



A podcast about the economics of trade & policy
with Chad P. Bown

Episode 172. Peru’s “China shock”: Surprising turns and the women left behind

[Episode webpage](#)

November 21, 2022

Transcript

(lightly edited)



Chad Bown: I recently met up with an international trade economist from Peru. I had been a huge fan of her research for a while, but we had never met. She started by describing to me the origins of some of her work.

Pamela Medina Quispe: Some of my friends were working at the competition authority in Peru. They were telling me about an anti-dumping case that they had with China.

Chad Bown: When she said the words “anti-dumping” and “China” and “friends,” my ears perked up. Had I finally found someone else whose dinner party conversations also revolved around whether local companies were injured by low priced imports from China?

Pamela Medina Quispe: They told me, “Well, the government realized that the domestic industry wasn't hurt.” This was not what I was seeing because all the clothes that I saw in Peru were from China.

Chad Bown: I was hooked, especially when she then admitted to looking up a 2004 anti-dumping report from Peru's government.



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Pamela Medina Quispe: The government indeed, in 2004 said, “Well, yes, it is true that now most of the clothes that are sold in Peru are Chinese. But everything is fine.” And they cited this huge export boom that Peruvian firms had as the source of a new set of revenues.

Chad Bown: Let me get this straight. Back in 2004, low priced Chinese imports had both cut off the clothing sales of Peru firms at home *and* caused Peru clothing industry to have an export boom?

This was amazing. I asked this economist to please come on *Trade Talks* and tell us the rest of the story.

Pamela Medina Quispe: My name is Pamela Medina Quispe. I'm an assistant professor of economics at the University of Toronto, Scarborough. I was born and raised in Lima, Peru. I am Peruvian. I did my undergrad in Peru, in economics in the Catholic University there. And then I moved to North Carolina to do my PhD at Duke University.

Chad Bown: You are listening to an episode of *Trade Talks*, a podcast about the economics of trade and policy. I'm your host, Chad Bown, the Reginald Jones Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington. On this week's show, we're going to speak with Pamela Medina Quispe. Pamela is an incredibly creative trade economist and professor at the University of Toronto.

Today she is going to tell us two important stories about Peru. The first is about that Peruvian export boom. The second is about women working in Peru's labor force. What brings these stories together is how opening up to trade with China forced this small, middle-income country in South America to have to change.

Chad Bown: Hi, Pamela.

Pamela Medina Quispe: Hi, Chad. I'm very happy to be here.



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PART I: HOW CHINA PUSHED PERU INTO EXPORTING

Chad Bown: Tell us about Peru in the 1990s, when the story starts.

Pamela Medina Quispe: In the 1990s, Peru was in a time of recovery. We just had the 1980s, which was the lost decade in Latin America, and Peru in particular was leaving a decade of domestic terrorism.

In our lost decade, we had a program of industrialization by import substitution. So that was out. And the nineties were a decade of opening to trade a lot of privatization and a lot of foreign investment into Peru. So a lot of emphasis in trying to rebuild the manufacturing industry and reinsert Peru into the world.

Chad Bown: Peru's openness to imports and trade was also going through some changes during the 1990s.

Pamela Medina Quispe: We came from a place where the economy was pretty closed to imports, and then we changed our mind, and we decided to start liberalizing.

We had some trade liberalization in 1993. Peru started to sign some trade agreements with the countries in the region, Mercosur and becoming part of the Andean Community.

Chad Bown: Peru goes from being a pretty closed economy in the 1980s (its lost decade) to privatizing and being more open to trade and foreign direct investment in the 1990s.

What happened?

Pamela Medina Quispe: This worked. By the end of the 1990s, Peru was already a middle-income country. It was on the starting of a path of sustained growth when we think about the 2000s. We have always had a good agri-business industry and, of course, commodities were booming at that time.

Chad Bown: For agribusiness and commodities, what is Peru known for?

Pamela Medina Quispe: For commodities, Peru is one of the biggest producers of copper and gold. And for agri-business, asparagus was a successes story – exporting asparagus to the world. In Peru, asparagus was not a thing at that moment. Everything that was produced was exported.



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Chad Bown: Peru's asparagus is pretty good. I had some for dinner last night just to fact check Pamela here.

