNCTAD n.d.

Table F.2 Vietnamese Exports to US in 1000 USD 2000-2010 per top 5 products and food

YEAR	2000	2010	% change
All food items	453528	2034019	348
Top 5 products 2000			
Crustaceans, mollusks and aquatic invertebrates	244779	579546	137
Petroleum oils, oils from bitumin, materials	91370	1105975	1110
Footwear	87393	1444749	1553
Coffee and coffee substitutes	70917	377950	433
Fish	55489	289819	422
Top 5 products 2010			
Articles of apparel, of textile fabrics	10532	2206325	20849
Women's clothing, of textile fabrics	3322	1764041	53002
Furniture & parts	818	1749260	213746
Footwear	87393	1444749	1553
Men's clothing of textile fabrics	27934	1183449	4137

Source: UNCTAD n.d.

Table F.3 Vietnamese Imports from China in 1000 USD 2000-2010 per top 5 products and food

YEAR	2000	2010	% change
All food items	66588	1198250	1699
Top 5 products 2000			
Motorcycles & cycles	439857	134295	-69
Petroleum oil > 70per cent oil	200288	1168121	483
Fertilizers	113030	468424	314
Ingots, primary forms	86610	42021	-51
Fabrics	35351	628137	1677
Top 5 products 2010			
Telecommunication equipment	7146	1478620	20592
Petroleum oils or bituminous minerals	200288	1168121	483
Cotton fabrics, woven	21581	1153219	5244
Knitted or crocheted fabrics	9275	740828	7887
Flat-rolled prod., iron, non-alloy steel	11713	679745	5703

Source: UNCTAD n.d.

Table F.4 Vietnamese Imports from US in 1000 USD 2000-2010 per top 5 products and food

YEAR	2000	2010	% change
All food items	39052	995282	2449
Top 5 products 2000			
Cathode valves & tubes	29532	24585	-17
Footwear	27472	24785	-10
Steam turbines & other vapour turbines	22155	601	-97
Cotton	14883	171482	1052
Civil engineering & contractors' plant & equipment	14609	49045	236
Top 5 products 2010			
Feeding stuff for animals	8762	269991	2981
Motor vehicles	410	258618	62978
Cotton	14883	253263	1602
Ferrous waste, scrape	1286	221069	17090
Meat of bovine animals	10	151979	1519690

Source: UNCTAD n.d.