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978-1-108-47194-7 — Global Value Chains and Development: Redefining the Contours of
21st Century Capitalism
Gary Gereffi
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Global Value Chains and Development

Over the past half century globalization has transformed how nations, firms, and workers compete in the international economy. The chapters in this book, authored by one of the founders of the global value chains (GVC) approach, trace the emergence of the most influential paradigm used to analyze globalization and its impact by academics and policy makers alike. In the mid-1990s, Gary Gereffi introduced the notion that offshore production was fuelled by buyer-driven and producer-driven supply chains, which highlighted the role of giant retailers, global brands, and manufacturers to orchestrate complex networks of suppliers in low-cost developing economies around the world. The GVC framework was built around the twin pillars of 'governance' (how global supply chains are controlled and organized) and 'upgrading' (how countries and firms try to create, capture, and retain high-value niches in GVCs). This book contains the seminal writings used to launch the GVC framework, along with in-depth case studies that explain how Mexico, China, and other countries emerged as prominent exporters in the world economy. As the social dimension of globalization became more pronounced, Gereffi and colleagues elaborated the concept of 'social upgrading' and a new paradigm of 'synergistic governance' based on the coordinated efforts of private, civil society, and public-sector actors. During the 2000s, the rise of large emerging economies like China, India, Brazil, and South Africa transformed the structure and dynamics of GVCs in the direction of greater regionalization. Today new challenges are looming in resurgent economic nationalism and populism. Large international organizations such as the WTO, World Bank, and ILO, policymakers in national economies, development practitioners, and academics continue to be guided by insights from the GVC approach.

Gary Gereffi is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Global Value Chains Center at Duke University, Durham, USA. He has published numerous books and articles on globalization, industrial upgrading, and social and economic development, and is one of the originators of the GVC framework.

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Development Trajectories in Global Value Chains

Globalization is characterized by the outsourcing of production tasks and services across borders, and the increasing organization of production and trade through global value chains (GVCs), global commodity chains (GCCs), and global production networks (GPNs). With a large and growing literature on GVCs, GCCs, and GPNs, this series is distinguished by its focus on the implications of these new production systems for economic, social, and regional development.

This series publishes a wide range of theoretical, methodological, and empirical works, both research monographs and edited volumes, dealing with crucial issues of transformation in the global economy. How do GVCs change the ways in which lead firms and suppliers shape regional and international economies? How do they affect local and regional development trajectories, and what implications do they have for workers and their communities? How is the organization of value chains changing and how are these emerging forms contested? How does the large-scale entry of women into value-chain production impact gender relations? What opportunities and limits do GVCs create for economic and social upgrading and innovation? In what ways are GVCs changing the nature of work and the role of labor in the global economy? And how might the increasing focus on logistics management, financialization, and social standards and compliance shape the structure of regional economies?

This series includes contributions from all disciplines and interdisciplinary fields related to GVC analysis and is particularly supportive of theoretically innovative and informed works grounded in development research. Through their focus on changing organizational forms, governance systems, and production relations, volumes in this series contribute to on-going conversations about development theories and policy in the contemporary era of globalization.

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‘The concept of global value chains has become a mainstay of research in international trade over several decades. This concept owes much to the pioneering work of Gary Gereffi. In this lucid volume he describes how global value chains arise and differ across various industries and countries, and how they have evolved over time in response to economic and political forces, right up to the recent calls for protection.’

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‘GVCs drive productivity growth, investment, technology transfer and job creation. For more than 20 years, Gary Gereffi has led the world in understanding the governance, upgrading and evolution of GVCs. In *Global Value Chains and Development* he brings together his most relevant work while providing insights on the evolving trade and technology landscape transforming GVCs. This is a must-read book for policy makers, practitioners and academics committed to economic development.’

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‘Gary Gereffi explains the organization of the global economy better than anyone. This book reaffirms his importance as the founder and still leading theorist of global value chains, and is essential reading for all those who wish to understand the complexity of manufacturing in the 21st century.’

Gary Hamilton, Professor Emeritus, University of Washington

‘Gary Gereffi is a pioneer in the analysis of global value chains and their implications for economic development policy and governance. This volume brings together his key contributions and is required reading for all students of trade and development.’

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‘Gary Gereffi’s work over the past 25 years has changed how we understand capitalism. This brilliant collection of essays shows that capitalism today can be understood in its global form by an array of production networks that generate profits, employment and wage income, and that economic development itself is deeply molded by these networks. Gereffi’s analysis of global value changes has spearheaded a generation of scholars and has influenced policy makers from around the world. He effectively defined the field and then continued to move the thinking forward as the world evolved – with the growth of services trade and telecommunications, with economic booms in East Asia and busts in Latin America, and most recently with a riveting account of the shifting politics of industrial policy and protectionism. Gereffi is the gold standard: the writing is clear, data are illuminating and the analysis is sharp and relevant. This book is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand globalization and economic development.’

