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**Analysis of FTAA text from a Gender perspective**

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While trade could lift women, their families and their communities out of poverty, to date, too many are being left behind. The second draft of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) does not ensure that trade acts as a tool to achieve gender-equity, social justice, and sustainable development; rather, it reinforces the increasing dominance of corporate-led free trade, which places profits and economic growth above basic human needs and rights. The regional integration that is being promoted through the FTAA is not realistic or positive if it is economically and politically driven to benefit a select few at the expense of the majority of people in the region.

This free trade agreement is being negotiated based on the assumption that models such as NAFTA (the North America Free Trade Agreement) or the U.S./Chile bilateral agreement are positive examples of growth for the region. While statistics may show growth, social impacts on women, their families and their communities have, in many cases, been devastating.

Sixty-two million people, or 14% of the 516 million Latin American and Caribbean people, live in extreme poverty and suffer from hunger according to the World Food Programme (WFP). The combined impacts of privatization, capital account liberalization and free trade have ultimately weakened domestically owned industry and national regulatory measures throughout Latin America. Irresponsible privatization policies that did not incorporate proper safeguards have resulted in recent statistics in Latin America that 40% of public services customers have fallen behind in their bills. Utility rates have increased in spite of the fact that peoples' spending capacity has decreased.

These conditions have demonstrably worsened the living and working standards of women in the region. By failing to incorporate an analysis of how the FTAA may affect women and men differently, the recently released text is likely to increase many women's workloads and deepen their indigence throughout the hemisphere.

Why Gender and Trade?

According to the United Nations, women constitute more than 70% of the world's poorest citizens. Women are disproportionately poor due to social and cultural discrimination, which limits their access to education, technological training, credit, and land. Race, class, ethnicity, and geography also affect the ways in which women can (or cannot) participate in the local, national, or global economy. Women are not hired for many jobs for which they qualify; they are considered "secondary" wage earners, often earning lower wages than men for the same or similar types of jobs, and are usually the last workers hired and the first fired. Women still do the bulk of "reproductive" work--

caring for their families, preparing meals, keeping the household clean and functioning, and contributing to the well being of the community. This invisible work means that women have less time to gain new job skills, to seek higher pay, obtain new jobs, or to simply relax and pursue leisure activities. Within this context, countries' GDP statistics for national growth are consistently calculated without having incorporated women's unpaid labor as a contribution to the market.

In the Summit of the Americas work plan that came out of the meeting of heads of state in Quebec, Canada in April 2001, governments agreed to:

“integrate a gender perspective into the programs, actions and agendas of national and international events, to ensure that women's experiences and gender equality are an integral dimension of the design, implementation and evaluation of government and inter-American policies and programs in all spheres;”<sup>1</sup>

Although governments have committed to integrating gender and women clearly have a large stake in the outcome of trade talks, to date, trade negotiators have ignored women's specific needs and concerns when devising new agreements. Similarly, in the Alternatives for the Americas, the Hemispheric Social Alliance proposes “ a gender impact assessment of trade policy on women. “ However, thus far, no trade negotiators have studied how new trade rules affect women differently than men.

Promoting trade language in the FTAA that does not address these real imbalances and inequities will further alienate women by ignoring that women and men contribute to the market differently, with women facing extreme challenges in the process. For example, current language in the investment chapter of the second draft of the FTAA text indicates that the final agreement will promote investment opportunities for multinational corporations while dismantling key local and national regulations, including those that would protect women workers. Unclear language in the current services chapter indicates that in the final agreement, governments may not have limited legal grounds to ensure authority over the provision of their public services. Government Authority and Domestic Regulation are key issues for women who will be negatively impacted if their countries are unable to address the health of their people due to trade language that favors the needs of the private sector over national development priorities.

