

Globethics Repository

The logo for Globethics, featuring the word "Globethics" in white, sans-serif font centered within a solid blue rectangular background.

Trading to equality?

This page was generated automatically upon download from the Globethics Repository. More information on Globethics see <https://www.globethics.net>. Data and content policy of Globethics Repository see <https://repository.globethics.net/pages/policy>.

Item Type	Preprint
Authors	Bisnath, Savitri
Publisher	UNRISD
Rights	With permission of the license/copyright holder
Download date	2026-07-11 04:43:56
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/179038



UNRISD

UNITED NATIONS RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Trading to Equality? Gender Equality and Trade Liberalisation

Savitri Bisnath, PhD

May 2005

Prepared for the UNRISD report
Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World

DRAFT WORKING DOCUMENT
Do not cite without the author's approval



The **United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)** is an autonomous agency engaging in multidisciplinary research on the social dimensions of contemporary problems affecting development. Its work is guided by the conviction that, for effective development policies to be formulated, an understanding of the social and political context is crucial. The Institute attempts to provide governments, development agencies, grassroots organizations and scholars with a better understanding of how development policies and processes of economic, social and environmental change affect different social groups. Working through an extensive network of national research centres, UNRISD aims to promote original research and strengthen research capacity in developing countries.

Current research programmes include: Civil Society and Social Movements; Democracy, Governance and Human Rights; Identities, Conflict and Cohesion; Social Policy and Development; and Technology, Business and Society.

A list of the Institute's free and priced publications can be obtained by contacting the Reference Centre.

UNRISD, Palais des Nations
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland

Tel: (41 22) 9173020

Fax: (41 22) 9170650

E-mail: info@unrisd.org

Web: <http://www.unrisd.org>

Copyright © United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

This is not a formal UNRISD publication. The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed studies rests solely with their author(s), and availability on the UNRISD Web site (<http://www.unrisd.org>) does not constitute an endorsement by UNRISD of the opinions expressed in them. No publication or distribution of these papers is permitted without the prior authorization of the author(s), except for personal use.

Introduction

We need a new strategy for development which involves all the international and national stake-holders at the highest level - a truly integrated strategy which embraces not only trade and investment, but also sustainable development, debt relief, capacity building, health care, education, social safety nets, poverty eradication, human rights, cultural diversity, *gender equality* – in short what we call “human security” - all are subjects which must be embraced in an improved concept of global economic management.
Ruggiero, 1999a (emphasis added)

This statement made by Renato Ruggiero, the former director-general of the World Trade Organization (WTO), highlights the complexity and importance of international trade at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Advances in technology, communications and access to information, coupled with the intensification of international flows of goods, services and capital serve to both deepen interdependence between countries and broaden the scope of globalisation. Further, trade "negotiations in areas such as financial services, telecommunications and maritime transport demonstrate that few people around the world will remain untouched by some aspect of the WTO's activities" (Ruggiero, 1996).

In this paper I will attempt to construct a narrative of trade liberalization as a gendered, political and historically constituted process. I argue that the market is a gendered socio-economic formation by building on the notion that the economic is not prior to the social, but constitutive of it. Through this argument I claim that to better understand the effects of international trade policies on women and men it is necessary to document, analyse and theorise about the ways in which their positions in production and reproduction, within specific spatial and temporal contexts, influences exports and imports and market structures. In addition analyses of the institutions that facilitate economic liberalisation, such as the WTO, are critical to understandings of the gendered dimensions of trade policies.

In this context I will situate the World Trade Organization within the historical moment in which it was established and analyse its role and importance as both a pillar of the global governance architecture and an important institution to the multilateral trading regime. I will trace its evolution from the GATT, through the changing policy environments of the last thirty years: namely from structural adjustment to privatisation and trade liberalisation. In addition, I argue that the legally binding nature of the new trade agreements, coupled with the strong enforcement capabilities of the WTO, make trade policies as important vehicles for promoting and implementing economic and (indirectly) social policies, as well as regulating and disciplining nation-states. To illustrate this point I briefly discuss the formal relationship between the international financial institutions (IFIs) and the World Trade Organization, as well as potential changes in domestic regulation resulting from implementation of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

Trade Liberalisation: A Gendered Project

The market is a crucial terrain of ideological struggle.

Jameson, 1991

Men and women participate in, and are affected by, international trade in multiple ways, including as producers, traders, consumers, and care givers. Trade has, in general terms, increased the demand for female labour in both the formal and informal sectors. For example, as markets expand an increasing number of women are employed in the labor-intensive and low-wage textile and garment industries, and electronics and pharmaceuticals companies in South-East Asia and Bangladesh (Moghadam, 1999).¹

As world trade in services increase and multinationals expand their off-shore and outsourcing activities, women's employment in the services sector has also grown. For example, an increasing number of women are employed in professional service jobs in the accounting, banking and information technology sectors. World trade in services also favors the temporary and long term migration of women:

Mexican, Central American, and Caribbean women have migrated to the United States to work as nurses, nannies, or domestics; Filipinas and Sri Lankans [have gone] to neighboring countries as well as to the Middle East to work as waitresses, nurses, nannies, or domestics; Argentine women [go] to Italy to work as nurses; and an increasing number of Moroccan, Tunisian, and Algerian women [are] migrating alone to work [...] in France, Italy and Spain.

Moghadam, 1999: 374

Despite these realities, the effects of economic liberalisation on the empowerment of women and girls and poverty reduction are uneven. This is in part because the implementation of trade liberalization policies and participation in foreign trade are in themselves insufficient conditions for countries to increase the well being of women and men. Women and men's well-being are connected to the economic prosperity of the nation-state but is also contingent on resource endowments, infrastructure, labour market policies, skills and educational levels, socio-cultural norms, their position in the processes of production and reproduction, the political will for gender equality as well as a country's position in the global economic order.

Within the context of trade liberalisation, women's access to more and better jobs have been widely recognized as important in facilitating poverty reduction and development efforts. However, the increased demand for female labour must also be compared to the rise or decline in the proportion of jobs available to them that have security of employment, protection against unfair dismissal, as well as rights for pension, health insurance and parental leave. Historically, women workers have rarely enjoyed the wide spectrum of social and economic rights specified in national and

¹ See studies by Nash and Fernandez- Kelly, 1983; Lim 1985; and Kabeer, 2000.

international legislation, including the right to social protection and to form and/or join trade unions.

International Trade: Gendered Theoretical Foundations

Mainstream analyses of the multilateral trading system are embedded in the concept of economic liberalism, a belief in the ‘free market’ and a ‘level playing field’, and partially informed by an acceptance of the notion of comparative advantage. As a result, they foreclose discussions and erase the role(s) and relevance of political and social institutions and ideologies as well as power relations in shaping and facilitating economic activities at the macro, meso and micro levels. Thus, while many proponents of neo-liberalism agree that WTO member-states have different levels of economic development and resources, and that women and men often possess different types of knowledge and skills, they reject the argument that these realities are partially informed by the political and cultural realities of the economy under consideration and historically grounded in colonialism and patriarchy.