William Milberg, Dean and Professor of Economics, New School for Social Research

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‘Global value chains are a key feature of the global economy in the 21st century. By providing the essentials of the GVC framework, unpacking the key concepts of governance and upgrading, and exploring the relevant policy implications – this collection of writings from the founder of this field is an essential companion to academics, policy makers, activists and business leaders interested in understanding present-day capitalism.’

Stefano Ponte, Professor of International Political Economy, Copenhagen Business School

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*To Pela,
My inspiration, best friend,
and loving spouse for this entire journey*

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of Figures and Boxes</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xix</i>
<i>Sources</i>	<i>xxi</i>
1. The Emergence of Global Value Chains: Ideas, Institutions, and Research Communities	1
Part I: Foundations of the Global Value Chain Framework	
2. The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How US Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks	43
3. International Trade and Industrial Upgrading in the Apparel Commodity Chain	72
4. The Governance of Global Value Chains (with John Humphrey and Timothy J. Sturgeon)	108
Part II: Expanding the Governance and Upgrading Dimensions in Global Value Chains	
5. The Global Economy: Organization, Governance, and Development	137
6. Local Clusters in Global Chains: The Causes and Consequences of Export Dynamism in Torreon’s Blue Jeans Industry (with Jennifer Bair)	176
7. Development Models and Industrial Upgrading in China and Mexico	205
8. Economic and Social Upgrading in Global Production Networks: A New Paradigm for a Changing World (with Stephanie Barrientos and Arianna Rossi)	228
9. Regulation and Economic Globalization: Prospects and Limits of Private Governance (with Frederick Mayer)	253

xii	<i>Contents</i>	
10.	Economic and Social Upgrading in Global Value Chains and Industrial Clusters: Why Governance Matters <i>(with Joonkoo Lee)</i>	276
Part III: Policy Issues and Challenges		
11.	Global Value Chain Analysis: A Primer (Second Edition) <i>(with Karina Fernandez-Stark)</i>	305
12.	Global Value Chains, Development, and Emerging Economies	343
13.	Risks and Opportunities of Participation in Global Value Chains <i>(with Xubei Luo)</i>	381
14.	Global Value Chains in a Post-Washington Consensus World	400
15.	Protectionism and Global Value Chains	429
	<i>Co-authors</i>	453
	<i>Index</i>	455

Tables

2.1 Sales of Leading US Retailers, 1987–1992	54
2.2 Net Income and Return on Revenues of Leading US Retailers, 1987–1991	55
2.3 Types of Retailers and Main Global Sourcing Areas	59
3.1 Trends in US Apparel Imports by Region and Country	84
3.2 The Triangle Sourcing Networks of the Top 10 US Retail Buying Offices in Taiwan, 1992	98
3.3 Regional Trade Patterns in World Exports of Textiles and Clothing	100
4.1 Key Determinants of Global Value Chain Governance	117
4.2 Some Dynamics of Global Value Chain Governance	119
5.1 Comparison of Varieties of Capitalism and Global Production Networks	153
6.1 Apparel Industry Indicators for Torreon /La Laguna	183
6.2 Main Clients for Torreon Apparel Exports	187
6.3 Top 10 Apparel Manufacturers in Torreon, Mexico—July 2000	192
6.4 Interviews in Torreon, 1998 and 2000	204
7.1 Foreign Direct Investment in China and Mexico, 1995–2015	211
7.2 Mexico's and China's Competing Exports to the United States, 2000–2014	215
7.3 US Imports in Which Mexico and/or China Hold 40% or More of the US Market, 2014	216
8.1 Key Drivers of Economic and Social Upgrading and Downgrading, by Type of Work	241
10.1 Types of Governance in Clusters and Global Value Chains by Scope and Actor	285
10.2 Key Drivers, Mechanisms, and Actors of Social Upgrading	293
11.1 Types of Work in Global Value Chains	325
11.2 Firms in Costa Rica's Medical Devices Sector	333
12.1 Seven Selected Emerging Economies in Comparative Perspective, 2013	361
12.2 Export Profiles of Emerging Economies, 2000–2013	362
14.1 Use of Global Value Chain Analysis in Selected International Organizations	415

