

Increasing Gender Inputs into Canadian International Trade Policy Positions at the WTO

by

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Kartini International

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ABSTRACT

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is negotiating trade agreements that could have powerful positive and negative impacts on different groups of women and men in Canada. To date, the consideration of gender issues in this process has been minimal within Canada's trade policy development process and at the WTO. To help redress this gap, we have developed a draft gender and trade advocacy model and a trade-focussed gender analysis tool. The advocacy model is designed to serve an advisory role to the core Canadian public sector bodies responsible for developing Canada's negotiating positions at the WTO. The trade-focussed gender analysis framework is designed to help non-economists analyze the impact of WTO trade agreements on specific groups of women and men. The advocacy model and gender analysis tool were field-tested through an on-line national focus group. This feedback was subsequently incorporated into the design and the accompanying recommendations for follow-up actions within the public sector. This research is complemented by a summary of the key gender issues related to specific WTO trade agreements.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAFC	Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada
AOA	Agreement on Agriculture
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
EEC	European Economic Community
FSA	Financial Services Agreement
FTA	Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GAM	Gender Analysis Matrix
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDI	Gender Development Index
HRSDC	Human Resources and Skills Development Canada
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IGTN	International Gender and Trade Network
ILO	International Labour Organization
IWGGT	Informal Working Group on Gender and Trade
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NFWBO	National Foundation of Women Business Owners
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSACSW	Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women
OAS	Organization of American States
SAGITs	Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade
SCFAIT	Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SOM	Senior Officials Meeting
SPS	Sanitary and Phyto-sanitary Standards Agreement
SWC	Status of Women Canada
TPRM	Trade Policy Review Mechanism
TRIMS	Trade Related Investment Measures
TRIPS	Trade Related Intellectual Property Measures
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organization
WEEF	Women's Empowerment and Equality Framework
WLN	Women Leaders Network
WTO	World Trade Organization

PREFACE

Good public policy depends on good policy research. In recognition of this, Status of Women Canada instituted the Policy Research Fund in 1996. It supports independent policy research on issues linked to the public policy agenda and in need of gender-based analysis. Our objective is to enhance public debate on gender equality issues to enable individuals, organizations, policy makers and policy analysts to participate more effectively in the development of policy.

The focus of the research may be on long-term, emerging policy issues or short-term, urgent policy issues that require an analysis of their gender implications. Funding is awarded through an open, competitive call for proposals. A non-governmental, external committee plays a key role in identifying policy research priorities, selecting research proposals for funding and evaluating the final reports.

This policy research paper was proposed and developed under a call for proposals in August 2001, entitled *Trade Agreements and Women*. Research projects funded by Status of Women Canada on this theme examine issues such as gender implications of Canada's commitments on labour mobility in trade agreements; the effect of trade agreements on the provision of health care in Canada; the social, economic, cultural and environmental impacts of free trade agreements on Canadian Aboriginal women; building Canadian models of integrating gender perspective into trade agreements; the repercussions of the trade agreements on the proactive employment equity measures for women that are applicable to private-sector employers in Canada; and the effects of trade agreements on women with disabilities.

A complete list of the research projects funded under this call for proposals is included at the end of this report.

We thank all the researchers for their contribution to the public policy debate.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

International trade policy generally has different impacts on women and men due to their different socio-economic conditions in life. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is negotiating trade agreements that could have powerful positive and negative impacts on different groups of women and men in Canada. The consideration of gender issues in this trade negotiation process has been minimal to date at both the WTO and within Canada's trade policy development process. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) has a consultative process to obtain input from Canadians on Canada's trade policy and negotiating positions at the WTO. However, this process has not yet explicitly and systematically considered the need to include a gender perspective in Canada's trade policy. Consequently, women's voices have been mostly absent from this process.

To redress this problem, we have developed a draft gender and trade advocacy model and a gender and trade policy analysis tool. The advocacy model is designed to serve an advisory role to the core Canadian public-sector bodies responsible for the development of Canada's negotiating positions at the WTO or that influence this process. This includes DFAIT, Industry Canada and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (AAFC) as well as Status of Women Canada (SWC) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

We recommend a gender and trade advocacy model in the form of a joint committee with representatives from the public and private sectors, civil society and academe, and a focus on getting the Canadian government to promote the systematic integration of gender issues in trade policies and agreements at the WTO. We also recommend that this Committee have a similar degree of authority to that of the Team Canada Inc. Advisory Board. In this way, any input it provides to the Canadian government would be a two way process with a degree of accountability built into it.

To support the work of the joint committee, we developed a gender and trade policy analysis tool to assist any demographic or interest group trying to assess the possible and actual impact of the WTO's trade agreements on specific groups of women and men in Canada and to provide input to the Canadian trade policy development process. We based this gender analysis tool on existing gender analysis models related to policy and have adapted it to analyze specific dimensions of trade policy from a gender perspective. We also designed the analysis tool for use by non-economists.

We asked for feedback and comments on the draft gender and trade advocacy model and the draft gender and trade policy analysis tool through two processes. The first was to field test the gender and trade policy analysis tool at a pilot workshop on gender integration with policy staff from the Organization of American States. The second was to organize an on-line national-level focus group in English and French. We invited a diverse group of Canadian individuals and organizations with a demonstrated interest in gender and trade issues to give feedback on the advocacy model and gender analysis tool and, subsequently, made revisions based on this feedback.

We reported on the specific comments and recommendations made by focus group participants and drafted a series of recommendations directed at the public sector regarding future actions they could take to ensure that gender perspectives are incorporated in a systematic way in Canada's trade policy positions at the WTO and to promote the adoption of a gender integration policy by the WTO. These recommendations focus on initiatives SWC, DFAIT, CIDA and AAFC could undertake to support the adoption of a gender integration policy at the WTO, such as working with other countries to lobby for the integration of a gender mainstreaming policy. They call on DFAIT to institute the systematic use of gender analysis and impact studies in the development of Canadian trade policy, particularly within the context of the WTO. There is a need for the Canadian government to help initiate and support the formation of a multi-sector advocacy committee on gender and trade issues at the WTO to ensure there is direct input from Canadian women from diverse sectors within the trade policy development process.

To help put the primary issues related to gender and trade at the WTO into a more relevant context for more Canadians, we also prepared a brief description of how the WTO is structured and a summary of the key gender issues related to specific WTO trade agreements identified by different organizations and researchers as critical.

1. DEVELOPING A CANADIAN ADVOCACY AND GENDER ANALYSIS MODEL

Trade policy is not gender neutral. The move toward increasing trade liberalization globally means it is critical to understand the different impacts trade policies can have on women and men, because of the different conditions they face in any given situation. At the same time, most governments and multilateral trade organizations state that the ultimate goal of their trade liberalization policies is to attain sustainable development and economic prosperity for their populations. We posit that without the active participation of women and the serious consideration of gender issues in the trade debate, this goal cannot be attained. We also argue that without conducting a proper gender analysis, it will not be possible to determine the full impact of international trade policies on diverse populations within a country.

The Canadian government has been quite proactive and innovative with regard to gender and trade policy, and in providing program supports for women entrepreneurs and exporters. Many of these initiatives have been highly successful. Although there is a high level of interest in international trade policy issues at fairly senior levels, at the time of the original research for this study¹ the Canadian government did not yet use a consistent approach to integrating gender issues into its trade policy. This is particularly critical when we look at the potential impact of existing trade agreements being negotiated at the World Trade Organization (WTO).

The WTO trade negotiation process is highly complex and time consuming. It is also government led. As such, it is not an easy process for external groups to influence. There is also a general lack of awareness of the strong links between gender and trade among trade and other government officials. With the exception of a small informal coalition of women's organizations known as the Women's Caucus, even many civil society organizations advocating for change at the WTO tend to focus more on governance and labour issues at the WTO than they do on gender.

These factors provide a strong argument for the establishment of a Canadian advocacy body focussed on gender and trade to provide input into the development process of Canadian positions on WTO trade agreements and negotiation processes. To be effective, this advocacy needs to be multi-sectoral in its representation. Without this collaboration, it is unlikely the voice of any sector will be strong enough to promote the integration of gender perspectives in Canada's trade policy positions at the WTO. This may create a challenge, because many specific interest and demographic groups within Canada have conflicting agendas and disagree on what Canadian trade policy positions should be at the WTO.

We propose that the Canadian government, through the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), along with Industry Canada, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (AAFC), and Status of Women Canada (SWC), take the lead in working with the private, civil society and academic sectors to form a joint committee or working group to provide substantive input

on the development of gender-sensitive Canadian positions related to WTO negotiations. To assist in this process, we also developed a trade-focussed gender analysis tool designed for use by both non-economists and economists.²

Regardless of which theory informs the positions presented, all can benefit from having access to gender-based analysis tools to strengthen and support their advocacy positions. In seeking to find effective ways to advocate for the more institutionalized use of gender analysis within the WTO process and in using these tools themselves, it may also be possible to generate increased consensus on some common gender and trade advocacy issues.

Methodology

The research required for this report involved the following steps.

- Conduct a literature review on gender and trade issues in Canada and at the WTO, and on gender analysis models related to policy.
- Interview 10 officials from SWC, Industry Canada and DFAIT that work in the international trade area and 20 officials from a range of programs at CIDA.
- Develop a draft advocacy model related to gender and trade at the WTO to provide input on the development of Canadian trade policy positions at the WTO.
- Select a gender and policy analysis model, based on the literature research, and adapt it to fit a more trade-focussed gender analysis framework. Bring in elements of other gender analysis tools and include additional and more specific categories of analysis in the adapted tool.
- Field test the adapted model as part of a training process on gender integration with policy makers at the Organization of American States (OAS).
- Organize a national on-line focus group in English and French to obtain feedback on the draft gender and advocacy model and the draft gender and trade policy analysis tool.
- Further refine and adapt the gender and trade advocacy model and the gender and trade policy tool, using feedback from the focus group.
- Integrate feedback from the SWC research advisory committee for the final revisions.

Contents and Approach

The goal is to provide Canadians with a gender advocacy model to support their lobby efforts within the WTO and with their own communities. Set up as a generic model that can incorporate diverse demographic groups, it is designed to facilitate the input of Canadians

regarding the most effective ways to integrate gender issues in the development of Canadian trade policy positions at the WTO.

The premise of the advocacy model is that working to change existing systems from within and to make them more responsive to diverse external forces is an effective form of advocacy. Other advocacy strategies are also important within the Canadian political and international landscape, but not all of these operate most effectively within or alongside the Canadian governmental system. There is a strong need for a nationally focussed gender and trade advocacy model that does work in this manner and can complement, but not replace, other advocacy efforts that focus on a total transformation of patriarchal trading and political systems.

The report is divided into seven sections:

- the rationale for linking trade and gender;
- the different gender roles Canadian women play within an international trade context;
- the advocacy model proposal;
- the trade-focussed gender analysis tool and how to apply it;
- the results of national focus group responses to the advocacy and gender analysis models;
- a series of public policy recommendations related to the proposed advocacy process and use of the gender analysis tool; and
- the key gender issues related to WTO trade agreements and their implications for future Canadian trade policy research.

This analysis is presented from the perspective of women as traders and business owners, workers, mothers and family caregivers, and as consumers. Access and control issues related to gender and trade policy development are also discussed.

The focus is on micro and small enterprises where the vast majority of women business owners are concentrated in Canada. Given the nature of the Canadian economy, the analytical focus is on women entrepreneurs, producers and workers in the formal sector. The focus is on the role of the public sector in Canada since the WTO system is a government-led process. The advocacy and gender analysis models help the private, civil and academic sectors influence government processes related to Canada's trade negotiations at the WTO.

The gender analysis framework further complements this process. It facilitates analysis of the differences and relations between women and men in any given sector or situation related to trade. It does not presuppose that all women are always disadvantaged and that all men are always in a predominant position. Rather, it examines the factors that determine the actual condition of women and men in a particular sector and the specific policy supports they each need to achieve overall prosperity and meet their priority needs.

Women's voices are almost totally missing in the gender and trade debates at the WTO.

This is a serious omission the Canadian government needs to work actively to address. The advocacy and gender analysis models represent one attempt to ensure the different voices of Canadian women are heard at the negotiating table. For that reason, the advocacy model is multi-sectoral, and the gender analysis model focusses on identifying all the demographic groups that need to be considered and consulted in the development of Canadian trade policy at the WTO.

2. WHY GENDER AND TRADE?

What Is Gender?

The first step in understanding the connection between gender and trade is to define and understand gender. It is not synonymous with or restricted to women's issues. Rather, it refers to the socially determined relations between women and men, the ways in which they interact and the impact their different roles, expectations and conditions have on each other, on themselves and on the opportunities they have.

This study looks at the diverse gender roles women and men play, and their implications for Canadian trade policy from the perspective of both gender equality and gender equity. In this instance, gender equality refers to making things equal for both sexes while gender equity is achieving fairness for both sexes. The latter aims to achieve equality in the results as opposed to relying solely on trying to promote equal opportunities for women and men. The reason for this is that women and men may not assign the same priorities to specific aspects of international trade development as they experience different conditions and places within the international marketplace. For a trade policy to be equitable from a gender perspective, it may need to include two entirely different clauses to address women and men's differing needs and conditions as well as those of different demographic and economic groups.

Currently, there is a strong male perspective or bias in the way trade policy has been developed, in its impact and in the issues considered important in the international trade arena. For these reasons, although gender-based analysis focusses on the impact of women and men's social and economic relationships to each other, this study highlights the key trade issues of critical importance to women in Canada. The goal is to create a deeper awareness and understanding of these trade-related gender issues, and of how they fit within the context of gender relations globally, and within Canada.

First, however, the meaning of gender relations in this context needs to be understood. The basic premise is that women and men experience different socio-economic conditions in all societies. Therefore, any trade policy potentially has a different impact on men than it does on women as well as on different sub-groups of men and women. Any effective gender analysis must also consider issues of class, race, ethnicity and other key identifiers, as well as the issue of power relations between women and men in all these categories of analysis. It is also necessary to examine how specific trade policies affect women and men's access to, and control over, the resources they need to earn a living, manage their households and interact within their communities.

The Connection Between Gender and Trade

Women as Economic Actors

Canadian women are significant economic actors in their roles as business owners (producers of goods and services) and workers. They also actively support the global and local economies by ensuring other workers — men and children — are fed, clothed, adequately housed and

ready to work. They serve as the primary caretakers of young children and elderly, sick or disabled family members. Women also contribute a considerable amount of unpaid labour to support core community social and political activities. Trade policy and practice tends to overlook and exclude women's multiple roles, because much of women's work is unpaid and, therefore, is not recorded in national statistics, and the more traditional gender roles of Canadian women are often undervalued.

There is also a tendency to regard women as passive actors in the whole trade debate. We argue that women's paid and unpaid labour in the productive, reproductive and social/political spheres³ is the foundation to the success of existing trading patterns, and women's labour is a key element that fuels the international trading system. An understanding of this concept is a critical starting point for any trade-focussed, gender-based analysis.

Two main arguments support this premise. First, women contribute much more to the productive sector of the economy than is generally acknowledged. For example, women own between one fourth and one third of businesses worldwide (NFWBO 1997). Of this group, 39 percent of women business leaders are involved in international trade (NFWBO 1998). This pattern also holds true in the Canadian context.⁴

The second is that women contribute a substantial amount of unpaid labour in family businesses, on family farms, in the household and community, and in the informal sector. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) calculated official global market transactions at \$US23 trillion of global output. In 1995, the UNDP determined that if the world's unpaid activities were treated as market transactions at prevailing wages, they would represent \$US16 trillion. Women's share of this non-monetized and invisible contribution is \$US11 trillion (UNDP 1995: 57-59). To put this figure into perspective, if we add the global market transactions to the UNDP estimate for the unpaid global output, women's share of the total is over 28 percent with *just* their unpaid contributions. If the data on the official global output were available in a sex-disaggregated format, given the extent of women's business ownership and their overall contribution as both paid and unpaid workers, we believe this figure would easily be 50 percent or higher.

Women's contribution to global output means they are major stakeholders in the international trade process. If the global economy was a company and women were allocated shares based on their performance and contribution, they would be in a significant voting position.

Not only do women have a unique perspective to offer, their concerns generally include a much wider grouping of people than just themselves as individuals. World Bank economists have shown that in many countries money invested in women generally has a positive impact on their children and immediate families, a finding that has long-term implications for the success of the country's growth and development (Tzannatos 1991).

Link Between Poverty and Gender

Another key factor that international trade policy needs to take into account is the strong link between poverty and gender. The United Nations estimates that 70 percent of the world's

poor are women and girls (White 2002: 5). A key reason for this correlation relates to women's primary unpaid work in childbearing and rearing. In a world that is increasingly focussed economically and monetarily, many countries, including Canada, have assigned a low status and value to women's reproductive work.

Women's domestic responsibilities also take considerable time and compete with the time they have to earn a cash income. Even in Canada after years of social and economic changes that promote greater gender equality in the labour force, women still earn, on average, one-third less than men. While Canadian women are now paid similar wages when they work in the same jobs as men, more women are still in job sectors that pay significantly less than those that are male dominated. Women workers also still experience systemic discrimination related to employment choices. Their lower incomes and some lingering impacts of a predominantly patriarchal system have also meant that until recently Canadian women have had significantly less access to property and other assets than men.

A detailed analysis of the underlying causes of poverty for women and girls in Canada would bring to light numerous other factors related to gender equality (e.g., the link between marital status and poverty or the impact of the reduction of social services on female poverty and workloads). Since it touches on so many aspects of people's lives and is supposed to lead to general prosperity for a much wider proportion of the world's population, international trade policy makers also need to analyze the links between gender, poverty and trade. The three are inextricably linked.

Differential Trade Policy Impact

Because women work in so many different spheres at the same time, it is important to assess the potential impact of trade policy in the three main spheres of women's work. A policy with a positive impact in one sphere may have an offsetting negative impact in another. For example, trade liberalization has created employment opportunities for women in the manufacturing sector in developing countries. However, for some women it has also led to an increase in the length of their workday and a decrease in their labour rights. While women's economic and social statuses have increased in some families, because they are earning an income, sometimes it is at the expense of their legal status and health, due to the additional time worked or exposure to unsafe working conditions. There is a need to conduct a similar analysis in a Canadian context.

With the complexity of gender relations and the many intricate factors that determine the division of labour between women and men in all three spheres of work, it is not possible to look at trade policy as a "one size fits all" kind of intervention. Trade liberalization is not a magic prescription that will automatically benefit all groups of women and men. Cagatay (2001: 5) observed that women and men have "a different command over resources within the economy." Due to this and their different conditions, trade policies affect them differently.

The flip side of this premise is that pervasive existing gender inequalities can act as a brake on economic growth (Cagatay 2001: 5). Not only does trade policy have an impact on women, but women have an impact on trade policy. Recent studies show that gender inequality is a

key factor determining the speed of national economic growth rates, and gender issues have a strong impact on the economic efficiency of a country.

Tzannatos (1991), a World Bank economist, noted that research on gender inequality in the labour market shows that eliminating gender discrimination in job opportunities and pay could increase women's income and the national income. In Latin America, economists have projected that not only could women's wages rise by about 50 percent, but national output could rise by five percent as a result of the more efficient allocation of labour (Tzannatos 1991). If women have more money to invest in their own businesses and to purchase consumer items, this will have a positive impact on sustainable economic growth in their countries, particularly as women-owned businesses tend to start small and invest in the local economy before moving onto the international arena. A strong local economy is in a much better position to respond to the opportunities created by trade liberalization or to adapt to and protect itself from the more intense competition trade liberalization brings.

In Canada, although there have been changes in recent years, there remains an unequal sexual division of labour in the reproductive sector that limits the opportunities women traders and entrepreneurs have related to exporting, business growth and development. They still carry a double workload in the workplace and at home. This limits the time they have available to grow their businesses. It also can have a negative impact on women workers as it reduces their opportunities for upgrading work skills.

Tibaijuka (1994: 5) observed: "Women's time burdens are an important constraint on growth and development — women are [actually] an over-utilized, not an under-utilized resource. The benefits of weakening this constraint can be considerable."

While the results of these studies may initially seem to stray a bit from the trade policy debate in Canada, there is actually a strong correlation. Cagatay (2001: 5-7) observed that mainstream trade theory is based on the premise that trade liberalization will promote production specialization according to each nation's comparative advantage. This is supposed to lead to a more efficient allocation of resources in the world economy and, consequently, to higher levels of output and growth in all countries. It is thought that this growth will then promote national development and reduce poverty. However, the sectoral reallocation of work generated by trade liberalization also creates winners and losers, and the losers tend to be those members of the economy who are already vulnerable. In Canada, women and children are the most vulnerable.

Trade policies do not explicitly address or challenge gender inequalities, and some argue that trade liberalization policies reinforce them or create new inequalities among women and men. The benefits of trade liberalization tend to favour men and groups of women who already have ready access and command over resources within their economies. Thus trade liberalization may actually reinforce existing inequities in terms of the overall distribution of trade benefits and wealth. It also may make the situation worse for specific groups of women. Those who are most at risk appear to be small business owners, small farmers, women with low educational levels, women with disabilities, female heads of households, minority women and poor women.

Trade liberalization policies often depend on the encouragement of foreign investment and the relaxation of tariffs and other monetary barriers to trade within a given economy. To compensate for the loss of tax revenue that formerly came from tariffs, governments cut programs and services, with a particular emphasis on education, health and social services. It is generally women who have to pick up the slack that these cuts leave and, consequently, wind up with increased hours of elder and child care. This increased workload is all within the unpaid reproductive sphere and means that governments are indirectly asking women to pay for the reduced tariffs for foreign companies and investors. It also leaves women with less time to take on paid work and thus can contribute to increased levels of poverty for women or, at a minimum, prevent them from taking advantage of the new opportunities afforded by trade liberalization policies.

Another reason international trade policy needs to take gender issues into account is that women and men tend to have very different consumption patterns. Women tend to place priority initially on the purchase of goods and services to support their families, particularly if they are poor. Conversely, experience within international development projects has shown that status items often have as much and sometimes more importance for male consumers. Since the sale of goods and services fuels trade, it is important to understand what these differences are and how they affect trade development and trading patterns.

Summary of Links Between Gender and Trade

Five primary arguments justify ensuring that the strong links between gender and trade are given priority by governments and related institutions. The first is quite simply an issue of *equity*. Women provide a substantial amount of the world's labour, and their work serves as one of the foundation stones of the international economy. This contribution needs to be recognized for its scope and its value rewarded by a vastly increased and equitable say in major decisions related to international trade policy as well as a more equitable distribution of the profits and benefits. Trade liberalization, to some extent, is based on the premise of democratic structures and institutions. Therefore, there is also a strong logic in the promotion of equitable representation of women within the trade liberalization process. Not only do they represent over 50 percent of the world's population, women also contribute substantially to its economy, feeding, education and care. To promote international trade policy without actively including women's voices is essentially a form of taxation without representation — a principle completely contrary to Canadian policy and practice.

