

GLOBALISATION, EMPLOYMENT AND WOMEN EMPLOYEES

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Abstract - This research paper focuses on globalisation and employment with special emphasis on women workers. The first part is an analysis of the impacts of globalisation on employment and second part consists of an analytical discussion on the effects of globalisation on women employees in general. The work also touches briefly on the recent trends of women employment. In the end, the paper discusses gender equality in employment around the world.

Keywords: Gender, equality, service sector, women empowerment, labour market

INTRODUCTION

The demand for labour comes from employers and is derived from their need to employ workers to produce goods and services. Firms choose their staffing levels according to a number of factors, including: the cost of labour; the productivity of the workforce; the current and anticipated level of production; and the price that the firm can command for its output. Job opportunities arise when firms expand their operations and when firms replace employees who are leaving their jobs, such as retirees (Government of Canada, 2005). Employment market is the place where workers and employers interact with each other. Employers compete to hire the best, and the workers compete for the best satisfying job (*The Economic Times*, 2013). It involves the interaction of labour demand and labour supply¹. Within the labour market individuals can be classified as either economically active or economically inactive² (Spence, 2011).

Globalisation has been associated with profound changes in the labour market such as changes in the level and structure³ of labour demand, in skill shortages and relative wages, and in employment elasticity, among others. All of these have far reaching implications on worker's welfare and therefore on the success of the process of adjustment to globalisation itself (Orbeta, 2002). Sweeping changes have taken place in the world's economies in recent decades, changes which have reshaped the structure of employment on a global scale. National economies are now more integrated into the global system than at any other point in the recent past (Heintz, 2006: 1).

GLOBALISATION AND LABOUR MARKET

Globalisation is clearly contributing to increased integration of labour markets and closing the wage gap between workers in advanced and developing economies, especially through the spread of technology. It also plays a part in increasing domestic income inequality (Dadush and Shaw, 2012). Mobility and lowering barriers, as a consequence of globalisation process, have opened up scope for people looking for jobs. Globalisation, through the abolition of economic barriers and the opening up of borders, has facilitated people to move from one's country of origin to other countries in search of work. Regional

¹Labour demand refers to the amount of labour firms demand in order to produce goods and services and labour supply is primarily determined by the size of the population.

² Here, economically active talks about those who are employed and economically inactive refers to those who are unemployed.

³ Here, Changes in the structure of labour demand means the shift in labour demand from unskilled to skilled over a period. Today, the employment of skilled workers has increased both in absolute figures and comparative to their less skilled counterparts than in the past.

agreements which govern travel and conditions of employment have brought into prospect at both national and global levels.

Globalisation is characterized by two major aspects that have profound impact on labour markets. One is the increase in cross-border movements (trade) of final goods and services. The other is the increase in the cross-border flow of production inputs, namely, labour, capital and technology (Orbeta, 2002). The effect of globalisation on employment is mediated through its impact on overall and sectoral economic growth. With globalisation, economic structure would tend to correspond more closely to the comparative advantage of the country. Sectoral shares will change in different ways depending upon the country's natural and human resource endowments, existing infrastructure and technological capabilities, and the degree to which the domestic economy has already been exposed to international competition in the past (ILO, 1996).

It is observed that, in advanced economies, globalisation is redistributing employment opportunities and incomes (Spence, 2011: 28). In highly developed economies, globalisation would result in more opportunities for the acceleration of capital outflows and a reduction in the share of manufacturing activities as production shifts to off-shore locations in search of lower costs and better access to overseas markets. This is what is termed as 'deindustrialisation' where cheap imports from low wage economies flood highly developed economies' markets thus, destroying unskilled jobs (Orbeta, 2002).

Globalisation can offer many employment benefits to developing countries. This is because of the markets become more accessible, transport costs lower, information easier to get, technology easier to access and capital easier to raise: this promises more exports, faster transfer of technology and greater investment resources. On the domestic front, closer integration with the world economy also promises much (Lall, 2002). Trade liberalisation, according to received trade theory, promotes labour-intensity in (export and domestic -oriented) activities and so boosts employment.

