

Women and Trade in Canada: An Overview of Key Issues

A discussion paper prepared for
Status of Women Canada

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Foreword

In the global economy of the 21st century, the importance of trade liberalization to Canada has never been clearer. Exports account for 45.6 percent of our gross domestic product. Everyday Canada does over \$2.5 billion worth of business in two-way trade with the rest of the world.

Increasing the amount of goods and services we trade, and reaping the commercial and financial rewards, is certainly a desirable goal of trade liberalization. An equally important objective however, is to contribute to a better quality of life for Canadians and our neighbors around the world.

As we document our record of trade success we must be mindful of the challenges. In designing the trade policy of the future, transparency, engagement, discussion, research and analysis must be part of the process.

This is one of three discussion papers commissioned by Status of Women Canada in the year 2000. The objective is to begin to explore some of the key issues relating to the differential implications and impact of international trade agreements on women and men. It also aims to examine issues of representation and participation of women in the development of international trade policy.

The first paper, entitled *Women and Trade in Canada: An Overview of Key Issues*, provides a brief synopsis of recent trade liberalization processes, and begins to identify key trade issues and their implications for Canadian women.

The second paper, entitled *International Trade Policy: A Primer*, discusses the concepts and evolution of trade rule-making and provides an overview of a number of trade agreements to which Canada is a party. This could be a useful tool for those who are just becoming interested in the development of international trade policy.

The third paper, entitled *International Trade: Putting Gender Into the Process: Initiatives and Lessons Learned*, examines domestic consultative mechanisms for the development of international trade policy, and reviews efforts taken by different actors to integrate gender issues into international trade negotiations both nationally and internationally.

Status of Women Canada is supporting further knowledge building on international trade. In August 2001, the Policy Research Fund of Status of Women Canada issued a call for proposals on the theme *Trade Agreements and Women*. It is hoped that these discussion papers and future policy research through the Policy Research Fund mark important first steps on the path to more transparent trade policy development, with outcomes that support women's economic empowerment, security and autonomy.

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Introduction

Over the last 15 years, trade has been a major issue of public debate in Canada. At the heart of this debate has been the question, not of how protectionist or open Canada should be to imports from trading partners, but rather of what kinds of rules should govern trade. This is not a new debate. Indeed, the question of what rules should govern trade has been a controversial issue since Confederation.

As was common with newly industrializing countries throughout the world, initial policy discussions about trade centered on the relative domestic benefits of an open economy versus an import substitution policy. For a variety of practical political reasons, the latter policy came to prevail when, in 1879, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald established the *National Policy*. Essentially a tariff wall against the United States, the *National Policy* had the effect of forcing US companies to establish branch plants in Canada in order to gain market access.

Although trade liberalization re-appeared in the arena of national political debate throughout the twentieth century, and indeed became the operative economic policy of successive Canadian governments in the post-WWII era, it was not until the second half of the 1980s, under the Conservative government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, that Canada formally and openly engaged in a free-trade agenda.

Upon election to office in 1984, the new Conservative federal government moved quickly to develop its free trade agenda, which led to the signing of the bilateral Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) in 1988. Public debate over the trade agreement was vigorous and a federal election in 1988 was fought over the issue. In this election, the Conservatives defeated the Liberals, who had opposed this particular agreement. Despite their earlier opposition, however, when the Liberals regained power, they promoted trade liberalization in their foreign policy and completed the negotiations that culminated in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993.

The trend towards liberalization of Canada's trade relations has continued through the 1990s. Over the last decade, Canada has signed a number of important bilateral trade agreements designed to liberalize trade relations, such as the Canada-Chile Free Trade Agreement (CCFTA), which came into force in 1997. Canada has also entered new multilateral trade regimes designed to liberalize trading relations amongst member states, such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), launched at the Miami Summit in 1994, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), established in 1995.¹

Understanding the Issue of 'Women and Trade Liberalization'

Early in this recent debate over trade, Canadian feminist scholars, women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other actors interested in women's issues have attempted to raise awareness of the gendered dimensions of trade liberalization.² In the period leading up to the signing of the CUSFTA, and subsequently the NAFTA, the major concern was the effect on women's employment. In these debates, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) "played a leading role in the Action Canada Network (formerly the Pro-Canada Network) – a coalition of labour groups, women, students, farmers, and others, opposed to further Canadian economic integration with the United States. ... NAC's participation was based upon the argument that women would bear the brunt of continental restructuring under the CUSFTA."³

In its 1993 publication,⁴ the Ontario Women's Directorate noted that the CUSFTA and NAFTA affected two sectors of the economy in which women were disproportionately vulnerable to negative employment effects because of their high employment levels relative to men. These sectors included labour-intensive jobs in the manufacturing sector (furniture, household appliances, apparel), and jobs in telecommunications, data processing, financial services and transportation in the service sector. As well, the report predicted a rise in non-standard work,⁵ including a disproportionate representation of women workers, as an effect of the more competitive conditions created by NAFTA.⁶ On the other hand, some scholars were more optimistic about the gendered effects of trade liberalization in the South, arguing that on a global scale, trade liberalization was likely to create new employment opportunities for women in the South, as labour-intensive parts of production processes relocated to lower-cost labour sites.⁷

These early debates on the gendered effects of trade are in need of supplement, as trade liberalization has grown into a major international issue through the 1990s and into the early 2000s. Some of the key developments during this period include the formation of the WTO in 1995; the re-invigoration of numerous regional trade agreements;⁸ the further deepening of regional agreements (e.g., the move to full monetary union of the European Union [EU] in 1998); the establishment of new regional free trade agreements (e.g., MERCOSUR in 1991); and at the hemispheric level, the 1998 agreement to negotiate a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by 2005.

While these trade liberalization regimes are concerned with the traditional trade issue of increasing market access by reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, and the establishment of trade dispute resolution mechanisms, new issues that are not conventionally within the purview of trade negotiations (e.g., services, investment, intellectual property) have now been included in the trade liberalization agenda. Thus, a significant feature of the new international trade architecture is a deepened trade liberalization agenda.