The second rationale is based on *economic efficiency*. If governments and multilateral institutions do not integrate gender equality objectives into trade policy initiatives, their trade policies will not lead to the equitable and rapid growth they have been predicting. Indeed, trade policy can lead to increased poverty for women and exacerbate or reinforce existing imbalances that maintain such large numbers of women and girls in poverty.

The third argument is that trade policies have a *differential impact* on women and men and thus cannot be assumed to lead to an equitable impact for all segments of the population. This has to do with the sexual division of labour in the productive, reproductive and social/political spheres within individual countries and at the household level. Women and men

also have differential access to, and control over, the basic resources they need to work effectively in the productive sector.

The fourth is the strong *link between poverty and gender*. Since international trade policy is supposed to contribute significantly to global poverty reduction, the close correlation between poverty and gender makes a compelling argument for including gender-based analysis as an integral part of trade policy development.

The fifth reason is the need to gain an in-depth understanding of the differences between women and men's *consumption patterns* and how these impact trade.

All five factors provide a strong rationale for ensuring that trade policy includes a gender-based analysis component. International trade issues are highly complex, and the level of analysis required to make impact projections is often quite specialized within each sector. For this reason, it makes sense to ensure that all the stakeholders involved in the international trade policy development process know how to conduct their own gender-based analysis. An important first step is to understand women's primary roles in international trade.

3. GENDER ROLES IN AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE CONTEXT

It is important to analyze the significance of gender roles in the international context, and the gender-based roles women, in particular, play. These include their roles as entrepreneurs and traders in their own right, as workers (producers of goods and services), both paid and unpaid, as mothers and family caregivers, and as consumers. Trade policy has the potential to impact on each of these roles. The following analysis breaks down some key trade-related issues affecting Canadian women in their roles. It demonstrates why it is so important for the Canadian government to obtain gender input in the development of Canadian international trade policies.

Canadian Women as Traders⁵

Women constitute a significant and growing number of the owners who operate businesses that trade internationally. In Canada, women are establishing and operating their own businesses in unprecedented numbers. With small and medium enterprises (SMEs) responsible for creating over 80 percent of existing jobs. A Bank of Montreal study (1996: 2-4) indicated that in 1996:

- There were 700,000 women-owned enterprises in Canada.
- These firms were creating jobs at four times the average rate (13 percent compared to 3.1 percent) and collectively provided more jobs than the Canadian top 100 companies combined (1.7 million compared to 1.5 million).
- The number of women-led firms increased at twice the national average (19.7 percent compared to 8.7 percent).
- The number of women-led firms involved in non-traditional sectors (i.e., agriculture, manufacturing, construction) increased and now represents one of every four (24.8 percent) women-led firms in an industry other than retail trade and services.

A 1999 study (Rayman 1999: 2) on women exporters observed:

- The number of women with incorporated businesses more than doubled during the last decade, while the number of men with incorporated businesses increased by one third.
- One third of self-employed Canadians in 1996 were women, compared with 19 percent in 1975.

Women's Business Style

Multiple studies have found that women-owned SMEs often bring a unique perspective and contribution to the business world. A National Foundation of Women Business Owners (NFWBO) study found that women business owners in the United States tended to share their business profits with employees at a much earlier stage than other businesses. They found that

14 percent of women-owned firms employing fewer than 25 employees had set up such programs, compared to the national average for all small firms with 20 or less employees (eight percent). Licuanan's study (1992: 7) in Southeast Asia found that most of the women entrepreneurs surveyed had a definite business philosophy that included humanitarianism.

Muir's study (2002) on women entrepreneurs in the European Economic Community (EEC) found that women entrepreneurs often:

- have a strong commitment to their local community, particularly in terms of sourcing and employment;
- perceive themselves to be at the centre of their business organization with teams and working groups emanating from that central position, rather than a rigid hierarchical structures in which they are positioned at the top;
- have a strong commitment to a vision that encompasses their private and business lives (i.e., they constantly strive to develop sustainable business with manageable growth, rather than aiming for immediate high growth and overtrading);
- focus on the personal relationship aspects of business contacts, which support long-term ambitions, including high turnover and profitability;
- develop contacts through active networking, which they perceive as a rich business resource; and
- grow their business through a range of relationship alliances that frequently strengthen the self-employed and women business owners. This results in slower growth, as measured by an increased number of employees in women-run businesses.

These factors have significant implications for the development and impact of trade policies. They also show that men and women do not necessarily have a uniform approach to doing business. Women frequently have different priorities than men and tend to have different access to the resources that support business development and international trade.

Women sometimes also have different reasons for going into business. Church's survey (1998) of 100 Canadian women entrepreneurs found that only three of the women surveyed had actually gone into business to make money. While the women surveyed wanted to earn an income, they were equally and sometimes even more interested in goals, such as balancing family and business life, providing a service to their communities or wanting to be in charge and make major business decisions themselves. Church observed that while these were all laudable reasons for going into business, women entrepreneurs also owed it to their employees to try and make their businesses as profitable as possible.

In general, in the early stages of business growth women entrepreneurs may exhibit certain gender-based attitudes and behaviours:

- undervalue their own work and not charge full market value;
- give away their labour or products;

- try and do everything themselves and not delegate;
- not ask for help when they need it; and
- give priority to motivations for business development that are not solely profit-based.

These and other gender-based behaviours can actually inhibit initial business growth. By the same token, women tend to excel at networking skills and relationship building, both of which are critical to building successful international trade deals. Gender-aware policy makers need to factor in both the potential strengths and weaknesses of women entrepreneurs into their policy and program development.

The Canadian government has led the way in terms of establishing women-specific trade initiatives, such as their 1997 Businesswomen's Trade Mission to Washington D.C. They did this on the recommendation of businesswomen's advocates whose experience reflected the fact that smaller women-led firms tended to feel swamped and overlooked when they participated in general trade missions. The Canadian government subsequently supported the development of a virtual trade mission format that seemed especially well suited to the needs of women-led firms in Canada and in a developing country context.

Women have worked as traders in their own right for centuries. Their growing role within the formal world economy as business owners and operators makes it even more imperative that trade policy takes gender equality issues into account. *Beyond Borders: Canadian Businesswomen in International Trade* (Rayman 1999: 9) found that in Canada, women exporters had aggressive growth goals based on international trade. Those surveyed indicated they aimed to generate considerable increases in export sales (51 percent for active exporters, 22 percent for export planners) to increase their total sales by 30 percent in the service sector, and by 70 percent for product-based firms; and they planned to grow their work force by 33 percent in the two years following the study. While there are some concerns that this study did not capture the extent of women exporters involved in services, it is clear Canadian women business owners are quite interested in international trade, and have every intention of capturing their share of the market.

Despite these trends, there is still a stereotype and general perception among trade officials that women are not that active in the international economy, and they mainly participate as workers in the newly created manufacturing industries in export processing zones in developing countries. Clearly, this is not the case. In addition, many of the women operating SMEs solely at the domestic level have tremendous potential to export their goods and services successfully, given the right policy and program supports.

Challenges for Women Entrepreneurs

Women entrepreneurs encounter all the same challenges as male owners of SMEs. The primary gender-based difference is in the scale and how these challenges affect them. Andrina Lever (1996), one of Canada's three representatives to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Business Advisory Council, identified these challenges as access to finance, markets and information, technology and training. To this list we would like to add access to time, as it is a particular challenge for many women entrepreneurs.

Access to Finance

Access to finance and credit is the area in which women-owned SMEs find themselves most challenged. Even in Canada, where several major banks have embarked on active campaigns to capture the women's market, and have provided their staff with specialized training in working with women-owned businesses, women still find it more difficult to obtain business credit than men do.

One explanation is that, in general, women own less property and have fewer assets to provide for collateral for a business loan. Despite the gender-sensitivity training of bank staff, old attitudes still persist, and some women still report having to get their business loans co-signed by their husbands. In some cases, women are still not taken as seriously as a male loan applicant, and it is assumed that they require the guarantee of their husbands, and their income is secondary to that of the man in the family.

Women business owners frequently experience these kinds of difficulties obtaining credit, despite the fact that worldwide, women have demonstrated high loan repayment rates, with default rates significantly lower than men's, and a greater likelihood to invest their profits in their families and communities (WEDO 1999: 6). Although this is much less of a problem than it used to be in Canada, difficulties obtaining credit are still a major factor that can inhibit business growth and the move into an export market for women business owners.

Access to Markets and Information

Access to markets and information is one area where women's ways of doing business can make a significant difference. Many women entrepreneurs are particularly skilled at networking and making contacts. What they lack is access to the traditional "old boys" networks. While women entrepreneurs increasingly take up networking activities, such as golf, they do not have the same access to decision-making networks traditionally enjoyed by men. Informal decisions made in the corridors and at social functions tend to be made by men with other men. While this process is not deliberately exclusionary, it still effectively limits women's market information opportunities.

Gaining access to new markets also involves extensive travel and a substantial financial commitment to gathering market information. If women-owned businesses had ready access to credit at reasonable rates, they could travel more readily, or send their staff to gather critical market information. Without easy access to credit, and with multiple responsibilities as both the economic providers and primary caregivers to their families, it is more difficult for them to travel for long periods or to take frequent shorter trips to make and maintain business contacts. As well, as the majority of women's businesses are concentrated at the SME level, the red tape and bureaucracy of cross-border trade tends to be disproportionately more expensive for them than for larger firms that take advantage of economies of scale. For this reason, trade facilitation issues are often as, if not more, important to women-owned businesses as trade liberalization policies.

Access to Technology

Closely connected to access to market information is the question of access to technology. These days there is much talk about the digital divide — a global concern about a growing

technological gap between women and men, rural and urban, rich and poor. Ironically, the same telecommunications and technology revolution makes it possible for women-owned micro and small enterprises to compete effectively with much bigger companies on a global scale. Through the Internet, women-owned companies can access market information more affordably. They can overcome issues of distance, time, age, gender and company size with the more anonymous face of the Internet. They can also develop innovative marketing campaigns and capitalize on the new knowledge-based industries and services that exist and offer these services as new business ventures.

To do so, women need access to both hardware and software. To gain this access, they need capital and time: capital to purchase the equipment or hire the staff to use it effectively, and time to take training to learn how to make the best use of the new technologies available. Women business owners are quite aware that they need to take advantage of the new technologies to support their business growth. Their catch-22 is that they have less time available for these activities due to their joint household, business development and management responsibilities.

A Canadian study (EKOS 1998: 13) showed that women still use the Internet less than men. Over 70 percent of those surveyed who reported using the Internet intensively were male. An Australian study (Singh and Ryan 1999) found that women tend to use the Internet primarily as a tool for activities, rather than as a technology to be mastered, or for games, gadgetry, machinery or power. Other studies have shown that women frequently use technology in different ways than men, and yet most software tools available have not been designed with these gender differences in mind. Generally, women are interested in the fastest way to get the information they need, and to perform the tasks they must do. They tend to be far less interested in the actual technology than in what the technology can do. Depending on their age group, women may also be a bit more hesitant to try new technologies and often do best in terms of Internet and computer training when they work in all female classes with gender-sensitive instructors. These gender differences have implications for the kind of training supports offered and may have significant implications with regard to on-line government applications and services.

Access to Training

For the reasons cited earlier, businesswomen's time for upgrading and training, and their access to finance and credit to pay for training for themselves or their staff tends to be limited. Without ready access to lifelong learning and skills upgrading, it is more challenging for Canadian businesswomen to keep up with the rapid pace of change demanded by a more technologically based global economy.

Statistics Canada reported (2000: 10-14) that women with a spouse and at least one child under 19, who were employed full time, spent 4.9 hours per day on unpaid work activities, averaging one and a half hours more than their spouses. The 1996 Census of Canada also reported that 17 percent of women spent 30 to 59 hours per week on housework or home maintenance, whereas only eight percent of men reported devoting that much time to the same unpaid tasks (NSACSW 2000a: 1- 2). This significant difference in time usage can translate into a severe constraint for women-owned businesses.

In a market situation, the only way women can duplicate the amount of “free” time men enjoy is to purchase it, either by hiring more staff or paying for domestic tasks they would normally perform themselves. However, since women’s incomes remain generally lower than those of men and they have less access to credit, the impact of the sexual division of labour in the reproductive sphere is still critical in Canada. This is the case even for the next generation of Canadians. An article in *The Globe and Mail* (2003) pointed out that one reason teenage girls have fewer part-time jobs than teenage boys is that they are called on more by their families to perform unpaid work in the home related to child and other household responsibilities.

Training to support the development of international trade needs to keep multiple factors in mind at the planning stages. Policy and training to assist Canadian businesswomen become export-ready must be flexible, and take into account women’s multiple roles as well as age-related gender issues. It also needs to have content that is free of gender bias, and to use examples that reflect the experiences of both women and men. In some instances, it may make sense to support training opportunities specifically for women. For example, many women will respond better to technology training in all female environments.

Summary of Key Trade-Related Gender Issues for Canadian Businesswomen

Gender considerations policy makers need to take into account when drafting trade policy include understanding that women business owners in Canada:

- generally have less access to credit and capital than male business owners;
- operate relatively newer businesses;
- have less time than men to attend training programs related to technology, market information or other relevant skills;
- use technology less than men and generally as a means to an end;
- have less flexibility to travel to gather market information than men;
- grow their businesses through networking, and use flatter management structures than many male-owned businesses; and
- are likely to accord a higher priority to core labour standards, ethical and environmental issues than men-led businesses.

Links to WTO Trade Negotiations

All the points above have implications for the development of Canadian trade policy at the WTO and merit further study and consideration in the trade policy development process. The last point regarding labour standards, ethical and environment issues is at the core of many of the external protests that inhibited progress within the trade negotiations at the Seattle meetings of the WTO and needs to be addressed if there is to be equitable progress as a result of the WTO process. The fact that many women in business in Canada tend to start exporting within two years of opening their doors for business is also an indication that international trade is a huge priority for Canadian businesswomen. Gender-specific issues, such as women’s dual workload in the home and in the business, all have the potential to be

critical in their success or their ability to take advantage of the new opportunities the WTO trade agreements might bring. Gender issues also may make many of their businesses particularly vulnerable to some of the adjustments in economic and social policy likely to accompany Canada's participation in the WTO negotiations.

Women as Workers

Trade policy also needs to consider issues affecting women workers. There is a tendency for trade impact analysis to focus on the fact that trade liberalization has led to the creation of a large number of jobs for women, particularly in the export processing zones. However, there are also many issues affecting women workers in the Canadian context.

Some economists predicted that as women tend to be employed disproportionately in unskilled positions globally, women in industrialized countries would lose employment as trade expansion and liberalization favour cheaper female labour in developing countries. They were particularly concerned about Canadian women involved in the textile, shoe and garment industries. Sales in the leather industry did decrease significantly by 4.7 percent between 1983 and 1997, but appeared to hold reasonably steady in the textile and shoe industries (Po-Chih 2001: 27). However, the overall loss of unskilled positions they predicted does not appear to have happened, because they were offset by the new employment opportunities created in services and other sectors (Joeques and Weston 1994: 35).

In taking a closer look at the performance of the Canadian manufacturing sector related to the implementation of the different trade liberalization agreements signed by the Canadian government, the statistics seem to support Joeques and Weston's assessment. In Canada in 1988, the share of employment for manufacturing was 15.2 percent. The Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement (FTA) went into effect in 1989. By 1994, this share declined to a low of 12.6 percent. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was introduced in 1994. Between 1994 and 1997, the share of manufacturing increased slightly to 13.2 percent.

Between 1983 and 1997, the compound annual growth rate for total national employment was 1.6 percent while that of manufacturing was 0.7 percent. For non-manufacturing industries the growth rate was 1.8 percent (Po-Chih 2001: 27). This would seem to indicate that while Canada is not losing manufacturing jobs as a result of trade liberalization agreements, other economic sectors were starting to take on increasing importance. Recently, growth in manufacturing has increased, most likely reflecting a high level of growth in the Canadian economy overall.

Statistics Canada reported that the gain in new jobs created in Canada for the first eight months of 2002 reached 386,000 (+2.6 percent), the fastest growth in any eight-month period since 1994. The labour participation rate in August 2002 reached 67 percent, the highest rate since November 1990. For the first eight months of 2002, manufacturing jobs increased by 149,000 (+6.7 percent), accounting for more than a third of total employment increases in 2002. Over the same period, public sector employment was up 113,000 (+4.0 percent) fuelled by strong performances in health care and social assistance as well as education. All these sectors have significant female employment.

A cursory analysis of the sectors experiencing the most and least gains shows a trend to favouring skilled over unskilled workers. On the surface, major gains appeared in areas where skilled women workers tend to predominate. It is thus likely that educated women in Canada are benefiting from Canada's current economic prosperity, a good portion of which is fuelled by international trade.

But, it is necessary to determine whether there have been gains or losses in the low end of the service sector where the majority of unskilled women workers are concentrated. As of 1999, the service sector in Canada accounted for 86.4 percent of employment for women and 63.3 percent for men (Statistics Canada 2000: 127). The proposed WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is wide ranging in its scope and definition of services. Since the majority of Canadian male and female workers are concentrated in the service sector, GATS has the potential to impact significantly on their employment.

Assessing the impact of trade liberalization on both skilled and unskilled women workers would also be an important part of any kind of gender analysis by trade officials. In much the same way that trade policy is not gender neutral, neither is it neutral to class and other differences.

In Canada, only 75 percent of the population is functionally literate.⁶ This implies a substantial number of unskilled workers cannot readily take advantage of job opportunities created in the knowledge-based industries. Unskilled workers were particularly hard hit by the structural adjustments in the wake of the introduction of the FTA in 1989. These led to an initial loss of 23,000 manufacturing jobs overall (Mazurkiwicz 1993). Especially hard hit were unskilled male workers over the age of 40. This differential impact of trade policy on specific groups provides a strong argument for including gender analysis in international trade policy.

While unemployment rates in Canada range between seven and nine percent for the general population, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women reported that for Aboriginal women, it ranges from 20 to 80 percent, depending whether the women live on or off reserves. They also cite unemployment at 17 percent for women with disabilities, 13.4 percent for women of colour, and as high as 26 percent for young women (NAC 2000: 2). If the primary purpose of Canada's trade policy is to generate employment for its population, given the wide-ranging diversity of the Canadian labour force and the equally wide-ranging employment rates among different demographic groups in Canada, trade policies aimed at creating employment and economic prosperity need to take a hard look at multiple variables such as sex, ethnic background, immigration status, age, language and physical status when conducting a potential gender impact analysis. In Canada, possibly more than in any other industrialized country, one trade policy will not fit all.

Women as Unpaid Workers

Another factor to consider in the development of trade policy is the extent of women's unpaid work in the productive and reproductive spheres globally. The significance of women's unpaid work is not just in the huge contribution they make to the global economy; it is also in the

resulting challenge women face in taking advantage of the new opportunities afforded by trade liberalization. Therefore, the sexual division of labour is an important factor trade policy needs to consider.

Unpaid work is not restricted to women in developing economies. Diverse studies in Canada demonstrate it is significant in an industrialized context. In 1996, 2.1 million Canadians provided unpaid care for elderly or family members with disabilities. Sixty percent of these caregivers were women. The research also showed that women averaged five hours of care for every hour done by men.

A pilot study (NSACSW 2000a: 1-2) on unpaid work in eastern Canada found that each Nova Scotian contributes an average of 1,230 hours a year of unpaid household work to the economy. In 1997, this was the equivalent of 490,000 paid jobs. While this unpaid work is divided between women and men, it is not divided equally. In 1998, Statistics Canada (2000: 10-14) found that while women and men average 7.2 hours of paid and unpaid work per day, women spent an average of 2.8 hours daily on paid work and 4.4 hours on unpaid work, while men spent 4.5 hours on paid work and 2.7 on unpaid work. Also of note is the fact that from November 1, 1996 to October 31, 1997, Canadians contributed over 1.1 billion hours of volunteer time in their communities. This is the equivalent of 518,000 full-time year-round jobs (NSACSW 2000: 1-2). Again, the majority of these volunteer hours were contributed by women.

Why is unpaid work an important trade policy issue for Canadians? The current economic system is based on women's unpaid work. Family farms and businesses could not operate viably without their input. Families could not readily send their adult members to work without the support women provide for children, male workers, and the sick and elderly. Any trade policy that impacts on tasks conducted predominantly by women on an unpaid basis needs to take a second look at the implications of what it is promoting and who is paying for the economic prosperity generated. Indeed, it is time to take stock of whether accelerated economic growth is possible without this vital economic contribution by women. At a minimum, international trade policy needs to find a way to ensure that trade liberalization policies do not lead to an increase in women's unpaid labour. In general, we need to look for ways to build a more equitable means of ensuring prosperity for the global population, not one based on the long-term exploitation of women's labour — in any sphere.

The first challenge is that along with many trade liberalization policies there is a tendency for governments to cut taxes, to make up for the tax cuts and tariff reductions offered to foreign investors as part of the trade liberalization process. When there are educational cuts, women spend extra hours tutoring their children. When there are health care and social service cuts, they spend more time caring for the sick and elderly. These kinds of programming cuts do not happen in a vacuum, and the price paid by the women who have to take on this extra unpaid work is high. They tend to get less sleep, experience significantly higher levels of stress, and have significantly reduced chances to take advantage of new training, business or work opportunities. The women hit the hardest are the "sandwich generation," those who take care of children and elderly parents, in addition to holding down a full-time job. In 1999, the Conference Board of Canada reported that during the 1990s the

number of Canadians providing unpaid caregiving for both children and elders increased from 9 to 15 percent; 67 percent of these sandwich generation caregivers were women, 4 percent were men (NSACSW 2000: 2). If the women sandwiched between two labour-intensive generations in this way are lone parents and/or poor, the negative impact on this demographic is exacerbated greatly.

Those responsible for the development of trade policy need to take a close look at who benefits and who loses as a result of its implementation. Particularly crucial is the need to understand the hidden costs. Will a trade policy increase women's workload — especially their unpaid work — and in what ways? Policies that add to women's workload can actually constitute a form of systemic gender-based commercial discrimination and, as such, are not in keeping with Canada's policies on human rights and gender equality.