Stepping back, let's recap where we are. By the late 1990s, Peru is a more open economy overall. It is making progress – Peru has become a middle-income country of about 26 million people with fairly decent economic growth.

At the time, Peru also had one pretty important industry in the manufacturing sector.

Pamela Medina Quispe: A big industry was the apparel industry. The main market for apparel in Peru, which was very large, was the domestic market – nobody else was catering to the Peruvian domestic market. It was only Peruvian firms. We had some exports, but exports were minimal.

CHINA'S WTO ENTRY: CLOTHING EXPORT BOOM

Chad Bown: In 2001, as every *Trade Talks* listener knows, China became a full-fledged member of the World Trade Organization. This came after a long period of Chinese negotiations, especially with government officials from the United States.

For Peru, China becoming a WTO member meant that Peru's government had to reduce the import tariffs charged to Chinese companies. Peru's tariffs on China could no longer be higher than its tariffs on companies in every other country that was already a member of the WTO.

For Peru and clothes, the impact of that tariff cut was huge.

Pamela Medina Quispe: Basically, China flooded the domestic economy with clothes. Before China entered the WTO, most of the clothes sold in Peru were made by Peruvian firms.

If you want to think about 2010, 70 percent of the clothes that were sold in Peru were from Chinese origin. This was a massive shock. They took over the whole domestic market.

Chad Bown: Now, in a lot of countries, when something like that happens, the domestic industry starts screaming and yelling and saying, “These imports coming in from China are dumped! I'm injured!”

Peru is a member of the WTO. It's got access to anti-dumping duties and safeguards. Did it turn to those kinds of policies to stop those imports from coming in?

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Pamela Medina Quispe: Peruvian apparel firms did try to stop Chinese imports several times during the 2000s. The most successful one was in 2003, where they managed to impose a 200-day, temporary safeguard.

Chad Bown: For followers of US trade policy, 200 days of protection would hardly be called “successful.” For these kinds of policies designed to stop import competition, some US anti-dumping duties have now been in place for over 30 years. Even the safeguard tariffs that President Trump imposed on solar panels and washing machines have now been on for almost five years.

Anyway, in the early 2000s, Peru's government was investigating whether its domestic apparel industry was injured following WTO rules. The government was looking at the data to try to decide whether Peru's clothing sector was hurt and whether those temporary import restrictions should stay in place.

They published their report, and the reason the government gave for removing that import restriction after only 200 days was fascinating.

Pamela Medina Quispe: The government recognized that China took over the domestic market, but it also found that Peruvian firms were exporting much more than before. And this was a new source of revenues that meant that, as a whole, the apparel industry wasn't doing that bad.

Chad Bown: We have this puzzle. All of a sudden, we have this massive surge in imports of clothing into Peru from China, and yet Peru is now exporting clothing!

Where is Peru exporting this clothing to? Is it just exporting to China?

Pamela Medina Quispe: No! Actually, Peru does not export much clothes to China. It was not the case that there was a new market opportunities for Peruvian firms. They were exporting mostly to the US, which was already a previous trade partner.

Chad Bown: This was weird. Peru suddenly had booming exports of clothes to the United States.

Pamela checked, and it wasn't like the US government changed its trade policy in a way that would explain this sudden increase. Someday the US and Peru would have a free trade agreement, but that was much later. A change in US trade policy was just not the explanation.



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Chad Bown: What did you do next?

Pamela Medina Quispe: I checked the data and looked at what Peru was exporting to the United States. I found that not only were Peruvian firms shifting their production to sell it to the foreign market, but they were shifting what they sell as a whole.

And they were shifting into higher quality products.

Chad Bown: We've seen this story from other contexts, right? When faced with competition from China, firms adjust and they do things differently and, some of them move into higher quality versions of what it was that they were doing before.

What are some of the ways that that higher quality materializes?

Pamela Medina Quispe: In other contexts, we have seen firms adjusting to import competition by importing higher quality inputs and using them to upgrade the quality of their output. That's one avenue. Another avenue is that firms change their composition of workers to higher-skilled (workers) in order to move up the quality ladder.

Chad Bown: Earlier research had looked at how US companies, for example, responded to the same sort of new import competition from China. Some found that American companies started to import better machines or robots to pivot and differentiate their products from having to compete head-to-head with China. Other research found that firms sometimes hired more highly-skilled workers to move up the quality ladder.