In response to the deepening of trade liberalization, feminist activists and scholars are attempting to understand and analyze how trade liberalization may potentially affect many aspects of women's lives. In the growing literature on gender and trade liberalization, a number of issues of specific concern to women have been identified. These include food security, migration, income inequality, the "de-feminization" of the workforce, barriers to economic participation, health and safety, and women's indigenous knowledge.

For many women's organizations, the political imperative stemming from their gendered analysis of trade liberalization is to increase the voice of women in trade liberalization processes. For example, in late 1993, UNIFEM embarked upon a global program to promote women's participation in trade processes.⁹ Through its International Trade Program, Women's EDGE, based in Washington D.C., "works to ensure that the world's women get more benefits from international trade and investment by bringing their voices to the trade negotiating table."¹⁰ In 1999, the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) decided to sponsor a think-tank on trade and its effects on women's social and economic equality in Canada. Other women's organizations that focus on gender and trade issues include the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) in New York; the Women's Caucus;¹⁰ and the Informal Working Group on Gender and Trade (IWGGT).

While the specific concerns of these organizations vary, depending on their constituency, geographic scope of work, and political and feminist perspective, they share a conviction that, at present, women are inadequately represented in trade negotiation processes. As Riham El-Lakany of WEDO stresses, "[w]omen's voices must be heard at the WTO, and women need to be seen in decision-making positions in all WTO bodies."¹¹ Many of these organizations also share the view that trade liberalization has gender-differentiated effects which are, by and large, negative for women.

Some organizations accept the reality of trade liberalization, but insist that trade needs to be made more women-friendly (and for some organizations, development-friendly and environment-friendly). For instance, WEDO's position is that "[w]e cannot and should not attempt to halt the expansion of world trade and economic growth."¹² Women's organizations like WEDO are concerned that trade liberalization not be an end in itself, but rather "an enabler of environmental and human development."¹³

The Women's Caucus concurs, stating that "trade policies should ensure gender equality and equity and people-centred sustainable development" and contending that "all WTO agreements and policies should be bound by international human rights standards...."¹⁴ Other women's organizations, such as the Women Leaders' Network of the APEC and the Women Leaders of the Americas, are strong advocates of trade liberalization. They work to promote the inclusion of and dialogue with women leaders and businesswomen in the APEC and the FTAA, respectively.¹⁵

From the above examples, it is clear that there is not one but rather several feminist or women-centred positions on trade liberalization which reflect different underlying feminist perspectives and/or political ideologies. For instance, the two different views

about the gendered effects of trade liberalization on women's employment noted above highlight the fact that the geographic scope of analysis (for example, domestic versus global) may significantly affect the conclusions drawn. As well, the different perspectives on the appropriate response to trade liberalization (e.g., modification to be more women-friendly versus the need for an alternative economic model of development) serve as a reminder that there is no single authoritative feminist voice that pronounces on all issues. There may be a shared concern about the importance of increasing the representation of women in trade processes and a shared view that trade liberalization processes affect women differently from men. There is not, however, broad agreement about what ought to be done.

For some women's advocates, the critique of trade liberalization is part of a larger critique of globalization and international economic institutions (e.g., World Bank, International Monetary Fund, WTO), which are seen as forming the regime of economic governance supporting globalization. As a consequence of this larger concern with globalization, many of these organizations do not attach much import to the need to distinguish analytically between the different but interrelated global economic transformations underway through the 1980s and 1990s. While analyzing the gendered effects and implications of economic globalization is seen as important, establishing cause-and-effect dynamics of the various processes may not be.

For many such critics, the implementation in this period of stabilization policies to achieve demand-side restraint, followed by structural adjustment policies to maximize supply-side flexibility in both the North and South, is best understood through an analysis of global economic restructuring. Their concern is to analyze the gendered nature of the multi-faceted economic processes contributing to the phenomenon of globalization. For example, Isabella Bakker argues:

The current restructuring of global economics has had profound effects on social, economic and political life in both developed and developing countries. There is widespread agreement on the elements of restructuring but little recognition of the gendered nature of the current process of structural and institutional transformation. Most treatments of structural change harbour a 'conceptual silence': the failure to acknowledge explicitly or implicitly that global restructuring is occurring on a gendered terrain. The dominant discourse around restructuring remains cast in largely gender-neutral and aggregate terms, such as the imperatives of deficit reduction, international competitiveness, efficiency and export-led growth. The fact that structural adjustment and restructuring policies are largely formulated without consideration for asymmetrical relations of power based on gender leads to a silencing of women's experiences and strategies of resistance.¹⁶

Analysts like Bakker see globalization, a complex of interrelated economic transformations, as a debatable concept, based on the understanding that globalization embodies the structures of power and the ideology of neo-liberalism which underlie and drive the various processes of recent economic changes, including trade liberalization. As

a result, analysis that discriminates between the effects of the many economic processes related to global restructuring may not merit as much attention from analysts.

For the purposes of analysis, however, it may be a challenging exercise to separate out the various economic transformations that have taken place through the 1980s and 1990s. Generally, discrimination between causal factors using quantitative data is the province of economic modeling and regression analysis. The capacity of econometric analysis to determine the gendered effects is limited for several reasons. For one, the limited availability of sex-disaggregated data limits the variables that can be used to construct economic models, hence limiting the degree of sophistication of the model and the accuracy of the results produced. The difficulty of quantifying policy regimes, and the need to make overly simplistic assumptions about relationships within an economy, also limit sophistication and accuracy. Some argue, however, that it may be possible to construct a technically simple and workable model.¹⁷

Generally speaking, employment data serve as the most quantifiable indicators of economic change. When we examine the national employment data from 1987 to 1999, the picture appears less clear than was predicted by “free trade” critics in the late 1980s. As concerned feminists predicted at the time, women’s jobs are now heavily concentrated in the service industry. It is true that women’s employment has significantly increased in the services-producing sector (26 per cent), with a modest growth in the goods-producing sector (9 per cent). However, women’s employment in the (relatively) “good” jobs in educational services, health care and social assistance, and public administration has also increased by 35 per cent, 26 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively. Moreover, women’s employment in the “bad” job area of retail trade increased by only 9 per cent and declined from 15 to 13.3 per cent of total women’s employment.¹⁸

In the early debates over trade liberalization, these were important questions for feminists who argued the need for employment support programs to cushion the effects of the transformation of women’s work. They argued that trade liberalization would:

- (i) cause a loss of unionized and well-paid “good” jobs for women in the manufacturing sector as plants relocated south to take advantage of cheaper labour; and
- (ii) cause a corresponding growth in casualized, low-paying “bad” jobs for women in an expanding service-based economy and lead to a loss of “good” jobs (i.e., public sector, permanent, professional, full-time, and well-paid) as the state was downsized.

