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1

Introduction

Eddy Lee and Marco Vivarelli

1.1 The current debate

The aim of this introductory chapter is twofold. Firstly, the purpose and the scope of this book have to be defined in relation to, and partly in contrast with, the current academic debate on the social consequences of globalization in developing countries (DCs). Secondly, the structure of the book will be presented and some basic research questions will be posed; these will constitute the *leitmotiv* of the following chapters, while some tentative answers will be given in the concluding chapter.

Since the 1980s, the world economy has become increasingly 'connected' and 'integrated'; on the one hand the decreasing transportation costs and the diffusion of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have implied a fast downgrading of the concept of 'distance', while – on the other hand – gross trade, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), capital flows and technology transfers have risen significantly (see Ghose, 2003, ch. 2). In most countries, the current wave of 'globalization' has been accompanied by increasing concern about its impact in terms of employment and income distribution. The aim of this book is to address these topics from both a theoretical and an empirical point of view. However, before defining the aims and scope of this research effort (see next section) some comments on the characteristics of the current debate on globalization are necessary.

Paradoxically, the current debate about the social consequences of globalization is intense to the same degree as the vagueness of some definitions; for instance, the very concept of globalization is sometimes unclear. For some authors it means a rapid decrease in transportation and communication costs, for others it refers to liberalization policies such as decreasing tariffs and quotas, while for yet others it means increasing trade and financial flows (including FDI). In this book, we will assume the third definition: globalization is an increasing trend in gross trade flows and FDI. While some attention will be devoted to trade liberalization policies, what is important

from our perspective is the revealed capacity to increase exports, imports and FDI, which are *measurable* economic variables.

Whatever definitions and indicators are chosen, the current debate is characterized by an acrimonious dispute between advocates and critics of globalization. While this is true even as regards the employment and income distribution effects within the developed world, positions diverge even more sharply over the impact on DCs. For instance, the optimists underline the link between increasing trade and economic growth and then, after showing a one-to-one relationship between growth and poverty alleviation, they conclude that trade is good for growth and growth is good for the poor (Dollar and Kraay, 2001a and 2001b). In contrast, the pessimists show that globalization is quite uneven in its impact and gives rise to negative counter-effects on the previously protected sectors, the marginalization of entire regions of the world economy (namely Sub-Saharan Africa, SSA) and possible increases in within-country income inequality (Rodrik, 2000; Milanovic, 2003). By the same token, pessimists underline the possible short-run painful impacts of financial liberalization, while optimists shift the attention towards its long-run gains (see Kaminsky and Schmukler, 2003). Another example of this kind of diversity of opinion is the debate about poverty reduction: supporters of globalization underline the fact that worldwide absolute poverty has decreased over the last two decades (Sala-i-Martin, 2002), while critics of globalization show that this result is entirely due to the fast growth of China, while absolute poverty has increased in SSA and relative poverty has increased in the majority of countries (Rodrik, 2000; Milanovic, 2002b; Reddy and Pogge, 2002).

The following chapters of this book will try to go deeper into these topics and provide some theoretical and empirical answers to the question of whether globalization is good for employment, poverty alleviation and income redistribution within the DCs. Here we limit ourselves to figuring out those methodological limitations of the current debate which render it sometimes too ideological and unreliable in terms of economic analysis and, consequently, in terms of policy prescriptions.

First, there is much abuse of unquantifiable concepts and loose relationships. This is particularly true when the debate is focused on trade liberalization policies. The latter are often either unquantifiable or only approximately quantifiable and are sometimes roughly correlated with employment and income distribution variables (an example of this is the disputable distinction between 'globalizers' and 'not globalizers' put forward by the World Bank (Collier and Dollar, 2002)). On the contrary, what is needed are rigorous definitions of quantifiable indicators of globalization and econometric estimates which check for other determinants of trends in employment, poverty and income distribution (see, for instance, Easterly, 2001). In this book, every effort will be made to avoid loose correlations in favour of econometric panel analyses checked for the largest number of determinants other than globalization.