At the national level, the multilateral trading regime - because of its emphasis on market access - prescribes and permits certain policies and actions and prohibits others. It promotes, as Polanyi (1944) noted over fifty years ago, a situation in which:

no measure or policy must be countenanced that would influence the action of these markets. Neither price, nor supply, nor demand must be fixed or regulated; only such policies and measures are in order which help to ensure the self-regulation of the market by creating conditions which make the market the only organising power in the economic sphere.

What Polanyi so eloquently explains for the self-regulating market of the nineteenth century, also holds true for the ‘free market’ of the 21st century.

In **The Great Transformation** Polanyi (1944) analysed the role of the market in partially informing economic, political and social relations within a specific spatial and temporal reality. Through his analysis of the socio-political and economic histories of nineteenth century Europe, he formulated a framework for understanding the “self-regulating market” (SRM), not as a natural phenomenon, but as a political and economic construct. His claim that the SRM is an instituted process is critical to his project because he argues that it was falsely invoked to promote the liberal belief in natural economic growth and progress. Polanyi posits that this notion makes “us blind to the role of government in economic life”, and thereby erased the roles of economic and political institutions in partially constituting the economic, political and social relations between European citizens during that time.

In other words, because the market was represented as both separated from society and self-managing, and perceived as such via the ideological view of economic liberalism, the different ways in which market forces influenced and informed everyday political and individual decision-making were obscured. This liberal view of the market can be traced to Adam Smith’s **The Wealth of Nations** (1776) and John Stuart Mill’s **On Liberty** (1859). Both analyses of commerce embody a justification of trade and the market economy in terms of a social ethic of

‘natural liberty’. This reasoning results in the conceptual positioning of so-called non-economic institutions and ideologies as disconnected from the economic and thus irrelevant to economic analyses. In addition, class, gender and race relations, through which economic activities are often mediated, are cast as unrelated to the functioning and structure of the global and national marketplace.

This view of the naturalized market validates the argument that the multilateral trading system will be of “immense unqualified benefit to the South and that developing countries should therefore hasten to integrate themselves fully into the world economy by extensive and rapid liberalisation” (South Centre, 1996). The questions: who decides what is to be produced, by whom, and at what price are of little relevance in this representation of a free market society. The assumption is that decisions will be based on efficiency, with the result being that processes and outcomes will be “best” and beneficial to all,² with every country and person competing on an equal footing.

Building on Polanyi's SRM, I argue that it is also important to consider the ways in which the market is constituted through relations of power and partially maintained by caring labour. To do this, I will situate my explorations within the trade-development-gender nexus. I argue that a gender sensitive framework for analyzing trade liberalisation policies and international trade requires interrogations of: (i) sanctioned international trade and development planning theories; (ii) the institutions through which they are formulated and promoted; (iii) the rules and mechanisms through which they are promoted at the international, regional and national levels; and (iv) their effects on women and men.³ This framework also constructs the space for identifying and redressing the discriminatory public policies that exist in such areas as education and employment.

The inclusion of gender as an analytical category in economic analysis expands its boundaries and horizons. This is clearly illustrated in the field of development planning with the shift in planning approaches from women in development (WID) to gender and development (GAD).⁴ According to Kabeer (1994), the shift from women to gender relations “was an attempt by some feminist scholars and practitioners to bring the power relations between women and men into the picture”. She noted that,

² This position is currently being tested with the debate on off-shore outsourcing (Mode I of the GATS) between India and the USA.

³ This framework is informed and inspired by the work of feminist economists who argue that economic knowledge is partial and informed by patriarchal assumptions (Ferber and Nelson, 1993). In addition to formulating gender sensitive development theories and policies to facilitate gender equity, they have argued that, and documented ways in which, development and economic restructuring policies and programmes/projects have had and continue to have differential effects on women and men (Bakker, 1994; Beneria and Bisnath, 2001; Beneria and Feldman, 1992; Elson, 1998b, 1993, and 1991; Elson, et al., 1997; and Kabeer, 1994).

⁴ See Beneria and Bisnath (2001) for theoretical and policy analyses of these two approaches.

such a theorization of gender and development focuses on the *construction and reinforcement of gender inequalities through the rules, procedures and practices of the key institutions through which development policies are formulated and enacted.*

Kabeer, 1994 (emphasis added)

Within the context of identifying the effects of trade liberalization policies on women and men Kabeer's analysis is relevant because it demands linking and analysing key ideologies, institutions and policies to discussions of the gendered dimensions of trade policy outcomes. For example, given the prevalence of labour market segmentation and segregation in production by sex, it is reasonable to assume that the implementation of trade liberalization policies will have a differential impact on women and men, which in turn informs the market structure of the economy.

Caring for the Economy

It is necessary to recognise the specific functional relationship between production and reproduction.

Picchio, 1992

Analysing the ways in which reproductive work maintains market structures is an essential element in facilitating a more complete understanding of trade liberalisation policies. To facilitate this project, and as Nelson (1993) argues, what is needed is a definition of economics "that considers humans in relation to the world". She adds that "focusing economics on the provisioning of human life, that is, on the commodities and processes necessary to human survival, provides such a definition". Analyses of the importance of reproductive work to the productive sector are also informed by post-structural critiques of enlightenment theories.⁵ This linkage enables the destabilisation of the artificial division between the public and the private spheres.

The division of the world into the economic and social or the public and private has resulted in both the theoretical isolation of the economy from the private or reproductive sphere, and an erasure of the role(s) of the latter in the maintenance and structure of the former. This omission enables conventional economists to exclude caring labour⁶ from their definitions of productive work. The value of reproductive work is also erased by those economic models that calculate production on the basis of monetarily compensated goods and services (Elson, 1993). This erasure has in turn facilitated the development of allocative and distributive policies that are gendered and often favour men, e.g., calculations of social security benefits are based on paid work. Standard economic definitions also exclude reproductive work from being valued as contributing to the economy because work is defined as a paid economic activity linked to the market.

⁵ See Michel Foucault's **The Order of Things** (1970), **Power/Knowledge** (1972), and **The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language** (1972).

⁶ Folbre (1995) defines caring labour as that which is "undertaken out of affection or a sense of responsibility for other people, with no expectation of immediate pecuniary reward".

In her article “Reproduction, Production and the Sexual Division of Labour” Beneria (1979) argued that

women’s participation in production, the nature of their work, and the division of labour between the sexes [can be] viewed as the result of women’s reproductive activities, and as conditioned by the nature of the productive process and by the requirements of a given process of growth and accumulation.