By 1996, with more empirical evidence to evaluate, Pat Armstrong offered a more nuanced view, arguing, “[m]any of the ‘good jobs’ are not so good any more. Hours and shift work have increased, and so has insecurity. Work has intensified, whether or not people have full-time or part-time employment. Those women who have moved into traditional male work frequently find that it has become more like traditional women’s work.”¹⁹

Nevertheless, if national employment data are taken as evidence that a transformation from a manufacturing to a service-based economy has occurred, it remains a difficult task to determine the cause of this change. To what degree was the transformation caused by the CUSFTA and the NAFTA as opposed to a broader process of economic restructuring, which would have occurred regardless of whether it was politically and institutionally consolidated in these trade liberalization agreements? While this is a valid question that needs to be explored, perhaps a more important point to illuminate is that the employment effects – whether attributed to restructuring or trade liberalization – have now worked their way through the Canadian economy.

Implications of a "Deepened" Trade Liberalization Agenda

After an approximately four-year period (1990 to 1994) of reduced employment for women in the goods-producing sector and a corresponding expansion of employment for women in the services-producing sector, it may be argued that employment restructuring in Canada has stabilized, with female (and male) employment expansion occurring in the goods-producing sector from 1994 onward.²⁰

Labour force participation data indicate that sectoral growth and sectoral reallocation of employment have stabilized. This would suggest that the structural changes in the Canadian economy induced by the market-opening measures of the CUSFTA and NAFTA may be more or less complete. Indeed, the Canadian economy is now very open, with low or non-existent tariffs.²¹ This is corroborated by the growing emphasis on deepening the trade liberalization agenda under the WTO, which entails the extension of trade liberalization beyond the negotiation of tariff reductions for trade in goods to include other economic sectors (i.e., services) and investment, competition and intellectual property in the agenda.

Although employment effects will continue during the period of a deepened trade liberalization agenda, these effects may not be captured well by conventional indicators such as labour force participation data. This is partly because the causes of further employment effects will decreasingly be the closing of factories. Increasingly, such effects will result from corporate efforts to increase profit margins by increasing labour productivity through flexible labour and lean or just-in-time production, as well as government-led efforts to create a competitive economic environment. Such efforts to increase profitability and improve the business climate will have qualitative rather than quantitative effects on employment – impacting upon the nature of jobs rather than the number of jobs. Consequently, quantitative measures, such as labour force participation data, will increasingly need to be evaluated hand-in-hand with other quantitative survey information – such as hours of work, wage, self-employment, and multiple-job holding, sex, and age data – and supplemented with qualitative research which probes the changing nature of work.

The deepening of trade liberalization also means that we must now look carefully at the effects of liberalizing trade in services and the inclusion of issues such as intellectual property rights under the trade agenda. Another important concern is the way in which the growing emphasis on trade regulation and trade liberalization will affect the state and government. This issue is important for women since they have a gender-differentiated relationship to the state and government. For example, consider the possibility that the scope of public policy making and the financial capacity of government to offer public services may be reduced as an indirect result of the pressures to create a more competitive economic environment produced by an increasingly liberalized global trade regime under the WTO. Some critics argue that, faced with the power of transnational corporations to relocate production to the lowest-cost or most advantageous sites,

countries in the North can nonetheless influence corporate decisions on production site location by offering a competitive business environment.

A key feature of a competitive business environment is a low level of corporate taxation. The Canadian government is facing increasingly intense pressure from domestic business to lower corporate taxes, to lower personal income tax levels,²² and to engage in further business and industry de-regulation in order to create a competitive climate for business and foreign investment. One consequence of decreasing both corporate and personal income taxation levels is the reduction in government revenue. Lower government revenues would inevitably force difficult decisions about the affordability of universal health care, public education and social assistance, as well as programs targeted at women to advance gender equality.

Decreased tax revenues may impose financial constraints on the government, forcing it to roll back state-supported programs. This may have implications for women's citizenship rights. In the past, women's advocates have made equality-seeking claims on the federal and provincial governments, demanding publicly funded support programs and policy measures to address systemic barriers that women face, especially in the area of employment. The disadvantages that women experience have been addressed through programs and policies at various levels of government. These include:

- support to women entrepreneurs by the Export Development Corporation,²³ the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade,²⁴ and Industry Canada;
- job retraining and skill development programs for women, special incentives or employment services;²⁵
- wage support measures offered to employers to encourage the hiring of women in non-traditional jobs through Human Resources Development Canada;
- intervention programs in education to promote the re-streaming of young women into non-traditional areas of study, such as the sciences, math, engineering; and
- pay equity in the public sector by the federal and some provincial governments.

Even if the reduction of programs for women results only indirectly from trade liberalization²⁶ – in that it induces pressures for a competitive economic environment – the effect is that the scope for the exercise of women's citizenship claims is reduced. Economic policy has been an important public arena in which women have pressed their claims for equality. If the capacity of the government to use one of the most important macroeconomic policy tools (i.e., taxation) decreases, there will be a corresponding decrease in the use of another important policy tool – namely, public expenditure. Women, as well as other socially disadvantaged groups, stand to be negatively affected by this development. Not only will they lose public support programs, but they will also lose important public space in which they can act as citizens.²⁷

Some Effects of Trade Liberalization on Women

The gendered effects of trade liberalization extend well beyond the realms of the labour market and citizenship. Indeed, all of the gendered roles (e.g., as consumers, entrepreneurs, cultural reproducers, mothers, sexual beings), identities and relations which construct Canadian women's lives may be affected either directly or indirectly. It is important to note, however, that not all women will have the same experiences, for the effects will also be mediated by a woman's age, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, marital status, disability, number of children; whether she lives in a rural or urban area; and what region of Canada she lives in.