### **Overview of the FTAA Text and Goal of this Analysis**

This analysis examines the second draft text of the FTAA negotiations. Within the text there are many areas where negotiators continue to disagree. Text language that has not been agreed to by all parties is placed in brackets and each of the chapters that is discussed below contains numerous brackets; some of which reveal minor differences between countries, others which highlight different ideas and competing proposals about how to negotiate trade liberalization in that sector.

This gender analysis of the FTAA text is intended to both amplify and complement the other existing analyses. Rather than reiterating all of the potential concerns that are embedded in the agriculture, services, investment, procurement, and IPR negotiations, this section highlights those provisions that may have a differential (and often negative) impact on women as well as on key development concerns. By illuminating the gender

and development consequences of the FTAA text, activists and policymakers can have a more robust analysis of the text that includes the concerns of developing countries, including poor women and their communities.

The following sections highlight the potential consequences of the FTAA text for women's status and development concerns in the region. Although much of the text is bracketed, the overall direction of the chapters and the types of proposals listed indicate an attempt to further entrench a neoliberal model of trade that prizes corporate growth over socially sustainable development with gender-equity.

### **Key Points**

- ❖ *The agriculture text of the FTAA promotes growing cash crops over domestic staple foods and may make imported food cheaper than locally grown food. This will harm small farmers. Cash crop farms hire rural women to grow products for export for little pay and with few safety precautions.*
- ❖ *The services sector could open up government provided services such as health care, education, and water to private corporations. Women employed in these sectors may lose their jobs and women consumers may find that they cannot afford public services when they are priced to make a profit.*
- ❖ *The intellectual property rights section may make it more difficult for governments to supply needy patients with lower-cost generic drugs. This section may also enable corporations to patent traditional plants and to copy traditional artistic designs and compete with local artisans.*
- ❖ *The procurement section could outlaw local laws that encourage government purchasing of goods or services from women and minority-owned businesses, or that encourage government purchases of fairly traded products.*
- ❖ *The investment section may ban a country's ability to demand that foreign investors include a certain percentage of domestic content, transfer technology from developed to developing countries, or purchase inputs from local suppliers.*

- **Agriculture**

Unfortunately, the second draft of the agriculture chapter of the FTAA has not changed substantially from the first one. Although heavily bracketed, it incorporates a 'one size fits all' approach to agriculture that is designed to eliminate all subsidies and domestic support without taking national differences into account. According to a FAO report, Latin America and the Caribbean account for 23% of all livestock and around 30% of all freshwater reserves. Agriculture provides work and livelihoods for significant numbers of the population, including women. By contrast, the U.S. employs less than one percent of the labor force and accounts for only 2% of the GDP. The types of agriculture vary vastly from country to country – from corporate to subsistence, with very different players – from low income-resource poor farmers to national and international agribusiness.

At the most recent trade ministerial in Quito, Ecuador in October 2002, the agriculture chapter proved to be the most contentious in the negotiations. Developing countries are

highly critical of the fact that the U.S. continues to subsidize its agricultural sector (which largely benefits agribusiness) while pushing other FTAA countries to slash their tariffs and subsidies as a requirement of the agreement. Some analysts have predicted that unless these disagreements over agriculture are resolved, they could derail the FTAA negotiations.

Activists and researchers are also critical of the fact that language in this chapter (which mirrors the goals and language of the Agreement on Agriculture in the WTO) favors export-oriented agriculture that preferences cash crops over sustainable farming and national food security. As smaller economies have cut national subsidies to farmers while reducing tariffs, it is often cheaper for them to import goods than to produce them domestically. The result is that local producers, including small-scale farmers, lose their traditional and regional livelihoods and their local consumers end up paying more for the same products that are now being imported from abroad. For example, in Guyana, fruit juice from France and Thailand has now displaced domestically produced juices<sup>2</sup> for these reasons.

