Trade in services and gender: Chile

Dorotea López Giral and Antonieta Sepúlveda

Abstract

The relationship between trade in services and gender has received less attention from the researchers. Chile is one of the most open economies, however, the export basket is still very concentrated in commodities. The country has the challenge to close the gender gap and to export more value added. For this reason, understanding the relationship between gender and trade on services in this country is very relevant. This research developed some interviews with experts and literature revision. The first section reviews women participation in the services sector. In the second, different women export promotion programs are identified. The third section describes the services trade dispositions included in preferential trade agreements. Then, it identifies the women's economic participation in Chile, focusing on services. Finally, it presents some recommendations regarding measures and public policies for the Chilean market.

Introduction

The gender perspective of trade has been an area that has gained plenty of attention from policy makers and academics in the last years (Korineck, 2005; Bahri, 2021). At the end of the 1990s, while issues related to women participation in international affairs had aroused interest around the world (Beckman, 1995; Genovese, 1993; Kelly et al., 1991), this was not the case in Chile.

Recently, there is a high consensus that trade is not gender neutral and does not have an equal impact on men and women, an important finding in order to design public policy targeting the reduction of gender gap (Bahri, 2021; UNCTAD, 2022; Hannah, 2020, Jane Korinek, (2021,1). Revenga and Sudhir (2012) in an IMF
publication, sustained that closing gender gaps benefits countries as a whole, not just women and girls; this matters for development and policy making. Greater gender equality can enhance economic productivity, improve development outcomes for the next generation, and make institutions and policies more representative (Revenga and Sudhir, 2012).

Chile has one of the most open economies in the world, with over 32 Trade Preferential Agreements (TPA) subscribed to date, and has been a pioneer in including gender chapters in those TPA. However, still two of the biggest challenges of Chile are the export basket diversification, heavily oriented to natural resources; and closing the gender gap.

Policies directed to enhance services exports has been identified as one of the possible strategies to diversify Chilean export basket (López, Muñoz, and Ahumada, 2021). Services trade is the economic sector that has had the biggest growth in the last decade, (WTO, 2019) and by 2020 represents 65.7% of the world GDP value added (World Bank national accounts data, 2021).

Most of the studies are oriented to trade and gender in goods, less investigations have been done regarding services. The opportunities that the services sector opens to the female labor force has been identified as an important space for policy making. Due to this, more research on gender and trade in particular seems to be essential.

According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, “women with the increased privatization and liberalization of the services sector in many developing countries have taken advantage of the growing employment and entrepreneurial opportunities in the private sector” (IANGWE, 2011). Women’s participation in developing-country trade in services has been growing consistently high, with a total of 90% of the employees in the service sector being women in the United States by 2019 (ILOSTAT, 2021). Whereas in the manufacturing sector, according to the U.S Department of Commerce, women represent only 47% of the
workforce (U.S Department of Commerce, 2021). Furthermore, “trade in services appears as an opportunity for new employment and income opportunities for women” (Kiriti-Nganga, 2016).

The Covid-19 pandemic only exacerbated trade and gender issues, and the high volatility that women’s economic participation has in the economy. According to the ILO (2021), the narrowing of the gap between women and men’s participation in international trade that had been recorded before 2020, took a step back, and once again international trade became a less equal space. ECLAC (2021) demonstrated that the pandemic represented an eighteen year regression for women participation in the labor force in Latin America, with the female participation dropping from 52% in 2019 to 46% in 2020.

The pandemic allowed us to measure and have data to show that women have a bigger participation in certain services, such as the health sector, which became even more fundamental with the extensive need for health centers due to the spread of Covid-19. Women worked in more vulnerable jobs, which made the femenine unemployment rate bigger during the two years of the pandemic than in the case of the male unemployment, which allowed the world to see the necessity of creating a more gender conscious politics and strategies, specially in the service sector (ILO, 2021).

However, the services sector does not seem to be a priority for the policies directed to close the gender gap, at least in Latinamerican countries. Services have always been a difficult sector to work on, therefore for various reasons policies oriented to these are less than those to goods. The General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) entered into force in 1995, almost fifty years later than its equivalent on trade in goods. This established the basis for the trade in services, but it does not contain any gender clause, some authors even agree that the WTO has been gender blind (Bahri, 2021). However, for the first time in 2019, a document negotiated in the WTO contains provisions for non-discrimination
between men and women in its authorization procedures. In the same direction, some countries have been signing other instruments, such as PTA, that have gender chapters with different approaches, and other multilateral instruments regarding gender and trade.