Women as Consumers

Women and men have different consumption patterns. Women in all countries tend to be responsible for purchases of goods and services related to the maintenance of their immediate household, such as food, water and electricity. Men are more likely to be responsible for larger and more technologically based items, such as equipment and home or vehicle repairs. However, corporations are starting to realize that women have a much greater and significant input and say in the purchase of larger consumer items. Market surveys by Daimler–Chrysler found that women significantly influenced 70 percent of the decisions regarding car purchases in the United States (Canada-US Businesswomen's Trade Mission 1997). Canadian real estate agents have also observed that it is generally the women in the family who determine which house a family purchases. The Royal Bank of Canada noted the growing importance of women, both as consumers and as business owners, and has made a concerted effort to capture this market. They, and other members of the private sector understand that women “mean business” and have adjusted their marketing strategies accordingly.

When there is extra disposable income within a household, men and women will often have different priorities for how this money should be spent. This can also have significant implications for international trade patterns.

Socially conscious consumption is on the upswing in Canada. Increasingly, middle-class consumers in industrialized countries are starting to look at whether the items or services they are purchasing are produced by companies that follow core labour standards. There are even ethical investment funds for those who wish to invest their savings in mutual funds that only support companies that follow environmentally sensitive practices and treat their labour pool fairly.

Within a trade context, understanding these consumption patterns and the trend toward use of consumption as an advocacy tool are both factors that need to be considered in policy development. Their impact on the eventual success and outcome of the trade policies concerned can be tremendous. At the same time, international trade policies that will lead

to increases in the cost of basic food items or medicines also have the potential to have a disproportionately negative impact on the poor and on poor women in particular. This issue is a serious gender concern that has been raised in relation to some of the tenets of the WTO's upcoming agreements on intellectual property, agriculture and services.

This overview of the key gender roles affected by, and with an impact on, international trade policy demonstrates why it is so critical to take gender issues into consideration in this process. The section that follows describes a model for ensuring this happens within the Canadian context.

4. BUILDING A CANADIAN GENDER AND TRADE ADVOCACY MODEL

Current Status of Gender Inputs in Canadian WTO Policy Negotiations

Canadian Government Trade Policy Development Processes

Three core departments work with Canadians to develop international trade policy: the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (now Foreign Affairs Canada and International Trade Canada), Industry Canada and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. The Canadian government is perhaps unique in the extent of support it provides to women exporters. Industry Canada and DFAIT have worked actively to find innovative ways to support the growth of women-led SMEs. These initiatives have included organization of women-specific trade missions and of virtual trade missions as well as of a Canada-US Trade Summit for Businesswomen in 1998 involving Cabinet-level participation from both sides of the border. Foreign Affairs and International Trade also has a staff member dedicated to the promotion of women's SMEs and exporters outside of Canada, and a unit whose mandate is to provide this support. The Department commissioned a research study to determine the challenges women exporters face. The International Trade Centres of Industry Canada that operate across the country have also worked on special initiatives to support women exporters.

Despite this proactive approach, gender has not yet been raised as a significant policy issue in the WTO trade negotiations by the Canadian government.⁷ In general, in Canada and elsewhere, trade practitioners do not see the gender implications of trade policy or they do not think any significant gender discrimination remains. One reason for this in Canada is that despite federal policy requiring each government department to conduct gender-based analysis as an integral part of its work, several federal departments have not yet started to use this tool on a regular basis.⁸ Foreign Affairs and International Trade was one of the last government departments to develop a ministry-wide gender strategy.

In general, trade officials and other trade practitioners tend to assume that trade policy impacts are gender neutral (i.e., they have the same impact on both women and men). Due to the sexual division of labour and the different gender roles, it is highly unlikely trade policy will impact specific groups of women and men equally. Without a gender-based analysis, however, it is difficult to determine what this differential impact is likely to be.

Trade policy analysis also tends to focus on the impact of the flow of commodities and services as opposed to the impact of changes in trading policies and patterns on people. Consequently, the issue becomes the policy impact on a wide range of specific demographic groups, of which women and men represent one set of critical variables. It also means going beyond the impact on male- and female-owned businesses and limited success indicators, such as increased sales, to look at the impact on Canadian workers, families and consumers.

In general, there is a lack of gender inputs into the Canadian process of trade policy development at the WTO. Consultative processes the Canadian government has in place have not ensured this critical input. This is one reason for recommending that the Canadian government initiate a more systematic way of obtaining this input and establish a joint

committee on gender and trade policy at the WTO. Before detailing the shape of this joint committee, we wanted to assess the current level of gender sensitivity existing in government consultative mechanisms and review how the proposed joint committee could work in collaboration with the existing mechanisms and advisory bodies.

DFAIT Consultation Processes

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade⁹ has a clear consultation process for Canadian interest groups to provide input on the development of a Canadian position on WTO negotiations on specific issues. This consultation process is accessible to anyone on the Internet as it is outlined in detail on the DFAIT Web site. There are also phone numbers and addresses Canadians can use to submit their opinions and concerns should they not have Internet access. However, they would have to be aware of the process to access these alternatives.

The primary consultation process generally takes place in the following way. Foreign Affairs and International Trade posts an information paper on a specific issue related to the WTO negotiation process. These papers are usually a maximum of three pages in length and provide background on the issue as well as a statement and explanation of the existing Canadian position on the issue. The Department then invites Canadians to comment on the paper and the proposed position before finalizing the position for negotiation at the WTO. The process is fairly transparent as a summary of all the opinions submitted is available for review by anyone with Internet access. For issues that are controversial or deemed to have a potential impact on a large number of Canadians, DFAIT organizes a cross-country consultation process that is more proactive in its outreach to the general population. To date, none of the information papers or topics posted for consultations related to the WTO has dealt explicitly or even implicitly with gender as a trade issue.

Foreign Affairs and International Trade also consults with Canadians regarding the WTO negotiation process through:

- the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (SCFAIT);
- federal–provincial/territorial trade consultations;
- consultations with municipalities;
- multi-stakeholder consultations;
- Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade (SAGITs);
- The Team Canada Inc. Advisory Board;
- *Canada Gazette*;
- public opinion research;
- the Academic Advisory Council on Canadian Trade Policy; and
- Canadian participation in events sponsored by international organizations.

Each mechanism offers an opportunity for Canadians to provide input into the WTO trade negotiation positions, although not all of them are as accessible as the cross-country consultations process. Macdonald (2003), a noted Canadian expert on gender and trade, observed that most of these are ad hoc, and critics of these mechanisms feel they promote an uneven playing field with more and more Canadians bypassing the state in an attempt to influence trade policy outside of formal national mechanisms. Analysis highlights the need to create a more formal mechanism that focusses on gender and trade issues.

Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade

The SCFAIT is a parliamentary committee of elected members of Parliament. The Subcommittee on International Trade, Trade Disputes and Investment is the primary sub-committee that deals with WTO issues. Other sub-committees on agriculture or the environment, would also be consulted regarding sector-specific trade policy positions to be negotiated at the WTO. Since these are parliamentary committees, access is restricted to elected officials. However, these officials are accountable to their electorate and can be lobbied on gender- and trade-related issues.

This is a more time consuming and less direct process than the general public consultations. It also requires knowledge of the Canadian parliamentary committee system and highly effective lobbying skills. Nevertheless, it represents one avenue for influence as SCFAIT sub-committees help form initial Canadian positions on the WTO trade negotiations and table recommendations and reports to the trade minister. The trade minister asked the SCFAIT to conduct an analysis on major elements of the WTO Doha development agenda. The Committee responded by presenting the minister with a list of 29 recommendations related to Canada's global economic, political and social objectives. The minister used many of these recommendations as a basis for his comments and the promotion of the Canadian position at the Doha Ministerial Meeting.

The SCFAIT mechanism is a one-way consultative process used by the minister to solicit input from Canadians before the government enters into a set of trade negotiations. Whether to adopt any of the SCFAIT recommendations is up to the discretion of the minister, but the SCFAIT can be influential. It also represents the voice of Canadians to some extent through the presentations of its elected representatives and those made to the Committee by different demographic and interest groups.

Federal–Provincial/Territorial Trade Consultations

These meetings are held annually or biannually at the intergovernmental level and are not as accessible by the public. Each province and territory also has its own system for dealing with trade. Consequently, it is not possible to establish a uniform system for influencing this process. It could be done, but would take in-depth knowledge of who to contact and someone to track relevant intergovernmental meetings. However, as with all the other government mechanisms for determining Canada's international trade agenda, it still represents another layer of influence and, as such, should not be discounted as a possible mechanism for lobbying for the inclusion of key gender issues in the trade negotiation process.

A greater understanding of the gender implications of trade policy could be developed at these provincial–federal trade consultations if representatives from the government bodies responsible for the status of women were systematically included and asked for input on a regular basis. There is also a need to find a mechanism to include civil society and academics in this consultative process. Most external participation has been limited to the private sector.

Consultations with Municipalities

The municipal level of consultation is even more complex than the provincial/territorial level as it involves many more institutional bodies. On the plus side, a greater number of women tend to be involved in politics at the municipal level. Thus, it may prove possible to rally a stronger lobby for selected gender and trade consultations if local politicians are made aware of the primary gender and trade issues that could affect their constituents. However, it would also be important to ensure that male municipal-level politicians and officials understand and support these issues as well.

Multi-Stakeholder Consultations

Foreign Affairs and International Trade sometimes organizes special consultations with multiple stakeholders that have either expressed particular interest in a specific area of trade negotiations or might be affected by the negotiations in question. For example, DFAIT held a multi-stakeholder consultation on the WTO Trade and Development Information Exchange and Dialogue in mid-2001.

This mechanism could be used to raise the profile of gender and trade issues within specific WTO agreements and negotiations, particularly in view of the significant absence of consideration for this issue in current negotiations and policy positions. However, there first needs to be a recognition by DFAIT that gender is a critical issue to be considered in the WTO negotiations and agreements.¹⁰

Macdonald (2003) noted that a major concern with this particular consultative mechanism is that it is ad hoc and informal, not in the best interests of civil society organizations.

Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade

The first SAGITs were established in 1986 to provide advice to the Minister for International Trade. They are supposed to provide a forum for the open exchange of ideas and information between SAGIT members and the government. Twelve active SAGITs represent various industry sectors:

- agriculture, food and beverage;
- apparel and footwear;
- cultural industries;
- energy, chemicals and plastics;
- environmental;
- fish and sea products;
- forest products;

- information technologies;
- medical and health care products and services;
- mining, metals and minerals;
- services; and
- textiles, fur and leather.

It would be possible to influence this process by contacting SAGIT members in specific sectors of interest. It would also be useful to review the SAGIT membership to determine if it is gender-balanced in proportion to the actual representation of women and men in each sector. If not, then it may be possible to present DFAIT with recommendations for future appointments who are gender-aware and knowledgeable of the key gender and trade issues in their industry or sector and put forward the names of appropriate female candidates where there are imbalances. Since March 2000, the membership of the SAGITs has included predominantly industry representatives, lawyers and consultants hired to support industrial groups. Their composition has become predominantly corporate in nature since they were created in the 1980s.

Team Canada Inc. Advisory Board

Established in 1998 to provide the Canadian government with counsel on trade policy and market access questions, the Board guides the government's agenda and requires governmental accountability concerning resource allocation for Canada's International Business Development Plan. The Board engages directly with the business community and complements the various sectoral advisory groups on international trade. The Board's composition is 85 percent male. Therefore, there is still a need for the development of both a more gender-balanced voice within the Team Canada Inc. Advisory Board and possibly the creation of a similar body to represent Canadian civil society opinions and experience related to international trade.

Canada Gazette

The *Canada Gazette* is a weekly newspaper produced by the Canadian government about government activities. It includes calls for submissions of views on trade negotiations, and is also posted electronically. While these submissions provide an opportunity for input into the trade policy and negotiation process for interested Canadians, there is still no feedback system built into this process. People are welcome to submit their opinion, but the government is not required to provide any written feedback to any interested parties as to whether any of their views have been adopted or considered in Canada's negotiating positions.

Public Opinion Research

The federal government conducts occasional public opinion surveys on trade issues to determine public perception and knowledge of key trade issues and solicit opinions on specific trade topics. The most recent survey of this nature was released in April 2002. While it is quite comprehensive, almost none of the data is disaggregated by sex. Therefore, it is not possible to tell how many women and men participated in the survey or if there were any significant differences in their responses. Nor are there any questions about gender and

trade-related issues. Consequently, this particular mechanism has not been a vehicle for the integration of gender issues or to create greater awareness of these issues. With some simple adaptations to the survey questions and research methodology in the next round, it could be an effective tool for identifying whether a gender-based agenda exists with the Canadian public and concerns related to gender and trade.

Academic Advisory Council on Canadian Trade Policy

This is a relatively new mechanism to facilitate the participation of the academic sector in the development of Canadian trade policy. An informal group of academics reports to the Deputy Minister for International Trade. However, to date, this advisory council has been predominantly pro-free trade without any representation of academics who specialize in gender and trade issues. Therefore, this mechanism still has not provided any great insights into the key issues related to gender and trade, particularly those related to the implications of Canada's negotiating positions at the WTO.

Canadian Participation in International Events

The Canadian government also participates in a number of related international events such as APEC and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) process. The Québec City declaration and statement in 2001 generated by the FTAA process stands as a model for the inclusion of gender-based language and addresses a number of key gender and trade issues. Leaders from APEC adopted gender as a cross-cutting issue in all its policies and programs in 1999. This happened to a large extent, because of timely and ongoing support over a four-year period from the Canadian government through CIDA's Gender in APEC project. Canadian International Development Agency support for the Women Leaders Network (WLN), an advocacy group representing women leaders from the 21 APEC countries from the public, private, civil and academic sectors, was a major factor that contributed to APEC's adoption of a gender-integrated policy. These efforts indicate the Canadian government has made the link between gender and trade in selected forums. Unfortunately, the WTO is not yet one of them.

It is telling that one DFAIT official¹¹ working with women exporters mentioned a conversation with colleagues about policy-related issues. The colleagues reported that the Canadian government had been asked by a number of other governments to share its knowledge on incorporating gender issues in the trade policy development process. Their response was: "We don't have a problem with that in Canada and so we don't deal with it."

From this brief review of existing consultative mechanisms related to the WTO process, it is apparent we do have a problem with this in Canada. However, this review also shows there are several mechanisms in place for Canadians to use in advocating for increased integration of gender issues in the WTO trade negotiation process.

Task Force on Women Entrepreneurs

In 2002, the federal government established the Task Force on Women Entrepreneurs led by Sarmite Bulte, Member of Parliament for High Park/Parkdale in Toronto. The Task Force was to find out what kinds of policy and program supports women entrepreneurs in Canada need,

at the domestic and international levels. It was not to examine these needs directly in relation to the WTO, but it did serve as a venue in which women entrepreneurs could provide direct input into international trade policy.

CIDA's Role

The Canadian International Development Agency was instrumental in its support of the development of the WLN, because of strong leadership related to gender and trade demonstrated by its Southeast Asia Regional Program and because many APEC member economies are developing countries and this kind of support fell within their institutional mandate.

The Southeast Asia Regional Program supports a couple of new initiatives to build the capacity of trade ministries in some of the least developed countries in Southeast Asia so they can work effectively within the WTO system in the future. These initiatives include the integration of gender equality objectives and activities. The Agency has also conducted policy research related to the links between gender, trade and development, and funds an office on trade and development in the Canadian mission to the WTO, which has just helped organize a symposium with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Women as Economic Actors in Sustainable Development.

It is a challenge, however, for CIDA to find a policy framework or process to which it can attach its gender and trade work since the Agency is not technically responsible for developing trade policy.¹² Rather, its role is to focus on finding ways to use increased trade as a mechanism to support socio-economic development in poor countries. A wide range of CIDA officials have also expressed concern that the adoption of a sector-wide approach encouraging donor co-ordination and funding of programs across different sectors according to the stated priorities of the developing countries, has led to the issue of gender equality being dropped from the development agenda.¹³

If, however, gender and trade are identified as a priority, CIDA could develop initiatives related to developing countries to support gender and trade integration in the WTO. The focus would need to be on poverty alleviation, but this could serve as part of a parallel process for Canadian-based advocacy efforts and initiatives. It takes about two years to negotiate, design and obtain funding approval for large-scale development projects at the bilateral and multilateral levels. It also would require senior-level leadership to initiate and co-ordinate the development of such a project within CIDA due to the fact that the WTO is global in its reach and CIDA allocates much of its funding through its geographically based branches.

Role of Status of Women Canada

While Status of Women Canada has considerable expertise on gender and trade issues, the three core federal departments responsible for developing international trade policy do not call on SWC officially to comment on trade policy or negotiation positions. SWC is not viewed as an important voice within trade negotiation discussions or committees. Rather, its role and

mandate is more indirect. Gender and trade specialists at SWC are called on to provide advice to the Minister responsible for the Status of Women. For example, in 2002, Cabinet was called on to approve the new negotiation processes Canada proposes to use at the WTO. The secretary of state would use the memos to Cabinet as a basis to comment if there were any particular gender implications in the proposed negotiations.¹⁴ Status of Women Canada, however, is setting up a women in international business development committee that will be co-chaired by both SWC and DFAIT.

Status of Women is also building an interdepartmental network on gender and trade. This network will be informal and consists of contacts with other government departments that have indicated an interest in the gender and trade area such as Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. They exchange information and are able to influence the trade policy process in this way. It is still a relatively indirect process, but one SWC has found effective.

Challenges

One significant challenge in any attempt to influence the WTO from a gender perspective is the sheer complexity and scope of the WTO trade negotiation process. The multiple major agreements on the table all have potentially far reaching implications for both women and men. However, to track all these agreements and negotiations and conduct the research necessary to make a credible argument is, on the surface, a daunting task, especially since the WTO is strictly a governmental body, and no NGOs are represented at regular meetings of the WTO Council. Even at the ministerial meetings held every two years, civil society and academics have very limited representation. Sometimes, even the private sector is not necessarily represented directly in great numbers on WTO delegations to these ministerial meetings – even less so at the SME level. This is significant since the majority of Canadian women's businesses are SMEs.

Another challenge appears to be that the voice of women is not coming through in the DFAIT consultative process. Why this is happening is not clear. One possibility might be the distrust of government processes by some women's organizations. Others may not have the financial or human resources to focus much time or attention to these issues, may not be familiar or comfortable with the consultative process itself or have less access to some of the informal consultative venues that exist in policy development. There are still significantly fewer female MPs than male MPs and fewer female trade officials. Most SMEs are also not particularly interested in, or involved with, the trade policy development or advocacy process related to the WTO as it takes considerable energy and time to build an internationally focussed company as well as immense amounts of time to learn the WTO process and language. There is also no existing formal mechanism for consultations with the WTO for non-governmental organizations, institutions and companies. While some academics are doing research in this area, the WTO is still a relatively young organization. Consequently, the body of research work available is limited and much of it has been generated outside of Canada.

Tackling the WTO process will require both highly effective co-ordination of efforts and support of the necessary research to back up claims and advocacy initiatives. Canadian women's organizations have not always worked together that well on advocacy campaigns

as they often have very diverse agendas and some are unfamiliar with the international trade policy development process. This does not mean they cannot or will not do so in future initiatives, but does highlight the need for the development of an effective co-ordination process that will help diverse organizations find a common ground.

Status of Women Canada hosted a gender and trade consultative process related to the WTO in early 2001. Some participants were of the opinion that the WTO process needed to be totally dismantled and new alternatives developed. Reviewing the Canadian positions in the WTO-related discussion papers posted on the DFAIT Web site, it is clear the Canadian government supports the overall principles underlying the WTO, albeit with some reservations. The challenge is to get organizations and institutions that have such divergent opinions and views to work together.

The WTO operates at a governmental level. This means that to influence the trade negotiation process, it is critical to maintain an open line to government, regardless of which sector is providing input. Overlaying the complexity of the WTO process is the complexity of Canadian society. When combined with the diversity of perspectives, this makes the development of a joint advocacy process a particular challenge in the Canadian context. However, equally complex and diverse initiatives have experienced success in the past and can provide some lessons for any future advocacy processes of a similar nature.

5. GENDER AND TRADE ADVOCACY MODELS

The Women Leaders Network as a Potential Model

The WLN is a multi-country, multi-sector advocacy group of women leaders drawn from all the member economies (states) of APEC. This network experienced considerable success in getting APEC leaders to adopt gender as a cross-cutting issue within its policies and programs. Canada's support was critical in the WLN's success. The proposed advocacy model presented here is based to some extent on WLN format and process, but with a definite Canadian slant and structure.

To understand why the WLN was selected as a base model, it is important to first gain a better understanding of the WLN itself. It is a multi-sector network of women leaders from the public, private, civil and academic sectors. It is based on the premise that women leaders have the power to influence leaders within their own governments and other sectors that make the decisions regarding APEC policy and practice. The WLN primary advocacy strategy was to mirror APEC practice holding annual meetings in the country of the APEC host for any given year and making gender-integrated policy recommendations that targeted specific APEC ministerial meetings and themes. The network was able to use its influence to obtain official invitations to make formal presentations of its recommendations at APEC SME and trade ministerial meetings and to lobby APEC leaders to agree to hold their first ever Ministerial Meeting on Women in 1998 in Manila. Its ultimate success, however, was to get APEC leaders to agree to adopt gender as a cross-cutting policy in 1999 and to recognize officially the role and contribution of indigenous businesswomen to the Asia-Pacific region for the first time. Several APEC economies also report that the WLN's advocacy work has had a positive impact on making their governments more aware of gender and trade issues and has led to their government developing more gender-sensitive trade policy.

The WLN has been criticized on various grounds, not the least of which is that some people consider it an elitist organization that primarily represents the interests of women-owned SMEs. There is also a need for the network to take on a stronger monitoring role as there are concerns, now that APEC has an official gender integration policy, that the organization will not implement it that effectively or only in a token form. Yet, the WLN remains one of the only successful working gender integration advocacy models at the multilateral trade level.¹⁵ The primary question concerns the elements that can be used from this experience to develop an effective gender advocacy model for the WTO within a Canadian context while avoiding the primary weaknesses of the WLN process.

In Canada, it is critical to have a multi-sector approach to ensure that the divergent views among the different interest and demographic groups and sectors involved are represented. Another reason is that the private, civil and academic arms of the WLN were able to support the public sector representatives and vice versa. Thus, they were able to maintain pressure from both inside and outside the negotiation process and to use this strategy to good effect.

The WLN also succeeded, because it was a multi-country effort involving both developed and developing countries.¹⁶ It was not just a Canadian position, but was demonstrated to be in the interests of many different APEC members. One lesson here is that building alliances is a critical part of the process. A second is that it is important to have a domestic process supporting an international process.