In Colombia and other countries in Latin America, many rural women found work in multi-national corporations tending and cutting flowers for export. Colombia is the second largest source of flower exports in the world. One out of every two flowers sold in the U.S. originates in Colombia where more than 80,000 women work in greenhouses earning less than \$4 per day. The flower plantations use harsh pesticides and rarely provide safety gloves or other safety equipment for workers. National health and safety regulations are rarely followed on these plantations. Women, because of their reproductive capacity, have more fat cells in their bodies than men. Some analysts believe that because of this, they retain pesticides in bodies longer. Medical surveys have shown that flower workers have illnesses ranging such as nausea, asthma, rashes, headaches, and miscarriages. The costs of flora culture have affected the entire rural community. Environmentally, the flower boom has huge costs as well. The water table has been shrinking rapidly as it has been depleted to grow flowers and now water has to be imported from Bogota. Moreover, high levels of toxins have been found in the groundwater.

- **Services**

The second draft of the services chapter also remains largely unchanged in terms of the language that is being negotiated. The scope of the chapter is exceptionally broad with proposed language that 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<sup>3</sup>.”

This language represents a tremendous expansion of what is defined as a service and would include all levels of government. A measure refers to any provision whether it is a decree, law, regulation, rule, procedure, or decision that has an effect on trade in services.

This too, represents a very broad view of what types of domestic laws would be subject to scrutiny as a barrier to trade. The text also states that although countries can regulate and introduce new regulations in pursuit of domestic policy goals, the measures cannot be more burdensome than necessary, the scope of the regulations should be limited to what is necessary to achieve the goal, and the regulations should be aimed at using market mechanisms to achieve their objectives.

Most favored nation (MFN), national treatment (NT), and market access provisions are still written in to the existing draft. MFN means that governments must provide equal treatment to all foreign service suppliers. National treatment means that a government must provide foreign service suppliers with treatment that is at least as good as that accorded domestic suppliers. Market access rules prohibit governments from restricting the number and size of service suppliers and the quantity or value of services provided in their territory. Once a sector is opened, governments will not be able to retroactively limit the size and number of operators in a sector. Moreover, the market access language on government regulations means that rules designed to achieve social, health, or environmental objectives may be ruled a barrier to trade if they are not necessary to provide the service.

The scope and the rules in the FTAA services text could threaten peoples' access to affordable health care, education and clean water which are basic human rights. In the services chapter, government provided and subsidized sectors such as health care and education could be subject to MFN and NT rules. Governments may not have the ability to apply domestic regulations for trade in services and services production in order to achieve national development policy goals.

The second draft of the services chapter incorporates language on technical assistance and special and differential treatment to smaller economies. This is in line with the Human Cooperation Program that FTAA ministers launched in the Quito Declaration to address the inequities among FTAA countries and to push the developed countries to provide more assistance to less developed countries. Although language has been added on this theme, it is terribly unclear as to what types of special attention will be given to smaller economies and what specific market access provisions larger governments are proposing to offer to improve the comparative advantage of less developed economies in the Hemisphere in the area of services. Language on special provisions is heavily bracketed (indicated overall disagreement), largely undefined, and therefore does not address the inequities among the FTAA countries' within the negotiating process.

The services chapter will have particular implications for women as workers and as consumers. The public service sector has been associated with more highly skilled and waged jobs for women. Women have worked as nurses, doctors, administrators, teachers, and social workers. ***Although the USTR states that nothing in the FTAA mandates privatization, in fact, privatization of social services have already been required for many indebted countries through the IMF and the World Bank structural adjustment policies. For women, privatization has often had negative consequences.*** In 1991, after Nicaragua agreed to an IMF privatization plan, they laid off government workers

particularly in the health and education fields. More than 70 percent of those laid off were women<sup>4</sup>. New jobs in the health care and education sector tend to command lower wages and increasingly casual, temporary or contractual labor with few benefits. (Public Services International, 1999)<sup>5</sup> New trends to liberalize the service sector will have devastating impacts on women.