This article aims to understand the relation between gender and trade in services, mainly from the perspective of women inclusion. Even though gender and women inclusion policies could be different concepts, for this research increasing women participation in the services sector is the objective. Also, it is considered mainly the role of women in exports more than in the other roles that they play. That should be evaluated later, as employees, consumers, tax payers, etc.

The first section will address the female participation in the services sector. Data analysis and information about how women participate in the services sector will be reviewed. Then, in the second part, the article reviews the different programs implemented in some countries that were directed to promote women participation in trade. In the third section, trade in services and gender issues addressed by trade agreements will be analyzed. Then it will describe the women's economic participation in Chile. Finally, some recommendations derived from the research and some interviews are presented.

**Women in the services sector**

The employment in the service sector is highly feminine, with 59% of service sector employers being women in 2019 (ILOSTAT, 2021). The female participation in the sector has also grown consistently since 1991. (ILOSTAT, 2021). In addition to this, the main sector where they are employed are: 1. personal care workers; 2. health care associate professionals; 3. cleaners and helpers; 4. general and keyboard clerks; 5. health professionals; 6. teaching professionals; 7. customer service clerks; 8. other clerical support workers; 9. legal, social and cultural professionals.; 10. legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals; 11. business and
administration associate professionals; 12. sales workers, 13. food processing, wood; 14, garment and other craft and related trades workers; 15. business and administration professionals, 16. numerical and material recording clerks (ILO, 2020). Fourteen out of these sixteen occupations belong in the service sector category, only considering formal employment. Services are even more present if all the non-paid informal work where women participate, like household, care tasks and domestic jobs, is considered.

Even though the service sector employs mostly women, this does not mean that it is an equal space for men and women. Evidence proves that women are employed mainly in low-skilled tasks with lower wages than men. Wardell (1995) suggests that 88% of the employees as cleaners and helpers are women (ILO, 2020). The foregoing ratifies the need to support the participation of women in the trade of services, to ensure that through public policies they can be employed in activities with greater added value.

Regarding the internationalization of the service sector there is a contrasting point of view. Exporting enterprises dedicated to the service sector, have more female employees. Meanwhile, service exporting firms are owned in its majority by men, with an 88% male ownership (World Bank Group, 2020).

This strengthens the relevance to prove that the sector in question should not be gender-neutral when thinking about new policies surrounding the topic, since the female work participation is bigger than the male one but when compared to the internationalization of the sector, this does not equal the labor participation tendency. The questions are how do we enhance the services exports sector that employs more women? But most importantly, how do we improve the participation level of women in the services exports sector?

Another important factor to consider in the trade and gender dimension of the services industry is how the different modes of service trade that are included in
the GATS impact women in different ways. *The Trade and Gender Opportunities and Challenges for Developing Countries* (UN, 2004), shows that two modes of services are more relevant for increasing women participation: Mode 1, Cross-border Trade and Mode 4 Temporary movement of natural persons.

Mode 1 is relevant to increase female participation in trade of services because of the large number of SMEs owned by women. Women occupy 71% of the labourforce in this area (Hultgren, 2018). Mostly related to service through electronic means (Kiriti-Nganga, Lipowiecka, 2016), and email processing, data processing, billing and payments (UNCTAD, 2004). This Mode allows women to enhance their participation, because they will not face the restriction that they identified as the requisite of commercial presence either in the country of origin or abroad, and the investment and expense corresponding to this type of commercialization of services is lower. Women identified the necessity of more capacitation regarding fiscal and financial systems in the services destiny countries.

Mode 2 consumption abroad is not far behind in importance for female participation in commerce, where there is a specific area that affects women: the tourism industry, in which 54% of the employees in this area are women; and health (World Tourism Organization, 2022). The latter was heavily impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, and many of the reactivation policies could be directed to these services sectors, and could have a positive effect on the female labor force.