Investment liberalisation leads to larger inflows of technology, information, capital, skills and various services, often in a 'packaged' form that lets them be deployed quickly and efficiently. It may also give access to the internal production systems of TNCs⁴ that increasingly span the world and offer massive markets, rapid growth and technological as well as employment benefits (ibid). Opening the economy to international service and infrastructure providers can help create jobs, raise productivity and strengthen competitiveness. It is not just foreign firms that benefit: local enterprises can respond to more intense competition and new market opportunities by raising their productivity and collaborating with, learning from and supplying to TNCs (ibid).

The labour market is one of the main channels through which globalisation can affect developing countries. Increased import penetration, export sales, competition in services, foreign direct investment and exchange rate fluctuations prompted by international capital movements could all, in principle, have an impact on employment and labour earnings (Rama, 2001). A common concern is that 'cheap' labour and the 'race to the bottom' may be the flip side of globalisation. To become more competitive, countries may need to dismantle their trade barriers, abolish their legal monopolies, privatise their state-owned

⁴ TNCs is a very promising area, particularly in functions that can now be easily relocated by the use new ICTs. The explosion of software, data entry, back-office services and similar activities in India is one example (Lall, 2002). The Indian IT-BPO industry has received over \$7 billion (nearly Rs 47,467 crore) in Foreign Direct Investment, including \$5 billion (nearly Rs 33,905 crore) in start-up investments, in current fiscal (2015-16). The industry added 2 lakh employees in 2015-16 reaching a total employee base of 3.7 million. The industry is expected to add around 2 lakh jobs and is marching steadily to reach total revenue of \$350 billion (nearly Rs 2,373.35 crore) by 2025 with digital revenues spearheading growth (DNA, 2016). A large part is handled by local companies subcontracting to clients overseas, but there is also rapid growth of foreign affiliates, many of which are expanding local design and development activities in India (Lall, 2002).

enterprises and reduce overstaffing in their bloated bureaucracies. These reforms could lead to the massive loss of 'good jobs' and boost unemployment rates (ibid). The macroeconomic fluctuations resulting from short-term capital movements could also increase job insecurity. On the other hand, the delocalization of production to developing countries in sectors such as food processing, textiles or garments could also increase the demand for labour, thus expanding employment opportunities and raising workers' earnings (ibid).

GLOBALISATION AND WOMEN EMPLOYMENT: THE GLOBAL SCENARIO

"Globalisation is a gendered phenomenon" (Hawkesworth, 2006:2). This implies that globalisation affects men and women differently; so, while discussing the impact of globalisation on employment, at the present global scenario; it is essential to discuss the impact of globalisation on women employment in particular. **"Women do two thirds of the world's work, receive ten percent of world's income and own one percent of the means of production"** (Lips, 2017: 292) and within the past two decades, globalisation has had a huge impact on the lives of women and is paving a way for them to involve in different spheres of life like economic⁵, political⁶, sports⁷, social⁸ and cultural⁹. Globalisation is helping most of the countries to eliminate the discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child. Policies are framed for helping women to know about their rights and enhancing their skills at the

⁵ The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India is a union of women labourers willing to work hard and seize any work opportunities they might get. Globalisation has aided their opportunities in various ways. SEWA has established a Women's Cooperative Bank with 125,000 members, and through the aid of globalisation, they have even reached the women in the rural areas of India. Markets in different areas can now be reached by Indian women who have a part in businesses, or by craft-making women who have licenses to export their goods. With more freedoms and opportunities, these women are raising their standard of living by generating more income (Kaur and Kaur, 2010).

⁶In recent years, in India, there have been explicit moves to increase women's political participation. In the Panchayati Raj system, women have been given representation as a sign of political empowerment. There are many elected women representatives at the village council level (Islam, 2014: 95). At the central and state levels too women are progressively making a difference. The Women's reservation policy bill is slated to further strengthen political participation (Dr. Deb and Dr. Sen, 2016: 338).

⁷ Soccer has become globalized, from its recruitment of players from other countries to games being broadcast all around the world, and it is developing into something that is more than just a game. Women's soccer, an uncommon term in most regions of the world, due to globalisation is increasing in popularity worldwide, along with women's rights in general. Soccer has allowed women in all regions of the world to be given the chance to improve their rights. The globalisation of soccer is the reason that women's rights are reaching new heights around the world ("Soccer Globalisation and Women's Rights", Megan Price-<http://meganglobalisation.blogspot.in/p/final-globalisation-project.html>).