The language in the services chapter disregards where women are located in the labor market. Many women workers are employed in the communal, social, and personal services sector. When governments retract key social services, women are often the first fired. Moreover, women's workloads often increase to make up the difference. The language in this chapter ignores the cost of women's unpaid work—caring for family members, performing household chores, and preparing foods. When the government cuts funding for these services, women often spend more time shopping for cheaper items, cultivating home gardens to supplement store-bought food, caring for sick family members at home longer before taking them to the doctor, and walking rather than taking public transport<sup>6</sup>. Privatizing basic services has affected women consumers who cut back on doctor's visits, schooling or other basic needs if the cost becomes too great. ***Basic needs such as water may be privatized as part of the FTAA because the distribution of water counts as a service in the negotiating text.*** This may have serious health implications for women and their families. In many countries, women and girls spend an estimated 40 billion hours every year hauling water from distant and frequently polluted sources. If the price of water is too high for poor families as a result of privatization, women may resort to either rationing water for their families or substituting unsanitary water for clean water when necessary. Unclean water is a leading cause of child mortality and illness in developing countries. Recent IMF-led water privatization in Cochabamba, Bolivia led a mother of five to choose between food and water when her water bill rose from \$5 to \$20 a month<sup>7</sup>. That \$15 increase had previously been the means to feed her family for a week and a half. To pay her water bill, she had to reduce the amount spent on food and clothing for her family.

- **Intellectual Property Rights**

The goal of the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) chapter in the FTAA is to build on the foundation of the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and to promote greater efficiency and transparency in IPR.

At the WTO Doha Ministerial in November 2001, ministers signed the well-known TRIPS Declaration on Public Health that established that public health is a priority over commercial interests in the trade negotiations. It affirms countries' rights to grant compulsory licenses that would allow them to produce generic medicines at cheaper prices as well as their right use parallel imports to existing medicines.

However, the U.S. along with its pharmaceutical industry have been working to restrict the use of compulsory licensing to specific conditions that would make this difficult. The current FTAA IPR chapter continues to build from TRIPS and could possibly take it further by instituting what many activists have been calling a "TRIPS plus" agenda which

would further the interests of big pharmaceuticals in the region and run counter to the TRIPS declaration of the WTO. A “TRIPS plus” agenda would further limit parallel imports and compulsory licensing conditions, making it difficult to impossible for countries to produce their own generic drugs or to import them from non-patented producers in the region to meet public health needs. It could also prolong the existing 20 year patent period which allows for pharmaceutical monopolies to flourish.

Although Brazil is now producing and distributing some generic drugs to treat HIV/AIDS, the TRIPS agreement was the rationale that the U.S. (at the behest of pharmaceutical companies) used to try to prevent Brazil from using compulsory licensing and parallel importing to make HIV/AIDS medication more affordable. The TRIPS chapter has also been used to protect corporations’ rights to patent seeds even when the seeds have been used by indigenous groups for centuries and are central to national food security and livelihoods. A “TRIPS plus” agenda in the Americas region builds on this trend.

The systems for patenting that are bracketed in the current IPR chapter of the FTAA draft text are vaguely defined, difficult to implement, and fail to take into account the asymmetries between countries that cannot afford key medicines for their populations and countries that can. It fails to take into account indigenous groups who are attempting to protect their cultural heritage and receive just compensation for their knowledge and corporations who are seeking to market the product.

The language in the IPR chapter ignores the lack of clarity over “who owns community based knowledge”. Knowledge of certain plant uses, craft production, and traditional music or folklore are passed down from one generation to the next within a community. Many indigenous communities are now scattered in different regions of a country and sometimes even in different countries. If a patent were granted broadly there may be problems ensuring equal payments to each group. However, if it were granted narrowly, one community would benefit at the expense of other groups who have the same knowledge<sup>8</sup>. There is no appropriate legal mechanism in IPR to date to protect significant designs and symbols that belong to entire indigenous cultures.