The model presented here addresses what can be done at the domestic level in Canada to influence the development of Canadian trade positions at the WTO. Building international alliances would come if other countries see this domestically based process as a model worth replicating and through linking the Canadian consultative process and body with existing international alliances advocating for increased gender equality at the WTO.

The third lesson is that of funding. An advocacy process of this nature and scope takes considerable co-ordination, especially as there is a need to develop a consensus on different advocacy positions and strategies. That cannot be achieved without funding or the allocation of personnel to support this process. While much of the work of the WLN was done on a voluntary basis by diverse women leaders from different countries, the co-ordination support CIDA provided through its Gender in APEC project was instrumental in supporting the volunteer efforts of these women leaders and in ensuring more balanced representation between developed and developing countries within the WLN. However, this funding ended at a critical point in the development of the WLN and the gender integration process within APEC. A longer-term commitment to the gender and trade advocacy process would have helped monitor the actual results of APEC's adoption of a gender integration policy and determine how effectively this was being done. The WLN is still struggling to find ways to shift from being a network to becoming a formal organization that can apply for its own funding and develop other ways of being financially sustainable.

How much of the WLN experience and model is replicable in a Canadian setting? Canadians took a lead role in the WLN's development in collaboration with the Philippines. In the process, Canada built up a core group of committed women and men leaders from different sectors with experience advocating for gender integration within a multilateral trade negotiation process. A multi-sector approach to advocacy is also a very Canadian type of model given the diversity of population and regional interests.

Need for Domestic and International Advocacy Streams

What was clear from the WLN process is that to be successful Canadians need to promote gender integration within the WTO at two levels.

- At the domestic level, promote the position that the Canadian trade negotiation process, as related to the WTO, systematically take gender issues into account.
- At the international level, promote the integration of gender as a cross-cutting issue within the WTO and build the international alliances necessary to institute this change.

Given the lack of consideration of gender issues within the Canadian WTO trade policy development process at the time this study was completed, Canadians need to do some serious work on the domestic process as soon as possible. Without a greater understanding and acknowledgment of the fact that trade policy has a differential gender impact on women and men, it will not be possible to obtain agreement that Canada take a lead role on introducing this issue and policy within the WTO itself.

This does not mean Canadians could not begin work at the international level on a parallel process. The support of the CIDA trade and development office in Geneva for the WTO–NGO symposium, *Women as Economic Actors*, is likely to lead to increased pressure at the domestic level to move ahead with advocacy efforts related to gender and WTO issues.

Several elements are in place to make the promotion of international efforts timely. First, there is now a small group of women ambassadors and like-minded male ambassadors at the WTO. This includes Canada's former WTO ambassador, Sergio Marchi, who has a solid track record and history of supporting gender and trade issues and programs from his time as trade minister. The Canadian International Development Agency has an active trade and development unit at the WTO that could also be called on for support and advice, to help build the links between Canadian gender and poverty issues and those that are a priority to developing countries and to document the linkages between poverty alleviation, gender and trade.

The domestic and international advocacy processes, while needing to be linked, will also require a different focus. The domestic advocacy process would focus on influencing the development of a gender-integrated approach to trade policy development within the WTO. The international advocacy process would focus on building an international alliance to achieve this same goal within the WTO itself. Both processes could be used to help governments identify the most optimal and strategic entry points for the integration of gender issues into the WTO process.

Perspectives to Be Represented

Critics of the trade liberalization process range widely in their viewpoints. At one end of the spectrum is the belief that the WTO process as it now exists cannot be fixed, that it is based on the wrong assumptions and is geared solely toward the extension of a corporate and neo-liberal agenda for which there are viable alternatives (Canadian Gender & Trade Consultation 2001: 8). An opposing view is that the WTO process needs to be more women-friendly so more women can benefit directly from trade liberalization. Some perspectives are based on feminist analysis; others on a range of economic principles that run the gamut from neo-liberal to Marxist. Still others view the issue from a basic human rights perspective or argue that gender-balanced policies are a fundamental requirement of development effectiveness and economic growth.

The proposed advocacy body will need to debate critical questions of principle and help define and prioritize the Canadian values that will shape Canadian trade policy at the WTO. Some of the primary questions that need to be addressed and negotiated include the following.¹⁷

- Does full employment take priority over trade promotion?

- How should Canadian governments handle the linkages and interface between social and economic policy that appears to be an integral part of international trade policy?
- Does there need to be more of a rights-based approach in Canadian trade policy related to the WTO?
- How can Canada honour the commitment made in the Beijing Platform of Action to ensure that national policies, as related to international and regional trade agreements, do not adversely impact women's new and traditional activities?
- What constitutes a service that should be provided by the public sector and thereby protected from privatization?
- What constitutes commercial discrimination and what are the essential publicly provided services that should be exempt from the WTO purview?
- What constitutes a government's right to address past socio-economic and regional imbalances through the vehicle of public policy?

Domestic Focus

The advocacy model, as outlined here, focusses on the domestic advocacy process in Canada. It does this for several reasons. The first is that there is a clear absence of a systematic gender-integrated approach within the Canadian WTO trade policy development process. Second, Canada will need to take a strong position on this issue internationally for it to be effective. To reach this point will require co-ordinated advocacy efforts on the part of the four different sectors as well as the provision of gender and trade expertise to the public-sector bodies responsible for developing WTO negotiating positions. The third reason is that international advocacy efforts already exist that are working to influence the WTO's gender and trade agenda. Therefore, it would make sense to link with these and build on their strengths rather than attempt to create new initiatives. The fourth reason is that, ultimately, it is the WTO that has to agree to the adoption of a gender-integrated approach and develop internal mechanisms to facilitate the effective application of a gender integration policy. As the WTO is a government-led body, the decisions regarding how this will be done need to come from the governments of all the member states and not just from the Canadian government.

A Canadian Gender and Trade Advocacy Model

At the domestic level, there are several criteria for the development of an effective advocacy strategy and model. They would need to:

- focus on influencing the Canadian trade policy development process at the WTO to advocate for the integration of gender issues within the WTO agreements and process;
- involve multiple stakeholders and be seen as truly representative of these stakeholders;
- have a core group of committed individuals who represent larger constituencies and have credibility within the sectors they represent;

- draw on resources of multiple sectors and mobilize advocacy and lobbying support beyond the core organizers;
- include representatives who are knowledgeable in the gender and trade area and about the WTO process, who can maintain a vision that goes beyond just their own sector; and
- develop a flexible mechanism that can accommodate diverse viewpoints and agendas in a constructive way.

Joint Committee

One organizational structure that could fit all the criteria outlined above and that seems to work well in the Canadian setting is that of a joint committee with representatives from the four sectors involved: the public, private, civil and academic.

The primary purposes of the joint committee would be to:

- develop a two-way feedback process related to the integration of gender issues within the Canadian trade policy development process at the WTO;
- create greater awareness among public-sector officials responsible for WTO trade policy development and negotiations of key gender and trade issues and the strong link between gender, trade and poverty;
- create greater awareness about key gender issues at the WTO level among the constituent members of the other three sectors involved in the joint committee;
- initiate and stimulate gender analyses of key WTO trade agreements and proposed policies;
- develop clear policy positions for each of the sectors involved related to gender and trade issues at the WTO from a Canadian perspective; and
- assist the Canadian government in identifying strategic entry points for the integration of gender issues into the WTO process.

The composition of the joint committee should at a minimum consist of two representatives from each sector. Given that civil society seems to be underrepresented in the existing trade policy consultation processes in Canada and that they seem to be the strongest advocates for change to the WTO system, there is a strong argument for having larger representation for civil society groups on this committee — possibly up to four civil society representatives.

Each sector would be called on to contribute according to its strengths, experience and resources. For example, government representatives might take on the initial co-ordination role and bring the committee's input to the attention of the appropriate senior government officials. Private-sector and civil-society representatives can help identify the key issues and rally additional advocacy support when needed. The academic sector representatives could help co-ordinate related research efforts and the gender analysis of the key WTO trade agreements. All would be called on to help develop a realistic and practical advocacy strategy.

To establish the joint committee, the WTO, DFAIT, AAFC, SWC and Industry Canada could work together to hold consultative meetings with a wider range of stakeholders from academe,

the private sector (heads of key businesswomen's associations at the national level and SME representatives) and civil society (labour, international development, women's organizations, policy think-tanks) to discuss the initiative, develop its mandate and obtain agreement on a membership selection process. Possibly, the proposed joint SWC and DFAIT interdepartmental working group on women and international trade could take this on as one of its initiatives, even if just to act as the catalyst to get it started until trade policy officials at DFAIT could be drawn into the process. If other member countries of the WTO express interest in supporting the promotion of a gender equality and integration policy at the WTO, then they could establish their own form of joint committees to support this advocacy process.

To give the committee authority, credibility and increased access to the trade policy development process, it should report directly to the three ministers responsible for establishing Canada's WTO negotiating positions: DFAIT, AAFC and Industry Canada. The ministers also need to build in a two-way feedback mechanism into the joint committee's work so it is not simply a case of the committee giving input to the ministers; they should be kept informed of how effective their policy inputs have been in terms of influencing negotiating positions. The committee could also feed information into any existing interdepartmental committees on the WTO, much the way the WLN fed information into the interdepartmental committee on APEC.

The idea is to make the existing trade policy development process more responsive to the need for gender integration as opposed to creating a new layer of bureaucracy that will slow down the trade policy development process. There are existing precedents for the formation of significant advisory bodies in the trade policy development process such as the Team Canada Inc. Advisory Board. However, existing mechanisms do not adequately reflect women's voices from civil society, labour, academe and SMEs. Even within the public sector, many would argue that although the Canadian government has made great progress in terms of equity issues, women are seriously underrepresented at senior decision-making levels.

While not all women are gender-sensitive and while the ultimate goal is to ensure that all trade officials and policy makers take responsibility for gender integration, past experience has shown that when women are underrepresented in trade negotiations, the specific issues affecting them tend not to be given any priority and, often, are not even seen as issues. Therefore, there is a strong need to ensure that these voices are not lost in the trade policy development process. This diversity of voices is a strength of the Canadian reality that the Canadian government can call upon. It is also important to work with all these diverse sectors as the trade agreements being negotiated at the WTO will not have a uniform gender impact within each sector.

Private-sector representatives would likely need to be drawn from the leadership of existing national businesswomen's associations, because most women-owned businesses in Canada are small and the women concerned do not have much time to spare for this kind of policy initiative. Many also do not have the time it would take to learn how to deal with such a complex organization as the WTO. Their business association representatives, on the other hand, are well positioned to take on this kind of role, have a significant constituency to report back to and call on, and are well informed regarding the specific gender issues affecting women in business and how to relate these issues to Canada's trade policy.

Within this grouping, there would also be a need to ensure balanced representation of Francophone and Anglophone interests, women with disabilities, Aboriginal women and ethnic minorities. To ensure this balanced representation would mean a committee of about 15 people. Not all of them should be based in Ottawa as there will be a need for geographic representation. Additional representation from other public-sector departments could be brought in as the agenda calls for it (e.g., health, finance).

Rotating Chair

The public sector will need to take the lead on this initiative since the WTO process is government-led and very diverse viewpoints exist within the four sectors related to the WTO. It also needs to be public-sector led as the process the committee is trying to influence is a public sector one. Given the need for co-ordination, the host organization may initially need to be governmental. However, to ensure that each sector contributes to the process and feels it is being adequately represented, a rotating chair could be an effective mechanism. In this way, every two or three years the chair of the joint committee would shift to a representative from one of the four sectors. This would help divide the workload among the different sectors and ensure that the agenda reflects all the interests of the member organizations. Some members of the national focus group expressed concerns that a rotating chair would also mean a rotating and therefore less effective agenda. This issue could be addressed and decided on by committee members themselves when the committee first meets.

A committee of this size and diversity will require skilled chairing as otherwise it has the potential to become highly divided with its agenda hijacked by its strongest personalities or largest funders. It may be productive to invest during the early days of the committee's formation in professional facilitation processes and support.

A senior representative from DFAIT should be the initial chair given that, ultimately, it is DFAIT that will need to present Canada's trade positions at the WTO. The chair should also have sufficient authority within DFAIT to indicate to committee members and their constituencies and to other public sector officials that gender integration related to trade policy is being taken seriously by the Canadian government.

A national focus group participant also observed that there might be some value in having a relatively neutral host such as a government body that is at arm's-length from the WTO trade negotiation process such as the Canada Management Centre.

Staff Commitment

At the domestic level, it may be challenging to find a governmental organization willing to provide the initial funding for the co-ordination needed in this kind of joint committee process. An interim alternative could be for interested parties to lobby DFAIT to allocate a staff person at least on a half-time basis to work on the development of this joint committee. Canadian International Development Agency support for the in-Canada co-ordination of the WLN costs about \$60,000 a year. Whichever organization is acting as the joint committee can also work on funding to hire a research and administrative assistant to assist with this process, possibly through Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) internship programs.

The need to support this process with a staff complement cannot be stressed enough. It is also preferable to have the person responsible for this to be a staff person as opposed to a consultant for reasons of cost effectiveness and to maintain this expertise within the public sector once the staff person has moved onto another position in the civil service. The WLN was effective, because there was consistent staffing from year to year during its initial four years of operation. This provided a corporate memory and ensured consistent co-ordination of the network's lobbying efforts. A multi-sector joint committee will require considerable co-ordination as it is going to take effort to develop consensus on negotiating among the variety of organizations that will make up its membership.

Network Building and Consultation

The joint committee members would each take on the responsibility for building a network of members within their own sector who are interested in or knowledgeable about gender and trade issues. This will likely involve providing training and awareness seminars on the WTO process for their sector at least once a year and is a process the different federal departments and their provincial counterparts could be asked to support.

The committee will have to develop its own internal process for synthesizing the input it receives and presenting coherent policy positions that reflect the views of all members. It needs to do this without diluting the overall message of the critical need to integrate gender considerations in the WTO trade policy process. It will be important to discuss who actually sets the agenda concerning trade talks in Canada and internationally, and in whose interests these talks take place.

The joint committee would use existing consultative mechanisms within DFAIT and other government departments to advocate for the inclusion and consideration of gender issues within the trade policy development process. This would include making presentations to existing bodies such as the Team Canada Inc. Advisory Board, the Academic Advisory Council, the SAGITs and active participation in the multi-stakeholder participations.

Strategic Approach

Promotion of Gender as a Cross-Cutting Issue in the WTO Process

Although there will likely be divergent views regarding the key gender issues within each WTO agreement and negotiation, it should be possible to develop a consensus within the joint committee that there is an initial need to lobby the Canadian government to adopt gender as a cross-cutting issue within its own WTO trade negotiation positions and process, and to ask DFAIT to work toward Canada taking a lead role in promoting the adoption of gender integration as a cross-cutting issue within the WTO itself.

Selection of Focus Area

As the WTO covers an enormous and complex range of topics, the joint committee might need to consider initiating its work by focussing on one particular agreement and related negotiations on a pilot basis. This would allow committee members and their networks to build an effective consultative process of their own, generate the relevant analysis of the gender impact of the agreement and negotiations in question, and develop a series of recommendations related to

the key gender issues from the perspective of the sectors they represent. This analysis and the recommendations would then be presented to DFAIT officials and could serve as the basis for future multi-stakeholder consultations and discussion papers. Given the large numbers of women workers and business owners in the service sector, it may be that a focus on a gender analysis of GATS would be a good place for the committee to start.

If other countries become more involved and adopt a similar model of operation, their joint committees could focus on other WTO agreements and negotiation processes to ensure wider coverage of key issues and to share the workload.

Representation at Ministerial Meetings

There is still an ongoing lobby to get increased representation of NGOs at the WTO. In addition, the WTO does not hold sector-specific ministerial meetings, but one trade ministerial meeting every two years. The initial goal of the joint committee could be to get the Canadian government to lobby for an international gender delegation to make a presentation on key gender issues and present related recommendations at the next ministerial meeting. This could provide a focus for the committee's recommendations and establish credibility for the committee itself.

Developing a Gender Integration Strategy

There is a need for gender and trade training for key officials at DFAIT¹⁸ and Industry Canada to introduce them to gender issues within the WTO, generate awareness of the need for the integration of a gender perspective in WTO trade negotiations and provide them with the basic tools to conduct a gender analysis. The joint committee could lobby DFAIT and Industry Canada to allocate funds to do this and could launch this process by offering an executive seminar for senior trade officials involved in the WTO process. Status of Women Canada could provide referrals from its roster of organizations qualified to do this kind of training.

Multi-Stakeholder Consultation

The joint committee could request that DFAIT hold a multi-stakeholder consultation on gender issues related to specific proposed WTO agreements. This would generate greater awareness of the gender implications of WTO agreements and negotiations, and provide DFAIT with greater input on key gender and trade issues.

Public Consultations

The joint committee could also request that DFAIT draft a discussion paper on gender integration within the WTO and initiate a public discussion and consultation of this paper.

This outline for the development of an advocacy model to integrate gender within the WTO is based on the premise that each sector will contribute to the advocacy process. In some instances, this will require financial commitments to support co-ordination activities and research; in others, a commitment of human resources and information sharing. All these commitments and contributions would have to be negotiated with and by the institutions and organizations concerned. However, past experience has shown that this kind of multi-sector

approach can be quite effective if there is strong leadership in the right places and a strong political will within counterpart positions in the public sector.

International Action and Advocacy Process

Canada would also need to work toward the development of an internationally focussed advocacy gender integration campaign within the WTO. While in some ways this process cannot happen fully until DFAIT adopts the promotion of a gender integration strategy at the WTO as a Canadian policy position, it is still important to start laying the groundwork for the alliance building and partnerships required to make this policy a reality.

To this end, CIDA's trade and development office in Geneva could be asked to support smaller initiatives to help launch this process. These include the following activities.

- Continue to help identify the countries interested in supporting a gender integration policy at the WTO that see this as a priority.
- Host a meeting with the women ambassadors and like-minded male ambassadors to the WTO to discuss internal strategies these countries could initiate to promote a gender integration policy within the WTO. A critical organizing principle in this advocacy campaign is that the structures and initiatives to be promoted need to be generated by the member countries of the WTO. The working model developed will reflect how the WTO actually operates and will have credibility within the context of the WTO.
- Commission a briefing paper on the links between trade, gender and poverty alleviation to distribute to relevant WTO officials and country representatives.
- Commission a gender analysis of the gender and poverty alleviation implications of key WTO agreements to distribute to relevant WTO officials and country representatives.
- Organize gender equality training for WTO officials and country representatives using trade-focussed gender analysis tools designed for economists.

Canada is well positioned to take a leading role in promoting a gender equality and integration initiative within the WTO. It has an international reputation in this area and a solid track record for promoting multilateral gender integration and mainstreaming initiatives. The initiative is also consistent with other foreign policy and trade initiatives the Canadian government has supported in recent years. In addition to the FTAA and APEC processes mentioned previously, the Canadian government played an important role in getting the OAS to adopt a gender mainstreaming policy in 2000. The Canadian International Development Agency is also funding a gender training program for OAS professional staff in diverse program areas, including trade.

Like-minded countries could be invited to participate. This process could also draw on a core group of developing countries for whom poverty alleviation is a priority and whose leaders understand the close links between poverty and gender and trade. It would likely be more

effective if Canada teamed up with one or two other countries to share the lead on this initiative, especially if at least one of the co-leads was a developing country.

Within Canada, this is also an opportune time to push for Canada adopting the promotion of gender integration within the WTO as a policy as the Canadian positions on the next round of negotiations at the WTO are still being developed. Thus, these positions are fairly open and there is still room to work toward the integration of key gender issues both within each negotiating position and as an overall policy.

The initial focus on the international advocacy efforts would need to be within the WTO itself. A number of external non-governmental organizations are highly interested in this issue and could be called upon for information support and resources, and to put pressure on their own national governments to support this policy initiative. However, ultimately there needs to be a WTO-based solution and, at present, that means working closely with other governments to build alliances and find viable solutions within the WTO system itself.

If the network of nationally based joint committees on gender and the WTO takes off as a result of these initiatives, the organizational network members could also work to pressure their national governments to adopt a gender integration policy within the WTO and to coordinate these efforts. As much as possible, these joint committees should be based on existing organizations as opposed to creating new ones. The network concept and organizing principle allows for maximizing existing resources and gives considerable flexibility for national and cultural variations.

The critical element is developing an overall strategy and plan for implementation in incremental steps. Otherwise, the process can overwhelm. When it is cut into more manageable pieces, it becomes possible to effect positive change. It is also important to see this advocacy initiative as a multi-year process in which both national and WTO-based advocacy planners can set yearly objectives and implement related activities, all of which can contribute to the overall goal of integrating gender issues into the WTO process and promoting increased gender equality.

A primary lesson from the WLN and APEC advocacy process is that this kind of advocacy and change takes time, careful strategizing and joint efforts by multiple countries. The WTO process is more complex than the APEC one since the WTO uses a rule of law as opposed to consensus-based system and has over 140 members compared to 21. Therefore, related negotiation processes tend to take more time and require considerable consultation to develop. Trade agreements at the multilateral level are highly complex and often require the expertise of gender-aware economists. Nevertheless, external pressure groups will continue to play an important role in increasing the profile of gender and trade issues at the WTO. Consequently, there is a need to co-ordinate both internal and external advocacy efforts in any internationally based initiatives.

6. TRADE-FOCUSSED GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS

The review of the DFAIT WTO consultative process and interviews with selected government personnel indicate Canadian trade policy related to the WTO is generated without the benefit of a systematic gender analysis. This may be partly due to the fact that most gender-based analysis models focus on the social impact of programs and projects on women. Consequently, there is a lack of material on policy-focussed gender analysis. Even less material specifically examines trade policy impacts from a gender perspective. For this reason, we developed a generic gender-based analysis tool that is trade focussed to serve as an effective tool for trade officials, researchers and civil organizations to use in conducting a basic gender analysis to support trade policy development in any context. The idea is to make gender-based analysis accessible to a wide range of Canadian people and organizations. This includes those advocating for the inclusion of gender issues within the WTO. It is also designed to help different organizations provide input into Canadian WTO trade policy positions.

Gender Analysis Models

The underlying premise is that there is a need to determine the differential impact of policies on women and men. The gender analysis tools available to researchers, analysts and activists help:

- identify barriers to the achievement of equality between women and men;
- analyze the different impact of actions, programs, policies and socio-economic trends on women and men;
- evaluate progress or change over a specific period;
- identify which gender issues to consider when designing new trade policy;
- assess different levels of access that women and men have to resources, and the degree of control and power they have over these resources;
- measure and compare women and men's participation levels within specific sectors; and
- look at changes in women and men's empowerment and levels of political power (Peebles 2001a: 1-2).