Figures and Boxes

Figures

2.1 The Organization of Producer-Driven and Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains	45
2.2 Production Frontiers for Global Sourcing by US Retailers: The Apparel Industry	60
3.1 The Organization of Producer-Driven and Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains	76
3.2 Shifts in the Regional Structure of US Apparel Imports, 1986–1996	89
4.1 Five Global Value Chain Governance Types	118
5.1 Industrial Upgrading in the Asian Apparel Value Chain	158
6.1 Pre-NAFTA Maquila Networks in Torreon	188
6.2 Post-NAFTA Full-Package Networks in Torreon	189
6.3 US–Torreon Apparel Commodity Chain Activities and Location	190
7.1 Composition of Mexico’s Exports to the World Market, 1990–2014	213
7.2 Composition of China’s Exports to the World Market, 1990–2014	213
7.3 China’s Supply-Chain Cities in Apparel	220
8.1 Typology of Workforce Composition across Different GPNs	238
8.2 Possible Social Upgrading Trajectories	245
10.1 The Confluence of Actors in GVC and Cluster Governance	287
11.1 Six Dimensions of GVC Analysis	307
11.2 Fruit and Vegetables Global Value Chain Segments	308
11.3 Fruit and Vegetables Global Value Chain	309
11.4 Five Global Value Chain Governance Types	312
11.5 Upgrading Stages of Selected Countries in the Fruit and Vegetables Value Chain	313
11.6 US–Torreon Apparel Value Chain: Activities and Location	314
11.7 Smile Curve of High-Value Activities in Global Value Chains	315
11.8 Model for Sustainable Smallholder Inclusion in High-Value Agro-food Chains	317
11.9 Four Pillars Model for SME Participation in GVCs	318

11.10	The Offshore Services Global Value Chain	321
11.11	Examples of Upgrading Trajectories in the Offshore Services Value Chain	323
11.12	Workforce Composition Across Different GVCs	327
11.13	Examples of Workforce Development Initiatives in the Offshore Services Value Chain	328
11.14	Costa Rica Medical Exports by Product Category, 1998–2011	332
11.15	Offshore Services Industry in Costa Rica: MNC Participation by Segment, 2011	334
11.16	Offshore Services Industry in Costa Rica: US Exports and Number of Employees by Segment, 2011	335
11.17	Policy Recommendations: Medical Devices and Offshore Services	336
12.1	Five Types of Global Value Chain Governance	348
12.2	Curve of Value-Added Stages in the Apparel Global Value Chain: Nicaragua	354
13.1	Industry Groups, GVCs, and Economic Upgrading	390
13.2	Different Pathways to Social Upgrading	391
14.1	Five Types of Global Value Chain Governance	404
14.2	US Bilateral Trade Balance with China for One Unit of iPhone4	411
15.1	The Architecture of the Digital Economy	441

Box

13.1	From One Shock to Another: The 2011 Earthquake in Japan Rattled the Auto Industry Worldwide	386
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Foreword

The themes covered in this book resonate with a distinction I made often between the old world of trade and the new world of trade when I was Director-General of the World Trade Organization. In the old world of trade, production was national, most trade occurred within countries, and the job of trade negotiators was to remove obstacles to trade that protected producers, such as tariffs and subsidies, so that international trade could flourish. In the new world of trade, production of both goods and services is transnational, organized in global supply chains where a product could be made in up to 10 to 12 countries, and trade increased greatly as intermediate inputs crossed borders many times in the process of making final products. This new world of trade involved value addition at every stage of the chain, and the obstacles to trade were increasingly about non-tariff barriers such as regulatory standards, consumer protection, intellectual property and data privacy, the purpose of which is to protect consumers.

A big part of my job at the WTO was to try to get people who negotiate trade agreements to make the transition from thinking about trade in traditional terms to the new realities of global supply chains. After lots of discussion with business people who were familiar with fully integrated systems of production where goods were largely produced in Asia and sold in the West, I launched the WTO's 'Made in the World' initiative, and shortly thereafter, we began to partner with the research unit at the OECD to elaborate ways to measure 'trade in value added'. This helped us drive home the point that it was no longer the volume of trade per se that mattered, but rather whether and how countries were connected to increasingly pervasive global value chains.

I first learned of Gary Gereffi's pioneering work on this topic in the context of these WTO efforts to create a new narrative on global trade and development. In a couple of international conferences organized by the WTO in Geneva, such as the Global Forum on Trade Statistics in February 2011 and the Fourth Global Review of Aid for Trade on 'Connecting to Value Chains' in July 2013, Professor Gereffi made key presentations that illustrated how the global economy was changing and why this was relevant to policy makers. Then in the fall of 2014, Gary and his colleague Frederick Mayer invited me to present a keynote address at the Global Value Chain Summit that they were organizing at Duke University as a forum to promote high-level dialogue between top international organizations who were using the value chain framework and leading academics also working on these issues.