For craftswomen, the IPR text suggests that one person could patent a registered trademark (including geographical indications) for goods or services. This would give them exclusive rights to prevent all others not having the owner’s consent from using similar indicators or words on their products. Certain types and styles of crafts are associated with particular locations. The rights conferred chapter seems to indicate that one person or a corporation could purchase the geographical indicator, thereby depriving local craftspeople from effectively marketing their products. Again, while it is possible that a local producer or community could use the patent to their advantage, it would require enormous financial resources to apply for the patent as well as knowledge of the legal system. Even if a local group did receive the patent, they would still have to be able to afford to hire lawyers to contest any infringement on their patent. Moreover, in many cases, a separate copyright must be applied for and registered for in each country in order

to ensure the protection of a creation. This is a clear impediment for many struggling artisans.

Women handicraft producers who make and sell their textiles, jewelry, and ceramics locally and globally comprise 70 percent of craft-workers in Latin America.<sup>9</sup> In the U.S., Native American artisans and healers as well as traditional folk artisans may be affected because their design patterns and methods may not be able to be protected. Today, foreign fakes are believed to account for as much as half of the market in Indian arts and crafts, worth \$1 billion a year<sup>10</sup>. These sorts of losses are devastating to the Native American community which is the poorest minority group in the United States with more than 30 percent of the population living below the poverty line<sup>11</sup>.

It is clear that IPR issues affect entire women, their families and their communities in the region relative to medicines, livelihoods, traditional crafts, and food security.

- **Government Procurement**

The FTAA procurement proposal has not changed much from the original draft. It is based on NAFTA language that includes Most Favored Nation and National Treatment, which undermine governments' ability to implement procurement rules towards essential public policy goals. Although heavily bracketed, the procurement language is broad in scope, applying to all levels of government. Negotiators have included a long list of possible exemptions. Some of these include the areas of public education, social security, childcare, welfare, and healthcare. As with the other chapters, just what exemptions will be allowed is where the proper debate emerges. Language on National Treatment would make it illegal for governments to favor domestically owned women, minority or disabled businesses - even if they contribute to national development goals.

In the United States, many small, women-owned businesses have been able to benefit from government set-asides and incentives. These domestic rules encouraged federal government agencies to purchase a certain percentage of their goods or services from women-owned businesses, which have had less access to these contracts than male-owned businesses. In 1998, more than 50 percent of government contracts awarded to women-owned businesses went to small businesses owned by women of color. In the U.S. and other countries, women business owners will have a harder time competing for business. In Baltimore City, Maryland a city ordinance states that bidders on government contracts above \$25,000 must partner or subcontract with women and/or minority-owned businesses in a percentage that equals or exceeds Baltimore's goal for women and/or minority-owned businesses. Other countries could challenge this ordinance as "an unnecessary obstacle to international trade." Similarly, ordinances that support the local government's purchase of fair trade coffee could be challenged on the same grounds.

In terms of technical assistance to smaller economies, the text does propose special and differential treatment, but it is minimal and it is not binding. Based on other binding language on non-discrimination, MFN and NT, it is unclear whether smaller economies' needs would really be taken into account in the final agreement.

- **Investment**

As with the other chapters the second draft of the FTAA investment chapter doesn't have very many changes. Definitions of investment include all types of investment. The draft text does include the possibility for countries to take reservations or to make exceptions to investment provisions in order, for example, to protect public morality, prevent crime and maintain public order. However, the list of exceptions is bracketed and it is unclear how narrowly they will be interpreted in the final text. The second draft of the chapter still includes NAFTA's Chapter 11 language on investor to state that allows investors to sue governments in an investment dispute. While there is a proposed amendment that offers some conditions to this language, it is unclear whether it would make much of a difference in the dispute tribunal. The dispute settlement is largely the same, although there is some new language on increased transparency and availability of documentation. Definitions of expropriation are broad drawing on the NAFTA model. The chapter includes national treatment, most favored nation, as well as language on performance requirements that would attract investors while limiting the role of governments. There are several suggested proposals for how to deal with performance requirements but generally each prohibits linking foreign investment to requirements such as including a certain percentage of domestic content, transferring technology from developed to developing countries, or preferential purchasing. These restrictions prevent countries from requiring that some money remain in the country or that some technology is transferred to the host country.