Gender analysis can be used to determine if there has been a differential impact of a policy or program on specific groups of women and men. However, generally the purpose of the overall analysis is to effect positive change in gender relations and impacts. This means it is also necessary to examine power relations between women and men as well as between and among other categories of analysis, such as race and class. This examination of power relations is an important part of any gender analysis, and the results can form a key part of the strategic response to the gender analysis.

Existing gender analysis models focus heavily on an analysis of task, resource and time allocation at the household and community levels, but do not specifically examine the power relations related to gender issues. The two best known of this type of analysis model are the

Harvard Analytical Framework and the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM). The former is based on the premise that it is essential to do a task analysis of women and men's roles in the productive, reproductive and social/political (community) sectors before developing programs and policies. The latter analyzes the potential changes in work, time, resources and socio-cultural factors that any given project or policy will cause. While both these models focus at the micro level, these same principles can be adapted and applied at the national level to macro-economic policy development. However, they are basically gender analysis tools that promote increased economic efficiency as opposed to genuine change in gender or power relations.

A key factor that both these models measure is the usage of women and men's time. Marilyn Waring (1999), a noted feminist economist, observed that time is the one factor of production that cannot be duplicated. However, within a trade context, this principle holds true only at the individual level, and it is possible within the context of the productive and reproductive spheres for women and men to duplicate their time through the purchase of someone else's labour. However, even the most basic of gender-based analyses would show that it is still much easier for men to duplicate their time in this way than it is for women. Consequently, the impact of trade policy on women's use of, and access to, time is an important dimension to integrate into any gender-based analysis of trade policy. It remains one of women's scarcest yet most used resources.

A third gender analysis model that has gained more popular usage in recent years is the Women's Empowerment and Equality Framework (WEEF) originally developed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 1993. Since the analysis required by this model is not restricted to the household level and focusses on assessing policy and project impact on individual women and groups of women, it is much easier to adapt to the macro-economic level. It asks analysts to examine the impact of particular actions and policies on women and men from the perspective of welfare, access, critical awareness, participation and control. As such, WEEF looks at the practical needs and strategic interests of women and men, and has a much stronger focus on women's empowerment.

The gender analysis tool presented below builds on these conceptual frameworks and adds the dimension of examining the impact of trade policy on men and women's gender roles in specific economic sectors. It does this by asking analysts to assess which gender roles are likely to be affected by a specific policy and to identify the primary demographic groups that will be affected as well as how they will be affected. As such, while it takes a macro-economic focus, it requires an examination of the primary actors within a specific economic sector from a gender perspective. It also incorporates some aspects of the Harvard Analytical Framework and WEEF in that it asks analysts to assess the impact of a specific trade policy on women and men's access to and control over resources within the context of specific gender roles. These are key to determining if a trade policy is leading to any kind of change in women and men's primary bases of power, which in an industrialized country such as Canada, is predominantly economic in nature.

Trade-Focussed Gender-Based Analysis

The analysis tool presented is based on an adaptation of a more generic tool originally developed by USAID. We field tested our adaptation with senior-level policy makers at the OAS and made further refinements based on their feedback. Field-test participants also attested that they found it useful in their trade-related policy work.

Most trade policy tends to focus on economic variables as opposed to demographic ones. They also do not explicitly examine power relations and how they affect them in any given society or sector. However, the primary impact of trade policy is on people, not just on commodities or services. Therefore, this model puts the people back into the policy.

To build a trade-specific gender analysis model, we first looked at existing gender analysis frameworks that target policy and selected a framework we felt could be readily adapted for use within a gender and trade policy context. The goal was to build an analytical framework that even non-economists could use as a guideline. The analytical framework we felt best fit this description is based on a policy and gender analysis tool developed by Dr. Wesley Weideman. We adapted it to fit a more specific trade focus and to include other important aspects of gender analysis that capture the issue of power relations, such as changes in women and men's access to and control over resources in a particular sector or sphere of life.

Dr. Weideman's original framework was designed for a more general analysis of policy from a gender perspective. Users analyze aspects of a specific policy and its implications for men and women using different categories of analysis. It also recognizes that, often, there is a gap between policy development and implementation. Since it focusses on the impact of existing domestically based policy, it asks users to analyze the gender impact of any legal issues related to the policy as well as of regulatory and administrative practices and provide a review of the overall macro policy context.

Dr. Weideman's original gender and policy analysis framework was laid out in a format similar to that outlined below.

Gender and Economic Analysis Framework							
	Policy	Purpose	Implementing Institution	Impact on the Economy	Impact on Men's Economic Position	Impact on Women's Economic Position	Descriptive Analysis of Impacts on Target Group(s)
Macro policy issues							
Legal issues							
Regulatory issues							
Administrative issues							

The primary changes we made from the original tool are to ask the user to:

- identify the specific demographic groups the policy concerned is likely to affect;
- ensure the impact analysis for each demographic group explicitly examines the differential impact of the policy on women and men within each demographic group;
- compare the degree of impact on the different demographic groups themselves;
- delete the sections related to macro policy, legal, regulatory and administrative issues as this is too detailed a level of analysis to be required at this stage of the policy's development;
- assess the impact of a specific trade policy on women and men's access to, and control over, resources within the context of specific gender roles; and
- include an explicit analysis of policy impact on women and men's roles and work in the different spheres in which they work (i.e., reproductive, productive and social/political work).¹⁹

This latter point means that for any given trade policy, the user will need to analyze the policy impact on women and men in the following demographic groups:

- consumers (reproductive sphere);
- business owners (small, medium and large) (productive sphere);
- workers (productive sphere); and
- family caregivers (reproductive sphere).

In some contexts, trade policy may also have an impact on women and men's work at the political/social and community levels, particularly for unpaid work. If so, add this category of analysis to the analytical framework.

We dealt with the issue of changing power relations by examining changes to women and men's access to, and control over, resources in specific sectors and spheres of their lives. This requires users to integrate access and control questions into the overall framework. We also included questions related to changes in access and control to the Demographic Group Checklist Guidelines.

Additional changes to Dr. Weideman's model include asking the user to:

- assess the current situation related to the trade policy in question for the specific demographic groups concerned prior to the policy's implementation;
- anticipate the unintended impacts of policy on the specific demographic groups or assess what the unintended impacts of the trade policy have actually been (depending on whether the user is developing or evaluating the trade policy)²⁰; and
- assess whether there are any mitigating actions required as a result of the trade policy.

For an analysis designed to ensure a new trade policy is gender integrated and will lead to a gender-balanced result, this section helps users suggest ways in which a proposed policy initiative might be revised before its implementation. For an analysis focussing on the gender impact of an existing trade policy, they could use this section to recommend ways in which any negative or unintended impacts of the trade policy with regard to gender equity could be addressed.

Finally, we suggest users develop a checklist of key gender-related questions for each interest group to help collect the data needed to conduct the analysis.

To summarize, the Gender and Trade Policy Analysis Framework includes the following categories of analysis:

- identify the purpose, sector and implementing institutions responsible for the policy as well as the specific demographic groups concerned;
- assess the current and future situation of these groups, anticipating any unintended negative or positive policy impacts for each group;
- develop a mitigation strategy in response to this assessment;
- examine other factors that can have an influence on policy impact;
- use a checklist of key gender-related questions for each interest group; and
- ask what kind of impact the proposed policy will have on women and men's access to, and control over, the resources they need to operate effectively in a specific sphere or sector.

We presented the gender and trade policy analysis tool in a framework format to serve as a guide and outline for analysis as opposed to being a chart that is filled out. It can also be used to determine if a more in-depth gender analysis is needed or if external expertise will be required.

Gender and Trade Policy Analysis Framework							
1	2	3	4	5		6	7
Trade Policy and Sector	Purpose	Implementing Institutions	Specific Demographic Groups	Current Primary Issues for Specific Demographic Groups		Expected Impact on Specific Demographic Groups (Including Their Access to and Control Over Key Resources)	Mitigating Actions Required
				Male	Female	Male	Female
			Consumers*				
			Family caregivers*				
			Workers*				
			Business owners*				
			Producers*				
			English				
			French				
			Urban				
			Rural				
			Indigenous				
			Immigrant				
			People with disabilities				
			Etc.				

Note:

* An asterisk indicates a basic category analysts will always need to consider in developing any kind of trade policy impact analysis.

This analytical tool is based on the assumption that all policies have a different impact on women and men as well as on different interest groups within any given country. Thus, depending on the mandate of the organization or institution, you can choose to focus on a range of different interest groups or on just one.

Within a Canadian context, for example, the federal government would need to include many different demographic groups to be representative at the national level. These could include Francophones, Anglophones, rural, urban, First Nations peoples, immigrants and refugees, men and women with disabilities and different age groups. An NGO that advocates on behalf of domestic workers might only want to conduct its analysis on issues related to women and men workers in the service sector or narrow the focus to include only domestic workers.

Since this tool provides guidelines to analyze potential policy impacts on different categories of male and female target groups within the population, advocacy groups and trade analysts can use it to analyze a range of cross-cutting issues within a trade policy context and not just gender. It can also be used to assess how to adapt existing and proposed trade policies so they explicitly support increased gender equality. By comparing the anticipated or actual impact on different groups of women and men, you can also use the tool to assess the relationship between categories of analysis to some degree (e.g., female business owners and female single household heads).

Dealing with the Lack of Sex-Disaggregated Data

The primary challenge likely remains the limited availability of sex-disaggregated data. While some of these data will be readily available, in some critical areas they will not. This is a challenge that faces any kind of gender-based analysis regardless of which analytical tool is used. In these instances, a primary impact may be to identify these gaps so the information can be used to reinforce advocacy efforts related to the collection of sex-disaggregated data or to direct future research agendas and funding. Thus, it can serve as a starting point to promote positive action related to the collection of sex-disaggregated data on the impact of international trade policy. Sometimes, it is also possible to develop alternative means of comparisons that are statistically valid or based on an analysis of data that are primarily qualitative in nature.

When critical sex-disaggregated data are unavailable, a rough assessment of what you think the potential policy impact will be can be done based on the data available and the checklist guidelines. Clearly state what indicators you used in this assessment.

How to Use the Gender and Trade Policy Analysis Framework

For the most part, headings in the Gender and Trade Policy Analysis Framework are self-explanatory. Some tips are included to keep in mind when conducting this analysis as are examples related to what the analysis might look like if applied to a specific WTO trade agreement or policy in a Canadian context.

The trade agreement selected to use as an example is GATS. An aspect of GATS that is of great interest to Canadians is the lobbying by some member states of the WTO to amend this agreement to open up national health care facilities to foreign ownership by expanding the scope of services covered by GATS. The following examples look at how amendments to GATS might increase privatization of the Canadian health care system, a subject that is already a source of hot debate in this country and which has significant gender implications.

Trade Policy and Sector (Heading 1)

In general, the primary gender issues will differ from sector to sector in addition to from demographic group to demographic group.

Example

In the health care sector, specific policies Canadians need to examine would be those federal and provincial health policies regarding which services can be delivered as private services and which ones will be provided by the state.

Purpose (Heading 2)

Assess whether the policy has any explicitly stated gender equality objectives. Keep in mind that the stated purpose of the policy is not always reflected in the policy's actual results (e.g., regulations and laws developed to protect the position of women may sometimes damage their economic or social position, or may have an uneven impact on women and men, sometimes favouring women and sometimes favouring men in the policy sector concerned) (Weideman 1994).

Example

Most people and government officials would perceive the issue of private-sector health care services versus public-sector support for health care to be gender neutral (i.e., there is no apparent gender bias in the policy's proposed purpose). However, if the purpose of a health care access policy is to ensure full and timely access to health care by the general population, this could lead to considerable debate as to which system — the private or the public health care system — will provide the Canadian public with universal access health care.

Some analysts would argue that a private health system favours those with more money. Given that Canadian men still make more money than women, some analysts might be concerned that privatization of any aspect of the health care system would lead to decreased access to health care for women. Alternatively, other analysts might argue that a competitive health care system will ensure that priorities are given to where there is a consumer demand, such as breast cancer treatment and this would mean an improvement in women's access to the specific care and services they need. The implications of these issues all need to be considered when accessing the stated policy purpose.

Implementing Institutions (Heading 3)

Trade policy design and implementation often focusses narrowly on a sectoral ministry and underestimates or ignores the impacts that originate in other ministries or sectors.

Example

A health care policy that promotes privatization of the health care sector and invites foreign competition and investment in health care services in Canada would also be the purview of the provincial ministries of commerce and would not be restricted to the provincial ministries of health.

Specific Demographic Groups (Heading 4)

Since this is both a gender and trade-focussed tool, include consumers, family caregivers, workers, and SME and large business owners in the analysis, and disaggregate the analysis by sex for each group.

Example

Expand the range of demographic groups to include specific sub-groups among the population particularly affected by the potential privatization of additional health care services, such as health care workers and the owners of health-related businesses. In the Canadian context, one would also need to include specific geographic groups and other important categories of analysis such as age, ethnicity, marital status and sexual orientation. The level of specificity required will depend on the resources available as well as the micro- or macro-economic level of the analysis.

Current Primary Issues for Specific Demographic Groups (Heading 5)

This information can serve two purposes. First, it is a baseline for comparisons over an extended period once the policy starts to be implemented. The other is to identify existing problems or areas of concern.

One National Focus Group participant asked exactly how to determine which sex-disaggregated data are relevant and correlate to aspects of the policy. Essentially, analysts can use several different gender analysis tools to determine general categories of data to collect. The first is to assess which interest and demographic groups are most likely to be affected by the policies in question and which spheres of work by women and men need to be included (e.g., family caregivers, consumers).

Another tool that could be useful is to conduct an initial general analysis of what impact the proposed policy is likely to have on women and men's access to, and control over, key resources in each demographic area. For family caregivers, this may indicate a need to do a household-level survey and collect data at a more micro-economic level. The decision to look at producers and business owners may call for a more macro-economic form of analysis. Essentially, the analysis model does not provide all the answers ahead of time. However, identifying key demographic and interest groups will provide research and analysis guidelines for the process.

Example

The current situation in health care in Canada with regard to which services are publicly funded and which ones are provided by the private sector differs from province to province. Therefore, an analysis of the potential impact of amendments to GATS would have to be done at the provincial as well as national levels. The analysis would first need to review which services

are provided under the public health care system and which ones are provided privately in each province. It would then assess whether these policies lead to any differences in services for specific groups of women and men. For example, there is a general tendency within the health care sector to carry out health care research predominantly on men despite the fact that women and men's different physiology and socio-economic conditions can mean significant differences both in how a disease presents itself and in the success of specific treatment regimes. In this instance, analysts would need to ascertain if there is any evidence that shows if a private sector-led health industry would lead to a positive change in this practice or if it would maintain or reinforce past patterns.

Expected Impact on Specific Demographic Groups (Heading 6)

Analyze what can be anticipated as the primary will be affected by the policy. Be explicit about the criteria selected to assess whether this impact is negative or positive. In some cases, these effects may be obvious, while in others you will only be able to hypothesize about probable impact and then allocate funds for further testing or monitoring (Weideman 1994). An important analytical category to include is the impact the proposed policy is likely to have on the access women and men from specific demographic groups have to the resources they need to operate in a particular sector or sphere of their lives and how these changes might affect their primary gender roles.

National Focus Group participants also recommended the following.

- Pre-test the sex-disaggregated indicators used to measure potential and actual policy impact to ensure they measure the intended aspects of the impact.
- Do follow-up measurements at intervals that are relevant to the policy, the sector and the interest groups.
- Give some thought to whether other factors might be influencing any noted changes.

Example

One obvious impact of a WTO trade policy position that favours privatization of the health care sector is that it would likely increase business opportunities for both small and large health-oriented businesses. Given the dominance of women in the health care sector, this would likely lead to new business opportunities for women business owners and increase their control of the means of production. It could also lead to the creation of new jobs for women workers in this sector. Others would argue that a privatized health care system would mean that, as consumers, some groups of women, particularly poor women, would have far less access to health care than is possible under a public health care system, which would lead to a reduction in women's power and quality of life. Data collection initiatives would test these two hypotheses, and organizations could then use the results to support their input in the development of official Canadian positions related to the WTO.

Unintended Impacts

If there are any unintended impacts, identify these explicitly here. Sometimes, the impact will not be a direct result of the policy being analyzed, but will be an indirect result.

Example

A trade policy that provides special tax incentives for foreign investors may depend on increasing domestic taxes in other areas or reductions to government programs to offset the proposed decrease in tax revenue required to support the policy. These tax increases or program cuts can have a negative impact at the consumer and household or family caregiver level. Therefore, they need to be mentioned in the assessment. This is particularly critical in the health care debate as cuts in public services generally lead to an increased workload for women at the household level since Canadian women provide most household-related health care.

Mitigating Actions Required (Heading 7)

Outline alternative courses of action that can be taken by the institutions responsible for the trade policy's development and implementation to ensure the proposed policy contributes to gender equality or to mitigate any potential negative impacts of the policy on any of the target groups identified.

As discussed by National Focus Group participants, another alternative is to suggest changes in the policy that would lead to a positive result for the demographic group in question as opposed to only making changes that focus on a mitigation strategy. They also recommended that if an analysis shows a policy will have a negative impact, a cost/benefit analysis is probably in order. Any proposed changes to the policy would have to be evaluated for possible negative results as well.

Example

If the Canadian government decided to adopt a pro-private sector position related to GATS and health care services, and the research showed this would result in decreased access to specific types of services such as MRI tests, it would be necessary to work out strategies to ensure poverty groups continue to have fair access to health care. This is particularly critical as women are disproportionately represented among Canada's poor.

Demographic Group Checklist Guidelines

Analysts can ask themselves the following list of questions when developing their own analytical framework. These questions represent typical gender-based policy impacts for specific demographic groups or gender roles and could be readily adapted to fit the health care sector issues identified above. They are based on the premise that there is a general sexual division of labour in which women and men's gender roles in each society or culture help determine the kind of work men and women do and how much or even whether they are paid for this work. It asks you to examine this division of labour from the productive, reproductive and social/political spheres. In this instance, productive labour refers to any kind of work — paid or unpaid — that men and women do to support themselves and their families or dependants. Reproductive labour refers to any tasks

required for family or house care. Social/political labour refers to time spent on volunteer, community-focussed or local political activities.

While this division of labour differs from country to country, even in those with a high Gender Development Index (GDI) according to the United Nations,²¹ distinct patterns of a sexual division of labour occur in certain economic sectors and within the reproductive and social/political sectors. This is why it is important to examine each demographic group from both male and female perspectives. The checklist guideline questions are based on this sexual division of labour and on the premise that time is a scarce commodity that cannot be duplicated. Therefore, the policy impact on time expended in each sector and by each interest group is an important factor in the analysis.

For each demographic group, it is important to answer all relevant questions for both women and men. However, not all questions will necessarily need to be answered each time you conduct a gender-based analysis of a trade policy. You will need to pick and choose the questions that are the most relevant for the interest groups with which you are working. How many you use will also depend on how much sex-disaggregated data are available and the research and analytical resources. Where data are not available, the analysis will, of necessity, need to focus on whether the policy will have a negative or positive impact on the interest groups concerned and why.

Women and Men as Consumers

- Will this policy likely affect prices in this sector?
- Do men or women make or influence the primary consumer decisions in this sector?
- What impact do you think an increase in primary consumer goods in this sector would have on individual and family finances? For example, is it likely to affect family nutrition levels or important consumer purchases and savings/debt ratios?
- What impact would a decrease in primary consumer goods in this sector likely have on individual and family finances?
- What are women and men's priorities for consumption in this sector? Are they any different?
- Are these policy changes likely to affect how long it takes to obtain the primary consumer items in this sector?
- Are these policy changes likely to affect whether it is women or men who make the majority of purchases in this sector?
- Will this policy affect women and men's consumer power?
- Is this policy likely to increase/decrease the amount of time it takes women/men to purchase primary consumer items in this sector?

Women and Men as Family Caregivers

- Will this policy likely lead to any kind of increase or decrease in the amount of time women and men have to spend on family care (includes child and elder care, meal preparation, family health care, child education and tutoring, recreation and athletic supervision, etc.)?
- Will this policy likely lead to any kind of increase or decrease in the amount of time women and men have to spend on house care (includes house maintenance, cleaning, yard work, domestic garbage disposal, payment of utilities bills, rent or mortgage payments, etc.)?
- Will this policy likely lead to any changes in gender roles or the division of reproductive labour between women and men?
- Will this policy likely lead to women or men, or both, having more power over domestic decisions?

Women and Men as Workers

- Will this policy likely lead to any changes in the conditions of work or pay for women and men?
 - Is there likely to be an increase in part-time or full-time work for either sex?
 - Is there likely to be an increase or decrease in job security for either sex in this sector?
 - Is there likely to be an increase/decrease in unionized positions in this sector as a result of this policy?
 - Will workers in this sector earn more/less/the same amount of money as a result of this policy?
- Will this policy likely lead to a loss or increase in job opportunities for women and men in this sector?
- If it will lead to the creation of new jobs for women or men, or for both sexes, what is the quality of these jobs (working conditions, status, level, pay, etc.)?
- Will this policy likely provide women or men, or both, with more control over the income they earn?
- Will this policy likely increase/decrease/maintain the level of women and men's unpaid work in family businesses and farms?
- Will this policy likely increase/decrease/maintain the decision-making levels of male and female workers in this sector?
- Will this policy likely increase/decrease/maintain the hours women and men work in this sector?

Women and Men as Business Owners

- Will this policy likely lead to any changes in the access of women-led and men-led businesses to credit, technology, market information, education and training, and finances?
- Will this policy likely lead to any increase/decrease in company sales for women or men?
- Will this policy likely lead to any increase/decrease in the amount of time it takes to operate the business for women or men?
- Will this policy likely lead to an increase/decrease in international trade opportunities for women-led/men-led businesses?

Summary

This gender analysis tool is intended to be flexible. Analysts and organizations using it are welcome to adapt it to fit the sector in which they work or to combine it with any other gender or trade policy analysis models, such as the Harvard Analytical Framework or the Empowerment and Equality Framework, described earlier. It focusses on assisting analysts to develop the kinds of questions they need to ask to be able to conduct a basic gender analysis related to international trade policy.

While it may not be possible to obtain all the sex-disaggregated data required for a detailed analysis, analysts can either take measures to come up with alternative means of comparison or effectively conduct a qualitative form of analysis. Sometimes, where data are missing, there is a danger the results will be speculative. Often however, these speculations can be backed up by data from similar situations in other countries or sectors, or can be used to raise important questions that trade policy makers are not likely to have considered. The analytical framework can also be used as a tool to indicate what kinds of analysis policy makers need to be doing themselves to develop gender-balanced policy impacts.