⁸Increase of women's employment due to globalisation is impactful in their social choices since most young women have their own income or in some cases, they have more income and more job opportunity compared to men. Through this, they can develop to be independent in choice. They will have freedom in choosing to marry whomever they please or they can choose to remain single as they will (http://eng.suboot.org.af/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23:globalisation-and-its-impacts-on-women&catid=9:report&Itemid=6).

⁹ Media can be viewed as a positive aspect of globalisation. Media has the opportunity to reach people, and convey a message to people all over the world. A magazine called Femina is the top women's magazine for Indian women. It was created in 1959 and since it showcased its website in 1996, it has received much feedback from Indians all over the world. Femina shows the accomplishments of different Indian women from all over and provides inspiration to the women who read it (Dr. Deb and Dr. Sen, 2016: 338).

competitive edge (Singh, 2012: 107-109). Globalisation has coincided with a global increase in female labour force participation rates which has narrowed the gender gap¹⁰ from 32 to 26 percent. A number of factors associated with globalisation have contributed to this, including the growth of production and export in the developing world (Camila et al, 2012).

Over the past 30 years, the driving forces of globalisation such as, greater trade openness, growing global economic integration and interdependence, the spread of Information Technology and telecommunications have expanded economic opportunities for female workers and in some cases increased their wages as well. Increases in world trade, particularly in the services, has increased the involvement of women in the service sector. Women around the world have made impressive inroads into professional services such as law, banking, accounting, and computing; in tourism related occupations; and in the information services, including offshore airline booking, mail order, credit cards, word-processing for publishers, telephone operators etc. (United Nations, 1999).

The world trade in services also favours women's labour migration, in contrast to the demand for men manufacturing workers during the earlier periods of industrialization in Europe and the United States (Moghadam, 1999:373-374). Mexican, Central American, and Caribbean women have migrated to the United States to work as nurses, nannies, or domestics; Filipinas and Sri Lankans to neighboring countries as well as to the Middle East to work as waitresses, nurses, nannies, or domestics; Argentine women to Italy to work as nurses; and an increasing number of Moroccan, Tunisian, and Algerian women migrating alone to work in various occupations in France, Italy and Spain (ibid).

The expansion of the labour market increased employment opportunities for women in non traditional sectors, thus enabling them to earn income. This is enhancing women's capacity to negotiate their role and status within the household and society (United Nations, 1999). More women are gaining access to global, domestic, and local information primarily through wider exposure to television, cell phones and the Internet. Increased access to information allows women to learn about life and social customs in other places—knowledge that can change perceptions and ultimately promote adoption of more egalitarian attitudes. In 1998, only 20 percent of people in developed countries and about 1 percent in the developing world had a cell phone subscription. By 2009, these shares had climbed to 100 percent and 57 percent (WDR¹¹, 2012: 255 and 271). Internet access and use have also grown. In high-income countries, Internet users increased from 12 percent of the population in 1998 to 64 percent in 2009, and from near 0 to 17.5 percent in developing countries (ibid).

In last two decades, globalisation has created a tremendous impact on the lives of women in developing nations. With the establishment of international free trade policies, such as North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and GATT, transnational corporations are using the profit motive to guide their factories toward developing nations in search of 'cheap' female labour. Corporations prefer female labour over male labour because women are considered to be 'docile' workers, who are willing to obey production demands at any price.

In developing nations, certain types of work, such as garment assembly, is considered to be an extension of female household roles. Cultural influences in developing nations also impacts employment

¹⁰ When economists speak of the "gender gap", they usually are referring to systematic differences in the outcomes that men and women achieve in the labour market. These differences are seen in the percentages of men and women in the labour force, the types of occupations they choose, and their relative incomes or hourly wages (Tararani, 2017).

¹¹ The World Bank's World Development Report (WDR), published annually since 1978, is an invaluable guide to the economic, social, and environmental state of the world today. Each report provides in-depth analysis and policy recommendations on a specific and important aspect of development—from agriculture, the role of the state, transition economies, and labour to infrastructure, health, the environment, and poverty (<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/2124>).

stratification (Bacchus, 2005). Bringing a high demand of employment opportunities for women in developing nations creates an instantaneous change within the social structure of these societies. Although the demand for female employment brings about an array of opportunities and a sense of independence, the glass ceiling continues to exist with the 'feminization of poverty' (Moghadam, 1999:388).