In the following subsections, a few examples are given of how Canadian women, in some of their gendered roles, may be affected by trade liberalization. The examples chosen for discussion – health care, education, women's entrepreneurship and agriculture – were selected because they are priority areas for Canadian trade policy, and because they touch on many Canadian women's lives.

Women as Caregivers and Users of Health Care

Critics of Canada's trade policy argue that services currently provided by Canadian government at all levels will become subject to trade negotiations and, hence, foreign competition. The present U.S. administration has recently indicated its intention to push in this direction,²⁸ with the American private sector strongly supportive of this position. For its part, the Canadian government has repeatedly stated its commitment to keeping important national services, such as universal health care and public education, off the negotiating table.²⁹

Some observers, however, identify some public slippage on this commitment.³⁰ Regardless of the expressed commitment of the present government to "safeguard Canada's freedom of action in key services sectors [i.e., health, education and transport] to meet national policy objectives,"³¹ there is strong evidence that the public perceives the Canadian health care and education systems to be under threat from trade liberalization.³²

Although the Third Ministerial Meeting of the WTO, held in Seattle in November and early December of 1999, ended without agreement for a new "Millennium" round of negotiations, work on the substantial "built-in" negotiating agenda, to which WTO members already agreed, will continue. This includes services where "there is a high degree of consensus on the desirability of broader and deeper liberalization of services through the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)."³³ The federal government has publicly stated its view that Canada's systems of health care and education are excluded from services negotiations under Article 1, 3 (b) and (c) of the GATS.³⁴

However, given the degree of commercial supply of services in both health care³⁵ and education,³⁶ whether or not they are excluded³⁷ may be open to interpretation.

Negotiations will continue on the issue of "domestic regulation" of trade in services (Article VI of the GATS), which includes qualifications requirements and procedures, technical standards and licensing requirements. As a result of slow progress to date, a working group tasked with this issue has been transformed into the WTO Working Group on Domestic Regulation and given a mandate to develop rules applying to all sectors. The aim of these negotiations is to develop rules that would permit challenges to general, non-discriminatory regulations. Some critics fear that, as a result, the criterion of "quality of health care" could be interpreted as a technical standard and hence be open to challenge, thus effectively constraining the federal government's ability to determine the standard of health care provision. Similarly, critics fear that present standards for professional and facility licensing in health care could be opened to challenge, resulting in significant loss of control by government over the conditions of health care delivery. In the event that future negotiations of services disallow the exclusion of health care and education, and/or government domestic regulation of these services, the result will be an increased role for the private sector (and competition from foreign providers) in these services.

As women are implicated differently from men, in both the delivery and use of health care and education, it is clear that they would be affected differently. For example, Canadian women are heavier users of health care³⁸ than Canadian men. As users of health services, women may benefit from increased private competition in the health sector, if indeed private competition leads to lower costs, better service provision and more health care options for women. This outcome, however, is far from assured. Most indications are that enlarging the private sector's role in providing health care leads to a two-tiered health delivery structure, with the private tier geared to providing superior services for individuals with higher disposable incomes and the public tier relegated to providing basic services for those with lower incomes. To the extent that women tend to be over-represented in lower income categories, it is likely that they will experience the negative effects of the restructuring of this service sector more than men.

Given the present structure of the Canadian health care system, framing the debate in terms of the "privatization" of Canadian medicare to some extent misrepresents the controversy. More accurately, the debate is about the extent of private sector involvement allowed, as there already exists significant private sector involvement in health care (e.g., private laboratories). One major source of pressure for more private sector involvement is the federal government itself, which, citing financial constraints, prepares the ground for a greater role for private health care providers. What too often remains overlooked in this "financial constraint" argument is that the constraints are in large measure related to the issue of taxation, which is itself an issue often framed in terms of the competitive pressures of a liberalized world trading order. In other words, governments, yielding to pressures to reduce tax levels to "competitive" levels, will typically proceed to argue that a well-funded public health care system is no longer economically feasible.

In addition to the impact on Canadian women, as users of health care, the potential of a reduced role for the state and/or the privatization of state functions that might result from new trade rules has also led to concern about an increase in women's work in the so-called "care economy". The concept of community health care is currently being advanced as an alternative to high-cost, state-provided medical services. Community health care is misleading, for in fact it is health care provided by women as volunteers, as relatives, or as low-paid registered nurses' assistants and other low-skilled health care workers.

In addition, if state-provided health services continue to decline, women's "elder care" work will increase in proportion to the aging of the Canadian population. Such a scenario could potentially contribute to a consequent "de-feminization" of the labour force as women's family care commitments constrain them from taking paid work outside the home. As noted above, women's employment is now concentrated in the service sector. Within this sector, women's employment in "health care and social assistance provision" increased 26 per cent between 1987 and 1999, and presently accounts for 20 per cent of women's employment in the service sector.³⁹ If the concern that the scope of public sector programs will shrink proves correct, then women's employment in health care and social assistance could be significantly affected.

Women as Teachers

Employment in public sector education in Canada has traditionally been skewed heavily towards the employment of women. In 1999, educational services accounted for 11 per cent of women's employment in the service sector and have grown by 35 per cent since 1987 as an occupational category for women.⁴⁰ As well, it is one sector that has provided "good jobs" for women. Will trade liberalization affect women's work opportunities and good wages in the field of education? Will trade liberalization affect the quality and cost of educating children positively or negatively? As with health care, the answer to this question depends to a large extent on whether Canada's system of public education becomes subject to de-regulation and privatization as a direct result of WTO rulings or as an indirect effect (i.e., increased pressure for privatization to provide a competitive business climate) of the global economic integration.