Thus, she argued, “an analysis of women’s role in reproduction is essential in order to understand the extent and nature of their participation in productive activities and of the sexual division of labour”. There are several advantages to this,

[o]ne is that [women] constitute a very flexible reserve of labour; under a wage labour system, they provide the source of cheapest labour and of profits for capitalist enterprises. [...] Finally, it is important to emphasize that women’s participation in non-domestic production is constrained by the requirements of their primary involvement in reproduction.

Beneria, 1979

However, this analysis has no explicit reference to men or gender relations. In addition, there is a lack of recognition that though “constrained”, women’s participation in reproductive activities has the potential to *reconstitute* productive activities.

In this regard, the macro-meso-micro model⁷ is of particular relevance to analyses of the gendered dimensions of trade because it reveals interdependence at three levels. It enables the interrogation and analysis of linkages and feedbacks between macro policies such as the GATS, meso level institutions such as firms and public service agencies, and the micro level effects at the household level. In terms of analysis of trade liberalization policies, this model facilitates an analysis of the ways in which gendered structures of production is linked to gender bias in access to resources, which is in turn informed by assumptions about the roles and capabilities of women and men and the political will for gender equality, which partially positions them in society and the labour market.

As Smith (1998) notes:

an individual is structurally positioned within hierarchical social, cultural, political and economic systems by forces and institutions that are prior to her will. These structural positions shape the individual’s life chances, for they situate her within the relatively stable networks of power relations that shape the distribution of material resources.

In other words, women and men’s structural positionings vary depending on their race, class, age and their country’s structural position in the international economic and political orders. Further, their choices and preferences are informed by their position in society. For example, within the neo-liberal framework, labour is assumed to be mobile. However, this assumption erases the facts that skilled labour tends to be

⁷ The macro-meso-micro framework was originally formulated by Cornia, et al., (1987) and further developed by Ferroni and Grootaert (1993).

more mobile than unskilled labour and that citizenship matters. It also fails to differentiate between the differences in the ability and cultural acceptability of female and male workers to move from one type of job to another, or to move from one spatial location to another in the pursuit of a job. Further, women's ability to enter markets as employees is often hampered by lower levels of education and skills qualification.

The model also enables an understanding of the fact that “while market expansion in many instances builds on and reinforces pre-existing gender relations, it may also destabilise such relations, and open up new spaces” (Sen, 1994) for participation. Consequently, political, cultural, religious and economic institutions, relations and ideologies⁸, which partially re/constitute and inform market relations become critical in analysing the terms through and on which women, men and nation-states enter and negotiate the global marketplace. Thus, uneven development between countries and asymmetrical power relations constitute situations where nation-states and women and men do not enter into, or participate in, international trade and the global economy on equal terms.

The WTO in Context

The Uruguay Round of trade negotiations occurred over a period of 13 years; from the initial call to action by the United States Trade Representative in May 1981 until the final signing ceremony in Marrakech in April 1994. It remains the longest event in commercial diplomatic history, with 123 country participants (see Table 1) and a wide-ranging agenda, including the regulation of trade in services, investments and intellectual property rights. In addition to broadening of the trade agenda, the Uruguay Round resulted in the establishment of the WTO as the multilateral regulator of international trade.

Table 1: GATT-WTO Members

Year	Negotiation	# of Countries
1994	end of Uruguay Round	123
1979	end of Tokyo Round	102
1967	end of Kennedy Round	62
1961	end of Dillon Round	26
1956	4 th trade round	26
1951	3 rd trade round	38
1949	2 nd trade round	13
1947	1 st trade round	23

Source: compiled by author from various GATT/WTO documents

⁸ Ideology, as Hall (1980) points out, partially provides coherence to social practices and is implicated in the construction of systems of meanings, concepts, categories and representations. It is a terrain on which relations among groups are formed.

Structural Adjustment

To more fully understand the significance and mandate of the World Trade Organization, it is important to locate the Uruguay Round within the geopolitical context of the world trading system and the international economy of the 1980s. The decade opened with the world economy in the middle of the second oil shock. In addition, many developing countries, particularly in Latin America, had accumulated large external debts that they had difficulty servicing, given the high interest rates of the early 1980s.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank attributed Latin America's financial crisis to internally determined factors, including mistaken policy choices. In particular, Latin American governments were accused of: (i) failure to sufficiently integrate the economies of their countries within the international economy; (ii) excessive state intervention; (iii) macroeconomic inefficiencies and the misallocation of resources; and (iv) policy errors (South Centre, 1996). However, as many scholars have argued, this conclusion is not adequately situated within an understanding of the roles of external factors in the crisis.⁹

Alternatively, and during the same period, the export-led growth economies of East Asia were very successful. The prosperity of the East Asian 'tigers', as they were named, was invoked by the International Financial Institutions to validate the argument that the import-substitution model of economic development, through which dependence on imports is reduced as a result of high levels of protection and public sector control, did not work. As a result economic liberalisation, privatisation and a diminished role of the state were the principle policy recommendations given to developing countries by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.¹⁰ This economic liberalisation route was promoted with the promise that such policies would prove to be as successful as in the case of East Asia.¹¹

As a result the 1980s was also a period of economic restructuring with increased emphasis on private sector driven growth facilitated by economic liberalization as a way of expanding openness and transparency. In particular, many developing countries, through World Bank inspired structural adjustment programmes, were (arguably) forced to change their economic strategies from infant industry protection and state-owned industries to one of privatisation and export-led growth. In this regard, the state was interpreted as an important promoter and facilitator of neoliberal policies. According to a World Bank report (1990) on structural adjustment lending, approximately 80 per cent of loans made during the period 1980-1987 required trade policy reforms, and nearly 40 per cent required liberalising reforms in the financial sector. Thus, it can be argued that the current

⁹ The same can be argued for the case of the East-Asian financial crisis in the 1990s.

¹⁰ This market-friendly approach to development is presented in the 1991 World Bank's **World Development Report**.

¹¹ The Bank disregarded the fact that the 'Asian tigers' also engaged in a high degree of state intervention and infant industry protection.

manifestation of economic globalisation has been partially facilitated by such attempts at economic liberalisation.

Economic Globalization

The 1980s also saw a deepening of markets across specific borders¹², facilitated by a surge in technological innovations centered on information technology and decreases in communication and transportation costs. These processes, more popularly referred to as economic globalisation, are deeply historical and geographically uneven.¹³ Globalisation partially results in an increase in the scope of the market and an intensification or deepening of the levels of interaction, interconnectedness and interdependence, albeit uneven, between and within states. Further, it is often invoked to define a set of processes, such as economic liberalisation, that give it its spatial effects and specificities (Gill, 2004 and 1995; and Kabeer and Humphrey, 1991).