Mode 3 is considered of less importance for policies directed to women, this is because commercial presence implies a greater investment of capital, which is seen as risky for women entrepreneurs. Because they tend to have small-sized companies and SMEs, and they normally find many difficulties accessing financial instruments and capital (Elam, 2021). They also report lack of financial capacitation and less management knowledge (ProChile, 2021). Added to this, as noted by Sauvé 2020, the lower tradability of a number of services (attracting
market-seeking forms of FDI) implies the generally lower contestability (i.e. the higher concentration) of services markets. This allows firms in sectors such as finance or professional services to charge significant markups which tend to benefit highly-skilled workers, and as we have noted, women tend to be on the lower end of the skilled workers, since they tend to work in informal sectors, specially in services.

Mode 4 is of particular relevance for female workers, because some jobs that require less skills on a professional level have limited possibilities to offer their work abroad and develop it in temporary conditions (UN Women, 2011). This services sector is mainly associated with hygiene and cleaning jobs, and home care jobs. To provide this service, people need to migrate and governments do not have policies that ensure the return. This provision of services abroad does not have the condition of Mode 4 regarding the temporality of the movement of people who offer services abroad (UN Women, 2011).

Most research should be developed in each specific mode of services provision, to understand the strategies that could be implemented. As the UNCTAD (2004) establishes, developed countries, with their large markets and relatively high salaries, continue to be the main destination of service providers, and developing countries their principal source. The main sector associated with this South-to-North movement involves care services. South-to-South movements are also significant, especially amongst neighboring countries, and are often under-recorded (UN, 2004).

According to APEC, Mode 1 and Mode 4 have been the Modes that have received the least attention when it comes to measuring service trade, and is recommended to further the research in these Modes, since they can have an important impact on women employment and participation on international trade (APEC, 2023).
Export promotion programs and women participation

In the last decade, different initiatives to incorporate women into international trade have been developed. These have had different objectives, such as: i) providing support for women entrepreneurs to internationalize their companies encouraging a more active participation in exporting; ii) training these entrepreneurs on international trade; iii) linking these companies with buyers from different parts of the world; among others. These programs are mainly oriented to SMEs, but they generally do not focus on women.

The first initiative of this was at the International Trade Center (ICC), which in 2015 launched the program SheTrades, with the objective of helping women entrepreneurs in developing countries to increase economic benefits through their internationalization (Frohmman, 2019). This platform supports women entrepreneurs in their internationalization process through access to global networks. SheTrades also helps multinational companies find women-led businesses to incorporate into their supply chains (Frohmman, 2019). This is a strategy that can be implemented in developing countries where SMEs are strongly linked to bigger and multinational enterprises (Center, 2022).

Although SheTrades seeks to support the internationalization of companies created by women, the program does not mention within its guidelines to specifically support companies that are specifically dedicated to the area of services, which does not mean they do not provide support to services exporters.

In Latin America in 2016, there have been two pioneer experiences, in Chile and Brazil, Mujer Exporta and Mulheres na exportacao, respectively. In general, these
have in common the offer of training programs, especially for small and medium-sized companies led by women. Starting with the Chilean case, Mujer Exporta is a program that has three main axes, which are training; networking and empowerment; and business promotion. In the third axis, unlike SheTrades, Mujer Exporta considers the services sector as one of the macrosectors that it seeks to promote (ProChile, 2022). Although the general guideline of Mulheres na exportacao in Brazil is similar to that of Chile and SheTrades, this program does not mention the service sector in particular and focuses mainly on the area of training for the export of its companies.

In 2017, they were followed by the Ella Exporta programs in Peru and the Mujeres Exportadoras program in Argentina, which was improved and updated in 2021, becoming Argentinases al Mundo, more detail in Table 1. These two programs, as well as in the case of Brazil, do not mention the services area specifically. Costa Rica, which joined the rest of the countries in 2018, the Women Exports program is designed exclusively for SMEs that are dedicated to the area of goods, completely excluding service companies led by women from the benefits granted (ProComer, 2018).

The rest of the Latin American programs of the same scope, which are Mujer Exporta from El Salvador, Mujer Exporta from Mexico, Mujer Emprende Export in Panama, PROMUJERES from Ecuador and the Women in Trade Investment Program in Canada. The only one that does mention the area of services is PROMUJERES, from Ecuador.