The Council for Trade in Services presents an optimistic picture for trade in educational services,⁴¹ particularly at the higher (tertiary) and adult education levels. It notes that distance learning – assisted by new information and communications technologies, and "innovative institutional arrangements between public and private entities, both within and across national boundaries" – has increased the economic importance of the sector.⁴² It notes that "in 1996, US exports of education services were estimated at US \$7 billion, which made higher education the country's fifth largest service sector export."⁴³ Currently, the dominant mode of supply is through consumption abroad, underpinned by student mobility to travel. In future services negotiations, it is likely that the barriers to establishing commercial presence, such as licensing practices which restrict degree-granting, will become important issues, as other educational exporters seek to exploit business opportunities in educational services. At present, in addition to the US, the

major players in trade in educational services are the United Kingdom, Australia and France. Canada's level of activity appears to be declining, as its share of foreign students has declined through the 1990s.⁴⁴ However, the federal government has indicated interest in reversing this situation.⁴⁵

Is it possible that the expanding international trade in education services may offer women new international employment and export opportunities? The evidence suggests not, for several reasons. Canada has a long history of supporting education-focused development projects through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), built on Canadian research, teaching and institutional-strengthening expertise to improve capacity, curriculum, pedagogy and institutions in the education sector in developing countries.

This work has largely been done as part of Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA). While Canadian companies could undertake such work for profit as Canadian Executing Agencies for CIDA, it is likely that such work would require some experience in educational administrative activities. Since women are concentrated in teaching positions at the primary and (to a lesser extent) secondary levels of education, they are not well positioned to benefit.⁴⁶

A more likely scenario is that an expansion of trade in educational services, such as professional consulting, packaged programs, conferencing and international educational tourism at the tertiary level, will continue. Here, women are also not well positioned to exploit potential opportunities since they continue to be significantly under-represented in employment at this level, accounting for only 34 per cent of university professors in 1996.⁴⁷

Women as Entrepreneurs

If indeed the restructuring of the Canadian economy, from a primary product and manufacturing base to a service base, is more or less complete, then it is important to consider what the "new" Canadian economy holds for Canadian women. Proponents of the new economy argue that small and medium-sized enterprises will drive this economy. They are seen as more flexible, responsive and proactive in the changing environment that characterizes the knowledge-based economy, in part because of their size. Women are seen to play a key role in this entrepreneurial dynamism, since they have been at the forefront of business creation over the last decade.⁴⁸

The concomitant potential for women entrepreneurs to increase Canadian export activity has not gone unrecognized. A recent report commissioned by DFAIT identifies the two major trends in the Canadian economy, which prompted the study:

First, the export sector has grown dramatically in recent years, offering enormous opportunity for the expansion of Canadian businesses and job growth. Exports account for nearly 40 per cent of the Canadian gross domestic product, nearly

double that of a decade ago. Second, the number of women-owned businesses continues to increase rapidly. These businesses offer a promising opportunity to increase Canadian export activity.⁴⁹

Three facts are important to note. First, this study was limited to women-owned businesses actively exporting or planning to export within one year. Second, nowhere does the study indicate what percentage of the total of women-owned businesses are engaged in export activity. Third, “less than one in four of the companies surveyed in this study are in the service sector ... [and] exporters are primarily focused in manufacturing.”⁵⁰ In light of these facts, the extent to which Canadian businesswomen are taking advantage of new economic opportunities and leading the growth and development of Canada’s non-traditional export activity warrants further research, especially given earlier research which shows that “women’s businesses are clustered in the retail and service sectors, notorious for their long hours, high personal demands, and low financial returns.”⁵¹

Women as Family Providers

Agriculture has been an historically contentious and difficult area for trade negotiations and will continue to be so. On the one hand, the European Union – widely criticized for the domestic subsidies to farmers by its member countries – argues for a “multifunctional” approach, which takes into account risks related to food security, the environment, rural-urban relations and food safety in trade negotiations. In contrast, Canada and the United States have argued that, unless scientific evidence of such risks exists, no curtailment of trade in such products should be allowed. Along with other major exporters of “biotech” or genetically modified food products, Canada has insisted that food safety regulations based on health or environmental reasons be subject to WTO rules under agreements such as the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures.⁵²

Designed to harmonize food safety and pesticide regulations internationally, the WTO Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS) has thus far relied on established scientific evidence in the establishment of standards. European critics have been particularly vocal in arguing for the adoption of the “precautionary principle.” This principle represents the view that if environmental or health safety concerns exist, even if they have not been definitively established by scientific research, standards should recognize these concerns and err on the side of caution. Such an approach was rejected recently when Canada and the US brought a trade complaint against the EU for its ban on the importation of beef treated with hormones, which was decided in the complainants’ favour. This WTO trade ruling rejected the precautionary principle favoured by Europe as a justifiable basis upon which health measures might be established, and instead upheld existing albeit controversial rules on sanitary and phytosanitary measures.

As consumers of food, women may benefit from increased international competition. As mothers, women are most often those responsible for feeding families. Lower food prices and wider variety resulting from increased competition may be in women’s interests.

However, it is not necessarily the case that any lowering of prices resulting from increased competition will outweigh the marketing strategies of major producers and retailers⁵³. Increasingly, vocal critics have raised questions about the nutritional value and safety of food products from corporate agricultural producers, and so-called “genetically engineered” or genetically modified foods. According to such critics, consumers want to be confident that the food they and their families eat is safe, and they are concerned with the WTO Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures.

Conclusion

In terms of the myriad and complex ways in which trade liberalization is affecting the lives of Canadian women, the above examples are only the tip of the iceberg. Early concerns focused primarily on the employment effects of the CUSFTA and the NAFTA. The deepening of trade liberalization, which has become increasingly pronounced from the mid-1990s onward, has meant that the effects of trade liberalization are becoming more diffuse, more complex, frequently more indirect, and consequently challenging to investigate and understand. Nevertheless, the effects are real and may potentially have deep impact on the quality of the lives of many Canadian women.