Economic globalisation processes involve the promotion of neoliberal policies, are manifested in the spread of the 'free market' and partially rely on the deployment of specific regulatory mechanisms, such as trade rules that promote market access. However, and despite efforts at harmonisation, the economic and social effects of globalisation are uneven and unequal because they are partially constitutive of the levels of development and the positions of individual countries - in terms of production, distribution and consumption - within the world system. Thus, geopolitical history and power relations, as well as economic issues, become important when analysing the effects of neoliberal policies. For example, the realities of economic globalisation continue to intensify a tripolarization of industrial development in North America, Western Europe and Japan, while many developing countries are experiencing increasing levels of poverty and inequality. In particular, an increasing number of women and men are experiencing economic and social insecurity, including unemployment, loss of savings and decreased access to affordable health care, despite the promises of the Washington Consensus.¹⁴

It is important to note that the current manifestation of globalisation is not that of business as usual. As Held (1995) observes,

there is a fundamental difference between [...] the development of particular trade routes, [...] or even the global reach of nineteenth-century empires, and [...] dense networks of regional and global economic relations which stretch beyond the control of any single state, [...] instantaneous electronic

¹² Specifically the United States, Western Europe, Japan and Canada.

¹³ Generally speaking, there are multiple processes of globalisation, which interact in contingent and particular ways, have complex and contradictory effects and are in part politically constituted and contested. I will briefly discuss this topic here, for more complete analyses of globalisation see Appadurai (1996), Dicken (1998), Hirst and Thompson (1996), Nash (2000), and Scholte (1999).

¹⁴ See Sitglitz (2002) for a critique of the Washington Consensus.

communications, [and ...] a vast array of international regimes and organisations which can limit the scope for action of the most powerful states.

The World Trade Organization is one such institution. Given its mandate, and according to its former Director General, the “WTO is in a certain sense, a product and a symbol of the globalisation process” (Ruggiero, 1998a).

From GATT to the WTO

The idea for a multilateral trading system became apparent in the 1980s (GATT, 1985). During this time growth in foreign trade was concentrated in the manufacturing and service sectors and related to new investment projects and intra-firm shipments of components. This evolving and increasingly integrated relationship between trade in goods, services, investment, and technology reflected changing realities of the international economy and the consequent declining relevance of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade - both as an agreement and an institution. The latter’s failure primarily resulted from its limited mandate and focus on international trade in goods.

Second, several governments undermined the credibility and authority of the GATT by acting unilaterally. As Croome (1995) notes, for the GATT Secretariat:

the most striking feature of national trade policies was the contradiction between, on the one hand, a professed concern to preserve and develop the multilateral trading system based on the GATT and, on the other, a persistent tendency to undermine that system by taking restrictive action, outside its rules.

Finally, developing countries saw the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), rather than the GATT Secretariat, as the main institution through which they could promote their interests in international trade (Michalopoulos, 1998). Both their participation in trade negotiations and their representation in GATT reflected this assumption. According to Michalopoulos (1998), “many developing countries were not members [of GATT], and of those that were, a large number did not maintain official representatives resident in Geneva, but instead used representatives in other European capitals to cover GATT matters.”¹⁵ Given these realities, the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations attempted to reassert, broaden, deepen, and strengthen both the multilateral trading regime and economic liberalisation.

The 1980s was also a period during which the ideology of the ‘free market’ was strengthened. This culminated in 1989 when the world witnessed the beginnings of the reunification of Germany. In addition, the Soviet Union and almost all of the

¹⁵ For example because of the Lome Convention the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) member states have their Secretariat in Brussels. Since the formation of the World Trade Organization, however, they have set up an office in Geneva.

communist countries of Eastern Europe discarded their economic strategies based on central planning for the 'free market' approach. These events crystallised the dramatic changes in political and economic ideological orientations that took place during the end of the 20th century.

Across countries the policy responses to deepening market integration and economic liberalisation were wide ranging. Some were unilateral, as in the case of structural adjustment programmes, while many were regional in focus. For example, by the end of 1994 the GATT Secretariat had been notified of 108 regional trading arrangements, 33 of which were agreed upon in the 1990s (*Financial Times*, 28 April 1995). Today, almost every country of the 146 WTO member-states is involved in some kind of a trade group, albeit with varying intensities. At the international level, the multilateral policy response came through the Uruguay Round. According to the GATT Secretariat (1985), the Round was an attempt to tackle issues of strategic importance for the design and management of the global economy.

The *Punta del Este Declaration* (GATT, 1981) set out the agreed aims of the Round. It: (i) underlined the inter-relationship between trade, money, finance and development; (ii) argued for an improved trading environment; and (iii) emphasised the importance of concurrent actions to improve the functioning of the monetary and financial systems, as well as the flow of resources to developing countries. To this end, the negotiators set out to strengthen the GATT's institutional relationships with other multilateral institutions with responsibilities for trade, finance and development, specifically the World Bank and the IMF. According to the Declaration (GATT, 1981):

[t]he negotiations are to be aimed at liberalising and expanding world trade, to the benefit of all countries and especially developing countries, and are to include the improvement of access to markets by reducing and removing trade barriers. The negotiations are to help strengthen the interrelationship between trade and economic policies affecting growth and development, and contribute to improvement in the functioning of the international monetary system and the flow of finance and investment to developing countries.

The Uruguay Round was also acknowledged as an attempt to bolster, through trade liberalisation and a broadened institutional mandate, the declining credibility of the GATT. This was institutionally manifested in the formation of the World Trade Organization and the expansion of the multilateral trading system to include trade in investments, services and intellectual property rights. The social sector areas of environmental and development policies are also constituted in the regime as 'trade-related'. It is important to note that many of the new issues promoted and facilitated by the WTO are *new* in a fundamentally radical sense - they involve negotiations to be focused on what *prior* to the Uruguay Round were considered to be *domestic policies* under the GATT regime (Ostry, 1997). In addition, argues Ostry (1997), they are also "illustrative of the wider and ongoing trend to deeper integration, including

the push to regulatory convergence and harmonisation of legal systems in an increasingly legalistic global trade regime”.¹⁶

On 1 January 1995 the World Trade Organization was established as the legal and institutional foundation of the multilateral trading system. It provides the principal contractual obligations that determine the framework for, and implementation of, domestic trade legislation and regulations. The WTO is also the institution within which trade relations among nation-states evolve; through negotiations and adjudication. As such, it is the primary institution empowered to enforce and implement global economic governance.