Although most of the cases do not specify whether companies from the third sector of the economy can participate in these initiatives, with the exception of the case of
Chile and Ecuador, the rest, except in Costa Rica, do not deny the possibility of participation of companies of this sector.

### Table 1. Promotion of women services exports programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>Some results</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mujer Exporta (CHILE)</td>
<td>Develop and strengthen the work from female exporting enterprises.</td>
<td>Funding. Capacitation for female business owners. Documents and studies surrounding the exportation of female owned enterprises.</td>
<td>Mujer Exporta helped over 1000 female business owners, representing 12% more than 2017 ProChile (2022).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulheres na exportação (BRASIL)</td>
<td>Sensibilization, capacitation and promotion for the internalization of female owned business</td>
<td>Periodic meetings with the female owned businesses. Female owned business reunions with foreign enterprises and buyers.</td>
<td>$7.8 millions US dollars expected for new businesses for women entrepreneurs. The goal is to help over 2000 women owned enterprises in capacitations through the program in the next two years, starting 2016 apexBrasil 2017.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Exports (COSTA RICA)</td>
<td>Program designed for small and medium sized women owned businesses in the manufactured goods sector.</td>
<td>Choose women owned businesses with exportation potential through public policies that have as its goal a promotion of inclusivity.</td>
<td>Thirty manufacturers were included in the program by the end of 2018, which were either opening to new export venues, or exporting for the first time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ella Exporta (PERÚ)</td>
<td>Program for female owned businesses with at least a year longevity with exporting opportunities or that already export.</td>
<td>Professional coaching for exportation. Technical assistance. Capacitation PromPerú (2021)</td>
<td>2020 the program had capacitated over 100 women, with the help of the United States Embassy PromPerú (2021).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentinas al mundo</td>
<td>Promotes an inclusive participation in international trade, for women and LGBTQ+ owned businesses.</td>
<td>Coaching and assistance. It offers information for the decision making process about strategic international markets. Connect the businesses that take part in the program with foreign companies. Agencia Argentina de Inversiones y Comercio Internacional (2020)</td>
<td>According to their own studies, women owned businesses that export offer better salaries and are more productive Agencia Argentina de Inversiones y Comercio (2020). Since the program is only a year old, there are no results available yet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujer Exporta (EL SALVADOR)</td>
<td>This program will capacitate women in terms of exportation of their businesses.</td>
<td>Capacitation for female business owners Proesa (2022)</td>
<td>Since this is a very recent program, there is not much information about the impacts that the program has.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Outcomes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mujer Exporta (MEXICO)</td>
<td>Program that relates the creation of small businesses and equality and finds opportunities of economic growth for female owned businesses.</td>
<td>Creates periodical rounds of negotiation for Mexican women owned businesses. Yearly capacitation programmes for the participating businesses Gobierno de México (2020).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujer Emprende Export (PANAMA)</td>
<td>Boost, promote and strengthen the international competitiveness of women owned businesses.</td>
<td>The program will bring advisory, technical assistance, capacitation and personalized commercial promotion ideas for each business that is a part of the program.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMUJERES (ECUADOR)</td>
<td>Forum for exporting women that connects them with other businesses.</td>
<td>Not available information about the results.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in Trade Investment Program (CANADA)</td>
<td>This program empowers women business owners to reach their international trade potential.</td>
<td>445 enterprises were capacitated through this forum. Negotiation rounds with 20 buyers from America, Europe and Asia Gobierno del encuentro (2022).</td>
<td></td>
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Source: author elaboration with the information provided by the official web pages.

These programs have been successful for each country's evaluation in different levels. However all of them have given visibility to the problems that women face when they want to be part of international trade. They are not usually oriented to services, however they do not exclude them. Services have some particular characteristics that make it necessary to direct some strategies deeper than goods. Also, the link with the trade agreement benefits should be more considered in implementing these programs. The programs are all promotion export oriented, therefore they do not consider the other relevant activities that women perform in the economy as employees or consumers.

**Gender in Trade Agreements**
Recently, countries are including clauses on gender and trade in their preferential trade agreements, at bilateral or multilateral level. Regarding these, the first way is to incorporate a gender chapter, as it has been done on the FTA of Canada – Chile (2019) Chile – Argentina (2019), Uruguay – Chile (2016) and Canada – Israel (2019). These chapters usually have very general articles, which are usually related to issues such as respect for motherhood, equal wage, the elimination of discrimination, the recognition of the Convention On the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women of the UN, amongst others.