Which one of those did Peru do?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Neither. Peruvian firms were adversely affected by this shock. This was clearly a huge import competition shock – they lost their domestic market.

These firms have already invested in some capacity, in some machines. Think about these firms – they already have one hundred sewing machines in place, and when the China shock hits, they see their market gone, but they still have these idle sewing machines lingering around.

There is one option, which is to leave the market and lose everything. But there is another option for Peruvian firms, which is to say, “Well, what else can we produce with these sewing machines? Nothing else than apparel, but you know what? We have this high-quality input, so that maybe we would not be competing head-to-head with China. What about if we move towards this product?”



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Chad Bown: What was the high-quality input?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Pima cotton. This is the cool thing about being Peruvian. We know that we have this native, high quality material in Peru, which is Pima cotton. You can think about this cotton as being the same quality as Egyptian cotton or Sea Island cotton. It's the highest quality that you can get.

Chad Bown: In the United States, we've got a lot of cotton. I think it's called Upland cotton. What makes Pima cotton better than Upland cotton?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Pima cotton? It's great. It's an extra-long staple cotton. If you compare it with Upland cotton – which is the biggest crop of cotton in the world – would be short length.

Pima cotton is more durable. It has greater breathability, and greater dying properties – so that color in your t-shirt will look better. It is generally softer, and it lasts longer.

It's just amazing.

Chad Bown: Everything you could possibly want from cotton. Okay. You've convinced me.

Where is Pima cotton grown? What makes it so special?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Pima cotton is grown in three parts of the world, so mostly in Peru, in some parts of the US, and in Australia. It's very particular in the terms of like temperature and soil that you need in order to grow it. In the US, it's grown in Arizona.

Chad Bown: Sounds like a good story. How do you verify it in the data?

Pamela Medina Quispe: First I looked at the aggregates to see whether it was the case that firms were not adjusting their machinery or their capital. And it seems like there are no investments in new capital, even though they were now producing higher quality goods.

There was also no change in the composition of workers. Firms were using the same workers that they had before, not higher skilled workers.

Then I went to the microdata. I looked at firm-level surveys that exist in Peru and I merged them with customs data to see what they were exporting. And what I found was that firms that were more exposed to this China shock were the ones that were increasing their exports, and not just any exports, they were increasing exports of this higher quality Peruvian apparel.



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At the same time, you can see their domestic sales decreasing with this domestic shock, which is what we saw in the aggregate. And we saw that there was no impact, no change at all, in the number of factors of production that they were using. They were not changing the number of sewing machines from what they had before, and they were not changing the type of workers that they were hiring.

Chad Bown: In Peru's apparel sector, companies did not hire different types of workers or buy better sewing machines. But they had to do something. This new competition from China was causing Peruvian companies to lose all the profits they used to earn from selling clothes in the domestic market.

So these companies took their idle sewing machines and their workers, found the amazing Pima cotton, and upgraded the quality of the t-shirts and other clothes that they were making.

Now, Peru's population is fairly small and it is still an emerging economy, so there just wasn't enough higher income people at home to buy up all the amazing new clothing made from Pima cotton that Peruvian companies really needed to sell to stay in business, since they could no longer compete with China.

They started exporting to the United States, which has a big market of wealthier consumers.

The main point here is that there are two things going on at the same time in response to the China shock. First, Peruvian companies upgraded the quality of their clothing. Second, they were forced to find new export markets to sell to.

Unfortunately, not all of Peru's clothing companies would figure this out. Many of them would be forced to lay off their workers, exit, and go out of business.

Chad Bown: I asked Pamela, which types of firms were able to take advantage of this opportunity by doing these two things at once.

Pamela Medina Quispe: There is some exit from the small firms. Who takes advantage of this are the firms that are the more productive or the biggest firms, the ones that they could eventually export, because exporting is costly.

Just to give you an idea of like how big this was: For the incumbent firms (the firms that were already exporting), on average, from 2001 to 2004, they were increasing their annual exports by one hundred percent every year.



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Chad Bown: Are there other countries that faced a similar situation as Peru, that just performed differently after they were faced with a similar China shock?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Yes. A good example is Colombia. Colombia also had a traditionally large apparel industry that catered to their domestic market and that was flooded with Chinese clothes. That industry shrank relatively fast. They did not manage to differentiate their products or escape the new competition. They have just recently done so, not with different materials, but by investing in design and becoming more “boutique.”