The chapters in this book offer a panoramic perspective on the sweeping changes that have transformed the global economy in recent decades. I would summarize the import of this book in three overarching impressions. First is its historical sweep. The chapters chart in admirable detail the shift from a nation-state-centered global economy in the early postwar decades to the intricate division of labor and continuously evolving supply chains that we see today. Early chapters in the book dealing with the apparel industry in Asia and North America bring to life the old world of trade, in which production and trade networks were adjusting to continuously shifting tariffs and quota systems. Middle chapters of the book capture the impact of the rise of emerging economies as well as the 2008 economic crisis on the international trading system, while the final chapter on 'Protectionism and Global Value Chains' offers an up-to-date interpretation of what's old and what's new in US President Trump's trade disputes with his NAFTA neighbors and China.

A second takeaway from the book is the clarity of the analysis, couched in a language that is equally accessible to business leaders, development practitioners, policy makers, and scholars. Although the book covers a very broad spectrum of industries, countries and regions, its actor-centered approach provides a largely jargon-free discussion of national development models, technology trends, industrial transformation, and policy options for developing and developed economies. Multinational corporations and international business networks are center stage in the global value chains framework laid out in this book, but it is also clear that development goals encompass a much bigger agenda than just trade and investment. The theme of governance is a particularly rich concept in this book, since it embraces not just the organization of supply chains by lead firms and top suppliers, but also the role of public authorities and civil society groups in promoting various kinds of social, environmental, and economic upgrading at the country level.

A final reflection on this book stems from my conviction that we need a new narrative that not only brings together the old and new worlds of trade, but also helps to bridge the divides that threaten to fracture the international system of trade and development into competing blocs with no common agenda or goals. Change is inevitable, and this book analyzes dramatic shifts in the world economy that have altered the fortunes of large and small, and industrial and agrarian economies alike. An open question is how the international system that helped to establish and adjudicate the rules of the game in the late 20th century will respond to these shifts in the early 21st century. Countries are very heterogeneous in their collective preferences and development situations, but in the search for common ground, we need inclusive frameworks that address the interests of citizens, businesses and consumers, practitioners and policy makers, and other diverse constituencies. This book has the breadth, quality and analytical tools to contribute to this much-needed dialogue.

Pascal Lamy
Former Director-General of the World Trade Organization
June 6, 2018

Acknowledgments

This book brings together research that spans several decades and I have been fortunate to be at Duke University for this entire period. Duke has been an ideal intellectual and institutional base for my work because it embraced both international and interdisciplinary scholarship, and it encouraged entrepreneurial teaching and research programs. The Sociology Department was my faculty home, and it supported multiple conferences and workshops I organized at Duke. The Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies and Duke's Asian/Pacific Studies Institute contributed in multiple ways to create a vibrant atmosphere for faculty and students alike who are working within and across both regions.

I am particularly proud of the innovative, dedicated and policy-relevant scholarship carried out at Duke's Center for Globalization, Governance and Competitiveness that I founded in 2005, which was renamed the Duke Global Value Chains Center in 2017. The researchers and doctoral students associated with the Center have been amazingly committed and talented development scholars, who applied and extended the ideas and frameworks discussed in this book in virtually all regions of the world. Special thanks go to Mike Hensen, the managing director of the Center since its early years, and Tom Nechyba, director of the Social Science Research Institute, the Center's main institutional sponsor at Duke.

A number of the chapters in this book are co-authored, and I appreciate and value the intellectual and collegial contributions of my co-authors, which in most cases go well beyond the particular chapters that appear in the book. Within Duke, I have worked especially closely with Fritz Mayer, a faculty colleague in the Sanford School of Public Policy, on multiple projects related to global value chains and international development. Fritz and Will Goldsmith, who completed his Ph.D in the History Department at Duke, helped me document the history of the GVC approach and the role of international organizations in promoting and disseminating the GVC framework. Some of these ideas appear in Chapter 1.

Finally, a very deep sense of gratitude goes to my family. International research is exceptionally demanding in terms of the amount of time required for traveling and working abroad, and this has been true in my case as well. Fortunately, my wife, Pela,

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Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

xx

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and my daughters, Emily and Karen, not only accepted these difficulties, but actually shared in many of the international travels and experiences that made my scholarly work around the world much more enjoyable and rewarding. For this reason and many others, this book is dedicated to Pela.

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