Second, the debate about the social consequences of globalization in DCs is often based on country studies and anecdotal stories (according to Rogoff, 2002, this is also one of the weak points of Stiglitz, 2002). Both the optimists and the pessimists have their own success or failure stories based on particular countries, or particular sectors within a given DC, or particular segments of population within a given DC (for instance the optimists would emphasize the higher wages obtained by employees in multinationals, while the pessimists would turn attention to the crowding-out of unskilled workers in previously sheltered industries). While country studies are very important for addressing particular questions but cannot be generalized (see, for instance, the UNCTAD 2002 report on the least developed countries and the following chapter in this volume), most of the analyses in this book will try to base theoretical considerations on general economic analysis, and empirical studies on worldwide databases.

Third, current debate is often characterized by overlapping research questions with unclear coordinates. A typical example is the confusion made between the within-country and the between-country dimension: for instance, advocates of globalization emphasize the decrease in between-country income inequality, while sceptics focus attention on the increase in within-country income inequality. Often, the debate about worldwide income distribution and poverty confuse the two dimensions (cross-country and the within-country/time series) giving rise to misleading debates. In this book, attention will mainly be focused on the within-country social consequences of globalization.

The economic, institutional and political debate about the employment and income distribution effects of globalization in DCs is often characterized by the three shortcomings briefly summarized, and the result is often a purely ideological opposition between the supporters of globalization and the so-called 'anti global' intellectuals and activists. It is our opinion that trying to avoid these three sources of confusion may help in drawing up a clearer picture of what is happening in the increasingly globalized developing world.

1.2 Aims and scope

The purpose of this research is to throw some light on the employment and income distribution effects of globalization in DCs. In this book we define DCs as all the countries in the world except those in North America and Western Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

The defining factors of globalization adopted in this book are the actual volume of trade (export and import, considered both jointly and separately) and the actual volumes of FDI inflows. As mentioned in the previous section, trade policies will not be at the centre of our analysis; indeed, trade policies are often measurable only to a low level of reliability, they are often

announced and then not implemented and, when implemented, their impact is generally hard to evaluate. Since in this book we will tend to deal exclusively with quantifiable phenomena, trade policies will be partially taken into account, while only revealed actual trade and FDI flows will be our key independent variables in the empirical analyses. Where possible, these two main indicators will be considered together with financial and technological flows. Needless to say, the choice to deal with measurable variables implies severe limitations in terms of data availability; yet the empirical sections of this book will be based on the most comprehensive and reliable worldwide databases available. Finally, attention will be focused on the last two decades, during which the new globalization wave has taken place.

What about the dependent variables? We are interested in the impacts of increasing trade and FDI within DCs in terms of employment (both the level and its composition in terms of skills) and income distribution (both income inequality and absolute poverty). The choice of the within-country dimension means that we will not be able to provide answers about the alleged convergence of the developing world towards the developed one, but rather about possible improvements in social conditions within DCs over time as a consequence of globalization.

The theoretical and empirical chapters which follow will try to conceptualize and investigate the following research issues, which can be listed in the form of general and specific questions. Starting from the general questions, our research programme is articulated around the following points:

1. What is likely to happen to local employment and income distribution when a DC chooses to open (or becomes exposed) to globalization? In other words, do accelerating trade and FDI (experienced by the majority of DCs in the 1990s) imply a positive, negative or neutral impact in terms of employment growth, income equality and poverty alleviation? From an analytical point of view, given the within-country and over time focus of the study, attention will be focused mainly on within-country rates of change of the relevant variables.
2. Which are the channels through which the main relationships mentioned in the previous point operate? By use of both theoretical analysis and empirical studies we will try to investigate the economic, institutional and social links which relate globalization to employment and income distribution. In doing so, we will try to carry out as complete an analysis as possible, since the premise for drawing arbitrary and ideological conclusions about the role of globalization often underlies one or another particular causal chain.
3. Once the main transmission channels and the likely outcomes in terms of social consequences of globalization have been singled out, what is the role of the level of development and of the institutional framework of a

given DC? This is a crucial point which permits us to articulate both the research questions and the related answers in terms of country peculiarities, and to put forward possible taxonomies. Just to mention a classical example, Kuznets (1955, recently recalled in Barro, 2000) supported the view that initial stages of development are coupled with increasing inequality, while later stages of development show decreasing income inequality. More generally, the level of development and the so-called 'social capabilities' (Perez, 1983; Abramowitz, 1986) of a given DC are fundamental aspects in determining the final outcomes of the globalization process (consider, for instance, the role of labour market institutions or the importance of education).