Chad Bown: What do you think are the main lessons learned here for other emerging economies?

Pamela Medina Quispe: The key thing for Peruvian firms to be able to shift to escape competition from China was the existence of a very close-to-home, high quality input that allowed them to differentiate their product.

Other economies couldn't do this. And the question is why? They could have imported this Pima cotton from Peru, it's readily available for everybody. But, of course, it was more costly to do so.

In the event of a competition shock, I think it is important for governments to think about what firms can do to escape this competition and where they can go to differentiate their product and help get some access into the supply chain of these key inputs.

Another potential lesson is to think about governments helping firms identify where they are going to sell these products. If Peruvian firms did not have access to the US market, even if they managed to differentiate their product to a higher quality good, it was going to be a hurdle for them to get profits from just their domestic market.



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PART II: HOW CHINA AFFECTED WOMEN IN PERU'S WORKFORCE.

Chad Bown: Opening up the trade with China shocked the companies operating in Peru.

In Peru's clothing sector, some companies did okay. They adjusted by making clothing out of Pima cotton and were able to replace some of their lost domestic revenues with exports. Other Peruvian companies did not adjust, and they went out of business.

Overall, opening up the trade with China went beyond the companies. It also had a massive impact on Peru's workers and its labor market.

For over a decade, economists around the world have used China's entry into the WTO as a sort of laboratory to study the impact of increased trade on workers. Most of this research has looked at workers in high income countries like the United States - what happened to American jobs, American wages, and participation in the American labor force.

Pamela Medina Quispe: In these countries, the China shock has mostly affected manufacturing industries that traditionally are men-intensive. It's natural that, when we think about what the effect is on workers, the effect that we see is basically on *male* workers.

Chad Bown: Research that only speaks to the impact on male workers is a problem.

But it is an especially big problem for a country like Peru. Peru is just a different story.

In Peru, women were much more exposed to the new import competition from China than were women in the United States.

Pamela Medina Quispe: We have booming industries in manufacturing, including very important industries, like apparel and footwear, where there is an important proportion of females in the labor force.

And we also have other manufacturing industries where men are the majority of that workforce.

And I think this is a really nice setup to understand if there is a gender effect of trade on workers, because you potentially have women affected by this trade shock as well. This was not the case for developed economies.

Chad Bown: Why is it important to understand the gender dimension?



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Pamela Medina Quispe: We have consistent evidence that the labor market for men and for women are substantially different, in terms of where do they locate and what industries do they locate in, what types of jobs and occupations do they have, as well as how difficult it is for them to find jobs.

There might be a differentiated effect, it's just that we haven't been able to look at it in other contexts.

Chad Bown: Economists have lots of evidence that women have very different labor market experiences when compared to men. There is discrimination in the form of fewer opportunities, lower pay, and fewer chances at promotion.

But we don't yet have a good enough understanding of why. One way to study the “why” question is to look at these big unexpected shocks that force workers to change what they are doing that gives researchers like economists and environment – again, it's sort of like a little laboratory in which to learn.

One problem though is that in the US laboratory, the peculiarities of the China shock that it mostly hit manufacturing sectors dominated by men, meant that researchers could really only learn how it affected male workers.

Peru was different. In Peru, the sudden increase in Chinese imports affected both men and women.

Chad Bown: We saw that China was a big source of disruption and imports for the apparel sector. What other sectors were heavily exposed?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Sectors that were very affected by China, were apparel, of course, footwear, furniture, toys, and some telecommunications equipment. Less affected were food and beverages, as well as some metal-related industries.

Chad Bown: We described how, in general, Peru is growing – i.e., the macro economy is growing – during this period. But what sectors of the economy are going to be expanding?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Commodities are going to be expanding, as are minerals. Within manufacturing, anything related to minerals or metals, primary metals, is going to be expanding as well as the agricultural, food and beverage manufacturing industry.



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Services is going to be expanding as well. The service sector in Peru is a mix. There is one part that's very similar to developed countries – like financial services, that are IT-intensive and these are good jobs. There is also another part of services, which is more like retail, which is associated with informality. These might be jobs that are low quality.

Chad Bown: What's wrong with the informal sector in Peru during this period?