The Canadian government has publicly stated its intention to consider the views of Canadian industry, non-government organizations and other interested parties in formulating its trade policy. In June 1999, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade submitted its report entitled "Canada and the Future of the World Trade Organization." In its response to this report, the government stressed that it "remains committed to a program of consultations with Canadians to learn their aspirations and concerns first-hand so that our negotiating positions best meet the needs of all Canadians."⁵⁴

As the above discussion highlights, processes of economic restructuring affect women differently from men. To date, neither Canada's trade policy nor its trade negotiation strategies have reflected an awareness of the gendered effects of trade on women. Given its mandate to promote gender equality concerns in all federal government policy and to promote the objectives of the *Federal Plan for Gender Equality*, Status of Women Canada can play a key role in ensuring that such effects are taken into consideration and reflected in Canada's trade policy and negotiating positions.

Endnotes

¹ One outcome of the 1994 GATT Uruguay Round was the establishment of the World Trade Organization in 1995 to institutionalize the process of trade liberalization negotiations. This was a significant achievement, as previous efforts had never been successful. One of the distinguishing features of the WTO is its enhanced authority to enforce trade rules.

² See: Cathy, Fooks. 1986. *Economic Vulnerability: The Impact of Free Trade on Women*. Toronto: Ontario Legislative Library; Ontario Women's Directorate. 1987. *The Free Trade Agreement and Women*. Toronto: Ontario Women's Directorate; Katie Macmillan. 1987. *Free Trade and Canadian Women: An Opportunity for a Better Future*. Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women; Marjorie Griffin Cohen. 1987. *Free Trade and the Future of Women's Work: Manufacturing and Service Industries*. Toronto: Garamond Press; Ann Porter and Barbara Cameron. 1987. *Impact of Free Trade on Women in Manufacturing*. Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1987.

³ Laura Macdonald, *Trade with a Female Face: Women and the New International Trade Agenda*, p. 9.

⁴ Ontario Women's Directorate. 1993. *The North American Free Trade Agreement: Implications for Women*. Toronto: Ontario Women's Directorate.

⁵ Non-standard work includes self-employment, part-time, temporary or contractual work.

⁶ Ontario Women's Directorate. 1987. *The Free Trade Agreement and Women*. Toronto: Ontario Women's Directorate. pp. 2-4.

⁷ An example of this perspective is found in Susan Joeke and Ann Weston. 1994. In *Women and the New Trade Agenda*, New York: UNIFEM. They argue "trade expansion has clearly benefited women's access to paid employment in many (though not all) developing countries." (p. 33). However, while the empirical evidence of the late 1980s and 1990s has not yet been comprehensively examined, some studies have shown that the expected employment effects have not occurred. See, for example, R. Mehra and S. Gammage. 1999. "Trends, Countertrends, and Gaps in Women's Employment", *World Development*. Vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 533-550; and concerning the Mexican case, see D. Alarcon-Gonzalez and T. McKinley. 1999. "The Adverse Effects of Structural Adjustment on Working Women in Mexico". *Latin American Perspectives*. Vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 103-107; and R. Ghiara. 1999. "Impact of Trade

Liberalization on Female Wages in Mexico: An Econometric Analysis”, *Development Policy Review*. Vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 171-190.

⁸ Examples from our hemisphere include: CARICOM in the Caribbean, CACM in Central America, and the re-named Andean Community in the Andean region of South America.

⁹ “UNIFEM is paying increasing attention to the gender differentiated impact of trade policies and making sure that the gender dimension in the trade policy making process is not overlooked. UNIFEM’s global strategy on trade was developed to look for strategic points at which to intervene in trade politics so that they work in support of and not against women’s livelihoods.” (UNIFEM).

¹⁰ Activists formed the Women’s Caucus at the 1996 Ministerial of the WTO. In 1999, some groups from the Women's Caucus banded together to create an Informal Working group on Gender and Trade (IWGGT).

¹¹ *WEDO News and Views*, Vol. 12, no. 2, 3 (November 1999) p. 20.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴ “Women's Caucus Declaration, Third Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization, Seattle.” *Third World Resurgence*. 112/113, p. 39.

¹⁵ Specifically, at their inaugural meeting in November 1999, the Women Leaders of the Americas called on member governments to “expand opportunities for women in business through implementation of meaningful business facilitation measures, expand opportunities for women in business through greater services; expand opportunities for women in business through the alignment of competition policy in all FTAA countries.” *Women and the FTAA: Our Contribution to Economic Prosperity: Recommendations*. Toronto, November 2-3, 1999.

¹⁶ “Introduction: Engendering Macro-economic Policy Reform in the Era of Global Restructuring and Adjustment” in *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. London and Ottawa: Zed Books and The North-South Institute. 1994. p.1.

¹⁷ Barbara Evers, “Gender Bias and Macro-Economic Policy: Methodological Comments from the Indonesian Example” in *Rethinking Restructuring*. pp. 125-128.

¹⁸ These statistics were calculated from Statistics Canada *Labour Force Historical Review: Canada*.