4. Given the results from the previous points, what policy suggestions can be made to a globalizing DC? Although policy issues are not the core of this study, investigating whether globalization is good or not for employment, income distribution and poverty alleviation has obvious implications in terms of the desirability of opening a given developing economy and the pace of such a process of globalization (for the relevant policy issues, see Lee, 2000). Policy implications can be derived both in terms of national policies within DCs and in terms of super-national policies designed by international organizations.

These are the main questions to be dealt with in the following chapters; in the single chapters and in the general conclusions some answers will be proposed, while policy implications will be properly discussed in the three chapters in Part IV of this book. While these three chapters represent personal views by their different authors, the editors of this book express their own view in the concluding chapter.

Within the two main lines of research (employment and income distribution), some more specific issues deserve particular attention. Starting with employment, the following questions appear to be important starting points.

According to the Stolper–Samuelson (S–S) theorem, a globalizing DC – with an abundant labour force – would benefit from globalization and would register an increase in employment levels. However, a relaxation of the hypothesis of homogeneous production functions across different countries allows for either the possibility of multiple equilibria (Grossman and Helpman, 1991), or even opposite predictions in evolutionary 'catching-up' models (Fagerberg, 1988; Dosi *et al.*, 1990; Verspagen and Wakelin, 1997; Cimoli and Katz, 2003). In fact, when 'total factor productivity' increases in the DCs as a consequence of globalization, the employment enhancing competitive effect has to be compared with the direct labour-saving effect of the imported technologies. In this context, and from a theoretical point of view, which are the main channels through which globalization affects the employment level in a DC? If different theories lead to different predictions,

which are the prevailing tendencies during the recent globalization wave from an empirical point of view? Do import, export and FDI generate different impacts? What are the roles of the local labour market and the informal economy?

Turning our attention to the effects in terms of income distribution and poverty reduction, according to the S–S theorem a globalizing DC– abundant in unskilled labour – would benefit from globalization and would register a decrease in within-country income inequality. This orthodox approach has been criticized (Milanovic, 2002a). For instance, ‘skill enhancing trade’ – especially through the importation of machinery – can imply an increase in the demand for skilled workers and so an increase in income inequality (see Berman and Machin, 2000; Robbins, 2002). It is important to notice that this skill bias can arise even as an effect of a transfer of second-hand technology from a developed to a developing country, since a mature technology is still skill-intensive from the point of view of the DC importing the machinery or hosting FDI (Feenstra and Hanson, 1996). What is the prevailing outcome in terms of income distribution? Is it different according to the level of development (Kuznets’s law) or the sectoral composition of trade (Wood, 1994)?

Finally, poverty alleviation depends on both economic growth and the evolution of income distribution. According to Dollar and Kraay (2001a and 2001b), trade is good for growth and growth is good for the poor, while trade is neutral in terms of income distribution. Putting the two effects together results in a positive impact by globalization on absolute poverty. Is this prediction robust to a test based on comprehensive empirical evidence? Does it also apply to relative poverty and alternative measures of poverty (such as those proposed by Sen, 1974 and 1985; see also Winters, 2000)? Are there different impacts by imports, exports and FDI? What are the roles of local institutions and the informal economy?

As can be seen, what at a first glance seems to be a simple question – is globalization good or bad for a developing economy? – becomes a complex set of questions and sub-questions once clear hypotheses and measurable variables are taken into consideration. In order to deal with such complex topics, some methodological choices have to be made.

1.3 Methodology and the structure of the book

This book is based on economic analysis. While the social and institutional dimensions are taken into account, no results based on other methodologies such those used by sociologists or political scientists are included. Of course, our decision to develop this investigation within the strict boundaries of the economic literature and economic and econometric methodology has some pros and cons.