Pamela Medina Quispe: The problem can come in different ways. Someone may just not have health insurance. Or, you could be in a position that is very dire, working a lot of hours with a salary that is below the minimum wage, with no health or social security benefits at all.

Chad Bown: So, Peru is hit with the China shock. If things had gone well for all workers in Peru during this period, what might we have expected to have happen?

Pamela Medina Quispe: When the China shock hit Peru, the best case scenario would be that, there are some sectors in manufacturing that are going to be heavily affected, so they are shrinking. They will lay off some workers, but these workers will move quickly (we hope) to expanding sectors in the economy, either to services or to these other manufacturing industries that saw opportunities in the opening of China.

Chad Bown: So that's the ideal situation. If you're a Peruvian labor market minister in 2001, should you have been worried? Why are things more complicated for Peru?

Pamela Medina Quispe: The worry for these workers is that the expanding sectors that are supposed to be the jobs that they're going to are, for some reason, different for men than women.

To give you an idea, in apparel, the ratio of women to men will be seven to one. And this is one of the most impacted industries. On the expanding sector side, if you think about only manufacturing, these are very male-dominated industries. That is a problem.

If you think about services, then there is a higher ratio of women to men, so this could be a potential sector that would be capturing women.

Chad Bown: Tell us about the data that you're going to look at. Specifically, what's going to be your measure (or your measures) of labor market outcomes for these people?



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Pamela Medina Quispe: We want to measure everything at the local labor market level, which is a province in Peru's geographical units. What we want to measure is what happened with employment and labor force participation of both men and women.

One feature of this data is that we can include the informal and the formal sector in both measures (employment and labor force participation).

When I say labor force participation, it is a person who is actively looking for job or who is employed. And it could be in the informal or the formal sector.

Chad Bown: So we get this China shock. What do you find?

Pamela Medina Quispe: On average, when the China shock hits, you see a negative effect on employment for all workers. It is very concentrated in the short run between 2001 and 2005, but it persists even 10 years after the shock.

Chad Bown: Let's talk first about the men – not because I think they're important, but because everybody else has *only* talked about the men. What do you find when it comes to men?

Pamela Medina Quispe: For the men, I find similar things to what the literature has found for the US and other rich countries, which is that they were affected in the short run negatively, but the shock doesn't persist for them. They were able to reallocate to other manufacturing industries eventually.

The intuition is that (in Peru) the expanding industries are male dominated. For instance, a man loses his job in furniture manufacturing and can easily go to a job in the primary metal industries that is also very male dominated.

Chad Bown: For male workers, Peru looks similar to other countries.

Pamela's really big contribution is what she does next. She zeros in on what happened to Peru's women to explain how the China shock had a different impact on this other incredibly important part of Peru's labor market.

Pamela Medina Quispe: The story for women is sad.

Women are affected at the same rate as men in the short run – negatively affected – but the difference becomes that this shock is very persistent for them. So, 10 years after the China shock, these women are still having lost employment that men do not have anymore. Women



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were not able to reallocate within the manufacturing sector. Remember, the expanding sectors were very male dominated.

They were able to reallocate to the services sector, which had a higher ratio of women to men, but only to some extent. Some women were forced out of the labor force altogether.

Chad Bown: How about education? What's the role of education, what does that play here?

Pamela Medina Quispe: We looked at who were these affected women, and we have information on the education level that they have. What we see is that all of these effects – these negative effects, and the persistence – is coming from less educated women that potentially are performing these lowest skilled jobs.

For high educated women, the story is different. It's very similar to men. They are affected by the China shock, but they are eventually able to reinsert themselves into manufacturing.

Chad Bown: What's going on in the background, in terms of women's labor force participation during this time period? Is that making it inadvertently difficult as well?

Pamela Medina Quispe: Women's labor force participation is growing in this period, which makes it more difficult for the women that are being laid off to be reinserted into other sectors in the labor force.

Chad Bown: Pamela has this really important set of results.

In Peru, many of the sectors facing competition from these Chinese imports employ a lot of women. In sectors like apparel, it is women that are disproportionately losing jobs.

For other reasons, this period is also characterized by more and more women entering Peru's labor force for the first time. This makes it even more difficult for women losing jobs to find new jobs. They just face more competition.