Unregulated foreign investment has several implications for women in the Hemisphere. It is closely tied to the relaxation of labor standards in many countries. Many corporations that have moved to low-income countries in the region have exerted pressure to lower labor standards rather than to develop the human capabilities available in the region. To attract foreign investment and promote exports, countries in the Hemisphere have opened export-processing zones (EPZs), industrial areas where women have been able to gain jobs assembling garments or computer components for foreign markets. EPZs offer special incentives such as duty free imports of machinery, exemption of customs or sales tax, and preferential treatment with respect to national laws. It is often stated that EPZs have provided new jobs and increased money flows into the country. In fact, little money stays in the country.

Investment through EPZs may create more jobs for some women but has not necessarily improved their lives. The jobs provide extremely low wages, long hours, and difficult work conditions. These workers earn as little as 56 - 77 cents an hour and often work 50 - 80 hours a week.<sup>12</sup> Their wages often are not enough to provide food and shelter for a family. Women workers in many factories have reported physical abuse, sexual harassment and violence, and mandatory pregnancy testing as a condition for employment. Workers often cannot form unions to organize for their rights. Promotions to higher-skilled jobs are almost non-existent.

Yet, many women have flocked to these jobs as a “survival mechanism” as families sought to gain new income when commodity prices fell as a result of trade liberalization in agriculture or other jobs were unavailable. In Latin America, women comprise 70-90 percent of workers in the EPZs.<sup>13</sup>

While global trade rules have created these new jobs for women, discrimination is now leading to job loss for women EPZ workers. As export production becomes more specialized (and better paying), there is an increased demand for men's labor. In Mexico, the proportion of female workers in export manufacturing fell from 77 percent in 1982 to 60 percent in 1990.<sup>14</sup> Without adequate training and support to upgrade women's skills, any benefits that women gain from this employment are short-lived.

Equally troubling, in the past, regional trade agreements tended to shift employment from one location to another. While corporations may see higher profits because they are paying lower wages, many women workers experience job loss, dislocation, and distress. In 1995, Jamaica was the main exporter of underwear to the U.S. market, supplying 44 percent of U.S. undergarments. By November 1996, 22 months after NAFTA had taken effect, Jamaica's apparel exports to the U.S. declined by 12 percent while Mexico's share of the market grew by 40 percent. More recently, more than 250,000 Mexican workers (the majority of whom are women) have lost jobs in computer and apparel factories that are moving to Thailand and Vietnam where wages are as low as \$15 per week<sup>15</sup>.

The second draft of the investment continues to reinforce rules that favor large-scale corporate investors who to date have not been held accountable to local laws, workers rights, and socially sustainable development. There is no reason to continue with this flawed logic when so many corporate scandals have arisen to indicate a real problem in this area.

## **Conclusion**

The current trajectory of the FTAA will exacerbate existing inequalities among countries, peoples and between women and men. Yet, women throughout the hemisphere are decrying this model of free trade, and instead, supporting new models for regional development. “Another Americas is Possible.” It is one in which women will gain from an alternative, participatory economic model that prizes social development and gender equity.

Some gender specific and overarching development recommendations to FTAA governments from women in the region include:

### **Overarching**

- Collect gender-disaggregated data to form a baseline for analyses;
- Conduct gender and social impact assessments of the FTAA negotiations;
- Conduct meaningful dialogues with women's NGO's, development groups working on gender issues and other civil society groups within the FTAA process of negotiations;

- Adopt a flexible approach to all trade negotiations, particularly for developing countries, recognizing their legitimate right to protect and manage their trade in order to fulfill national economic, social, cultural and political goals and to advance equitable and sustainable development for their people. In this context, equitable includes not only gender equity, but also social and racial equity among peoples and between nations.