One National Focus Group participant observed that gender analysis frameworks developed for international development projects and social policy analysis may be too detailed to be useful as a starting point for those engaged in trade policy. Instead, the focus may need to shift to greater visibility for women's economic activities, so data can be fed into trade policy machinery (e.g., sex-disaggregated data on women's businesses — formal and informal — and their export activity (in goods and services). This would allow finer analyses to be done on the sectors experiencing growth or negative impacts as a result (possibly) of trade policy. To make a decision in this regard requires a sector-by-sector assessment related to the specific WTO trade agreements being analyzed. The joint committee could use the Gender and Trade Policy Analytical Framework as an initial guide to determine if there is a need to conduct a more detailed gender analysis first or to identify the areas they need to push for increased visibility via the collection of specific types of sex-disaggregated data.²²

In the gender analysis tool we introduce, one underlying premise is that the impact of trade policy is not strictly economic. Rather, it affects a wide range of human interactions. Therefore, we posit, trade policy development needs to take a more holistic approach to economic analysis than is current practice. This means trade analysts will need to include variables, such as age, sex, class, geographic location, and gender relations and roles, when determining the potential impact of a proposed policy. In general, there is a need to put a more human face on international trade policy. From a sustainable development perspective, the bottom line is not just dollars and cents, but also human security and equality.

Gender-based analysis is a tool trade officials can use to uncover and highlight this human face and assist in the development of a broader-based form of economic analysis. It is particularly important to use gender analysis as a tool in the development of trade policy, because most trade officials and trade workers do not see gender and trade as inextricably linked. Using gender-based analysis to support the trade policy development process demonstrates these linkages quite clearly. It also adds the human dimension to trade policy and, ultimately, will help make trade policy more effective in achieving its overall goal — that of increased sustainable development and prosperity for all populations.

7. FOCUS GROUP RESPONSE TO GENDER AND TRADE ADVOCACY, AND TRADE-FOCUSSED GENDER ANALYSIS MODELS

Methodology

Kartini International ran a series of on-line focus/discussion groups to test the draft gender and WTO advocacy model and the draft trade-focussed gender analysis model. The focus/discussion groups were held in both English and French for four weeks in late March/early April 2003.

The invitation list covered a representative selection of public, private, civil and academic representatives, which also reflected the diversity of the Canadian population. Subsequently, 175 selected organizations and individuals interested in gender and trade issues or in advocacy work with the WTO received invitations. Each invitee received a summarized copy of the draft gender and WTO advocacy model and of the draft trade-focussed gender analysis tool so even if they did not choose to participate, the announcement of the focus/discussion group would generate greater awareness of gender and trade issues at the WTO and within the Canadian context. They also received a summarized briefing paper on key gender issues at the WTO. Comments and observations from the National Focus Group were then noted and, where possible, integrated back into the advocacy and gender analysis models.

A total of 76 people registered on the WTO and Gender Web site with 22 participants registering specifically for the French discussion group (28 percent) and 54 (72 percent) for the English group. Of this number, 43 (56.5 percent) were from civil society groups, 13 (17 percent) from both the private and academic sectors and 10 (13 percent) from the public sector. There was a total response rate of 43 percent from the invitation list. The site was set up so, if people chose, their identities would not be posted on the bulletin board.

The focus/discussion group was posted in a bulletin board format with specific topic rooms. The discussion group topics posted in both languages included:

- the draft Canadian gender and WTO advocacy model;
- the draft trade-focussed gender analysis model;
- gender issues at the WTO; and
- Canadian advocacy efforts related to WTO and gender.

Initially, separate topic rooms were set up for the private, public, civil and academic sectors but based on early feedback from a test sample, topic areas were reduced to simplify the process.

The focus/discussion groups initially had a slow start, in part due to the start of the U.S. war on Iraq, which captured people's attention in different ways for the first two weeks the focus/discussion groups were operating. However, by the end of the four-week period, there had been 474 hits on the site with the following breakdown of interest²³:

- draft Canadian gender and WTO advocacy model topic room: English – 149/ French – 122;
- draft trade-focussed gender analysis model topic room: French – 138/ English – 150;
- gender issues at the WTO: English – 230/ French 162; and
- Canadian advocacy efforts related to WTO and gender: French – 122/ English – 122.

Proportionately, Francophone participants were more active. The more general topic of gender issues at the WTO also attracted more discussion and attention. In total there were 15 posted responses in the topic room. This is a response rate of 19.7 percent of the actual participants in the focus/discussion group process.

The comments came equally from the private, civil and academic sectors. One public-sector invitee sent an e-mail expressing interest, but indicating she was not allowed to comment in a public forum of this nature on policy issues. With the relatively small size of the response group, the main comments were summarized without distinguishing the sectoral origin of the respondents.

Summary of Responses

Draft Gender, Trade and WTO Advocacy Model Responses

- Any joint committee/task force/advisory council that may be established has to be multi-sectoral and have some impact (i.e., direct access to decision makers and policy writers with accountability).
- Most Canadian businesswomen do not even know what the WTO is, unless, they or their business has been directly affected by a WTO ruling or policy. Therefore, a big education thrust is needed to get some quality input into the WTO and gender integration process.
- To have a voice at the macro-level would involve an investment of time and effort, which is usually beyond most small business enterprises run by female entrepreneurs. To remain a determined positive force in any community, can sometimes take several failures before success, especially when balancing family demands and scarce economic resources with a personal vision.
- It may be unrealistic to expect each sector to contribute in the same way to the cost of a joint committee.
- As trade policy becomes increasingly complex, many sectors will need to be involved, so a committee involving only SWC and DFAIT may be too narrow a base. An investment in nurturing a horizontal network of gender advocates in key federal departments (agriculture, industry, health, immigration, human resources, environment, CIDA and DFAIT) would be useful.

- It might be useful to rely on a non-government, academic (i.e., "neutral") host for this, or a government mechanism that is a step removed from interdepartmental politics (e.g., the Canadian Centre for Management Development).
- Another question is whether, and how to link up with other civil society organization initiatives attempting to influence trade policy.
- A very strong case needs to be made as to why Canada should promote gender integration in the WTO and make stronger efforts to address gender in its own trade policy-making process.
- Will participation in this forum allow the promotion of opinions contrary to the WTO's?
- Canada should reconfirm its principle of social responsibility and infuse its policies and advocacy with values of justice and equity.
- The model does not include a role for Parliament or its committees (SCFAIT or any Senate committee). Both have resources to support some policy-oriented research, and both are interested in trade policy.
- One disadvantage of a rotating chair is the likelihood of a rotating agenda.
- Developing, implementing and evaluating policy is a function of a government that is informed and advised and also monitored by a broader constituency. Funding for this kind of work should be from government, particularly to avoid the appearance of, or potential for, bias (e.g., if one corporate donor provides much of the funding). It is also important that outputs from this work are readily available to the public.
- Many departments and levels of government are drawn into trade policy, so limiting the focus to DFAIT, IC and SWC could be counter-productive. It would be difficult to communicate the domestic implications of policy if Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Health Canada and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada were excluded from discussions. At some point, linkages with provincial and municipal jurisdictions will be important (e.g., when discussing the implications of GATS).

Draft Trade-Focussed Gender Analysis Model Responses

In addition to the national focus group comments already integrated into the gender analysis model, other focus group observations included the following.

- To use these types of tools, there has to be a certain level of awareness of the WTO — that there even are gender issues and what trade policy is and how it affects us and our businesses. We still do not have a national body for women in business that can really use these types of tools effectively.

- The driving force behind our organization is our market — women entrepreneurs. Therefore, any information we gather that allows us to know and understand the segments of our market better is of benefit.
- If an analysis shows a policy will have a negative impact, a cost/benefit analysis is probably in order. Any proposed changes to the policy would have to be evaluated for possible negative results.
- In applying the policy analysis, other characteristics to consider (along with age, geographic location and education levels, as outlined) include income, marital status, parental status and sector experience levels.
- The gender analysis frameworks developed for international development projects and social policy analysis may be too detailed to be useful as a starting point for those engaged in trade policy. The focus may need to shift to greater visibility for women's economic activities, so data can be fed into trade policy machinery (e.g., sex-disaggregated data on women's businesses, both formal and informal), and finer analyses can be done on the sectors experiencing growth or negative impacts as a (possible) result of trade policy.
- There is a growing body of literature on impacts of trade liberalization in some sectors, in some countries. The SWC-funded research studies should contribute to a better understanding of some of the implications in Canada.
- The analysis model should strive to eliminate the (negative) impacts of trade on women. It seems that it is not enough to mitigate them as this assumes acceptance of a tolerance threshold.
- It is essential to build efficient bridges so social issues and policies are no longer considered at the margin of the questions now considered dominant, such as trade. The groups dealing with gender inequalities should not work in isolation, but should share a common objective — breaking ghettoization.
- The analysis tool is very well done. It could be used to think through the differentiated impacts of policies such as the Trade Related Intellectual Property Measures (TRIPS). It would work quite well.
- It is an excellent idea to differentiate between women and men, and across women themselves according to their different roles. The checklist at the end is very useful in thinking through the possible impacts.
- It might be helpful to introduce some additional analytical concepts like “access to” and “control over resources.” This might help people think about how female and male producers, for example, might have a different level of access to resources, such as credit or land (whether because of laws, tradition or their socio-economic positions).

- The joint committee idea for conducting gender analyses is interesting. One caution has to do with accountability, transparency and capacity building in government. Would the data on which analyses are conducted be available for others to analyze too? Is it possible to also look at mechanisms to develop the capacity in government departments to do their own impact analyses?

Gender Issues at the WTO Responses

People likely only become aware of gender and trade issues when they realize it has a direct effect on them or their business.

- With reference to the linkages between the environment, gender and development, there are two main concerns in relation to the gender impacts of the WTO. The first has to do with the fact that policies to protect both women's rights and the environment are considered commercial discrimination. The preservation of biodiversity is essential to human survival and is of particular importance to the lives of rural women of the south. I have not given as much thought to the gender impacts of the WTO in Canada but I stand in solidarity with women of the south, who in many places, are the main food producers and caregivers. The erosion of biodiversity affects them and impacts on their livelihood and that of their family in a particular way. The richer and more diverse the forest, for instance, the easier it is for women to provide their family with the firewood and other resources they need, and the more time they have for other, possibly income-generating, activities. Conversely, deforestation may lead to water scarcity, which also makes life more difficult for women who are responsible for fetching water.
- A second related worry is that TRIPS commodifies environmental knowledge, which happens to be socially differentiated according to gender and other factors. The gender-specific division of labour, property rights, decision-making processes and perceptions of the environment all shape local knowledge and the use and management of natural resources. In many places, women are important bearers of environmental knowledge. However, the patent system, which allows corporations to patent seeds and other genetic materials, is largely inaccessible to women primarily because of a lack of funds but also because many have not received the education necessary to manoeuvre the very complex legalities of the system. Knowledge is not only taken away from women, particularly indigenous women, they also bear a large share of the burden when they suddenly can no longer afford to purchase the plants they have traditionally grown. Canada should advocate against patenting essential agricultural products and medicinal plants, and for the development of an intellectual property rights recognition system that is more respectful of non-Western cultures and economic systems.

Responses to Moderators' Facilitation Questions

What constitutes a service that should be provided by the public sector and thereby protected from privatization?

What constitutes commercial discrimination and what are essential publicly provided services that should be exempt from WTO purview?

- Education, health and water are three services that ought to be provided by the public sector and protected from commercial privatization. Our experience in Tanzania showed that in the case of education, privatization has led to the development of a three-tier education system, one for the rich/powerful, one for the middling well to do, and one for the majority who are impoverished and disempowered. The majority of children in both rural and urban areas attend under-resourced, low-performing public schools.
- The outcome of privatization in education has been to increase the gap between the “haves” and “have nots” in access to quality schooling, and to contribute to the class formation process. The energies of the intellectuals and other members of the middle class have been diverted from pressing for improvement in the public school system. Instead, they have enrolled their children in the top private schools.
- With respect to the second question, basic social services should be exempt from WTO purview. Education, health and water are public goods. They provide services that are the right of all citizens, regardless of urban–rural location, class, gender, race or religion. Strong public systems of delivery have historically been the sole means to achieve equity and justice in provision of these services in developed and underdeveloped countries.

Does there need to be more of a rights-based approach in Canadian trade policy related to the WTO?

- Rights and responsibilities (personal and collective) should go hand in hand. Of course, recognizing and ensuring the respect of human rights is essential. However, without raising awareness about collective and individual responsibilities, and identifying and defining those responsibilities, unequal relationships will persist. Rights and responsibilities are not theoretically different for men and women. However, people’s social and economic position in society, the means available to them, and the roles most often played by men and women determine their ability to exercise their rights and responsibilities. How can Canada ensure that national policies related to international and regional trade agreements do not have an adverse impact on women’s new and traditional activities?
- New priorities and structural changes are needed. Values of justice, dignity and equality should orient these changes, which can only come from an awareness-raising process and grass-roots action tools. It will be impossible to get there without clear political will, backed up by means.

Summary

While the sample size does not allow for drawing definitive conclusions, many more people visited this discussion group than actually made comments. The overall number of registrations for this site was an indication that there are still issues that either need to be addressed or are of concern to the interest groups focussing on gender and trade issues at the WTO. Overall, using an electronic format to run a focus group was not the most optimal way to obtain direct feedback on a complex issue. It was, however, a highly effective tool for

generating greater awareness of the key issues related to gender and trade at the WTO and for reaching a cross section of Canadians at the national level.

The primary suggestions respondents made related to the draft advocacy and gender analysis models included the following.

Gender and WTO Advocacy Model

- Any advocacy model related to gender and WTO issues will need to include a strong education component due to the complex nature of the WTO system and process, and the limited time potential participants in a joint committee have to give to this issue.
- The advocacy process needs to be open to, and inclusive of, divergent points of view on key WTO and gender issues. It also needs to be accessible and accountable.
- There is a need for a neutral host organization to act as the initial home for a multi-sector gender and WTO advocacy network.
- The governmental base needs to be much broader than SWC and DFAIT. It should encompass provincial and municipal governments, and include a role for Parliament or its committees (such as the SCFAIT or Senate committees).
- Funding for this kind of initiative needs to come from the government to maintain neutrality and transparency, since public policy development is a government function.
- The use of a rotating chair mechanism may lead to a lack of continuity in the agenda and actions of the joint committee.

Trade-Focussed Gender Analysis Model

- The model needs to include a more explicit explanation of control and access issues as well as guidelines for how one determines which sex-disaggregated data are relevant and correlate to aspects of the policy.
- If an analysis shows a policy will have a negative impact, a cost/benefit analysis is also needed. This would apply to any proposed changes to the policy as well.
- The sex-disaggregated indicators used for measurement need to be pre-tested to ensure they actually measure the intended aspects of the impact.²⁴
- The analysis model may be too complex a starting point for some organizations.²⁵
- The analysis model represents a much needed gender analysis tool at the policy level.
- It is critical to get different government departments to conduct their own gender analysis of trade policy to ensure the full impact of trade policy is documented and taken into consideration and to ensure that gender is not segregated as a special interest issue.²⁶

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

To mount an effective advocacy campaign to integrate a gender perspective in Canada's policy positions at the WTO requires the active participation of the public, civil, private and academic sectors. However, given the public policy focus of this research report, the recommendations below are directed to specific federal government departments.

These recommendations are based on:

- information and issues raised during interviews with public sector officials;
- input from the focus group participants;
- concerns raised by Canadian non-governmental organizations involved in advocacy work with the WTO;
- feedback on the gender analysis tool from senior policy makers from the OAS;
- a review of the existing literature on gender and trade issues at the WTO and the Canadian trade policy process; and
- the researchers' experience working on a similar process with APEC and the WLN and the results of a recent evaluation of this process.

This body of data and the subsequent analysis recommended the following courses of action.

Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Foreign Affairs and International Trade has already played an active role in promotion and support of gender integration issues in trade negotiation and policy development processes related to APEC and the FTAA. The Department could build on its successes in this area through implementation of the following recommendations.

1. Women's voices are missing from the table with regard to the WTO consultations. While DFAIT's existing transparent, consultative process is open to the public, it is not reaching Canadian women in general and is most definitely not reaching specific sub-groups of Canadian women. This indicates a need for DFAIT to assess why and to devise a strategy to ensure there is greater input from representative groups of Canadian women in the WTO policy position development process.
2. There is a need to form a multi-sector gender and trade consultative group with regard to gender issues at the WTO. This could take the form of a joint committee with representatives from the public, private, civil and academic sectors. Each sector could contribute toward the financing or operation of this committee. The initial seed funding for the committee's co-ordination and establishment would need to come from the public sector given that the WTO trade policy process is ultimately a governmental one and is in a pivotal position to facilitate the launching of this consultative process. The joint committee should be structured so it is a two-way feedback process much like the Team

Canada Inc. Advisory Board. It's impact would be more significant if it could be chaired by a senior DFAIT official.

Canada is a world leader with regard to gender mainstreaming processes. Foreign Affairs and International Trade could help Canada actively consolidate Canada's position as a world leader and innovator in this area by promoting the adoption of a gender integration policy at the WTO. To do this effectively and to respond to the concerns raised by the focus group participants and other trade policy interest groups in Canada, DFAIT would also need to consider the following.

3. Adopt explicit gender analysis and integration measures in all of DFAIT's trade policy development.
4. Draft a briefing paper on key gender issues for Canadians at the WTO for posting on the DFAIT Web site to facilitate greater consultations with the Canadian public on these issues.
5. Work in collaboration with CIDA's trade and development office to devise an international strategy to lobby for the adoption of this policy.
6. Ensure that Canada's WTO delegations and appointments are gender-balanced and representative of the public, private, civil and academic sectors.
7. Ensure a balance between support for the interests of women workers and those of women exporters in the WTO trade policy development process.

Industry Canada

Industry Canada already has initiated many innovative programs to support women exporters and entrepreneurs. The Department could complement these programs in the following ways.

1. Work with DFAIT to develop gender integrated policy positions at the WTO.
2. Continue funding research on specific trade policy issues related to the experience and situation of women exporters and entrepreneurs in Canada and give particular attention to research on the impact of trade policies on women exporters and workers.

Status of Women Canada

Status of Women Canada contributes to the process of integrating gender issues in the trade policy process by funding diverse gender and trade-related research projects, holding consultations on related topics with Canadian women's organizations, and co-chairing the Women in International Business Development Committee with DFAIT. Status of Women Canada, like many of its counterpart ministries in both industrialized and developing

countries, has a large mandate and a relatively small budget. Within this budgetary and human resource context, SWC needs to consider the viability of the following.

1. Host a follow-up consultative meeting with Canadian women's organizations on the WTO and gender issues.
2. Ask the representatives of Canadian women's organizations at the follow-up consultative meeting to nominate non-governmental representatives who could participate in the Women in International Business Development Committee.
3. Use its own powers of influence to encourage DFAIT to promote a gender integration process at the WTO, and conduct a gender analysis of key WTO policy positions.
4. Work with CIDA to conduct a gender analysis of the potential impact of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture on women and men in developing countries as well as in Canada.
5. Push for greater accountability in the implementation of the gender-based analysis policy by *all* government departments and by DFAIT in particular.
6. Continue work on the support of an interdepartmental network on gender and trade to broaden the understanding and interest in this area beyond DFAIT and Industry Canada.
7. Conduct an analysis on the most strategic entry points to influence the WTO process and to integrate gender and the trade issues in collaboration with CIDA, DFAIT, Industry Canada and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada.

Canadian International Development Agency

The Canadian International Development Agency is to be congratulated on its success in helping obtain agreement from the WTO to co-host a joint WTO–NGO symposium, Women as Economic Actors in Sustainable Development, in Geneva in June 2003.²⁷ This development is a critical first move in getting the WTO to take a serious look at adopting an effective gender integration policy. To build on this success, it is recommended that CIDA consider the following.

1. Commission a briefing paper on the links between trade, gender and poverty alleviation to distribute to relevant WTO officials and country representatives.
2. Commission a gender analysis of the gender and poverty alleviation implications of key WTO agreements to distribute to relevant WTO officials and country representatives.
3. Commission an analysis of key strategic entry points to integrate gender in the WTO process.

4. Consider funding a development project in conjunction with other bilateral donors that would work with developing countries to develop a gendered approach to trade negotiations and policy development at the WTO.
5. Develop a gender, development and trade policy that could be applied to relevant CIDA-funded projects.

Through its trade and development office in Geneva:

6. Continue to help DFAIT identify which countries would be interested in supporting a gender integration policy at the WTO and which see this as a priority.
7. Continue to identify the most strategic entry points to incorporate gender issues within the WTO process.
8. Host a meeting with the women ambassadors and like-minded male ambassadors to the WTO to discuss internal strategies these countries could initiate to promote a gender integration policy within the WTO. A critical organizing principle in this advocacy process is that any structures and initiatives proposed need to be generated by the member countries of the WTO to ensure the working model they develop reflects how the WTO actually operates and has credibility within the context of the WTO.

Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada

Diverse interest groups have indicated that the WTO Agreement on Agriculture is likely to have significant gender impacts. Therefore, it has been suggested that there is a need for Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada to support the systematic integration of a gender perspective in related trade policy positions at the WTO through the following activities.

1. Adopt explicit gender analysis and integration measures in all its agricultural trade policy development related to the WTO.
2. Work in collaboration with Status of Women Canada to develop and provide training in gender awareness and analysis with a policy and trade focus for all its trade officers.
3. Draft a briefing paper on key gender and agricultural issues for Canadians at the WTO.
4. Conduct a gender analysis of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture from a Canadian perspective.
5. Work in collaboration with CIDA's trade and development office to devise an international strategy to lobby for the adoption of this policy.

9. THE LARGER CONTEXT: KEY GENDER ISSUES AT THE WTO

This section provides a brief review of key gender issues advocacy organizations have identified as being critical for the WTO to consider. It also provides a background description of the WTO and relates the gender issues raised to the Canadian trade policy context.

World Trade Organization Structure and Mandate

The WTO evolved as an organization from the 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Over time, GATT expanded and its member countries gave it increased authority. The Council of Canadians observed that this process led to the creation of an international trading system without constraints, which has far greater authority than was originally intended, and now includes tariffs and non-tariff barriers in diverse sectors. The member governments felt this authority was needed to enforce global trading arrangements.

The WTO was established in 1995 to serve as a replacement for GATT, and to stand as a supra-national organization that would act as a legal body with authority over sovereign nations. Based on the series of agreements known as the Uruguay Round of the GATT, the mandate of the WTO is to:

- oversee all future negotiations governing world trade, investment and payments;
- settle disputes between member states;
- monitor trade agreements; and
- authorize retaliation in cases where member states do not comply with agreements and decisions.