As far as the pros are concerned, purely economic research has the advantage of concentrating analysis on quantifiable economic phenomena and testable causal relationships, and so is functional to the aims and scope of the book as described in the previous section. In addition, relying only on economic theoretical literature and previous econometric evidence helps to clarify the research hypotheses and to develop well-defined empirical tests. Finally, this methodological choice makes the entire research project more focused and clarifies the position of this book in the current debate about the economic and social consequences of globalization.

The obvious disadvantage of this choice is the impossibility to take into account dimensions of globalization which are not fully captured by measurable economic variables and which may be important, especially from a policy point of view. In this regard, the theoretical and empirical analyses presented in the following chapters have to be compared and contrasted with both country studies and general conclusions drawn from other, not strictly economic, approaches.

A second fundamental methodological choice adopted in this book falls within the field of economics and concerns our aim of proposing an open-minded theoretical approach. In contrast with most of the current economic debate (see section 1.1), this book cannot be considered *a priori* as belonging to either the orthodox neoclassical tradition or to one of the heterodox economic approaches. Far from this artificial ideological divide, we aim to discuss and compare different theories and prescriptions and to test them using a very pragmatic approach. Just to give an example, the traditional neoclassical S-S theorem and the evolutionary theory of catching-up lead to very different prescriptions in terms of the employment and in come distribution impacts of trade (see section 1.2): in the following chapters both approaches will be discussed and the testable models will be tackled with an open rather than an *a priori* approach biased in favour of one or the other theory.

Using this pluralistic approach, the empirical chapters will try to 'let the data talk'; again, all the empirical contributions will be characterized by an open attitude aiming to test the relevant relationships using different theoretical interpretations which are sometimes complementary, sometimes in competition.

Given this common methodological framework, the following chapters are grouped into four parts.

The purpose of Part I is to provide general theoretical perspectives useful for conceptualizing the social impact of increasing globalization. In more detail, Chapter 2 by Lance Taylor puts forward a macroeconomic model able to test the effects of trade and financial flows on a developing economy; the model is used to analyse the evolution of 14 DCs in the 1990s, paying particular attention to their different capacities for reacting to the financial and economic crises which have characterized the developing world in recent times. Chapter 3, by Eli Berman and Stephen Machin, studies the role

of technology – especially skill-biased ICT – in shaping the employment composition and the income distribution of middle-income and low-income DCs in the 1990s.

Part II is devoted to the employment impact of increasing trade and FDI. In more detail, Chapter 4, by Sanjaya Lall, develops a general theoretical framework which underlines the variety of the possible impacts of globalization according to the ‘social capabilities’ of the different DCs. Chapter 5 – by Jean Baptiste Gros – provides some evidence about employment trends in DCs and correlates them with different paces of globalization. Chapter 6, by Vincenzo Spiezia, is mainly empirical and tries to test whether trade flows and FDI are more or less ‘labour friendly’ than domestic production.

Part III is about income distribution and poverty. Giovanni Andrea Cornia in Chapter 7 presents the different theories that have attempted to explain the recent increase in within-country income inequality in both developed and developing countries and discusses some general empirical evidence regarding this subject. The relationship between trade and FDI and within-country income inequality in the DCs is econometrically tested in Chapter 8 by Marco Vivarelli, using a sample of 45 DCs. Chapter 9, by Enrico Santarelli and Paolo Figini, is also mainly econometric and tests the impact of globalization on absolute and relative poverty.

All the chapters in Parts I, II and III are accompanied by critical discussions which pave the way to further research.

Part IV is devoted largely to the policy implications derivable from the theories and empirical results discussed in the previous chapters. Sanjay Reddy, in Chapter 10, discusses the important roles of labour market institutions and the informal economy in shaping the ultimate effects of globalization on local employment and income distribution. Augustin Fosu (Chapter 11) discusses possible policy recommendations at the level of national government, while John Langmore (Chapter 12) deals with policy suggestions useful for international organizations.

In the concluding Chapter 13, the editors try to summarize the main findings of this research project and to give some answers to the questions posed in this introduction.

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