#### Agriculture

- Abandon the “one size fits all” approach and create mechanisms that are flexible not only in the design of rules on agriculture, but also in their ability to help developing countries build their agriculture sector to achieve food security. The flexibility in developing rules and instruments should be incorporated in the agriculture chapter of the FTAA as operational principles, not simply as instances of ‘special and differential’ treatment;
- Target flexible instruments primarily toward low income/resource poor farmers, including women and farm laborers, not wealthy farmers and agribusiness;
- Protect measures to increase domestic production of food security (staple) crops.

#### Services

- Suspend current negotiations on services until countries have been able to make an adequate assessment of the impact of services liberalization and privatization on the social well-being of their citizens as well as on the economic effects and their contribution to the development of domestic services industries.

#### Technical Assistance - HCP

- Trade-related technical assistance should be demand-driven by the receiving countries;
- Technical assistance should facilitate developing countries’ ability to direct trade agendas to fulfill their development agendas and goals;
- Developing governments should have flexibility in determining both the assistance needed and the appropriate agency – governmental, inter-governmental, or non-governmental – to provide that assistance.

#### Government Procurement

- Allow governments the flexibility to create and implement government procurement rules that protect minority groups, including women, and contribute to national development goals.

#### Investment

- Remove all investor-state language in the Investment chapter of the FTAA;
- Allow national measures to regulate speculations and fly-by-night capital flows;
- Allow measures to regulate domestic controls on investment.

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<sup>1</sup> Summit of the Americas Workplan, April 2001, page 35.

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<sup>2</sup> Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Commodities and Trade Division “Agriculture, Trade, and Food Security Issues and Options in the WTO Negotiations from the Perspective of Developing Countries” <http://www.fao.org>

<sup>3</sup> FTAA Services Chapter, Article 1: Scope [of Application], Section 1. 1 (version three), FTAA.TNC/w/133/Rev.1, July 3, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> Wieggersma, Nan “State policy and the restructuring of women’s industries in Nicaragua,” in Aslanbeigui, Nahid, Steven Pressman, and Gale Summerfield Women in the Age of Economic Transformation, Routledge Press; New York, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Public Services International, “The WTO and the General Agreement on Trade in Services: What is at stake for public health?,” June 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Sparr, Pamela (Ed) “Mortgaging Women’s Lives: Feminists Critiques of Structural Adjustment,” Zed Books: London, 1994, page 26.

<sup>7</sup> Schultz, Jim “Bolivia’s War on Water” The Democracy Center <http://www.democracycctr.org>

<sup>8</sup> Gammage, Sarah, Helene Jorgensen, & Eugenia McGill “Trade Liberalization, Possible Gender Impacts, and Assessments,” Women’s EDGE.

<sup>9</sup> “The Craft of Sustainable Development,” *Americas*, Washington: Organization of the American States, 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Fowler, Betsy “Intellectual Property Rights and the Native American Experience,” *Crafts News*, Volume 12, Issue 48, Summer 2001, The Crafts Center.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*

<sup>12</sup> Figueroa, Hector “In the Name of Fashion: Exploitation in the Garment Industry,” *NACLA* Vol. XXIX No. 4, 1996, page 39.

<sup>13</sup> Gereffi, Gary & Lynn Hempel “Latin America and the Global Economy: Running Faster to Stay in Place,” *NACLA* Vol. XXIX No. 4, 1996, page 22

<sup>14</sup> Mehra, Rekha & Sarah Gammage “Trends, Countertrends, and Gaps in Women’s Employment,” *World Development* Vol. 27, No. 3, 1999 page 541.

<sup>15</sup> Jordan, Mary “Mexican Workers Pay for Success: With Labor Costs Rising, Factories Depart for Asia,” *Washington Post*, June 20, 2002, page A01.