The World Trade Organization embodies 50 years of multilateral trade negotiations in the GATT.¹⁷ It has two basic purposes: ensure the reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade; and eliminate discriminatory treatment. Within this context, its primary responsibilities are to: (i) facilitate the negotiation, implementation and operation of the multilateral trade agreements; (ii) provide a forum for further negotiations; (iii) administer the Dispute Settlement Understanding; (iv) monitor compliance of member-states through the implementation of the Trade Policy Review Mechanism; and (v) co-operate with the World Bank and the IMF to achieve greater coherence in economic policy making (World Trade Organization, 2002).

To facilitate this mandate specific differences have been built into the World Trade Organization. First, the GATT was a trade accord serviced by a professional secretariat (Pregg, 1995) while the WTO is a membership institution. Second, while the GATT covered trade in goods, the new trade agreements cover trade in services, intellectual property rights and aspects of development. Third, both the multilateral trade agreements and the World Trade Organization are permanent. Fourth, the new trade agreements are binding. These differences in organisational structure are important to note because they enable the WTO to promote greater legal coherence among the rights and obligations stipulated in the agreements than was afforded the GATT Secretariat.

Fifth, the WTO also provides a permanent forum for consultations and negotiations on an increasingly broad agenda affecting trade and investment in goods and services. This forum is more popularly known as the ‘built-in’ agenda. Sixth, with the ‘single undertaking’, members are required to accept all previous obligations with few exceptions. In other words, WTO members must accept *all* the obligations under the GATT and its corollary agreements, with a few exceptions negotiated in the

¹⁶ The latter point is exemplified in the discussions on domestic regulation in the GATS negotiations and the rulings of the Dispute Settlement Body.

¹⁷ The initial rounds of the GATT concentrated on tariff reductions. Between the period 1947 and 1961 there were five rounds of negotiations which progressively reduced the level of industrial tariffs.

Tokyo and the Uruguay Rounds, namely government procurement,¹⁸ civil aviation, beef and dairy products. Prior to the formation of the World Trade Organization nation-states were only required to adhere to those obligations pertaining to the trade agreements for which they were signatories. A significant difference between the GATT and the WTO is this ‘single undertaking’ which facilitates a key objective: that of more completely integrating developing countries into the multilateral trading regime. Finally, the World Trade Organization, through the implementation of agreements such as the GATS, has entered the domain of domestic regulation and governance.

Thus, the creation of the WTO has transformed the management of world trade in crucial ways. It: (i) promotes a shift from trade liberalisation based on tariff concessions to institutional practices and domestic regulations; (ii) expands the scope of issues to include services, investments, intellectual property rights and the environment and development, thus “changing the character of negotiations from a focus on bargaining over products to negotiations over policies that shape the conditions of competition” (Williams, 2004); and (iii) promotes policy harmonisation and cohesion across countries regardless of their levels of development. These changes also serve to redefine the relationships between nation-states and the women and men within them.

Free Traders Constructing Global Governance Architecture¹⁹

The positive outcome of the Uruguay Round is a major contribution towards more coherent and complementary international economic policies. [...] These improvements mean that trade policy can in the future play a more substantial role in ensuring the coherence of global economic policymaking.

World Trade Organization, 1998b

The effects of globalisation coupled with the perceived needs of the global economy are constituting an environment in which there is a demand for international co-operation and co-ordination facilitated by international institutions. Such co-operation is deemed necessary to manage tensions and conflicts that arise from increasing interdependence, address problems associated with market imperfections and economic and political insecurities²⁰, and facilitate the adoption and implementation of those rules and norms that promote the imperatives of the market. In other words, there is a perception that in the context of growing economic interdependence there is an increased need for the governance, harmonization and cohesion of economic policies in the global economy.

¹⁸ During the Singapore Ministerial government procurement was introduced as a possible area for negotiation. Developing country members are resistant to its inclusion.

¹⁹ I will focus on the role of the World Trade Organization as one of the three institutions responsible for global economic governance.

²⁰ Such as was experienced and/or witnessed during the East Asian and Russian financial crises, and more recently in Argentina.

As Ruggiero (1998c) noted,

We need a global architecture which will provide a framework for building and strengthening global consensus in an integrating world which will fill the gap between politics, still based on national constituencies and needs, and economics and technologies more and more borderless and based on global objectives.

Within this context an important function of the WTO is to co-operate with other multilateral institutions involved in global economic policy-making. The Marrakech Agreement states (World Trade Organization, 2002), “[w]ith a view to achieving greater coherence in global economic policy making, the WTO shall co-operate, as appropriate, with the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its affiliated agencies.”

Further, the rules of the multilateral trading system are assumed to link “the economic, social and environmental implications of trade, to the design and implementation of comprehensive and coherent policy, institutional and investment responses” (World Trade Organization, 1999a). In its statement on coherence the WTO notes that this task “falls primarily on governments at the national level, but their coherence internationally is an important and valuable element in increasing the effectiveness of these policies” (GATT, 1994). To facilitate the latter, in 1996 and 1997 the World Trade Organization concluded Cooperation Agreements with the IMF and World Bank. These Agreements provide for both regular consultations between the institutions, and a more systematic exchange of information. According to the WTO (1996),

[t]he IMF's macroeconomic information will be of great use to the WTO Secretariat, especially in the preparation of the in-depth and regular Trade Policy Reviews of each WTO Member. In turn, the IMF will have access to a wide range of WTO information, including its Integrated Data Base, which contains trade statistics and information on WTO Members' tariff rates; this is expected to help the Fund in its surveillance and lending activities.

Such co-ordination is assumed to be critical for the overall goal of integrating and regulating all countries into the global economy under the neoliberal rubric of economic growth and development.

The principle policy change advocated by these multilateral actors is the internationalisation of domestic economies through the liberalisation of trade and investment regimes. This translates to the formation of

an institutional and legal framework which supports the emergence of an enterprise-based and efficient public-sector; [...] the development of a competitive environment which enhances the efficient functioning of markets; [and] effective financial supervisory systems.

OECD, 1999a

Within this framework, prosperity is assumed to be generated through open competition among profit-seeking companies. In cases of ‘market failure’, member-states are rewarded for implementing the global trade rules because if they “fall into difficulties, international organisations will come to their rescue” (Financial Times, 18

April 1998).²¹ However, the latter is often driven by the desire to circumvent any possible risk to private sector interests.

This neoliberal framework is pursued in several ways, for example, the Doha Declaration points to the importance of mainstreaming trade into national plans in order that trade, finance, macroeconomic and development policies are mutually supporting. However, at the centre of the Doha Agenda and consistent with prior multilateral trade negotiations are issues pertaining to increased market access which have the potential to impact development policies and the lives of women and men. It can also be argued that this approach to international governance is imposing an economic order favourable mainly to the most powerful and industrialised countries and specific firms and workers within them.

Free Market Rules: Domestic Regulation and Shifting Roles of the State

The Services Agreement [...] relates to a wide range of policies, including investment, movement of persons. [...] This gives the WTO a strategic position both in terms of the international economic and the domestic policy agenda of each country.