Globalisation underlies the nearly universal increase in women's share of the non-agricultural labour force among high growth or semi-industrialized developing economies in the past few decades; a result of the tremendous growth in manufacturing trade and export processing from the developing world. Increases in women's employment have also occurred among exporters of non-traditional agricultural goods, such as designer fruits and vegetables or cut flowers, in sub-Saharan Africa and Central America, as well as in countries engaged in the more traditionally feminine aspects of the services trade (for example lower-paid and lower-skilled work such as data entry and call centres). The relative increase in demand for female labour is not just a matter of expanding the available labour force when male labour is in short supply (Braunstein, 2012). With labour costs such a crucial part of international competitiveness, labour-intensive exporters prefer to hire women because women's wages are typically lower than men's and women are more productive in these types of jobs (Leach, 2016: 40).

Foreign investors looking for low-cost manufacturing platforms conform to the same pattern, at least on the lower rungs of the value-added ladder. At the same time, women may lose their comparative advantages in these job markets as industries upgrade, leading to a de-feminisation of manufacturing employment as has happened in Mexico, India, Ireland and many parts of East Asia (Michie, 2011:201). One of the reasons the employment effects of FDI are difficult to gauge is the increasing prevalence of subcontracting and informalisation, part of the trend toward creating more flexible structures of international production. These jobs are often directly connected to specific TNCs via local intermediaries, weakening the distinction between foreign and local ownership. Subcontracting also cuts off some of the pathways in which FDI may ultimately benefit women, as women are increasingly limited to jobs in the least valued part of the production chain, further removed from the potential benefits of formal employment (ibid).

The world of flexible labour, sub-contracting and the process of casualisation raise many other complex issues in the context of 'gender' based exploitation in global economy. The informal sector is one of the most affected areas which even otherwise has been plagued by arbitrary gender discrimination, low wages and lack of job security (Sarkar, 2007). Then there is a trend towards informalisation of women's labour. For example, the economic processing zones (EPZs) especially in the form of informal sector be it in the agro based production or the manufacturing, is one area where exploitation is much higher. In Indian, EPZs consists of a majority of women workers as compared to any other areas of production. These women are un-skilled, in the age group of 18-24, with no unionization and ready to work even at cheaper wage rates. They are exploited at job in many ways (ibid).

Globalisation and the changes in economic and political structures also seriously affect women in the labour force. For the most part, the social progress of women has not kept pace with economic progress, even in nations where economic development has fastened (Bednarek, 1998:220). While the forces of globalisation impress upon all American workers, they strike women the hardest. For example, the trends of globalisation damage women by: driving wages and worker protections downward in the United States and Canadian economies; forcing immigrant women from Mexico and other areas in the South to urban sweatshops in the North; compelling rural women throughout North America into a 'triple day' of harder farm work, additional wage work, and reproductive work in the home; and intensifying the 'casualisation' and 'flexibilization' of women's labour. Women are thus relegated to part-time, home-based, low-wage and low-protection work (ibid: 220-21).

In 2015, the global labour force participation rate was 50 percent for women but 77 percent for men. Worldwide in 2015, 72 percent of working-age (ages 15 and older) men were employed, compared with only 47 percent of women. Female participation in the labour force and employment rates are affected

heavily by economic, social and cultural issues and care work distributions in the home (UNDP, 2015: 12).

Of the 59 percent of work that is paid, mostly outside the home, men's share is nearly twice that of women—38 percent versus 21 percent. The picture is reversed for unpaid¹² work, mostly within the home and encompassing a range of care responsibilities: of the 41 percent of work that is unpaid, women perform three times more than men—31 percent versus 10 percent (ibid). Even when women are in paid work, they face disadvantages and discrimination. The evidence of the glass ceiling is just one of them.

Women are underrepresented in the senior business management position globally: They hold only 22 percent of senior leadership positions, and 32 percent of businesses do not have any female senior managers, with regional variations (ibid). Occupational segregation has been pervasive over time and across levels of economic prosperity in both advanced and developing countries men are over-represented in crafts, trades, plant and machine operations, and managerial and legislative occupations; and women in mid-skill occupations such as clerks, service workers and shop and sales workers (ibid).