The WTO is run by its member governments and had 146 members (including Canada) and 32 observer governments as of April 2003. The highest authority in the WTO is the Ministerial Conference that is required to convene once every two years. The Ministerial Conference has the authority to make decisions on all matters related to any of the WTO's trade agreements. The WTO uses a consensus-building approach to make decisions. This is an attempt to ensure all member states benefit from the policies developed. Voting on decisions does occur occasionally, for example, when consensus cannot be reached.

Country delegations to the ministerial meetings consist of numerous government officials and representatives, including ministers of relevant and affected ministries from national and provincial governments, key official from various government departments and industry leaders. The first meeting was in Singapore (1996), the second in Geneva, Switzerland (1998), the third in Seattle, United States (1999), and the latest was in Doha, Qatar (2001). Hassanali (2000: 16) pointed out that while civil organizations, including women's groups, were accredited to attend each ministerial, national-level consultation processes varied greatly from country to country and women's representation was quite limited. However, most G-7 countries did hold some form of pre-ministerial consultation with civil society

organizations; Canada employed the full complement of national-level mechanisms for consultation.

The day-to-day work of the WTO is performed by the General Council, the Dispute Settlement Body and the Trade Policy Review Body. These three bodies are legally considered to be the same in that they consist of the same representation from each member country. Each body is composed of all WTO members (normally ambassadors and heads of delegations). The primary difference is that each body has different terms of reference for meetings.

The Trade Policy Review Mechanism (TPRM) analyzes and evaluates individual members' trade policies and practices and their impact on the global trading system. It was designed to promote greater understanding of the costs and benefits of trade policies of the GATT member countries (Hassanali 2000: 16). It has the right to request that member countries provide a regular review of their trade policies and related information.

The Dispute Settlement Body has the sole authority to establish panels to consider a disputed case as well as accept or reject the findings of the panels. It also has the power to authorize fines or sanctions on countries that do not comply with WTO rulings. Disputes between nations are brought before tribunals that hear the cases in secret. The tribunals only accept submissions from the public or non-governmental organizations if a member government has endorsed them (Council of Canadians: 2002).

The WTO's dispute resolution process distinguishes it from other regional and multilateral trade organizations in that the member countries have given the WTO the authority to make rulings that are binding at the national level of each country. This has created the misperception that the WTO actually has the right to overturn national laws if the organization determines that they constitute a form of commercial discrimination. However, if there is a dispute over a trade measure, a WTO member can choose to amend the article in question, or make other arrangements acceptable to the complainant, appeal the case or ignore it. In the latter case, the complainant has the right to seek a penalty, such as the suspension of tariff benefits, etc.

Three bodies report to the General Council: the Goods Council, the Services Council and the Intellectual Property Council. These three councils are responsible for agreements within their respective trade categories. Numerous committees under each council deal with the more specific items of the agreements and meet on a regular basis.

The WTO enforces the following sets of trade rules:

- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT);
- General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS);
- Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS);
- Trade Related Intellectual Property Measures (TRIPS);
- Sanitary and Phyto-sanitary Standards Agreement (SPS);

- Financial Services Agreement (FSA); and
- Agreement on Agriculture (AOA).

The WTO has the authority to enforce its rules with economic sanctions. Its primary enforcement tool to date appears to be a combination of moral and peer pressure from other member states. As an intergovernmental organization, only governments have official standing within it. To date, the WTO has allowed civil society organizations to make presentations related to trade disputes to any of its official bodies in a few exceptional cases.

The numerous organizational bodies within the WTO have been established as a result of ministerial consensus. However, there are no committees or working groups for labour or gender issues. There was a proposal to develop a labour working group, but attempts to work on labour issues failed during the Seattle meeting of the WTO and it was generally agreed at that time that the International Labour Organization (ILO) was the most appropriate body to deal with global labour issues.

Concerns of Civil Society and Academe

The Council of Canadians notes that the WTO has the legislative and judicial power to challenge national laws, policies and programs of countries that do not conform to WTO rules, and to strike down these domestic laws if they are seen to be to trade restrictive (Barlow and Clarke 2002: 1). The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC 1997: 3) observed that “along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, [the WTO] forms a triad in charge of shaping the world economic order so that there can be coherence in international policy-making.”

Their concern is that while GATT was strictly limited to regulating trade in manufactured goods, the WTO actually has authority over the nation state and can make rulings affecting domestic policy. Therefore, its scope is more far reaching than that of other multilateral organizations, particularly with regard to trade decisions affecting banking and insurance, foreign investment and environmental laws. They feel the creation of the WTO system, with its wide sweeping powers and authority to regulate trade at almost all levels is shifting the balance of global power toward multilateral corporations and away from the nation state. Cohen observed that the objective of trade law is to create markets, not to control them and that international trade agreements create laws that govern governments, not corporations. There is concern that the new laws appear to be about how governments cannot behave toward corporations (Canadian Gender and Trade Consultations 2001: 5) as opposed to how corporations cannot behave toward governments or in the national marketplace. They are also concerned by what they see as a growing trend toward favouring commercial concerns over the sovereignty and concerns of many WTO member governments.

Non-Tariff Trade Barriers

The WTO also has the authority to review non-tariff trade barriers. These include policies or measures that may have an impact on trade, but that were not necessarily designed to facilitate or inhibit trade. For example, some companies and governments argue that compliance

regulations related to domestic employment equity policies and practices constitute a non-tariff barrier to trade, as they require companies over a particular size or which do business with particular levels of government to adhere to national or local equity policies in their hiring practices. Under GATT, non-tariff barriers covered food safety laws, product standards, the use of tax incentives and investment policy, and any other domestic law that potentially affected trade. It also developed additional laws to cover trade-related investment, trade-related intellectual property rights and health and safety standards for products being traded internationally (Council of Canadians 2002: 2). The concern is that the WTO's definition of non-tariff barriers is far more sweeping and has the potential to affect more than just equity policies.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

Is there a need for the Canadian government to review the scope of the WTO's powers over Canada as a sovereign nation?

Key Gender and Trade Issues at the WTO

The WTO does not have a gender integration or mainstreaming policy. Nor does it have any minimum standards that require it to protect the environment, labour rights, social programs or cultural diversity (Barlow and Clarke 2002: 1). Its officials are overwhelmingly male (WEDO 1999: 4) and gender-related trade issues have not yet appeared on any WTO negotiation agenda.

The WTO is showing indications of interest in this area with its role as co-host of a WTO–NGO symposium, Women as Economic Actors in Sustainable Development, in June 2003. This event is significant, because it touched on key gender and trade issues related to the WTO and represented a joint initiative between the WTO and NGOs.

Hale (1998: 8-14) identified key issues civil society organizations have raised with regard to WTO decisions and regulations with a particular impact on women.

- Trade policies and trade liberalization can affect government's ability to finance the social sector expenditures and thereby increase women's workload.
- Trade policy needs to incorporate women's unwaged work in the social reproduction sector.
- Women and men already operate in segmented or sex-segregated labour markets that are unfavourable to women, and trade liberalization may increase the amount of labour segmentation along gender lines.
- Since trade policy is closely integrated with domestic social, fiscal, monetary and labour market policies, the configuration of policies required to implement trade liberalization can actually reinforce the status quo or have a negative impact on women's social and economic status.

For this reason, trade officials cannot isolate trade policy from other macro-level policies such as development aid, structural adjustment and debt. Nor can they continue to ignore gender issues in the formulation of all such policies.

The Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO: 1999: 3) builds on this general analysis and raises issues of specific concern with either existing or proposed WTO regulations and processes. It observes that existing studies already show that free trade and market liberalization have actually *increased* women's multiple responsibilities. Of equal concern is the fact that governments have been eroding women's hard-won rights to equitable development established in various intergovernmental agreements over the last 10 years. The particular accords affected include those made during the United Nations Conference on the Environment in 1992, the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, the 1995 World Summit on Social Development, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, and the 1996 World Food Summit.

One way WTO rules and regulations undermine primary clauses in these global accords is that different companies and governments can and have been claiming that various kinds of policies designed to protect the environment, minority groups, women, indigenous peoples, etc. are actually forms of commercial discrimination. If these governments can prove these claims and get a WTO ruling in their favour, the WTO has the authority to pressure national governments to remove what it considers to be discriminatory policies.

The philosophic and economic conflict building around these issues is that commercial rights are to take precedence over human, labour and women's rights. Although the initial goal of the WTO was to promote stable and sustainable development through increased trade, many civil society groups and some governments are concerned that the WTO now promotes trade for the sake of profit, to the exclusion of all other concerns.

The majority of the member countries of the WTO participated in and agreed to the process that generated the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The fact that the WTO has only just barely begun to make the critical connection between gender, trade and sustainable development is a clear demonstration of the undervaluing of women's contributions to the global economic picture. It also shows a lack of understanding that building sustainable development through international trade is not a uni-dimensional process. This basic economic principle and women's vital contribution to sustainable development has been well documented by the World Bank. The Beijing Platform reiterates this point stating, "when [women] gain access to and control over capital, credit and other resources, technology and training, [they] increase production, marketing and income for sustainable development" (WEDO 1999: 7).

The WTO, governments and trade officials need to give urgent priority to analyzing who actually benefits and who loses from the WTO regulations and rules. There tends to be a somewhat misplaced assumption that increased trade will automatically generate prosperity for all. This thinking is similar to the "trickle down" theories of development of the 1970s and 1980s that assumed increasing the incomes of one group would trickle down to the population at large and thus eradicate poverty. However, the trickle down effect did not occur, because it

did not take either the patterns of male and female access and control over resources or class barriers into account.

There is no reason to assume these economic theories will be any more effective in the 21st century. The trickle down theory of economic development also holds an implicit assumption that the benefits of economic growth will trickle down to male household heads and then trickle across to female family members. Research and experience has already demonstrated there is no guarantee that increasing men's incomes will lead to spending patterns that will directly benefit female family members or that the money will be spent on basic consumer items, such as food and education, where it could have the most positive impact on women and girls. The policies promoted by the various governments at the WTO tend to overlook both women's contributions and their particular needs and priorities.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

Is there a need for Canada to examine the impact of WTO agreements on pre-existing international agreements, conventions and accords to which Canada is a signatory and to determine a protocol as to which agreement takes precedence when applied at the domestic level?

Lack of Women's Voices at the WTO

Women have almost no voice at the WTO. The Women's Environment and Development Organization (1999: 4) has documented that the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body, is dominated by men. In 2002, all seven members appointed to the Appellate Body were men, and of the 159 trade policy experts selected to serve on their roster of dispute panelists, 147 were men and 12 were women. Only a handful of women ambassadors represent their countries at the WTO. This lack of women's voice at the WTO is one of the primary criticisms of women's organizations, and it is their perception that the WTO is male-led institution that is blind to the concerns of women and gender in international trade policy.

Appointing more women to serve in these positions does not automatically mean gender issues of concern to women would be considered more equitably, and the women appointed are gender-sensitive themselves. What is more critical is that *all* officials appointed to serve in these positions need to have a concrete understanding of gender and trade issues. At a minimum, they need to be aware that their decisions have gender impacts, and there is a need to integrate and present this information during the dispute and during trade policy development.

Trade experts of either sex are not generally trained to regard gender as a trade issue or even as an economic issue. Thus, the two challenges become how to increase the number of female appointees to a representative number reflecting the world's population distribution by sex (i.e., at least 50 percent), and to ensure all existing and future appointees have received adequate training in gender and trade issues to enable them to identify and address these issues effectively as part of their work.

The WTO does not recognize NGOs as observers or consultants in its General Council or subsidiary bodies, and these sessions and consultations are closed to non-members (i.e., all non-governmental organizations). Most government delegations and representatives are male. Consequently, women's voices and perspectives within the WTO are extremely limited. By contrast, transnational corporations and industry lobby groups have been able to get their representatives appointed to government delegations attending WTO ministerial meetings and negotiations, and have been able to influence the decisions made at WTO meetings using means that have not been as accessible to civil society groups and organizations (WEDO 1999: 5). The majority of representatives on government delegations to the WTO ministerial meetings are men. There is almost no representation of civil society groups, and even less of civil society groups that represent either global or national feminist perspectives.

Another issue affecting the voice of women at the WTO is a general lack of transparency associated with the WTO process and information. Much of the information generated by WTO staff analyzing the impact of trade regulations or documenting decisions made is not accessible to the public. It is therefore difficult for women's and social justice organizations to track what is going on without investing considerable resources of their own. Without ready access to this information, it becomes extremely costly for external groups to conduct relevant gender analyses and to find effective ways to advocate on behalf of women within the WTO.

Another factor adding to this lack of transparency is that wealthy industrialized-country governments can often exert greater influence than those from the South even though, technically, each member country has only one vote. What often happens is that the wealthier countries will hold closed bilateral talks with major trading partners in what are known as green room negotiations. The Women's Environment and Development Organization (1999: 5) noted that when two major trading partners reach an agreement in a green room, they set a tariff for a product or a trade rule that protects their own economic or political interests. This has the effect of imposing their specific interests on all the other member countries.

Macdonald (2003) observed that the response of women's organizations to this lack of representation of their voice within the WTO has been to target the WTO ministerial meetings as strategic venues to increase their visibility and to raise awareness on gender and trade issues. They created the Women's Caucus at the 1996 WTO Ministerial that lobbied for the collection of sex-disaggregated data in the WTO's country trade policy reviews, and then at the 1998 Ministerial formed the Informal Working Group on Gender and Trade (IWGGT). In Seattle in 2000, the Women's Caucus produced a two-page declaration addressing issues and the implementation of the Agreement on Agriculture and Services from a feminist gender perspective. The WTO's initiative in 2003 to hold NGO consultations including a session on gender issues at the WTO is one indication that efforts of the Women's Caucus and related advocacy groups is starting to pay off.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

What kind of actions can the Canadian government take to ensure there is equitable representation of women and gender issues at the WTO and to increase the participation and voice of civil society organizations with expertise in gender and trade issues?

Gender Impacts of Specific WTO Agreements

Each major WTO agreement has the potential to have serious negative impacts on women in both industrialized and developing countries that may outweigh their positive impacts. There is also increasing evidence that women will be affected far more negatively than men. For this reason, a brief review of key WTO agreements and an analysis of the key gender issues related to each one follows.

WTO Government Procurement Agreement

World Trade Organization officials are working on negotiations to extend the WTO Government Procurement Agreement. This would allow foreign companies and multinationals to bid on contracts that used to be reserved for local businesses and suppliers at the national level. In many southern countries, government contracts can constitute as much as 30 percent of the total gross domestic product and, therefore, represent a major input into the local economy (WEDO 1999: 7). Women-owned businesses tend to be concentrated at the domestic level, and the smaller ones are particularly vulnerable to foreign competition. Large foreign companies and multinationals can offer savings through economies of scale, and can readily undercut local businesses. Even if they do not offer savings, they carry considerable weight in an economy and offer other inducements to ensure they obtain the government contracts a smaller locally based company cannot.

Some governments use procurement policies to promote social and economic development for disadvantaged groups and regions in their countries. Some governments are challenging these equity policies at the WTO level on the basis that they constitute commercial discrimination. If future WTO negotiations lead to a definitive ruling that these policies are a form of commercial discrimination, it will undermine the growth of businesses in communities struggling to overcome poverty, which benefit from policies designed to overcome historical disadvantages and imbalances.

For example, in the United States, the federal government allocates five percent of all prime contracts and sub-contracts to small businesses owned by women and visible minorities. In 1997, this allocation was worth US\$5.7 billion, and more than half of these contracts went to small businesses owned by women of colour (WEDO 1999: 7). This same award pattern held true in 1998 when more than 50 percent of government contracts awarded to women-led businesses went to small businesses owned by women of colour (White 2002: 9).

If WTO members are successful in forcing the United States to dismantle its equity policy on the grounds of commercial discrimination, the community and government will lose income and tax revenues, minority women-owned businesses may find their business growth is slowed, and they could lose hard-won economic status and stability. Employers elsewhere will lose the diversity and increases in production and innovation that come from having access to a wide range of trained personnel from different ethno-racial backgrounds.

A concern raised by the Council of Canadians regarding the proposed Code for Government Procurement is that not only national, but also regional, provincial and local governments will be prohibited from using their purchasing power and public subsidies to stimulate

domestic industries and firms, unless they also offer the same advantages to foreign-based corporations. Their fear is that this means governments will be “stripped of the power to ensure that economic development serves community priorities” (Barlow and Clarke 2002: 4). Again, the challenge lies in the fact that the WTO is working to develop commercial policies that are universally applicable and which may not take the need for regional and local flexibility and differences into account.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

Is there a need for any kind of national debate or consultative process related to the impact of the growing importance of avoiding commercialization discrimination at the expense of national policies to support regional development and the protection of vulnerable groups?

Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights Agreement

Williams (2002: 9) stated that the TRIPS Agreement could have significant gender implications due to its proposed policies on biodiversity, genetic resources and traditional or indigenous knowledge. These, in turn, have the potential to influence and determine livelihoods, food security, nutrition and technological transfer. She was particularly concerned that the TRIPS Agreement will have a highly negative impact on the continued viability of rural development, which provides the income base and a sustainable livelihood for small farmers, of whom the most disadvantaged are women.

The key issue is that while the 1992 United Nations Convention on Biodiversity developed provisions to safeguard the ownership rights of indigenous knowledge, the TRIPs Agreement overrides this Convention and now gives corporations the right to patent seeds and other genetic materials. This has had the impact of entitling transnational corporations and other private sector companies to own and patent indigenous knowledge and to use it for commercial purposes (WEDO 1999: 3).

The keepers of indigenous knowledge are primarily women. There are already instances where indigenous communities and women have had their knowledge taken from them without adequate or any compensation. They are also finding themselves in a situation where if they wish to continue using the knowledge that has been theirs for generations, they now must pay for it since the patent for their knowledge is owned by a private-sector firm. The primary interest of companies in indigenous knowledge is in the area of plant-based drugs or medicines and in improved or local varieties of agricultural food plants.

It is a clear clash between a global commercial culture and centuries of tradition and a cultural perspective that community knowledge is to be shared and used for the benefit of all community members. By commercializing these products, private-sector firms make them available to a wider community. However, their motivation for doing so is not to benefit these communities per se, but to realize a profit based on new product development and sales. In this process, some companies have not respected traditional indigenous rights, nor have they consulted sufficiently with the communities concerned as to whether or not community members agree with the commercialization of their knowledge. In some cases, they also have not compensated the keepers of this knowledge for the patents taken out and the subsequent profits made. Thus, indigenous communities lose access to, and control over, their own

knowledge and the companies in essence are stealing their ideas and experience. Kohr (2001) referred to this practice as a form of “biopiracy.”

Indigenous women, in particular, tend to be highly marginalized and without the power and financial resources to fight to retain their legal rights and control over this knowledge or within the context of the WTO dispute settlement process. In addition, since the WTO is a closed intergovernmental organization, indigenous women would have to lobby their national governments to advocate on their behalf on these intellectual property issues. Few indigenous women have much access to the kind of lobbying power or conduits they would need to obtain this kind of support.

Williams (2002: 9) pointed out that another potential impact of the right to patent seeds and micro-organisms is that it will lead to an increase in the cost of seeds and fertilizers since many of the inputs needed for farming have to be purchased in the market and can no longer be produced at the subsistence level. She projected that expanded breeder rights will foster a greater restriction on the exchange, use and sale of seeds by farmers, and the increased costs will rise beyond the reach of many farmers. Given that women have significantly less access to cash and credit than men, this puts women farmers at a much higher risk of falling into chronic indebtedness and of losing their land, thus threatening their livelihoods.

Kohr (2001: 47) raised additional concerns about the impact of increasing product costs due to the TRIPS Agreement. His fear is that by obtaining patents the companies will actually restrict competition, and this will allow them to raise prices well above actual production and development costs to boost profits. He predicted that it will lead to a reduction in access to medicines in developing countries. Essential goods, such as agricultural products and medicines in countries in the South were generally exempt from national patent laws. These products are now subject to TRIPS regulations. This sets the stage for increased monopoly control and higher prices for indigenous plant-based medicines and food products as they become commercialized and individual companies gain restricted distribution rights.

This has already become a major issue between Brazil and the United States. In Brazil, more than 200,000 people suffer from HIV/AIDS, of whom at least 25,000 are women. The United States has used the TRIPS language to challenge Brazil’s right to produce a generic version of a patented AIDS medication at a lower price, stating that Brazil’s actions infringed on the patent rights of the pharmaceutical company. If the WTO rules in favour of the United States, it will mean that HIV/AIDS medications, among others, will be priced beyond the reach of the poor (White 2002: 9).

Women make up a disproportionate number of the people living in poverty globally. They also carry the prime responsibility for family health care. When medicines become more expensive, it is frequently the women in the family who make the extra sacrifices to ensure their families receive the care they need. It implies increased stress and pressure on women and an increase in stress-related illnesses as they struggle to make scarce family resources go further and to find ways to earn the additional income needed.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

Is there a need for the Canadian government to conduct research on the potential impact of the TRIPS Agreement on Canada's Aboriginal communities and on Aboriginal women in particular, or to develop a means to protect indigenous knowledge from being commercialized without the permission of the communities to which it belongs?

General Agreement in Trade and Services

The General Agreement on Trade in Services also has the potential to have a negative impact on women's health. Until recently, GATS was based on the principle that only those services countries included voluntarily would be subject to negotiation. However, the Council of Canadians noted that it is the goal of the US government to use the WTO to force other countries to open up their health care facilities to foreign ownership (Barlow and Clarke 2002: 2) by expanding the scope of services covered by GATS. Several European countries are also interested in having health care and other key services more traditionally provided by the public sector included as services covered by GATS.

While Article 1 of GATS exempts any service supplied in the exercise of government authority, there is a potential contradiction in Article 1:3(c). This clause states that the exercise of governmental authority refers to any service supplied neither on a commercial basis nor in competition with one or more service providers. Williams (2002: 8) pointed out that this actually means almost all services with the exception of the military, central banking, social security, and provision of trade negotiators are potentially subject to trade liberalization measures and, therefore, fall under the purview and authority of WTO regulations.

The General Agreement on Trade in Services also spells out rules on how countries are to treat foreign service providers and to seek to eliminate "all measures affecting trade in services" (Williams 2002: 8). The language proposed would apply to

all measures...in all sectors and in all different modes of supply, including those stemming from delivery of commercial services by the public sector at the national, federal, regional or local levels, as well as those stemming from bodies in the exercise of powers delegated by the national, federal, regional, or local government (White 2002: 4).