Panitchpakdi, 2002

Liberalisation in many services sectors cannot be achieved without substantial domestic regulatory reforms.

Feketekuty, 2000: 90

A business oriented approach tends to treat national public policy only as an obstacle to be overcome.

Fuchs and Koch, 1996: 164

The Preamble establishing the World Trade Organization identifies the promotion of development through economic liberalization as a key priority and argues that international trade is critical for development and growth. Within this paradigm, the WTO and the trading agreements it facilitates are represented as a critical regime for promoting an enabling environment for economic development and indeed development in general.

Currently, of the 148 members in the WTO, 112 are developing countries. Given this constellation and within the context of development planning, the WTO is of the view that building the trade capacities of developing countries is a development problem which must be “jointly and urgently confronted by the trade and aid communities” (Ruggiero, 1999). Mainstreaming trade, for the multilateral trading system, involves the processes and methods of identifying and integrating trade

²¹ In 2004 the IMF announced the formation of the Trade Integration Mechanism (TIM) which is directed at WTO members who expect a "net balance of payments shortfall as a result of measures implemented by other members [...] The TIM does not cover balance of payments needs arising from reforms to a country's own trade regime." For details see: <http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2004/pr0473.htm>

priority policies and actions into the framework of development plans and poverty reduction strategies. This is underlined by the fact that neo-liberal ideology promotes the view that trade will contribute to development if economic reforms and trade liberalisation policies are accompanied by mutually supportive social and infrastructural policies. This opens up the space for bringing in issues of education and access to resources, as well as levels of development and readiness to develop export capacities.

However, the proponents of trade liberalisation often reject the view that unevenness in levels of development coupled with asymmetrical power relations at the national and international levels, constitute situations where countries and women and men do not enter and participate in markets on equal terms and policies are thus necessary to address inequities. On the contrary, informed by a belief in market efficiency, they promote the notion that stability in international trade relations can “only be secured through a mutually agreed system of rules”, and argue that this system gives “primacy to markets and not governments in determining economic outcomes” (World Trade Organization, 1998c).²²

Mainstreaming trade requires that governments: (i) give priority to the effective governance of the economy in order to encourage enterprise and trade; and (ii) strengthen policy dialogues with the private sector with the aim of establishing a cooperative relationship. According to the OECD (1997), the latter actions should aim to inform “the design of civil service reforms”. However, in anticipation of, and in order to circumvent, possible conflicts and tensions that could result from these reforms, developing countries are urged to engage in consultations with both the private sector and civil society. It is presumed that such consultations will facilitate an understanding of the “thrust and the benefits of policy reform programmes” (OECD, 1997), as well as engender a strong base of political support for the policy in question. This position creates a tension where on the one hand social issues are seen to be related to trade liberalization outcomes, but on the other, any substantive attempts to bring these issues into the debate are seen as outside the scope.

Developing countries in particular are actively encouraged to view the competitiveness of their national economies as the primary concern. This approach, it is officially assumed, will enable them to secure maximum levels of employment and increased access to the technology and revenues needed to compete internationally and maintain stability locally. In anticipation of possible negative effects during the process of liberalisation, citizens are encouraged to tighten their belts now – ‘because competing in the global economy requires it’ - for the promise of a better tomorrow.

Cox (1994) refers to the structural effects of this type of global governance on national policy making as the “internationalising of the state”. Within this context, state power is concentrated within and through those agencies in closest touch with the global economy, such as the offices of presidents and prime ministers, trade and

²² McMichael (1998) offers a critique of this position in his exploration of the World Trade Organization as a facilitator of development.

foreign ministries, and central banks. At the same time, the agencies more closely identified with social issues, such as the ministries of social development, education and health are marginalised. Thus, interministerial cooperation is necessary.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services is the first set of multilateral, legally enforceable rules regulating international trade in services and covers all government measures affecting services. A “measure”, according to *Article XXVIII (a)* of GATS, can be “a law, regulation, rule, procedure, decision, administrative action, or any other form” that is used to regulate services (World Trade Organization, 2002). As many have noted (Brookings-Wharton, 2000; and Fuchs and Koch, 1996), multinational corporations view domestic regulation as the most significant barrier to market access in the services sector. In addition, negotiations through the modes of supply²³ defined in the GATS will facilitate deeper and broader economic integration (Ostry, 1997) and are additional entry points for the further erosion of national regulations. It has been argued that the deployment of the GATS²⁴ has the potential to undermine democratic decision-making and human rights.²⁵

To date, domestic regulations are a significant means through which governments are able to exercise influence and control over services trade.²⁶ Further, many subsectors within the services sector, such as infrastructure services, are regulated with the aim to ensure a certain level of quality, to protect consumers or the environment. In the financial services sector regulation is deployed to ensure a country’s financial stability. Given the importance of domestic regulation in the services sector, governments are often cautious about adopting generalized rules. Acknowledging this caution, the GATS explicitly recognizes the right and need of members to enforce domestic policy objectives through regulation.

Within this context it is important for each WTO member to determine the extent to which disciplines affecting domestic regulations can be based on principles of economic efficiency and market access. Members may be affected at different and multiple levels: (i) at the level of the local service supplier (who may be forced to close up shop); (ii) at the level of the consumer (who may stand to gain from lower prices and increased choices or lose because of higher prices and loss of job); (iii) governments may have additional costs related to formulating and implementing new

²³ Mode I is defined as the cross border supply of a service, e.g., medical diagnosis; Mode II refers to consumption abroad, for instances when a service is consumed in the territory of the service supplier, e.g. tourism; Mode III covers commercial presence; and Mode IV refers to the presence of natural persons from one WTO member state who goes into the territory of another member in order to provide a service.

²⁴ The GATS negotiations are ongoing.

²⁵ See “Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: liberalization of trade in services and human rights”, a Report of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (2000), for a discussion of the links between trade liberalisation and human rights.

²⁶ Policy instruments affecting market access in services include customs valuation, classification and clearance procedures, licensing, rules of origin, import surveillance, standards, professional licensing systems, and immigration policies.

disciplines; and (iv) changes may impede development and equity goals and the ability of governments to facilitate such goals.

Policing the Gendered Dimensions of Trade

The sub-field of gender and trade is emerging from the intersecting disciplines of feminist economics and gender and development, both of which have engendered discussions of the market and directed attention to women's participation in the economy at the national and international levels. However, there is limited scholarship on the gendered dimensions of international trade in the post Uruguay Round context. There is also a need for research that document the ways in which the market structures of national economies and specific export sectors are reconstituted through gender relations when trade liberalization policies are deployed. Further, some of the literature either prioritises 'woman' as a category of analysis or conflates 'woman' with 'gender'. It is important to note that theories that promote an understanding of the effects of trade on women and or men are necessary and useful, however, they are limited in their capacities to analyse the roles of gendered relations in partially constituting the market structure of national economies, as well as the material realities of women as women and men as men engaged in remunerated and unremunerated work. Thus, both women and gender are necessary categories of analyses.