- ¹⁹ Isabella Bakker. "The Feminization of the Labour Force: Harmonizing Down in a Global Economy." In *Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press. p. 52.
- ²⁰ Statistics Canada. *Labour Force Historical Review: Canada*.
- ²¹ The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) states that "Canadian tariffs have been substantially reduced or eliminated. Canada's weighted average tariff on total imports has declined from 4.01 percent to 1.08 percent between 1987 and 1997." (InfoExport, p. 3.)
- ²² Critics argue that Canada must lower its level of personal income taxation to approximate those in the United States in order to stem the "brain drain" of Canada's highly skilled professionals to the United States where, it is argued, wages are higher and taxes lower.
- ²³ For example, the EDC offers workshops and training for small women-owned businesses, has sponsored the Canada/U.S.A. Businesswomen's Trade Summit, and continues to sponsor the Canadian Women's International Business Initiative. <www.edc-see.ca/CorpInfo/Pubs/exportwise/Fall99/p8_e.htm>; [Cited August 4, 2000.]
<www.edc-see.ca/CorpInfo/Pubs/exportwise/jan-mar00/news9_e.htm>.
- ²⁴ See, for example, Businesswomen in Trade in "The Canadian Trade Commissioner Service." [Cited August 4, 2000.] <www.infoexport.gc.ca/businesswomen/menu-e.asp accessed 4 August 2000>.
- ²⁵ For example, the CareerPLACE job placement program for aboriginal women. [Cited August 4, 2000.] www.careerplace.com/embene.html.
- ²⁶ Some women's activists are concerned that future trade negotiations on domestic regulation, services and investment will directly affect the ability of the federal government to offer equality-promoting programs which proactively support disadvantaged social groups such as women and visible minority groups.
- ²⁷ According to Jane Jenson, the abolition of the Canadian Assistance Program (CAP) and the institution of the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) in 1995 symbolized a new citizenship regime in Canada. "Reading the SUFA Through Policies for Children: Towards a New Citizenship Regime." *Policy Options*, (May 2000), pp. 48-50. Elsewhere, Jenson elaborates: "A major victim of ... economic globalization has been the nation-state, whose capacity to regulate the national economy has been significantly reduced. A frequent casualty has been spending on the 'welfare state'. Such social spending was demanded in the 1930s and 1940s ... as recognition of the social and economic rights of citizens to equity in class societies. [T]he traditional foundations of citizenship in civil and political rights were widened to incorporate country-wide social programmes...."

These programmes named citizens, by identifying all those having the right to health care, unemployment insurance, education and family benefits, as well as to political participation....” “Mapping, Naming and Remembering: Globalization at the End of the Twentieth Century.” *Review of International Political Economy*. Vol. 21, no. 1 (Winter 1995) pp. 101-102.

²⁸ U.S. Trade Representative Barshefsky recently stated: “Our goal ... will be to secure maximum market opening across a broad array of services sectors through a broadening and deepening of the services commitments of all WTO countries” in “USTR on U.S. Proposal in WTO Negotiations on Services”, July 14, 2000.

<www.usembassycanada.gov/outreach/to718d.txt accessed 7/19/00>. The American private sector is strongly behind this position. In his testimony before the sub-committee hearing on the United States negotiating objectives for the WTO Seattle Ministerial Meeting on August 5, 1999, Dean O’Hare, President and Chief Executive Officer, Chubb Corporation and Chairman of the Coalition of Service Industries, stated: “We believe we can make much progress in the negotiations to allow the opportunity for U.S. businesses to expand into foreign health care markets. ... Historically, health care services in many foreign countries have largely been the responsibility of the public sector ... [which]... has made it difficult for U.S. private-sector health care providers to market in foreign countries.... Three general [negotiating] objectives are to encourage more privatization, to promote pro-competitive regulatory reform, and to obtain liberalization. Specific objectives are: ... allow majority foreign ownership of health care facilities.”

<www.house.gov/ways_means/trade/106cong/8-5-99/8-5ohar.htm>.

²⁹ In an address to the Joint Meeting of the Canadian Club of Toronto and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Toronto Board of Trade, the Honourable Pierre S. Pettigrew said, “...this government will not be opening up our public health care system to foreign competition. ... We intend to uphold our ... objectives to safeguard Canada’s freedom of action in key sectors, including health, education and culture.” Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, November 26, 1999, p. 6.

³⁰ Under the banner “Health, Education Set WTO Table,” reporter Laura Eggertson wrote: “Canada is willing to discuss granting foreign companies the right to deliver health, education and transportation services at the upcoming round of World Trade Organization talks,” says Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew. Canada supports putting all services on the negotiating table, Pettigrew said at a news conference yesterday. ‘We’re saying we should not exclude anything from Day One,’ the trade minister told reporters.” *Toronto Star*, Tuesday, November 16, 1999.

³¹ DFAIT, “Canada and the Future of the World Trade Organization: Government Response to the Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade,” p. 6. www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/tna-nac/Canwto-e.asp. accessed 1/12/00.

³² In an open letter to the Honourable Pierre Pettigrew dated August 30, 1999, the Canadian Health Coalition wrote: “In light of the fact that the U.S. trade negotiators have stated their intention to negotiate trade liberalization in health services, and the fact that your trade negotiators have said all services will be on the table, we believe it is imperative to receive from you an absolute assurance that health and social services will not, in fact, be put on the table by Canada.” <www.healthcoalition.ca/wtolet/html> [Cited June 27, 2001.]. In a press release under the banner “Don’t let the WTO mess with Made-in-Canada Medicare, Education, Water Rights and Culture,” Canadian Labour Congress President Georgetti “urge[d] the Prime Minister and the International Trade Minister to stand up for Canada in the next round of the WTO ... and [e]nsure that Canada’s education and health systems are not compromised.” This perception is no doubt inflamed by pressure from the political right in Canada to open up the Canadian health care system to further privatization. Canada NewsWire, November 2, 1999. [Cited June 29, 2001.] <www.newswire.ca/releases/November1999/02/c0696.html>

³³ “The WTO: What Happened in Seattle? What’s Next in Geneva?” Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, January 17, 2000, p. 8. Canada is currently a proponent of horizontal negotiating modalities, which include a formula approach to negotiation agreed to in advance by members and is effectively a tool for expanding the coverage of the GATS. Agreement on the negotiating modality for services is expected to be reached by March 2000.

³⁴ This specifies that “‘services’ includes any service in any sector except services supplied in the exercise of governmental authority; ‘a service supplied in the exercise of governmental authority’ means any service which is supplied neither on a commercial basis nor in competition with one or more service suppliers”. *The Results of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations: The Legal Texts*. Geneva: WTO, 1995, p. 328.

³⁵ For example, the services of private laboratories.

³⁶ For example, private schools in K-12 delivery.

³⁷ Part II of the GATS functions in a “top-down” manner where its provisions automatically apply to all service sectors. Under Article II of Part II, Canada is bound to extend Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment. See “Health and Social Services: Background Note by the Secretariat” (Geneva: WTO, Council for Trade in Services, 18 September 1998) for a discussion of these issues.