As for future agreements, an option for the inclusion of services and gender issues to be included on FTA is by having a chapter that covers this subject by the dispute settlement mechanism, or just to establish it as a cooperation chapter.

Another option is to include trade and gender articles or annexes inside the service chapter of the trade agreement. This is considered more as providing a gender perspective to all the agreements and it is the least implemented option between the two.

To illustrate how Trade and Gender issues might be included in FTA, let's take as an example the FTA between Canada and Chile (2019) within its 2017 modifications, in the Appendix II it includes a Chapter N-bis entitled "Trade and Gender", which has four articles, the first two being quite standardized, "General Provisions" and "International Agreements" respectively. The other articles, "Cooperation Activities" and "Trade and Gender Committee", both represent more concrete actions towards the creation of a more inclusive bilateral trade between the signatory countries. Despite addressing the problem of female participation in trade, it does not have a section on the application of the proposed objectives, just
as they do not mention the way to finance them. The most signaled problem is that usually the chapter on gender and trade is not subject to the dispute settlement mechanism.

Regarding the service and trade problematic, a clear example is the Inclusive Trade Action Group (ITAG). This is a group led by Canada, Chile, Mexico and New Zealand that emerged through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, where different initiatives are created to encourage economic cooperation between the adhering countries. It is within this framework that ITAG emerged in 2018, which aims to create inclusive policies in trade.

Within the policies promoted by this group is the Global Trade and Gender Arrangement signed in 2020 by the four countries and which since has been signed by other countries, specifically from the Latin American region, such as Ecuador and Costa Rica. On its fourth chapter we find the section on services and promoting an equitable participation in the trade of these which is entitled "Commerce and Gender in Services" that reads the follow:

“a) If a Participant adopts or maintains measures relating to licensing requirements and procedures, qualification requirements and procedures, or technical standards relating to authorisation for the supply of a service, it will ensure that such measures do not discriminate based on gender.

b) The Participants will not consider legitimate differentiation, as well as the adoption of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto gender equality, as discrimination for the purposes of this paragraph. Legitimate differentiation is defined as differential treatment that is reasonable and objective,
and aims to achieve a legitimate public policy purpose” (Government Of Canada, 2019).

Despite the fact that these articles are in general terms, they are some of the most advanced among Trade Agreements in the international arena, alongside other two that will be later explained, where the correlation between trade and gender and cross-border trade in services was formally and directly linked in an international agreement.

According to the database created by the WTO on Gender Provisions in Regional Trade Agreements, there are a total of 311 trade and gender provisions in Trade Agreements. It is important to emphasize that there are not 311 different trade agreements that include gender issues among their articles, however there are agreements that include more than just one chapter or article related to the subject in question. Out of the over 300 mentions of gender issues on Trade Agreements, Chile participates in 70 of them, thus being one of the countries that has most included these issues in its trade negotiations with all kinds of states, which shows the importance that Chile has given to gender issues in its participation of 22% in the Trade Agreements included in the World Trade Organization database. Although an effort has been made by this country, in these 70 assessments there are none that are associated to gender and services, in fact, worldwide there are only 10 trade agreements that relate trade in services with gender issues, where even within these 10, most simply mention non-discrimination when marketing services (World Trade Organization, 2022).

As an example of the 10 trade agreements that considerate service and gender issues, we have the case of the Economic Compensation Agreement between Great Britain, Northern Ireland and Japan, where the mention is in its eighth
chapter, specifically in the Investment section: "The measures adopted do not discriminate between men and women". Despite the fact that most of these 10 Trade Agreements follow the line of the one just mentioned, there are two agreements that are important to highlight, by presenting gender considerations in more specific services.

The first of these is the AfCFTA, or Continental African Free Trade Agreement that came into force in 2018 where in the Protocol on Trade in Services Part VI: institutional provisions, where in Article 27 we find point 2.d, which states "Improve the capacity exports from both formal and informal suppliers, with particular attention to micro, small and medium-sized ones; women and young suppliers" (World Trade Organization, 2022).