In documenting the gendered effects of the World Trade Organization agreements, a series of questions about the processes of economic liberalisation and international trade can be posed. The questions can include:

- How are women and men involved in the sectors that are being promoted for export positioned within the labour market, the “larger” society, their communities and their households?
- What types of sectoral restructuring and changes in domestic regulations are required to facilitate the trade agreements?
- In what sectors are women and men increasingly/decreasingly employed?
- Are the existing patterns of gendered production reinforced, or are women and men’s employment opportunities expanding and diversifying?
- Are costs of the export economy being externalised (shifted to the sphere of unpaid work) to facilitate competitiveness?
- Are the wages paid to women increasing in absolute terms or/and relative to men?
- Are there social policies in place to address the gendered effects of the implementation of the agreements?

Further, an assessment of the gendered impacts of trade reform would analyse: (i) changing patterns and conditions of work, including paid and unpaid work; (ii) changes in gender gaps in wages, earnings, patterns of ownership, and control over assets; (iii) shifts in consumption patterns; (iv) changes in the use of technology by men and women; (v) changes in public provisioning of services and their gendered impacts; and (vi) changes in the price of basic goods. It is also important to analyse

whether there are changes in the position and status of women and men within households, communities, the economy, and the society at large. Answers to these questions have the potential to provide insights into the ways in which gender inequalities may be intensified, reduced or reconstituted as a result of the multilateral trading regime and trade liberalisation policies.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the Uruguay Round negotiations and the establishment of the World Trade Organization have facilitated the formal integration of increasing numbers of countries into the global economy. In addition, it resulted in the emergence of a trading regime that extends beyond traditional trade matters to include issues of development and governance. The deployment of the neoliberal belief that unfettered trade will lead to greater competition, efficiency, and development translates at the national level into the promotion of an international trade-friendly policy environment that facilitates both the economic liberalisation of developing countries, and the implementation of the multilateral trade agreements. However, to date these policies have had uneven results within and across countries.

The multilateral trading system is in part a discursive formation from which trade liberalisation and the disciplinary functions of neoliberalism are promoted. The neoliberal policies, embedded within the ideology of 'free trade' and the theory of comparative advantage, are promoted with little regard to national specificities and the assumption that trade occurs on a level playing field within a rules-based system. Further, the effects of trade policies on women and men are assumed to be outside the preview of the multilateral trading system.

Given that trade is a means of achieving increased levels of development and well-being, data on the ways in which trade policies may improve or erode the well being of women and men are essential to discussions of the multilateral trading system. It is also important to document and analyse the ways in which the formal and informal economic participation of women and men, as well as their contributions through unpaid labour, are informed by shifts in economic policymaking at the global and national levels. Such data will enable trade negotiators to better interpret new trade rules alongside equity and development goals.

References

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. **Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation**. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bakker, Isabella ed. 1994. **The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy**. London: Zed Books.
- Beneria, Lourdes. 2003. **Gender, Development and Globalization: Economics as if All People Mattered**. New York: Routledge.
- Beneria, Lourdes. 1999. "Global Markets, Gender and the Davos Man", in Feminist Economics, 5(3).
- Beneria, Lourdes. 1979. "Reproduction, production and the sexual division of labour", in Cambridge Journal of Economics, 3(3): 203-205.
- Beneria, Lourdes with Savitri Bisnath eds. 2001. **Gender and Development: Theoretical, Empirical and Practical Approaches**. Cheltenham Edward Elgar Publishers.
- Beneria, Lourdes and Shelly Feldman eds. 1992. **Unequal Burden: Economic Crisis, Persistent Poverty and Women's Work**. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Brookings-Wharton. 2000. "Papers on Financial Services: Comments and Discussion." Washington DC: John Hopkins University Press.
- Cornia, N., Richard Jolly and F. Stewart eds. 1987. **Adjustment with a Human Face**. Vol. 1. Clarendon Press.
- Cox, Robert W. 1994. "Global Restructuring: Making Sense of the Changing International Political Economy", in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey P.D. Underhill eds. **Political Economy and the Changing Global Order**. St. Martin's Press.
- Croome, John. 1995. **Reshaping the World Trading System: A History of the Uruguay Round**. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.
- Dicken, Peter. 1998. **Global Shift: Transforming the World Economy**. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Elson, Diane. 1998a. "The Economic, the Political and the Domestic: Businesses, States and Households in the Organisation of Production", in New Political Economy, 3(2): 189-208.
- Elson, Diane. 1998b. "Talking to the boys: gender and economic growth models", in Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson eds. **Feminist Visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy**. London: Routledge.
- Elson, Diane. 1993. "Gender-aware Analysis and Development Economics, in Journal of International Development, 5(2): 237-247. March-April.

Elson, Diane. 1991. **Male Bias in the Development Process: Contemporary Issues in Development Studies**. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Elson, Diane; Barbara Evers and Jamie Gideon. 1997. "Concepts and Sources", Gender Aware Country Economic Reports, Working Paper No. 1. University of Manchester.

Feketekuty, Geza. 2000b. "Assessing and Improving the Architecture of GATS", in Pierre Sauve and Robert M. Stern eds. **GATS 2000: new directions in services trade liberalisation**. Washington DC: Bookings Institute Press.

Ferber, Marianne and Julie Nelson eds. 1993. **Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics**. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ferroni, M. And Grootaert, C. 1993. "The Social Dimensions of Policy Reform: Concepts, Data Analysis", in L. Demery, M. Ferroni and C. Grootaert eds. **Understanding the Social Policy Effects of Policy Reform**. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Financial Times. 1998. "The Global Standard". 18 April.

Folbre, Nancy. 1995. "Holding Hands at Midnight: the Paradox of Caring Labour", in Feminist Economics, 1(1): 73-92. Spring.

Foucault, Michel. 1972a. **The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language**. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1972b. **Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977**. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, Michel. 1970. **The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences**. New York: Vintage.

Fuchs, Gerhard and Andrew M. Koch. 1996. "The Globalisation of Telecommunications and the Issue of Regulatory Reform", in Eleonore Kofman and Gillian Youngs eds. **Globalization: Theory and Practice**. London: Pinter.

GATT. 1985. **Trade Policies for a Better Future: Proposals for Action**. Geneva: GATT.

GATT. 1994. "Declaration on the Contribution of the World Trade Organisation to Achieving Greater Coherence in Global Economic Policymaking". Geneva: GATT.