³⁸ Whether because as women they are more likely to consult, or whether as females they have more health issues is a debated point.

³⁹ From Statistics Canada *Labour Force Historical Review*.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴¹ *Education Services: Background Note by the Secretariat*. Geneva: WTO, Council for Trade in Services, 23 September 1998.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 2-5.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey Holmes. 1996. "Export-readiness in the Canadian Education Sector". Ottawa: Canadian Bureau for International Education. CBIE Research No. 8, p. 7.

⁴⁵ For instance, the CBIE Research report cites "the opening of seven Canadian Education Centres (CECs) under a contract between the Asia Pacific Foundation (APF) and DFAIT, CIDA and other federal departments." "Export-readiness in the Canadian Education Sector". 1996. Ottawa: Canadian Bureau for International Education. CBIE Research No. 8, p. 2.

⁴⁶ According to research of the Canadian Teachers' Federation in 1996-97, 75.2 per cent of teachers at the elementary level and 43.9 per cent at the secondary level were women. Only 42.4 per cent of administrators at the elementary level and 34.6 per cent of administrators at the secondary level were women (excluding Quebec, for which data was unavailable). *CTF ESN February 2000-2*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ Calculated from "1996 Census: Detailed Occupation by Sex, Canada". Ottawa, Statistics Canada. [Cited July 20, 2000.]
<www.statcan.ca/englihs/census96/mar17/occupa/table1/t1p00e.htm>

⁴⁸ Even a decade ago this trend was clearly visible. "Of the 150,000 new businesses launched annually in Canada, most are started by women. Although male entrepreneurs currently outnumber women by three to one, women are now starting businesses at three times the rate of men." Monica Belcourt, Ronald J. Burke, and H el ene Lee-Gosselin. 1991. *The Glass Box: Women Business Owners in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. pp. 2-3.

⁴⁹ Trade Research Coalition. 1999. *Beyond Borders: Canadian Businesswomen in International Trade*. Ottawa: DFAIT. p. 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵¹ Monica Belcourt, Ronald J. Burke, and H el ene Lee-Gosselin. 1991. *The Glass Box: Women Business Owners in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. p. 66.

- ⁵² The European Union has been displeased with the effort of agricultural exporting countries (including Canada) from both the North and South to force the EU to negotiate the elimination of agricultural subsidies and to accept imports of genetically modified foods. On this latter issue it is increasingly clear that the European public is opposed to the forced introduction of hormone-treated beef, antibiotic-treated livestock, genetically modified food and other products assumed to pose health or environmental risks.
- ⁵³ “The market in most consumer products is polarized between one or two dominant producers and the rest, which include retailers’ own-labels and niche manufacturers. ... [A]nother reason for the reduced selection is that retailers want to offer consumers fewer choices. ... Culling minor brands and slow-selling products also reduces costs for both manufacturer and retailer.” *Financial Times*, March 4-5, 2000, p. 7. It may not, however, reduce costs for consumers. In addition to considering the impact of price competition on retail trade, attention needs also to be paid to the consumption effects of changes in price structure. As Lourdes Benería and Amy Lind argue “[c]hanges in price structure ... will also lead to consumption effects over and above price effects as a result of shifts in consumer preference and in cultural norms and values associated with the new goods. As individual consumers and as those in charge of household consumption, women will be affected by these changes.” *Engendering International Trade: Concepts, Policy, and Action*. Gender, Science and Development Programme and the United Nations Development Fund for Women. p. 7.
- ⁵⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. p. 2.

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Comments

We welcome your comments. Please detach this form and return it to the following address:

**Status of Women Canada (SWC)
Policy Analysis and Development Directorate
123 Slater Street – 10th floor
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 1H9
Fax: (613) 947-0530**

1) Tell us about yourself *(Check one as appropriate)*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Women's organization | <input type="checkbox"/> College, CEGEP |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aboriginal organization | <input type="checkbox"/> University |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ethno-cultural organization/group | <input type="checkbox"/> Federal government/national institution |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Youth organization | <input type="checkbox"/> Provincial/Territorial government/institution |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Seniors' organization | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional association or corporation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Men's organization | <input type="checkbox"/> Private sector/business |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Health centre, medical clinic, hospital, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> Labour organization |
| <input type="checkbox"/> School (elementary, high school) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ |

2) Where do you live? *(Check one)*

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Newfoundland | <input type="checkbox"/> Ontario | <input type="checkbox"/> Yukon |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prince Edward Island | <input type="checkbox"/> Manitoba | <input type="checkbox"/> Northwest Territories |
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Brunswick | <input type="checkbox"/> Saskatchewan | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunavut |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nova Scotia | <input type="checkbox"/> Alberta | <input type="checkbox"/> Outside Canada |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Quebec | <input type="checkbox"/> British Columbia | |

3) What is your or your organization's interest in policy issues related to international trade?

4) Are you currently working on specific trade and gender issues?

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | |
| If yes, please elaborate <i>(Check as many as applicable)</i> | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Research | <input type="checkbox"/> Capacity building | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advocacy | <input type="checkbox"/> Economic literacy | _____ |

5) If you are currently not working on these issues, have the papers stimulated your interest in finding out more about gender and trade?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

If not, why? _____

6) Were these papers useful to you or your organization? (Check one)

Yes

No

Please elaborate _____

7) How did you use these papers?

8) Which paper/s or parts of these papers were most useful (user-friendly language, content, details etc.)?

Women and Trade in Canada: An Overview of Key Issues

International Trade Policy: A Primer

Putting Gender Into the Process: Initiatives and Lessons Learned

Comments

9) Do you think further research is required in any of the areas covered by these papers? Please explain

10) What additional topics related to gender and trade would you like to see addressed in new research? Please explain

11) We would also appreciate any other comments that you may have on the papers.

Thank you!

Name (Optional): _____

Organization: _____

E-mail address: _____

Note that all personal information collected on this form is protected under the Privacy Act.