Between 1995 and 2015, the global female labour force participation rate decreased from 52.4 to 49.6 percent. The corresponding figures for men are 79.9 and 76.1 per cent, respectively. Worldwide, the chances for women to participate in the labour market remain almost 27 percentage points lower than those for men. In 2015, the gender gap in the employment rate amounted to 25.5 percentage points in women's disfavour, only 0.6 percentage points less than in 1995 (ILO, 2016: xi). Women are more likely to be unemployed than men, with global unemployment rates of 5.5 per cent for men and 6.2 per cent for women (ibid: xii). Globally, the gender wage gap is estimated to be 23 per cent; in other words, women earn 77 per cent of what men earn. Even when considering hourly wage rates (given the fact that women are working shorter hours than men), women continue to face a persistent gender wage gap, amounting to 10 per cent or more in countries for which data are available (ibid: xvi).

Inequality between women and men persists in global labour markets, in respect of opportunities, treatment and outcomes. Over the last two decades, the significant progress in women's education has not translated into a comparable improvement in their position at work. In many regions in the world, in comparison to men, women are more likely to become and remain unemployed, have fewer chances to participate in the labour force and – when they do – often have to accept lower quality jobs (ibid). Progress in surmounting these obstacles has been slow and is limited to a few regions across the world. Even in many of those countries where gaps in labour force participation and employment have narrowed and where women are shifting away from contributing family work and moving to the services sector, the quality of women's jobs remains a matter of concern. The unequal distribution of unpaid care and household work between women and men and between families and the society is an important determinant of gender inequalities at work (ibid).

Globalisation has “reduced the ability of women (in developing nations)...to find paid work that offers security and dignity” (Naples and Desai, 2002: 32). Rather, with the new direction of public policy what we are witnessing today is that poor women in many developing countries are being deprived ‘of even the prospect of the progressive realisation of a non-discriminatory system of decent jobs and public services and broad-based social security systems’ (Elson, 2001: 14). Although women's roles in the labour force have changed from traditional agricultural and domestic roles, to manufacturing and assembly production, the overall effect of globalisation has proven to be negative. The limited advanced of women in the formal sector shows a great disregard for their social and economic responsibilities within developing nations. Female labour is not rewarded in relation to the impact they have on society. Therefore, women's work

¹² Unpaid work includes housework, such as preparing meals for the family, cleaning the house and gathering water and fuel, as well as work caring for children, older people and family members who are sick—over both the short and long term (Human Development Report, 2015).

continues to be stigmatized as inferior, in comparison to males work, regardless of their increased responsibilities in society (Bacchus, 2005).

Women continue to face significant obstacles in gaining access to decent work. Only marginal improvements have been achieved since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, leaving large gaps to be covered in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the United Nations in 2015 (ILO, 2016: xi). Recently, some progress has been made in reducing these gender wage gaps, but improvements are small and, if current trends prevail, it will take more than 70 years for gender wage gaps are to be completely removed (ibid: xvi).

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL TRENDS IN WOMEN EMPLOYMENT

In a recent study¹³ conducted by Accenture PLC¹⁴ reveals that, digital skills will help achieve gender equality at the workplace, at a much faster rate than in the normal course. For instance, developing countries will achieve gender equality at the workplace in 85 years, but a two-fold increase in digital fluency among women can make this happen in 45 years. Similarly, in developed markets, gender equality at the workplace can be achieved in 25 years instead of the normal 50. While work-life balance can bring more women to the workplace, digital skills can help improve work-life balance (HRK¹⁵, 2016).

Digital technologies can empower women economically and socially. Because of social norms, time and mobility constraints are often more severe for women than for men, women could benefit greatly from technology. Digital technologies can reduce gender gaps in labour force participation by making work arrangements more flexible, connecting women to work, and generating new opportunities in online work, e commerce, and the sharing economy (WDR, 2016). Business Process Outsourcing in India employs more than 3.1 million workers, 30 percent of them women. Four in ten online shop owners on Alibaba are women (ibid). Evidences show that technology can help improve women's access and accumulation of productive assets. These improved opportunities, in turn, can increase investments in young girls' human capital (ibid), with a focus on women.