Finally, the growing sectors in Peru, the ones with the good jobs, just do not employ a lot of women.

Put all this together and some women end up moving to work in the informal sector, which is dominated by low quality jobs. And even worse, some women lose their jobs and leave the labor force altogether. The most hurt are Peru's less educated women.



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If policy makers really want to help women adjust, they also need to understand what other difficulties these women face.

Chad Bown: If you had all the data in the world, what questions would you ask next?

Pamela Medina Quispe: I would want to have data on the women's outside options in the household. How much do they pay for childcare? Do they have help? Women are most likely to have to make the trade-off between working in the labor market or working in the household.

I would want to know the reasons why women were leaving the labor force altogether that were not related to labor demand.

Chad Bown: Let's talk about policy. We know we need to do better, as policy makers, helping with the adjustment process. What would your research suggest are lessons to help policy makers better target adjustment policies to help workers?

Pamela Medina Quispe: The lessons are that we need to think about the distributional gains from trade, in terms of workers, and one of the dimensions that we need to think carefully about is gender. Not because productivity-wise women and men are going to be different, but because they face different frictions, including how easily they can reallocate to jobs in the economy.

Women and men face different frictions in order to reallocate their employment. It could be because of the initial composition of women and men in a particular sector. It could also be because women and men have different outside options, where women are more in charge of the wellbeing of their households.

I think one lesson from this study is that, gender becomes a dimension that policy makers should consider when they are designing these targeting policies to alleviate the distributional effects of trade.

Chad Bown: Pamela, thank you very much.

Pamela Medina Quispe: Thank you so much.



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SUMMARY

Chad Bown: To wrap things up, there was a lot to learn about Peru's experience with the China shock.

First, Peru is richer today and has gained from China's entry into the WTO. We haven't gone through all the benefits of course, but let me mention a few.

Peru's consumers do like much cheaper clothes, this makes them better off. Access to imported inputs makes other Peruvian companies more competitive. China's demand for commodities raised prices and helped some of Peru's exporters in other sectors.

Then, as we learned from Pamela's research, some Peruvian apparel firms did adjust to start specializing in high-end clothing with this Pima cotton, including for new export markets.

At the same time, Peru's workers were forced to adjust. Just like in other countries, not everyone in Peru gained from the new opportunities to trade. And in Peru's workforce, women suffered more than men.

One reason why this research is so important is because the results are very different from what happened when countries like the United States were hit with their China shock.

For me, a lesson from all this is that every country has its own problems and challenges associated with trade. The United States was not alone in "suffering" from the China shock.

The China shock also doesn't mean that we shouldn't trade. It does mean that we need to help local policy makers, whether that be in the United States or in Peru, focus on the domestic policies best suited to tackle the problems specific to their local environment.

And to figure out those specific problems we need more research – research from amazing economists like Pamela Medina Quispe.

GOODBYE FOR NOW

Chad Bown: And that is all for *Trade Talks*. A huge thanks to Pamela Medina Quispe at the University of Toronto. Do check out her Pima cotton paper titled "Import Competition Quality Upgrading and Exporting Evidence from the Peruvian Apparel." And don't miss her second



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paper titled, “Import Competition and Gender Differences in Labor Reallocation,” that one is joint with Hani Mansour and Andrea Velasquez.

You can find links to both of these papers in the show notes on the *Trade Talks* website.

Thanks to Melina Kolb, our supervising producer. Thanks, as always, to Collin Warren, our audio guy.

Do follow us on Twitter. We are on at @Trade__Talks. That's not one, but two underscores, @Trade__Talks.

<insert super funny joke here> ■

BONUS

And as a bonus for anti-dumping nerds, here's more from my conversation with Pamela...

Chad Bown: Did Peru turn to those types of policies to actually stop the imports from coming in?

Pamela Medina Quispe: They tried. The association of apparel firms in Peru tried several times during the first years after China exceeded to the WTO. There was a case in 2003 where there were a 200-day temporary safeguard that eventually they removed because they found no damage to the national industry.

Chad Bown: Okay! And you're going to tell us today about why there was no damage to the domestic industry. Amazing!

There's no reason why you should know this about me, but (this was like 2005), I created this thing called the Global Anti-Dumping Database. So aside from you and your friends, there's probably nobody in the world more excited about this story of Peruvian Antidumping than me because I have it in the database...

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