GATT. 1981. "Puente del Este Declaration". Geneva: GATT.

Gill, Stephen. 2004. "Towards a Stark Utopia? New Constitutionalism and the Politics of Globalisation", in Lourdes Beneria and Savitri Bisnath eds. **Global Tensions: Opportunities and Challenges in the World Economy**. New York: Routledge.

Gill, Stephen. 1995. "Globalisation, market civilisation, and disciplinary neoliberalism", in Millennium, 23(3): 399-423.

Hall, Stuart. 1980. "Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance", in UNESCO ed. **Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism**. Paris: UNESCO.

Held, David. 1995. **Democracy and the Global Order**. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hirst, P and G. Thompson. 1996. **Globalisation in Question: the International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance**. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jameson, Fredric. 1991. **Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism**. Durham: Duke University Press.

Kabeer, Naila. 2000. **Power to choose: Bangladeshi women and labour market decisions in London and Dhaka**. London: Verso.

Kabeer, Naila. 1994. **Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought**. London: Verso.

Kabeer, Naila and John Humphrey. 1991. "Neo-liberalism, Gender and the Limits of the Market", in Christopher Colclough and James Manor eds. **States or Markets? Neoliberalism and the Development Policy Debate**. Clarendon Press.

Lamy, Pascal. 2000. "Trade is changing – so must Europe", in Financial Times, 5 December

Lim, Linda. 1985. "Women Workers in Multinational Enterprises in Developing Countries". Geneva: ILO.

McGrew, Anthony. 1997. "Globalisation and territorial democracy: an introduction, in Anthony McGrew ed. **The Transformation of Democracy?** Cambridge: Polity Press. Michalopoulos, Constantine. 1998. "The Participation of the Developing Countries in the WTO." Washington DC: World Bank.

McMichael, Philip. 1998. "Implications of a WTO regime for global inequality". Paper prepared for the 93rd annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August 23.

Mill, John Stuart. 1978 (1859). **On Liberty**. Cambridge: Hackett Publishing.

Moghadam, Valentine. 1999. "Gender and Globalisation: Female Labour and Women's Mobilisation", in Journal of World Systems Research, V(2): 367-388.

Nash, Kate. 2000. **Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalisation, Politics and Power**. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Nash, June and Maria Fernandez-Kelly eds. 1983. **Women, Men, and the International Division of Labor**. Albany: SUNY Press.

Nelson, Julie A. 1993. "The Study of Choice or the Study of Provisioning? Gender and the Definition of Economics", in Ferber, Marianne and Julie Nelson eds. 1993. **Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics**. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

OECD. 1999. **Trade, Investment and Development: Policy Coherence Matters**. Paris: OECD.

OECD. 1997. "Integrating Developing Countries in a Globalising World Economy: Key points emerging from the DAC informal experts meeting on Capacity Development for Trade", 11 March. Working Paper No. 59. Paris: OECD.

Ostry, Sylvia. 1997. **The Post-Cold War Trading System: Who's on First?** Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Panitchpakdi, Supachai. 2002. "From Doha to Cancun and Beyond". Address to the General Assembly of Swiss Bankers Association, Basel, 20 September. Geneva: World Trade Organization.

Petrella, Riccardo. 1996. "Globalisation and Internationalisation: the dynamics of the emerging world order", in Robert Boyer and Daniel Drache eds. **States Against Markets: the limits of globalisation**. London: Routledge.

Polanyi, Karl. 1944. **The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time**. Boston: Beacon Press.

Picchio, Antonella. 1992. **Social Reproduction: the political economy of the labour market**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pregg, Ernest H. 1995. **Traders in a Brave New World: the Uruguay Round and the Future of the International Trading System**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1999. "The New Multilateral Trade Negotiations, the European Union and its Developing Country Partners: An Agenda for Action". Address to the REX Committee of the European Parliament, Brussels, 18 February. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1998a. "A New Partnership for a New Century: Sustainable Global Development in a Global Age". Address to the Bellerive/Globe International Conference, 23 March. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1998b. "The Trading System of the Future: Challenges and Opportunities". Address for the ICC's World Business Dialogue, Geneva, 23 September. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1998c. "The Trading System of the Future: Challenges and Opportunities". Address for the ICC's World Business Dialogue, Geneva, 23 September. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1998d. "Towards GATS 2000 – a European Strategy." Address given in Brussels to the Conference on Trade in Services, Organised by the European Commission. Geneva: World Trade Organization.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1997. "An Enabling Environment for Development: the Contribution of the Multilateral Trading System". Address to ECOSOC. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

Ruggiero, Renato. 1996. "Trading Towards Peace". Address to the MENA III Conference in Egypt. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

Scholte, Jan Aart. 1999. "Globalisation: prospects for a paradigm shift", in Martin Shaw ed. **Politics and Globalisation: Knowledge, ethics and agency**. London: Routledge.

Sen, Gita. 1994. "Markets and States". Global Studies Research Program Working Paper Series No. 7. September.

Smith, Adam. 1993 (1776). **An inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations**. A selection edited by Kathryn Sutherland. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Anna Marie. 1998. **Laclau and Mouffe: the Radical Democratic Imaginary**. London: Routledge.

South Centre. 1996. **Liberalisation and Globalisation: Drawing Conclusions for Development**. Geneva: Atar.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2002. **Globalization and its Discontents**. New York: Norton.

Williams, Marc. 2004. "Contesting Global Trade Rules: Social Movements and the World Trade Organisation", in Lourdes Beneria and Savitri Bisnath eds. **Global Tensions: Challenges and Opportunities in the World Economy**. New York: Routledge.

World Bank. 2000a. **World Development Indicators 2000**. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. 1991. **World Development Report: The Development Challenge**. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. 1990. "Report on Structural Adjustment Lending: Policies for the Recovery of Growth". Washington DC: World Bank.

World Trade Organization. 2002. **The Legal Texts: Final Act**. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organisation. 2001. Sub-Committee on Least Developed Countries. Integrated framework seminar. The policy relevance of mainstreaming trade into country development strategies: perspectives of least-developed countries. WT/LDC/SWG/IF/9/Rev. 1. January 10. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organisation. 1999a. "Joint Statement by the Heads of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation (WTO)". Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organisation. 1999b. "EC Approach to Capacity Building and Coherence in Global Economic Policy-Making." Communication from the European Communities. WT/GC/W/297. 5th August. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organisation. 1998a. **Trading into the Future: Introduction to the WTO**. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organisation. 1998b. **Trading into the Future: Introduction to the WTO**. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organization. 1998c. "Health and Social Services". Background Note by the Secretariat S/C/W/50. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.

World Trade Organisation. 1996. "WTO and IMF sign co-operation agreement." PRESS/62. 9 December. Geneva: World Trade Organisation.