The second agreement that seems relevant to us is the FTA between the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland and Australia that came into force in 2021, in its Chapter 9 on Financial Services, it mentions in Article 9C.8 on Emerging Problems, that “The Parties must share their best practices to promote equality in financial services and recognize the importance of building a diverse, including gender-balanced, financial services industry, and the positive impact that diversity has on balanced decision-making, consumers, workplace culture, investments and competitive markets" (World Trade Organization, 2022).

Lastly, it is important to mention the 2021 WTO Joint Statement on Services Domestic Regulation, that although it is not a trade agreement itself, it does have relevance when it comes to the mainstreaming of the service and gender relation, since the statement does include and specific gender provision, which reads, If a Member adopts or maintains measures relating to the authorization for the supply of a service, the Member shall ensure that: … (d) such measures do not discriminate between men and women (WTO, 2021).
Although greater awareness is necessary, the clauses related to gender tend to include only mentions of non-discrimination for reasons of gender or cooperation between countries to extend the benefits of the agreement to women, without including concrete results, or specifying mechanisms that correct such base inequalities. In this way, said productivist vision would only bring benefits to a minority of women entrepreneurs (especially from developed countries) and would aggravate inequalities, by not taking into account an intersectional vision sensitive to other barriers that women may experience due to age, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. The tendency on different agreements is to include more gender clauses and make them more specific, so Chile should work faster in this direction to address two challenges that this country faces.

**Women participation in Chile**

This section aims to understand the Chilean working market to create different strategies that focus on gender and trade. It is important to have in mind in which sector women participate the most and compare these to the worldwide tendencies on this topic.

According to a report published in 2016 by the GET, the Gender Education and Work Program, Chilean women are mostly employed on trade (21,9%), teaching (15%), domestic work (11,1%) and social and health services (9,2%) (Programa Género & GET, 2016). This same report signals that men's jobs are mainly in trade (17%), industries (13,1%) and construction (14,1%) (Programa Género & GET, 2016).
Most Chileans are employed in the service sector, but the percentage of participation in service areas is bigger for women when compared to men (Programa Género & GET, 2016). The Chilean tendency follows the one worldwide, where women tend to work the most in the service sector.

Following this idea, based on the database created by the International Labour Organization called “Female employment in services”, since the year 2000, the women employment in the third sector has been consistently growing, with no year between 2000 and 2019, which is the years that the database includes, having no negative growth in this employment sector (ILOSTAT, 2021).

In Chile in the year 2000, 83% of women who participated in the labor force were employed in services, while by 2019, 85% of women who participated in the labor force, were employed in the third sector (ILOSTAT, 2021).

The Chilean rate has been bigger and more steady when compared to the international situation, since in the year 2000, worldwide, only 44% of the female working force was employed in the area mentioned, as in Chile by the same year the percentage was 83%, representing almost double the participation rate (ILOSTAT, 2021). It is important to have in consideration that none of the statistics above consider informal and domestic jobs.

ProChile (2021) shows that inside the Chilean service exporting enterprises, women owned businesses only represent 0.9% of the service export value. “The services exported by companies led by women totaled US$9.4 million last year, an amount corresponding to the sum of the operations carried out by 25 companies. The services that accumulated the largest amounts exported by companies led by women were those of distribution of shares of foreign investment funds, both in the local and international markets with US$2.6 million and a share of 27.1%; in second place are the services of research and development in chemistry and biology with US$1.7 million (18% participation) and in third place the services of
commercial commission agent with an amount exported of US$1.6 million (17.6% share)” (ProChile, 2021).

There are only 25 women owned Chilean enterprises that export their services, but besides the limited number, the exportations represent over US$9 million, which shows us how important it is to create more opportunities for female services exports. It is also relevant to note that out of this US$9.4 millions earned in 2020, US$6.9 millions were earned by four types of services enterprises: Investment quotas distribution, research and development in biology and chemistry, commercial agent, and design and development of apps of information technologies (ProChile, 2021).

The US$9.4 million exported by women owned businesses in the service sector might be a big number, but when compared to other areas where women entrepreneurs export, it becomes visible that in the Chilean market, this digit is actually a very limited amount. Female owned fishing and aquaculture businesses export over US$200 million, agriculture exports over US$400 million and the manufacturing sector exports over US$215 million, and in total women owned businesses in Chile export over US$1 billion. Out of this billion dollars, service exports represent less than 1% (ProChile, 2021).