In the GATS proposal now under negotiation, these measures include government laws, policy, regulatory and administrative rules, such as grants, subsidies, licensing standards and qualifications, limitations on market access, food safety rules, economic needs texts, local content provisions, nationality requirements, residency requirements, technology transfer requirements, restrictions on property or land ownership and tax measures, which affect the provision of services by foreign companies or organizations (Williams 2002: 8).

Other areas GATS could potentially affect include public services, such as education, and natural resources, such as water and energy. Williams (2002: 8) noted that while GATS is "not explicitly a privatization agreement it is undeniable that for a service to be liberalized it must first be privatized." In countries where water and energy services were formerly provided by the state, the privatization process has led to steep price increases. This has certainly been the

recent experience of the electricity industry in California. Another example is a recent IMF-led privatization of water services in Bolivia which led to a 400 percent increase in basic water services. This increase was so great that in the Cochabamba area it meant women had to choose water rationing for their families, substituting unsanitary water for clean water or reducing the amount spent on food and clothing for their families (White 2002: 7).

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

There needs to be a review of the kinds of services that might be affected by an expanded definition of GATS in Canada and a systematic examination of the gender impacts of this proposed change. The results would need to be reflected in any future negotiating positions presented by Canada at the WTO.

Sanitary and Phyto-sanitary Standards Agreement

A number of powerful groups are lobbying for the reduction of restrictions on genetically modified organisms (GMOs) (i.e., food plants and products that have been genetically engineered to grow in a particular way and which were not previously part of the human food supply) (WEDO 1999: 10). Civil society organizations and researchers are concerned that there is no definitive research available about the long-term effects of GMOs on people's health.

This debate falls under the responsibility of the SPS. The SPS requires countries to abide by the international food safety standards, but this system is often inadequate. This is because Codex Alimentarius, a self-standing body of government-appointed experts from outside the UN system, must approve the WTO international food safety standards. While this should provide an element of protection for consumers, WEDO (1999: 10) noted that the Codex system apparently operates on the principle that if a country's health and safety laws and standards are inconsistent with Codex's technical framework, they are presumed to be non-tariff barriers to trade and, therefore, constitute commercial discrimination. This means that the Codex Alimentarius tends to work toward the development of the lowest common denominator in terms of the standards it sets and has led to Codex standards actually being lower than those of some WTO member countries.

The use of the lowest common denominator as a negotiating principle has also led to a practice whereby the onus is placed on the individual country to prove the products it is questioning are unsafe and require regulating. A particular gender spin on GMO issues is that Codex's risk assessment process does not consider the differential impact of various food additives on women, especially those who are in poor health or who are pregnant or lactating (WEDO 1999: 10).

There is also concern about the current lack of controls and accountability in biotechnology research and the fact that GMOs are not subject to rigorous premarket safety testing. Environmentalists fear that future patenting of micro-organisms and GMOs could lead to an acceleration of biodiversity loss and undermine natural ecosystems (Kohr 2001: 47). In general, there is considerable controversy about GMOs and the jury is still out on whether or not they are a boon to humanity or a health hazard. Studies also show that some GMOs have much higher levels of toxicity than plants that have not been biologically modified. There is

particular concern that the long-term health effects may include pesticide residues in the body and increased immunity to antibiotics (WEDO 1999: 10).

If it turns out that GMOs and hormonal additives are harmful to human health, the burden of caring for the illnesses caused by these foods will fall disproportionately on women. Women also are the primary decision makers regarding food expenditures for their households. Therefore, women have considerable power in terms of their ability to refuse to purchase specific kinds of foods. At another level, they need to be told about the potential health risks of those newly developed foods, so they can make informed decisions.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

What kind of impact are these standards issues likely to have on the Canadian consumer? How does this need to be taken into account in the development of future negotiating positions? Should Canada be advocating for more rigorous international standards?

Agreement on Agriculture

White (2002: 3) observed that the key to the gender implications of the AOA is understanding its purpose: to promote a fair and market-oriented agricultural trading system as opposed to working toward the achievement of global food security. Food security is a major issue for women in developing countries.

Williams (2002: 7) noted that the primary problem stems from the fact that women's traditional dominance in food production in developing countries has been rapidly losing ground to the encroachment of cheap food imports from the North. She observed that the downward pressure this puts on farm-gate prices combined with the removal or reduction of subsidies that generally accompany trade liberalization has created extreme hardship for women farmers as well as for women in their roles as the providers of family well-being. Thus, women farmers' income has gone down as the price of their products has fallen. When they try to compete by switching to export crop production, they find they don't have sufficient cash income or access to credit to be able to buy the improved seeds and fertilizer export production requires. Their decreasing incomes also mean they have to increase the amount of time they spend in home food processing, since they can no longer afford to buy prepared foods. This combination of factors spells out nutritional disaster for many farm families and has serious long-term health and physical development implications for all family members.

The AOA also puts pressure on member countries to lower or eliminate domestic subsidies for agricultural production that affect the individual farmer. Williams (2002: 7) noted that there is no commensurate decline in this kind of government support for corporate agriculture in the North and argued that given the structural gender inequalities that exist between women and men in the South and in the North, it is highly likely that women food producers will feel the potentially negative impact of the AOA the most.

The reduction in subsidies is also promoting the corporatization of agriculture as has happened in the fruit juice industry in Guyana. A similar process has been documented in Colombia and has led to a dramatic increase in the number of women working for wages in

the flower industry where they are exposed to high levels of pesticide and other unsafe working conditions.

At the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the WTO at Doha in November 2001, the International Gender and Trade Network stated that agriculture should be removed from the WTO disciplines on the following grounds.

- Food should be available and guaranteed for all generations, and each nation has the right to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce people's basic food while respecting cultural diversity.
- The process of trade liberalization, privatization and commercialization has diminished the domestic infrastructures that support traditional agriculture.
- The diminishment of the local and national agriculture sector undermines the social fabric, cultural values and stability of the extended family (IGTN 2001).

Many civil society and academic sectors have serious concerns about the potential impact of this agreement on women in developing countries.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

There needs to be an analysis of the impact of these proposed changes on women farmers in industrialized countries and on women as consumers in Canada.

Trade Related Investment Measures

White (2002: 11) noted that trade liberalization measures related to investment tend to be associated with the relaxation of labour standards in many countries. She projected that corporations will move to low-income countries to exert increased pressure to lower labour standards in other countries in which they operate rather than developing the human capabilities where they are currently based.

Williams (2002: 10) observed that the key problem with TRIMS is that, as proposed, it severely constrains the ability of governments to promote local, regional and national development through traditional tools, such as domestic or local content requirements on labour and inputs into the production process. It also reduces the ability of governments to protect local investors, firms or farmers that could be readily undermined by the size and scope of foreign investment. With women-led firms concentrated at the smaller end of the market and their predominance in domestic trade, TRIMS has the potential to create conditions that would make these women-led firms more vulnerable.

The International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN) argued that TRIMS should also be removed from the WTO. Its rationale is that TRIMS will give corporations unfettered power to invest where they want rather than in sectors where development is necessary, and it will undermine the right of governments to empower local investors, including women investors, who cannot compete on an equal footing with foreign investors.

Canadian Trade Policy Issues

What kind of impact is TRIMS likely to have on the manufacturing sector in Canada which employs a substantial proportion of both the female and male population?

Summary of Key Gender Issues

It is a concern of some civil organizations and academic-sector representatives that there is an overall lack of understanding of the connection between gender equality, trade and sustainable development. Their assessment is that WTO officials and governments have consistently failed to understand that gender equality and equity are as much about economic efficiency as social justice. Elson (1996 in O'Regan-Tardu 1999: 12) summarized this argument.

Gender inequalities exact costs in terms of lower output, lower development of human resource capabilities, and lower levels of leisure and well being. If women enjoyed higher levels of economic empowerment, many countries could have some combination of greater output, greater human resource development, more leisure and greater well being. Gender inequality is therefore economically inefficient.

There are essentially three main overarching gender concerns with the WTO system. First, all the new WTO agreements have tremendous potential to have a disproportionately negative impact on women. Second, there is a serious undervaluing and lack of recognition of women as significant economic actors in both the paid and unpaid global economy, something that needs to be dealt with at both the national level by the WTO member states as well as by the WTO in terms of the categories of analysis it uses for its country and sector reviews. Third, there is severe underrepresentation of women within the WTO, on government delegations to the WTO, and a total lack of a gendered perspective in all the WTO's agreements and processes.

A number of initiatives are analyzing the sustainability of trade agreements, such as those promoted by the WTO (e.g., Manchester University for the European Union) and, specifically, social impacts (World Bank). It would be important to link the conclusions of these initiatives regarding gender issues to the concerns of diverse organizations about the impact of the WTO's trade agreements on women and determine if there is consensus on the results or if there is a need for further research in this area.

Each WTO agreement raises different and very specific gender issues. This brief review deals with only the most primary and pressing concerns raised to date. To obtain a full picture and more in-depth analysis, it would be necessary to conduct a full gender analysis of each WTO agreement. While this might appear daunting, the consequences of not committing to do this on a systematic basis could have serious negative consequences for the world's economic and social health for both women and men.

The gender and trade advocacy model presented here could be used to develop a set of gender-sensitive, gender-balanced Canadian trade negotiating positions within the WTO and as a gender analysis tool to support this process. From the brief summary of the key gender issues at the WTO that have already been raised by both Canadian and international

advocates, it is clear there is a strong need for the Canadian government to take a hard look at how Canada's negotiating positions could affect women in Canada and in developing countries, and ensure the government gets input from a wide range of interest and demographic groups in Canada in this process.

APPENDIX 1: SUMMARY OF WLN ACHIEVEMENTS BY YEAR 1996-2003

In 1996:

- Leaders from APEC accepted and supported the WLN's initial Call to Action by including formal statements that echoed the WLN's recommendations, and APEC for the first time recognized the need to work toward the full participation of women in APEC.
- The 1996 SME Joint Ministerial Statement called for the "the full and active participation of women in the areas of SMEs" while recognizing the active contribution of women to the region.

In 1997:

- The WLN obtained an official invitation to present a series of recommendations directly to the SME ministers at the 1997 APEC SME Ministerial Meeting.
- This influenced the creation of an ad hoc group on gender, science, and technology under the umbrella of the APEC Industrial Science and Technology Working Group.
- A gender information site was added to the first APEC Web site.
- The decision was made to hold the Ministerial Meeting on Women in 1998.

In 1998:

- The WLN was invited to make a presentation to the second Ministerial Meeting (1998 APEC SME Ministerial Meeting).
- The WLN established a strong and visible presence at the 1998 APEC SME business forum and policy drafting process.

The 1998 Ministerial Meeting for Women resulted in:

- The Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) Ad Hoc Task Force on the Integration of Women in APEC received a mandate to develop the Framework for the Integration of Women in APEC.
- The SOM Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Gender Integration was set up to monitor the implementation of this framework.
- The APEC leaders made a policy-level commitment to recognize gender as a cross-cutting issue within APEC's programs, policies and projects.

- A commitment was made by APEC leaders to implement gender analysis in policies, programs and projects as an integral component of APEC decisions, processes and activities.

In 1999:

- The WLN was invited to present its Statement and Recommendations to the APEC Trade Ministerial Meeting for the first time.
- The unique and substantial contribution of indigenous women in APEC was officially recognized by APEC trade ministers and leaders.
- The APEC leaders established the two-year Advisory Group on Gender Integration to implement the framework to integrate gender into APEC.

In 2000:

- Brunei agreed to host the WLN meeting. This represented the first international women's meeting ever held in this country. Over 350 women from Brunei attended with an additional 200+ WLN members from other countries.
- The WLN was invited to present recommendations directly to the APEC SME ministers at the 2000 APEC SME Ministerial Meeting that followed.
- The WLN chairpersons joined forces with the APEC E-commerce Workshop and SME Business Forum to make additional joint recommendations to the SME ministers on issues common to each group.
- The WLN 2000 Statement and Recommendations were incorporated, in full, into the 2000 APEC SME Ministerial Statement as an appendix.
- One hundred percent of the funding for the 2000 WLN Meeting and its advocacy efforts on the part of women-owned SMEs came from private sources.

In 2001:

- China hosted the 2001 WLN meeting despite initial strong opposition from within the Chinese government and the fact that funding from CIDA to support the WLN process ended in March 2001.

In 2002:

- Mexico agreed to host the 2002 WLN meeting and to hold APEC's second Ministerial Meeting on Women. This was significant as APEC leaders had originally stated that the First Ministerial Meeting on Women held in 1998 would be a one-time event.

- The WLN agreed to review its management structure and find a more viable system than a rotating co-ordinating committee.
- A permanent system of gender focal points was established after APEC disbanded the SOM Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Gender Integration.

In 2003:

- The WLN continued to operate in a scaled back way despite the lack of external funding.
- Thailand agreed to host the 2003 WLN Meeting and became actively involved in its organization.

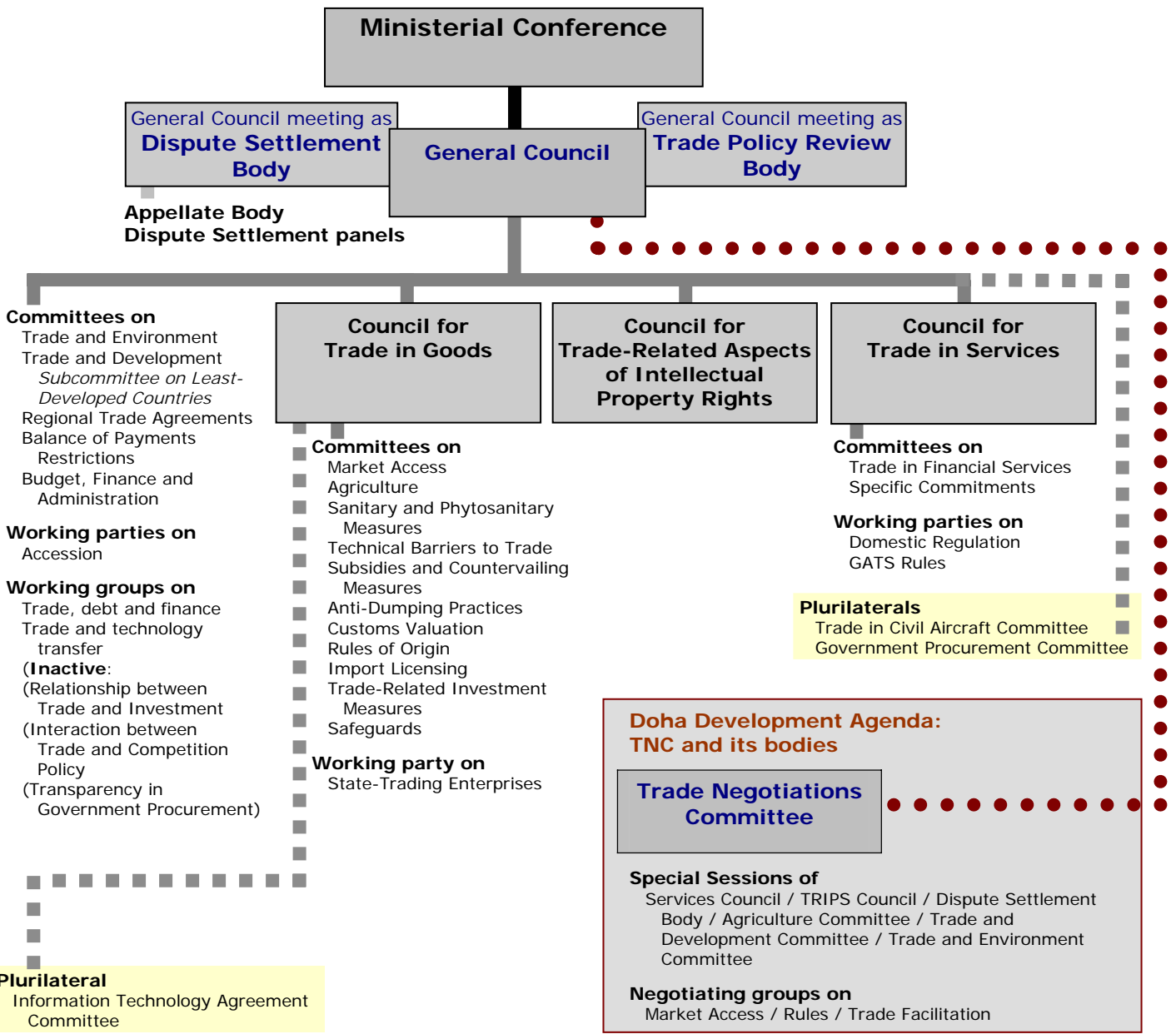
APPENDIX 2: DEFINITION OF GENDER ANALYSIS TERMS FROM THE HARVARD ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

<p>The sexual division of labour</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women and men that vary from culture to culture and community to community. • Dynamic and change over time. • Often based on perception that certain characteristics assigned to women or men are inherent and unchangeable, when in fact they are shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, economic and cultural determinants.
<p>Types of work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Productive • Reproductive • Community 	<p>Productive work: involves production of goods and services for consumption and trade.</p> <p>Reproductive work: involves the care and maintenance of the household and its members (bearing and caring for children, food preparation, household shopping, housekeeping and family health care).</p> <p>Community work: involves collective organization of social events and services, ceremonies, celebrations, community improvement activities, local political activities, etc.</p>
<p>Access to and control over resources and benefits</p>	<p>Men and women traditionally have different levels of access to resources and control over the means and the right to obtain services, products or commodities in the private (household) or public spheres.</p> <p>Gender gaps in access to, and control over, resources are a major obstacle to women's achievement of gender equality.</p>
<p>Influencing factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic • Political and legal • Environmental • Cultural 	<p>Represent opportunities and constraints for equal involvement of women and men in development projects and programs. They influence and determine the gender division of labour and the access to resources and control over their use.</p>

Source: CCIC and MATCH (1992).

APPENDIX 3: WTO ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

Source: WTO (2004)



Key

- Reporting to General Council (or a subsidiary)
- Reporting to Dispute Settlement Body
- Plurilateral committees inform the General Council or Goods Council of their activities, although these agreements are not signed by all WTO members
- Trade Negotiations Committee reports to General Council

The General Council also meets as the Trade Policy Review Body and Dispute Settlement Body

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ENDNOTES

¹ Between the time the research was completed in mid-2003 and the publication of this report there have been several new developments at the WTO with reference to the incorporation of gender issues and in terms of the Canadian government's role in its promotion.

² There are gender analysis tools designed for economists who need to do in-depth analyses. Because this particular tool encourages wider participation of Canadian demographic and interest groups in the gender analysis process, it focusses at a more general conceptual level.

³ Refer to Appendix 2 for more in-depth definitions of these three terms.

⁴ The number of women with incorporated businesses more than doubled during the last decade (Hayman 1999: 3). Women now manage about 35 percent of Canada's SMEs, up from less than one fifth in 1975 (Barker 1998: 5). Between 1991 and 1996, the number of self-employed women rose by 62 percent (Barker 1998: 5). A study conducted by the Bank of Montreal (1996) indicated that women-led businesses created 1.7 million jobs in Canada (out of a total population base of about 30 million).

⁵ Traders in this context refers to business owners who sell the goods or services their companies produce outside of Canada.

⁶ Functional literacy is defined as the number of years of schooling a person must have to be able to function independently and effectively within a given country. In Canada, because so much of daily life and work is knowledge based, functional literacy requirements now stand at the Grade 9 level. Therefore, only 75 percent of the population is considered to have the reading and numeracy skills required to manage independently in Canadian society.

⁷ This was the case at the time this research was conducted is 2002-2003. At WTO meetings in Cancun, Industry Canada officials briefed the trade minister about related gender issues as part of the participatory process.

⁸ Interviews with individual SWC and DFAIT officials.

⁹ Except where otherwise indicated by footnotes in parentheses the descriptive information in this section is based on an assessment of the consultative processes related to trade policy development DFAIT (2002c) has posted on its Web site. The analysis and opinions stated are those of the author.

¹⁰ When this research was conducted, this was the case. In the interval between the completion of the research and the publication of this report, DFAIT developed a gender and trade awareness course for its trade officials and began delivering this training to its personnel in 2004.

¹¹ Based on individual interview with DFAIT official.

¹² Based on individual interview with CIDA gender and trade consultant.

¹³ Based on interviews with 20 CIDA officials across CIDA's bilateral, policy and partnership branches.

¹⁴ Based on individual interview with SWC official.

¹⁵ Isis International – Manila is an Asian-based NGO that has considerable success with regard to influencing multilateral policy related to information and communication technologies, trafficking and food security within the Asia-Pacific region.

¹⁶ Canada, the United States, Australia, Singapore and New Zealand are all members of APEC and were actively involved in the WLN process.

¹⁷ Significant input in this list of key questions was provided by Heather Gibb of the North-South Institute in her capacity as an advisory group member for this research project.

¹⁸ Foreign Affairs and International Trade initiated a gender awareness process in 2004.

¹⁹ For anyone not familiar with this particular form of gender analysis, Appendix 2 contains a short summary of some of the key terms associated with it.

²⁰ For example, trade liberalization created millions of new jobs for women workers in Asia thus benefiting them in the productive sphere. However, research has also shown that in some sectors the long hours the women work has meant they have changed their cooking style to accommodate the fact that they have less time to carry out their responsibilities in the reproductive or domestic sphere and that this has led to nutrition levels within the family dropping. Thus, while the family benefited from the additional income of the women, there has been an unintended negative impact on family health (ILO 1997: 1).

²¹ Canada is among the top 10 in the world in this ranking that measures the degree of gender equality within a country.

²² For those with the economics background to conduct a more in-depth analysis of international trade policy, we recommend the gender and trade policy assessment tools developed by Women's Edge.

²³ Interest in this site has continued long past the actual discussion group parameters and Dial A-1 Resources received a request from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Office of the Gender Co-ordinator to add this discussion group as a link to its official Web site as recently as February 2004.

²⁴ The need for this will differ from sector to sector depending on which indicators are used, but is a good guideline to use when developing an analysis.

²⁵ This is one reason we have deleted the additional categories of analysis related to legal, macro-economic policy, regulatory and administrative issues from the revised tool.

²⁶ It is Canadian federal government policy that all departments use gender-based analysis as a matter of course in their work. The policy, however, has not been applied consistently across all departments nor does there appear to be the means in place for the government to enforce this policy.

²⁷ Adair Heuchan, CIDA's Development and Trade Officer in Geneva has led the way to promote these activities and in September 2004 was awarded the Woman of the Year title by the Organization of Women in International Trade in recognition of this work.

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