The demand for female workers in the export and ICT (information and communication technologies) enabled sectors has increased, and as women have filled these new jobs, the gender distribution of employment across sectors and across countries has changed (WDR, 2012: 255). Women have moved out of agriculture sector and migrated to manufacturing and service sector. These changes have taken place

¹³ The study is a result of an online survey conducted--in December, 2015 and January, 2016-- of more than 4,900 working women and men in 31 countries. The sample has equal representation of both sexes, representing three generations (Millennials, Gen X and Baby Boomers) across all workforce levels from companies of varying sizes.

¹⁴ Accenture PLC is a global professional services company and provides consulting services in digital, technology and operations. One of the leading multinational companies in the field of management consulting and outsourcing, Accenture Incorporated has now become the global leader in consulting services and is also a Fortune 500 Company. Not only is the brand now on Fortune's list, but also offers efficient services and solutions to multiple companies who are on the Fortune Global 100 and Global 500 lists. The company reported net revenues of \$32.9 billion for fiscal 2016, with approximately 401,000 (6,600 Accenture Leaders)Employees. It has Offices and operations in more than 200 cities in 55 countries. Accenture's current clients include 94 of the Fortune Global 100 and more than three-quarters of the Fortune Global 500 (<https://newsroom.accenture.com/fact-sheet/> and <http://www.vault.com/company-profiles/management-strategy/accenture/company-overview.aspx> and <https://successstory.com/companies/accenture>)

¹⁵HR Katha is a news and information portal for the Human Resources (HR). HR Katha is a place, where every HR practitioner can visit, discuss, opine and share her/his knowledge and experience. It is founded by a group of journalists under the guidance of Prajjal Saha and some senior professionals whose knowledgeable views and opinions are of great substance (<http://www.hrkatha.com/about-us>).

across all countries, but female employment in the manufacturing and service sector has grown faster in developing than developed countries, reflecting broader changes in the global distribution of production and labour. Changes in male employment shares were qualitatively similar but different in magnitude (ibid).

Improvements in ICT have allowed women around the world to access markets in growing numbers by lowering information barriers and reducing the transaction costs associated with market work. Because time and mobility constraints are more severe for women than men, women stand to benefit more from these developments. Greater access to economic opportunities and, in some cases, higher returns to economic activity provide stronger incentives to accumulate human capital, particularly for women, and are likely to increase investments in the skills of girls and young women as tomorrow's workers (ibid).

The early years of trade liberalisation were mainly characterized by the move of textile and information technology manufacturing from developed to developing countries. New employment in manufacturing often consisted of labour-intensive assembly line jobs, and the initial gains in manufacturing employment were greatest in countries with abundant unskilled labour and a comparative advantage in producing basic manufactures (ibid). This shift in geographic location of production promoted female labour force participation and the feminisation of employment in manufacturing in developing countries—particularly in Asia and Central America (ibid).

The spread of ICT based industries has expanded trade in services and has, to a lesser extent, promoted the growth of ICT sectors in developing countries. As a result employment shifted from manufacturing, where jobs could be automated, to services. In the process, demand for nimble fingers on the assembly line gave way to demand for computer literacy as the tasks became more sophisticated and direct interaction with clients and customers more common (ibid: 257).

As technology advanced, low-skilled women in light manufacturing were often displaced by men. In Malaysia, women made up to 80 percent of manufacturing workers in the first phase of globalisation, but by 1987 that percentage had fallen to 67 percent and has since continued to decline. In Latin America, too, low-skilled female workers in light manufacturing, particularly electronics, lost their jobs as various aspects of production became automated (ibid: 258).

New ICT-enabled jobs in services particularly information processing in banking, insurance, printing, and publishing were mainly taken up by women, but not the same women who lost their manufacturing jobs, because the new jobs required a different set of skills, including computer and language skills. Female employment in data entry and processing was initially highest in Barbados, Jamaica, and Philippines. Later, ICT-related jobs were concentrated in software, call centers, and geographical information systems, and clustered in Malaysia and India, particularly in Delhi and Mumbai, where call centers employ more than 1 million people, most of them women (ibid).

In both manufacturing and service exports, growth in female employment was faster than ever before and faster than in other sectors. And although exports in many countries initially accounted for a small fraction of total female employment, their importance grew over time as a result of rapid employment growth (ibid).

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