These numbers show that there is a lot of room for growth for female entrepreneurs in this sector, especially if we compare them to the national tendencies, where nationwide the exports of the service sector in 2021 represented 54% of the national GDP in value-added terms (ILOSTAT, 2021).

The academic sector is highly concentrated by women, schools and higher education employ women in Chile as a majority. However, they are less present in management positions. And find problems of recognition to work or research in other countries.

As was analyzed before, many women are employed in the health and education sectors. For this, title recognition becomes a relevant strategy to open labor markets for women inclusion. Chile only has agreements on this matter with Latin
American countries, whether it is bilateral agreements or multilateral, with the only exception of Spain. These types of agreements would make the exportation of services for women easier, since at the moment, a woman who, for instance, works as a doctor, could not simply open a clinic in another country, because there is no insurance that her professional title would be recognized in a foreign country.

As a consequence of the high informal work, it is fundamental to implement policies to diminish it. Specially, domestic work after the Covid 19 pandemic became very relevant: $44 billion each year is the estimation of the value of the domestic work and non-paid job in Chile, 67% of this value is contributed by women (Programa Género & GET, 2016).

Women are underrepresented in international trade due to the persistence of multiple barriers, including the following: gender inequalities, such as the sexual division of labor and a greater female presence in the informal economy, as well as barriers to investment, or violence and harassment at work. Women identified in many surveys the barriers and the needs to export that are shared by the services sector:

- the lack of access to the capital and loans, which becomes more complex in financial services where you need guarantees to secure loans. Double disadvantage is perceived, being women makes it more difficult to access the financial system because they normally do not have the possibility of backing these loans. This becomes worse for services where it is more difficult to have financial guarantees as in goods.
- need for more capacitation directed to different services sectors to occupy managerial positions and to understand the specific difficulties of services;
- access to international networking;
- access to private-public alliances.

Chile is working in implementing its Feminist Foreign Policy, which seeks to transversally institutionalize the gender perspective in the exercise of foreign
policy. No international issue, be it migration, the climate crisis, international peace and security, or trade, among others, can be resolved without a solid gender perspective that considers women and their realities in their wide diversity. Trade is part of it and will improve the quality of the policies that will be designed in the future.

Conclusions

Gender and trade is becoming an important research and policymaking topic, for countries individually and international organizations. Women are underrepresented in international trade. Each day more relevant work is developed in the direction of increasing women's participation in trade, to close the gender economic gap. Some attempts have been developed, as export oriented programmes and gender chapters in trade agreements. However, to increase the impact of this, it is important to analyze different sectors.

Services are one of the most growing sectors and were fundamental during the Covid-19 pandemic. Policies directed to improve women participation in services are key for developing countries, since it's the sector of the economy where most women are employed (ILOSTAT, 2021).

In the general perspective, there is many changes that can have a positive impact on mainstreaming trade in service and gender and furthering its research, such as creating more disaggregated data by gender in service trade, as well as furthering the research on two modes of service supply that have been ignored the most, which are Mode 1 and Mode 4.

When it comes to the Latin-american region, the same recommendations apply, but we can also highlight the necessity to make the different women exports
programmes more diverse and consider special considerations for the service sector, since this sector employs the most women in this region of the world (ILOSTAT, 2021).

Chile has some programmes regarding the insertion of women on international trade, such as Mujer Exporta where women owned businesses receive financial and capacitation tools. Also, has been a pioneer in gender inclusion with multiple trade agreements that consider this topic in their articles, however, there is still very little data to assess the impact. Chile should orient some public policies to enhance the services sector in which women could be included and diminish their gap with men. These strategies should include financing, capacitation and government support creating the ecosystem that allows them to export their service businesses no matter the size of the enterprise. Chile should develop more research regarding the different roles that women have in the economy. They are not only exporters, they could benefit from the different strategies in other areas.

This radiography with the right policies could allow us to incorporate more women into more value added services activities. To enhance the salaries and the quality of life for women. Very little work has been done in services and gender in Chile.

This article is the first resort of the results of a bigger study regarding trade in services and gender in Chile. These preliminary results will be complemented with more interviews and analysis.

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